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Seattle University

Tourism in Peru:
Economic Benefits at the Cost of Cultural Loss

A Thesis Submitted to
The Faculty of the College of Arts and Sciences
In Candidacy for the Degree of
Departmental Honors in International Studies

By
Doni Uyeno

June 2018

This honors thesis by Doni Uyeno is approved

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Serena Cosgrove", is written over a horizontal line. The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long, sweeping tail that extends to the right.

Dr. Serena Cosgrove, coordinator

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Felipe Murtinho", is written over a horizontal line. The signature is cursive and compact.

Dr. Felipe Murtinho, external reader

Abstract

This thesis attempts to evaluate and understand what makes tourism unsustainable within the Sacred Valley of Peru. It challenges the traditional way of measuring the impacts of tourism through its economic benefits and instead measures the impacts of tourism through its contributions to cultural loss. This thesis starts with an understanding of the impacts of tourism in a global context, followed by a case study focusing specifically on tourism in the Sacred Valley of Peru. The critical evaluation of tourism leads to the conclusion that tourism needs to be monitored and evaluated through processes that take cultural loss into consideration while centering the voices of the communities that are being negatively impacted by tourism.

Introduction and Thesis Statement

Tourism is a rapidly growing industry in Peru. It has significant impacts on both tourists and locals as well as the economy and culture in Peru. The large amounts of money that tourism brings into Peru is often seen as beneficial to many. Traditionally, tourism is measured through its economic contributions, highlighting the beneficial side of the high revenue generating industry. While the industry may be sustainable economically, often times the industry is not sustainable when measured in terms of its contributions to cultural loss. Many different aspects of tourism cause locals to change certain culture defining behaviors in order to please tourists. Through studying the impacts of tourism both in a global context as well as specifically in Peru, this paper looks at the benefits of tourism as well as what makes tourism unsustainable in terms of cultural loss. Knowing that the ideal sustainable model would not destruct Peruvian culture or the natural environment while simultaneously benefiting the economy, this paper explores potential changes that could be made to make tourism more sustainable for communities experiencing cultural loss through tourism. In order for sustainable tourism models to be applied, tourists, the government, and local communities need to be involved. Those being negatively impacted by tourism need to be centered in the research and decision-making processes and the true costs of tourism need to be continuously evaluated and critiqued as the industry continues to grow and generate more revenue. By looking at all of these factors together it can be understood that economic benefits are often at the cost of cultural loss and the perspectives and policies that center those being negatively impacted are largely outweighed by those that focus on outside perspectives and economic policy.

While tourism impacts many parts of the world, my interest in this topic comes from my time spent interning at an NGO while simultaneously doing observational research in the Sacred

Valley region of Peru. For this reason, my research in Peru is focused within the Sacred Valley. Within my overall research, I look at the impacts of tourism on a global scale followed by examples that are specific to the Sacred Valley region of Peru, most of which I witnessed and recorded during my time there. This comparison demonstrates that while broad research about tourism can be widely applied to a variety of different regions around the world, there is value in looking closely at one region to better understand the specific impacts of tourism as well as applied sustainable tourism models.

Global Context

Defining Tourism and Sustainable Tourism

Tourism can be defined in a variety of way depending on the context. While several definitions exist, one commonly used and applicable within this context is as follows: “Tourism is a collection of activities, services and industries which deliver a travel experience comprising transportation, accommodation, eating and drinking establishments, retail shops, entertainment businesses and other hospitality services provided for individuals or groups traveling away from home.”¹ This definition is widely applicable and not directed towards any specific region of the world.

It is important to note that not all tourism by the definition above can be considered sustainable. While this point is arguable in itself, the *United Nations World Tourism Organization* also has a definition of *sustainable tourism* that I refer back to throughout my research. The definition is as follows: “Tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the

¹ UNWTO. *Making Tourism More Sustainable - A Guide for Policy Makers*, UNEP and UNWTO, 2005, p.11-12.

environment and host communities.”² While this definition encompasses many different aspects of tourism, it does not go past simply “taking account” for the different impacts listed. It is important to acknowledge that if a sustainable tourism model does exist, a definition would have to be far more elaborate in terms of requirements, actions, and results.

While these two definitions are widely applicable and hold little bias, they were created by an outside organization. These definitions were not written by those whose lives and voices are being impacted and silenced simultaneously by touristic practices. For this reason, they will be considered working definitions for the remainder of my research.

Tourism as Development

The United Nations has a set of seventeen sustainable development goals that were published in 2015.³ Each goal has specific steps within the next fifteen years to help best achieve the goal.⁴ Tourism can be applied to many of the seventeen sustainable development goals, either directly or indirectly. In thinking about tourism as a form or contributor to global development, it is critical to understand that tourism as development yields different outcomes depending location. Development is “an ambiguous term that is used descriptively and normatively to refer to a process through which a society moves from one condition to another, and also to the goal of that process; the development process in a society may result in it achieving the state or condition of development.”⁵ Again, this definition allows room for interpretation and adaptation depending on the society. It is important to allow societies impacted by tourism development to have their

² UNWTO, *Making Tourism More Sustainable - A Guide for Policy Makers*. (UNEP and UNWTO, 2005) , p.11-12.

³ *United Nations. Sustainable Development Goals- 17 Goals to Transform our World*, (United Nations, 2015.)

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ Richard Sharpley and David Telfer, *Tourism and Development: Concepts and Issues*. (Channel View Publications, 2002), p.18.

own definition of what development means for their specific community. Keeping in mind tourism acting as a form of development is important in understanding its economic implications.

Economic Impacts of Tourism

In 2016, Travel and Tourism directly contributed \$2.3 billion USD and 109 million jobs worldwide.⁶ When taking indirect contributions into account, tourism contributed \$7.6 billion USD and 292 million jobs worldwide.⁷ These numbers are roughly equal to 10.2% of the world's GDP and one in ten of all jobs.⁸ Tourism can be understood as an export sector of the economy. The foreign spending comes in the form of international tourists.⁹ In 2016, travel and tourism's contribution to GDP grew 3.1% faster than the global economy's growth as a whole which grew by 2.5%.¹⁰ In terms of employment, the contribution grew by 1.8% generating 2 million jobs directly and 6 million jobs when taking indirect contributions into account.¹¹ When comparing travel and tourism to other sectors, the GDP growth was stronger than the growth in the financial and business services, manufacturing, public services, retail and distribution, and transport sectors.¹²

The money that comes from tourism can be broken up into three categories: direct, indirect, and induced.¹³ The direct category includes the money that tourists and travelers pay directly to tourism services such as: airlines, coaches, rental cars, trains, cruise lines, travel agents, hotels, convention centers, restaurants, shopping centers, sports arenas, entertainment, theatre, and

⁶ World Travel and Tourism Council, *Travel and Tourism 2017 Economic Impact-World*. (WTTC, 2017), p.1.

