

**Building a ‘Paradise’ on Fragile Soils.  
Place-making and Unsustainable  
Tourism in Northern Peru.**

by

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## **Abstract**

### **Building a ‘Paradise’ on Fragile Soils. Place-making and Unsustainable Tourism in Northern Peru.**

This thesis critically examines the current characteristics of the tourism industry in Peru. By taking the case of the coastal district of Mancora, Northern Peru, this study explores processes of place-making occurring in a context of neoliberal reform, whereby territories highly vulnerable to the ‘El Niño’ phenomenon are developed into tourist attractions. The approach of this thesis is interdisciplinary, using multi-sited ethnography and Critical Discourse Analysis as key instruments. The interpretative framework relies on anthropological theory about the nature and society interface; studies about socio-economic development, sustainable tourism and neoliberalism; debates concerning the socio-cultural elaboration of space, place, and identity in post-colonial societies; as well as literature on natural disasters.

By portraying tourism as an efficient tool for economic growth, businessmen and national elites are seeking to transform the identity of Northern Peru into an ‘attractive’ tourist destination. Whilst this is expected to develop rural populations and the nation, the overwhelming enthusiasm triggered by tourism revenues has widely neglected the socio-cultural and environmental impacts this industry generates and, more importantly, the cyclical exposure of this region to the ‘El Niño’ phenomenon. Recent occurrences of this natural event provoked millions of dollars worth of damage, severely hitting the economic development of the country. In a context of global warming, this thesis analyses how tourism and neoliberalism provoke changes in the concepts used to relate to the natural environment and place in post-colonial societies, thus increasing socio-cultural differences, raising conditions of vulnerability and threatening the identities of rural populations.

In particular, this multi-sited ethnography explores the process of place-making that developed the former fishing village of Mancora into a tourist destination and the socio-environmental problems prompted within this environmentally fragile territory. This is complemented with a critical analysis of the discourses that support tourism growth and an exploration of the role of the Peruvian state in governing the tourism industry and the use of natural resources. Ultimately, this thesis questions the current role of the tourism industry in developing Peruvian society and reflects on whether the current model of tourism development is increasing conditions of vulnerability of rural populations.

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# Chapter 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Tourism in Northern Peru in a Context of Neoliberal Reform

Unless the ‘*El Niño*’ phenomenon occurs, most of the west coast territory of Piura, especially the Province of Talara in Northern Peru, is a desert. A common picture of this region taken from the main access road of the Province, the Pan American Highway, combines oil wells and original flora such as Carob trees (*Ceratonia Siliqua*) dotted within a rugged and dry territory. Next to several ravines in different stretches of the Highway, remainders of former roads that have been destroyed in the past are the evidence of nature’s force. The landscape slightly changes as one approaches the coastline. After the district of El Alto, before the road goes down the hill passing by El Ñuro fishing village, the image of the coast emerges, displaying an incomparable landscape of the Pacific Ocean. As a result of internal economic and political change in Peru this exceptional but vulnerable coastal territory has, over the last four decades, developed into a greatly valuable tourist resource. This has in turn fostered processes of cultural contact, rural development and social transformation that have taken place in a context of global tourism and neoliberalism.

Tourism in Peru is ranked third amongst the industries that generate foreign currency for the country’s economy (Sariego and García, 2008). In 2002, the Peruvian economy received 837 million U.S. dollars as a result of tourism. By 2011, this had dramatically increased to 2, 912 million U.S. dollars<sup>1</sup>. The most recent figures available regarding tourism’s contribution to the country’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP) shows that in 2007 this reached just over 4%<sup>2</sup>. These economic results have triggered great enthusiasm amongst tourism investors and local inhabitants engaged in the tourism industry, who have visualised the coastal fishing towns of the departments of Piura and Tumbes as ideal beach tourism destinations for national and international markets of tourists<sup>3</sup>. In developing fishing villages of Northern Peru into beach tourism

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[http://www.mincetur.gob.pe/newweb/portals/0/turismo/PERU\\_Ingr\\_Trim\\_Divisas\\_2002\\_2011.pdf](http://www.mincetur.gob.pe/newweb/portals/0/turismo/PERU_Ingr_Trim_Divisas_2002_2011.pdf) Accessed: 30/07/2012

<sup>2</sup> Personal communication with former MINCETUR Agent, Carlos Castro Seron (former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Tourism’s advisor), 30/03/2011.

<sup>3</sup> Vice-Ministerio de Turismo, Playas del Norte, Destinos Turísticos 2010-2011, MINCETUR, 2009.



destinations, the business national elite and current neoliberal administrations expect that 2016 will see tourism becoming the second most important industry, consolidating it as a key driver for socio-economic progress and as a fundamental source of employment<sup>4</sup>.

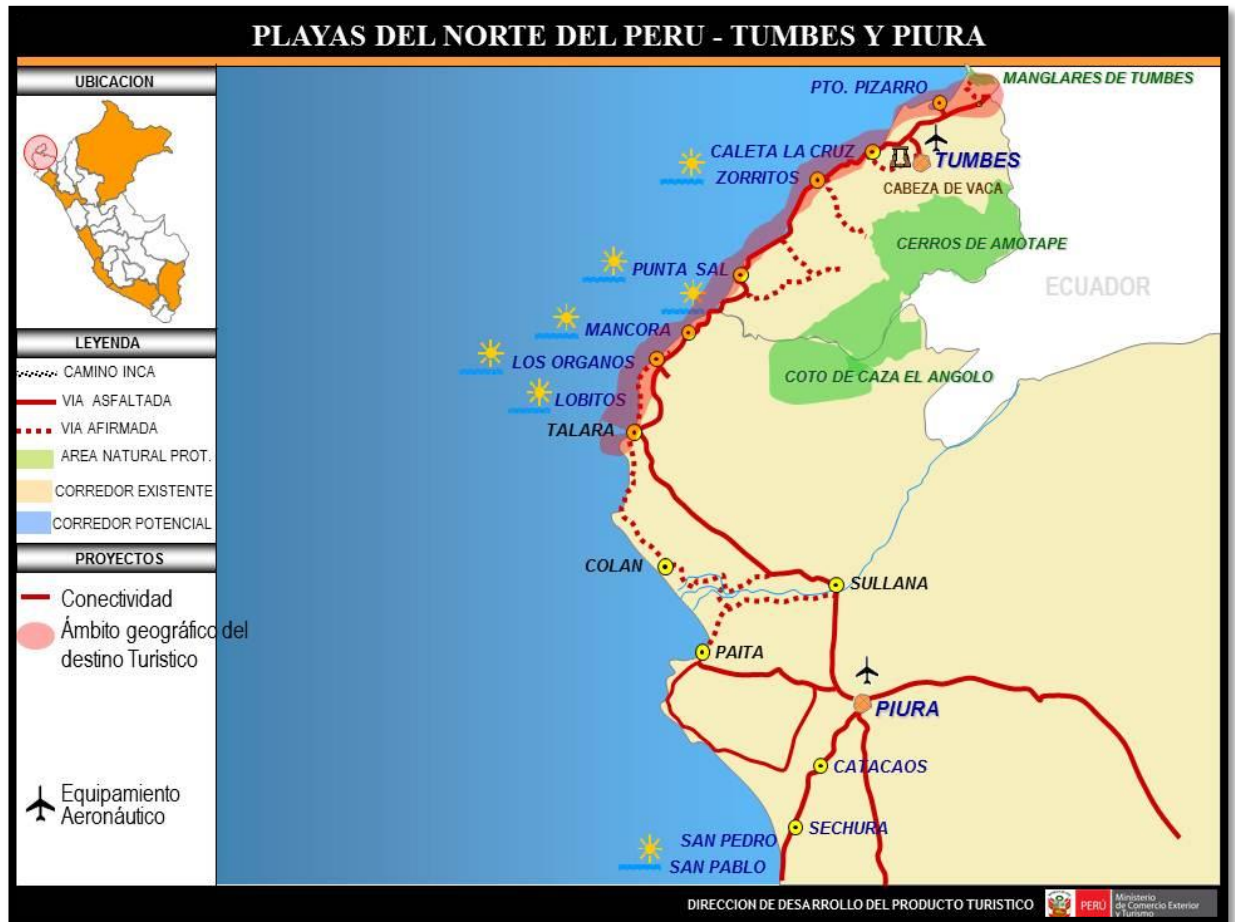


Figure 1.1: Area covered by the ‘Playas del Norte’ project<sup>5</sup>.

Situated between the districts of Los Organos and Canoas de Punta Sal, the former fishing village of Mancora provides a unique case study for the analysis of socio-political processes of place-making (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997c) and local development occurring within environmentally vulnerable territories. In addition, the case of Mancora allows us to explore the complex dynamics by which rural territories within the Latin American region have been directly affected by neoliberal reform, increasing interest on the part of the national elites to expand a market-based development model and the swift expansion of global tourism within ‘Third World’ countries (Mowforth

<sup>4</sup> <http://elcomercio.pe/turismo/1430609/noticia-turismo-puede-segunda-actividad-generadora-divisas> Accessed: 20/06/2012.

<sup>5</sup> Source: MINCETUR.

and Munt, 2009). With the Pan American Highway as the main access road, Mancora is 1,165 km north of Lima, Capital of Peru, and only 120 km south of the Ecuadorian border, making this coastal town a very accessible tourist destination. The population of Mancora is composed of 10, 547 inhabitants (INEI, 2007), whose livelihood mainly depends on tourism (according to local authorities 90% of local inhabitants are directly or indirectly involved in the tourism industry) and fishing.

The socio-political process of place-making that transformed the former fishing village of Mancora into a tourist destination began in the 1970s, after tourism was introduced by middle and upper class *Limeños* and subsequently adopted by some sectors of the local population. This process of local development and socio-cultural change swiftly accelerated at an unprecedented pace as a result of the implementation of a neoliberal model of tourism development during the 1990s. The neoliberal reform triggered aggressive tourism policies aimed at increasing the number of tourists and investments. As a result, in the last two decades, Peru has experienced a dramatic and exceptional growth of the tourism industry, which has been ideologically legitimised by discourses that mainstream tourism as an effective industry for the generation of economic development and progress.

Since early in the 2000s, Mancora has attracted an increased number of tourists and a great number of tourism stakeholders, jobseekers and land invaders who are drawn to Mancora by the possibility of involvement in this economic bonanza. Now transformed into a socially and culturally diverse community, the swift expansion of the tourism industry and the impact of a neoliberal model of development in this former fishing village has increased social differences and generated important cultural changes, especially in the concepts and the cultural values that mediate the relationship between society, nature and place. In addition, the lack of planning and regulatory mechanisms in this socially fragmented society is bringing about severe and violent socio-environmental problems that threaten the socio-economic and environmental sustainability of the tourism industry within this specific area. This, combined with the silence around the fact that Northern Peru is an environmentally fragile territory due to the 'El Niño' phenomenon, is increasing the conditions of vulnerability of rural populations.

## **1.2 The 'El Niño' Phenomenon in Northern Peru**

The 'El Niño' phenomenon is a cyclical global natural phenomenon that combines two natural events taking place in the tropic: 'El Niño' and Southern Oscillation (ENSO). The former refers to the eastern Pacific sea surface warming-up as a consequence of the arrival of the 'El Niño' Current, which displaces the Humboldt Current to the south, therefore increasing rainfall. The latter is a large scale variation of the atmospheric pressure system in the tropic, which translates into both wind and rainfall patterns alterations (Garcia, 2000). Depending on its degree of intensity, the presence -or absence- of the 'El Niño' could bring droughts or heavy rainfall<sup>6</sup>. Although some scientists have pointed out that a very strong 'El Niño' event could happen every fifty years (Woodman, 1985, p. 320 quoted in Temple, 1990, p. 36) and that the characteristics of a future event of the 'El Niño' will not be the same as the last one (Sueiro et al., 2005, p. 12), the sequence of the last events shows that it could happen on average every thirty years<sup>7</sup>.

In its very strong versions, the length of the heavy rainy season provokes flooding and landslides within almost the entire territory, representing a constant threat to the economy since colonial times to the present (Abramonte et al., 2006; Aldana, 1999; Aldana and Diez, 1994; Cruzado, 2000a; Cruzado, 2000b; Ferradas, 2000; Franco, 2000; Hocquenghem, 1998; Sueiro et al., 2005; Zapata and Sueiro, 1999). In 1983, the 'El Niño' provoked the heaviest and longest rainy season Piura had suffered in the last 450 years (Woodman, 1985, p. 320 quoted in Temple, 1990, p. 34), generating a context of desperation, death and disaster. During the emergency period, most of the population did not receive any income; entire towns were devastated and isolated, forcing the national state to declare the regions of Piura and Tumbes in state of emergency. The 'El Niño' left both agriculture and fishing sectors severely affected and the Pan American Highway seriously damaged due to flooding, paralysing commerce in the region and therefore leaving local markets depleted of products, drinking water, medicines and energy supplies. To make things worse, epidemic diseases spread and plagues appeared throughout the territory, increasing mortality rates, especially amongst children who suffered from typhoid, malaria, bronchitis and dehydration. At the end, the 'El Niño' left more than 50% of housing totally or partially damaged (Franco, 1990) and

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<sup>6</sup> Following Eguiguren (1891) and Woodman's (1985) typology (quoted in Hocquenghem, 1992: pp. 200-203), there are five categories regarding the level of intensity of the 'El Niño' phenomenon. 1) Drought: absence of El Niño. 2) Light rains: normal year. 3) Regular rains: weak Niño. 4) Extraordinary rains: Strong Niño. 5) Torrential rains: Very strong Niño.

<sup>7</sup> Very strong FENs have taken place in 1790, 1828, 1891, 1925, 1972, 1983, 1998.

provoked losses in the millions for the regional and national economies, representing a 12% reduction in the GDP (Zapata and Sueiro, 2000).

The ‘El Niño’ of 1983 left Mancora isolated and devastated. Regional newspapers reported that heavy swells were alarming local inhabitants and desperate fishermen were pleading for help in evacuating numerous ill people<sup>8</sup>. Such was the intensity of this event that the bridge over the ‘Cabo Blanco’ ravine was blown up as otherwise the ravine would have submerged the entire town. A total of fifty houses collapsed, seven members of the same family drowned, the fishing and tourism industries were severely affected and a pier still under construction within ‘El Puerto’ neighbourhood was swept away. In addition, great amounts of sediment, dry trees and rocks brought by both the Cabo Blanco and Fernandez ravines (situated at the south and north ends of the town respectively) abruptly transformed Mancora’s geography. In some areas the seashore retreated two hundred metres and a lagoon emerged within the territory gained from the sea<sup>9</sup>. In other areas, landslides destroyed several fragments of the former Pan American Highway that used to pass along the seashore. These events created new coastal areas of the town ‘available’ for the development of the tourism industry.



Figure 1.2 Mancora 1965



Figure 1.3 Mancora during the ‘El Niño’ 1983

<sup>8</sup> Newspaper ‘Correo’: 15<sup>th</sup> January, 1983; 20<sup>th</sup> January, 1983; 18<sup>th</sup> March, 1983.

<sup>9</sup> This phenomenon has also taken place in other fishing villages of the region such as Colán (see Woodman and Mabres, 1993).

