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A thesis in Historic Preservation Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of the Degree of Master of Science in Historic Preservation 2008.

Advisor: Clark L. Erickson

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Sustainable Tourism and Indigenous Communities: The Case of Amantaní and Taquile Islands

Abstract

When I embarked on my journey to Peru's half of Lake Titicaca in the winter of 2008, I was not quite sure what to expect of myself or of the island communities I would be visiting. Preliminary research for this thesis described how the indigenous communities on Amantaní and Taquile Island were struggling to control tourism on their islands. I was, therefore, determined to be sensitive to their plight and not contribute to the patterns that led to their disenfranchisement. Apparently aware of the challenges facing the islanders, the Lonely Planet Guidebook stressed the importance of traveling with one of the island-operated boats and described the ease with which these boats could be found at the city of Puno's docks, the main Peruvian city on the lake's shores. Unfortunately, despite my best intentions, I succumbed depressingly easily to one of the many offers from agency-affiliated bus drivers, hotel employees and street or agency vendors who promised a magical and "authentic" experience of the Floating Islands of the Urus', Amantaní and Taquile Island, conveniently packaged and organized into two days.

Disciplines

Historic Preservation and Conservation

Comments

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**SUSTAINABLE TOURISM AND INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES:
THE CASE OF AMANTANÍ AND TAQUILE ISLANDS**

Caroline S. Cheong

A THESIS

In

Historic Preservation

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE IN HISTORIC PRESERVATION

2008

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my grandmothers - June Leong and Ping Cheong - who left me at the beginning and end of my time here at Penn. Your presence and memory has supported me and kept me balanced for the last twenty-eight years and I know you will continue to do so into the next stages of life.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

When I embarked on my journey to Peru's half of Lake Titicaca in the winter of 2008, I was not quite sure what to expect of myself or of the island communities I would be visiting. Preliminary research for this thesis described how the indigenous communities on Amantaní and Taquile Island were struggling to control tourism on their islands. I was, therefore, determined to be sensitive to their plight and not contribute to the patterns that led to their disenfranchisement. Apparently aware of the challenges facing the islanders, the *Lonely Planet Guidebook* stressed the importance of traveling with one of the island-operated boats and described the ease with which these boats could be found at the city of Puno's docks, the main Peruvian city on the lake's shores. Unfortunately, despite my best intentions, I succumbed depressingly easily to one of the many offers from agency-affiliated bus drivers, hotel employees and street or agency vendors who promised a magical and "authentic" experience of the Floating Islands of the Urus', Amantaní and Taquile Island, conveniently packaged and organized into two days.

However, my failure to live up to my own expectations of social consciousness provided me valuable insight into the workings of the lake's tourism industry and the relationships between the tour agencies and indigenous communities. I had originally intended to focus on the role of government and other third-party non-profit organizations in the development of tourism on the islands. However, it soon became apparent that the relationship between the tour agencies and islanders was more crucial and more current to the industry's development. During my brief visit to the islands, I

spoke with many Amantanians and Taquileans about their perspective of tourism on their islands and the relationships with the tour agencies was the more common topic of conversation. When I returned to Puno, I interviewed tour agency representatives and government officials about their interactions with the indigenous communities.

This thesis then, focuses on the sustainability of current tourism practices on Amantaní and Taquile Islands. More precisely, using the degree of community-control over tourism as a defining measurement of sustainability, I analyze how this control came to be, and the existing opportunities and threats to this control. I postulate that, despite long histories of self-determination and independence, the indigenous communities have become commodities for tourism as passive participants through processes of tour agency domination that were enabled by government-supported market capitalism. I compartmentalize assessment of tourism's sustainability into three sub-categories: economic, cultural and social. Overall, tourism on the islands is currently unsustainable for the indigenous communities because of the outside tour agencies' monopoly over transportation, a determining and crucial factor in directing the flow of financial capital on the islands, and the resulting lack of economic self-determination. This lack of control has far-reaching effects upon the social sustainability of the indigenous communities as well, in that the islanders' internal and external social systems are shifting to unsustainable levels. However, despite the decline of economic and social sustainability, tourism remains culturally sustainable, as even with intense pressures of modernization and acculturation, the indigenous communities' have retained their character and identity-defining elements.

Context

At nearly 12,507 feet above sea level and with an area of approximately 3,205 square miles, Lake Titicaca is the highest commercially navigable lake in the world and the largest lake in South America (Figure 1). Straddling the border between Peru and Bolivia in the Andean *altiplano* – a high, flat plateau – the lake is considered to be the birthplace of the Inca empire. Lake Titicaca contains 41 islands, some of which are densely populated by indigenous peoples that speak either Quechua or Aymara. Considered the most sacred place within Inca cosmology, many of the islands possess remnants of the archaeological past, such as the sacred mountains and temples of Pachamama and Pachatata on Amantaní Island. Perhaps the most well-known sacred site, Bolivia's Island of the Sun possesses archaeological ruins that mark the area where the creator, Viracocha, sent down Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo, the "Inca Adam and Eve", to populate the earth. Many of the islanders on Amantaní and Taquile Islands, two of the three permanently inhabited islands on the Peruvian side of the lake, consider themselves to be direct descendants of the celebrated Inca. All speak Quechua as their native tongue and many islanders now speak Spanish as well. The islands are decidedly more rustic than the mainland, with the main economies focused on subsistence farming, fishing and herding. Tourism is currently a secondary industry, on Amantaní Island more so than Taquile Island, but is fast becoming an integral part of the islanders' daily lives.

Upon arrival in the city of Puno, almost every tourist will be offered a tour of the lake. The most common trip is the half-day boat ride to visit the Floating Islands of the Urus. Located just a forty-five minute boat ride away from Puno, the Floating Islands receive more visitors than any other of the lake's sites. The Urus' tourism industry and

presentation is decidedly more developed than that of either Amantaní or Taquile Island and most guidebooks agree that it is more staged or “inauthentic” (Figure 2). The second most common tour is to Taquile Island, about a three-hour boat ride from the Floating Islands or three and a half hours from the Puno docks. For the more adventurous or those with more time, the most common voyage is a two-day journey that shows the visitor all three of the permanently inhabited islands on the Peruvian side of Lake Titicaca – the Floating Islands, and the islands of Amantaní and Taquile.

Sustainable Tourism in Peru

For indigenous peoples, the introduction of tourism presents opportunities for economic growth, increased education and standards of living. It also threatens the character-defining elements of their culture and identity. Tourism scholars have long debated the industry’s positive and negative effects upon indigenous cultures. In recent years, sustainable tourism has gained popularity as presenting opportunities to mitigate tourism’s negative effects while encouraging its positive influences. Based upon the principles of sustainable development, sustainable tourism attempts to preserve the environmental or physical, economic and socio-cultural attributes of the host community. However, despite the interconnection and interdependency between environmental, social and economic changes, tourism’s environmental, or physical, impact is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Proponents of sustainable tourism also have emphasized the need for tourism to be community-controlled and managed, so that the host communities are actively engaged and receiving direct benefits from tourism rather than contributing as passive performers. Beyond the economic benefits of lowering poverty rates, sustainable tourism

advocates promote increased self-determination and host-visitor relationships as benefits of its implementation. Those in opposition state that tourism in any form perverts the "authenticity" of a culture by either "Disneyfying" it or causing its absorption into mainstream society.

In general, indigenous communities suffer from high poverty rates, limited educational opportunities and a long history of colonialism-based racism. In Peru, however, racism towards indigenous peoples has elicited a different reaction amongst the indigenous population than it has in other countries with similar colonial histories, such as Bolivia or Ecuador. In Peru, the country's colonial-based geographical distribution of ethnicities between coast and interior highlands or rainforest served to limit interactions between the populations and increase the "otherness" of the indigenous people. Furthermore, the geographical barriers between Peru's Amazonian and Andean indigenous populations have inhibited the creation of a pan-Peruvian indigenous movement or organization. As a result, the indigenous communities suffer from a lack of political advocacy in Lima, the country's coastal capital. Often, the government's attempts to reach out to the indigenous population consist mainly of efforts to absorb them into the Peruvian national identity, with the goal of creating a homogenous rather than heterogeneous nation. Still, inequality and remnants of colonial-based racism are prominent, with nearly three quarters of the indigenous

population living in poverty¹ and well-publicized government efforts to sell indigenous Amazonian land to foreign investors.²

Tourism on Amantaní and Taquile Islands

The Amantaní and Taquile islanders are not exempt from tourism's opportunities or threats. As poor communities, tourism on the islands has resulted in increased economic growth, positive attention from both national and international organizations and increased socio-cultural determination. It has also, unfortunately, led to the domination of non-indigenous tour agencies and a resultant decrease in economic self-determination. However, as two of the few indigenous communities in the world who actually possess full title to their land, the Amantanians and Taquileans have avoided extreme government control and forced acculturation into the national identity. Because they purchased their land directly from the Spanish with their own funds and minimal outside political assistance, they are in the unique position of being able to control and limit access to their property without reservation. A historic law that protected the sovereign rights of indigenous peoples to their land also extended this control to their sub-soil dock areas.

When tourism first began on Taquile Island because of a small entry in a popular guidebook, the islanders were able to take advantage of their privileged position as land owners and established a legal monopoly on transportation to and from the Puno docks. Tourism immediately boomed on Taquile Island. The Amantanians, witnessing their

¹ Dureya S. and Maria Eugenia Genoni, *Ethnicity, Race and Gender in Latin American Labor Markets, as Quoted in Sustainable Development Department - Indigenous Peoples and Community Development Unit: Strategy for Indigenous Development. IDB 2006. Based on Household Surveys from 1998 and 1999* Inter-American Development Bank,[2004]).

² "Living in Peru » News » Protesters March Against Sale of Millions of Acres of Peru's Amazon," <http://www.livinginperu.com/news/5635> (accessed 4/19/2008, 2008).

neighbor's economic success, soon followed suit and entered the tourism industry themselves. Both communities present tourists with the opportunity to witness and partake in the lifestyles of indigenous communities. However, Taquileans possessed additional advantages beyond their earlier entry in the tourism industry that facilitated their success. Taquileans are so well-known for intricate and well-made handwoven textiles that in 2005 the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) declared them to be a "Masterpiece of Oral and Intangible Heritage."³ These textiles are a character-defining element of their culture and, with the introduction of tourism, are a primary source of tourism-related income. Additionally, the Amantanians have struggled more than their Taquilean neighbors with cooperative and communal distribution of benefits, as their social structure is inherently more stratified, with distribution of benefits thus being less equitable. However, the communities on both Amantaní and Taquile Islands are based upon ideals of communal responsibility and benefits and have systems of rotating plots of land for crops, in which each family ideally owns land so that all receive benefits from the season's harvest, as well as other forms of tourism-related cooperative ownership.⁴ Tourism on Amantaní and Taquile was sustainable in its beginning stages, as the industry remained communally implemented and organized, whilst permitted economic self-determination within the islands.

When the government abolished the law that provided the islanders a monopoly on transportation in the early 1990s, this autonomy and control over tourism was lost. Enterprising tour agencies quickly overcame the islanders' boat operations and

³ "UNESCO Culture Sector - Intangible Heritage - 2005 Convention: Peru," <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=EN&topic=mp&cp=PE> (accessed 4/19/2008, 2008).

⁴ Elayne Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth & Culture on an Andean Island* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2004), 33.

suppressed their ability to control the flow of capital on the islands. Today, the islanders have only minimal control or power and the federal government does little to assuage concerns of maltreatment or manipulation by outsiders. Some of the island communities however, have begun circumventing community-based rotation systems to take in more tourists to directly reap more of the economic benefits themselves. Tour agency domination has led to a loss of economic self-determination and an increase of social stratification. In addition, many tour guides are exploitative of the indigenous communities, refusing to pay established fees or underpaying them for their services. The reclamation of a dominant presence in the transportation sector, via repositioning themselves as able competitors, is thus crucial to reclaiming their self-determination and implementing sustainable tourism policies.

The cases of Amantaní and Taquile Islands in Lake Titicaca of Peru present an opportunity to investigate the sustainable impact of tourism within indigenous communities and its potential to transform the social dynamics of power and self-determination. By placing the control of industry in the hands of the indigenous communities, tourism has the potential to empower a community that has, like many other indigenous communities, been historically disempowered within a narrative of colonial oppression, state-endorsed inequality and lack of access to resources in a market-based economy. On Amantaní and Taquile Islands, tourism that is sustainable is founded upon community-control and facilitates the corresponding ability for self-determination.

Organization

In this thesis, I aim to explore sustainable tourism's past and present role as a vehicle for alleviating some of tourism's threats and augmenting its opportunities by first exploring both the theoretical framework for sustainable tourism as well as the socio-political structuring of Peru's indigenous population. Chapters 2 and 3 provide a framework within which indigenous tourism in Peru can be understood. Chapter 2 focuses on sustainable tourism's theoretical foundations and its current applicability to the Amantaní and Taquile Islands and provides a brief overview of the current role of tourism with Peru's economy. Chapter 3 provides background information on the indigenous peoples' history within Peruvian socio-politics. In Chapter 4, I assess the history of tourism on both islands while Chapter 5 addresses the current impact of the industry upon the indigenous communities. Chapter 6 outlines various recommendations that could be implemented to restore self-determination to the indigenous communities and reintegrate policies of sustainable tourism into the existing tourism industry. I have designed these recommendations with the goal of applying them to other indigenous communities that may have similar opportunities for tourism-based growth but are experiencing similar threats to their self-determination and control.

CHAPTER 2

Tourism: The Theoretical Framework

Tourism is predicated upon a desire for a unique experience that is distinct from those we can have at home. The act of traveling is often seen as an “escape from reality” in which the destination provides a diversion from the rhythms of normative life. This desire for difference creates a collaborative relationship between heritage and the tourism industry, the former being the product of consumption and the latter providing the means of consumption.⁵ As our world becomes ever more interconnected, increased awareness of and concern for our global surroundings has intensified the demand within the tourism industry for places that offer the experience of difference within an ethic-based framework rather than purely profit-driven one. Market demands for a product that is beyond the crowds of mass tourism – a form of tourism characterized by standardization of products, places and information with control in the hands of the producers rather than consumers⁶ – has given rise to new forms of tourism that are more personalized and atypical, focused on and driven by the tourist. In search of these new experiences, many tourists seek to actively engage their environment as participants rather than passive observers. Coupled with a growing concern about humanity’s impact upon the environment, these changing industry needs have given rise to new forms of tourism focused on the sustainability of the destination, aptly called sustainable tourism.

⁵ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 151.

⁶ Alana Willams and Gareth Shaw, "Tourism and the Environment: Sustainability and Economic restructuring " In *Sustainable Tourism: A Geographical Perspective*, eds. Colin Michael Hall and Alan A. Lew (Harlow, Essex, U.K.: Longman, 1998), 52-53.

Sustainable Tourism

The United Nations' 1987 Brundtland Commission defined sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."⁷ Predicated upon preserving present resources for future generations, contemporary sustainable development theory distinguishes between the environmental, economic, and social aspects of sustainability. However, these sectors are all interconnected and contribute to the total production of sustainability and as such should not be considered in isolation. Sustainable tourism is based upon these same principles of intergenerational equity, concerning itself with the preservation and enhancement of the destination's combined ecological or physical, socio-cultural, and economical systems. According to the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), sustainable tourism practices and management guidelines can be applied to all forms of tourism, including mass tourism. In 1987, the UNEP set forth the following guidelines for sustainable tourism:

- 1) Make optimal use of environmental resources that constitute a key element in tourism development, [while] maintaining essential ecological processes and helping to conserve natural heritage and biodiversity.
- 2) Respect the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities, conserve their built and living cultural heritage and traditional values, and contribute to inter-cultural understanding and tolerance.
- 3) Ensure viable, long-term economic operations, providing socio-economic benefits to all stakeholders that are fairly distributed, including stable employment and income-earning opportunities and social services to host communities, and contributing to poverty alleviation.⁸

⁷ World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 54.

⁸ "Sustainable Tourism Home Page - UNEP Tourism Programme," <http://www.unep.org/pc/tourism/sust-tourism/home.htm> (accessed 2/21/2008, 2008).

Today, sustainable tourism also includes a strong emphasis on community-controlled enterprises in which the host community is not only the basis of the tourist visit, but also possesses a high degree of self-determination with regard to physical, economic and socio-cultural development. With regard to tourism's impact upon these communities, I would like to further define cultural and social sustainability, as they are differing but interdependent aspects of managing and observing change: Cultural sustainability denotes the "preservation of arts and society's attitudes and beliefs. Social sustainability is a subset of cultural sustainability and includes the maintenance and preservation of social relations and meanings that reinforce cultural systems."⁹

The application of these principles has created new forms of tourism based on the promotion of these values and changed the way that some of tourism's existing subsectors are performed and managed. As the demand for a unique and socially-conscious tourism experience has increased, industry offerings have become more diversified and sustainable tourism has become vastly more popular. Proponents of sustainable tourism highlight its humanitarian potential for conservation of natural and cultural resources while contributing to the local economies. Of the specialized subsectors, "ecotourism" has emerged as the leading nomenclature for sustainable tourism. Beginning in 1980 as a result of a growing interest in the outdoors and the environment, ecotourism has become a billion-dollar niche industry that is scheduled to continue growing.¹⁰ In support of its potential to be a valuable tool for sustainable development, the United Nations declared 2002 as the International Year of Ecotourism,

⁹ Setha M. Low, "Social Sustainability: People, History and Values" In *Managing Change: Sustainable Approaches to the Conservation of the Built Environment*, eds. Jeanne Marie Teutonico and Frank Matero (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 2003), 48.

¹⁰ Wood, Megan Eplar. The United Nations Environment Programme and the International Ecotourism Society, *Ecotourism: Principles, Practices and Policies for Sustainability* United Nations,[2002]).

working with various countries to implement and promote ecotourism programs and infrastructure. Based upon the provision of educational and experiential visits to areas of exceptional natural beauty, effective ecotourism is considered by many to minimize the tourist imprint upon the native ecological and cultural systems while contributing to the economic well-being of the local communities.

Sustainable tourism responds to not only the increased desire for socially and environmentally-conscious travel, but also to the desire to witness and preserve a landscape – environmental or cultural – in what is considered to be its “natural” or “original” state. Blurring the lines of Erving Goffman’s “front” and “back” zones of tourism’s theatrical production,¹¹ sustainable tourism offers the tourist the chance to both witness and partake in what is considered a more subjectively “authentic” performance of heritage. Prominent examples of tourism’s typical front zones range from museum displays to theatrical cultural routines, while back areas include the collections area behind the museum displays or the area behind the stage. More precisely, this distinction delineates regions of social performance in which the back zone constitutes the arena that produces the foreground and oftentimes exemplifies the quotidian lives of the performers. The opportunity to see the everyday lives and environments of others allows the visitor to draw comparisons and distinctions between his or her own daily life and that of the performer. The quotidian presents itself as the unnoticed undercurrent of normative life that only draws attention when comparisons or aberrations are brought forth,¹² as in the tourist’s interactions with indigenous communities. The often-overlooked aspects of normalcy become points of intrigue, as

¹¹ Erving Goffman, "The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life" In *the Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* by Dean MacCannell (NY: Doubleday, 1979), 92.

¹² Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*, 47-48

“the more different we are from each other, the more intense the effect, for the exotic is the place nothing is utterly ordinary.”¹³

Witnessing the quotidian, or viewing what exists behind the scenes, promises a degree of cultural “authenticity,” polarizing the deliberately staged in the front from the personal and real in the back. However, delineating reality from unreality is becoming increasingly difficult, as the “the emergence of a fascination for the ‘real life’ of others [is an] outward sign of an important social redefinition of the categories of ‘truth’ and ‘reality’ now taking place.”¹⁴ Thus, “authenticity” is constantly being reevaluated and reimagined through processes of changing relationships between the actors that participate in its performance. Within tourism, the appearance and persuasiveness of authenticity is paramount to creating marketability. The desire to experience things in their “true” form requires access to the back regions, to see and accept things as they really are. Sustainable tourism, emphasizing a symbiotic relationship between tourist and local that is characterized by cross-cultural understanding and respect, facilitates access to these back regions. The tourism industry has responded to “Sightseers [that] are motivated by a desire to see life as it is really lived, even to get in with the natives,”¹⁵ promoting the intimate experience of “authenticity.”

Further subcategories of sustainable tourism share the same basic principles of environmental and cultural conservation within a locally-based economic system, but differ in their core focus. Accordingly, sustainable indigenous tourism denotes tourism in which the indigenous peoples themselves and their quotidian lives serve as the primary attraction and are directly involved through control of their cultural and economic

¹³ *ibid.*, 48

¹⁴ Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 91.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, 92-94

resources. Valerie Smith identifies "the four H's" that compose and motivate indigenous tourism: Habitat, Heritage, History and Handicrafts.¹⁶ The degree to which these communities possess and control the production of tourism – of their four H's – is a source of debate when determining tourism's potential for and contributions towards sustainable development.¹⁷

Indigenous Tourism: Opportunities and Threats

Tourists inherently change the places they visit. These transformations occur through various channels, the most obvious of these being the physical, economic, and cultural impressions left by foreign visitors. While indigenous tourism's physical impacts are beyond the scope of this thesis, its economic and cultural impacts upon the sustainability of local communities must be addressed here. The debate over indigenous tourism's positive and negative effects range from claims that it provides an opportunity for indigenous communities to increase economic self-sufficiency and cultural revitalization, while others maintain that it presents openings for continued hegemonic suppression and economic dependence. Allegations of success or failure are valid in their concerns vis-à-vis the consequences of tourism, but many of these results can be substantiated or mitigated by examining the preceding planning stage, as the efficacy of indigenous tourism depends largely upon the processes of implementation and its resultant management structure.

¹⁶ Valerie Smith, "Indigenous Tourism: The Four Hs" In *Tourism and Indigenous Peoples: Issues and Implications*, eds. Richard Butler and Thomas Hinch (London, England: International Thompson Business Press, 1996), 304.

¹⁷ Richard Butler and Thomas Hinch, *Tourism and Indigenous Peoples: Issues and Implications* (Oxford; Burlington, Mass.: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2007), 5.

The application of sustainable development principles considers both the opportunities and threats presented by those in favor and against tourism in indigenous communities. Indigenous tourism has the potential to both create and sustain, and destroy and subjugate, indigenous communities. Finding the appropriate balance between the two extremes is, naturally, highly circumstantial and as of late no perfect example of such a system has been achieved. However, in the last forty years sustainable, community-based and controlled approaches have gained in popularity and legitimacy as bridging the gap between both sides, primarily because they require increased involvement of indigenous communities as active participants and ideally, involved managers of their own tourism infrastructure.