⁷ *ibid.*

⁸ *ibid.*

⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹ *ibid.*

¹² *ibid.*

¹³ *ibid.*

tourist recreation.¹⁴ The indirect category includes outside goods and services such as marketing and PR, cleaning and maintenance, energy providers, catering and food production, and design and print.¹⁵ To be considered part of the indirect category these factors have to be related to the direct category in some way. The combination of these two categories create jobs which leads into the third category: induced.¹⁶ The induced category can be understood as “the impact of money spent in the local economy by employees working in jobs supported by tourism both directly and indirectly.”¹⁷ This category often but not always pays into systems that benefit locals such as: education, infrastructure, healthcare, and agriculture.¹⁸ This is one way to view and understand the induced category, however acknowledging that these impacts are indirect, it is difficult to fully measure the full economic impacts from this category.

Below is a graphic from the *World Travel and Tourism Council* representing the flow between the direct, indirect, and induced categories. The orange category is direct, the green is indirect, the blue is the jobs that the two categories create, and the grey is the induced category.

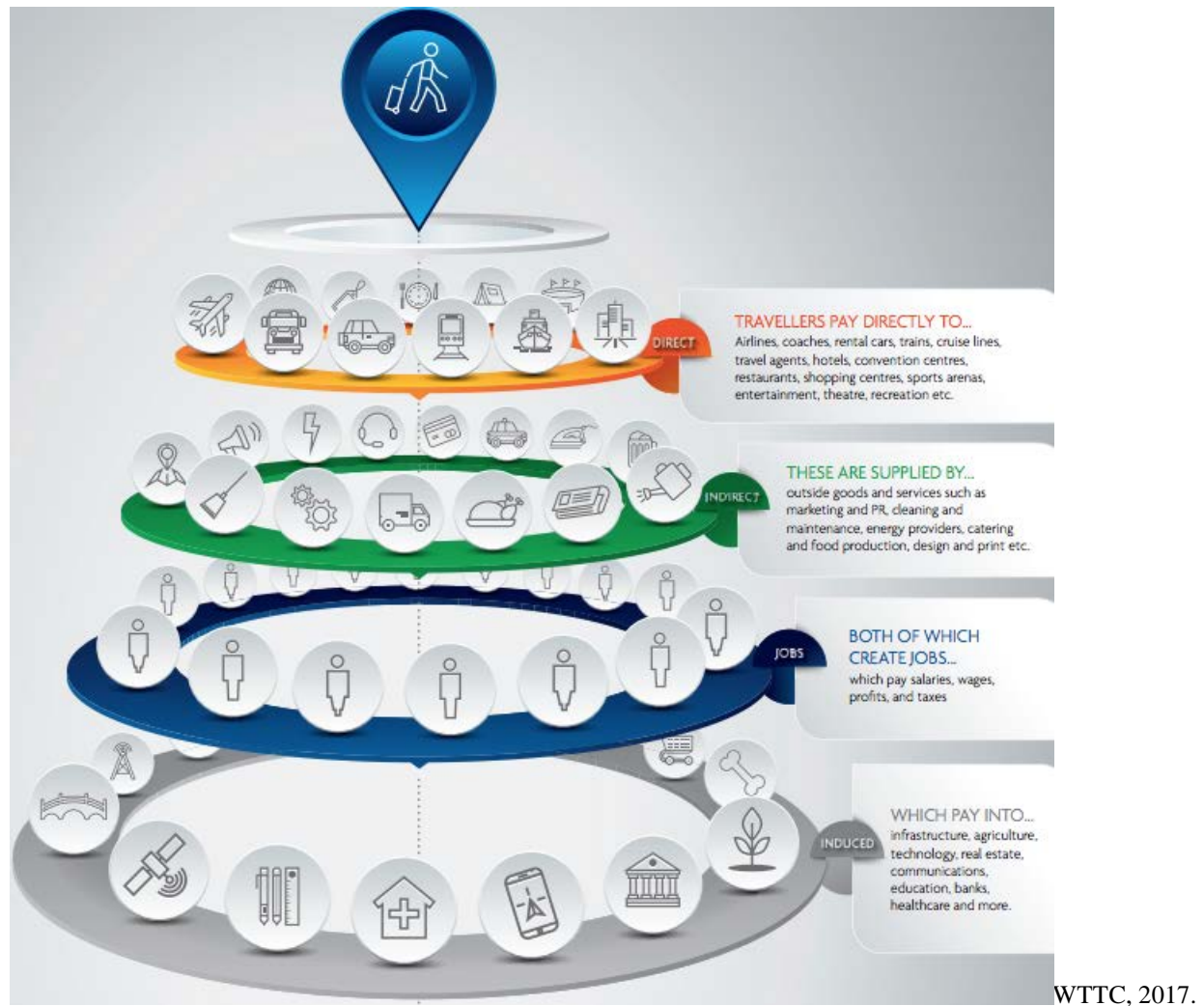
¹⁴ World Travel and Tourism Council, *Travel and Tourism 2017 Economic Impact-World*. (WTTC, 2017), p.15.

¹⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁸ *ibid.*



The Privilege Behind Tourism

In *Tourism development : growth, myths and inequalities*, Peter Burns and Marina Novelli look at the historical roots of tourism as well as claims by the *United Nations*, and the *United Nations Global Code of Ethics for Tourism* when it comes to both tourism as development and general tourism.¹⁹ Through their research, they found a common claim: “as people become freer to travel, a better more equal world will persist.”²⁰ They look at this assumption through a

¹⁹ Peter Burns and Marina Novelli, *Tourism development: growth, myths and inequalities*. (UK: Biddles LTD, 2008).

²⁰ *ibid.*

critical perspective and challenge the role of tourism as development within this assumption. One aspect that is important to acknowledge is that development tends to be measured in numbers as opposed to quality of life.²¹ Trends regarding economically focused aspects of development such as infrastructure or wages tend to satisfy the conscious tourist or researcher wanting to show that tourism is beneficial for the areas in which it is taking place in, however, without an intense evaluation process that takes quality of life into account, this is hard to prove. In short, within the sphere of tourism, it is easy to be satisfied with economic trends in development but less so to be satisfied when looking at impacts on quality of life, an aspect that is significantly harder to measure and quantify.²²

Within their argument, they also evaluate tourism as a form of globalization.²³ They again challenge the idea that tourism will lead to a more equal world and instead view it as a mode that has potential to “accentuate and deepen already existing economic and social inequalities.”²⁴ This is especially applicable in areas that already experience systematic, historic inequality from factors such as colonialism. This claim does not directly apply to all forms of tourism but is nevertheless an ever-present factor in many places experiencing tourism.