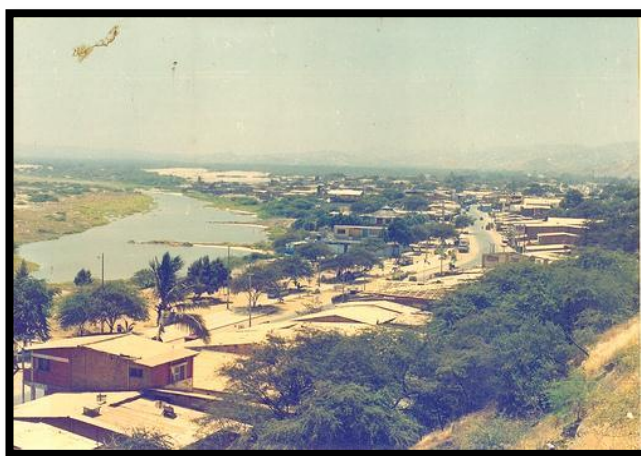


Figure 1.4 'El Puerto' Neighbourhood after the 'El Niño' of 1983

Despite the memories of old fishermen and countryside dwellers and evidence of previous events of the 'El Niño' phenomenon inscribed in old and dusty newspapers laying forgotten in regional libraries, the swift and uncontrolled expansion of the tourism industry has transformed this previously disaster-stricken district into a popular tourist attraction. At present, several inter-provincial buses arrive every morning at Mancora with hundreds of domestic and international tourists, coming to visit one of Latin America's best surf towns and to rest in hammocks under lines of palm trees that stand between luxury houses and paradisiac hotels by the beach. Street vendors and artisans from different cultural backgrounds and nationalities sell their products and moto-taxi (rickshaw taxi) drivers are constantly moving around the town seeking clients, while restaurants and noisy night clubs get ready for what is sold as the place with the best night life in Northern Peru. However, this new identity that has been given to this former fishing village disguises the fact that Mancora is highly vulnerable to the 'El Niño' phenomenon and that the negative socio-environmental consequences that tourism has provoked within this particular area puts the livelihoods and health of the population at risk.

The research was motivated by my initial assumption that a swift expansion of the tourism industry within environmentally fragile territories could not be sustainable in the long term if social institutions responsible for controlling and regulating the socio-environmental impacts of tourism are missing at all levels of society. Dominant models of nature, place and development imposed as a result of the implementation of particular political and economic projects aimed at generating economic growth, would only predate vulnerable natural resources, prompt social conflicts and perpetuate deeply

rooted discriminatory practices and patterns of domination if regulatory mechanisms are not included as part of a model of tourism development. The lack of importance given by social researchers in analysing the impacts of tourism in fishing villages of the Latin American region has also motivated me to demonstrate that the tourism industry generates important socio-cultural and environmental transformations that need to be rigorously studied. Therefore, I wanted to study the cultural shifts in local notions of place, nature and development provoked by the expansion of tourism, processes of cultural contact in post-colonial societies, and the implementation of a neoliberal model of development in fishing villages situated within environmentally vulnerable territories.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

The questions that I have tried to answer in this thesis are:

- a) What is the influence of tourism on the (re)elaboration and negotiation of meanings about the natural environment and place, which in turn transform the uses of space in ecologically vulnerable areas?
- b) Looking at the dominant discourses supporting the expansion of the tourism industry in Peru, how do hegemonic economic ideas and discourses of development travel through society and assist different actors in legitimising the implementation of their socio-political and economic projects? How has the expansion of the tourism industry increased social differences and deepened social hierarchies in post-colonial Peru?
- c) What are the characteristics of the tourism industry in Peru? How has the impact of neoliberalism transformed the role of the state in developing the tourism industry and ensuring the socio-economic and environmental sustainability of tourism? How has neoliberalism materialised in the processes of place-making whereby Mancora developed into a tourist destination?
- d) What are the socio-environmental consequences generated by the impact of global tourism and neoliberalism in former fishing villages of Northern Peru situated within vulnerable territories subjected to the cyclical events of the 'El Niño' phenomenon?

To ground my analysis I have conducted my research looking at the different ways people relate to their natural environment and place, within environmentally fragile tourist destinations that have emerged as a result of socio-political processes of place-making and local development occurring in a context of neoliberal reform. The actions and discourses assisting the expansion of the tourism industry, registered through ethnographic accounts of different aspects of the dynamic of the tourism industry in Peru, have allowed me to understand the processes of construction of concepts used to relate to nature, as well as the uses and translations of discourses of development at different spatial levels.

My approach is interdisciplinary, using multi-sited ethnography and Critical Discourse Analysis as key instruments. I engage with anthropological theory about the nature and society interface; studies about socio-economic development and sustainable tourism; debates concerning the socio-cultural elaboration of space, place, and identity in post-colonial societies; as well as literature on natural disasters. This is a study of the impact of global tourism and neoliberalism on local cultures in Latin American societies that have been appropriated by members of contemporary elites engaged in the tourism industry for generating economic development in the short term. Using the case of Mancora, a former fishing village, now turned into a beach town in Northern Peru, I aim to understand how the recent circulation of renewed ideas about economic development, culture, and nature are changing people's relationship with the place and the territory. I hope that this will help us to understand the current characteristics of Peruvian society and the region of Latin America in a context of neoliberalism and global capitalism. This study is an attempt to show how the combination of several social processes taking place at different levels of society create a particular model of tourism development that needs to be analysed in order to challenge its continuity.

This thesis also aims at filling a gap in the literature that has analysed the 'El Niño' phenomenon in Peru. There are important academic historical accounts of 'El Niño' (Hocquenghem and Ortlieb, 1992; Huertas, 1993; Copson and Sandweiss, 1999; Rostworowski, 2000; Ortlieb, 2001; Seiner, 2001). Different NGO's have explored local and institutional responses to this phenomenon in recent occurrences of the 'El Niño' (Ferradas, 1998; Ferradas, 2000; Chuquisengo, 2004). In addition, other authors have focused on the role of the state in coping with the impacts of the 'El Niño' (Cruzado, 2000a; Cruzado, 2000b; Franco, 2000) and the relation between politics, state institutions and 'El Niño' (Zapata and Sueiro, 1999; Zapata and Sueiro, 2000). Other

researchers exploring recent events of ‘El Niño’ have conducted comparative studies taking Peru and Brazil as study cases (Ros-Tonen and Van Boxel, 1999; Pulwarty et al., 2004); whilst others have analysed the impacts of this natural phenomenon within regional (Revesz, 1983; Franco, 1990) and local spaces (Woodman and Mabres, 1993), analysing coping and adaptation strategies amongst rural farmers of Northern Peru (Oft, 2009). Nonetheless, there is a lack of ethnographic studies asking whether the cultural changes brought about by the impact of the tourism industry within local spaces in Northern Peru could increase the degree of vulnerability of local populations living within territories that are cyclically affected by extreme events of the ‘El Niño’ phenomenon. This thesis aims to fill this gap.

#### **1.4 The Thesis Structure**

In chapter two I introduce the theoretical debates and the analytical perspective that have grounded and informed my research. I start by discussing the expansion of the tourism industry as part of a complex process whereby members of the national elite rely upon neoliberal ideas of economic development and progress to expand the tourism industry within the territory, with the aim of generating economic growth and development. Next, I conceptualise the expansion of the tourism industry as processes of place-making that transform the identity of local spaces into tourist attractions, at the same time, establishing a colonial relation of exploitation over the natural environment and increasing social differences amongst social groups. Finally, I draw upon recent scholarly debates on sustainable tourism, common pool resources, vulnerability and disaster studies to discuss whether the current model of tourism development is socially and environmentally sustainable and, therefore, whether this particular type of tourism development is increasing the conditions of vulnerability of local populations.

In chapter three I present my motivations for undertaking this study and then I reflect on the way I organised the activities and tasks that allowed me to design my multi-sited ethnography during the course of my research. After describing my research process, justifying the qualitative techniques I applied in order to gather my data and explaining the process of analysis and ‘writing up’ of my thesis, I introduce the main concepts and methodological approach developed by critical discourse analysts linked to the study of discourses of tourism in post-colonial societies.



Chapter four analyses the process of place-making whereby Mancora developed into a tourist destination and was constituted as a culturally diverse community. The main aim of this chapter is to explore how the identity of Mancora has been transformed from a 'Hacienda Mancora' and a 'Fishing Village' into a 'Tourist Destination', as a result of the impact of several socio-economic processes occurring in the last century and the recent introduction of tourism by upper class Limeños and wealthy hotel owners. This chapter analyses the shifts in the relationships established with Mancora's vulnerable natural environment and the conceptualisations and uses given to the coastal area throughout Mancora's recent history. Finally, this chapter examines the structural changes on land possession in Peru, exploring the impacts of the implementation of both the Agrarian Reform and the neoliberal model of economic development in relation to the emergence of the *Comunidad Campesina* of Mancora.

Chapter five analyses the conflictive process whereby the actors that compose Mancora as a community have re-elaborated and territorialised local identities and social differences as part of a contest aimed at obtaining control over the land and the territory in order to carry out their projects for the place. The final section of this chapter explores the current pattern of resource utilisation and appropriation of the place, the structures of governance controlling Mancora's tourism development and the socio-environmental problems that have emerged as a result of the implementation of Peru's neoliberal model of tourism development. This chapter questions the economic, social and environmental sustainability of tourism in an environmentally vulnerable and socially fragmented context such as Mancora.

Chapter six critically analyses the dominant discourses of tourism produced by members of the national private sector engaged in the tourism industry and national tourism authorities. The main aim of this chapter is to deconstruct the ideologies sustaining discourses of tourism and development, examining how they assist in constructing and situating social subjects within the social structure of the country. By exploring the role of these discourses in the reproduction of social dominance and inequality, I compare the discursive representation of local villagers created by members of MINCETUR<sup>10</sup>, with my knowledge about ideologies of race and culture in post-colonial states in the Latin American region and with ethnographic accounts collected during several long periods of fieldwork carried out in 2007, 2010 and 2011.

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<sup>10</sup> Peruvian Ministry of Commerce and Foreign Trade and Tourism.

Finally, this chapter explores how discourses of tourism have become hegemonic at a local level, giving particular attention to the way local villagers represent Mancora as a place and the way they perceive tourism development in their locality. In this chapter I argue that the expansion of the tourism industry responds to the political and economic interests of the entrepreneurial elite and current neoliberal administrations, who seek to sell Peru in global markets by transforming rural areas into tourist destinations, with the aim of generating economic development and maintaining their power as a social class. However, in doing this, they perpetuate deeply rooted patterns of domination and discriminate subaltern groups, threatening the sustainability of local models of development, such as artisan fishing.

Chapter seven studies the evolution of the tourism industry in Peru in the last century and analyses the socio-economic contexts and processes that allowed the implementation of the neoliberal model of tourism development and the consequent tourism boom experienced in the last few decades. In this chapter I analyse how the state has introduced the idea of sustainability into their policies, taking the case of the tourism industry as an example. As such, this chapter explores the main interests of recent neoliberal administrations and the entrepreneurial class that lie behind marketing policies for tourism growth, the tensions between PROMPERU and the Vice-Ministry of Tourism that hamper the implementation of a coordinated plan of tourism development and the role of the MINCETUR as a tourism environmental authority. Finally, this chapter examines the tensions brought about by the process of decentralisation that impede the state in taking a leading role in the expansion of the tourism industry, the recent efforts undertaken by the central government which has sought to organise the development of the tourism industry and the role of the municipal tourist offices in developing and regulating the tourism industry within their localities. This chapter complements previous chapters and allows us to better understand the factors that have led tourist destinations, such as Mancora, to follow a model of tourism development that is unsustainable and, above all, increases the conditions of vulnerability of rural populations.

Chapter eight brings together the conclusions of my study. Drawing upon my theoretical and empirical chapters, I explain how tourism development is an industry that generates important socio-cultural changes in post-colonial societies, especially in the current context of neoliberalism and global capitalism. Therefore, I propose that tourism development needs to be planned, controlled and regulated in order to avoid socio-

environmental problems, increasing conditions of vulnerability and the reproduction of socio-economic inequalities and colonial patterns of domination. My study shows that by perpetuating a colonial relationship over the environment and local populations, the tourism industry in Peru is economically, socially and environmentally unsustainable. In territories cyclically affected by the catastrophic impacts of the 'El Niño' phenomenon, this represents a substantial threat to rural populations and the environment. As such, it is crucial to discuss the role of the state and tourism in developing Peruvian society and suggest further lines of research that could help us to understand the current socio-cultural characteristics of the region of Latin America.

## **Chapter 2 Tourism, Place-making and Vulnerability**

### **2.1 Introduction**

In this chapter I present the analytical perspective and theoretical debates that have informed my research. I situate my analysis of the tourism industry in Peru as part of a complex process in which members of the national elite have sought to expand a market-based development model while constructing the post-colonial state. I hold that the discourse of development and the neoliberal ideology have assisted in legitimising the expansion of the tourism industry; at the same time, stimulating the perpetuation of a colonial relation of exploitation over the natural environment and local populations. Next, I rely on recent anthropological debates on power, culture, place and senses of place to analyse the set of relations involved in processes of place-making triggered by internal socio-political and economic change, and local processes of development fostered by tourism and neoliberalism. Then, I link my discussion on place to the anthropological debate on the nature and society interface in order to explore how the relationship between nature and society is transformed as a result of the re-making of local spaces into tourist attractions. Finally, I incorporate to my discussion the conceptual framework developed by geographers looking at the intersection of tourism and sustainable development, contributors to the political ecological debate on common pool resources and scholars studying issues of risk and vulnerability. I draw upon these debates to discuss whether the current model of tourism development is economically, socially and environmentally sustainable on the North coast of Peru. This discussion is crucial to analyse whether tourism development is increasing the conditions of vulnerability of local populations that have, in recent years, seen their place transformed into a popular tourist destination.

### **2.2 Dominant Elites and the Tourism Industry**

#### ***2.2.1 Colonialism***

The 1980s saw a group of remarkable intellectuals from former colonised countries generating valuable and very influential knowledge that changed our understanding of processes of nation making in the post-colonial world. Seminal works by the contributors to the 'Subaltern Studies Group' from India (Guha and Spivak, 1988),

provided the theoretical and epistemological grounds needed to analyse the structures of power that emerged during the insurgencies against Western powers and after independence, which was understood as the complex socio-cultural interplay between dominant and subaltern classes (Said, 1988). Amongst them, Guha's (1988) leading work disclosed how, amongst other things, in producing politicised nationalist discourses that predominantly benefited national elites, powerful groups in native societies reproduced the relations of power and institutions previously introduced by the colonial authorities in order to govern the country while increasing their wealth, power and prestige as dominant classes. As Guha (1988) points out, these national discourses allowed ruling elites to perpetuate the conditions of exploitation that subaltern groups were subjected to during the colonial rule, at the same time, excluding them as important political actors in the production of the history of India.