Opportunities

The economic contribution of the tourism industry is seen as a way to mitigate the economic, cultural and social challenges facing indigenous communities. The most prominent of arguments in favor of indigenous tourism, economic independence is thought to result in a "higher degree of self-determination and cultural pride as the shackles imposed by poverty and social welfare are broken."¹⁸ Financial success is believed to facilitate cultural survival, and vice versa. External sources of income have the potential to increase standards of living by providing the necessary capital to facilitate the construction of basic trunk infrastructure such as roads, telephone lines, and sanitation systems, elevating communities above poverty lines and improving basic facilities. It also can grant access to educational systems that provide essential skills and

¹⁸ *ibid.*, 3

knowledge, particularly of site management issues, that can equalize the administrative capacity of indigenous communities with that of the dominant culture.¹⁹

Tourism often creates new tourist-based industries – creating local jobs in restaurants, stores, and entertainment complexes that help to alleviate rural to urban migration – within the communities and brings attention and respect to people that once held marginal social and political status. This augmented cultural pride and self-worth also stems from the increased attention paid to the indigenous communities by outsiders and the sense of valorization they receive from being a tourist attraction, from being something worth seeing. As a result, tourism can often assist in the preservation and revitalization of cultural traditions when indigenous communities examine and reevaluate the significance of their heritage.²⁰ In the case of Taquile Island, tourist interest in handmade cloth and textiles reinforced community identity and pride, which, in a cyclical fashion, aided in the revitalization and evolution of textile weaving, a defining element of Taquilean cultural that will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

In addition to these internal community benefits, indigenous tourism also initiates a cross-cultural interaction and understanding between indigenous peoples and the mainstream population that benefits both parties. This argument, predicated upon the belief that much of the damage done to indigenous peoples by tourism has been based on ignorance rather than willful or known intent, assumes that increased contact between the two groups will lead to a more sympathetic view of the other party.²¹ Intimately exposed to the poverty and plight of indigenous populations, the mainstream

¹⁹ Chris Ryan, "Who Manages Indigenous Cultural Tourism Product - Aspiration and Legitimization" In *Indigenous Tourism: The Commodification and Management of Culture*, 1st ed. (Amsterdam; San Diego, CA; Oxford: Elsevier, 2005), 71.

²⁰ *ibid.*, 70

²¹ Butler and Hinch, *Tourism and Indigenous Peoples: Issues and Implications*, 3-4

population will become more considerate of and concerned for their situation. The indigenous populations will gain a more personable and humane perspective of outside interest groups who have historically represented enablers and actors of suppression. For both sides, this improved understanding leads to “changed attitudes and behaviors that lead, in turn, to a more just and equitable relationship.”²²

Threats

The negative consequences of indigenous tourism however, are more thoroughly documented and scrutinized than its merits. They range from the disintegration of the physical sites to the erosion and collapse of native cultural traditions. Literature regarding the physical impact of increased tourist traffic is in general overwhelmingly critical in its focus on tourism’s deleterious effects upon a site’s physical fabric. As previously noted, socially-based arguments are more varied in opinion. Primary criticisms focus on macro-level issues of cultural degradation and upon the detrimental effects of outside interest and control and the consequent lack of self-determination.

The influences of increased financial capital and the introduction of mainstream, material-based, culture can have an enormously detrimental effect upon a society that is not accustomed to having an abundance of physical possessions. Tourism can create an environment in which the indigenous population’s economy is entirely dependent upon tourist revenue. The lack of industrial diversification places extreme stress upon the dominant industry and the people who function within and contribute to it. While the increased capital has its previously noted purposes, it can, paradoxically, also become an overly-influential deciding and directive instrument for the cultural development of the indigenous population. In the case of handicrafts, tourism

²² *ibid.*, 4

introduces new value and attention to arts and crafts that were previously part of the quotidian, creates jobs and revenue based upon this new value, and then threatens to possess the development and original intent of these designs entirely.²³

These processes of change function in a cyclical relationship rather than a linear one, where economic changes facilitate socio-cultural modifications and vice versa. While tourism's economic potential cannot, and should not, be ignored, the loss of economic self-determination caused by over-dependence upon tourist revenue influences the loss of socio-cultural value systems and traditions. Cultures can undergo processes of Disneyfication, in which indigenous cultural traditions are transformed, perverted, into traditions of tourism and become mimetic representations of their original state.²⁴ During this process, indigenous heritage is essentially "frozen" and simplified into an amusement park-like attraction where the primary function of the community is to entertain the tourists, essentially parodying their traditional culture. "Authenticity" is usually lost and the presentation of heritage feels generally contrived. This includes scenarios in which indigenous communities become performers of their own heritage, dressing "indigenously" and "inventing" or presenting highly affected displays of tradition as a response to tourist or tour agency expectations. In situations where these customs have been previously lost or diminished, scholars debate whether this revival performs the service of preserving otherwise forgotten customs or is too "inauthentic", distanced from its original form, and interferes with the organic development of a culture.

²³ Ryan, *Who Manages Indigenous Cultural Tourism Product - Aspiration and Legitimization*, 70

²⁴ Dean MacCannell, "Cultural Tourism," *Conservation: The GCI Newsletter* 15, no. 1 (2000), 25-26.

The indigenous community's response to the pressures of tourism can thus subvert and spoil the original attraction into a perceived falseness, which then diminishes the value of the highly sought-after "authentic" experience. Tourist publications, such as guidebooks or magazines, frequently use phrases such as "untouched," "pristine" and "undiscovered" to market places and cultures as highly desirable. The converse is also true, in which places overrun by tourists and a tourist economy are, from a tourism producer's perspective, undesirable. While the commodification of culture devalues the tourist product, these negative effects have far-reaching consequences within the indigenous community as well when traditions and customs become thought perceived as tradable goods.

Where Disneyfication highlights the cultural traditions of indigenous people through commodification, acculturation absorbs them into the mainstream. Defined as "the process by which a borrowing of one or some elements of culture takes place as a result of a contact of any duration between two different societies,"²⁵ the absorption of mainstream culture erases character-defining elements of indigenous culture, effectively creating a mirror image of itself. Culture is not a fixed entity and is constantly developing and changing, particularly in an increasingly globalized world, making it difficult to formulate judgments on the impact of these changes. However, the erosion of indigenous traditions and cultural distinctions cannot be denied. The subjective values that are placed upon their preservation are what inspire many criticisms of indigenous tourism.

²⁵ Peter Burns, *An Introduction to Tourism and Anthropology* in Bella Dicks, *Culture on Display: The Production of Contemporary Visitability* (Maidenhead, Berkshire, England: Open University Press, 2003), 54.

In developing nations such as Peru, dependence on tourism in indigenous communities often leads to poverty reinforcement and further socio-economic stratification between the few enterprising elite who reap immediate benefits from tourism and those who do not. The negative socio-cultural impact of tourism – or more precisely, the effects of introducing mainstream culture, values and capital – is most notable in the changes in value systems and behavior that greatly alter the indigenous identity. These changes occur within core cultural defining elements such as the community and family structure, communal lifestyles and traditions and ideas of morality. Exposure to cultures that live at higher standards of living can breed an aspirational tension between the tourist and indigenous peoples, or the “haves” and “have nots,” that enhances feelings of inadequacy amongst indigenous peoples.²⁶ Increases in tourism and the consequent growth in materialism have often corresponded with an increase in crime because of this relationship, mainly consisting of petty theft, vandalism, drug use and occasionally prostitution.²⁷

The economic disparity between tourist and indigenous populations can create an antagonistic relationship in which the latter is subservient to the former. In MacCannell’s perspective, the “ultimate goal of travel is to set up sedentary housekeeping in the entire world, to displace the local peoples...to subordinate them...[and] make them the ‘household’ staff of global capitalists.”²⁸ Though perhaps extreme, he points to a widespread opinion that tourism, when controlled by outside interests, has the potential to subjugate the indigenous population in a manner that is

²⁶ Ryan, *Who Manages Indigenous Cultural Tourism Product - Aspiration and Legitimization*, 70-71

²⁷ "Negative Socio-Cultural Impacts of Tourism - UNEP Tourism," <http://www.unep.org/pc/tourism/sust-tourism/soc-drawbacks.htm> (accessed 3/2/2008, 2008).

²⁸ Dean MacCannell, *Empty Meeting Grounds: The Tourist Papers* (London; New York, NY: Routledge, 1992), 5.

closely reminiscent of western colonial structures that historically oppressed many of these societies. If indigenous tourism is controlled and executed by outside interests and indigenous communities do not engage in its production, they are simply performers, a spectacle, behind a museum's glass walls of spectatorship,²⁹ that receive little benefit but endure most of the costs.³⁰ Outside entities that seek to control the production of indigenous tourism and provide little or no participatory role for the indigenous communities show little acknowledgement for the people that are their product. In many post-colonial regions, this demonstration of blatant desire for profit maximization – by private and public investors alike – is perceived as a continuance of the colonial belief in indigenous peoples' incapacity to recognize the cultural significance of their society.

However, indigenous populations are not to be viewed entirely as the "victims" of tourist enterprises, as they are often willing participants, choose to ignore tourists entirely, or even view the tourists as the spectacle.³¹ Increasing their self-determination within this production by facilitating active management is crucial to finding the balance between tourism's opportunities and threats. What cannot be denied is that tourism changes places and people, for better or worse. Facilitating strategies of sustainable indigenous tourism through increased indigenous involvement and empowerment would enhance the industry's positive contributions while mitigating its negative effects.

As tourism is poised to continue growing, particularly in developing countries like Peru who are only recently experiencing periods of stability and expansion, its potential to serve as a vehicle for economic advancement among impoverished indigenous communities cannot be overlooked, but its negative effects must also be considered.

²⁹ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*, 34

³⁰ Butler and Hinch, *Tourism and Indigenous Peoples: Issues and Implications*, 4

³¹ Dicks, *Culture on Display: The Production of Contemporary Visitability*, 56

Tourism in the Peruvian Economy

Tourism is one of the world's largest and fastest growing industries. In 2006, international tourism receipts totaled US\$733 billion, or US\$2 billion a day, marking a record 5.4% increase over the previous year.³² In Peru, tourism is one of the fastest-growing sectors in the country and is its second-largest industry. The tourism industry was estimated to compose 7.7 percent of 2007's national Gross Domestic Product (GDP) while 2008 sales from inbound tourism are expected to exceed \$US 2 billion.³³ Tourism increased 63 percent between 2000 and 2005, and the WTTO expected a 7.6 percent growth in tourism in 2007; the United Nations World Travel Organization noted a 10 percent increase in international tourist arrivals in 2006.

This growth is in large part due to the recent political stability and safety within the country, as well as the Peruvian government's recent push towards expanding their markets by establishing free trade agreements with the world's developed economies. Despite arguments that the deals will lead to increased poverty, particularly among already poor indigenous communities, the government's belief that they will guarantee economic growth and foreign investment has resulted in free trade agreements with the United States and Canada and proposals for agreements with numerous other countries. With a national economic growth rate of 6.7 percent from 2006 to 2007, as estimated by

³² United Nations World Tourism Organization, *Tourism Highlights: 2007 Edition* (Spain: United Nations World Tourism Organization Publications Department,[2007]).

³³ "Sales from Inbound Tourism would Exceed \$2 Billion this Year," *Andina: Agencia Peruana De Noticias*, sec. 2008, (accessed 4/18/2008).

the Inter-American Development Bank,³⁴ the country is in a period of rapid economic expansion, registering the second-highest growth rate in Latin America.

As tourism plays a vital role in the national and regional economies, this rapid growth will implicitly increase tourist traffic to the country's primary tourist sites, including Machu Picchu, the Nazca Lines, Sipan, Arequipa, and Lake Titicaca, and will undoubtedly alter the way of life for many indigenous populations within these regions. As Ephim Shluger of the World Bank aptly notes, "tourism predicated on cultural heritage assets is, as we have come to know in so many places and projects, a mixed blessing."³⁵ Recognizing this increase as a threat to both the economic health of the local population and the physical well-being of the sites themselves, local communities have protested the government's attempts at increasing tourism traffic in these high traffic areas. In 1999, strikes in Cuzco, the gateway town to famed archaeological site Machu Picchu, paralyzed the town and tourist traffic when residents protested the construction of a cable car system to the site from the river below that would increase visitation and consequent development.³⁶ More recently, in February of 2008, Cuzqueños demonstrated against two laws that would facilitate private development near archaeological and historic sites by burning cars and blocking roads and public transportation. Fears that development would deface historic sites and threaten local

³⁴ "Living in Peru » News » Peru to Register Second Highest Growth in Latin America, Says IADB," <http://www.livinginperu.com/news-5655-economy-peru-register-second-highest-growth-latin-america-says-iadb> (accessed 2/20/2008, 2008).

³⁵ Caroline Cheong and Ephim Shluger, personal email communication, February 5, 2008.

³⁶ Jorge Flores Ochoa, "Contemporary Significance of Machu Picchu" In *Machu Picchu: Unveiling the Mystery of the Incas*, eds. Richard L. Burger and Lucy C. Salazar (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 117.

cultural heritage³⁷ combined with the Cuzco authorities' concerns that the laws would allow the eventual privatization of the sites themselves to call the legislation an "affront to the heritage of the country."³⁸ This resistance clearly indicates a preference for the preservation of locally-defined heritage over continued tourist development, despite the obvious economic incentives of increased financial input.

Similarly, the citizens of the city of Puno, Peru's base for tourists visiting the Lake Titicaca region, are beginning to experience development pressures akin to those in Cuzco, as visitation to the Lake Titicaca region has increased steadily over the last decade. Because of its location on the shores of Lake Titicaca, the city of Puno provides an ideal gateway for tourists seeking to visit the lake's indigenous island communities or nearby archaeological sites. The resulting tourism industry plays a prominent role in the Puno Region and national economy – in early 2008, Minister of Foreign Trade and Tourism Mercedes Araoz stated that Puno was quickly becoming the country's capital of rural communitarian tourism.³⁹ In 2005, the INEI counted 255 tourist agencies in the town, an increase of nine from the previous year.⁴⁰ That same year the Ministry of Tourism counted 372,000 visitors that came through the region, compared to almost 700,000 that visited the site of Machu Picchu.⁴¹ For indigenous island populations numbering under 5,000, receiving even a miniscule percentage of these regional visitor

³⁷ "Peru's Hotel Industry | Killing the Tourism Goose | Economist.Com," http://www.economist.com/world/la/displaystory.cfm?story_id=10706397 (accessed 2/15/2008, 2008).

³⁸ "Peru Workers' Strike Traps Hundreds of Tourists-Rest of World-World-the Times of India," http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/World/Peru_workers_strike_traps_hundreds_of_tourists/article_show/2806726.cms (accessed 2/23/2008, 2008).

³⁹ "Ministra Araoz: Puno Podría Ser Capital Del Turismo Vivencial," *TNews*, sec. 2008, 2008 (accessed 4/18/2008).

⁴⁰ Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática, *Censos Nacionales X De Población y V De Vivienda 2005*, Vol. ptl: Population, 2005), 3-6.

⁴¹ Ministerio Comercio Exterior y Turismo - Vice Ministerio de Turismo, *La Importancia Del Turismo Para El Peru*, [August 2007]).

and their impact is not insignificant. As one of the most visited cities and regions in the country, tourism clearly plays a central role in the economic development of the Puno region and is only likely to continue expanding.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have sought to provide a theoretical framework of sustainable tourism and the opportunities and threats of the broader tourism industry upon indigenous communities. The characteristic opportunities and threats outlined in this chapter may affect these particular indigenous communities in typical or atypical ways. In the next chapter, I provide the socio-political framework within which to understand the historic relationship between indigenous peoples and the Peruvian state. Like many other indigenous communities across the globe, this relationship is characterized by a legacy of colonial racism and disenfranchisement that shaped the progress of development for the indigenous communities. Together, these two chapters provide the theoretical and historical context within which sustainable tourism on Amantaní and Taquile Islands can be understood.

CHAPTER 3

Peru's Indigenous Past

Like many other indigenous communities around the world, Peru's indigenous community has suffered through periods of colonial oppression and state-sponsored inequality. Ideals of racism filtered down from the state to the general populace so that the indigenous communities are generally discriminated against at an administrative and social level. This subsequently led to their current status as the country's most impoverished sector of society, receiving minimal amounts of targeted state protection or assistance. However, this legacy of disenfranchisement clashes with the government's desire for economic growth within the arena of indigenous tourism.

Many of Peru's tourist sites are based on an indigenous community and their heritage, including Amantani and Taquile Island, or otherwise affect the indigenous population as the surrounding community. Because Peru's national economy has for the last five or more years experienced record growth rates and is politically stable, tourism has become a key contributor to the country's economic expansion. Coupled with a global increase in demand for socially-conscious alternatives to mass tourism, indigenous sites and communities are thus in a position of possessing great economic potential. Looking to capitalize upon this opportunity for state or private gain, the government or an enterprising third party may exploit this potential with minimal regard for their well-being of the indigenous community. Thus, the government's perspective and treatment of indigenous populations must be understood to conceptualize how tourism, and the public administration of it, affects the local communities.

However, Peru's indigenous community perhaps inadvertently facilitated this disenfranchisement through the absence of a unified indigenous movement or presence in national politics. In recent years, South America's political environment has been infused with indigenous peoples' rights movements. The 2007 adoption of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples supplied further enthusiasm to the indigenous movements across the globe. Neighboring Bolivia is among the more prominent examples of native peoples asserting their claim to sovereignty and equality on a national level, where indigenous president Evo Morales has led a bold campaign for native rights. Nevertheless, Peru lacks an organized body that independently represents the indigenous population because of colonialism's unique geopolitical history in which indigenous communities are relegated to the interior highlands or rainforest with little interaction with the coastal, non-indigenous, authorities or each other. This absence of a unified indigenous movement in Peru has perhaps facilitated or prolonged their disenfranchisement.

Politics of Indigeneity

Located on the west coast of South America, pre-Columbian Peru was home to several prominent civilizations. The Incas' legacy of grandeur and power figures prominently to this day as a central part of Peruvian identity, though Spanish conquistadors defeated their empire in 1533 and began the processes of European colonization common to that period. In 1821, Peruvian independence was declared and three years later, the remaining Spanish army was defeated.

The nascent nation then endured a period of political and social instability as it struggled through rotating forms of government, some of which sought the support of

the indigenous Andean communities and created foundational pieces of legislation in favor of indigenous rights. Beginning with a military dictatorship, the country officially returned to democratic leadership in 1980. However, economic problems and guerilla factions, most notably the Shining Path (*Sendero Luminoso*), continued to plague the country and in 1990, newly elected President Alberto Fujimori ushered in a decade of economic progress during which he succeeded in substantially reducing the guerilla presence and violence of the Shining Path. His administration was overthrown in 2000 when his increasing reliance on authoritarian and repressive measures, combined with an economic recession, engendered international and domestic discontent. In the spring of 2001, Peru's first indigenous leader, Alejandro Toledo, took control, but was replaced in the 2006 re-election of current president Alan García, whose return to office after a disappointing 1985-1990 term is marked by promises of improved social conditions and fiscal responsibility. Since then, Peru has been in a state of relative stability, with record periods of economic expansion, development and foreign investment.

Like many other nations, Peru has a dichotomous relationship with its indigenous community. The Peruvian government appropriates the glory of past civilizations and projects this image onto the present. Historical figures, events and cultures are sensationalized and romanticized and used as tools for inspiration and cohesion in the creation of the nation-state. Above all other pre-Colombian societies, the Incas have been exemplified because they "project supra-regional power, political autonomy, economic self-sufficiency and social beneficence in contemporary Peru."⁴² This image is

⁴² Silverman, Helaine. "Touring Ancient Times: The Present and Presented Past in Contemporary Peru," *American Anthropologist* 104, no. 3 (09/24, 2002), 882-883.

often appropriated in politics, with successive presidents recalling Incan magnificence in speeches, as well as strategically chosen symbols or slogans for banners, photo opportunities and other mediums of public communication meant to forge national public identity. Incan ruins also play a significant role in the creation of the Peruvian nation-state, with Machu Picchu being the country's most exported image. However, a dichotomy exists between the grandeur and admiration afforded to the Incas and the social denigration of their current descendants.

Stretching from Ecuador to Chile on the west coast of South America, the central Andean highlands were the center of the Incan civilization. The largest indigenous empire to develop in the Americas, today, the Andean communities inhabit vast swaths of land in Ecuador, Bolivia and Peru, with one out of three indigenous peoples in the Americas being of Andean descent. The indigenous population is largely peasant-based, in large part due to agrarian forms instituted under the Velasco regime (1968-1975) that facilitated a cooperative connection to the land and cultivation of property and declared that the term "indigenous" be replaced with "peasant".⁴³

Since Peruvian independence in 1821, ten censuses have been carried out, but only the 1993 Census collected information regarding ethnic and multicultural differences among indigenous populations. Because this information is incomplete and erroneous, municipalities and towns continue to receive disproportionate parts of the federal budget and indigenous communities have thus not collected full social benefits. The 1993 Census reported 8,793,295 indigenous people, 97.8 percent of whom lived in the Andes. According to these figures, indigenous people compose one-third of Peru's

⁴³ Guillermo De la Peña, "Social and Cultural Policies Toward Indigenous Peoples: Perspectives from Latin America," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34, no. 1 (2005), 730.

population; recent estimates place the population at 45 percent, with 40% being of *mestizo* (mixed-race) and the remaining 15 percent of European descent⁴⁴ (Figure 3). In 2007, however, the National Institute of Statistics and Information (*Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática*, INEI), the government agency responsible for administering the national census, vowed to reach 2,200 indigenous communities in the Peruvian Amazon. Gelles notes 15 to 20 million Quechua, 3 to 5 million Aymara, and “hundreds of thousands, of not millions, of monolingual Spanish-speakers who follow indigenous cultural orientations.”⁴⁵ The Andes are home to the largest indigenous peasant population on the continent, yet many of these communities do not receive fair treatment or equitable resources under their respective governments.

The relatively recent, and hopefully continuous era of stability and economic growth in the country has led to improved safety levels, development of public infrastructure, and corresponding increases in the country’s popularity as a tourist destination. Under President Alan García, issues of social discontent continue to be addressed through the creation of various funds and projects designed to alleviate poverty and stimulate economic development. Many of these projects, such as the National Fund for Social Compensation and Development (Fondo Nacional de Cooperación de Desarrollo, FONCONDES), are geared towards improving the lives of the Andean peasants but do not address socio-economic and cultural differences that might exist between indigenous and non-indigenous peasant populations. Paradoxically,

⁴⁴ Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática, *Censos Nacionales IX De Población y IV De Vivienda 1993*, Vol. ptI: Population, 1993) with updated figures from CIA WorldFactbook.

⁴⁵ Paul H. Gelles, "Andean Culture, Indigenous Identity, and the State of Peru" In *The Politics of Ethnicity: Indigenous Peoples in Latin American States*. David Rockefeller Center Series on Latin American Studies, Harvard University, ed. David Maybury-Lewis, Vol. 9 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2002), 240.

Peru's constitution has had a long legislative history favoring indigenous rights, beginning in the early 20th century, particularly with regard to land. Unfortunately, the connection between property rights and socio-economic wealth is not direct, as many indigenous communities still live in abject poverty. The current Constitution, ratified in 1993, furthers the disintegration of indigenous communities and dispossession of indigenous lands, which are usually communally owned and used, by allowing their territories to be bought and sold.⁴⁶

Rather, the federal government has long attempted to incorporate the Andean communities into the larger "Peruvian" identity without significant recognition of cultural autonomy, and García's treatment of indigenous peoples is neither benevolent nor defensive. For example, in December of 2007, Peruvian press reported his intentions to introduce a law that would ease the purchase of communally-owned indigenous farm land by foreign investors because "small farmers have neither the training nor economic resources needed to add value to their property."⁴⁷ Though he campaigned under promises of increased social conditions, this promise appears to be centered upon improving infrastructure through purely economic means, rather than local community-empowerment or education. The federal government has been, and continues to be, hesitant to embrace ethnic and cultural distinctions, preferring to create a homogenous "nation" through cultural unification efforts that overtly demonstrate the perceived inferiority between indigenous peoples and the remainder of society. Indigenous peoples in Peru have endured years of land-grabbing, forced schooling in an alien

⁴⁶ Roque Roldán Ortiga, *Models for Recognizing Indigenous Land Rights in Latin America* (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank: Environment Department, [October 2004]).