Another aspect of tourism to acknowledge is that while tourism may yield high numbers economically, in reality, only 5%-7% of the world’s population has the privilege to travel internationally.²⁵ The disproportionate numbers of those who have the privilege to travel and those who do not are known as the “local majority class” and the “global minority class.”²⁶ The former tends to suffer from tourism influenced globalization while the latter tends to cause and

²¹ Peter Burns and Marina Novelli, *Tourism development: growth, myths and inequalities*. (UK: Biddles LTD, 2008).

²² *ibid.*

²³ *ibid.*

²⁴ *ibid.*

²⁵ *ibid.*

²⁶ *ibid.*

benefit tourism influence globalization.²⁷ For example, if the global minority class influences an area enough, they might encourage the spread of more globally recognized businesses. While these businesses might be convenient to the global minority class while traveling, they often displace the businesses of local majority classes. Global minority classes get to choose tourism as part of their lifestyle and in some cases emigration as part of their lifestyle, whereas the local majority class often does not have a choice when it comes to emigration or tourism and/or the impacts of tourism.²⁸

These perspectives are highly valuable, researched, and applicable but it is noteworthy that while they acknowledge those being impacted by tourism and development through tourism, they are not written directly by the said populations.

Within this argument the importance of listening to the perspectives of local people being impacted by tourism cannot be understated. Unfortunately, these perspectives are not as widely available as those who have the privilege to leave their home country and do research about tourism in another country. By turning to the perspective of Jamaica Kincaid, one can not only compare her life experiences as an Antiguan woman who witnessed the touristic development of her country to research available information on similar topics that lack a local voice, but most importantly, learn from her first-hand perspective.²⁹ It is clear that Kincaid strives to make the reader uncomfortable. This is likely because it is often discomfort that helps to shift people's mindsets. In framing tourism as a privileged form of escape for North Americans and Europeans from their busy lives, she brings in the local perspective that often becomes marginalized:

²⁷ *ibid.*

²⁸ *ibid.*

²⁹ Jamaica Kincaid, *A Small Place*. (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1988).

Every native would like to find a way out, every native would like a rest, every native would like a tour. But some natives-most natives in the world- cannot go anywhere. They are too poor. They are too poor to go anywhere. They are too poor to escape the reality of their lives and they are too poor to live properly in the place where they live, which is the very place you, the tourist, want to go-so when the natives see you, the tourist, they envy you, they envy your ability to leave your own banality and boredom, they envy your ability to turn their own banality and boredom into a source of pleasure for yourself.³⁰

This perspectives and perspectives from people that share a similar identity to Kincaid should build the foundation of how society evaluates tourism, as opposed to its economic impacts. While Kincaid does not represent every local, her voice and voices like hers need to be centered when evaluating the impacts of tourism and creating sustainable tourism models. It is arguable that centering these perspectives is the only way to move away from the cliché rhetoric around tourism being sustainable and beneficial for every group involved.

Tourism as a Form of Cultural Loss

When discussing culture in terms of tourism, it is important to remember that it is often cultural differences and an interest in these differences that draw tourists to different regions around the world. These cultural differences include but are not limited to: food, dress, traditions, and day-to-day life. While these differences can be intriguing to many, they often form a sense of deep othering between tourists and locals.³¹ This othering or treating a culture differently than one's own can have a dehumanizing effect on the culture being visited.

³⁰ *ibid.*, 18-19.

³¹ William Theobald, *Global Tourism*. (Burlington, Massachusetts, Library of Congress, 2005).

Often times the behaviors of tourists change when traveling.³² They do not hold the same responsibilities and morals that they do at home and use their time in a different place as a break or change from their normal day to day life. This is a normal shift in mindset for many but not all tourists and the results of this can be seen in activities such as prostitution, drugs, gambling, and vandalism.³³ Locals have noted increases in community crimes with increased tourists. It is common for these types of activities and behaviors to not fall within the values of the locals in a community. It is not to say that none of the community members participate in these types of behaviors but rather that tourists often partake in different ways, to different extremes, and are often being served by locals while doing so. This often causes tension and forced adaptations by locals.³⁴ These forced adaptations can often be seen as being against the morals of the local people,³⁵ since it is common for the actions of locals in tourism to be determined by the wants and needs of the tourists. For example, in Jogja, Indonesia, the main street has slowly stopped selling majority local food and now can be seen “with various supermarkets, department stores, and shopping malls selling global brand names, restaurants with international menus, and transnational fast food chains (including McDonalds, Pizza Hut, Wendy’s, Dunkin’ Donuts, and Kentucky, Texas and California Fried Chicken).”³⁶ Before this globalization in the form of brand named restaurants, selling local food was part of the local culture and tradition, actions that are morally important to many populations. However, many are now being forced to change their moral standpoints to adapt to the wants and needs of tourists, economic forces and powerful globalization movements.

³² *ibid.*

³³ *ibid.*

³⁴ William Theobald, *Global Tourism*. (Burlington, Massachusetts, Library of Congress, 2005).

³⁵ *ibid.*

³⁶ Noel Salazar, *Tourism and Glocalization ‘Local’ Tour Guiding*. (Annals of Tourism Research. Volume 32, Issue 3, 2005).

Analyzing the way that these tensions can impact locals is necessary to understand when looking at tourism as a form of cultural loss. At times, the systems of local culture is altered in order to satisfy tourists as well as for economic benefits.³⁷ One of the strategies that is used is known as “staged authenticity.”³⁸ Seeking true authenticity often motivates tourists to go to a region and staging this “authenticity” in a place where tourists have already impacted is often an effort from locals to try to protect the truly authentic places that are not as popular or discovered among tourists.³⁹ With this, economic benefits from tourism can still be obtained, but negative influences from tourism remain relatively concentrated. However, this does not always stop tourists from forcing their way into “undiscovered places” and claiming them as new tourist destinations. These actions echo colonialist practices in the ways that they exploit local resources and peoples, and ultimately become dominate in the area.

Another reality of tourism is the unequal power dynamic between a local person and a tourist. While being a local person in an area with tourists does not imply being financially poor, a common form of tourism is visiting communities with low socioeconomic statuses. While this may act as a form of development in a community, it often leads to a situation where locals are constantly being visited and viewed by people with levels of privilege that are very difficult if not impossible to reach in their own country, leading to justified levels of frustration and resentment.⁴⁰

While many themes in this section can be broadly applied, it was difficult to find research conducted and recorded by the populations who are being negatively impacted. While they were often consulted or referenced in the research, they were rarely the ones conducting and/or writing

³⁷ William Theobald, *Global Tourism*. (Burlington, Massachusetts, Library of Congress, 2005).