In the last two decades, Latin American societies have also seen the advent of a consistent theoretical debate concerned with exploring the historical phenomenon of colonialism in this region (Moraña et al., 2008a)<sup>11</sup>. Although the contributors to this debate differ from postcolonial theorists in that they consider that Latin American societies have not overcome the structures of power imposed during the colonial era (Moraña et al., 2008b, pp. 11-12), this scholarly debate echoes most of the concepts and ideas proposed by the 'Subaltern Studies Group'. Amongst them, Peruvian Sociologist, Aníbal Quijano (2008), draws upon an earlier multidisciplinary debate on Eurocentrism and the European expansion within the 'New' world of America<sup>12</sup>, to argue that Eurocentrism, a European perspective of knowledge, naturalised a colonial relation between Europeans and non-Europeans. In addition, he argues that Eurocentrism allowed the colonality of power to be implemented, that is, to make hegemonic a structure of domination based on the idea of race as an instrument of social classification and domination. According to him, the colonality of power allowed Europeans to seize the cultural discoveries of colonised populations as well as their natural resources, at the same time limiting the production of local knowledge and forcing the colonised to accept the dominant culture (Quijano, 2008).

Following Columbus' 'discovery' of the Americas on 12<sup>th</sup> October, 1492, and the subsequent reliance on the Natural Sciences to make the 'New' world intelligible for the

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<sup>11</sup> I found very important the works by Castro-Gómez (2008), Dussel (2008), Mignolo (2008) and Quijano (2008).

<sup>12</sup> See Pagden (1993), Pratt (1992) and Wolf (1982).

European consciousness from the seventeenth century onwards, the colonisers classified the dominated populations in inferior categories and considered themselves as superior subjects (Pagden, 1993; Pratt, 1992; Quijano, 2008). Differences between Europeans and non-Europeans were based on the idea that the history of human civilisation is an evolutionary scale that starts from a state of nature and culminates in Europe. According to Quijano (2008), the introduction of the idea of race allowed the colonisers to label indigenous, black and mestizo populations as inferior races, making dominant a conceptualisation of native populations as exploitable objects whilst subjecting them to various forms of control and domination. This subject-object relationship created by modern thought validated and supported the prevalent belief arguing that everything that was not European, such as the populations and territories of the Americas, was considered 'raw nature' that could be civilised, dominated and exploited (Castro-Gómez, 2008; Dussel, 1995).

Contributors to the scholarly debate on coloniality in the Latin American region (Moraña et al., 2008b; Quijano, 2008) have argued that, in countries such as Peru, the process of independence did not result in the consolidation of modern nation-states, as indigenous peoples and mestizos were widely excluded from the processes whereby the post-colonial states were socially and politically organised. In many South American countries, the process of independence did not create new democratic states that incorporated the interests of the whole population. Conversely, the consolidation of modern nation-states rearticulated the coloniality of power over new institutional bases, reinforcing the economic and political power of white minorities who inherited the colonial mentality from the European colonisers and perpetuated social hierarchies and economic and cultural inequalities in order to implement their class projects. For that reason, these authors argue that the structure of power of many Latin American countries is still organised around the colonial axis and the construction of the nation-state is limited by the coloniality of power, allowing dominant elites to reproduce their way of life and their privileges by exploiting and dominating local populations and the natural resources within their territories (Quijano, 2008).

I find this debate very useful for analysing the structure of power and social hierarchies that have emerged as a result of the implementation of the socio-economic and political projects fostered by members of the elite who seek to reproduce their social and economic power through the means of tourism. As such, I draw upon the post-colonial debate in Latin America to analyse the ways in which the expansion of the tourism

industry, supported by ideas about development and progress, reinforces a colonial relation of exploitation over the natural environment and local populations. Consequently, it strengthens deeply rooted patterns of domination and social hierarchies whilst excluding subaltern groups, such as fishing communities, from processes of development. Although this theoretical discussion supports the general argument of my thesis, the concepts proposed by the contributors to this debate will particularly inform my analysis in chapter six. In this chapter I critically analyse discourses of tourism and development that justify the expansion of the tourism industry in Peru and the role that these discourses play in the reproduction of social dominance and inequality.

In this study, my understanding of the notion of elite is broader and more complex than the concept of class<sup>13</sup>. I use the notion of elite to refer specifically to a powerful social group with the political, economic and social means necessary to undertake their projects principally based on –but not limited to– the expansion of capitalism through the exploitation of natural and cultural resources. In my view, this elite is composed of other sub-elites which, in the Peruvian context, are divided depending on the economic activities with which they are engaged. The members of this elite are not all geographically located within the same level of society and do not share the same role in society or similar socio-economic features as the notion of class suggests. In other words, this is neither a homogenous group that shares the same relationship to the means of production, as the Marxist concept of class (Giddens, 2009; Haralombos and Holborn, 2004) and classic studies in social stratification<sup>14</sup> (Bendix and Lipset, 1961) suggest, nor a static group that has stayed the same over time, as I will show throughout this thesis.

At present, for the case of the elite engaged in the tourism industry, some of them are wealthy hotel owners or chief executives of national or transnational companies related to the service industry. Others are representatives of business associations who defend the economic and political interests of their associates by influencing public policies or by having access to the media in order to stimulate public opinion. This category also includes former and current high level authorities working in state agencies who seek to

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<sup>13</sup> Drawing upon Marxism studies, sociologists have defined class as “a large-scale grouping of people who share common economic resources, which strongly influence the type of lifestyle they are able to lead. Ownership of wealth and occupation, are the chief bases of class differences” (Giddens, 2009, p.437).

<sup>14</sup> This scholarly debate argues that “the behaviour of groups depends upon changes in the economic organiz[s]ation and the body politics” (Bendix and Lipset, 1961b, p. 11).

expand the tourism industry by generating a context that mainly benefits businessmen/women. As such, it is a powerful, diverse and dynamic group engaged in the tourism industry that relies on ideological means to convince subaltern groups of the benefits of tourism while using the power of the state to pursue a shared project: to generate endless growth of tourism flows and expand the tourism industry in order to increase profits.

In contrast to the concept of class, mainly used to 'rank individuals in accordance with certain external indices' (Bendix and Lipset, 1961b, p. 11), the notion of elite is more complex as it allows us to include other cultural elements that compliment that of economic differences. Thus, I also use the notion of elite to refer to the individuals within this powerful group who have adopted the idea of race in order to organise and classify their social world. In doing this, this group reproduces the 'coloniality of power' (Quijano, 2008), representing themselves within the social structure of the country as a superior or privileged group in contrast to subaltern groups such as indigenous or rural communities. Despite these tensions and differences, I do not discard the concept of class as I consider that both categories complement each other when talking about social stratification in socially and culturally fragmented post-colonial societies, especially in a context of global capitalism.

### ***2.2.2 Discourse of Development***

Since 1945, social scientists have given particular attention to analysing processes of development and social change. During the 1970s, researchers introduced the concepts of 'centre' and 'periphery' in order to explain the 'historic specificities' underlying the dependent and subordinated role of Latin American countries in the world capitalist system, giving rise to the dependency theory<sup>15</sup>. From this theoretical perspective, the condition of underdevelopment of the region of Latin America was understood as a result of the continuity of colonial structures perpetuated by modern capitalism (Moraña et al., 2008b) and the imperialist alliance between foreign capital and national bourgeoisies (Grosfoguel, 2000). This group of Marxist and neo-Marxist theorists argued that in contrast to the industrialised nations situated at the 'centre' of the world capitalist system, Latin American countries held a 'peripheral' position due to their

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<sup>15</sup> For the Latin American case see Cardoso and Faletto (1979) and Grosfoguel (2000) and for Europe and other parts of the world see Seers (1981). For a world system analysis see Wallerstein (2004).



economic structures, scant diversification in their production systems and dependence on the external market (Cardoso and Faletto, 1979). Although this approach produced an important critique of development and the national bourgeoisies, it has been criticised for not providing alternatives to development (Escobar, 1995) and for being trapped in the problematic of modernity (Grosfoguel, 2000).

In the 1990s, convinced that the discourse of development was assisting the U.S. in creating an efficient apparatus to exercise power over the so called ‘Third World’, a group of authors applied a post-structuralist approach to analysing the discourse of development (Ferguson, 1990; Sachs, 1992; Escobar, 1995). The discourse of development emerged in the early post World War II period, in the midst of a climate of great transformations, combined with an increasing fear of communism and a growing interest of the U.S. to find new markets and gain access to raw materials in order to consolidate its hegemony in the global capitalist system. In this context, development was defined as:

The process to pave the way for the replication in most of Asia, Africa and Latin America of the conditions that were supposed to characterize the more economically advanced nations of the world – industrialization, high degrees of urbanization and education, technification of agriculture, and widespread adoption of the values and principles of modernity, including particular forms of order, rationality and individual orientation (Escobar, 1997, p. 497).

In analysing the concepts used by the discourse of development to represent some areas of the world as poor or underdeveloped, these authors argued that the idea of poverty has been one of the main tools employed by Western countries to make a hierarchical division between developed and under-developed countries. Contributors to this debate highlighted that the modern construct of massive poverty emerged with the spread of the market economy, the consolidation of capitalism, processes of urbanisation leading to massive pauperisation and the insertion of traditional communities into the global economy (Rahnema, 1992; Escobar, 1995; Escobar, 1997). However, according to Escobar (1995) and Rahnema (1992), by introducing national income as a global measure to define the boundaries between developed and underdeveloped countries, advocates of development economics defined the poor or ‘underdeveloped’ in opposition to the rich or ‘developed’, highlighting the poor’s lack of money, material possessions and deprivations of a non-material kind. As a result, the poor’s lack of health, education, hygiene, employment, and quality of life became abnormalities and social problems.

Escobar's (1995) thorough analysis of the discourse of development demonstrates in which ways the discourse of western economists, rooted in modern economic theory and classical and neoclassical theories of growth, has been the main conceptual framework used to define a 'developed' or an 'underdeveloped' economy. He shows how western economists have reduced the notion of development to only economic terms, considering capital accumulation, a greater division of labour, technological progress, trade, savings and investments as the main ingredients for economic development (Escobar, 1995, p. 74). Like Escobar, Gustavo Esteva's (1992) study of the different approaches to development that emerged between the 1940s and the 1990s, highlights the prevalence of economic quantifiers in defining development policies. Consequently, in conceiving the insufficient income of Third World countries (Asia, Africa and Latin America) as the main problem, and setting economic growth as the solution, development economics portrayed a picture of reality that reduced human beings and their societies to simply their economic dimension (Rahnema, 1992). According to these authors, this discourse redefined the geopolitical representation of the East and the West, turning almost two thirds of the world's population into poor and underdeveloped subjects (Escobar, 1995; Esteva, 1992).

The contributors to this debate (Ferguson, 1990; Rahnema, 1992; Sachs, 1992; Esteva, 1992; Escobar, 1995) argue that this Western understanding of development and progress entailed the reproduction of power relationships between poor and rich countries. In this regard, Escobar (1995) has also pointed out that "Economic growth presupposed the existence of a continuum stretching from poor to rich countries, which would allow for the replication in the poor countries of those conditions characteristic of mature capitalist ones" (Escobar, 1995, p. 38). In fact, this understanding of development required a detailed knowledge of the economic and environmental potential of Latin America and its problems in order to identify 'abnormalities' and therefore transfer scientific knowledge and technology 'needed' to improve their social condition. In transferring scientific knowledge and western values, 'poor' and 'backward' countries would obtain the means to generate economic growth and become part of the global economy. Inevitably, this situated industrialised countries at the top of an evolutionary scale, with poor or Third World countries at the bottom.

In response to this cogent critique of development economics and the discourse of development, liberal and pro-market researchers attached a social and human dimension to the idea of development that western economists had widely overlooked in previous

decades. In this regard, Nobel Prize winner for Economic Sciences, Amartya Sen (2001), argued that we should conceptualise economic growth, individual incomes and industrialisation as means that allow us to expand our human freedoms (political, economic and social freedoms, amongst others), which are the principal ends of development. However, this approach still relies on the generation of wealth, specifically on the power of markets as the central driver that allows humans to become developed. In fact, this approach to development argues that “it is hard to think that any process of substantial development can do without very extensive use of markets” (Sen, 2002, p. 7). Hence, this approach reproduces the ideologies that perceive communities living in the margins of the market, or organised under traditional economic models, as disadvantaged or ‘poor’ communities.

The western ideas and values sustaining Sen’s neoliberal approach to development are in fact the ones that Ferguson (1990), Escobar (1995) and the contributors to Sachs’s (1992) book “The Development Dictionary” seek to undermine and challenge. For these authors, considering economic growth as the solution to poverty is an ethnocentric conceptualisation of development that suppresses and marginalises other models of development, discriminates other ways of understanding social life and eliminates cultural differences. As such, the discourse of development has reduced the possibility of peoples from other cultures to follow a path of development that could include their own cultural values, notions of the economy and constructs of the environment (Ferguson, 1990; Sachs, 1992; Escobar, 1995).

However, although the authors analysing development as a discourse do not question the need to find solutions to the world’s social problems, this approach has been criticised because it does not analyse poverty and under-development as historical, political or economic issues. In fact, this is a gap that the contributors to dependency theory (Cardoso and Faletto, 1979; Grosfoguel, 2000) and world system analysis (Quijano, 2008; Wallerstein, 2007) intended to fill in previous decades. Briefly, for Quijano (2008), the emergence of the colonality of power during the colonial period, which enabled the consolidation of the world capitalist-system, and its perpetuation in post-colonial Latin America, has been a limiting factor for the development of the Latin American nations (Quijano, 2008). In response, Escobar and others have argued that by treating development as a discourse, together with more ethnographic studies about local models of the economy, development and nature, alternatives to hegemonic notions of development may emerge. They assume that this would allow us to enter into

a post-development era, that is, a social context where cultural differences are seen as central elements for the construction of alternatives to development rather than social problems to overcome (Escobar, 1995; Escobar, 1997; Escobar 2001; Esteva, 1992).

The idea of post-development, introduced by the post-structuralist authors mentioned above, has also been strongly challenged in recent decades. This criticism has emerged most strongly from social anthropologists and sociologists within European research institutions concerned with exploring processes of development and social change in different parts of the world (Arce and Long, 2000a; de Sardan, 2005; Long, 2001, Long et al., 2010; Mosse, 2005). Amongst them, some authors have argued that the contributors to the post-structuralist approach tend to adopt an ideological and sometimes radical position that reinforces a negative perception of development, making generalisations that end up overlooking the social logics (de Sardan, 2005) and the complex agency of actors (Mosse, 2005) that characterise current processes of development. Likewise, it has been pointed out that by seeing development as a discourse and by giving much attention to the power relationships that emerge between institutions and communities in processes of social transformation, local communities and local actors are seen as passive subjects without agency (Arce and Long, 2000b). Consequently, in their view, the processes whereby locally situated actors appropriate and internalise the symbols and practices associated with modernity while creating their social worlds, or “the processes by which multiple modernities are established” (Arce and Long, 2000b, p.18), have not been appropriately analysed.