⁴⁷ Milagros Salazar, "PERU: Opening Up Indigenous Land to Foreign Investors," *Inter Press Services* 2007 (accessed December 10, 2007).

language, and extreme demands to conform to a foreign “national” culture,⁴⁸ without acknowledgement or encouragement to maintain or preserve their own distinct cultural traditions.

The government’s treatment of its indigenous population has encouraged unequal and racially prejudiced social relationships between the indigenous communities and mainstream society as well. During the colonial era, native Andeans were forbidden from wearing indigenous clothing; many would come into town from the countryside dressed in poorly-fitting “modern” clothes in hopes of not being recognized.⁴⁹ This tradition of obscuring native identity continued long after the colonial era’s end, with indigenous peoples trying not to draw attention to their indigeneity when away from the comforts of their lands and community through changes in dress, mannerisms, and language. Anthropologist Benjamin Orlove notes, “The native languages of Quechua and Aymara, spoken openly in the villages, often acquire a taint of backwardness in town.”⁵⁰ Indigenous peoples continually received poor or less-favored treatment in business establishments or were at times, not allowed entrance. Tourism however, has aided in repositioning and improving the social standing of many indigenous communities, including the Amantanians and Taquileans. Their role as a tourist attraction – generating significant economic benefits for many non-indigenous tourism-based businesses – forces a re-evaluation of the communities’ indigeneity in which their

⁴⁸ Bartholomew Dean, "State Power and Indigenous Peoples in Peruvian Amazonia: A Lost Decade, 1990-2000

" In *The Politics of Ethnicity: Indigenous Peoples in Latin American States*. David Rockefeller Center Series on Latin American Studies, Harvard University, ed. David Maybury-Lewis, Vol. 9 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2002), 199.

⁴⁹ Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth & Culture on an Andean Island*, 48,53

⁵⁰ Benjamin S. Orlove, *Lines in the Water: Nature and Culture at Lake Titicaca* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002), xxv.

heritage is usually afforded a higher level of respect by those who gain from its exploitation.

The Indigenous Movement in Peru

Despite the absence of a universally accepted definition, since 1986 the United Nations has been using the following “working definition” of indigenous people:

Indigenous communities, peoples, and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their own territories, considered themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions, and legal system.⁵¹

One limitation of this definition is that it does not account for the dynamic, changing, nature of culture. The implication that indigenous culture is dichotomous and based upon non-changing forms of ancestral cultural identity does not account for contemporary politics and pressures that may complicate the indigenous identity. Nonetheless, the indigenous communities of Peru are resolute in their desire to preserve their cultural independence but lack the internal organizational momentum that has strengthened indigenous movements in other countries. They remain a marginal sector of society in which nearly 75 percent of the indigenous population is living in poverty,

⁵¹ United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs: Secretariat of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, *The Concept of Indigenous Peoples* United Nations, [2004]).

defined by the Inter-American Development Bank as living with an income of less than \$2 a day.⁵²

This disenfranchisement is in part due to what anthropologist Rodrigo Montoya calls "The Peruvian Exception."⁵³ Compared to its Bolivian and Ecuadorian neighbors, the indigenous movement in Peru lacks both momentum and cohesion. Though Peru has a long tradition of revolt and struggle, no unified indigenous group has emerged as the voice of the population at the national or political, level. The absence of an indigenous middle-class that served to buoy the movements in Bolivia and Ecuador, combined with the extreme regionalism that divides the Amazonian and Andean indigenous groups (most existing indigenous organizations represent Amazonian interests, as opposed to those of Andean populations) significantly detracted from the formation of such a group. Montoya blames this deficiency in part on the "absence of indigenous intellectuals" in Peru,⁵⁴ while others point towards a national government that tends not to favor indigenous peoples' claims. Governmental efforts such as President García's most recent effort exemplify the legislative attitude towards native peoples and are indicative of broader, post-colonial, social divisions that affect regions where indigenous and non-indigenous populations cohabitate.

In Peru, the distinct geopolitical relationship of indigenous societies' to colonialism contributes to the lack of an organized representative group that defends

⁵² Dureya S. and Genoni, *Ethnicity, Race and Gender in Latin American Labor Markets, as Quoted in Sustainable Development Department - Indigenous Peoples and Community Development Unit: Strategy for Indigenous Development. IDB 2006. Based on Household Surveys from 1998 and 1999*, 12

⁵³ Montoya, Rodrigo, Second Andean-MesoAmerican Conference, "The Indigenous Movement, Resistance and the Alternative Project", as quoted by Raul Zibechi, "South America - Indigenous Movements: Between Neoliberalism and Leftist Governments - Worldpress.Org" (La Paz and El Alto, Bolivia, WorldPress.org, 3/22-25/2006, 2006) (accessed 1/14/2008).

⁵⁴ *ibid.*

Andean cultural rights. It also explains in part why Peru has been “compared to apartheid South Africa in terms of the ‘differential incorporation’ of its indigenous Andean majority”⁵⁵ and why, within the nation-states, or “imagined communities”⁵⁶ of Ecuador, Bolivia and Peru, indigenous populations have asserted themselves to varying degrees. A distinct cultural and geographic divide exists between the highlands and the coast that connects to Peru’s colonial past. While the reasons are diverse and numerous, key contributing factors include Lima’s history as the capital of the viceroy of Peru and the nucleus of Spanish cultural and political efforts in the Andean nations. This division continues to today, in which coastal *criollos* – a term used to define people of Spanish descent born in the Americas – dictate national policy and define national identity in a country where “popular and national cultural discourses present the Spanish-speaking, white, West-leaning minority as the model of modernity, the embodiment of legitimate national culture, and the key to Peru’s future.”⁵⁷ Indigenous communities are thus expected to either conform to the national identity or be left behind in the processes of change and development.

Conclusion

The indigenous communities of Lake Titicaca are an example of native populations that experience the duality of post-colonial social marginalization coupled with an unconcealed opportunity for economic development, most obviously through tourism. This opportunity however, exists outside of the historic national agenda of

⁵⁵ Gelles, *Andean Culture, Indigenous Identity, and the State of Peru*, 248

⁵⁶ Benedict R. O’G Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Rev. and extend, 2nd ed. (London; New York: Verso, 1991), 224.

⁵⁷ Gelles, *Andean Culture, Indigenous Identity, and the State of Peru*, 250

identity construction and within the realm of community-based and controlled tourism. Despite their majority numbers, the indigenous communities of Lake Titicaca have thus far not assembled into a representative cooperative unit of any permanence and remain economically and socially independent of each other.

In the absence of both significant federal protection and a cohesive indigenous political presence, the communities function within a localized system that emphasizes shared resources and opportunities. This system attempts to compensate for the dearth of attention and services afforded by both federal and indigenous nation-states to the indigenous populations by applying the economic benefits of tourism to the maintenance and sustainability of their own cultures. In the next Chapter, I assess the history of tourism on Amantaní and Taquile Islands and to what extent the indigenous communities have been able to capitalize upon these economic benefits in a communal and sustainable manner.

CHAPTER 4

Lake Titicaca, Taquile and Amantani: Land Rights and the Opportunity for Tourism

In 1546, just thirteen years after defeating the Incan empire, the Spanish discovered the silver mines of Potosí in present-day Bolivia – the largest silver production center in all of the Spanish American empire. Supplying labor, textiles, cattle and other products to traders, the Lake Titicaca region gained political importance as an active commercial region along the trade routes that extended into the southern Andes and ended in the viceroyalty capital of Lima.⁵⁸ When Peru gained its independence in 1821, the southern Andean region was divided between various *caudillos* – charismatic military leaders that were frequently also prominent land owners, who capitalized upon military and political connections⁵⁹ – during the country's construction of a new nation-state.

The colonial and post-colonial eras established Puno Region's current status as a backward and disenfranchised area inhabited by a majority of indigenous peoples, largely overlooked within the broader scope of national politics, economics and social equality. This isolation has facilitated the maintenance of the area's strong sense of cultural independence and local entitlement to the land that aids in the preservation and maintenance of Puno's regional cultural identity as the "heart" of Peruvian folklore, expressed in part through the many festivals and prolific production of handicrafts (Figure 4). The creation of this regional distinctiveness draws from the great pre-

⁵⁸ Neus Escandel-Tur, *All Titicaca*, trans. Lillian Valdez (Barcelona: Editorial Escudo de Oro, S.A., 2003), 9.

⁵⁹ "Peru," *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online* (2008), 55, <http://www.search.eb.com/eb/article-28013> (accessed March 25, 2008).

Colombian Pukara and Tiwanaku civilizations, in modern-day Peru and Bolivia respectively, who occupied the Lake Titicaca basin from roughly 800 B.C. to 1000 A.D. The latter is best recognized today through the massive archaeological remains of the main stone city.⁶⁰ Remains of both civilizations continue to be found scattered throughout the region. The Inca's cosmological connection to the lake as the birthplace of civilization also encourages the region's reputation as the center of Peruvian folklore. Modern-day Puno Region citizens are thus strongly connected to the land and its history as a foundational part of their identity.

For the indigenous communities of Amantaní and Taquile Islands, land ownership has been an especially effective tool in furthering self-determination and identity within their own history of Colonial subjugation and perceived cultural inferiority. As anthropologist Benjamin Orlove states,

Though the Titicaca villagers seek out the support of the state in certain areas – they welcome schoolhouses and health clinics, and they treasure the official documents that indicate their status as recognized peasant communities – they strive to retain control of their territories and the resources they contain.⁶¹

The indigenous communities live within the Peruvian national system and ideally receive the benefit from this system, but control over their land presents the opportunity for a degree of independence and agency that is lacking within the existing social and economic hierarchy. Specifically, underneath the Constitution's "Community Law of Peru" (*Ley de Comunidades*), which grants indigenous peoples absolute jurisdiction over

⁶⁰ Charles C. Mann, *1491: New Revelations of the Americas before Columbus*, 1st ed. (New York: Knopf, 2005), 258-263.

⁶¹ Orlove, *Lines in the Water: Nature and Culture at Lake Titicaca*, 190

their soil and subsoil,⁶² controlling access to the island and its resources creates new avenues for self-determined and self-regulated development. Through the entitlements of land ownership, monitoring and managing the flow of tourists and the production of tourism presents an opportunity for Taquileans and Amantaníans to create a community-based industry in which the benefits are directed more towards the indigenous peoples, rather than enterprising outside agencies.

Lake Titicaca

The two largest towns on the Peruvian side of the lake, Juliaca and Puno, lie within the Puno Region (formerly Department), which, according to the 2005 census, has a total population of 1,245,508,⁶³ and is one of the poorest regions in the nation.⁶⁴ Founded in 1668 by the Spanish, Puno today serves as the seat of the Puno Region and is surrounded by a largely agricultural and livestock-based economy. On August 5, 2006, President García declared the Region a "Special Economic Zone", instituting a series of tax-free policies valid for 20 years that are designed to increase economic activity and investment. In the same speech, he pledged to submit to Congress a bill to declare

⁶² Kevin Healy and Elayne Zorn, "Taquile's Hometown Tourism" In *Cultural Expression and Grassroots Development: Cases from Latin America and the Caribbean*, ed. Charles D. Kley Meyer (Boulder, Colo.: L. Rienner Publishers, 1994), 146.

⁶³ Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática, *Censos Nacionales IX De Población y IV De Vivienda 1993*.

Note: The 2005 Census was highly criticized for being inaccurate. In 2007, the INEI mandated that all businesses be closed during census hours and residents be in their homes in order to collect more complete data.

⁶⁴ Fondo Nacional de Cooperación de Desarrollo, FONCONDES, *Mapa De La Pobreza* (Lima, Peru: FONCONDES, 2006).

Puno a Duty-Free Zone for tourists (*Zona Franca Turística*), citing Puno's special geographic characteristics and cultural attractions.⁶⁵

The government has recognized Puno Region's economic potential and instituted specific reforms to promote and exploit the region's cultural and physical resources. Simultaneously however, popular imagination also considers the region's geography and its indigenous population untamed and "backward and brutish",⁶⁶ within Orlove's post-colonial regional discourse that integrates geography, race and character. According to this model, mountains are associated with the indigenous populations, and "Precisely like the highlands, the Indians became an "obstacle" which impeded "integration" and thus retarded national "progress."⁶⁷ In a separate paper, Orlove notes further distinctions between the mainland *mestizos* – those of mixed "Indian" and Spanish blood – and the indigenous islanders, observing that the lake is emblematic of the indigenous people's fortitude and survival; it belongs to them and is of them, providing them sustenance and protection. He says, "...the lake is wholly the villagers'. The forms of national law, even the national language of Spanish, seem not to operate out on the lake."⁶⁸

In 1978, Lake Titicaca was declared a National Reserve with the intent of "support[ing] the socio-economical development of the neighboring locals by means of rational utilization of the wild flora and fauna; and encourag[ing] local tourism without

⁶⁵ "El Comercio / Portada/ Noticias Del Peru / Elecciones 2006 /," <http://www.elcomercioperu.com.pe/EdicionOnline/Html/2006-08-05/onEcPortada0553695.html> (accessed 3/21/2008, 2008).

⁶⁶ Benjamin S. Orlove, "Putting Race in its Place: Order in Colonial and Postcolonial Peruvian Geography," *Social Research* 60, no. 2 (Summer, 1993), 328.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, 327

⁶⁸ Orlove, *Lines in the Water: Nature and Culture at Lake Titicaca*, xxv

disturbing the cultural traditions of the people who inhabit the area."⁶⁹ The designation spanned a wide breadth of goals that proposed to preserve and promulgate the lake's natural resources while respecting the indigenous population's distinct relationship with these resources. Subsequent governmental activity however, has focused primarily on studying and preserving the environmental conditions of the lake, with only a cursory amount of attention given to the native peoples and their claims to the territory. The majority of governmental and private projects in the region, such as the National Forestry Center (*Centro Nacional Forestal, CENFOR*), the Peruvian Marine Institute (*Instituto Mar del Peru, IMARPE*) and the Special Lake Titicaca Project (*Proyecto Especial Lago Titicaca, PELT*), concentrate on the lake's ecological well-being and concern for or consultation with the indigenous populations is usually treated as a secondary consideration. This has led to often-contentious interactions and the creation of an almost adversarial relationship between the administration and indigenous peoples, for whom the lake is a valuable resource for food, construction materials and transportation.

The most prominent example of this antagonism is the battle between the Peruvian government and the Uros – an indigenous group living in the wetlands and on the shores of Lake Titicaca, who some believe to be the oldest group of native peoples in the Lake Titicaca region. The Uros, of which there are an estimated 320 families living on 44 floating islands,⁷⁰ are famous for their cultivation and harvesting of *titora*, a highly productive and resilient reed that grows on the lake's shores and is used to

⁶⁹ "Peru Guia De Parques: Reserva Nacional Del Titicaca," <http://pe.gotolatin.com/eng/Guide/PeruNationalParks/Titicaca/Titicaca-1.asp> (accessed 2/20/2008, 2008).

⁷⁰ "Uros Fight for Floating Islands: ICT [2006/06/26]," <http://www.indiancountry.com/content.cfm?id=1096413206> (accessed 1/10/2008, 2008).

construct the majority of the population's floating islands, homes, and boats (Figure 5). The plant is also a food source for themselves and their cattle. The 1978 National Reserve designation permitted *titora* extraction, but only if the federal government regulated the process through annual contracts that rigidly determined the permissible amount extracted, methods used during harvesting and the amount charged to each community. The *titora* reeds' value as an environmental resources were given extreme precedence over their cultural value to the Urus'. The communities resisted these limitations and, after years of protests and failed attempts to work with the government's restrictions, eventually regained control over the *titora* beds in 1986.⁷¹ Though the region is still a designation National Reserve, the majority of conservation activities are focused on environmental issues that involve minimal interaction with the indigenous communities.

The government's initial approach of disregard and expected assimilation by the indigenous peoples is not without historic or political precedent, as previously noted. Their approach towards the Urus and their land is demonstrative of the Puno Region's current geopolitical status within Peru as a remote expanse populated by primarily poor, uneducated indigenous peasants that are largely ignored until they serve some other greater, usually economic, national purpose. The indigenous populations that live in or near the lake, including the Amantanians and Taquileans, are granted minimal cultural consideration or validity and are expected to assimilate to the national agenda imposed upon them.

The creation of the National Reserve possessed great potential for protection of not only the environmental resources, but of the cultural significance and sovereignty of

⁷¹ Orlove, *Lines in the Water: Nature and Culture at Lake Titicaca*, 206

the lake's indigenous lands. Federally-designated parks and reserves have had great success in other countries (and failures in others) as vehicles for sustainable preservation of native culture when this sovereignty is enforced and guarded from both governmental and non-native threats.⁷² Unfortunately, by restricting the Urus' rights to access their land (or access to the island-creating materials), the government reduced the communities' self-determination, thereby minimizing the potential of the National Reserve. For the Lake Titicaca communities, access and control over indigenous land has played a central role in establishing levels of self-determination and socio-cultural development. With their main concerns thus far being environmental or economic, the lack of government oversight or concern for the culture of people living on the lake's islands has made possible the proliferation of third party, outside, agencies that seek to capitalize upon the opportunity to bring tourists to the various indigenous communities, to be discussed further in Chapters 5 and 6.

Conversely, the absence of a strong governmental presence and the resulting isolation from mainland culture has also allowed the culture and economy of the indigenous communities to remain distinct and surprisingly insular. This facilitates preservation of their traditions and indigenous identity, but also leads to cultural misunderstandings and biases between the indigenous communities and mainland society, as well as reinforces poverty. Interaction between the mainland population and islanders is gradually increasing, as many indigenous community members make weekly trips to Puno or Juliaca for groceries and supplies, while others move away to go to school, returning with the influences of mainstream society. Though daily arrivals of

⁷² William T. Hipwell, "Taiwan Aboriginal Ecotourism: Tanayiku Natural Ecology Park," *Annals of Tourism Research*, 34, no. 4 (10, 2007), 876-897.

tourist boats and exposure to the cities have changed the islands' respective cultures, the extent of these cultural changes is relatively minor with only certain ideas of 'modernity' taking root. The size of the lake itself and the resultant travel time between the mainland and the islands, available only by boat and lasting an average of three to four hours, has led to a degree of cultural isolation and insulation from the most immediate pressures of adapting to mainstream society. The accessibility of these privately owned islands plays a crucial role in the production of tourism, as well as poverty, and soundly influences tourism's impact upon the indigenous population.

Taquile and Amantaní

Taquile and Amantaní Island form Amantaní District in Puno Province, within the Puno Region of Peru. At about 4 square miles, and with a population of close to four thousand, Amantaní is the largest and the most populated island in the lake. Taquile Island has a population of just under two thousand and has an area of 2.2 square miles. Quechua is the primary language spoken on both islands, though Spanish is becoming more common people, and a few men speak Aymara. Few historians and anthropologists have chosen to concentrate their work on Taquile and Amantaní Islands, thus the body of literature focused specifically on these islands is minimal. To date, Rosalía Avalos de Matos and Jose Matos Mar's historiography of Taquile Island, in combination with Elayne Zorn's work, remains the primary source for a comprehensive history of the island.⁷³ Regarding Amantaní Island, anthropologist Jorge Gascón

⁷³ José Matos Mar, "La Proprieded an La Isla De Taquile (Lago Titicaca)," *Revista Del Museu Nacional* 26 (1951), 211-271.

provides a thorough background of the island's history and present condition.⁷⁴ The following brief colonial and post-colonial chronology is from Matos Mar.

Taquile and Amantaní Island were auctioned by Spain's King Carlos V in the late sixteenth century to Spaniard Pedro González de Taquila, who likely lent his name to Taquile Island. After his death, the island likely reverted back to the indigenous communities. In 1604, a Judge of Charcas, Dr. Recalde, reclaimed the islands for the Spanish crown and ordered Amantaní Island depopulated because of the natives' continued practice of idolatry; Taquile Island was likely also depopulated at this time.⁷⁵ According to anthropologist Elayne Zorn's research, Taquile Island was repopulated by families from various neighboring regions.⁷⁶ In 1644, the land and people living on Amantaní Island, and Taquile Island as an annex, were auctioned off by the Spanish to Don Pedro Pacheco de Chávez.⁷⁷

Haciendas, estates or vast ranches, were immediately created on both islands. Islanders were in servitude to *hacendados* – *hacienda* landowners – through a system of contracts that were based on a sharecropping system that also included obligatory part-time labor in the landowner's house. On Taquile Island, ownership changed hands several times until the Cuentas family owned the majority of the island. Present-day Taquileans recounted the extreme abuses they suffered under the hacienda owners' jurisdiction. When future president Luis Sánchez Cerro was held on Taquile Island, essentially used as a jail for political prisoners from the end of the nineteenth to the

⁷⁴ Jorge Gascón, *Gringos Como En Sueños Diferenciación y Conflicto Campesinos En Los Andes Peruanos Ante El Desarrollo Del Turismo*, 1a ed., Vol. 30 (Lima, Perú: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2005), 332.

⁷⁵ José Matos Mar, "La Propriedad en La Isla De Taquile (Lago Titicaca), as referenced in Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth & Culture on an Andean Island*, 31

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, 31

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, 31

early twentieth century, he formed friendships with the Taquileans. Upon his release and assumption of his new position, he aided the islanders in regaining the title to their lands through various lawsuits and outright purchase. This titling process began in the 1930s when islanders pooled their collective capital and was almost complete by 1960, when outsiders owned only 6 percent of the cultivated land. By the 1950s, the majority of the cultivable lands were held by two or three native Taquilean families because one man, Prudencio Huatta, had carried out the majority of the titling and purchase effort on the island. This process was not without its risks and many who were involved in the titling process suffered illegal jailings and abuses from the colonial or *mestizo* authorities opposed to the indigenous communities owning their own land. Five other wealthier Taquilean families also received titles to the land, though other families did contribute funds as well. Inner-island community pressures convinced *gamonales* – what poorer Taquileans call exploitative landowners – to sell land to their poorer neighbors.⁷⁸ Long-standing disputes over land continue between island families today, particularly as parcels passed on through inheritance or purchase become increasingly smaller. Because of this history, Taquileans have unfalteringly opposed outside ownership, so that, with the exception of the central village square and the port areas that are collectively-owned, only individual community members own land. Those considering selling their land to external parties are pressured by the community not to do so, told that if they go forward “the community would revoke their membership in the community, thus invalidating the sale.”⁷⁹

⁷⁸ José Matos Mar, “Taquile en Lima. Siete Familias cuentan...,” as quoted in Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth & Culture on an Andean Island*, 33

⁷⁹ Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth & Culture on an Andean Island*, 33

Information regarding Amantaní Island's history is scarce and the following chronology is taken from Gascón. Though all Amantanians were subject to the *hacendado's* contractual relationship, an elite, or favored, class of indigenous peoples emerged who received the better quality, or larger quantity, of land to work. This hierarchy however, was fluid and allowed for social mobility, though status was always affiliated with access to the land. Towards the end of the Colonial period, landowners spent increasingly more time in the urban centers, leaving the estate in the hands of a majordomo or *kipu*, a local steward. The *kipu's* favored status and increased responsibility, and that of other elevated natives, created competition and infighting between the indigenous communities that continued on after the Colonial period until the Amantanians began the process of obtaining full title to their land in 1949. Witnessing the Taquilean's push for land ownership motivated the Amantanians to pressure the *hacendados* to sell their property. In 1964, the Amantanians owned the entire island, or nine haciendas, which they divided amongst the individual communities.⁸⁰

The early patterns of land ownership and eventual titling afforded the indigenous populations the potential for a high degree of self-determination with regard to their involvement and role in the production of tourism on their lands. The sense of entitlement to the land and the corresponding right to reap the rewards of its cultivation propelled both Taquileans and Amantanians to endure decades-long campaigns to reclaim their respective territories so that they could independently decide how the islands and its inhabitants would develop. By owning their own property, the indigenous

⁸⁰ Gascón, *Gringos Como En Sueños Diferenciación y Conflicto Campesinos En Los Andes Peruanos Ante El Desarrollo Del Turismo*, 25-33

populations would ideally be able to control and enjoy the benefits of access to that land. The realization of this potential however, has occurred in varying degrees and paces on either island, in part because of the differences in equitable land redistribution enacted by each community's elite land-owning families.