³⁸ *ibid.*

³⁹ *ibid.*

⁴⁰ William Theobald, *Global Tourism*. (Burlington, Massachusetts, Library of Congress, 2005).

the research. This gap in the available literature further exemplifies the levels of privilege between a local person and a foreign researcher. The available research needs to be read through a critical lens with the understanding that the majority of the time, the researcher is a tourist conducting the research, therefore writing from an outside perspective about dynamics, adaptations, and behaviors that they are inherently involved in.

Peru Context

Peru is located on the Western Coast of South America. Approximately 32 million people live in Peru.⁴¹ Cusco is the tenth most populated city with approximately 350,000 residents.⁴² Within Cusco region is the Sacred Valley region of Peru, holding approximately 65,000 residents.⁴³ The Sacred Valley holds many Inca archaeological sites, including one of the new seven wonders of the world and UNESCO world heritage site: Machu Picchu. As a country, Peru brings in over 3.2 million tourists each year with the Sacred Valley area attracting over 1 million of these tourists, approximately 800,000 of whom are non-Peruvian.⁴⁴ These large numbers of tourists are often attributed to the “discovery” of Machu Picchu by Hiram Bingham.⁴⁵ Bingham was a self-proclaimed explorer and academic from North America.⁴⁶ Ever since he “found” Machu Picchu in 1911, tourism has increased with the exception of the worst years of the Shining Path between 1980-1983.⁴⁷

⁴¹ Central Intelligence Agency, *World Factbook Peru*. (Open Government, 2018).

⁴² *ibid.*

⁴³ *ibid.*

⁴⁴ Lincoln Larson and Neelam Poudyal, *Developing Sustainable Tourism Through Adaptive Resource*. (Journal of Sustainable Tourism. Volume 20, Issue 7. 2011).

⁴⁵ Hiram Bingham, *Lost City of the Incas-The Story of Machu Picchu and its Builders*. (New York Atheneum, 1967).

⁴⁶ *ibid.*

⁴⁷ Maria Eugenia Ulfe, *Promoting Peru-Tourism in Post Conflict Memory*. (Pontifical Catholic University of Peru, 2011).

There are many different ethnicities in Peru, as well as many different languages spoken. The ethnicities include: 45% Indigenous, 37% Mestizo, 15% White, 3% Black, Japanese, and other.⁴⁸

Within the Sacred Valley of Peru, the prominent indigenous group is *Highland Quechua*.

Highland Quechua is the indigenous group with the largest population in Peru as well as in the Sacred Valley.⁴⁹ This group traces their ancestry back to the Inca empire, explaining the ties that many have with the Inca sites and ruins within the Sacred Valley region. While some have learned Spanish, they are primarily Quechua speaking peoples and religiously identify as either Catholic, with an indigenous religion, or most commonly: a combination of the two.⁵⁰

When self-identifying as indigenous or identifying a group as indigenous, it is important to acknowledge that the amount of people who are identified or self-identify as indigenous ranges from study to study. This is likely because many people have been forced or chose to assimilate into non-indigenous cultures with influences that root from colonization and unfair treatment of indigenous groups, thus changing how they self-identify. This ultimately leaves some of this population in a position where they no longer identify or are no longer identified by their indigenous roots. In the modern day, tourism plays a role in this process of forced and/or chosen assimilation.

Other languages represented in Peru include: 84.1% Spanish (official), 13% Quechua (official), 1.7% Aymara, and 1.2% other indigenous languages.⁵¹ Many populations speak more than one of these languages. Recognizing Quechua as an official language (in addition to Spanish) was a significant step on the government's behalf to recognize the country's large

⁴⁸ Central Intelligence Agency, *World Factbook Peru*. (Open Government, 2018).

⁴⁹ UNHCR, *World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples - Peru*. (RefWorld, 2018).

⁵⁰ UNHCR, *World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples - Peru*. (RefWorld, 2018).

⁵¹ Central Intelligence Agency, *World Factbook Peru*. (Open Government, 2018).

indigenous community and history. While Quechua is the most widely spread indigenous language in the world, it is still considered an endangered language.⁵²

Much of tourism in Peru operates through the government. Within the Peruvian government is the *Ministry of Culture*.⁵³ They identify as an “Organism of the Executive Power in charge of all the cultural aspects of the country and exercises exclusive and particular competence in relation to other levels of management nationwide.”⁵⁴ They are the area of government that is often in charge of decisions having to do with tourism. The *Ministry of Foreign Trade and Tourism* works closely with the *Ministry of Culture*. While they focus on tourism, their focus tends to be more on how artisanal goods fit into both tourism and international trade.⁵⁵

Peru’s GDP is \$192.2 billion USD.⁵⁶ The GNI per capita is \$12,480 measured in current international dollars.⁵⁷ With this being said, Peru’s economic statistics vary greatly depending on the region. While it is hard to measure economic statistics that are regionally specific, in 2014 the rural poverty gap at national poverty lines was 13.7%.⁵⁸ This is the lowest it had been in many years but still significant, especially when compared to the 2014 urban poverty gap at national poverty lines at 3.3%.⁵⁹ To further understand the differences between these two regions, the urban poverty headcount ratio at national poverty lines (% of urban population) in 2014 was 15.3% compared to the rural poverty headcount ratio at national poverty lines (% of

⁵² Joshua Fishman, *Can Threatened Languages be Saved?* (Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data. Multilingual Matters LTD, 2001).

⁵³ Ministerio de Cultura, *Información Institucional*. (Gobierno del Perú, 2010).

⁵⁴ Ministerio de Cultura, *Información Institucional*. (Gobierno del Perú, 2010).

⁵⁵ Ministerio de Comercio Exterior y Turismo. *MINCETUR*. (Gobierno del Perú, 2017).

⁵⁶ The World Bank, *World Development Indicators*. (The World Bank Group, 2018).

⁵⁷ *ibid.*

⁵⁸ *ibid.*

⁵⁹ *ibid.*

rural population) at 46%.⁶⁰ These statistics are important to keep in mind when understanding and evaluating the impacts of tourism in rural areas.

How Tourism is Traditionally Evaluated

Like mentioned earlier, the traditional way that tourism is evaluated is through its economic impacts. Because of positive economic impacts, tourism is often perceived as positive for all groups involved due to impacts in the host economy. By looking at the impacts that tourism has on Peru's economy, one could understand why the economic impacts of tourism often act as a point of measurement and evaluation.