Instead, anthropologists and sociologists of development and modernity have prioritised an actor-oriented approach, mainly developed by Norman Long (2001) at the Wageningen School of rural development<sup>16</sup>. By relying upon ethnography as main methodological tool, advocates of this approach seek to explore questions of reflexivity. In doing this, they highlight the relevance of people’s experience, knowledge and beliefs in processes of development, in a context of rapid global change. Thus, apart from recognising the agency and active engagement of local people in (re)shaping their realities into multiple modernities, they propose to look at social change and development as multi-dimensional and contested realities. Although this ‘new understanding of how development works’ (Escobar, 2010) aims at fostering a more

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<sup>16</sup> For further details regarding the similarities and tensions amongst the authors that adopt an actor-oriented approach to development refer to de Sardan (2005), Arce and Long (2007) and Arce and Long (Forthcoming).

reflexive and grounded understanding of development by analysing “the dynamics of re-assembling practices and experiences by local actors” (Arce and Long, 2000b, p. 26), they do not give enough attention to discussing how the actions and practices undertaken by local actors and communities are also affected by major social structures and deep patterns of domination that organise the social structure of post-colonial countries such as Peru.

In my view, the hegemonic and ethnocentric conceptualisation of development proposed by the post-structuralist approach to development lies behind the discourses and practices that seek to transform Peru’s outstanding natural biodiversity, millenary historical heritage and cultural diversity into tourist resources that must be developed and exploited in order to generate economic growth. I strongly believe that the increasing interest in capital accumulation is the main motivation fostering the expansion of the tourism industry within territories highly vulnerable to the ‘El Niño’ phenomenon. By looking back at Mancora’s recent history, I intend to show how middle and upper class Limeños took Mancora through a process of appropriation, commoditisation and production, which re-shaped the identity of the former fishing village of Mancora into an ‘attractive’ tourist destination. In doing this, they transformed the place and the elements of the natural environment, such as the land, into mere commodities for the capitalist market, at the same time altering the uses given to the space, local notions of risk and the relationship between nature and society.

Despite the fact that the actor-oriented approach (Arce and Long, 2000a; Long, 2001) is very pertinent for analysing processes of development and social change fostered by tourism, I rely upon the remarks and concepts proposed by the authors analysing the discourse of development (Escobar, 1995; Escobar, 1997; Escobar 2001; Esteva, 1992) to analyse and deconstruct the discourses of tourism that sustain the expansion of the tourism industry within environmentally vulnerable territories. In chapter six, I critically analyse discourses portraying tourism as an effective economic activity that is ‘needed’ to overcome the problem of poverty because it generates foreign currency income and raises employment levels, bringing economic development and progress in the short term. I will demonstrate how the national elites rely on the concepts mainstreamed by the discourse of development, associated to ideas of race and culture, to make hegemonic a hierarchical representation of the social structure of the country that enables them to pursue their political and economic projects. In doing this, I will illustrate how these discourses of tourism naturalise discriminatory practices against

local populations, at the same time neglecting local identities by regarding traditional activities, such as fishing, as an obstacle to the development of the nation. Finally, after discussing how hegemonic notions of development that reduce social life to its economic dimension are challenged by local constructs of development and tourism, I will reflect on the role that tourism should play in the development of Peruvian society.

### **2.2.3 Neoliberalism**

In the last two decades, social scientists critically analysing neoliberalism as a social phenomenon have concluded that neoliberalism, a theory of political economy that believes “individual freedoms are guaranteed by freedom of the market and of trade” (Harvey, 2005, p. 7), has become hegemonic and part of the ‘common sense’ of our times (Clarke, 2004; Colás, 2004; England and Ward, 2008; Harvey, 2005; Peck and Tickell, 2002).

In fact, in the 1970s, neoliberalism as a conceptual framework became included in state policies (Peck and Tickell, 2002, p. 388) and consolidated itself as a prevalent economic orthodoxy amongst industrialised countries, such as the United States and Great Britain, in the late 1970s (Harvey, 2005, p. 22). In 1973, this pro-market economic model was introduced to Latin American countries by a group of Chilean economists trained in Friedman’s neoliberal theories at the University of Chicago, and strongly influenced by the International Monetary Fund’s (IMF) policies, which helped military dictator, Augusto Pinochet, reconstruct the Chilean economy (Harvey, 2005, p. 8). In Peru, although it was initially introduced late in the 1980s, the neoliberal doctrine was drastically applied in the following decade during former President Alberto Fujimori’s first term in power (1990-1995) (Klarén, 2000). Since then, neoliberalism has spread throughout the region like a ‘silent revolution’ (Green, 2003), developing into a hegemonic way of thinking amongst Latin American economists and politicians.

In the introduction to their edited book, geographers Ward and England (2007) outline different understandings of neoliberalism produced by social scientists. According to these authors, neoliberalism can be understood both as a *‘policy and program’*, that is, a group of policies aimed at replacing state ownership with private ownership and implemented with the assumption that the market is more efficient than the state. These policies seek the ‘deregulation’ of the markets, the ‘liberalisation’ of natural resources, the ‘privatisation’ of state-owned enterprises and services, austerity financing, and state

downsizing, amongst other things. England and Ward also tell us that neoliberalism, understood as *state form*, reshapes the boundary between the state, the market and civil society (England and Ward, 2008, p. 12). Following this, in his thorough analysis of the foundations of neoliberalism, Simon Clark (2004) argues that in a neoliberal society, the role of the state is to use its power to foster the freedom of trade internally and externally, eliminating any barriers hampering the accumulation of capital. According to geographer David Harvey, in a neoliberal society the state “will tend to side with a good business climate as opposed to either the collective rights (and quality of life) of labour or the capacity of the environment to regenerate itself” (Harvey, 2005, p. 70). This type of state apparatus has been named by Harvey as a ‘neoliberal state’, who has defined it as:

[...] the neoliberal state should favour strong individual private property rights, the rule of law, and the institutions of freely functioning markets and free trade. These are the institutional arrangements considered essential to guarantee individual freedoms. The legal framework is that of freely negotiated contractual obligations between juridical individuals in the market-place. The sanctity of contracts and the individual right to freedom of action, expression, and choice must be protected. The state must therefore use its monopoly of the means of violence to preserve these freedoms at all costs. By extension, the freedom of businesses and corporations (legally regarded as individuals) to operate within this institutional framework of free markets and free trade is regarded as a fundamental good. Private enterprise and entrepreneurial initiative are seen as the keys to innovation and wealth creation. Intellectual property rights are protected (for example through patents) so as to encourage technological changes. Continuous increases in productivity should then deliver higher living standards to everyone. Under the assumption that ‘a rising tide lifts all boats’, or of ‘trickle down’, neoliberal theory holds that the elimination of poverty (both domestically and worldwide) can best be secured through free markets and free trade (Harvey, 2005, p. 64).

For supporters of the neoliberal ideology, the creation of markets and the logic of competitiveness become a priority. Advocates of neoliberal ideology view neoliberalism as an inevitable external power or a kind of self-imposed disciplinary code, conceiving the capitalist market as the only valid and inexorable model (Colás, 2004; Peck and Tickell, 2002). In fact, Amartya Sen’s (2001) conception of development is a clear example of how supporters of the neoliberal ideology conceptualise the capitalist market as the only driver that will generate development and well-being for the population.

Conversely, geographers Peck and Tickell (2002) have argued that due to its transformative capacity and complex historical evolution, neoliberalism should be

understood as a process comprising shifts in systems and logics and overriding patterns of restructuring (Peck and Tickell, 2002). Peck and Tickell (2002) argue that since the 1980's the pattern of deregulation of North Atlantic countries has shifted from a 'roll back' to a 'roll out' neoliberalism, highlighting the changes in modes of governance and regulatory relations undertaken in the last few decades. However, these authors have also pointed out that neoliberalism cannot be reduced to a regulatory project as it "shapes the environments, contexts, and frameworks within which political-economic and socio-institutional restructuring takes place" (Peck and Tickell, 2002, p. 400). In fact, as David Harvey (2005) argues, in practice, neoliberalism has turned daily life, people, land and the environment, amongst other things, into mere commodities for the capitalist market.

England and Ward (2008) make another important point when analysing the impact that processes of neoliberalisation have had in different places. In considering the *relationality* of places a key concept in understanding the ways in which neoliberalism is open and relationally produced, these authors have pointed out that the state project of neoliberalism was not solely imposed by the North but also accepted by the South. In doing this, these authors consider that neoliberalism has provided an opportunity to trace connections across space and across different social groups (England and Ward, 2008). In fact, some authors have underscored how the neoliberal theory has developed into a political project that facilitates conditions of profitable capital accumulation (Clarke, 2004; Peck and Tickell, 2002), privileging powerful classes (Colás, 2004) and assisting them in restoring and creating their political and economic power as a social class (Harvey, 2005). In this regard, International Relations scholar, Alejandro Colás (2004), argues that, in the context of globalisation, developing countries are not passive objects of neoliberalism; national elites and dominant classes incorporate the ideology of neoliberalism in order to meet their own particular economic and political goals (Colás, 2004).

I rely on this debate to analyse the ways in which the wide adoption of the neoliberal ideology by members of the dominant elite (and the subsequent implementation of the neoliberal policies during the 1990s), allowed a swift expansion of the tourism industry in Peru. In chapter seven, I explore the contradictions and tensions that emerged as a result of the implementation of a neoliberal model of tourism development. In this chapter I analyse how Fujimori's neoliberal policies weakened the administration of the state, reduced the regulating role of the state and hampered the emergence of Peru's



environmental policy. Following this, I explore how, since the 1990s, the Peruvian state has undertaken several tourism policies aimed at increasing the number of tourists and investors within unprepared local destinations, with the aim of generating capital in the short term but neglecting the socio-environmental problems that this activity can produce at a local level. Chapter five is a dense description of the socio-environmental problems that the implementation of this neoliberal model of tourism development has provoked within local destinations.

In my empirical chapters, I also explore how the neoliberal reform, initiated during Fujimori's administration (1990 - 2000), affected Mancora's process of place-making by legitimating a colonial relation of exploitation over the natural environment, specifically over vulnerable coastal lands owned by the *Comunidades Campesinas*. In fact, Fujimori's neoliberal agrarian policy totally eliminated the protectionist laws passed by the promulgation of both the Political Constitution of 1920 and the Agrarian Reform Law of 1969. These protectionist laws were aimed at preventing members of the *Comunidades Campesinas* from selling their land and protecting them from powerful landowners willing to expand their lands within their territories. As a result, the neoliberal reform fostered land markets within coastal territories, allowing tourism physical infrastructure to be built within vulnerable lands and restricting access to the areas previously used by fishing communities. In addition, the neoliberal reform benefited only specific sectors of the population who had control of the natural resources or the economic means to access these resources, increasing social differences and tensions that later evolved into social conflicts. I will argue that the perpetuation of a neoliberal model of tourism development is bringing about socio-environmental problems that threaten the sustainability of tourism in Peru, at the same time increasing conditions of vulnerability of local inhabitants and discriminating rural populations that are not directly engaged in the tourism industry<sup>17</sup>.

## **2.3 Transforming Local Spaces into Tourist Destinations**

### ***2.3.1 Understanding Processes of Place-Making***

Despite the fact that anthropology is a discipline based on spatial practices (Clifford, 1997), the issue of place has only been taken into account in anthropological debates a few decades ago (Basso, 1996; Casey, 1996; Geertz, 1996; Gupta and Ferguson, 1997b;

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<sup>17</sup> I will come back to this point later in this chapter.

Escobar, 2001). Some researchers have explored the cultural processes whereby places become meaningful and are actively sensed (Feld and Basso, 1996a); while others have raised questions of culture, power and place, aiming at theorising contact, conflict and differences between cultures and societies (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997c). In this debate, Edward Casey's (1996) thorough phenomenological analysis of the notion of place has been frequently used as a starting point. Casey has defined the concept of place not as an "empty substratum to which cultural predicates come to be attached; it is an already plenary presence permeated with culturally constituted institutions and practices" (Casey, 1996, p. 46). Casey recognises the fact that body and place are imminently articulated, as it is through the perception of concrete places that individuals elaborate their local knowledge about a particular place and therefore construct their experience living in the place. In addition, Casey argues that whilst places have the power of gathering lives and things as well as experiences, histories and thoughts, places are not merely things, they are events to be known and perceived –and we might say, analysed. Consequently, this understanding of place-as-event allows us to realise "how places, far from being inert and static sites, are themselves continually changing in accordance with their own proper dynamism" (Casey, 1996, p. 46).

In this debate, Feld and Basso's book "Senses of Place" (1996b) is a key and original collection that appropriately questions how different societies manage to know, comprehend and experience the natural landscape surrounding them through their senses. Contributors to this collection have analysed how places are actively sensed by different cultures, stressing the fact that the experience of place is culturally conditioned<sup>18</sup>. In this debate, the notion of 'senses of place' refers to "the relation of sensation to emplacement; the experiential and expressive ways places are known, imagined, yearned for, held, remembered, voiced, lived, contested, and struggled over; and the multiple ways places are metonymically and metaphorically tied to identities" (Feld and Basso, 1996a, p. 11). Drawing on the concept of 'dwelling' proposed by Martin Heidegger (1977), which says that places become meaningful as a result of the 'lived relationships' that people establish with their territories, Basso (1996) has pointed out that the meanings attached to places are constantly reproduced in social life. In addition, this author has argued that sense of place is a cultural activity that can be seen

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<sup>18</sup> Ethnographies by Basso (1996), Feld (1996), Kahn's (1996), Steward (1996), Blu (1996) and Frake (1996) are important contributions to this debate.

“as an ordinary way of engaging one’s surroundings and finding them significance” (Basso, 1996, p. 83).

From my point of view, these ideas are very useful for analysing the ways in which senses of place are shaped as a result of processes of socio-political and economic change, cultural contact and the expansion of the tourism industry. In particular, I focus upon the tensions that emerge when the cultural features of post-colonial countries, such as Peru, are used to create new perceptions of the country, disguising deeply rooted patterns of domination and reinforcing socio-cultural inequalities. In addition, I try to make evident the contradictions that result from portraying coastal towns, such as Mancora, as ‘attractive’ tourist attractions, muffling the extreme environmental characteristics of vulnerable territories in order to allow tourism growth and capital accumulation. As such, I explore how the ‘pioneering’ Limeños carried out diverse strategies aimed at giving Mancora a new identity, changing local notions of risk and the local knowledge about the natural environment. In doing this, they fostered the development of the productive infrastructure of the society within a territory cyclically affected by the extreme impacts of the ‘El Niño’ phenomenon, making the population highly dependent on a very volatile industry whilst increasing their conditions of vulnerability.

In addition, I analyse the role played by PROMPERU, state institution created early in the 1990s during the implementation of the neoliberal reform, in changing the negative sense of the country that emerged as a result of the severe economic crisis that hit Peru in the 1980s and the violent and disgraceful political war waged between the state and the ‘Shining Path’ terrorist group. As such, I analyse PROMPERU’s recent efforts aimed at changing Peru’s sense of place within national and global markets as part of the process of opening the country to the global economy, with the hope of attracting national and foreign investments and tourists. In doing this, I explore how the political and economic power given to PROMPERU since it was created provoked tensions and conflicts amongst the state institutions responsible for controlling and regulating tourism in Peru, negatively affecting the way in which the tourism industry is governed by the state.