Significantly, the Taquileans reallocated their land to poorer community members, thus allowing a more equitable distribution of resources for tourism labor and profit. However, when *hacienda* landholdings were redistributed on Amantaní, the division of the plots was unequal in both quality and quantity so that those who had benefited under the previous system, such as the majordomo or *kipu*, used their financial and social standings to appropriate the best of the arable land.⁸¹ According to Gascón, the elimination of the *hacienda* system on Amantaní Island solidified and highlighted the social stratification amongst peasants on the basis of access to land, essentially perpetuating the social inequalities created under the *hacienda* system and the dependence upon land as a social determinant.⁸² Both islands are divided into *suyus* – divisions of land that are tended to within a system of communally-shared crop rotations (Figures 6 and 7). On Amantaní and Taquile, half of the *suyus* are cultivated a year (Amantaní is divided into four *suyus*, Taquile into six) while the other half lie fallow and are used for communal grazing land. Ideally, families own land within each *suyu*, as well as planting primary crops such as potatoes in fields surrounding their homes.

While both indigenous communities function within a collective agropastoral system of shared responsibility, the structure of local contributions on Amantaní Island is far less democratic than on Taquile Island because of the initial differences in land

⁸¹ *ibid.*, 31-32

⁸² *ibid.*, 33

redistribution and inequality. The soil in some individual plots is comparatively worse than in others, increasing dependence upon the communal *suyus*.⁸³ Amantaní Island is also further divided into *parcialidades*, sub-communities of extended families that are scattered throughout the island on plots of differing quality.

Conclusion

The inhabitants of the Puno Region have a long-standing connection to their land that extends from the pre-Colombian civilizations to today. Recently, the federal government has targeted the region for its economic potential, despite centuries of historic disenfranchisement and perceived “backwardness.” The creation of the Lake Titicaca National Reserve presented a missed opportunity to provide the indigenous communities land-based sovereignty and protection from exploitation by third party organizations. Its current emphasis on primarily environmental issues only emphasizes the government’s lack of willingness to protect or empower its indigenous population.

Despite the government’s lack of oversight, the Amantanians and Taquileans are fortunate to have undergone extensive land titling processes early on, such that they own and can control access to their own land. On both islands, direct ownership of the land provides a pathway towards greater cultural, political and economic self-determination for both islands that has been realized to varying degrees. As fundamentally communally-based societies, revenues from tourism, including transportation and access fees to the islands, should ideally be distributed throughout the community. Though this model of sustainability has been successful on Taquile

⁸³ Elayne Zorn and Annelou Ypeij, "Taquile: A Peruvian Tourist Island Struggling for Control," *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 82, no. April (2007), 123.

Island, the unequal distribution of land on Amantani Island fostered a correspondingly unequal distribution of tourism revenues on the island. This led to some of the foundational differences in the operations and management of tourism between the two islands as described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

Tourism on Taquile and Amantaní: Past

From its introduction, tourism on Amantaní and Taquile Islands has been based upon the novelty of witnessing the islands' "back zones" through partaking in the unique or "authentic" nature of the islanders' quotidian and traditional lives. A scan of contemporary guidebooks to Peru reveals some of the more illuminating phrases that describe the popular, perhaps romanticized, image of Amantaní and Taquile Islands: "detached from the rest of the earth;"⁸⁴ "ancient island dwelling people that seem to have materialized straight out of the pages of *National Geographic*;"⁸⁵ and "the closest one can get to heaven."⁸⁶ This appeal has endured to today, as most visitors would likely say that the indigenous communities still live traditional lives of subsistence farming, herding and fishing.

On both islands, tourism began as a community-based endeavor in which labor and benefits were distributed evenly throughout the island. Though during the first few years of tourism the communities had commensurate supplies of tourists, land tenure and levels of administrative organization, the industry developed quite differently on each island.⁸⁷ The Taquileans' capitalized upon their tradition of and reputation for producing exquisite textiles and succeeded in establishing a monopoly on transportation to and from the main city of Puno. Most importantly, they were successful in creating a

⁸⁴ Sara Benson, Paul Hellender and Rafael Wlodarski, *Peru* (South Yarra, Vic., Australia; Berkeley, Calif.: Lonely Planet, 2007), 204.

⁸⁵ Neil Edwards Schlecht, *Frommer's Peru*, 3rd ed. (New York, NY: Frommer's, 2006), 185.

⁸⁶ Dilwyn Jenkins, *The Rough Guide to Peru 6 (Rough Guide Travel Guides)*, 6th ed. (New York: Rough Guides, 2006), 230

⁸⁷ Zorn and Ypeij, *Taquile: A Peruvian Tourist Island Struggling for Control*, 122-123

system in which responsibilities and benefits were distributed throughout the majority of the community, ensuring long-term, equitable growth and sustainability. The Amantanians implemented similar systems of communal redistribution, but their history of social stratification impeded their ability to fully reap any kind of collective, long-term gain. However, in the early 1990s, external policies instituted by Peru's new leaderships led to the disintegration of full local, indigenous control of tourism and self-determination on both islands while simultaneously enabling the presence and influence of outside tour agencies. Tourism shifted from sustainable local control and benefit to unsustainable, third party domination and profit.

The Tourist Experience

Lake Titicaca's harsh climate, relative remoteness and the absence of major archaeological or urban areas, such as those found in nearby Cusco to the north or La Paz to the south, make it an unlikely place for the development of large-scale tourism. However, the lake's unique ecological features and the cultural distinctions of the region's indigenous people and their heritage have led to Puno being the second most visited city and region for tourists in Peru, second to Cuzco.⁸⁸ The area draws primarily robust adventurers, usually backpacker-types, who can survive the extreme altitude and conditions and are in search of an atypical, distinctive cultural experience away from the crowds of mass tourism. In the early 1970s, the twenty-minute boat ride to the Urus' Floating Islands was the most popular tour, as the eight-hour trip by wooden sailboat required to reach Taquile and Amantaní excluded the latter islands from the lake's main

⁸⁸ Elena Contorno and Lucia Tamayo Flores, "Informe de viaje a las isles Taquile y Amantaní" as quoted in Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth & Culture on an Andean Island*, 132

tour routes. Today, after the Floating Islands, Taquile and Amantaní Islands are among the most-visited tourist destinations of the lake.

Lake Titicaca: 1983

Elayne Zorn's description of a visitor's experience of Taquile in 1983, during the first tourist "boom" on Taquile and Amantaní, follows:

The early morning boat trip out from the frigid Puno mainland, captained and crewed by indigenous Taquileans, transports travelers across the every-changing and varied blues of enormous, sparkling Lake Titicaca....After a trip of about three hours, if the weather is favorable, the small, rocky, and extensively terraced island comes into view. Its carefully built stone dock, Inca roads, stone arches, and stone-paved plaza present a view of tidiness and order. Its people wear beautiful handwoven clothing in dramatic colors of red, white and black, adorned with stunning belts, caps and purses emblazoned with intricate symbols.

Having survived the forty-five minute climb from the dock, which starts at nearly two and a half miles above sea level...tourists meet other Taquileans. The peasant reception committee registers them by age, duration of stay and nationality. Committee members describe the physical layout of the island and its principal attractions, and assign accommodations. The host family, often represented by a female family member who is not attending school or traveling, escorts the visitor to her home. In contrast to the poor peasants and urban beggars most travelers encounter (and avoid) during a visit to Peru, Taquile and its residents seem perfect, almost too perfect. On Taquile, the lake is serene, the inhabitants are visually stunning and appear healthy and self-confident⁸⁹ (Figures 8 and 9).

Lake Titicaca: 2008

In January of 2008, I traveled to Lake Titicaca as part of my field research. My hotel in Puno secured for me what I was told was the most popular tour of the lake at the cost of 15/soles – a two and a half day tour that visited the Floating Islands, Amantaní Island and Taquile Island. My own description of the tourist experience follows.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, 111-112

After being picked up early in the morning at their hotel by an agency tour bus, groggy tourists arrive at the Puno docks to join the rest of the fifteen or so travelers that will be their companions for the next few days (Figure 10). With their Spanish and English-speaking tour guide, who is usually from a city nearby like Cuzco or Arequipa, they board their boat that is staffed by people from one of the three island communities. They motor over Lake Titicaca's serene landscape, the snow-capped mountains on all sides framing the usually still massive body of water, accompanied by the tour guide's microphone-enhanced descriptions of their surroundings.

The tourists arrive at one of the Floating Islands of the Urus community where the local people, who are dressed in brightly colored clothing and bowler hats, welcome them. The visitors are seated on a ready-made semi-circle *titora* bench, where their guide gives them explanations of the Urus' history with the aid of the local head of the community and the few props he provides (Figure 11). They are then given the opportunity to walk around the island and purchase things from the waiting women and children before traveling on, by local *titora* reed boat, to another island where the experience is repeated.

The tourists reboard their tour boat for the two and a half hour trip to Amantaní Island, with the Urus women and children singing and dancing songs of goodbye. Upon arrival at Amantaní Island, the visitors are greeted by a group of women in brightly colored blouses and black skirts, all of whom come from distinct nuclear families but together represent one of nine *parcialidades* (Figure 12). The visitors are immediately assigned to one family in whose homes the visitors will be taking their meals and sleeping. The walk up to the community's homes is long and steep, especially at 13,000 feet, but thankfully they walk up what appears to be a newly laid stone path. Upon

arrival, the women change back into their everyday wear of secondhand “western” clothing. The schedule for the afternoon is clear: after leaving their things in their family’s home, the visitors will have a quick snack prepared by the family and then reconvene with the tour group to hike up to one of the island’s two main archaeological sites, a grueling and windy climb for those not accustomed to the altitude and climate. The path towards the temple is lined with local Amantanían women selling their weavings, water, and snacks. All tourists stop to look and most buy at least one item. Later in the evening, after eating dinner and talking with the family, the community has prepared a party for the tourists, who, at the insistence of their host family, are dressed in the same festive clothing of the islanders. Villagers from all parts of the community are at the party, where bottles of water are sold for close to \$2 and a group of young men are playing what is called traditional Amantanían music. Amantaníans perform “traditional dances” with the tourists and pose for pictures (Figure 13). After the party, the tourists walk back to their host families’ homes by flashlight.

The next morning, after breakfast with the family, a different boat than the one that brought the group to Amantaní, leaves for the hour and a half trip to Taquile. Upon arrival in the quiet Taquile docks, the visitors disembark and walk up the long path towards the main plaza, passing fields of terraced crops and houses, some of which have metal siding and communication satellite dishes in the front yards (Figure 14). The central plaza is filled with other tour groups and Taquilean children. Indigenous Taquileans are greatly outnumbered by the tour groups and guides in the plaza, but a few community members can be seen walking around the island wearing their bright skirts, vests and hats (Figure 15). There, the tour guide gives a description of the island and the tourists are told they have fifteen minutes to wander around the main plaza

before heading to the restaurant to which they have been assigned. Options in the main plaza include a weaving handicrafts cooperative store and the island's municipality building that has a small museum on the main floor. The group then heads to their assigned family-run restaurant where they dine on local fish and vegetables. The tour guide gives a description of the local customs and significance of weaving. After lunch, the group walks across the island to the docks on the other side, down a path where they pass Taquileans that have returned from trips to Puno and are carrying heavy bags and small children up to the main community (Figures 16 and 17). Throughout the entire visit to the Taquile Island, minimal interaction between islander and guest occurs besides an occasional nod. The group then reboards the boat and begins the three and a half hour trip back to Puno and their hotels.

Tourism's beginning

Though the image being sold to tourists about Taquileans or Amataníans as "authentic" indigenous people living their lives in idyllic surroundings has remained consistent from tourism's introduction to the islands, the production and administration of tourism has undoubtedly changed the lives and value systems of these communities. The creation and development of Lake Titicaca's tourist industry has likewise transformed the tourist's experience into a much more systematically orchestrated presentation of predetermined package-deals that provide nominal interaction with the indigenous communities.

Previously, Taquile Island's reputation was founded primarily upon the export of the community's high-quality traditional textiles. Once tourists began arriving on the island in the late 1970s, these weavings became joined with the island's other products

– including scenery, landscape, location, clothing, native people and festivals – that, together, created the larger marketed image of Lake Titicaca’s indigenous identity. Taquile possessed all of Valerie Smith’s four Hs’ of indigenous tourism – Habitat, Heritage, History and Handicrafts. Tourism immediately swelled and Taquileans quickly organized to take advantage of this opportunity by capitalizing upon the learned market value of their weavings and petitioning the government for a sanctioned monopoly on transportation.⁹⁰ Controlling access to the island facilitated the establishment of other related industries and tourist facilities such as restaurants and housing. It also facilitated a high degree of self-determination with regard to deciding the extent and manner of the islander’s interactions with guests. For Taquileans, the success of tourism rested heavily upon their ability to respond to and control tourism on their island. Their initial successes in the late 1970s and 1980s facilitated their reputation among tourism scholars and other indigenous communities as a model for community-controlled tourism.

Taquile Island: Textiles

In addition to the island’s remote landscape and the minimalist lifestyle of its people, the Taquilean community is well known and respected for their intricately woven textiles made from sheep and alpaca wool, which UNESCO declared in 2005 to be a “masterpiece” of Oral and Intangible Cultural Heritage⁹¹ (Figure 18). As described by Zorn, cloth is a defining characteristic of the Taquilean identity; the production of cloth and the act of weaving are central to the community’s social structure. Worn

⁹⁰ Elayne Zorn and Linda Clare Farthing, "Communitarian Tourism Hosts and Mediators in Peru," *Annals of Tourism Research*, 34, no. 3 (7, 2007), 678.

⁹¹ *UNESCO Culture Sector - Intangible Heritage - 2005 Convention: Peru*

handicrafts, such as hats, belts and staffs serve as outward markers of social and cultural distinction, including marital status or community authority.⁹² Almost every tourist's guidebook has a separate section devoted to describing the Taquileans' weaving and clothing traditions and the social meanings behind them.

Every Taquilean knows how to weave and, until the late 1960s, the products were produced primarily for family or community consumption. Though few communities in the Andes match the quality of their handicrafts, the Taquileans had little experience marketing their products to tourists, selling only an occasional piece to visitors in Puno. In 1968, at the urging of then Peace Corps volunteer Kevin Healy, the Taquileans tentatively organized into a cooperative to market their weavings in the Peace Corp's international tourist center of Cuzco, a long day's trip by train or bus from Puno. Community elders gathered new and used weavings for trial sales to be sold in a Peace Corps-sponsored consignment store. When these items produced \$150, spread between seventy people, the Taquileans learned that their everyday weavings were valued outside of the community and could produce significant financial capital for the community. Unfortunately, three years later the Peace Corps store collapsed and the community lost close to \$1,000 of their weavings – a large sum for poor peasants – but the Taquileans had nonetheless discovered the market value of their products. As a result, they began actively selling their weavings on the Cuzco streets on their own and sought out Lima and Arequipa-based exporters to sell their work throughout Peru and other international markets.⁹³

⁹² Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth & Culture on an Andean Island*, 66-67, 105

⁹³ Healy and Zorn, *Taquile's Homespun Tourism*, 137-138

Despite the community's reputation for producing excellent textiles, Taquile Island remained largely excluded from the area's main tourist routes, overshadowed by the Urus' Floating Islands that are much closer to the population center of Puno. However, this all changed when, in 1976, the popular travel guide *South American Handbook* published a review that described Taquile Island in radiant terms, praising the unspoiled and remote beauty of both the island's geography and its people.⁹⁴ Tourism reached the island that same year when foreign tourists began arriving at the Puno docks, looking for ways to book passage to Taquile Island and inquiring at Puno's Ministry of Industries and Tourism (*Ministerio de Industrias y Turismo – MIT*, currently known as the *Ministerio de Comercio Exterior y Turismo*, the Ministry of Exterior Commerce and Tourism – *MINCETUR*) for more information about the island.⁹⁵ Before 1976, visitors to Taquile were primarily priests, academics, government officials and teachers. After the guidebook's publication, visitor numbers quickly reached a thousand per month and now equal about forty thousand a year.⁹⁶

The Taquilean textile industry surged as the islanders responded to the increase in tourism and demand and by 1978, earnings from textiles had reached record levels.⁹⁷ By 1981, Taquileans had shifted distribution back to the island and independently established a community-run cooperative store, called the Manco Capac Taquilean Crafts Association (*Asociación Artesanal "Manco Capac" (the first Inca) Taquile*) in the main plaza. All Taquileans eventually became members, guaranteeing 2% of their earnings from contributed textiles to the association's common fund. Zorn comments, "Records I examined show that from 1981 to 1983 monthly sales in the cooperative averaged

⁹⁴ Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth & Culture on an Andean Island*, 113

⁹⁵ *ibid.*, 118

⁹⁶ *ibid.*, 12-13

⁹⁷ *ibid.*, 88

US\$2,500, reaching nearly \$6,000 during the peak tourist months of July and August."⁹⁸ However, textiles sometimes sat for weeks before being purchased and as result several Taquileans sold their work on the island's docks or in their homes, effectively undermining the cooperative store.

The community's development of the textile industry initiated some of the most fundamental changes to the Taquilean. Before the 1976 publication, textile-derived income was mainly used to purchase consumer goods, materials for household improvements, and agricultural aids such as fertilizer. After 1976 however, the income derived from textile sales was redirected towards tourism-related infrastructure, such as boats, restaurants, improved lodgings, and food for the tourists. Again, Zorn notes, "The data I collected on textile sales and hundreds of conversations with Taquileans clearly shows that it was the textile-derived income that enabled them to develop tourist services."⁹⁹ The establishment of these tourist services diversified the Taquilean economy while enhancing the tourist experience and expanding the number of activities available on the island. As one of the main attractions to the island, textile production continues to be a significant driver behind the Taquile Island's tourism economy, though as described in Chapter 6, tourism has also led to a decline in the quality of weaving materials.

Taquile Island: Transportation

In response to the sudden increase in tourist demand, Puno boat owners soon added the island to their list of services as either part of an existing tour of the Floating Islands, or via direct service. Taquile Island's rapidly increasing popularity was evident

⁹⁸ *ibid.*, 89

⁹⁹ *ibid.*, 92

and by 1977 the islanders had pooled their savings together to capitalize upon this opportunity, buying second and third-hand truck engines to power their small sailboats (Figure 19). In December of 1977, the Taquileans had formed a cooperative Motorboat Committee (*Comité Lanchero*) of seventy-five members to consolidate the management of boat transportation. By March of the following year, another cooperative had formed, called the Tourism and Development Committee (*Comité del Turismo y Desarrollo*), which was created to oversee and manage tourism and all the requisite businesses – boats, restaurants, housing and the formation of other subcommittees for specialized tasks.¹⁰⁰ As one of their first acts, the Tourism Committee applied to the Inter-American Foundation (IAF) for \$16,000 to go towards the purchase of boat parts, repair and motors. The application was approved in December of 1978 “to enable the community to exercise control over tourism.”¹⁰¹ The funds facilitated the creation of additional boat cooperatives, usually consisting of about twenty to forty families, who purchased or commissioned fellow Taquileans to construct new motorized boats specifically designed to carry passengers. These new vessels were more attractive and had cabins that could carry up to twenty visitors. That same year, the Peruvian government stepped in to create a bureaucratized system of issuing boat licenses, setting tariffs and instituting regulations.

Taquilean boats quickly supplanted those of Puno’s private owners and in 1982, the community succeeded in gaining a government-sanctioned monopoly on transportation to and from the island. By this time, the number of boating cooperatives had grown to 13, which meant that almost every family had a member that was

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*, 117

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*, 119

participating in a cooperative.¹⁰² That same year, the Peruvian Coast Guard and the Ministry of Tourism and Commerce set the round-trip fare between Puno and Taquile Island at \$4.¹⁰³ When accounting for spare parts, cost of fuel, maintenance and replacement of machinery and wood boots, the boats usually operated just above or below the profit margin.

However, controlling transportation introduced many other benefits to the island, both economic and social. Controlling transportation was recognized as essential to maintaining control over tourism in general and Taquileans quickly capitalized upon this opportunity. The Community Law permitted indigenous communities uniform governance of their own land and included the right to control their own subsoil, which included docking areas and consequent fees charged for entrance to the island. The boats brought with them a multitude of other benefits that changed the way in which the indigenous communities lived:

1. Communities can regulate the flow of tourists and distribute them equally amongst the families;
2. The boats and regular schedules provide consistent and comfortable modes of transportation to and from the mainland, increasing interaction and visibility between the two populations, thus helping to ease historic cultural tensions;
3. Newer boats require islanders to learn new skills, including business administration and how to construct and maintain the vessels, creating a new industry and jobs – many neighboring island populations now order their boats from Taquile;
4. Increased boat traffic means increased revenue, which translates to both increased personal and communal income.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² *ibid.*, 120

¹⁰³ Healy and Zorn, *Taquile's Homespun Tourism*, 139

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*, 143

The benefits of controlling transportation are far-reaching – for an indigenous community, managing access and regulating the pressures of tourism has the vast potential of raising the standards of living and monitoring the way in which their community is presented. By controlling the flow of tourists, islanders create their own schedules that determine how many travelers can arrive at a time. They can also regulate housing responsibilities and directly collect visitor fees. Implicit within this are dynamics of self-determination, self-perception and issues of change that breed both positive and negative effects, to be discussed in Chapter 6.

Taquile Island: Infrastructure

The increase in tourism resulted in the creation or expansion of other service-related industries that enhanced the production of tourism on the island, such as restaurants and improved guest-allocated living quarters. These services are all managed and organized by assigned subcommittees, with responsibilities spread throughout the island.