In 2016, travel and tourism directly contributed 6.7 billion US dollars to Peru's economy, 3.9% of the total GDP. This number is expected to rise to 4.6% by 2027.⁶¹

In 2016, the total (both direct and indirect) contribution of travel and tourism was 19.1 billion US dollars to Peru's economy, 10.1% of the total GDP. This number is expected to rise to 11.7% in 2027.⁶²

In 2016, travel and tourism directly supported 403,500 jobs and both directly and indirectly supported 1,332,000 jobs.⁶³ These jobs pay salaries, wages, profits, and taxes. The jobs pay into the induced category which contributes to a variety of different systems within Peru. These systems include but are not limited to: infrastructure, agriculture, technology, real estate, communications, education, banks, and healthcare.⁶⁴ This graph below represents the total

⁶⁰ *ibid.*

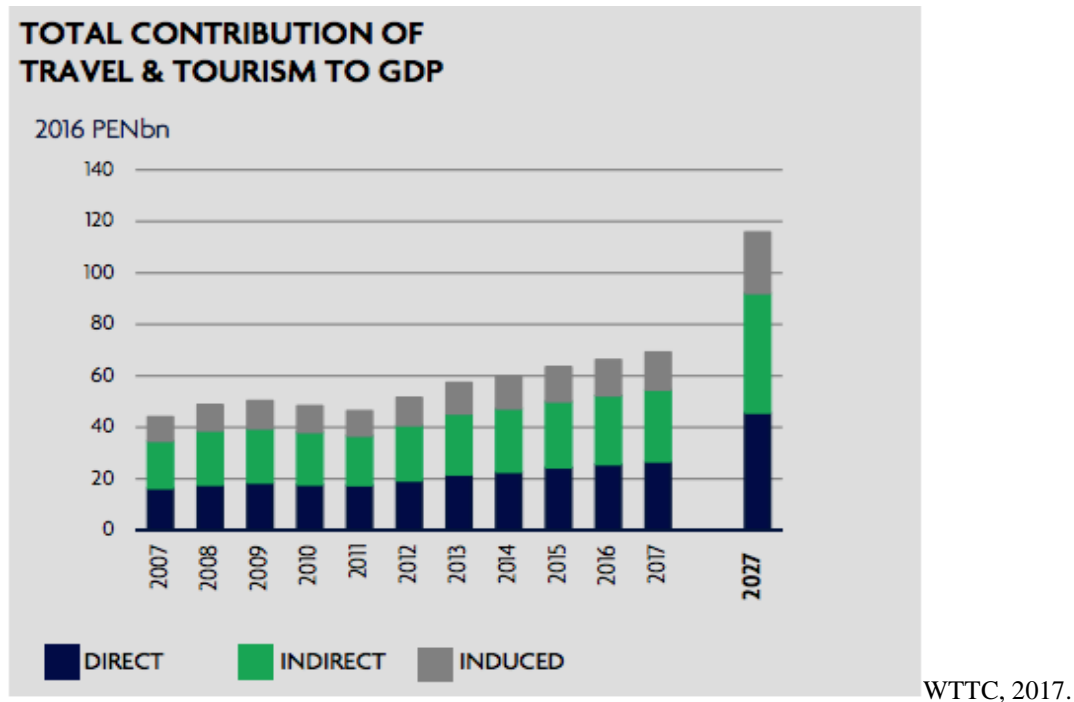
⁶¹ World Travel and Tourism Council, *Travel and Tourism 2017 Economic Impact-Peru*. (WTTC, 2017), p.1.

⁶² *ibid.*

⁶³ *ibid.*

⁶⁴ World Travel and Tourism Council, *Travel and Tourism 2017 Economic Impact-Peru*. (WTTC, 2017), p.1.

contributions of travel and tourism to Peruvian GDP as well as future projections.



Within these categories it is important to note the different touristic services improving these economies, such as restaurants, bars, massage parlors, and souvenir shops. These services as well as related services change areas on not only economic levels but on cultural levels as well. The establishment of these services is often viewed as modernization to an area, or “improving” the already existing services for more globally recognized ones.

It is noteworthy that cross cultural learning occurs with tourism and while this can be beneficial for both locals and tourists, the benefits of this are hard to quantify. However, these benefits are often mentioned when evaluating the impacts of tourism in a traditional way.

Critical Evaluation of Tourism

When looking at tourism it is important to use a critical evaluation process and acknowledge that industries that may be beneficial in some ways often are damaging in others. By taking a deeper look into specific impacts, it is easier to critically analyze the impacts of tourism. These

impacts are often not taken into consideration when evaluating tourism. With high amounts of tourists, rich culture and cultural history, and my own observational research within the Sacred Valley to supplement findings, the Sacred Valley of Peru is a location that holds critical examples of the non-traditionally evaluated impacts of tourism.

Tourism as Economic Development in the Sacred Valley

The percentage of people living in poverty in Peru's rural regions (partly the Sacred Valley) greatly outnumber those living in poverty within the urban regions.⁶⁵ There is little measurable correlation between tourism and poverty levels, however, there is a slight impact considering its contributions to both the GDP and the job market. It is important to acknowledge that the high poverty levels in rural regions contrasted with lower poverty levels in urban regions is also the result of hundreds of years of inequalities and, lack of access to opportunities and resources between rural and urban areas. Knowing this information, it is interesting to compare poverty levels between urban and rural areas in Peru, keeping in mind that the urban areas experience significantly less tourism based development. In order to understand how tourism contributes to this inequality, albeit a small part of the equation, where the money from tourism travels needs to be evaluated. In order to conceptualize this in terms of a specific site, the biggest tourist attraction in Peru, Machu Picchu will act as a case study.

Annually, Machu Picchu generates approximately \$40 million USD on tickets alone.⁶⁶ This number does not take into account any of the other direct or indirect contributions. While these contributions are hard to measure, when taken into account, the revenue generation would

⁶⁵ World Bank, *Peru*. (World Bank, 2017).

⁶⁶ Geoffrey Shullenberger, *That Obscure Object of Desire: Machu Picchu as Myth and Commodity*. (Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies, 2008). p.317.

greatly multiply. When purchasing a ticket to Machu Picchu, a tourist has a few options. The most common being to buy it from a government run website or buy it from someone who bought it from a government run website. Regardless, all tickets have to be issued through the *Ministerio de Cultura*, the branch of the Peruvian government that largely controls tourism. While the *Ministerio de Cultura* has multiple different locations around Peru to help with tourism needs, its main branch and the one that generates the majority of the revenue is located in the capital of Peru: Lima. The money from ticket operations goes to the *Ministerio de Cultura*. There are seven other major tourist services including “MITINCI, Promperu, Servicio de Protección al Turista and several minor ones such as Instituto Nacional de Cultura, Dirección Nacional de Migraciones, [that] promote tourism in Peru on behalf of the government.”⁶⁷ “With all the main tourist institutions are located in Lima, national tourism marketing and promotion is controlled and centralized in the capital.”⁶⁸ With these major touristic services located in the capital as well as promoted from the capital, little economic benefit from tourism is available for the local economies that are bearing the burdens of tourism.