In a similar vein, critical anthropologists have explored processes of place-making in order to challenge important issues emerging as a result of the contesting relations between cultural difference, identity and place. In their provocative and spellbinding

collection of essays on “Culture, Power and Place”, Gupta and Ferguson (1997c) have argued that all associations of place, people and culture are “social and historical creations to be explained, not given natural facts” and therefore “they must be understood as complex and contingent results of ongoing historical and political processes” (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997b, p. 4). Drawing on Foucault’s (1978; 1980) concept of power and Gramsci’s (1971) notion of hegemony, Gupta and Ferguson have questioned the relationship between culture and power, entailed in complex “political processes through which cultural forms are imposed, invented, reworked, and transformed” (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997b, p. 5). They have argued that culture is a site of difference and contestation, rich in cultural-political practices (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997b).

In addition, Gupta and Ferguson (1997b) have pointed out that “perceptions of locality and community are discursively and historically constructed” (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997b, p. 6), reinforcing the argument that the experience of space is socially constructed. According to these authors, in order to understand how spaces develop into places by the establishment of spatial meanings, special attention should be given to examining how localities and places have been formed as a community, including the complex socio-political processes whereby a space is given a particular identity as a place (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997a). Making a similar point, Casey has pointed out that “a given place takes on the qualities of its occupants, reflecting these qualities in its own constitution and description and expressing them in its occurrence as an event: *places* not only are, *they happen*” (Casey, 1996, p. 27 emphasis in the original). Thus, if places happen, they must occur at a specific moment (Casey, 1996), making “certain kinds of identities salient at particular historical moments” (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997b, p. 14).

One of the main contributions to this debate is that, in processes of place-making whereby constructs of place are imposed, adopted and reshaped as a result of the increasing mobility of people, the issues resulting from linking people to notions of culture and place are crucial for exploration, especially if we consider that “culture is carried into places by bodies” (Casey, 1996, p. 34). This debate proposes that local spaces have been hierarchically interconnected and articulated to larger regional, national and global structures and processes prompting cultural and social changes. As such, anthropologists have drawn their attention to the way space is imagined “as a way to explore the mechanisms through which such conceptual process of place making meet the changing global economic and political conditions of lived spaces” (Gupta and

Ferguson, 1997a, p. 39). Hence, this debate is very useful when studying how a tourist place is culturally imagined in distinct ways by different social groups and, at the same time, to explore in which ways this increases socio-cultural differences, evolving into tensions and conflicts amongst groups. In chapter five, I give a comprehensive account of the tensions and conflicts that appeared during the process that transformed Mancora into a tourist destination, in which the social actors that compose Mancora as a community employed diverse strategies to secure coastal lands, with the aim of implementing their political and economic projects.

James Ferguson's (1997) essay on notions of 'rurality' and 'the country' amongst people of the Copperbelt in Zambia, highlights how notions of place are not only determined by political economy but also by structural processes over which people do not have control (Ferguson, 1997). In a similar vein, Malkki's (1997) study on the way peoples and national identities are territorialised amongst Hutu refugees is a remarkable account that highlights "the complexity of the ways in which people construct, remember, and lay claim to particular places as 'homelands' or 'nations'" (Malkki 1997, p. 53), showing a "multiplicity of attachments that people form to places through living in, remembering, and imagining them" (Malkki, 1997, p. 72). Moreover, researchers have tried to politicise the association of place, culture and people by asking questions such as "how are spatial meanings established? Who has the power to make places of spaces? Who contests this? What is at stake?" (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997a, p. 40). In asking these questions, the relationship between space and cultural difference, together with the processes of production of difference within connected spaces, has gained special interest amongst anthropologists in the last few decades<sup>19</sup>.

These anthropological debates on culture, power, place and senses of place could not be more relevant for analysing the socio-political and historical processes of place-making that transformed the identity of Mancora from a 'Hacienda' and a 'Fishing Village' into a 'Tourist Destination'. I look at the wider processes taking place at regional and national levels that have fostered socio-cultural and economic changes, transforming the relationship established with Mancora's vulnerable resources and changing the uses given to the space, specifically the uses given to the coastal area in the last century. In

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<sup>19</sup> Other contributions on the debate on culture, power and place are the cases studied by John Durham Peters (1997), John Borneman (1997), Lisa Rofel (1997), Akhil Gupta (1997), George Bisharat (1997), Kristin Koptiuch (1997), Rosemary J. Coombe (1997) Richard Maddox (1997), Karen Leonard (1997) and Mary Crain (1997).

addition, I explore how cultural models of place and spatial meanings imposed by upper and middle class Limeños were appropriated and re-shaped by local inhabitants, transforming local identities and increasing socio-cultural differences within a locality. I find this crucial in order to understand the tensions prompted by the contact between different cultural ways of imagining a space that has recently become a valuable commodity due to the impact of global tourism and capitalism.

However, I believe that this debate has several limitations that I will try to overcome in this particular study. Firstly, the contributors to this debate do not ask how the identity of a place is conditioned by the cultural relationship that social groups establish with their natural environment and how this relationship is transformed as a result of processes of place-making through which dominant models of place, nature and the economy are imposed. Secondly, they do not analyse the contradictions that emerge as a result of processes of cultural change within environmentally vulnerable territories. In this regard, the case of Mancora, in Northern Peru, represents a unique case to explore how territories, cyclically subjected to extreme natural events such as the ‘El Niño’ phenomenon, have developed into a tourist attraction in a context of neoliberal reform. This will help us to understand how processes of cultural contact and socio-economic transformation, prompted by the expansion of the tourism industry and neoliberalism, can increase the degree of vulnerability of local populations, shaping notions of risk and the local knowledge about Mancora’s natural dynamic in order to obtain economic benefits from selling and exploiting vulnerable land<sup>20</sup>.

### ***2.3.2 Transforming Places, Transforming Nature***

The debate on the nature and society interface (Descola and Pálsson, 1996), together with the anthropological debate around the notion of place (Feld and Basso, 1996b; Gupta and Ferguson, 1997c), have provided useful analytical concepts to rethink the notion of development, capitalism and modernity and to propose alternative scenarios for a post-development era (Escobar, 2001; Escobar, 2005). For the last two decades researchers have contested culturalist and materialist approaches that have taken for granted the modern nature and society dichotomy that emerged as a result of the development and expansion of the modernist project (Descola and Pálsson, 1996). Leading scholars on this debate, Descola and Pálsson (1995), have argued that “nature

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<sup>20</sup> I will come back to this point later in this chapter.

is a social construct and that conceptualisations of the environment are the products of ever-changing historical contexts and cultural specificities” (Descola and Pálsson, 1996, p. 15). In other words, these authors tell us that the way each society conceptualise nature and relate to the natural environment is conditioned by their cultural patterns. This approach has influenced a diversity of ethnographical studies which have revealed that for some people the nature and society dichotomy, which characterises human-environmental relations and practices in western societies, could appear meaningless<sup>21</sup>.

In this vein, Levi-Strauss’s<sup>22</sup> student and successor in the French post-structuralist school, Philippe Descola (1996; 2012), has argued that the relations between humans and between humans and non-humans are structured by a combination of modes of relations, modes of identifications and modes of classification. In addition, this author argues that the relationship that western societies apply to the natural environment is that of predatory naturalism, which entails a negative asymmetry and reinforces a hierarchical distinction between humans and the elements of the natural environment. Thus, a relation of reciprocity is impossible to achieve in western societies due to the fact that “there can be no common ground between humans and non-humans” (Descola, 1996, p. 97).

Similarly, Gísli Pálsson (1996) suggests that we should look at the human-environmental relations from the perspective of three paradigms: orientalism, paternalism and communalism. In contrast to the balanced reciprocity of the paternalism paradigm or the generalised reciprocity of the communalism paradigm, the environmental orientalism paradigm conceptualises nature as an object and assumes that humans are in charge of the world, ideologically justifying their right to exploit the natural environment. Under this regime, nature is considered as a separated realm that can be conquered, domesticated, exploited and managed in order to satisfy human needs for production, industrial exploitation and consumption, stressing a clear distinction between the orders of nature and society. Although this negatively reciprocal relationship, typical of a colonial regime, could sometimes bring species to near depletion, it is held that “there is no environmental problem to solve, no need for corrective measures and scientific, ecological or social expertise” (Pálsson, 1996, p. 69). I find the environmental orientalism paradigm very useful for analysing the kind of

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<sup>21</sup> Other important authors contributing to this debate are: Ignold (1998), Ellen (1996) and Alf Hornborg (1996), among others.

<sup>22</sup> Levi-Strauss (1964) has inspired most of this debate.

human-environmental relation prompted by the expansion of the tourism industry and global capitalism, especially within environmentally fragile territories of post-colonial societies such as Mancora and Peru, where the relationship established between the elites, local populations and the territory is deeply organised around the power structure inherited from the colonial era.

However, two important tensions result from linking Descola's and Pálsson's (1996) debate around the nature and society interface to Gupta's and Ferguson's (1997c) debate on culture, power and place. Firstly, the structuralist approach suggested by Descola (1996; 2012), in which the identity of each social group depends on the structures, schemas or axes that govern their life and their particular way of understanding the world, assumes a traditional and fixed understanding of the notion of culture. This is the traditional anthropological notion of culture that Gupta and Ferguson (1997b) challenge by analysing the relationships between difference, identity and place. Unlike Descola's (1996) structuralist approach, Gupta's and Ferguson's (1997c) approach assumes that cultural notions of place are socio-historically constructed and transformed as a result of processes of cultural change and difference production, as well as political economy and power relationships.

Secondly, the anthropological debate around the notion of place does not take into account the natural environment and the diverse relations that humans establish with their natural environment in on-going processes of place-making. In fact, the debate on place argues that the identity of a place is only shaped as a result of the establishment of culturally defined spatial meanings given by individuals living in interconnected societies. However, this debate has ignored the fact that the identity of a place is also shaped by the way each society conceptualises and relates to their natural environment. This thesis intends to fill some of this gap. In my view, the way places are imagined, transformed and shaped is conditioned by the relationship that people establish with their natural environment due to the fact that, echoing Casey (1996), people are in places and places are within geographical spaces that are part of nature. Moreover, I believe that local notions of nature are transformed as a result of processes of place-making and cultural change, which in turn, reshapes the identity of a particular place. In this sense, a dialogue between these two debates allows us to conceptualise place and nature as intertwined domains, providing an understanding of culture as a system of meanings that people (re)construct by interacting with other social groups but also by



interacting with the surrounding natural environment where they reproduce themselves as a group.

In contributing to this debate, anthropologist Arturo Escobar (1996) has clearly stated that both discourses of modernity and development, together with the expansion of the capitalist market and the neoliberal ideology, have symbolically conquered nature, turning the natural environment into a commodity for the market. For this author, the discourse of development has treated nature as raw material for economic growth, making nature a condition of production for capitalist accumulation. Concerned with the increasing environmental problems that capitalism is generating at a global level, some authors have suggested that the communalism paradigm could provide “an avenue out of the modernist project and current environmental dilemmas” (Pálsson, 1996, p. 78), while others have argued that local notions of nature that reject the dualist approach could provide optimal strategies for sustainable resource management (Hornborg, 1996). However, it is still unclear how these kinds of human-environmental relations could become hegemonic, leaving aside the hierarchical division between nature and society created by both the discourse of modernity and the discourse of development.

Making a similar point, Arturo Escobar (1996) sees the discourse of sustainable development, recently produced by global dominant elites in response to the claims of environmental movements demanding environmental limits to growth, as “intended to create the impression that only minor corrections to the market system are needed to launch an era of environmentally sound development” (Escobar, 1996, p. 330). Conversely, Escobar (2001; 2005) has proposed the defence of the place as a project from an epistemological and political perspective, arguing that other ways of rethinking and remaking the world are possible if we take into account place-based models of nature and the economy. In challenging dominant discourses of globalisation and capitalism that have obscured local and regional ways of shaping the world, leaving aside alternative and sustainable ways of organising social life; Escobar suggests “that it might be possible to approach the production of place and culture not only from the global, but from the local” (Escobar, 2001, p. 148) in order to “visualize actual or potential ways of reconceiving and reconstructing the world from the perspective of manifold place-based practices” (Escobar, 2001, p. 142).

I draw upon this debate to critically analyse the ways in which the impact of global tourism and the expansion of capitalism within rural areas trigger processes of socio-

economic and cultural change, transforming the relationship that local inhabitants and the elites establish with Peru's natural and cultural biodiversity. In this study, I argue that the re-making of Mancora into a beach town developed the land and the natural landscape into commodities with great market value, enabling the exploitation of highly vulnerable natural resources, with the aim of generating economic growth. In addition, I argue that the implementation of Peru's neoliberal model of tourism development fostered and legitimated a colonial relation of exploitation over the land. In doing this, I will demonstrate how the shifts in notions of nature and place have generated violent social conflicts and severe environmental problems that threaten the sustainability of tourism and the livelihood of fishing communities in Northern Peru. Ultimately, I will illustrate how this process of change has increased the conditions of vulnerability of the population, putting at risk the socio-economic well-being of rural populations.

## **2.4 Expanding the Tourism Industry within a Vulnerable Territory**

### ***2.4.1 Sustainable Tourism and Tourism Commons***

In Mancora, the implementation of a neoliberal model of tourism development that legitimised a colonial relationship of exploitation over the natural environment and the territory initiated a land-grabbing race. Apart from increasing social conflicts amongst local inhabitants and newcomers, this adverse context caused severe environmental degradation and fostered the exploitation of territories highly vulnerable to the 'El Niño' phenomenon, leading to what I consider an uncontrolled and unsustainable expansion of tourist infrastructure. In this thesis, by critically analysing the intricate nature of the socio-cultural changes provoked by tourism and neoliberalism in the former fishing village of Mancora, I aim to demonstrate that the dramatic growth of the tourism industry has made tourism development socially and environmentally unsustainable within this specific area, raising conditions of vulnerability of rural populations.

The exploitation of natural resources and the socio-environmental problems that result from an uncontrolled expansion of the tourism industry links our discussion to the debate on sustainable tourism, especially if we argue that certain types of tourism development prompt a colonial relation of exploitation over the natural environment. Due to the increasing environmental consciousness that emerged after the Second World War and the increasing notoriety of the negative impact on the environment as a result of the expansion of the capitalist system during the industrial era; in 1987, "In

Our Common Future”, the Brundtland Commission defined sustainable development as development that “meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations” (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987 quoted in Butler, 1999, p. 9). This definition emphasised the relationship between economic growth and the use of natural resources, calling for a wiser use of natural resources in order to assure the availability of resources for future generations (Escobar, 1996; Hunter, 1997; Hall, 1998; Butler, 1999). Whilst this appear to be a sensible plan, it has also been argued that the discourse on sustainable development only seeks to reconcile the natural environment and the economy while leaving aside the substantial reforms in the market economy needed in order to avoid environmental degradation (Escobar, 1996).

Despite the numerous causes leading to an increase in mass tourism in the last few decades (Butler, 1991; Mowforth and Munt, 2009), tourism growth has raised questions amongst human geographers and conservationists about whether this endless growth is having an environmental, social, cultural, or political impact (Butler, 1991); and whether other forms of tourism, apart from mass tourism, could be less harmful to the environment and societies (Saarinen, 2006, p. 1121; Stronza, 2008)<sup>23</sup>. Geographers Mowforth and Munt (2009) have pointed out that the notion of sustainability in the context of tourism has ecological, social, cultural and economic ramifications, amongst others; and they make reference to the capacity of each of these ramifications to absorb the impacts of tourism<sup>24</sup>. For example, whilst the condition of ecological sustainability refers to the need to minimise the environmental impacts of tourism activities, social sustainability makes reference to the capacity of a community to absorb inputs brought by tourism without disturbing the previous social equilibrium (Mowforth and Munt, 2009, pp. 100-108). However, some authors have argued that “sustainable development is neither always possible nor even always appropriate in the context of tourism” (Butler, 1999, p. 8); whilst others have pointed out that although sustainable tourism is very likely unachievable, it should stand as an ideal that we must attempt to obtain (Milne, 1998).