Taquileans implemented changes to their homes to abide by the governmentally-established minimum standards for cleanliness and comfort – even though the islands lacked basic amenities such as running water, sanitation and electricity – making them more suitable for foreign tourists. The island's Tourism Committee declared that every family who wished to open their homes to tourists must have a room with door, bed, blankets, sheets, a washbasin, a table, a chair and a mirror. A separate island commission inspected each household to ensure that these changes and additions had

been made.¹⁰⁵ Unfortunately, these standards inhibited the participation of the poorer Taquileans who could not afford to upgrade their homes to these standards. As a community, the Taquileans discussed and established standard fees for services provided, such as housing and meals. This "honor" system continues to today and community members and tourists alike are expected to abide by these rules. Each household directly retains the fees collected¹⁰⁶ and assuming the committee responsible for assigning tourists to approved households has done so evenly, the generated income for each family should be about even. In 2008, transportation on a Taquilean boat cost \$6, entrance to the island \$1.50 and full room and board \$3. Visitors can also hire a porter to carry their luggage up the steep hill to the main plaza for \$3. An increasing number of stores that sold toilet paper, soft drinks and various snacks were also established to accommodate tourist demands. These items represented what was generally considered the maximum of permitted "comforts" necessary to retain the "authentic" Andean experience.¹⁰⁷

In the early stages of indigenous tourism development, visitors would take their meals with their assigned family, who would receive payment directly for this service. Meals generally consisted of fried eggs, potatoes rice and occasionally trout. However, by 1982, nine restaurants had opened near the main plaza, established by families who created their own cooperative businesses. In 2002, there were more than a dozen in operation and only one that was largely communally-owned. The food is slightly more varied than that which is served in typical Andean homes and tourist demand for Lake Titicaca trout resulted in the 1981 creation of two fishing cooperatives, despite the

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, 140

¹⁰⁶ Ross E. Mitchell and Donald G. Reid, "Community Integration: Island Tourism in Peru," *Annals of Tourism Research*, 28, no. 1 (1, 2001), 125.

¹⁰⁷ Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth & Culture on an Andean Island*, 121

relatively high costs of fishing equipment and the fact that most Taquileans were not previously fisherman.¹⁰⁸ Subsequently, Taquileans contacted international development agencies to assist them in procuring fishing equipment and purchased fish from nearby Amantaní and Capachica.

The added tourism income also facilitated increased construction, as Taquileans added new structures to the main plaza and other public places such as the docks and pathways. In particular, construction of outhouses and archways increased, which enhanced the island's "authentic" and indigenous appearance, and a stone path that spanned the width of the island.¹⁰⁹ Construction was performed under the traditional system of communal workgroups organized by committees. The new industries increased the number of jobs and personal income available to each household, as well as improved and diversified the skillset of most of the community. By 1990, Taquileans had complete control over their textile industry and the majority of other tourist services. They had succeeded in integrating tourism with their traditional lifestyles, which in turn facilitated equitable distribution of tourist-derived income.¹¹⁰ Internationally, Taquile Island had become a model for successful indigenous community-controlled tourism.

Amantaní Island: Following in Taquile Island's Footsteps

In 1978, upon witnessing Taquile Island's success and apparent growth, the Amantanían authorities decided to develop and promote indigenous tourism on their own island, copying the marketing and cooperative organization systems used on

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, 122

¹⁰⁹ Healy and Zorn, *Taquile's Homespun Tourism*, 140-141

¹¹⁰ Mitchell and Reid, *Community Integration: Island Tourism in Peru*, 124

Taquile. In 1979, after conferring with the Puno authorities, the Tourism Industry of Amantani (*la Industria de Turismo de Amantani*) was officially established and the community began preparing for what they expected to be a flood of tourists, similar to Taquile Island's experience.¹¹¹ They also anticipated that tourism's benefits would be equally distributed amongst the community and so instituted a number of infrastructure changes with the intention of capitalizing upon the tourist market and maximizing their communal returns.

Almost every family in all eight (currently nine) *parcialidades* modified their homes to host tourists, as the distance from Puno, an extra hour beyond the three needed to reach Taquile Island, required that visitors spend the night. Island authorities established regulations of cleanliness and comfort and determined the fixed rates for food and housing. These requirements were later overseen by the Amantani District authorities, of which Taquile Island is also a part. According to Edgar Apaza, self-proclaimed Sociologist and owner of Puno-based tour agency Edgar Adventures, some agencies have held capacity-building workshops with the communities in order to educate them about the expectations of western-travelers, particularly with regard to food preparation and handling. They also constructed a communal store in the island's main plaza in the Pueblo *parcialidad*, with the help of local government agency Corpuno, in which each family could display and sell their handicrafts. Like the Taquileans, they began sending these handicrafts to different parts of the country to increase their island's visibility and readily absorbed the costs of doing so. Under the direction of the MIT, they changed the names of two Pre-Columbian temples that rest on the island's

¹¹¹ Gascón, *Gringos Como En Sueños Diferenciación y Conflicto Campesinos En Los Andes Peruanos Ante El Desarrollo Del Turismo*, 54

peaks from Coanos Acclicancha and Llaquistitis Papa to Pachamama and Pachatata so that the ruins would be easier to remember. The Amantaníans also planned to establish a communal restaurant and dress in “traditional” clothing, but realized neither of these initiatives.¹¹²

In these first few years, Amantaníans devoted much of their time and effort to implementing what they thought were the necessary components of a successful indigenous tourism experience and industry, anticipating the actual arrival of large-scale tourism and tourist demands on the island. Until the mid-1980s, tourism was a communal activity on Amantaní Island, with the majority of the island participating in its production. Having directly copied most aspects of Taquile Island’s successful indigenous tourism initiatives, the Amantaníans expected their own industry to have the same degree of success. However, it soon became evident that not all community members had equal access to its benefits because of the domination of an elite boat-operating class. Additionally, visitorship never reached the islanders’ anticipated numbers hindering the long-term development and growth of their tourism industry. In general, the Amantanían social structure is less egalitarian than the Taquileans, resulting in unequal distribution of benefits.¹¹³ In 1985, Amantaní Island registered just over 1000 tourists. Though these numbers have greatly increased since then, they have still not yet reached their anticipated levels.¹¹⁴

Amantaní Island: Social and Economic Inequality

¹¹² *ibid.*, 54-56

¹¹³ *ibid.*, 60

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*, 74

The inequality in Amantaní Island's social structure has its roots in the previously discussed *hacienda* system. When tourism development began, the primary source of control was through the transportation routes between Puno and Amantaní Island. Similar to the Taquileans, between 1982 and 1984, they received a grant from the Inter-American Foundation to assist in the maintenance of eight of their boats.¹¹⁵ Through subsoil sovereignty rights, afforded by Peru's Community Law, the Amantanians had established a monopoly over transportation between Puno and Amantaní Island. The elite classes – usually descended from a majordomo, *kipu* or wealthier family that had emigrated to the island – retained the financial capital and political connections necessary to purchase boats and position themselves as primary beneficiaries of this resource.¹¹⁶ Of the ten boating cooperatives in 1992, seven were composed of families descendant from elite families.¹¹⁷ Controlling the transportation routes to and from Puno meant that the boat's owner or operator would assign the visitor's housing according to his own discretion, usually to his own house or that of a family member or friend. Because a visit to Amantaní Island necessitated an overnight stay, the islander's main source of potential income from tourism was based upon the provision of housing. This monopoly by the boating societies bred further social discontent between the classes, as only in rare occasions did the boat operators share the resource of housing, and usually this was under pressure from the local authorities.¹¹⁸ Tourism, by way of the boat operator's monopoly on transportation, thus facilitated the social structuring of Amantaní Island society. Though tourism is not the

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*, 96

¹¹⁶ *ibid.*, 91

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*, 99

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*, 89

most important source of income on the island, it established and facilitated economic differences within the population.¹¹⁹

Further fracturing Amantanían society, disenfranchised community members soon began to rebel against the boat owners by either vocally demanding change and a more equitable distribution system, or by becoming disillusioned with the tourism industry in general and reneging on earlier commitments of participation. In the early 1980s, just a few years after tourism had been initiated on the island, guest quarters were increasingly used for other purposes and textile production had diminished.¹²⁰ Plans to reestablish traditional clothing were abandoned because people did not see the reason to invest in yet another resource that would benefit a small minority – the majority of the population did not own traditional clothing and would be forced to purchase a new wardrobe, while others viewed “western” clothing as more sophisticated and were not inclined to give up this image¹²¹ (Figures 20 and 21). To add to this disunity, infighting within and between the boat cooperatives further stratified Amantanían social structure.

Though tourism on Amantaní Island was intended to be a communal effort and benefit, the community’s underlying social structure did not permit this to fully take place. The only resource from which the entire community benefited was the sale of handicrafts;¹²² but compared to Taquile Island, these sales were minimal and thus did not extend very far into the community. However, Amantanían society was not entirely fractured; in general, relationships between Amantaníans were friendly and community-based. They continue to operate within the *suyu* system of communal agriculture and

¹¹⁹ *ibid.*, 89

¹²⁰ *ibid.*, 92

¹²¹ *ibid.*, 108

¹²² *ibid.*, 88

contact with other *parcialidades* is frequent and amiable. Not everyone opposed the boat operators and those that did demonstrated their dissatisfaction through varying mediums. Tourism continues to be a collective, island-wide, enterprise, but the majority of its benefits are concentrated within a small portion of the population. Nonetheless, within an industry founded upon the assumption of communal benefit and participation, the existence of an elite class with a monopoly over a major component of the infrastructure and the discontent it bred was a huge obstacle in the island's ability to achieve the level of success desired.

Amantani Island: Market Challenges

Other factors beyond the absence of communal distribution contributed to the island's partial inability to create a strong community-based tourist industry. As the earlier of the two islands to develop indigenous tourism, Taquile Island had an established reputation and a strong community-driven ethic that Amantani Island lacked. Thus, while Taquile's success prompted the Amantanians to engage in tourism, it also hindered tourism's development and on Amantani Island.¹²³

Amantani and Taquile Island share the same tourist market – both offer the experience of a rustic and “authentic” indigenous experience, a chance to observe and be part of the indigenous population in their native habitat. Amantani Island also possesses all of Smith's four H's of indigenous tourism, though the community's handicrafts are not as well known or as high quality as those on Taquile. Both islands offer serene landscapes in the middle of a geographically distinct and world-renowned lake, attracting the same kinds of tourists. The marketed experience to be had on one

¹²³ *ibid.*, 64

island is not so different from the other and for a tourist with a limited amount of time, Taquile Island is a more likely option as it requires less travel time and travelers are not obligated to spend the night. A 2007 survey performed by PROMPERU found that 80% of tourists who came to Peru for “rural-communitarian” tourism visited Taquile Island, but only 18% visited Amantaní Island.¹²⁴ A strong sense of competition exists between the two islands, though within the context of tour agency-run tours the islands come together to form a cohesive package based upon indigenous tourism.

Additionally, Taquile Island benefits from a much more prominent place in tourism guidebooks, a result of their communal organization and distribution of labor and benefits, which in turn encourages them to self-promote by such measures as wearing traditional clothing when traveling to and within Puno.¹²⁵ A survey of recent Peru guidebooks indicates the difference in attention paid to the two islands:

Guidebook	Amantaní Island	Taquile Island
Lonely Planet: 2000	½ page	2 pages
Let's Go: Peru 2004	Combined	Combined
Discovery Channel: Insight Guides 2005	1 page	2 ¼ pages
Fodor's: 2006	Combined	Combined
Globe Trotter: 2006	5 lines	15 lines
Rough Guides: 2006	½ page	1 ¼ pages
Footprint Travel Guides: 2007	¼ page	1 ¼ pages
Frommer's: 2007	¾ page	1 ½ pages
Hunter Travel Guides: 2007	½ page	1 page
Lonely Planet: Peru 2007	½ page	1 ½ pages
Moon Handbooks: 2007	Combined	Combined – Taquile has 1 page outset

Table 1: Comparison of guidebook length for Amantaní and Taquile Islands

¹²⁴ "Perfil Del Turista Rural Comunitario," *TNews*, sec. 2008, (accessed 4/10/2008).

¹²⁵ Gascón, *Gringos Como En Sueños Diferenciación y Conflicto Campesinos En Los Andes Peruanos Ante El Desarrollo Del Turismo*, 14-15

However, recent entries suggest an increasing interest in Amantaní Island as more “authentic” and traditional than Taquile Island, as their “traditional way of life has stood up better to outside pressure,”¹²⁶ and “many say [it is] less spoiled, more genuine and friendlier than Taquile.”¹²⁷ The reviews create an image of Amantaní Island that may be more appealing to the tourist that is looking for an experience that is “off the beaten path,” though the results of this comparison have yet to be seen. Amantaní Island did experience the same increase in tourism in its foundational stages, but its population of around 4,000 people and Taquile Island’s population of near 1,300 means that the distribution of similar tourist income reaches fewer people. These demographic differences indicate that tourist arrivals to Amantaní Island would have to be triple that of Taquile Island in order to receive comparable tourist-population benefits.¹²⁸ This ratio could be more attainable as marketing messages continue shifting but remains to be seen.

Losing Control of Tourism

Between 1985 until the early 1990s, Peru’s tourism industry was almost destroyed during a period of devastating economic and political reforms instituted under then and current President Alan García. His first term was characterized by massive hyperinflation and increasing poverty, facilitating great social unrest. The combination of increasing political instability, the rise and violence of the Shining Path, and a fierce cholera outbreak brought the tourism industry to a virtual standstill. Assuming the

¹²⁶ Fodor’s, *Fodor’s Peru*, 2nd ed. (New York, New York: Fodor’s Travel Publications, Incorporated, 2006), 120.

¹²⁷ Alan Box and Steve Frankham, *Peru 6e*, 6th ed. (Bath, England; Lincolnwood, Ill.: Footprint Handbooks; In North America published by Passport Books, 2007), 227.

¹²⁸ Gascón, *Gringos Como En Sueños Diferenciación y Conflicto Campesinos En Los Andes Peruanos Ante El Desarrollo Del Turismo*, 61-62

presidency in 1990, President Alberto Fujimori endorsed measures that encouraged tourism's expansion, viewing the industry as a vast resource for economic growth and development that provided jobs and incentivized construction, itself a marker of economic development. Accordingly, in 1991 his administration instituted a series of privatization and anti-monopoly laws that negated any official protection the indigenous communities had over the transportation monopoly to the islands.¹²⁹

During this period of the late 1980s and early 1990s, outside tour agencies took advantage of the growing political instability and began encroaching upon the islander's control over the transportation routes, as the government's Community Law permitted complete indigenous control over the island's docks, but did not extend to the waterways. The tour agency owners and staff usually had a higher level of education than the indigenous populations and were better equipped and financed to capture tourists' attention, as boat tickets were often sold through hotels, trains, and other agencies. During this period, the indigenous communities still suffered from a racialized stigma of inferiority and even "the mere entry through the doorway of a tourist hotel can be a risky and humiliating undertaking."¹³⁰ As the markets began opening towards outside agencies, the indigenous communities were thus at a severe disadvantage in maintaining their hold over the transportation between Puno and the islands.

The agencies began arriving at the islands' docks and often refused to pay the communities' docking fees, while at the same time expecting full tourist services. The islanders' requests for government assistance or intervention were frequently ignored or considered within the legacy of racism that was applied to Peru's indigenous population.

¹²⁹ Zorn and Ypeij, *Taquile: A Peruvian Tourist Island Struggling for Control*, 123

¹³⁰ Healy and Zorn, *Taquile's Homespun Tourism*, 146

When the government did side with the indigenous communities and demand that the agencies pay the islanders, these regulations were only enforced for a short while before reverting back to the informal system of non-payment. In the mid-1980s, Puno elites from within the Ministry of Tourism and Commerce and the Peruvian Coast Guard collaborated with local tour agencies and an association of private boat owners to undermine the Taquileans collectively-owned boats by giving them the majority of the tourist transportation. For example, they allowed one private company to utilize three separate speed boats to bring approximately seventy tourists a day during peak season to Taquile Island, diminishing a large portion of the islander's income.¹³¹ Additionally, government organizations were accustomed to working with fluent Spanish-speaking groups who demonstrate a certain degree of professionalism rather than the islanders' peasant cooperatives. The Puno tour agencies, however, possessed the necessary tools to receive favorable interpretations of Peruvian law through expected or standard interactions with the government agencies.¹³² When political stability returned in the late 1990s, tourism became the fastest growing sector in the country.¹³³ By this time, however, the indigenous populations had lost the fight to control the transportation routes, vital to the success of community-controlled indigenous tourism on the islands.

Conclusion

Meanwhile, tourism to both Taquile and Amantaní Islands is increasing and will likely continue doing so. Peru's political stability and record-breaking periods of economic growth encourage visitation and as the global tourism industry continues

¹³¹ *ibid.*, 146

¹³² Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth & Culture on an Andean Island*, 131-132

¹³³ Mitchell and Reid, *Community Integration: Island Tourism in Peru*, 121

shifting towards more sustainable and ethics-driven ways of travel and experiencing the world, the market for indigenous tourism also expands. Fundamentally, Amantaníans and Taquileans are both collectively-structured societies, but while Taquileans have been able to sustainably convert the influx of tourism and tourist capital into a communally beneficial resource, this collective benefit has partially eluded the Amantaníans due to the dominance of an historically elite class. Tourism's role in enhancing the presence and domination of this class furthers the industry's social unsustainability on the island.

Both islands have long histories of resisting outside control, but, as will be discussed in Chapter 6, are now facing extreme challenges from the politically-enabled rapid encroachment of outside tour agencies that are better equipped, both socially and financially, to attract and manage the flow of tourists. The degree to which Amantaníans and Taquileans are able to maintain their tradition of shared distribution of participation and benefits within the context of these external pressures greatly influences the impact of sustainable indigenous tourism's opportunities and threats, as well as the communities' potential for self-determination.

CHAPTER 6

Tourism on Amantaní and Taquile Islands: Present

As an industry inherently geared towards profit and expansion, tourism introduced inevitable changes to Amantaní and Taquile Island that shaped the long-term sustainability of the industry on the island. The introduction and development of tourism modified the indigenous communities' value systems, social relationships and traditional way of life. Tourism has increased access to education and exposure to other cultures and facilitated the construction of basic physical infrastructure, but the product that the industry uses to obtain this success – their heritage – is not without its sacrifices. Individualism and materialism are becoming more prominent, undercutting the traditional social systems of communal responsibility and benefit, as is the growing chasm between the elite families and the majority of the population.

The inevitability of these changes may have been accelerated or accentuated by the growing dominance of tour agencies. As visitorship to Amantaní and Taquile Islands increases, third party groups – including profit-seeking tour agencies, non-governmental organizations and government ministries – have sought to be involved in tourism's production both on and off the island. Tour agencies were particularly eager to establish their position within this growing market and the government's policies of economic expansion enabled their eventual domination over tourism on both islands. The tour agencies began making decisions without consideration for or consent from the indigenous communities, turning them into passive participants in the presentation of their heritage. The result is tour agency-run tourism in which the indigenous communities have minimal influence on management and reap primarily tour agency-

defined benefits. The industry's shift from a community-controlled enterprise to one that is externally-driven diminished the communities' ability to direct the flow of tourist-generated capital, stripping them of much of their economic self-determination and reducing the overall sustainability of tourism on the islands. Attempts to regain control have had minimal or only temporary impact.

The impact of the tour agencies' appropriation of control certainly extends beyond the weakening of the indigenous communities' economic self-determination, as directing tourist flow also has obvious repercussions in political and cultural perceptions of self-determination. As previously discussed, the physical, economic and socio-cultural aspects of sustainability cannot be considered in isolation and the physical component will not be discussed here. However, to simplify the assessment of sustainable tourism upon Amantani and Taquile Islands, I specify that tour agencies most affected the islands' economic growth while tourism as a broader industry shaped the communities' socio-cultural development.

The Economic Impact of Tour Agency Control

Lake Titicaca's tourism industry is diverse, well-connected and growing. Approximately 125,000 tourists toured the Urus, Amantani and Taquile Islands between January and October of 2005, a 16% increase over the same period of the previous year.¹³⁴ As described to me by many Puno-based tour operators, with the exception of a few independent full-service tour agencies that perform both sales and tours, the local, Puno-based industry is dominated by Cusi Exeditions, Suri Explorer and Kollasuyu Tours.

¹³⁴ Bandín, Callo, Pizarro, Oruna - BCPO, *Nota Semanal: Economía y Finanzas*.

At present these three tour agencies are the primary operators of the majority of tours that leave the Puno docks. They receive their business through secondary tour agencies and hotels, busses and trains who operate on commission. These secondary actors sell the primary tour agency's products through aggressive marketing and a strong presence on the main tourist promenade in the city of Puno; they do not provide tours themselves, but act as the sales and outreach arm of the primary tour agencies (Figure 22). Larger national and international agencies who operate tours on the lake usually have relationships with the local agencies from whom they will rent boats or tour guides. In general, most tours that operate on the lake are somehow connected to the local tour agencies and are usually affiliated with one of these three main operators or a smaller, independent firm that performs both sales and service.

The Fujimori administration's anti-monopoly and privatization laws of the early 1990s opened the tourism market to all enterprising citizens, and the mainland population quickly took advantage of this new opportunity, resulting in a tourism "boom" in the late 1990s. After establishing market dominance over the transportation routes and schedules, tour agencies were advantageously positioned to extend their influence towards other tourist services such as restaurants and homestays on the islands, resulting in what is now almost complete control of tourism operations on the islands.

Seeking to maximize economic growth and profits in the Puno Region, governmental oversight of the relationship between tour agencies and islanders is minimal and is expressed in a primarily promotional capacity through the government's Commission of Export and Tourism Promotion (*Comisión de Promoción del Perú para la Exportación y el Turismo – PROMPERU*). With higher levels of education, better access to marketing in national and international tourism organizations, and more financial

capital, the tour agency employees are better equipped to attract tourists than the islanders and the government encourages the tour agency expansion (Figure 23). Their control of the transportation market allows the tour agencies to dictate the development of other sectors of the tourism industry on the island as well, including restaurants, housing and weaving. Because it is not as well-known as Taquile Island, the Amantanians are dependent on the tour agencies to attract and secure the tourists and so are paid less for transportation to and from Puno than they would be were they to operate independently¹³⁵, essentially paying for the tour agencies' marketing skills. Additionally, the tour agencies' have preferred relationships with specific Amantanian boat owners and do not always spread the tourist groups evenly throughout the island for the overnight homestay of the tour. The domination of tour agencies on the transportation market has minimized economic self-determination and profitability for the indigenous communities.