Another example of this is the railway system that many tourists take from Ollantaytambo to arrive in Aguas Calientes, from which they can get to Machu Picchu. The train company is headquartered outside of the rural area that the tracks cut through, and much of the revenue goes to outside stakeholders. Although there is no empirical research showing this directly, people in Ollantaytambo often argue that the revenue and benefits from having a train run through one’s town are not seen in Ollantaytambo but rather in more urban areas. Instead the small rural town is left with the negative transformations to the natural landscape and influxes of tourists, hotels,

⁶⁷ Promperu, *Infraestructura Aéreo Comercial en el Perú. Año de los 600 mil turistas*. (Lima: Comision de Promocion del Peru- Promperu, MITINCI, 1996.)

⁶⁸ Greg O’Hare and Hazel Barrett. *Regional Inequalities in the Peruvian Tourist Industry*. (Geographical Journal, 1999).

and outside businesses that were nearly nonexistent before the 2008 train station opened. Now the town is known as a convenient *pass through* tourist destination providing a place to stay before or after one spends time at Machu Picchu. Because of this *pass through* dynamic that the town and its resources offer to tourists, Ollantaytambo does not benefit nearly as much financially as places in the Sacred Valley that are seen as more of a sought out destination.

Again, acknowledging that the income inequality and wealth distribution between urban and rural regions is rooted in years of social inequality and lack of access to opportunities and resources, it is important to acknowledge that unequal and unjust distribution of tourism revenue accentuates and deepens already existing social and economic inequalities between indigenous groups and mestizo groups.

Tourism as Cultural Loss in the Sacred Valley

Along with economic inequalities based in tourism, come the impacts tourism has on the culture in Peru. As discussed above, the presence of tourism in an area often leads locals to have to go against their morals, adapt to tourists, and experience unequal power dynamics.

Environmental Loss as a form of Cultural Loss

When discussing *Highland Quechua* culture, it is hard to draw a line between the culture and the natural environment as the two are very closely related for many *Highland Quechua* peoples.⁶⁹ This religious and cultural way of life is often referred to as *Pachamama*.⁷⁰ This can be understood as the honoring of mother earth through everyday actions as well as religiously

⁶⁹Allison Paulsen, *Environment and Empire: Climatic Factors in Prehistoric Andean Culture Change*. (World Archaeology, 2010) p.121-132.

⁷⁰ Daniela Salvia, *La pachamama en la época incaica y post-incaica: Una visión andina a partir de las crónicas peruanas coloniales (siglos XVI y XVII)*. (Revista Española De Antropología Americana, 2011). p.89-110.

based one.⁷¹ During my time in the Sacred Valley, I observed many examples of this. One example was the pouring of a sip of one's drink before a meal in order to thank *Pachamama* for the meal. Perhaps the most prominent example is the honoring as the mountains as gods. The *Apus* (mountains) are gods within some *Highland Quechua* religions.⁷² During religious ceremonies they are all thanked by name and honored through a ritual called *k'intu* which is conducted with the use of coca leaves.⁷³ With these rituals and the importance of *Pachamama* in mind, it is critical to understand what role tourism plays on not only the natural environment in Peru but the natural environment as a spiritual place in Peru.

Vinicunca of Peru, otherwise known as "Rainbow Mountain" has become a highly visited tourist destination within the last five years because snow melt, predicted to be a result of climate change has revealed the vibrant colors on the mountain.⁷⁴ With over 1,000 visitors a day, they



have converted wetlands at the base of the mountain to act as parking lot as well as eroded a 2.5 mile trail.⁷⁵ In addition to the environmental impacts that are already evident, locals from the areas, many of whom are not accustomed to tourists are now being forced to become tour

⁷¹ Daniela Salvia, *La pachamama en la época incaica y post-incaica: Una visión andina a partir de las crónicas peruanas coloniales (siglos XVI y XVII)*. (Revista Española De Antropología Americana, 2011). p.89-110.

⁷² Irene Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideology and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru*. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987).

⁷³ Deborah Bryon, *K'intu Offerings and Haimutay*. (Lessons of the Inca Shamans, 2014).

⁷⁴ Iliana Magra and Andrea Zarate, *Will Tourism Ruin the Rainbow Mountain of Peru?* (The New York Times, 2018).

⁷⁵ *ibid.*

guides.⁷⁶ This is a necessity for tourists because many simply cannot climb at an elevation of 16,000 feet without any guidance.⁷⁷ In short, locals from the Vinicunca area are being forced to become tour guides and learn a new language and skill set. These cultural shifts are especially notable when taking into account the fact that Vinicunca is a sacred *Apu* whose vibrant colors are only evident because of largely human caused environmental change.

Along with the environmental impacts that come from specific sites being altered for tourists comes the increase in environmental problems through population increase. With more people comes more waste and more littering and the Sacred Valley does not have garbage disposal systems to accommodate the amounts of waste being produced in the area, leaving the locals to deal with the long term effects of increased waste and litter.⁷⁸ The water and sanitation systems in the area are also ill equipped to handle Peruvians on their own and much less increased numbers of tourists.⁷⁹ Also, with more tourists comes more vehicles, ultimately contributing to increases in air pollution.⁸⁰ This is especially noticeable in areas that did not use to have accessible areas for vehicles to travel.

Again, when looking at environmental loss in the Sacred Valley of Peru it is important to understand the deep cultural ties that many (not all) indigenous people have to the environment. These are ties that predate the systems of colonialism and tourism, are therefore hard for someone outside of the culture to quantify and understand.

⁷⁶ Iliana Magra and Andrea Zarate, *Will Tourism Ruin the Rainbow Mountain of Peru?* (The New York Times, 2018).

⁷⁷ *ibid.*

⁷⁸ Raven Pittara, *The Dark Side of Tourism in Peru*. (Atavist, 2017).

⁷⁹ *ibid.*

⁸⁰ *ibid.*

Gentrification as a Form of Cultural Loss

Restaurants, bars, massage parlors, and souvenir shops are just a few of the businesses popping up all over the Sacred Valley to accommodate tourists. While they may yield economic benefits for some of the groups involved as well as convenient places for tourists to go, they displace many locals in the process. This is a form of gentrification. Often times the new businesses sell products that are too expensive for locals to buy and locals feel like the spaces are no longer accommodating to them. An anonymous local to Peru states: “In Peru the term gentrification is not recognized. The government here doesn’t even know what gentrification is...”⁸¹ This lack of awareness does not favor the locals and this shows in the lack of training and management available for the locals that are involved in the tourist industry to use. I found this to be true by talking to locals about how they started their businesses. Few referred to any government enforced guidelines or assistance. This shows that even if they wanted to counter forces of gentrification, they often do not have the resources available to do so.