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<sup>23</sup> However, in the last five decades, tourism as an area of study has also gained the increasing attention of anthropologists (Smith, 1989) and sociologists (Cohen, 1979; Urry, 1990; Apostolopoulos et al., 1996).

<sup>24</sup> Coccossis and Nijkamp (1995) have also identified at least four ways in which the term can be interpreted. These could be in relation “to economic sustainability, to ecological sustainability, to the long term viability of tourism, and to accepting tourism as a part of an overall strategy for sustainable development” (Butler, 1998, p. 29).

In discussing the linkages between tourism and the physical environment (Hunter, 1997; Hall, 1998; Butler, 1999), the central question around the debate on sustainable tourism is “whether the planet can or cannot sustain this growth [of the tourism industry]” (Mowforth and Munt, 2009, p. 94). Contributors to this debate have argued that “it is almost impossible to have a form of tourism development that does not have impacts upon the location in which it occurs” (Butler, 1999, p. 12) because tourism development reduces the quantity and quality of natural resources (Hunter, 1997). Therefore, “the idea of sustainable tourism involves the recognition of negative impacts and the need to manage them in order to achieve the goals of sustainable development” (Saarinen, 2006, p. 1126). In this regard, geographer Richard Butler (1998) suggests us that we have to analyse the causes of current environmental and social problems faced by consolidated tourist destinations in order to find solutions and improvements (Butler, 1998).

In this study, I draw upon this debate to analyse whether the neoliberal model of tourism development applied in Mancora, and Peru in general, is socially, economically and environmentally sustainable in the long term. Therefore, my understanding of the notion of sustainability includes a social, environmental and economic dimension. In my view, tourism is socially unsustainable when this industry generates social conflicts, increases socio-cultural differences amongst local inhabitants and its expansion threatens the livelihood of rural populations who want to maintain their own models of development and local identities. In addition, this activity is environmentally unsustainable when tourism development provokes environmental degradation and neglects the environmental hazards affecting the territories where this activity develops. Finally, tourism is economically unsustainable when the factors mentioned above negatively affect the quality of the tourist attraction, and when the productive infrastructure that sustains this activity over time has been built within previously disaster-stricken territories subjected to extreme natural events such as the ‘El Niño’ phenomenon.

In my empirical chapters, I will also critically analyse the notions of sustainable tourism held by members of the elite responsible for producing tourism policies that lead the expansion of the tourism industry in Peru. In this regard, I find geographer Colin Hunter’s conceptualisation of sustainable tourism as an *adaptive* paradigm very useful. Briefly, Hunter (1997; 2002) has proposed four possible sustainable tourism approaches that incorporate the different ways policy-makers, tourists and tourist operators behave and function in relation to the utilisation of natural resources. Hunter argues that the

“*Sustainable Development through a ‘Tourism Imperative’*” approach has a very weak interpretation of sustainable development. Therefore, agents of tourism seek to expand the tourism industry in order to satisfy the needs of tourists and tourist operators, regardless of the environmental consequences and the loss of the quality and quantity of natural resources. Likewise, in the “*Sustainable Development through ‘Product-Led Tourism’*” approach, although the environmental impacts of tourism are taken into account, they have a secondary role as agents of tourism seek to maintain and create new tourist destinations in order to expand the scope of the tourism industry as widely as possible. Conversely, the “*Sustainable Development through ‘Environment-Led Tourism’*” approach relies upon the maintenance of the natural environment and cultural experiences, promoting types of tourism that prioritise environmental concern. Finally, Hunter tells us that in the “*Sustainable Development through ‘Neotenus Tourism’*” approach, agents of tourism seek to reduce the utilisation of natural resources arguing that “there are circumstances in which tourism should be actively and continuously discouraged on ecological grounds” (Hunter, 1997, p. 862).

In this debate, geographer Richard Butler (1980) has argued that tourist areas are always changing; they evolve and change over time as a result of changes of tourist preferences, environmental degradation and changes in the original natural and cultural attraction, amongst other things<sup>25</sup>. In his hypothetical cycle of area evolution model used for managing tourist resources, Butler (1980) identifies seven stages, which I consider very helpful for understanding the different stages of tourism development in Mancora. The first stage is the ‘*exploration stage*’ and it is characterised by the arrival of small numbers of tourists whose economic, cultural and social impacts are of relatively little significance. The second stage, the ‘*involvement stage*’, is when some local residents will get involved in the tourism industry as a result of the emergence of tourist seasons. Next, when the tourist destination enters into the ‘*development stage*’, in which there is a well-defined tourist area, evident changes in the physical characteristics of the area are expected. Then, in the ‘*consolidation stage*’, despite the fact that the rate of increase in numbers of visitors will decline, the total numbers of tourists will increase, making the population’s economy dependent on tourism. Subsequently, in the ‘*stagnation stage*’ the peak number of tourists will be reached and the local populations will start facing environmental, economic and social problems. Once the stagnation stage has been

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<sup>25</sup> In the last few decades, Butler’s model of tourist cycle area has proved to be very influential (Agarwal, 1997; Agarwal, 2002; Jennings, 2004).

reached, there are two paths that the destinations could follow. If the destination enters into the *'decline stage'*, it will face a declining market and it will be replaced by other newer tourist destinations. However, it could also enter into a *'rejuvenation stage'* in which a complete change in the attraction is needed in order to make the destination attractive again (Butler, 1980, pp. 6-9).

Central in this model is the idea of carrying capacity and limits of growth in relation to the uses that can be given to limited resources (Clark, 1996; Saarinen, 2006). The concept of carrying capacity has been mainly used as an analytical input to explore the causes that could make a destination suffer a decline in visitor numbers. In chapter seven, I will use this concept to analyse the notion of limit used to define the tourist policies undertaken in the last few decades. This discussion assumes that tourist areas have a maximum number of tourists that could be received without any unacceptable alteration to the natural environment. As such, the emergence of environmental problems (land scarcity, water quality and air quality) and social problems (crowding or resentment by the local population) indicate that a destination's carrying capacity has been reached. According to Butler (1999), "once these levels are exceeded, a number of things occur, normally in undesirable form. The nature of tourism itself changes, the nature of the destination changes, the attractivity and hence the viability of the destination declines, and tourism becomes no longer sustainable in its original form" (Butler, 1999, p. 16). Therefore, what is suggested is that limits to growth should be imposed on the tourism industry in order to maintain the quality of the tourist resource, as well as controlling the scale of development in a specific environment (Saarinen, 2006).

Other authors have established a dialogue between the debate of sustainable tourism and the 'common pool resources' (CPRs) (Ostrom et al., 1999) in order to underscore the factors provoking the tragedy of the tourism commons (Healy, 1994; Briassoulis, 2002). In 1970, Garrett Harding proposed the model of the 'tragedy of the commons' in order to explain the causes that generate environmental degradation of scarce resources that are being used by many individuals. In Harding's (1970) model, a limited resource open to all individuals will experience environmental problems, such as overuse and degradation, if each individual using the same resource seeks to increase, without limit, their own benefits obtained from exploiting the resource. As a result, the 'tragedy of the commons' occurs. According to Harding, "ruin is the destination toward which all men

rush, each pursuing his own best interest in a society that believes in the freedom of the commons. Freedom in a commons brings ruin to all” (Harding, 1970, p. 112).

Harding’s (1970) essay has informed political economists engaged in resource management debates, human ecology and the study of the environment (Ostrom, 1990; Ostrom et al., 1994; Becker and Ostrom, 1995; Ostrom et al., 1999; Ostrom et al., 2001). Amongst them, political economist Elinor Ostrom has proposed the concept of ‘common pool resources’ (CPRs); that is, “natural and human constructed resources in which (i) exclusion of beneficiaries through physical and institutional means is especially costly [non-exclusive], and (ii) exploitation by one user reduces resource availability for others [rivalry]” (Ostrom et al., 1994 quoted in Ostrom et al., 1999, p. 278). When these resources are used without effective rules limiting access, or in open-access regimes, negative effects such as degradation and potential destruction could result (Ostrom et al., 1999), generating the ‘tragedy of the commons’ as a result (Harding, 1970). In other words, “*a common-pool resource* is a valued natural or human-made resource or facility that is available to more than one person and subject to degradation as a result of overuse” (Ostrom et al., 2001, p. 18 emphasis in the original).

In the CPRs debate, a variety of property regimes have been explored in order to examine the relationship between institutional arrangements and human-ecological systems. Contributors to this debate have explored the diversity of institutions used by humans to regulate the use of the resource in a sustainable way (Becker and Ostrom, 1995). It has been argued that human institutions play a central role in regulating the use of common-pool resources due to the fact that they govern the use of the resource by setting the rules defining who has access to the resource. It is assumed that rules will prevent the resource from suffering environmental problems such as overuse and the ‘free-rider problem’. Whilst the problem of overuse focuses on the relationship between the availability of resource units and a person’s use of this resource, the ‘free-rider problem’ emerges as a result of the impossibility to exclude users. Consequently, “if it is not practical to exclude a user nor possible to force that user to contribute to the costs of developing and maintaining the resource, the noncontributing user is called a free rider” (Ostrom et al., 2001, p. 19). In addition, the debate on common-pool resources holds that long-term economic sustainability is possible to achieve if institutions are able to restrain selfish and short-sighted behaviours (Becker and Ostrom, 1995).

Echoing this debate, geographers working on sustainable tourism have highlighted the applicability of the concept of CPRs to the management of tourist resources (Healy, 1994; Briassoulis, 2002). Amongst them, Healey (1994) has argued that the tourism landscape, including the natural, cultural and human-made resources within it, fits in the category of CPRs as they have the characteristics of non-exclusivity and rivalry. In this debate, it has also been pointed out that national, regional and local authorities play a key role in managing, planning, limiting and controlling the use of these resources in order to generate sustainable development in the context of tourism (Butler, 1991; Butler, 1999; Briassoulis, 2002; Healy, 1994). Hunter (1997), in particular, holds that the implementation of sustainable development cannot be possible if a strong regional and local authority responsible for planning and controlling tourism development is lacking. In the same vein, Briassoulis (2002) has argued that “in the absence of coordinating and regulatory mechanisms, they make unrestricted use of resources, affecting their quality and quantity available to other users” (Briassoulis, 2002, p. 1078) and therefore they are left to an open-access regime, bringing about degradation and potential destruction of the resource (Ostrom et al., 1999, p. 279). If these problems are not managed in time, the ‘tragedy of tourism commons’ occurs as a result (Briassoulis, 2002).

This analytical approach informs chapters five and seven, where I analyse the role played by local institutions and by the national, regional and local governments in controlling and regulating the use of natural resources within tourist areas. In chapter five, I hold that the severe -and until now hidden- legal conflict mediating the relationship between the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora and the Municipality of Mancora since the 1990s, combined with the implementation of a neoliberal model of tourism development, transformed Mancora’s tourism development into a contest over the land, shaping Mancora’s current pattern of resource utilisation. I argue that this tense process of place-making occurring in a context of neoliberal reform has hampered the emergence of structures of land governance at a local level, allowing a land-grabbing race and the ‘free-rider problem’ to emerge. In addition, in chapter seven, by analysing the role played by the national and regional governments in leading the expansion of the tourism industry, I explore the processes and factors that have allowed local destinations such as Mancora to suffer from the ‘free-rider problem’ and the subsequent socio-environmental problems that increase the conditions of vulnerability of rural populations.



## 2.4.2 *Increasing Vulnerability and Perceiving Risk*

Researchers interested in understanding the social relationships between people and the natural environment in contexts of disasters have found that the notion of vulnerability is a key concept for understanding risk from a social science approach (Maskrey, 1993; Blaikie et al., 1994; Lavell, 2000a; Lavell, 2000b; Bankoff et al., 2004)<sup>26</sup>. By incorporating the socio-cultural elements that contribute towards a disaster taking place, contributors to this debate argue that “people, in this view, are not just vulnerable to hazards; but hazards are increasingly the result of human activity” (Hilhorst, 2004, p. 53). Moreover, they reject the belief made dominant by the natural sciences that argues that a disaster occurs as the result of the impact of an environmental hazard and that there is nothing that could be done to avoid it (Cardona, 2004). In contrast, the concept of vulnerability allows us to conceptualise disasters as “the failure of a society to adapt successfully to certain features of its natural and socially constructed environments in a sustainable fashion” (Oliver-Smith, 1996), emphasising the links between development, disasters and people in relation to environmental hazards<sup>27</sup>. Vulnerability has been defined as:

[...] *the characteristics of a person or group and their situation that influence their capacity to anticipate, cope with, resist and recover from the impact of a natural hazard (an extreme natural event or process). It involves a combination of factors that determine the degree to which someone’s life, livelihood, property and other assets are put at risk by a discrete and identifiable event (or series or ‘cascade’ of such events) in nature and in society”* (Blaikie et al., 1994, p. 11 emphasis in the original).

As Hilhorst and Bankoff (2004) have pointed out, this definition of vulnerability assumes a link between nature, people and history. These authors argue that vulnerability is always in the making and, consequently, this concept is not only concerned with the present and the future, but also with the past. According to these authors, “societies and destructive agents are mutually constituted and embedded in natural and social systems as unfolding processes over time” (Hilhorst and Bankoff, 2004, p. 4). Moreover, in the Latin American region, part of this discussion has centred

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<sup>26</sup> In Latin America, contributors to this debate are grouped in the *Red de Estudios Sociales en Prevención de Desastres en América Latina (La RED)* – The Latin American Network for the Social Study of Disaster Prevention in Latin America <http://www.desenredando.org/>.

<sup>27</sup> For a more detailed understanding of the different types of environmental hazards see: Burton et al. (1993) and Smith (1996).

upon the links between the increasing amount of disasters that have occurred in recent years as a result of the impact of extreme environmental forces and the models of development imposed in the region (Lavell, 2000b). Hence, I find these remarks very useful for analysing the ways in which the socio-political processes and models of development that have shaped Mancora's recent history have ended up increasing the conditions of vulnerability of the local population.

Drawing upon the pressure and release model elaborated by Blaikie et al. (1994), which situates ideologies of political and economic systems as the root cause in the progression of vulnerability, Oliver-Smith (2004) has argued that the concept of vulnerability is a political ecological concept. For this author, dominant western ideologies that have reduced nature to a malleable object that can be dominated and transformed in order to satisfy human needs, together with the market ideology that seeks short-term economic gains by exploiting the natural environment, have assisted in creating cultural constructions of nature-society relationships that generate conditions of vulnerability and the occurrence of disasters. In this sense, this author holds that whilst a disaster occurs as a result of the combination of social constructs of the environment and material events, they "emerge out of contradictions in the mutual construction of societies and environments" (Oliver-Smith, 2004, p. 18). Furthermore, Oliver-Smith (2004) argues that "we construct our own disasters insofar as disasters occur in the environments that we produce" (Oliver-Smith, 2004, p. 20). In this regard, the author points out that:

Our values and orientations regarding shelter, nourishment, security and relationships both reflect and affect the material practices and systems of social relations through which they are produced, and condition our relative vulnerability within an environment that is mutually constituted by nature and society" (Oliver-Smith, 2004, p. 19).