Resistance, Adaptation and Advertising

When Puno tour agencies began overtaking the indigenous communities' transportation businesses, many islanders busy tending to fields or weaving felt that they "do not have the time, energy, skills, or money to challenge tour agencies."¹³⁶ However, in April of 1989, the Taquileans staged a surprisingly forceful show of resistance – as they are generally not physically aggressive people – when they organized an island-wide strike to prevent what they thought was the most impudent tour agency from docking:

¹³⁵ Gascón, *Gringos Como En Sueños Diferenciación y Conflicto Campesinos En Los Andes Peruanos Ante El Desarrollo Del Turismo*, 58-59

¹³⁶ Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth & Culture on an Andean Island*, 133

[They] blockaded the four docks on the island to prevent the private boats packed with tourists from landing. Hundreds of Taquileños, including children, mobilized. Women stood in the forefront brandishing long wooden poles to keep the boats away...Men holding slings assembled across the hillsides above the dock. The throng would race from dock to dock at scattered island locations to block each successive landing attempt. Several days later, they allowed the tourists to disembark and enter the island while forcing the boat owners to leave, thus recovering the return trip business for themselves.¹³⁷

Aside from this confrontation, most indigenous resistance has been less aggressive and taken the form of entering the tourism market themselves via partnerships or independent operations, or government-mediated negotiations. Both communities endeavored to rent their boats to the Puno tour agencies but were generally unsuccessful in collecting their rental fees and wages and so ended this agreement.¹³⁸ Related complaints about tour guide conduct on the islands were only mildly successful, as the tour agencies' agreements to alter behavior were usually only adhered to temporarily. Requests for governmental intervention were either ignored or their mandated changes were not adequately enforced for reasons of racism and lack of education, as previously discussed, but also because the federal administration emphasis upon economic growth. In 2000, the Taquileans sent a delegation to Lima to ask President Fujimori to address what they considered to be issues of abuse perpetrated by the tour agencies and guides. In response, the administration sent a team of high-ranking Peruvians to investigate the islanders' claims. Their resulting report acknowledged the tour agencies' abuses, but also indicated that infighting among the Taquileans was also problematic. They argued that the government should "communicate" directly with the islanders, but President Fujimori's neo-liberal reforms of

¹³⁷ Healy and Zorn, *Taquile's Homespun Tourism*, 130,146

¹³⁸ Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth & Culture on an Andean Island*, 134

free-market industry policies could offer no protection or mitigation on behalf of the Taquileans.¹³⁹

With a growing tourism market that showed no signs of abating, increasing tour agency domination combined with a lack of governmental oversight and assistance to motivate the Taquileans to attempt to proactively compete with the tour agencies by setting up their own tourist tour agency on the Puno docks. The tour agency business was to be staffed according to the Taquilean *suyu* system of rotating labor responsibilities, but because the islanders have other obligations of farming, fishing and attending to other community needs, training the necessary number of people to staff the tour agency full-time proved difficult. As a result, it functioned only sporadically between 2002 and 2004. More recently, according to a 2006 *New York Times* travel article, the Taquileans attempted to circumvent the tour agencies completely by constructing a new dock that is closer to the main plaza in an attempt to regain some of the transportation business for themselves.¹⁴⁰

The indigenous communities also face stiff competition in the well-established and connected, professionally-trained, wealthier Puno tour agencies that make their living by selling indigenous heritage. Severe administrative roadblocks in the increasing professionalization of Peru's tourism industry and the requirement of a four-year university degree in tourism to be an official tour guide further inhibit the indigenous communities' ability to join the tourism market.¹⁴¹ Taquilean resistance has thus tended

¹³⁹ *ibid.*, 135

¹⁴⁰ "Taquile, Peru on Lake Titicaca - New York Times," <http://travel.nytimes.com/2006/04/09/travel/09journeys.html?pagewanted=all> (accessed 4/8/2008, 2008).

¹⁴¹ Zorn and Ypeij, *Taquile: A Peruvian Tourist Island Struggling for Control*, 125

to combat the tour agencies' domination by attempting to compete with them and exercise their self-determination, proactively augmenting and engaging their own skills.

These same barriers and challenges apply to Amantanían attempts to be competitive in the tourism industry. Their reaction to the tour agencies' dominance differed from the Taquileans however, and was characteristic of the community's reduced social cohesion. When tour agencies began dominating transportation to and from Amantaní, many of the Amantanían boat cooperatives attempted to work with, instead of against, the tour agencies. They formed their own transport business that was legally recognized in 1990 as the Amantanían Island Company (*Empresa Isla Amantaní*) and later renamed the Amantaní Company of Tourist Lake Transport (*Empresa de Transporte Turístico Lacustre de Amantaní*). After years of conflict with the Puno boat operators, the two parties reached an agreement in which the Puno operators could only operate the Amantani-Puno route when the number of tourists outstripped the carrying capacity of the Amantanians boats. At ten boats in 1990, each with space for 12-18 people, the number of tourists relative to the number of Amantanían carrying capacity ensured the islanders' monopoly over transportation.¹⁴² Given the lack of governmental oversight and general disregard for the indigenous communities' regulations by the tour agencies, this agreement may no longer be observed. However, my own experience may indicate otherwise, as the boat that took my tour group from Puno to Amantaní Island was owned by an Amantanían boat cooperative and staffed by an Amantanían. After our arrival on Amantaní Island, the

¹⁴² Gascón, *Gringos Como En Sueños Diferenciación y Conflicto Campesinos En Los Andes Peruanos Ante El Desarrollo Del Turismo*, 58

boat returned to Puno and was switched to another for the remainder of the tour to Taquile Island.

After the overnight stay on Amantani Island, most agency tours, including mine, allocate only a half-day period on Taquile Island, which includes a long hike to the communally-owned plaza, lunch at a family-owned restaurant, and a final hike to the docks on the other side of the island, leaving only about fifteen to thirty minutes of unassigned time. Because of the tour agency-defined schedule, the tourists have little time to venture into the cooperative textile store or museum, or interact with the local population. Those tourists who wish to spend the night on either Taquile or Amantani Island without a full tour of both islands can do this either by tour agency or by seeking out island representatives on the Puno docks. However, given the ready availability of the tour agencies in downtown Puno and on the docks, most tourists are likely to arrange their trip through a tour agency that will then keep a portion of the islanders' agreed upon fees.

Additionally, the island communities suffer from guidebook publicity that, in their descriptions of transportation to and from the islands, is heavily weighted towards what is most convenient for the traveler, facilitating the indigenous population's transformation from active participants to passive performers. Most popular guidebooks, with the exception of the *Lonely Planet* and *Footprint* books, do not explicitly encourage tourists to seek out the Taquilean and Amantanian boats when considering a tour of both islands. Rather, they direct travelers towards the tour agencies with a passing mention of the islanders' boats; *Frommer's* goes so far as to say,

The most convenient way to visit is by an inexpensive and well-run guided tour managed by one of the several travel tour agencies in Puno. Although it is possible to arrange independent travel, the low-cost and

easy organization don't encourage it. Even if you were to go on your own, you'd inevitably fall in with groups and your experience wouldn't differ radically.¹⁴³

The general ubiquity of advice such as this greatly detracts from the islanders' capability to reestablish a presence in the lake's transportation sector. A 2007 survey performed by PROMPERU found that 42% of tourists that came to Peru for "rural-communitarian" tourism received their information from guidebooks.¹⁴⁴ As a result of the guidebooks' recommendations, tourists are more inclined to arrange their travel through a tour agency – reinforcing the tour agencies' integral role in the lake's tourism industry – that disenfranchises the indigenous communities by paying them less and weakens their ability for economic self-determination.

Economic Impact and Inequality

With the growth of tourism and increase in tour agency operations, Puno tour agencies and the indigenous communities have forged agreements on fees and pricing that usually heavily favor the tour agencies. In the early 2000's, Puno tour agencies and Taquileans agreed to raise the docking fee from one Sol (in 1996, US\$0.40)¹⁴⁵ to three Soles (currently, US\$1.10) for every tourist that arrives on the island. Currently, non-local tour operators use Taquile Island's docks, which they neither built nor maintain, and set the schedules that determine how many tourists arrive.¹⁴⁶ This docking fee, when collected, does not significantly contribute to the dock's maintenance. In March of 2008, one of Taquile's docks collapsed because of its condition relative to the high

¹⁴³ Schlecht, *Frommer's Peru*, 289

¹⁴⁴ *Perfil Del Turista Rural Comunitario*

¹⁴⁵ Mitchell and Reid, *Community Integration: Island Tourism in Peru*, 131

¹⁴⁶ Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth & Culture on an Andean Island*, 132-133

number of daily visitors the island receives. Dario Huata, the current mayor, has asked the government to assist in its repair.¹⁴⁷ Amantaníans elders agreed to a 15/soles per passenger payment to the host *parcialidad* for housing and three meals, as well as the docking fee. They apparently did so without knowledge of the cost for these services, as this amount does not cover the cost of food for the tourists.¹⁴⁸ In 2008, the two and a half day tour of the Urus, Amantaní and Taquile Islands, which included transportation, docking fees, food and housing, cost an estimated 40/soles, (US\$15), depending on the vendor. According to these figures only 18/soles are going directly towards the communities and the tour agency retains 22/soles.

In addition, collecting these fees from the tour agencies is often difficult and inconsistent. As described by tour agency representative, the method of payment disbursement is decided by the tour agencies and takes the form of either direct payment upon site visit or through vouchers that require an indigenous representative to come to the tour agency's Puno office to receive payment. If the direct payment method is chosen, the tour agency manager or owner gives the cash to the tour guide who is directed to give the money to an island authority. Unfortunately, guides commonly keep some of this money for themselves, either secretly, or with the explanation to the islanders that there is an additional fee of some sort due to the guide. The pre-determined fares are already insubstantial and to undercut the islanders' compensation substantially decreases an already unequal payment. In other instances, guides that arrive on the islands are either reluctant or will simply refuse to pay the docking fee.¹⁴⁹ Their resentment towards the tour agencies escalates but the tour agencies continue

¹⁴⁷ "Piden Mejorar Muelle Turístico De Taquile," *TNews*, sec. 2008, (accessed April 10, 2008).

¹⁴⁸ Zorn and Ypeij, *Taquile: A Peruvian Tourist Island Struggling for Control*, 124

¹⁴⁹ Zorn and Ypeij, *Taquile: A Peruvian Tourist Island Struggling for Control*, 124

taking advantage of them because there is no effective form of enforcement or regulation. Not surprisingly, all the tour agency managers and owners that I spoke with acknowledged that these injustices exist but claimed not to participate in these practices and blamed the other tour agencies.

The loss of control over transportation to the tour agencies and their consequent exploitation of the indigenous communities reduced the economic autonomy of both populations. Neither Taquileans nor Amantanians were able to direct the flow of tourists, or their capital, to their businesses or households and their economies were subject to the tour agencies' scheduling decisions and willingness to pay. Additionally, local businesses often see their chances to earn income from tourists severely reduced by the creation of "all-inclusive" vacation packages.

However, the impacts of the tour agencies' economic encroachment were more profound on Taquile than on Amantaní because a large portion of their economy was involved in tourism at this point. Although the Taquilean economy is not entirely dependent upon tourism, its cross-sector integration into the communities' system of shared responsibilities and benefits, combined with higher visitation rates, resulted in a widespread economic downturn. In 1997, 98% of adult Taquileans claimed to be directly employed in tourism,¹⁵⁰ though this figure does not discriminate between full-time and part-time employment. Because tourism is an integral contributor to the island's economy and the fact that Taquileans' as individuals are involved in almost every sector of their community, little distinction is made between tourism employment and subsistence employment. Partaking in activities such as farming and fishing, which contributes to both the traditional lifestyle and tourist economy, is inherently

¹⁵⁰ Mitchell and Reid, *Community Integration: Island Tourism in Peru*, 129

contributing to the tourism on their island. That 89% claimed individual benefits¹⁵¹ indicates that, in 1997 the system of communal redistribution of benefits was still fundamentally intact. However, the survey also showed that actual amount received, less than US\$400 annually¹⁵², was still fairly low.

Amantanians are also involved in a number of tourist-influenced sectors, but because they receive fewer tourists and have more arable land, tourism is not so heavily embedded within their farming, fishing and weaving industries as on Taquile Island. Amantaní Island's lower visitation rates proved beneficial to the community's economy as it cushioned them slightly from the impact of the tour agencies' eventual domination. As previously discussed, the bulk of tourism revenues on the island are controlled and distributed by boat operators and tourists are not distributed evenly throughout the *parcialidades*. As a result, most Amantanians' direct involvement is sporadic and benefits are limited and subject to the boat operators' discretion. Thus, while tourism has changed the socio-cultural traditions and way of life on Amantaní, "the profit generated by tourism does not amount to a substantially increased percentage of income on the island, especially if it is considered according to the total number of inhabitants."¹⁵³ Conversely, though they are somewhat protected from widespread, tourism-related economic shrinkage and therefore have a higher degree of economic autonomy, they also receive less of tourism's economic benefits.

¹⁵¹ *ibid.*, 130

¹⁵² *ibid.*, 130

¹⁵³ Gascón, *Gringos Como En Sueños Diferenciación y Conflicto Campesinos En Los Andes Peruanos Ante El Desarrollo Del Turismo*, 76

The Socio-Cultural Impact of Tourism on Taquile and Amantaní Islands

The introduction of tourism to Taquile Island in 1976 and Amantaní Island in 1978 forever changed the cultural and social patterns of life for the indigenous communities. Providing additional funds to people who are accustomed to having very little inherently introduces challenges of managing change in their social and cultural environment. It also creates or enhances the framework for capitalist growth and competition amongst invested parties. Mainland populations brought their money and culture to the island and the communities soon began showing signs of positive growth – stone paths were laid down that eased cross-island travel, schools were built, and people no longer shunned the indigenous presence in downtown Puno. However, these opportunities were accompanied by threats to their traditional lifestyle that shaped the value systems of the indigenous population. Cultural transformations include reports of increased materialism and decreased quality of weavings. However, tourism has been culturally sustainable on the islands, via the maintenance of and continued belief in the communal system of organization as well as the continued indigenous identity embodied within the textiles. Tourism's impact upon the indigenous communities' social systems, however, has been more damaging. Though the communities still retain the traditional communally-based *suyus* and *parcialidades*, tourism has further stratified the social classes according to wealth, while also shifting the relationship between the islanders and outsiders to one of dependence and submission.

As described in Chapter 3, certain opportunities and threats are typical of the bringing together indigenous communities and tourism. In many ways, the changes facing the Taquileans and Amantaníans are characteristic of most indigenous

communities that are confronted with tourism as an opportunity for economic advancement, while others deviate from the norm. The following sections will evaluate these seemingly predictable changes as they apply, or do not apply, to Taquile and Amantaní Islands.

Opportunities

The revenue brought forth by the tourism industry has undoubtedly augmented the physical quality of life on the islands, providing essential funds for the construction of basic trunk infrastructure. By international standards, the Taquileans and Amantanians remain poor and their facilities rudimentary, but because of the additional revenue, they are nonetheless better off than many of their neighbors. However, the disparate levels of infrastructure in place on Taquile and Amantaní Islands underscores the comparatively uneven amounts of tourism-generated income received by the communities. In 2002, neither island had electricity and cell phones were a rarity, nor did they possess potable water or sanitation systems.¹⁵⁴ By 2008, a handful of houses on Taquile Island, nearer to the tourist-frequented central plaza, had power lines and cell phone dishes outside or on the roofs of their houses (Figure 14). While not widespread, electricity can be found in the bedroom and living quarters of the wealthier households. Currently, Taquile Island still does not have hot water or sanitation systems, but the tourist restaurant we visited had running sink water and modernized western-style toilets.

In contrast, cell phone service does not reach Amantaní Island, and for those living on the opposite side of the island away from the main village, its size requires a

¹⁵⁴ Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth & Culture on an Andean Island*, 5

few hours hike to get to the land-line telephone in the Pueblo *parcialidad*. In 2008, electricity was found primarily in the tourist rooms of the family houses, though a few of the wealthier families had electricity in the houses' living quarters, as did the main pathways where tourists would most likely walk (Figure 24). The eldest daughter of our host family, Lourdes, informed us however, that the outdoor lighting was almost never used because the costs of running the generator were too high. Amantaní Island does not currently have running water and the toilets are outhouses constructed of sheet metal and concrete. Both islands have stone-laid paths from the port area to ease the hike up to the main community areas. However, coming from Amantaní Island, Taquile Island appeared less rustic, more developed and more tourist-friendly, a result of the disparity in tourist visits and spending as they relate to population size (Figure 25 and 26). While still decidedly bucolic, the paths on Taquile Island were well-tended to and had occasional signs directing people towards certain areas or facilities on the island. On Amantaní Island, visitors needed to be careful of unfinished or missing areas of stone in parts of the path.

Most of these upgrades of infrastructure would likely not have occurred had tourism not been introduced to the islands. The vast majority of these improvements were implemented to comply with governmental regulations that require certain minimal standards of cleanliness and sanitation to receive permits to host tourists. Aside from the initial IAF grants for boat maintenance, the islanders have received minimal governmental or NGO assistance for tourism-related construction and have borne the majority of the cost for these improvements themselves. Most of the new infrastructure is built through the islanders' traditional systems of shared communal labor. However, according to Edgar Adventures' website, the tour agency "requested and sponsored" the

construction of the pathway on Amantaní Island that leads to the Pachamama Temple by donating 100 insulating Thermos containers to the Amantanians in exchange for their labor, so that the islanders could conserve firewood usually used to cook and warm food, as it is becoming a scarce commodity¹⁵⁵ (Figure 27). Despite this seemingly exploitative exchange between tour agency and indigenous community, Edgar Adventures is presumably the only tour agency that sponsors or supports, in any form, development on the islands. However, their work can certainly be seen as an extension of tour agency mistreatment towards the indigenous population, as the cost of the 100 Thermoses is likely less than they would have paid the community in direct wages. Nonetheless, in exchanging material goods that benefit the community for their construction labor, the tour agency is perceived to be exchanging service for service rather than creating a hierarchical structure of employer-employee.

Tour agency domination and control notwithstanding, tourism did create new tourist-based industries and jobs, as islanders learned new trades and adapted to tourist demands. The need for new boats and their continued maintenance as well as the construction of stores created new jobs as boat builders and mechanics. Though many of these disappeared once the tour agencies established control, some Taquileans currently work on the southern shore of Lake Titicaca as boat builders,¹⁵⁶ skills they may not have otherwise acquired were it not for tourism. In addition to increasing handicraft production on their own island, the Amantanians were employed as weavers and fisherman by Taquileans as a result of latter's tourist boom. As their economy diversified and the standard of living increased, tourism's economic contribution to the

¹⁵⁵ "Edgar Adventures Tour Operator - Tours, Program Packages, Hotels, Programs Exclusives,PUNO PERU," <http://edgaradventures.com/projects.htm> (accessed 4/13/2008, 2008).

¹⁵⁶ Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth & Culture on an Andean Island*, 47

indigenous populations greatly contributed to their ability for socio-cultural self-determination. They were able to independently grow the tourism industry without extensive third-party aid and directed much of their revenues towards infrastructure, augmenting both their own way of life and that of the tourists during their short stay. This entrepreneurship resulted in increased community pride, self-worth and, though the tour agencies have significantly reduced the islanders' ability for economic autonomy, their ability to determine their own identities as Taquileans or Amantaníans.

The increased international attention tourism brought to the indigenous communities was perhaps the most significant opportunity for the indigenous communities. To the market-oriented expansionist government, the economic opportunity embodied by the islanders and their heritage created a new level of importance within the national agenda, albeit a financially-based and inspired one. PROMPERU's Puno office is on a prominent corner of the entrance to the town's primary tourist promenade and displays prominent photographs of both islands. Though the government has done little to protect or enable the indigenous communities against the tour agency's encroachment, they are no longer ignored or mistreated in the way they were before tourism. From a publicity perspective, the islanders are now presented as an integral part of the Peruvian identity as they are highlighted on websites and publications, though their treatment within the bureaucratized governmental infrastructure still demonstrates a fair degree of racism.

In addition to the early Inter-American Foundation assistance for their boats, outside financial support on both islands has come from government and NGO-funded development projects, likely a result of the increased tourism-generated attention. Among others, FONCONDES has assisted in the construction of schools and community

centers like the one that belonged to my host community on Amantaní Island, Colque Cachi¹⁵⁷ (Figure 28). The islanders have sought NGO help in preparing the multitude of documents required by the Peruvian government for development assistance, complaints and permits. However, the islanders report that aside from development geared towards infrastructure construction, the government has thus far proven unwilling to assist the indigenous communities directly in their fight against the tour agencies.¹⁵⁸ NGO assistance has also taken the form of development assistance and education exchanges, in which Taquileans travel to other cities in Peru and Scandinavia and “interns” come to Taquile.¹⁵⁹ On Amantaní Island, NGO involvement has arrived most commonly in the form of foodstuffs or construction materials, occasionally in exchange for communal construction of pathways or docks.¹⁶⁰ This differs from the aforementioned labor exchange with Edgar Adventures in that the tour agency wanted the path constructed for their own benefit, or the benefit of their tourists, while the NGOs place no such stipulation of self-gain upon their grants. The difference in assistance mediums again highlights the disparity in tourism-related income, community cohesion, and the outside attention paid to the two islands.

The increased attention to both islands also brought with it access to education and increased exposure to the outside world. After petitioning the government for high schools for many years, in the 1990s the schools were constructed on both islands. Whether these schools would have been built without the influence of tourism and

¹⁵⁷ Gascón, *Gringos Como En Sueños Diferenciación y Conflicto Campesinos En Los Andes Peruanos Ante El Desarrollo Del Turismo*, 72

¹⁵⁸ Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth & Culture on an Andean Island*, 133 and personal interviews

¹⁵⁹ *ibid.*, 130

¹⁶⁰ Gascón, *Gringos Como En Sueños Diferenciación y Conflicto Campesinos En Los Andes Peruanos Ante El Desarrollo Del Turismo*, 72

subsequent international awareness of the islands is difficult to determine. Ideally, increased education can provide essential skills – such as accounting and Spanish or English – that will assist the community in their competition with the tour agencies. According to the INEI, in 1993 61% of Amantaní District's population was literate, while in 2005, this number had increased to close to 70%.¹⁶¹ The majority of the younger generations now speak Spanish, and a few speak Aymara, in addition to their native Quechua. This was true of Lourdes, who spoke fluent Spanish, and her mother, Olga, who spoke only a few words. The increase and ease in transportation to and from Puno facilitated communications with the mainland, while increased visitation has augmented cross-cultural exposure and understanding between the tourists and indigenous communities. The numerous trips between the islands and the mainland also served the practical purpose of increasing trade and commerce to Puno and Juliaca. Education is central to enhancing self-determination and the relatively recent additions to the islands' educational systems will hopefully bolster their capabilities in regaining control of tourism on their islands.

The re-valuing of indigenous populations through the lens of tourism has also eased decades-old racist tendencies, as, with the aid of the government's active public relations campaign, the indigenous populations are now viewed as active contributors, if not integral parts, of Puno's tourism industry. Where before islanders once crept into Puno in poorly-fitting contemporary clothing thrown over their own indigenous dress, intending to slip through town unnoticed, since tourism's introduction they can walk

¹⁶¹ Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática, *Censos Nacionales IX De Población y IV De Vivienda 1993*; Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática, *Censos Nacionales X De Población y V De Vivienda 2005*

through town freely and openly meet with governmental, local and religious leaders.¹⁶² Though other indigenous communities faced with similar challenges have acculturated into mainstream society, the islands' geographic isolation, accessible only by a three to four hour boat ride, have sheltered them somewhat from this early pressure. They do not have steady access to mainstream culture that they might have were they living closer to Puno, including television, retail stores and trends, and mass media.

Though racism and expected assimilation into the Peruvian national identity is still a source of tension between the islanders and the Puno mainlanders, this hostility has eased some since the introduction of tourism. Their international status as a tourist attraction has engendered within the indigenous populations a greater sense of community pride and self-worth. They are people who have heritage and an identity worth paying attention, regardless of the tour agencies' domination of their industry. Although considered another form of exploitation, their presence in town adds to Puno's "authentic" Andean feel, increasing the exoticism so thoroughly sought after by many of today's tourists. Regardless, the islanders can now comfortably represent themselves and their heritage in the midst of Puno's mainland culture because of their tourism-generated increase in wealth and reputation.