⁸¹ Francesca Perry, ‘*We are building our way to hell*’: tales of gentrification around the world. (The Guardian, 2017).



D.Uyeno, 2018

The photo above shows a portion of the plaza in Ollantaytambo. The signs advertise internet, pizza, coffee, Wi-Fi, panoramic views, etc. It is important to note that the signs are all in English and all are tailored towards tourists. While in Ollantaytambo, I had the opportunity to ask locals what the plaza looked like before tourists came to the area and they told me that is used to be all residential with one restaurant selling traditional Peruvian food. The big shift towards appealing to tourists came in 2008 with the opening of the train station that brings huge waves of Machu Picchu seekers daily. Even though plazas throughout Latin and South America are the result of Spanish colonization, they play an integral role in the culture today. They often act as marketplaces, ceremonial centers, social concourses, or parks.⁸² Influxes in tourism often change what these spaces are used for and Ollantaytambo was not exception to this. The plaza was full

⁸² Daniel Gade, *The Latin American Central Plaza as a Functional Space*. (UT Press, 1976). p.16-23.

of locals selling souvenirs to tourists, along with rides to the various tourist sites around the Sacred Valley. One person I talked to quantify the change in the plaza through the decrease in gossiping abuelas and the increase in bargaining tourists.

Alcohol in the Tourist Industry

The use of alcohol within the tourism industry is an example of a system that benefits the economy while simultaneously leading some people to disrespect locals. This is known to some as “alcotourism” or destination drinking. “Alcotourism” can be defined as the following: “the practices of travelling to drink, drinking on holiday, drinking to travel and drinking while travelling that are important but understudied aspects of both tourism studies and alcohol studies.”⁸³ Many tourist destinations have caught onto this trend and in many situations provide alcohol even if it is not within the cultural norms of the society to do so. This is not to say that local people do not drink alcohol. However, many of them have adapted their traditional ways of drinking to better suit tourists. In Ollantaytambo I found that locals typically drank at home with friends and family. It was rare to see locals at the bars unless they were bartending, but even that profession was largely taken over by tourists who decided to extend their stays. While these bars and clubs do bring money to the area, they also often bring drunk/uncontrollable tourists, noise, crime, and vandalism.⁸⁴ Participating in these behaviors or witnessing these behaviors may seem like an everyday part of life for both locals and tourists in big metropolitan areas. However, in smaller towns, a few groups of drunk tourists can make a big difference. I witnessed this often in Ollantaytambo as well as other areas of the Sacred Valley. In many ways the push for nightlife

⁸³ David Bell, *Destination Drinking: Toward a Research Agenda on Alcotourism*. (Drugs: Education, Prevention & Policy, Volume. 15, Issue. 3. 2008).

⁸⁴ David Bell, *Destination Drinking: Toward a Research Agenda on Alcotourism*. (Drugs: Education, Prevention & Policy, Volume. 15, Issue. 3. 2008).

has transformed parts of the town from traditional restaurants and houses to flashy bars and clubs selling foreign food, another form of gentrification.

Job Adaptation through Tourism as Cultural Loss

One of the most common tourist activities in the Sacred Valley of Peru is trekking. This region is known for its natural mountainous beauty, often times with Inca ruin destinations that can only be seen by foot. This industry is a considerable contributor to Peru's fast-growing tourist economy. While taking part in these treks, tourists often need local assistance for a variety of reasons. One of the most necessary groups of people that tourists need are porters. Even if a tourist is in great shape, carrying the gear that is necessary at up to 12,000 feet elevation can pose a challenge for anyone. Porters are the people employed to carry this necessary equipment.⁸⁵ Through interviewing 101 porters about the health and working conditions of the porters on the Inca trail, Irmgard Bauer found that the main concerns "were lack of fuel, clothes, shelter, and equipment but foremost the lack of sufficient food provisions."⁸⁶ "A third (of the porters) described their general health as poor or very poor and attributed this to work."⁸⁷ "Thirty-eight porters recalled injuries while on the trail and over 90% had fallen ill on the job with cold, "majurki," and stomach pain due to lack of food or cold food being named most often."⁸⁸ Generally solutions proposed by the porters included increased pay and/or more substantial food.⁸⁹ While the causes of poor porter health can be attributed to many factors including but not limited to: healthcare, travel companies, and the role of the government, tourism awareness is an

⁸⁵ Irmgard Bauer Bauer, *Inca Trail Porters: The Health of Local Tourism Employees as a Challenge for Travel Medicine*. (Journal of Travel Medicine, Volume. 10, Issue. 2, 2003).

⁸⁶ *ibid.*

⁸⁷ *ibid.*

⁸⁸ *ibid.*

⁸⁹ Irmgard Bauer Bauer, *Inca Trail Porters: The Health of Local Tourism Employees as a Challenge for Travel Medicine*. (Journal of Travel Medicine, Volume. 10, Issue. 2, 2003).

important factor in assessing this problem. While I was in the Sacred Valley not only did I notice the poor health conditions of the porters, but also the changes in family dynamics that come along with the husband and/or son of the family being a porter. Since porters are often away for days to weeks at a time, it puts a lot more pressure on the women in the family, often disrupting and changing traditional family dynamics.

Ancient Inca Sites Turned Tourism Destinations

Throughout the Sacred Valley there are many Inca sites and ruins. This not only contributes to it being called the Sacred Valley but also to what makes it such an attractive tourist destination. Again, tourists are often motivated to travel through the curiosity in the differences between their culture and the culture they are visiting. For many, Inca sites and ruins are far from anything they are familiar with in their own culture, thus sparking curiosity in the Sacred Valley region. This curiosity has led to influxes in tourism and while beneficial to some parts of the economy it has also fostered the main purpose behind these sites to be attracting, serving, and being available to tourists. One of the most recognized examples of this is Machu Picchu. Attracting approximately 1 million visitors per year,⁹⁰ when Machu Picchu is referenced it is usually in terms of tourism in some way. People do recognize the paradox of the modern day role of Machu Picchu, sparking much debate within the perspectives of scholars, tourists, indigenous Peruvian peoples, and the Peruvian Government.

On one hand, you have a location which every guide book has declared to be an essential part of the tapestry of human life - with all the tourist interest and potential ringing of the cash tills that this encompasses. On the other, you have a precious commodity, built by

⁹⁰ Chris Leadbeater, *Will new limits on visiting Machu Picchu save Peru's most famous Inca citadel?* (The Telegraph, 2017).

the hands of distant forefathers, which cannot be replaced if the thunder of traveller
footfall across it becomes too much for its delicate fabric to bear.⁹¹

It is this ambiguity that led the Peruvian government (*Ministerio de Cultura*) to limit the amount of visitors to 2,500 per day as well as divide the tourist day into two time segments.⁹² However, locals that work at Machu Picchu are pretty transparent about the fact that Machu Picchu rarely has to enforce the 2,500 per day limit because the number of tourists rarely reaches that number. Many said it was just a step on the government's behalf to make it seem like they were attempting to protect the ancient citadel. With all of this being said, the destination was never built to hold thousands of visitors throughout the day in the first place.⁹³ In addition to this, the *Ministerio de Cultura* has passed small laws such as "no nudity at Machu Picchu"⁹⁴ in an effort to respect the sacredness of the site, but laws like this have a low impact on the much more pressing issue of the gradual tourist caused destruction of Machu Picchu.