Amongst the contributors to this debate, there is recognition that the knowledge gained by local communities as a result of interacting with their natural environments and dealing with environmental hazards is an asset that increases their capacity to cope with disasters, reducing the constant insecurity that people living within disaster-stricken areas have in their life (Bankoff, 2004; Hilhorst, 2004). As Bankoff (2004) argues, this knowledge is "based on the assumption that what has happened in the past is likely to repeat itself following a familiar pattern" (Bankoff, 2004, p. 32). Nonetheless, it has also been pointed out that local knowledge is a flexible realm of social life which is subject to transformations and it is not equally shared amongst members of the same

community (Bankoff, 2004; Hilhorst, 2004). I draw upon this debate to demonstrate, taking the case of Mancora as an example, how the local knowledge about the natural dynamic of the place, gained from recent occurrences of the ‘El Niño’ phenomenon, has been transformed over time as a result of the impact of the capitalist market, the tourism industry and the neoliberal ideology. In addition, in chapters four and five I will explore in which ways the local knowledge gained by a specific group of the community can act as a source of socio-cultural difference, strengthening cultural and social boundaries between generations and between local inhabitants and newcomers that have not experienced these extreme natural events in the past.

Moreover, Hilshorst and Bankoff (2004) tell us that vulnerability is also concerned with people and their perception and ideas about risk. In the debate around the notion of risk, political scientists have pointed out that risks are always invisible due to the fact that they escape our perception, especially if we are living in a ‘risk society’ where industrial overproduction and the production of wealth is accompanied by the social production of risks and dangers (Beck, 1992). In a similar vein, the anthropological debate on the notion of risk argues that risks are selected and culturally shaped depending on types of communities (Douglas, 1992; Douglas and Wildavsky, 1982). Anthropologist Mary Douglas has pointed out that risk-averse or risk-taking behaviours are culturally shared attitudes and that different cultures have different definitions about what is acceptable risk. In this sense, a central question that anthropologists have asked in analysing the notion of risk has been “how safe is safe enough for this particular culture?” (Douglas, 1992, p. 41). Nonetheless, it has already been pointed out that cultural values, social, economic and political powers drive people to take some risks in order to create their social environments (Oliver-Smith, 2004), encouraging them to deny latent dangers or environmental hazards that affect the natural environment.

The debates on vulnerability and risk provide very useful conceptual tools for exploring how people’s conditions of vulnerability increase as a result of processes of socio-economic and cultural change fostered by tourism and neoliberalism. By looking at the processes that transformed the identity of Mancora, central to this thesis is an exploration of the ways in which the implementation, adoption and transformation of hegemonic models of development, nature and place could provoke negative socio-environmental impacts within environmentally fragile, rural territories of Northern Peru. I will explore how apart from generating economic growth to local, regional and national economies, tourism is an industry that negatively affects the livelihood of rural

populations and the environment, provoking severe environmental degradation, violent social conflicts and an uncontrolled expansion of tourist infrastructure within previously disaster-stricken areas. I find this crucial to understanding how a particular type of tourism development increases people's conditions of vulnerability that, in combination with extreme natural events, could produce a disaster in the near future.

In so doing, particular attention is given to the way risk perceptions and risk behaviours differ culturally between the social groups that compose Mancora as a community, influencing the decision of each social group to secure land within previously disaster-stricken areas during the initial stages of tourism development. In addition, it is of particular interest to explore the role that local knowledge about the natural dynamic of a place plays in generating cultural difference between social groups that have come to live together as a result of tourism. Finally, this thesis looks at the way risk perceptions and local knowledge about a place have changed over time in order to fit with the demands of the capitalist market and the elite's projects that seek to generate economic growth and capital accumulation. In fact, there is a lack of ethnographic studies analysing socio-political processes of place-making, in fishing communities of the Latin American region living within territories highly vulnerable to the 'El Niño' phenomenon, in a context of global tourism and neoliberal reform. This is a gap in the debate that I intend to fill.

In my empirical chapters, I draw upon the analytical perspective and scholarly debates introduced in this chapter to critically analyse the tourism industry in Peru, with the aim of obtaining a better understanding of the characteristics of post-colonial societies in the Latin American region. I explore how hegemonic notions of place and nature were introduced into Mancora by middle and upper class Limeños who viewed tourism as an opportunity to pursue their economic and political goals, changing the uses of the space and the relationship that local inhabitants establish with their natural environment. By looking at the socio-environmental problems triggered by tourism growth and the implementation of a neoliberal model of development, I analyse the production of socio-cultural difference and vulnerability in local communities living within territories cyclically subjected to the 'El Niño' phenomenon. Then, after critically analysing discourses of tourism and development, I look at the evolution of the tourism industry in Peru in the last century, exploring the role played by the state in governing the tourism industry. In this study, I discuss whether tourism in Peru represents a tool for development or a new source of socio-cultural inequality that increases the conditions of

vulnerability of local populations, threatening local models of development and putting at risk the livelihood of rural societies.

## Chapter 3 Methodology

### 3.1 Research Motivations

This thesis has involved seven years of research, training and preparation that started in 2007 and finished in 2013. It included prolonged conversations with supervisors, colleagues, friends and informants. This process has enabled me to develop my personal and academic interests and it has allowed me to become a multidisciplinary social researcher. I started researching tourism in Peru towards the end of my B.A. studies in Anthropology at the Catholic University of Peru (2002-2007). This first academic encounter with my research problem motivated me to analyse the expansion of the tourism industry within highly vulnerable territories cyclically affected by the negative impacts of the 'El Niño' phenomenon. My research interests advanced into a Ph.D. project in Latin American Studies early in 2009 whilst I was undertaking my masters' studies in Latin American Interdisciplinary Studies at Newcastle University, UK (2008-2009). At this point, I was interested in analysing how the impact of global forces affecting a region have different manifestations at a local level and transform the way of life of local populations in different ways.

I committed myself to undertake a study that could foster understanding about the socio-cultural transformations that emerge as a result of the impact of global tourism and neoliberalism in coastal populations of Northern Peru. Specifically, I was eager to explore the transformations in the relationship that rural populations living within highly vulnerable territories affected by the 'El Niño' phenomenon establish with their natural environment and place, after seeing their places develop into popular tourist destinations. The swift expansion of the tourism industry throughout the Peruvian territory since the implementation of the neoliberal reform in the 1990s, and the socio-cultural changes that this economic activity is generating in the way of life of local populations of Northern Peru, motivated me to unravel the embedded violence and complex set of relations at play in processes of place-making that produce tourist destinations. As such, in this study I bring together notions of nature, place, vulnerability and sustainability, associated with notions of power, socio-cultural dominance and development, to discuss whether tourism represents a tool for development for local populations or an industry that assists a business elite and recent

neoliberal administrations in exploiting rural territories in order to generate economic growth. Therefore, I considered it crucial to produce an ethnography in which the socio-cultural impacts of tourism were made evident and rigorously analysed in order to challenge representations of tourism that portray this industry as a main source of economic development but not as a cause of environmental degradation, vulnerability and social inequalities.

My research seeks to contribute with a methodological approach that could help to understand contemporary changes in culture and society provoked by the impact of global tourism and neoliberalism in environmentally vulnerable territories. My main aim is to design a multidisciplinary methodological approach that relies on multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1998) and Critical Discourse Analysis studies (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 1995; Howard, 2007; Howard, 2009; Howard, 2010; Van Dijk, 1993) as key research and analytical tools to critically analyse the tourism industry and the production of socio-cultural difference and vulnerability in a deeply fragmented and post-colonial society such as Peru.

My main motivation for rigorously studying the tourism industry in Peru comes from my family background and personal experience as an adolescent, middle class tourist in Mancora. I am the son of a Spanish immigrant and Peruvian woman with Italian roots who have been engaged in the tourism industry since the 1980s. In the 1990s my parents decided to build a hotel on the western outskirts of Lima, in the district of Chaclacayo. Surrounded by mountains and divided by the Rimac River, Chaclacayo is an area that constantly suffers from minor landslides during the rainy season. It is also a district where the terrorist group, Shining Path, blew up several pylons in their attempt to control the capital, Lima, early in the 1990s, generating fear and affecting the local economy. In addition, the construction of the hotel involved the acquisition of a substantial bank loan, which had become accessible for middle class families after the Peruvian economy was stabilised as a result of the implementation of the neoliberal reform. The acquisition of the bank loan translated into monthly payments with abusive interest rates, allowing me to experience first-hand the difficulties and anxieties that a very volatile industry such as tourism provokes amongst families engaged in the tourism industry, especially when socio-economic and environmental problems end up affecting negatively the flow of tourists. This experience also made evident to me the contradictions and tensions that emerge when discourses portraying Peru as an outstanding tourist attraction and tourism as an 'efficient' tool for development are

contrasted with the extreme environmental characteristics of the territory and the features of a hierarchical society organised under deeply rooted patterns of domination.

This, combined with my first experiences in Mancora as a tourist, is when I started wondering about the complexities involved in processes of construction of tourist destinations and how this affects and changes the way of life of local populations. As a middle-class *Limeño* tourist in Mancora, I was curious about the process whereby this geographically distant fishing village of Northern Peru became socially, politically and economically interconnected with Lima, developing into a popular tourist destination amongst the members of the social group I belong to. As such, I saw in Mancora an opportunity to explore the hierarchical relations that have historically linked rural populations with Lima and the transformations provoked by processes of cultural contact and social change.

In 2007, when I was in the last year of my B.A. in Anthropology at the Catholic University of Peru, these initial questions and interests motivated me to design a research project that could help me to understand, by directly asking the actors engaged in the activity, the changes provoked by tourism development. Subsequently, I spent three months in Mancora for this initial project researching the recent history of the town, the characteristics of the tourism activity, the economic impacts of tourism and the social representations of the actors engaged in Mancora's social dynamic (Mancoreños, fishermen, national and international tourists, temporal workers and investors). This initial encounter with my object of study also allowed me to identify the main social processes that transformed the identity of the place and the natural events that geographically changed the town in the last century. In addition, after several interviews I conducted with old local inhabitants and fishermen who manifested their worries about the future of the town, it became evident to me that Mancora's tourism development took place within a highly vulnerable territory cyclically subjected to the negative impacts of the 'El Niño' phenomenon, motivating me to continue researching this topic. The analysis of the data collected during this study was presented in my 'Tesis de Licenciatura' (González, 2007).

Next, in August 2008, I moved to Newcastle, UK, to study a master's programme in Latin American Interdisciplinary Studies at Newcastle University in order to continue with my training as a social researcher. This interdisciplinary programme strengthened my understanding of the socio-economic and cultural processes affecting the Latin



American region and provided me what I considered a flexible and comfortable academic platform where I could move across a wide range of disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, history, human geography and politics in order to explore my research interests. In addition, in this programme I had the opportunity to broaden my theoretical knowledge about colonialism, neoliberalism, development studies and notions of place and space, allowing me to identify several aspects of my research that I wanted to explore in depth, at the same time increasing my interests and motivations to pursue a Ph.D. Thus, unlike conventional ethnographies where the research questions and the theoretical debates guiding the study end up defining the ‘suitability’ of a particular ‘field site’, this research has emerged from an initial encounter with my object of study and field, developing into a Ph.D. project whilst I came across the scholarly debates that allowed me to grasp a better understanding of my research problem. In addition, I considered Mancora a good ‘field site’ because of “its suitability for addressing issues and debates that matter to the [several] discipline[s]” (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997d, p. 10).

I am a mixed-race Peruvian, middle-class Limeño and multidisciplinary researcher interested in understanding the production of cultural difference and social inequalities in a socially fragmented and culturally diverse society such as Peru. I am totally convinced that “‘home’ is from the start a ‘place of difference’” and because of that I agree with Gupta and Ferguson (1997d) when they argue that the prevalent premise held by traditional anthropologists arguing that “‘home’ is a place of cultural sameness and that difference is to be found ‘abroad’” is not entirely legitimate (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997d, p. 33). In addition, being a Peruvian studying my own society does not prevent me from producing knowledge about social problems affecting the society I belong to. Conversely, it allows me to obtain in depth knowledge of my research problem but from a particular social position. As such, during my training as a social researcher I have tried to overcome the limitations that this could place by being conscious of my social position as a researcher whilst becoming a social critic (Rosaldo, 1989), by reflecting on the suitability and quality of the research techniques applied whilst learning about the social reality I am interested in and by making clear to my informants what is my role in the field. Like many other Peruvian researchers (Romero, 2001), I decided to study my own society as a result of a reflexive and conscious process whereby I politically committed myself to produce knowledge with the ultimate aim of contributing to social transformation.

## **3.2 The Research Process**

### ***3.2.1 Getting Ready for the 'Field'***

This Ph.D. thesis is the result of the completion of a full time research programme composed of three stages. In the first year of my Ph.D. studies (2009-2010) I engaged with anthropological debates on culture, power, place and the nature and society interface; scholarly debates on development, sustainable tourism and disaster studies; and debates on the 'El Niño' phenomenon and tourism in Peru. In addition, I concluded the 'Post Graduate Certificate in Research Training', organised by the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at Newcastle University, where I received training in research skills and qualitative and quantitative research methods at a doctoral level. This was followed by a year of fieldwork (2010-2011) and a final year and seven months (2011-2013) dedicated to the organisation and analysis of my data whilst 'writing up' a final version of the thesis.

Between December 2009 and January 2010 I carried out a preliminary six week phase of fieldwork in Peru. The main aim of this phase of my research was to contact academics related to the topics and geographical area covered in my research, as well as contacting agents from official institutions engaged in the tourism industry in Peru. I also planned to travel to the city of Piura to visit regional libraries and research institutions, followed by a short visit to Mancora. However, I could not follow this initial plan as a significant family problem emerged during that period. When I arrived at Lima in December 2009 my mother was diagnosed with a rare type of cancer and she was hospitalised for several months in order to receive treatment. As the only close family member available in Lima, this prevented me from travelling to Piura and Mancora as planned. In contrast, I spent my time in national libraries looking for literature on tourism in Peru, the history of the region of Piura and Mancora, the social characteristics of fishing villages in Northern Peru and the 'El Niño' phenomenon. This allowed me to learn more about the historical and socio-economic characteristics of the region, at the same time identifying the current gaps in the debates and including in my thesis valuable national and regional scholarships that tend (with exceptions) to be ignored amongst Euro-American scholars (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997d; Romero, 2001).

In February 2010 I returned to Newcastle to continue my literature review and training in qualitative research methods. Between April and July 2010 I planned my main

fieldwork period and contacted research institutions and academics in Peru in order to build institutional alliances. In addition, I applied for several research grants in order to cover my travel expenses during my main fieldwork period. I was awarded one travel grant (£600) by the Society of Latin American Studies (SLAS) and two travel grants (£996.66 & £930.00) by the SANTANDER bank conjointly with Newcastle University. It is important to mention that this research has also been possible thanks to the support given by the School of Modern Languages, who covered my tuition fees throughout my postgraduate studies and facilitated the 'writing up' stage of my thesis. This has also been a self-funded project, working night shifts in pubs during the weekends and teaching Spanish.