In addition to easing historic tensions of racism and facilitating outward displays of community identity, tourism has also facilitated the preservation of weaving, one of the community's character defining elements, on Taquile Island. Because distinctive and well-made textiles have been their hallmark since the advent of tourism and the majority of their initial tourism-generated income came from textiles, handicrafts have become an even more central focus of Taquilean culture. Where their distinctive dress was once a

¹⁶² Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth & Culture on an Andean Island*, 48

symbol of lower status, they now possess great cultural pride in their dress, workmanship, and native traditions because tourism encourages it.¹⁶³ Though their textiles have slowly evolved over time to accommodate the inclinations of the tourist market and the younger generation of Taquileans, textile weaving has been preserved as a continually developing Taquilean art form that does not stray so far from the original tradition that it is considered unrecognizable. Adjustments to designs include highlighting purple rather than the traditional red and emphasizing naturalistic imagery rather than geometric shapes. They continue to weave for themselves and the tourists, and the socio-cultural and economic value of their work continues to attract tourists, who in turn facilitate the maintenance of the Taquileans' craft.

The absence of large-scale tourism has in many ways sheltered Amantaní Island from having to face issues such as these. For the Amantanians, tourism is much more of a supplementary industry and as such tourism's influence has not yet infiltrated or commoditized any aspect of their heritage the way it has on Taquile Island. Perhaps because of the way in which they are marketed in tourist guidebooks as "more genuine" than Taquile Island, it is their traditional lifestyle, or "authenticity", that is being commoditized. Should tourist visits increase because of this publicity, the way in which the islanders manage the increasing role of tourism on their island and in the development of their heritage will be intriguing, especially having witnessed the challenges facing Taquile Island.

Despite the increased presence of tourists, Taquile and Amantaní Islands have managed to avoid complete economic dependence upon tourism, as is common within other indigenous communities in similar positions. Just as neither island community is

¹⁶³ Healy and Zorn, *Taquile's Homespun Tourism*, 142-145

reliant solely upon tourism, tourists and their capital have not become an overly-influential power in the creation of their handicrafts or other sectors of their economy – they still remain decidedly Taquilean and the Amantanians economy is their own. Correspondingly, the rural-urban migration that many indigenous communities face has not occurred on Taquile or Amantaní Islands, in large part because of the tourism-generated sense of community-pride, independence and economic opportunity. The fact that 89% of Taquileans felt they were still in control of tourism on their island,¹⁶⁴ despite evidence to agency domination, is indicative of a strong sense of independence and pride.

While some islanders leave the island in search of work on the mainland, many return because of what Orlove calls “the power of memory” of their indigenous and village-based identity.¹⁶⁵ This sense of belonging and community to which Orlove refers combines with the fact that the islanders are less likely to leave if they are part of an industry that can provide enough income to live comfortably. Those that have already left have the ability to return and likewise be at ease. In essence, by providing extra income and increased publicity and awareness, tourism on Taquile and Amantaní Islands has facilitated the preservation of the indigenous communities’ heritage – not in a static state, but rather in an evolutionary and adaptive form that maintains the character-defining elements of their culture – while capitalizing upon its marketability for an “authentic” indigenous experience. However, threats to this seemingly perfect balance have recently tipped the scales towards that of an unsustainable indigenous tourism

¹⁶⁴ Mitchell and Reid, *Community Integration: Island Tourism in Peru*, 127

¹⁶⁵ Orlove, *Lines in the Water: Nature and Culture at Lake Titicaca*, 16

industry. Chief among these are the threat of Disneyfication and the gradual disintegration of the communal system of ownership and responsibility.

Threats

While the advent of tourism augmented the living conditions on both islands by facilitating the construction of basic trunk infrastructure, the resulting tourist boom and eventual domination by tourist tour agencies stripped the islanders of much of their control over tourism. As previously discussed, this resulted in a loss of economic self-determination for the indigenous communities, but it also perverted the marketed tourist experience that attracts travelers to the islands. In 2007, PROMPERU's Profile of the Rural-Communitarian Tourist observed that 70% of visitors to the Puno Region were interested in learning about the local community's customs and culture.¹⁶⁶ With the majority of tourists traveling to the islands on a tour agency-defined schedule, the experience on the islands can feel overly manufactured and "inauthentic." One travel blogger called the community center party on Amantaní Island and the islanders' performance "very hokey."¹⁶⁷ Despite being described as "less spoiled and more genuine"¹⁶⁸ in the tour books, the over-organization of the day and night spent on the island leaves only a minimal amount of time to interact with the host family or the surrounding community. These exchanges are what many people traveling to indigenous communities seek, but as Amantanians continue marketing to what they

¹⁶⁶ *Perfil Del Turista Rural Comunitario*

¹⁶⁷ "Homestay - Amantani, Peru Travel Blog," http://www.travelpod.com/travel-blog-entries/will.traveller/s._america_2006/1164656580/tpod.html (accessed 4/14/2008, 2008).

¹⁶⁸ Box and Frankham, *Peru 6e*, 227

perceive to be tourist demands, this relationship is being pushed more towards that of observer and observed.

This shift in tourist-local relationship continues on Taquile Island where the half-day visit only allots for about 15-30 minutes of free time. Here, the tourist experience is quickly transitioning from communal to mass day tourism, as almost all of the popular contemporary guidebooks mention the 11am-2pm crowds during the high-season. Direct exchanges between tourist and native are virtually non-existent, unless the visitor spends the night on the island and, according to Juan Quispe of the island's Tourism and Culture Committee, in 2005, 95% stayed only for the day.¹⁶⁹ Again, the very experience of being part of, rather than simply viewing, the hospitality, serenity and isolation that made Taquile Island famous and that most tourists continue to seek is diluted. With neither economic self-determination nor fair compensation, local participation in the production of tourism is increasingly relegated to secondary service-providing sectors such as restaurants or handicrafts sales, rather than administrative responsibilities.¹⁷⁰ Even though most island services are owned and operated by the islanders themselves, including restaurants, accommodations, and textile sales,¹⁷¹ this relationship has the potential to perpetuate historic stereotypes of indigenous inferiority or servility. Though they may feel that they are in control of tourism, the islanders do not currently see a financial profit from its production and are increasingly being relegated to the role of passive participant in the performance of their own heritage while the tourist observes from a distance.

¹⁶⁹ Zorn and Farthing, *Communitarian Tourism Hosts and Mediators in Peru*, 682

¹⁷⁰ Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth & Culture on an Andean Island*, 131

¹⁷¹ Mitchell and Reid, *Community Integration: Island Tourism in Peru*, 127

The indigenous communities however, are perhaps facilitating the dilution of these interactions in that, as tourism to the islands continues to increase, they acculturate into mainstream society rather than preserve distinctive aspects of their heritage or over-preserve that which is the perceived attraction by taking on performative roles. An example of the beginnings of acculturation on Taquile Island is the decline in weaving as a ubiquitous art form, as the “more formal education young [Taquileans] acquire, the less likely they will continue to weave”, since they lack the time for both education and weaving¹⁷² (Figure 29). Neither Taquile nor Amantaní island has demonstrated overt signs of Disneyfication, but the nearby Floating Islands of the Urus are a proximate example where this has taken place – as reported by an Amantanían boat operator traveling with us on our tour, many of the Urus do not live on the islands, but come to “work” everyday from Puno to make their living representing their heritage, wearing traditional clothing, singing songs and selling their wares to foreigners. Comparatively, the community party on Amantaní Island, combined with the women who met us at the dock immediately changing into their “western” clothing after bringing us to their homes, lent a distinctly performative and slightly contrived feel to the visit, though they have not yet reached Disneyfication levels yet.

While the scarcity of tourists has thus far shielded Amantaníans from Disneyfication, tourist pressure has brought the Taquileans closer to this simplified performative existence. The prestige of “being Taquilean” – being part of the esteemed community that draws thousands of visitors a year – creates a dichotomy in which the islanders play to the tourists’ expectations by “freezing” certain aspects of their culture that are quintessentially Taquilean, such as dress, while adapting others, such as

¹⁷² Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth & Culture on an Andean Island*, 72

weaving styles. During her research on the island, Zorn observed that many Taquileans who returned to the island from the mainland with piercings, short hair and short skirts eventually resumed wearing traditional Taquilean dress to symbolize their heritage and because “tourists expect Taquileans to look a certain way, which is “freezing” the local style but also stimulating Taquileans to wear some of the textiles they created for sale.”¹⁷³ Though this may be viewed as a form of preserving their weaving heritage, the Taquileans are nonetheless adapting their habits of dress and style to tourist expectations, which can stunt the organic evolution of their culture. They have also made changes to their production methods in an attempt to keep up with tourist demand, eliminating the more time-consuming stages and encouraging the use of factory-spun yarns. A few of the wealthier families bought foot-operated knitting machines.¹⁷⁴

This detracts from the quality of their textiles and can lead to a mimetic relationship between the past and the present, where the present is perceived to be a simulated representation of what is marketed as a genuine work of art. As the indigenous communities’ cultural products – including textiles, clothing, or culture itself – become more performative, mass-produced, simplified, and representational, Disneyfication becomes more of a threat to the indigenous communities. While neither island has fully succumbed to this process, the perceived falseness in some of their cultural products show the beginnings of the process. At this point however, whether or not this development is part of the community’s organic evolution and integration and to what extent it will be allowed to continue is difficult to discern. Both communities are

¹⁷³ Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth & Culture on an Andean Island.*, 70

¹⁷⁴ *ibid.*, 90

keenly aware of the need for socio-cultural autonomy, as is demonstrated by their objections to tour agency control, but are also conscious of the economic benefits of presenting their heritage in a specific, tourist-friendly, way.

Beyond pressures to conform to tourist expectations, this added revenue also introduced aspects of mainstream culture to which the islanders were not previously accustomed that had a far-reaching effect upon inter-community social relationships. On Taquile Island, occasions of tourist-generated stealing, public drunkenness, nudity, trampling of crops, prostitution (for a brief period in the late 1970s) and drug use¹⁷⁵ resulted in safety regulations among the islanders that did not previously exist. Having to modify their own behavior because of these threats also engendered an instinctive wariness amongst the Taquileans against outsiders, straining traditions of hospitality. Not having been exposed to these aspects of mainstream culture to the same degree, Amatanians are decidedly more open and friendly, though this likely also has to do with the increased amount of time and tourist-native interaction to be had during a homestay experience.

However, as described to me, tour agencies have more recently been made aware of inter-communal theft occurring on both islands. Though these events are rare, they stem from the increase in materialism that accompanies the introduction of capital to poor communities. In tourism's incipient stages, the majority of this capital went towards infrastructure development or was reinvested in further advancing the tourism industry. Once these basic necessities were cared for and exposure to tourists and mainstream culture became more regular, the aspirations to "be like them" resulted in the desire for popular consumer goods such as wristwatches, radios and battery-

¹⁷⁵ Healy and Zorn, *Taquile's Homespun Tourism*, 144

operated cassette players. By itself, increased materialism can inflict great harm to communities that are based upon cooperative ownership by emphasizing material remuneration for communal or private services, rather than an exchange of labor or friendship. Community values are displaced by individual desires, weakening the community-base of equal responsibility and benefit. Additionally, materialism is often accompanied by increases in theft, crime and, in the cases of Taquile and Amantaní Islands, a breakdown of traditional communal values and social systems, as theft most often occurs between individuals or families that benefit greatly from tourism and those that do not.

Though tourism on both islands continues to be managed according to the social and political system of extended family and community-wide responsibility and reception of benefits, industrialization has inherently created an educated elite class of mainly men in their thirties who are literate and speak Spanish, and their families.¹⁷⁶ The islanders still see fairly equitable distribution of benefits, on Taquile Island more so than Amantaní Island, but tensions because of the social stratification between elite families and everyone else are beginning to surface. The initial influx of tourism-generated capital laid the foundation for free-market competition, encouraging the wealthier, more educated and more entrepreneurial islanders to expand their wealth by opening their own boat companies or stores. Additionally, both Taquileans and Amantanians attempt to circumvent the cooperative system of textile sales by selling their products through their own homes, undermining communal profits. Tourism created or enhanced the control of elite families, undermining the larger communal profit base, as well eroding traditional systems of communitarianism. The government has also inadvertently

¹⁷⁶ Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth & Culture on an Andean Island*, 115-116, 119

assisted in this stratification, as, in addition to excess time and money spent in Puno, the administration of transportation on the lake involves large amounts of paperwork and management skills, reinforcing the social prominence of the educated class.

On Taquile Island, concepts of communal ownership have undergone recent changes, as only four boats out of nineteen are considered cooperative and are owned by as many as 50, but usually closer to 25 families.¹⁷⁷ By the 1990s, many of the wealthier families raised money to build and operate their own boats outside the boat associations, "believing that they could make more money by going it alone."¹⁷⁸ Similarly, there has been an increase in private family-owned restaurants that perpetuate the cycle of social inequality, with one cooperatively-owned restaurant and nine private restaurants. As the island's tourism market has shifted heavily towards day-trippers in 2001, local restaurant and boat owners have captured 74% of annual revenues, while lodging and handicraft only accounted for 16%. Because many of these boats and restaurants are now privately-owned, the same families garner a larger portion of the island's income – only 10% of Taquileans made more than \$1,000 annually from tourism and they were mainly restaurant or boat owners.¹⁷⁹ As a symptom of increased materialism, this financial elitism damages the traditional systems of communal benefits and ensures that the poorer Taquileans remain poor. This engenders envy, dissension and further divisiveness amongst a community whose initial success stemmed from an enduring system of equitable investment and benefit.

As previously discussed, the social hierarchy on Amataní Island was predisposed to the assertion of an elite class. The boat owners have positioned themselves as the

¹⁷⁷ Mitchell and Reid, *Community Integration: Island Tourism in Peru*, 130

¹⁷⁸ Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth & Culture on an Andean Island*, 121

¹⁷⁹ Mitchell and Reid, *Community Integration: Island Tourism in Peru*, 130

wealthier class that controls the flow of tourists, similar to the tour agencies on Taquile Island. Their elitism has fractured the previously agreed upon system of tourism-related rotational responsibilities and benefits. According to Lourdes, the *parcialidades* each receive about one tour group a month. However, the friendships formed between certain Amantanían boat operators and tour guides ensures that some *parcialidades*, particularly Pueblo and those near the more populous port area, to which the majority of boat operators belong, receive more than their fair share of overnight guests. Gascón notes that more than 60% of foodstuffs and grocery sales on the island come from Pueblo and the nearby *parcialidades*. Additionally, many of the tour agencies described in detail how some of the *parcialidades* are circumventing the established 15/soles rate by accepting lower fares from certain tour agencies in exchange for increased or special treatment from the tour guides, creating competition amongst themselves and inherently disenfranchising their communal, island-wide intake.¹⁸⁰ Again, the threat to this system is in the opportunity for increased tourism traffic that will, according to the current system, continue benefiting the boat operators and their associates.

Tourism on Amantaní and Taquile Island is currently economically unsustainable. This has immediate effects upon the cultural and social sustainability of the indigenous communities' traditions, identities and social relationships as well. Prior to the tour agencies' domination, tourism-generated revenues on Amantaní and Taquile Islands were redirected to members of the community, though more so on Taquile than on Amantaní Island. New jobs and industries were created and the islanders were able to finance most of their infrastructure upgrades with their own funds. Currently, the communities do not receive enough direct revenue to offset the costs of hosting the

tourists and upgrading the islands' infrastructure to enhance the tourist experience. The relationship between the islanders and tour agencies does not ensure the long-term growth or development of the indigenous communities and benefits are not fairly distributed. Additionally, the current relationship between the indigenous populations and tour agencies dilutes the inter-racial progress made in tourism's earlier stages by placing the islanders in subservient positions to the mainlanders. Coupled with the expansion of the elite classes, tourism has negatively altered both the internal and external systems of social relationships for the island communities and is thus socially unsustainable. However, many of the indigenous communities' character-defining cultural elements remain, including the continued belief in the traditional, communally-based *suyu* system and the visual and cultural distinction of their handicrafts. Despite the economic and social unsustainability of tourism, the core elements of the indigenous communities' cultures have been preserved in an evolutionary form, allowing for adaptation while retaining their defining characteristics. Tourism has thus been culturally sustainable.

Conclusion

When outsiders began arriving to Amantaní and Taquile Islands en masse, they brought with them the potential for economic growth and industry. Outside tour agencies quickly capitalized upon this opportunity and eventually established a dominance over the transportation routes that quickly expanded into control over the direction, flow, and experience of tourists on the islands. This control had far-reaching effects upon the indigenous communities' ability for economic self-determination. However, the tour agencies likely only enhanced or sped up the eventual effects of tourism's influence

upon the socio-cultural development of the communities. By introducing foreign capital and culture, the industry inherently introduces certain opportunities and threats that must be either enhanced or mitigated in order for the communities to engage and operationalize a plan for sustainable indigenous tourism. In the next chapter, I recommend certain initiatives, both government and NGO-funded, that will assist the indigenous communities to regain control over tourism on their islands by incentivizing them to take part in the free-market system that led to their present state of disenfranchisement.

CHAPTER 7

Recommendations for Sustainable Indigenous Tourism on Amantaní and Taquile Islands

The establishment and development of tourism elevated the status of the Amantaní and Taquile Islands to national and international prominence, introducing opportunities and threats that have changed the islanders' economic and socio-cultural way of life. At present, the threats have resulted in the overall unsustainability of tourism for the indigenous communities, as they reap minimal to no economic benefits and their heritage is a commodity whose economic value is largely determined by external parties. The way in which the islanders manage tourism's forces of change will shape their identity as indigenous communities, as well the overall development of tourism as a sustainable enterprise on the islands. With the expected increase in tourist visits, the industry is poised to become even more dynamic as pressures increase and more stakeholders – including local, national and international tour agencies, government officials, NGOs, and tourists – become involved. Therefore, mitigating the most severe and far-reaching of tourism's threats in the present can alleviate some of the industry's more detrimental effects upon the Amantaníans and Taquileans in their future.

Of these threats, the communities' loss of their monopoly over transportation to and from their islands has had the most far-reaching effect upon the islanders. Many of the other economic and social problems are resultant of this lack of control – including use and maintenance of docks, scheduling issues, profit-stealing and unequal

distribution of benefits¹⁸¹ – or could at the very least be alleviated by its reclamation. The need to regain community control over the transportation routes and control access is therefore vital to mitigating other existing issues of inequality and disenfranchisement within the Amantaní and Taquile Island communities. Recommendations to alleviate this imbalance should thus be focused on facilitating the indigenous communities' entry into the transportation sector as able competitors with the tour agencies.

Assumptions

Before proposing specific recommendations for changing tourism operations on Amantaní and Taquile Island, I believe that three assumptions must be addressed in order to provide a realistic framework from which the process can begin:

1. The tour agencies are key contributors to Puno Region's tourism industry and cannot be eliminated;
2. Given the history of unequal relations between the tour agencies and the indigenous communities, no equitable partnership between them should be attempted in the near future;
3. The elite classes within the indigenous communities will continue to exist regardless of any policy or planning changes.

First, we cannot simply remove the presence of all outside tour agencies, thereby reinstating the indigenous communities' monopoly on transportation. The existing tourism industry built around Lake Titicaca is multi-layered and involves many stakeholders with vested economic interests in its production. The tour agencies are among the primary stakeholders. As the principal industry in the city of Puno, tourism is currently a necessary part of the economy that provides jobs and income to Puno citizens and government and we cannot discount them or their role within the tourism industry. In addition, an island-based monopoly over transportation would take away

¹⁸¹ Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth & Culture on an Andean Island*, 148

one of the tour agents' most vital sources of income and place them in disenfranchised positions analogous to the current station of the indigenous communities. Thus, a balance must be found to allow both the islanders and the tour agencies a presence in the transportation sector, as competitors with equal potential and capabilities.

Second, given the history of racism and inequality that has colored much of their business dealings, the likelihood of an equitable partnership between the indigenous communities and tour agencies is, at present, very minimal. Any immediate partnership that is established will likely be between the indigenous communities and third party organizations such as NGOs, micro-lending banks or the federal government, if they are willing to take a more active role in empowering the communities. Although possessing a history of racism and condescension towards indigenous communities, the government has shown recent interest in development projects on the islands and has the necessary clout to enforce regulations and organize the necessary stakeholders for administrative meetings. Encouraging them to exercise this power, however, is a challenge in itself.

Third, as long as tourism is a presence within the indigenous communities, there will be social stratification to some extent. Tourism is a capitalist industry that facilitates free-market competition and private enterprise. Unless the indigenous communities outlaw private businesses or create an island-wide social revolution, once the elite classes are established, their existence will continue. An initiative for change should be designed to alleviate the specific conditions that favor the elite classes and their businesses, but it cannot facilitate a complete reversion to total social equitability. In the cases of Amantaní and Taquile Island, the creation or solidification of the elite classes was an integral part of the communities' sociological response to tourism's threats and opportunities that has its roots within their pre-tourism social constructions. Thus, a

recommendation should be focused on the redistribution of tourism opportunities between the indigenous communities and the tour agencies. Ideally, facilitating the islander's participation in the transportation sector will aid them in regaining control over the flow of tourists and their capital and this resultant increase in funds will trickle down to the rest of the community. On Amantaní Island, the elite boat operators who currently control most of the island's tourism revenue stand to gain the most from increased involvement in transportation. The creation of an island-wide cooperative system that requires the boat operators donate a predetermined percentage of their revenue to a communal fund would provide a balance to their increased business. Here, inner-island enforcement of these regulations is essential, but is an issue that should be dealt with separately from the topic of restoring indigenous presence in Lake Titicaca's transportation sector.

Recommendations

My recommendations are based upon the second and third tenets of sustainable indigenous tourism outlined in Chapter 2, neither of which is, at present, substantially in place:

2) [Sustainable tourism should] Respect the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities, conserve their built and living cultural heritage and traditional values, and contribute to inter-cultural understanding and tolerance.

3) Ensure viable, long-term economic operations, providing socio-economic benefits to all stakeholders that are fairly distributed, including stable employment and income-earning opportunities and social services to host communities, and contributing to poverty alleviation.¹⁸²

¹⁸² *Sustainable Tourism Home Page - UNEP Tourism Programme*

My recommendations therefore facilitate the indigenous communities' efforts to ably compete with the tour agencies in the transportation sector and participate in tourism as active actors rather than passive performers. However, as poor peasant communities, the Amantanians and Taquileans are at a severe disadvantage in competing with the Puno tour agencies with regard to financial capital and as a result, the recommendations focus on increasing the flow of financial capital to the indigenous communities.

Despite the variety of stakeholders involved in the tourism industry, these recommendations place the Amantanians' and Taquilans' values at their center, as the islanders are the subject and recipients of tourism but do not receive fair compensation or full economic benefits. For purposes of these recommendations, I am assuming that a paramount value among both indigenous communities is reentering the transportation sector as viable competitors and controlling a portion of the market. The values of the other stakeholders – including the tourists, tour agencies, government officials, restaurant, and hotel owners and other nearby indigenous communities – should be incorporated into the planning of these recommendations as they are integral parts of the tourism industry. However, in the process of evaluating and integrating their values, the well-being of the islanders and their values should be considered paramount, barring extreme circumstances, as the purpose of these initiatives is to empower the Amantanians and Taquileans and increase their self-determination. If, in the end, the indigenous communities determine that their need for tourism revenue supercedes any desire for preservation of cultural traditions, then at least they, not the tour agencies, will be the ones to decide their own future.