⁹¹ *ibid.*

⁹² Ministerio de Cultura, *Información Institucional*. (Gobierno del Perú, 2010).

⁹³ Chris Leadbeater, *Will new limits on visiting Machu Picchu save Peru's most famous Inca citadel?* (The Telegraph, 2017).

⁹⁴ Ministerio de Cultura, *Información Institucional*. (Gobierno del Perú, 2010).



D. Uyeno, 2018.

Above is a photo of Machu Picchu with many tourists flooding the Inca site. This photo was taken during wet season but the number of tourists increases greatly during the dry season.

Within Machu Picchu as well as in other Inca sites, the impacts of tourism can be seen in a variety of ways. Below is a photo of an Inca portal to the afterlife at *Naupa Iglesia* in the Sacred Valley. This site is now popular among tourists who want to experience the “vast cultural riches hiding in the shadows of Machu Picchu.”⁹⁵ The portal is cluttered with cigarette butts and out of the shot lays a variety of litter around the ancient church. This is disrespectful to not only the local people in the area but also to the significance of Inca history. It is clear that often times the cultural significance of Inca sites is not fully understood by tourists.

⁹⁵ Nikki Ekstein, *Vast Cultural Riches Are Hiding in the Shadow of Machu Picchu*. (Bloomberg, 2018).



D.Uyeno, 2018

Community Based Tourism and the Decrease of Quechua

Community based tourism is often used as an alternative to or in addition to “mass tourism.”⁹⁶ Often times the idea of exploring an area that is not as popular among other tourists is very appealing to tourists. This could be for a variety of reasons including the desires of the tourists to “greater focus on local customs, history, ethics and the particular culture of the destination.”⁹⁷ While tourists can benefit from this type of tourism from an educational standpoint, and communities may see some economic benefits depending on the type of industry in the area, often times; communities have to adapt to the tourists in a variety of ways, often

⁹⁶ Tomás López-Guzmán, Sandra Sánchez-Cañizares, and Víctor Pavón, *Community Based Tourism in Developing Countries: A Case Study*. (Tourismos: An International Multidisciplinary Journal of Tourism, Volume 6, 2011.) p. 69-84.

⁹⁷ *ibid.*

experiencing the unjust power dynamics of a privileged tourist going and *viewing* a community with low socioeconomic standing. This may be seen as a failure in the *staged authenticity*⁹⁸ technique that locals may use to keep the authentic areas untouched by tourists. However, often tourists make their ways into areas where the locals do not seem impacted by the tourists, but the lack of impact often does not last for long. One result of this is the decrease in Quechua attributed partly to tourism. Forty years ago, half of the Peruvian population spoke Quechua or another native language and today only thirteen percent of the Peruvian populations speaks Quechua.⁹⁹ This decreasing trend is rooted in Spanish colonization and the spread of the Spanish language but is perpetuated by the demand for English within the tourist industry of Peru. According to a 2001 statistic, in Cusco (Sacred Valley) the national university only offers two courses in Quechua and Quechua is only taught in one private school in Cusco.¹⁰⁰ This contrasts with countless classes for native Spanish and Quechua speakers to learn English as well as English class requirements in several schools around the Sacred Valley.¹⁰¹ This shift in the schooling system as well as generational shifts in terms of what languages people are wanting to learn is reflective of the power of the tourism industry. What used to be Quechua speakers seeking to learn Spanish has turned into Quechua and Spanish speakers seeking to learn English so that they can benefit financially from the rapidly growing tourist industry. Unfortunately, with the loss or decrease of a language comes the loss or decrease of prominent parts of a country's culture.

⁹⁸ William Theobald, *Global Tourism*. (Burlington, Massachusetts, Library of Congress, 2005).

⁹⁹ Manuel Orbegozo, *These Peruvian Languages Will Soon Be Extinct*. (Culture Trip, 2017).

¹⁰⁰ Anna Saroli, *Can Quechua Survive?* (Cultural Survival Quarterly Magazine, 2001).

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*

Limitations

This paper focuses mainly on how economic and cultural systems are impacted by tourism but it is necessary to acknowledge that many other systems outside of these are also impacted by tourism. These include but are not limited to: the environment, family structures, agriculture, infrastructure, health and safety, crime levels, transportation systems, and pricing systems. Also important to acknowledge are the limitations that come along with incorporating different epistemologies into this work. When studying and incorporating the thoughts and impacts on *Quechua Highland* people through tourism, it is important to acknowledge my own identity not being *Quechua Highland* is a major limitation. Having the perspectives from the groups being impacted is vital in this type of research and the lack of available resources that center the perspectives of these groups is a major limitation in the research process.

Policy Recommendations and Conclusions

Due to time constraints, policy recommendations specifically relating to every form of economic impact and cultural loss through tourism were not accessible. However, after researching the impacts of tourism, it became very clear that the perspectives of local people being negatively impacted by tourism was missing. Therefore, the next steps in this process need to be centered around community members and community organization.¹⁰² This action can be applied in a variety of ways including: addressing municipal tourism committees, identifying community leaders for tourism, organizing training programs in sustainable tourism, establishing participatory planning processes for tourism development, raising awareness in different

¹⁰² Juan Camilo Saavedra, *Propuesta participativa de ecoturismo comunitario en San Bernardo del Viento, Córdoba*. (Universidad Externado de Colombia, 2016). p.82.

communities about tourism issues, supporting local initiatives in tourism, and strengthening local interpreters with local collaborative exchanges.¹⁰³

In conclusion, while tourism often has positive economic impacts on a country's economy, the wealth distribution behind these impacts is not always equal among the different systems, industries, and communities involved in tourism. While systems exist and are used to monitor and evaluate the economic impacts of tourism, systems that measure cultural impacts as well as systems for locals involved in tourism are not established or are hard to access. Again, for tourism to be less destructive those being negatively impacted need to be centered in the decision-making processes and tourists and the government need to be present throughout a potential collaboration process to decrease cultural loss through tourism.

¹⁰³ Juan Camilo Saavedra, *Propuesta participativa de ecoturismo comunitario en San Bernardo del Viento, Córdoba*. (Universidad Externado de Colombia, 2016). p.82-87.

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