My recommendations then range from the basic, practical and enforceable to the complicated, idealistic and likely unenforceable and are listed below according to this hierarchy:

1. Increased education regarding tourism management skills
2. Microfinance loans directed towards indigenous-controlled tourism, tourism marketing and tour agency development;
3. Combined Taquilean and Amantanían tour agency;
4. Increased government oversight combined with subsidies or tax alleviation;
5. Adding a specified fee to non-indigenous tour agency tours and earmarking this increase to indigenous communities.

Recommendation 1: Education

To be competitive, education specifically geared towards providing skills applicable to tourism management – such as accounting, scheduling, basic marketing and management knowledge, in addition to Spanish and English language skills – is necessary to facilitate the Amantaníans' and Taquileans' viable involvement in the industry. This also includes practical skills such as how to open and monitor a bank account in Puno or write a check. Classes or lessons could be integrated into the existing school curriculum, or held as periodic but regular workshops to reach all age groups. For both island communities, increased education exponentially increases their opportunities to become tour guides on the community-owned boats. On Taquile Island, this would facilitate the inclusion of the Taquilean tour agency within the community's rotational labor system, as enough community members would exist with adequate skills to work at the tour agency's office on the Puno docks. For Amantaníans, these increased skills may lessen their dependency upon the outside tour agencies to attract tourists, providing access to the tourists through their own communication skills. This could have long-running affects of increasing the number of tourists to their island.

If these lessons cannot be integrated into the schools' curriculum or are otherwise unwieldy, the communities can seek other outlets through which they can acquire these skills. One example of a successful educational benefit occurred on the Tanayiku Natural Ecology Park, in which the indigenous community dedicated a certain amount of their tourism-related revenues towards scholarships for young community members.¹⁸³ Perhaps such a fund could be created for promising youth amongst the Amantaní and Taquile Island communities for tourism-related schooling in Puno.

Recommendation 2: Microfinance Loans

In 2004, impoverished communities in the Honduras benefited from a Maryland-based non-profit foundation called the CHF International who worked in conjunction with the World Bank to implement more than a hundred tourism-related projects. Projects included the creation of small tourism-related businesses and construction of facilities.¹⁸⁴ For the Amantanians and Taquileans, access to additional capital would greatly facilitate their ability to compete with tour agencies. This funding could be directed towards the enhancement of the indigenous tour agency presence via contracting the creation of brochures and other marketing materials, establishing a tour agency on Puno's main tourist promenade, the payment of full-time staff members, or other efforts to establish independent relationships with both Puno-based and international hotel and restaurant owners. With a stronger tour agency presence in Puno, the indigenous community, like their competitors, will have increased access to the tourists and forge their own relationships with third-party businesses such as hotels and restaurants that direct their

¹⁸³ Hipwell, *Taiwan Aboriginal Ecotourism: Tanayiku Natural Ecology Park*, 891

¹⁸⁴ "CHF International: Honduras," <http://www.chfhq.org/section/honduras> (accessed 4/19/2008, 2008).

visitors to certain agencies. They could circumvent the non-indigenous tour agencies as middle-men, directly reaping and controlling the benefits of transportation. If traditional values or other circumstances inhibit their ability or desire to work full-time in the tour agency offices, the increased funds could be allocated towards the hiring a trusted, third party vendor that has extensive experience in tourism management. The islanders can also control the flow of tourists and create their own tours of the lake and their own islands.

Microfinance efforts work in conjunction with education as the lender – usually a bank, non-bank financial institution, cooperative or credit union or other non-profit organization – would work with the community to provide hands-on training of the necessary and applicable skills to maximize the loan's effectiveness. If the islanders' efforts, and the lenders' investment, prove successful, then the resultant increase in access to lending capital has the potential to further facilitate the indigenous communities' presence in the tourism industry.

Recommendation 3: Establish an Amantani-Taquile Tour Agency

A partnership between the two islands would concentrate the indigenous communities' efforts to compete the non-indigenous tour agencies and their current monopoly over transportation. The benefits of an indigenous tour agency presence in the city of Puno are previously noted. The combination of the two communities' efforts into one agency would create a stronger, united, indigenous presence in the industry so that efforts are not duplicated and competitors are minimized for both groups. An Amantani-Taquile Island tour agency could facilitate the re-creation of existing tour routes – Urus, Amantani Island, followed by Taquile Island – so that this option would

still be available, but with their own island-specific provisions. Tour operations would not suffer from direct Puno-Taquile Island or Puno-Amantaní Island tours as tourists would still have the option of visiting all of the communities at once, without returning to the Puno docks. For the Amantaníans, who suffer from a lack of reputation and publicity attention in comparison to Taquile Island, the increase in awareness and revenue will augment the community's tourist proceeds, thus decreasing their dependency on non-indigenous tour agencies for marketing outreach.

Recommendation 4: Increased Government Oversight and Involvement

To minimize the Amantaníans' and Taquileans' transportation-related expenditures, the federal government could waive or subsidize the requisite fee required to establish and operate an indigenous community-run tour agency, or exempt the indigenous communities from paying the necessary licensing and docking fees in Puno. Additionally, the government could provide tax relief in the form of deductions or credits for the islanders' tour agency businesses. They could also standardize the industry transportation fees charged to the tourist, so that all tour operators receive the same incremental revenue per customer, as the amount charged is currently at the discretion of the tour agency.

Government oversight and enforcement of these agreements and relationships is crucial the efficacy and implementation of these changes. While the government has historically shown little willingness to act on the indigenous communities' behalf, without their involvement the tour agencies have little reason to abide by these tariff regulations. By facilitating the islanders' competitive entry into the transportation sector, the government is still allowing the free-market system to operate and grow the region's

economy. The revenue stream will not be interrupted and, as a rapidly developing country desirous of certain publicity-based benchmarks, they will be contributing to the decrease in the nation's poverty rate. Government fines or penalties, "sticks", should be used to ensure the management plan's efficacy, as the islanders' empowerment does not benefit the tour agencies in any easily discernable way and there is no "carrot" that can be offered to them to incentivize their commitment to this plan. Perhaps the threat of losing half of a day's income for the luxury of charging a few extra Nuevo Soles will deter tour agencies from overcharging tourists or withholding docking fees from the island communities.

Although government participation is essential in the beginning stages of implementation of and compliance with this recommendation, their involvement should be gradually minimized or phased out when the indigenous communities have proven to be more able competitors with the agencies.

Recommendation 5: Earmarking Increased Fees For Indigenous Benefit

This recommendation also requires high levels of government involvement, as it essentially decreases the profitability of non-indigenous tour agencies. The government would institute a pre-determined additional fee that would be added to the existing tour prices. The additional funds collected from these non-indigenous operated tours would be earmarked towards assisting the indigenous communities in developing their own tour agency and tourism operations. Essentially a government-enforced partnership, the additional fee would be paid either by the tourist directly or the tour agencies. If the tourists are paying this added cost, they may be discouraged from using non-indigenous tour agencies, thus shifting business towards the island-run tour agency.

Conclusion

The many stakeholders involved in the marketing and commoditizing of the indigenous communities' heritage have greatly influenced the progression of change with the islanders' societies. In the process, much of the Amantanians and Taquileans agency and ability for overall self-determination has been lost and tourism has thus been unsustainable in recent years. The restoration of their presence in the transportation sector as able competitors provides them opportunities to mitigate many of the other resultant inequalities currently in place between the indigenous communities and non-indigenous tour agencies. Recommendations for changes that place the indigenous communities' values at their center will aid in restoring the islanders' cultural autonomy and give them a leading role in shaping their own future.

Tourism on Amantaní and Taquile Island will be more sustainable if the indigenous communities that are its focus control its operations and distribution of benefits. By facilitating the indigenous communities' ability to compete within the lake's transportation sector, the islanders' independence and sense of control will be reinstated, facilitating a stronger and more solidified communal and social identity. Obvious challenges to these recommendations are compliance between the indigenous communities and amongst the agencies as well as the government's willingness to assist in their enforcement.

CHAPTER 8

Conclusion

During my brief visit to Amantaní and Taquile Islands, I was struck by the many differences between two islands only an hour apart from each other. Amantaní bore few traces of modernity and the planning of the walkways on the island was disorganized and haphazard, while Taquile presented a semi-rural and picturesque image of organized pathways lined with an occasional power line or cell phone dish. The geography of Amantaní Island felt large and rather inaccessible, while Taquile was compact and welcomed random explorations down the islands' pathways without much fear of getting lost. Conversely, the Taquileans either ignored the tourist's presence and were hesitant to talk when approached, while the Amantanians were open and actively sought out our company. To me, this indicates that Taquile Island is perhaps where Amantaní Island may soon be with regard to tourism's impact. Taquileans face many challenges that are common to indigenous communities with a strong tourism presence. Chief among these are loss of control to outside organizations and either Disneyfication or acculturation into mainstream culture. Because of their lower visitor rates, Amantaní has not had to fully confront these issues. However, despite their differences in size and social organizations, the tour agencies' domination of tourism and transportation presents a threat to the autonomy of both islands. The lack of self-determination resulting from this loss of indigenous control has created a tourism industry that is currently unsustainable and may threaten the islanders' culture. However the potential for change is emerging.

In 2002, Elayne Zorn visited Taquile Island in the aftermath of a landmark meeting attended by all central participants in the Puno Region's tourism industry: the Ministry of Industry, Tourism and Commerce; the Captaincy of the Puno port; the Puno Region government office, the National Institute of Culture the Tourism Police and the president of the Peruvian Association of Travel Agencies.¹⁸⁵ The goal of this meeting was to help the Taquileans, outside tour agencies and government officials to reach an agreement concerning problems on the island that, from the non-indigenous perspective, were detracting from the tourist experience on the island. The non-Taquilean parties felt that some of the physical and socio-cultural changes on the island were too indicative of "modernization," thus detracting from the tourist experience. In the end, one of the Taquileans' major concessions was their agreement to return to thatching their roofs, to create an "indigenous" experience, even though thatch is much more costly to repair and replace than the current corrugated metal roofs. In exchange, the islanders were to receive increased control over tourism and tour guides, in addition to fees previously owed to them for tourist services. Unfortunately, few of these benefits have been received and little has changed with regard to the relationship between the islanders and outside tour agencies.¹⁸⁶

The significance of this meeting is in both the agreements reached as well as the fact that the Taquileans were invited to the meeting. Their presence is an indicator that the indigenous communities are beginning to be viewed as partners in the management and operations of tourism, or at least important stakeholders, rather than solely passive performers. This forum provided an unprecedented opportunity for the Taquileans to

¹⁸⁵ Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth & Culture on an Andean Island*, 150-151

¹⁸⁶ *ibid.*, 150-151

assert their opinions and provided them with the knowledge that they possessed leverage – their heritage and willingness to exploit it – with which to bargain with the tour agencies and government. Puno is increasingly dependent upon tourism and with Taquile being a primary tourist draw to the city, any tourist dissatisfaction could be a blow to the city's economic well-being.

With the anticipated increase in tourism in the coming years, the meeting was also indicative of other opportunities and challenges the indigenous communities may face in the future. Increased tourism pressures introduce further complexities in the relationship between islanders and outsiders. In this thesis, I have tried to explore the ways in which tourism can function as both an opportunity and a threat to indigenous communities and in the end, how sustainable tourism can be a means for positive economic and socio-cultural development.

In the last thirty years, the tourism industry has expanded to introduce a variety of new, socially-conscious, sustainable, ways of seeing the world. Travelers' desire to see something other than what they see at home has shifted to include the quotidian lives of others, particularly those who are considered to represent a "traditional" and "authentic" lifestyle. Indigenous communities have much to gain from this opportunity, as they tend to be poor and undereeducated. By introducing a new source of revenue, tourism can assist in the alleviation of poverty, both through direct infusions of income and by drawing public attention to the plight of the indigenous communities. This increased attention can also expand access to public education and exposure to outside cultures. This has been the case on both Amantaní and Taquile Islands, where literacy

rates increased almost 10% between 1993 and 2005.¹⁸⁷ On the other hand, the increase in wealth and interaction with mainstream culture also facilitates materialism and the prominence of pre-existing elite on the islands.

Indigenous communities are faced with the difficult challenge of deciding between absorbing visitors' material wealth and culture and retaining the traditions and heritage that attracted tourists in the first place. Once indigenous communities become an attraction, tourists develop expectations of what they should be, or how they should present themselves. These expectations, or market demands, necessitate crucial community decisions of "freezing" their culture or ignoring the tourists' expectations for the sake of organic cultural development and progress. Like the vast majority of indigenous peoples, the islanders have been subject to centuries of colonialism-based racism and state-supported inequality. Significantly, tourism has forced the state and society to re-evaluate the value of the indigenous communities, albeit through an economic lens, resulting in augmented social and political status.

A distinguishing characteristic of both Amantaní and Taquile Island is their early ownership of their own land. Possession of this title allows the islanders complete jurisdiction over access to the islands. In the early days of tourism the islanders capitalized upon this opportunity and established a sustainable tourism industry in which almost all community members were involved and received benefits. However, a change in government policy facilitated the domination of outside tour agencies that took control of the transportation sector and eventually, of the flow of tourists and most of their revenue on the islands. This loss of control led to decreased economic self-

¹⁸⁷ Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática, *Censos Nacionales IX De Población y IV De Vivienda 1993*; Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática, *Censos Nacionales X De Población y V De Vivienda 2005*

determination, while tourism continued introducing new challenges to the islanders' socio-cultural autonomy. For the Amantanians and Taquileans, regaining control of transportation as active competitors in the transportation sector is essential to restoring their self-determination. Jurisdiction over access to their heritage necessitates the re-implementation of sustainable tourism practices so that the industry can become a communally-profitable resource again.

In many ways, the opportunities and threats facing Amantaní and Taquile Island are typical of many indigenous communities whose heritage has become the product of tourism consumption. With the global increase in tourism and a growing interest in the everyday lives of others, indigenous communities around the world are presented with opportunities to raise themselves out of poverty and augment cultural pride and self-determination. Concomitantly, in their attempts to navigate a competitive market-based economy they also face challenges of maintaining control and sovereignty over the development of their cultures. While the implementation of sustainable, community-based, tourism cannot alleviate all threats to indigenous cultures, these initiatives can potentially mitigate many of these dangers by placing control of tourism in the hands of the indigenous communities and allowing the communities a greater degree of responsibility in determining their own fate.

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APPENDIX A: FIGURES



Figure 1: Map of Lake Titicaca and case study sites, Amantani and Taquile Islands, on Peruvian-Bolivian border.
 Source: GoogleEarth and CIA WorldFactbook



Figure 2: Floating Islands of the Urus, made of *totora* reeds. Deliberate tourist staging shown above.
 Photo: Caroline Cheong, December 2007.

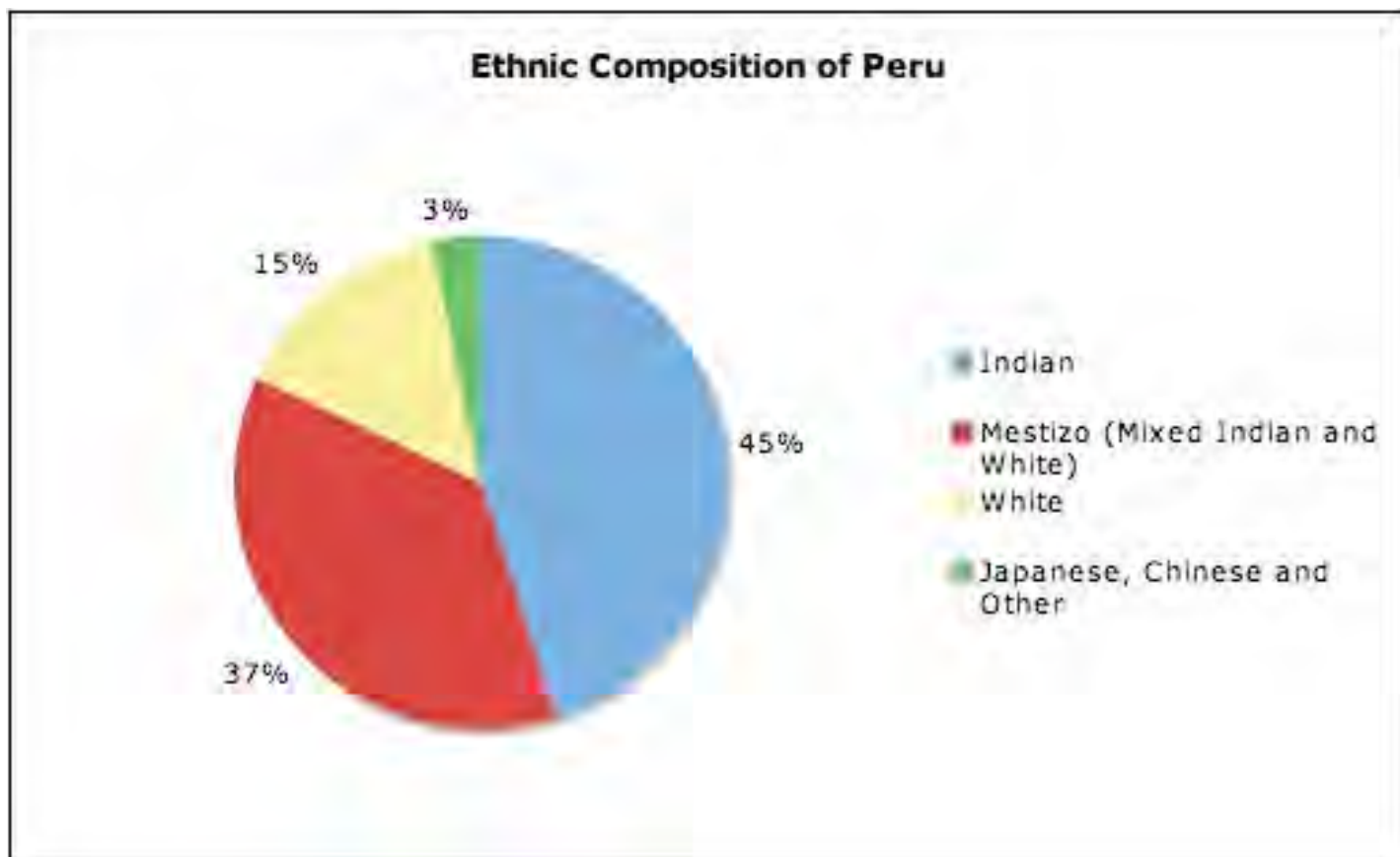


Figure 3: Ethnic composition of Peru. Indigenous population is numerically dominant, yet remains underserved and marginalized.

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática, Censos Nacionales IX De Población y IV De Vivienda 1993 and CIA WorldFactbook



Figure 4: Festival dancers on Calle Lima, the main tourist promenade. The many festivals and handicrafts in Puno contribute to its recognition as the "heart" of Peruvian folklore.

Photograph by Caroline Cheong



Figure 5: Floating Islands of the Urus. The islands are made of harvested *totora* reeds, as are their houses and boats.
Photo: Caroline Cheong, December 2007.



Figure 6: Amantaní Island. Amantanían agro-pastoral landscape and *suyu*.
Photo: Alejandro Salicrup, December 2007.



Figure 7: Taquile Island. Taquilean agro-pastoral landscape; one of the island's six *suyus*.
Photo: Alejandro Salicrup, December 2007.



Figure 8: Lake Titicaca. Before the advent of tourism in the late 1970's, the primary mode of transportation on the lake was by wooden sailboat such as this.
Photo: Clark Erickson, October 1981.



Figure 9: Taquile Island. Taquileans meeting tourists at one of the island docks, where the visitors will be assigned a host family for the duration of their stay.
Photo: Clark Erickson, March 1981.



Figure 10: Puno docks. Tourists heading toward their tour agency-owned boats.
Photo: Caroline Cheong, December 2007.



Figure 11: Floating Islands of the Urus. Uru man assisting tour guide with ready-made props and maps.

Photo: Caroline Cheong, December 2007.



Figure 12: Amantaní Island. Amantanian women from Colque Cachi *parcialidad* meeting tourists at dock. Tour guide (in hat), assigns tourist to a specific family for the night

Photo: Caroline Cheong, December 2007.



Figure 13: Amantaní Island. Tourists dressed in Amantanian clothing for party and dance, with Amantanian women in first row.
Photo: Alejandro Salicrup, December 2007.



Figure 14: Taquile Island. Cell phone dishes and electrical wiring outside a wealthier family home. Tourism has introduced new revenue that has augmented the islanders' quality of life and also access to mainstream culture and goods.
Photo: Caroline Cheong, December 2007.



Figure 15: Taquile Island. Taquilean man and woman in main plaza. Stone arch in background – part of islanders' reconstructed indigenous performance for tourists.
Photo: Alejandro Salicrup, December 2007.



Figure 16: Taquile Island. Taquilean boy selling handicrafts to tourists, circumventing communal store, on path towards dock in the background.
Photo: Caroline Cheong, December 2007.



Figure 17: Taquile Island. Tourists and Taquilean returning with goods from Puno, passing each other on the steep path between dock and island houses.
Photo: Caroline Cheong, December 2007.



Figure 18: Taquilean textile. Red is the dominant color, but the islanders have begun incorporating more purple in response to tourist demand.
Photo: Caroline Cheong, April 2008. Textile property of Clark Erickson.



Figure 19: Taquile Island. Taquilean boats docking at the island's harbor. The islanders used IAF funding to construct and maintain boats such as these.
Photo: Clark Erickson, April 1983.



Figure 20: Amantaní Island. Amantanian family. Clothing is less distinctive than on Taquile Island, a contributor to disparity in tourist "marketability."
Photo: Clark Erickson, August 1983.



Figure 21: Taquile Island. Taquilean family wearing traditional everyday clothing.
Photo: Clark Erickson, March 1981.



Figure 22: Puno. Main tourist promenade where most tour agencies are located.
Photo: Alejandro Salicrup, December 2007.



Figure 23: Tour brochure from Suri Explorer, one of the three dominant tour agencies in Puno. The "Amantani" tour includes Taquile Island, while the Taquile tour is independent. *Source: Suri Explorer Travel Agency tour brochure, 2008*



Figure 24: Amantani Island. Electric lines and outdoor lighting that is infrequently used because of prohibitive costs. *Photo: Caroline Cheong, December 2007.*



Figure 25: Amantani Island. Path from dock to main community. The primary and only paved path on this side of the island.
Photo: Caroline Cheong, December 2007.



Figure 26: Taquile Island. Street near main plaza. Taquile Island has more infrastructure (streets, electricity, etc) than Amantani Island.
Photo: Alejandro Salicrup, December 2007.



Figure 27: Amantaní Island. Path towards Pachamama Temple. Path constructed with assistance from Edgar Adventures in exchange for 100 Thermoses.
Photo: Caroline Cheong, December 2007.



Figure 28: Amantaní Island. Colque Cachi *parcialidad*. Community Center and elementary school.
Photo: Caroline Cheong, December 2007.



Figure 29: Taquile Island. Boy spinning wool to make thread. Taquilean participation in spinning is becoming less common with increased modernization and purchase of commercial-quality thread.

Photo: Caroline Cheong, December 2007.

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