### ***3.2.2 The Process of Fieldwork***

In August 2010 I arrived in Lima to undertake a ten month fieldwork period, which allowed me to collect the material for my multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1998). Initially, I organised my time in a way that I would be able to spend twenty days in Mancora and one week in Piura and Lima respectively every month. As it normally happens in ethnographic research (Guber, 2004, p. 102) because of its reflexive character (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007), this initial plan changed when I became familiarised with my object of study and 'field', I identified the social actors I wanted to know more about and I narrowed the direction of my research. Also, during this period my mother's treatment for her cancer went through a very delicate and risky stage, forcing me to spend time in Lima that I initially had planned to spend in Mancora. Nonetheless, I managed to use my time in Lima to undertake activities that I had planned to do in the future. Finally, the municipal and regional elections occurring in October 2010 and the first and second round of presidential elections in 2011 were factors that I considered pertinent to take into account while organising my fieldwork. The elections processes provoked changes in the administration of local, regional and national governments and, consequently, it took me some time to re-define my sample and organise interviews with authorities at regional and national levels of government.

I had ten months to undertake a large number of diverse tasks that were grouped depending on place and theme. Although I tried to fit each group of tasks in a particular period of time in order to give my research a sense of progress and order, I left them 'open' throughout the process. This allowed me to come back to each group when I had the opportunity to do so and if I considered it necessary. At the end of my fieldwork, I

found this process of moving across groups very useful in the process of production of knowledge as it allowed me to organise my ideas better, to identify connecting threads in my research and to fill the gaps in the collected material. The fact that I was constantly moving between Mancora, Piura and Lima also helped this matter. Therefore, this openness in my fieldwork processes enabled me to make sense of the collected material and in turn produce data that I used to construct knowledge about a local socio-cultural world, directly affected by wider social structures and constantly constructed by multiple agents at different levels of society, that helps to understand the current characteristics of the Peruvian society and the region of Latin America.

In Lima, I commenced my fieldwork searching the web for marketing material, promotional videos and official documents published by state institutions such as MINCETUR, PROMPERU and DIRCETUR-Piura. Also, I carried out archival research at the Peruvian National Chamber of Commerce for Tourism (CANATUR)'s office and approached the German international cooperation agency 'GTZ' to find out more about their institutional programmes related to the 'El Niño' phenomenon. I also asked them to put me in contact with their regional branch in Piura. Having done this, I travelled to the city of Piura early in September 2010 for one week, where I contacted researchers from GTZ, the Mountain Institute and the private University of Piura in order to know more about their projects on tourism, the 'El Niño' phenomenon and environmental sustainability in the region. In this visit I realised that Mancora and the coast of Piura is of little interest to research institutions and NGO's, thus, reinforcing my point that the north coast of Peru is an area neglected by social researchers that needs to be thoroughly studied in order to understand contemporary changes in culture and society.

Following this, I moved to Mancora, where I lived with a local family engaged in the tourism industry. Señora Paula and her husband, Señor Arturo, are originally from the countryside of Mancora. In the last ten years they have managed to transform the house where their raised their three children into a sort of low-price hostel for backpackers and temporal workers. They have also used their entrepreneurship to set up a home-made ice cream business which consists of transporting a freezer in the boot of a pickup truck to tourist areas or to anywhere in the town where social events were happening. Living in this house and sharing with them different aspects of their daily life and social world allowed me to have a better perspective of how tourism has transformed the way of life of some local families and the strategies that they put into practice every day in order to benefit from the tourism industry. In addition, by living in this house with immigrants

that came to Mancora to find better job opportunities, I realised how Mancora has developed into an attractive place for immigrants whose need for shelter also contributes to the development of land markets that increases the pressure over the land.

I lived in Mancora from September 2010 until March 2011, making short visits to Lima, Piura and Talara on several occasions as part of the process of constructing my multi-sited ethnography. Thanks to the first process of fieldwork that I carried out in 2007, I arrived in Mancora with an idea of the main social actors engaged in Mancora's social dynamic and with some knowledge about Mancora's recent history. I was aware that Mancora was a former fishing village and that consequently an important part of the population is currently composed of fishing families. I had also identified the most vulnerable areas of the town as in my prior research I explored how recent occurrences of the 'El Niño' phenomenon (1983 and 1998) changed the geographical characteristics of the town and how this cyclical natural event, negatively impacts the population. I also knew that middle and upper class Limeños had arrived in Mancora to develop tourism since the 1980s, building luxury hotels and beach houses within previously disaster-stricken areas of the town. I went to the field knowing that there is a Municipality and a Comunidad Campesina and that the relationship between both local authorities in the last two decades has been mediated by conflicts and legal processes. Finally, I knew that the Vice-Ministry of Tourism and PROMPERU were marketing Mancora as one of the main tourist attractions of the country because of its recent popularity among national and international tourists.

Being aware of this, I dedicated the first two months in Mancora (September – October) researching the recent history of the town and the socio-economic processes occurring in the last century that shaped the identity of the place and transformed the uses given to the territory and the natural resources. This was part of my main interest in understanding the historical and socio-political process of place-making that transformed the former fishing village of Mancora into a popular tourist destination. Consequently, I conducted interviews with local authorities, municipal agents, school teachers, old fishermen and countryside dwellers, local leaders, members of local associations and wealthy hotel owners that initially fostered tourism development in the town. In addition, I carried out archival research in the archives of the Municipality of Mancora and the 'Comunidad Campesina', as well as within personal folders of local inhabitants who allowed me to study their private documents. This enabled me to obtain valuable information about the way the Mancoreños have constructed and interpreted

their local history, the play of interests involved in the different versions I came across, the way they represent their local identity and the uses that each social actor has given to the coastal territory in the last century. During these months, several public meetings occurred as part of the process of regional and local municipal elections. I attended these public meetings and I used participant observation as the main ethnographic method here to register discourses of place and development, the social problems faced by the Mancoreños and the plans that they wanted for their place.

In November 2010, I also spent one month in Lima while my mother had delicate surgery as part of her cancer treatment. Despite the emotional difficulties, I conducted interviews with key informants based in the capital and researchers specialising in the topics that I had previously identified in my interviews<sup>28</sup>. In addition, I carried out bibliographical searches at the libraries of the Catholic University of Peru, the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (IEP), the Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos (IFEA) and the Centro Peruano de Estudios Sociales (CEPES). At this point, I was interested in learning more about the Agrarian Reform, Comunidades Campesinas, artisan fishing and coal exploitation in the region of Piura and the economic history of Peru during the republic. Chapter four presents the version of the history of Mancora I have composed based on the interviews, texts, news, bylaws, laws, interviews, participant observation and photographs I collected in my fieldwork<sup>29</sup>.

Researching the recent history of Mancora allowed me to identify the main social actors that conform this culturally diverse and socially fragmented community. Consequently, I dedicated my time to investigate the identity of these actors and how they have come to be influential. In doing this, I found that the process of place-making that advanced Mancora into a tourist destination had been mired by conflict conditioned by a legal dispute between the Municipality and the Comunidad Campesina and between other social actors concerned with their rights over the land. I considered these legal conflicts as '*rich points*' (Agar, 1996, p. 31) or gaps that I needed to investigate in depth in order to understand Mancora's process of place-making and the changes in the relationship that local inhabitants have established with their natural environment and place as a result of the impact of global tourism and neoliberalism.

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<sup>28</sup> I interviewed anthropologist Dr. Alejandro Diez and economist Dr. Carlos Contreras from the Catholic University of Peru. In January 2011 I also interviewed anthropologist Zulema Burneo and lawyer Pedro Castillo from CEPES.

<sup>29</sup> I will come back to this point later in this chapter.

Once I had identified the main actors, I interviewed former authorities from the Municipality and the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora, specifically those who were in power during the early stages of Mancora's tourism development and those who prompted litigations between the Comunidad Campesina and the Municipality. I also tried to reconstruct the history of the legal conflict through documents, laws, historical 'facts' and maps used by each part to support their position in court. In addition, I searched for local magazines and written material published locally and regionally during that period in order to know about the plans and projects of each social actor. I complemented this with interviews with the main individuals involved in the legal conflict. I also came back to my interviews and the material I collected during my first fieldwork in 2007. While writing chapter five, where I analyse the legal conflict and the consequences it has brought to Mancora's tourism development, I interpreted this tense process of place-making as a manifestation of the impact of neoliberalism in local spaces and as part of the re-invention and territorialisation of local identities and cultural differences in order to legitimise the appropriation of the place.

By the end of December 2010, the tourist high season in Mancora had begun. As an ethnographer, I wanted to carry on accounting for "what goes on, on the ground" (Agar, 1996, p. 10) when thousands of tourists arrive every week at the same place; how this changes the daily routine of local inhabitants and the socio-environmental problems that this provokes in a district that lacks adequate social services and regulatory mechanisms of land governance. As such, I carried out participant observations within public and tourist spaces of the town. I witnessed violent confrontations and skirmishes between villagers and invaders wanting to size public areas for illegal commercial activities. I considered those moments another set of '*rich points*' (Agar, 1996) of my research. Thus, I conducted several interviews with representatives of the Environmental Association of Mancora, the Chamber of Commerce for Tourism in Mancora (*Cámara de Turismo de Máncora*), the 'Las Pocitas' Association and the 'Frente de Defensa de Máncora'. I was interested to know about the main socio-environmental problems that have emerged as a result of the swift expansion of the tourism industry and the actions that they were undertaking in order to find solutions to these problems.

A recurrent issue that emerged in my interviews with representatives of local associations was that local authorities were not undertaking actions against the increasing illegal appropriation of public spaces by land invaders and this was negatively affecting tourism in Mancora. As such, they organised several meetings with

members of the private sector and local, regional and national authorities in order to find solutions to Mancora's problems. I found these meetings very important to explore the actions carried out by local inhabitants and the Peruvian state to regulate what I have termed an 'uncontrolled expansion of the tourism industry'. Therefore, I attended almost all these meetings in order to register and record what was being discussed and agreed amongst the participants. This also allowed me to explore the links between the national state and local and regional levels of government, becoming a defining factor in the process of constructing my multi-sited research and narrowing my 'field'.

Also, I spent many hours every day conducting informal conversations and 'hanging out' with artisans and local villagers engaged in the tourism industry, asking them about their perception of tourism, their life history, their future projects, their families, their memories about previous events of the 'El Niño' phenomenon and their fears about future ones. Spending time with them in informal contexts allowed me to talk about a large variety of topics that helped me to obtain a better understanding of the different aspects of my research problem and also to build a honest friendship with them. I also conducted interviews with wealthy hotel owners and former fishermen that have become involved in the tourism industry and I accompanied tourists from different nationalities during their time in Mancora.

At this point of my research, I also considered relevant to look into the social characteristics of Mancora's fishing community. Although summer is a busy time of the year for fishermen, as they often spend several days out in the sea fishing, I interviewed them when they came to Mancora to visit their families<sup>30</sup>. In my interviews with members of the fishing sector, I wanted to know about the general characteristics of artisan fishing in Northern Peru, the social features of Mancora's fishing population and how tourism is benefiting fishing families. Ultimately, I was curious to know if tourism had negatively affected the fishing sector now that they have to carry on their daily activities between the tourists, luxury hotels and land invaders. As such, I asked them about the way their territory, used to reproduce their way of life and identity, has reduced and whether it is threatened as a result of the swift expansion of tourism infrastructure. In chapter six, I used the ethnographic data produced during this stage to inform my analysis of discourses of tourism and development.

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<sup>30</sup> In the summer of 2011, most fishermen went down south to Yacila in the province of Paita, Piura, due to the lack of Tuna near Mancora and stayed there for long periods to reduce transport costs.



In early January 2011, the new local and provincial municipal administrations and regional governments commenced their new period in office. As a result, I delayed my visits to the city of Piura and the city of Talara until the end of January and February 2011. In the city of Piura, I conducted interviews with high level authorities from the Regional Government of Piura and tourism authorities from the Provincial Municipality of the city of Piura and DIRCETUR-Piura<sup>31</sup>. In addition, I interviewed regional agents from PROMPERU, travel agents and researchers specialising in the ‘El Niño’ phenomenon and architects from the public University of Piura.

In the city of Talara, I interviewed municipal agents responsible for running the municipal tourist office of the province and personalities that fostered the development of the tourism industry in the region. Parallel to this, I attended several meetings organised by state agencies in Piura, Talara and Mancora. These actions allowed me to explore the efforts undertaken by the state in order to expand the tourism industry, the role played by each level of government in controlling and regulating the expansion of the tourism industry and the tensions and power relations that mediate the relationship between state agencies at different levels of government. In addition, these meetings provided a great opportunity for registering official discourses of tourism and development, identifying the members of the national government responsible for undertaking tourism projects within the region of Piura and the district of Mancora and for ‘discovering connexions’ (Guber, 2004) between actors from different levels of society engaged in the tourism industry. Finally, these actions ended up defining the sample of my multi-sited ethnography.

As part of the final group of tasks that I planned for my fieldwork, I interviewed current and former national authorities and state agents from MINCETUR, the Vice-Ministry of Tourism and PROMPERU based in Lima; most of whom I had met during previous meetings in Piura or Mancora. I wanted to investigate the projects undertaken by PROMPERU and the Vice-Ministry of Tourism to expand the tourism industry and the role played by the national state in controlling and regulating the tourism industry in recent decades. In addition, I attended public meetings organised by CANATUR prior to the general elections in April 2011 where the future of tourism in Peru was discussed amongst presidential candidates and members of the private sector engaged in the tourism industry. Following this, I conducted interviews with representatives of the

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<sup>31</sup> Ministry of Foreign Trade and Tourism (MINCETUR)’s regional branch.

most important tourist business unions such as CANATUR and the Sociedad de Hoteles del Perú (Peruvian Hotel Society). On the one hand, I was curious to explore how the business elite engaged in the tourism industry view Peru as a tourist attraction and the expectations that they have of the tourism industry for the future. On the other hand, I wanted to register national discourses of tourism and development in order to analyse the ideologies and representations of local inhabitants used to justify the expansion of the tourism industry and reproduce the power relationships that make Peru a highly fragmented and racist society. I was particularly interested in understanding the characteristics of the tourism industry at a national level and the political and economic projects of members of the national elite engaged in the tourism industry. The analysis of the material collected during this stage and the previous one is presented in chapters six and seven.

### **3.3 Research Methods**

#### ***3.3.1 Multi-sited Ethnography***

In this thesis I have developed a multi-sited ethnographic approach, applying qualitative research methods and critical discourse analysis as key instruments. My main aim was to explore the socio-cultural transformations that tourism, neoliberalism and processes of cultural contact provoke in the concepts that mediate the relationship that local populations, historically linked to the elites through relations of power, established with vulnerable natural resources and the place. Therefore, I considered that a multi-sited ethnographic approach could not be more pertinent to understand, from a participant observant point of view, how multiple agents in varying contexts engage with rural vulnerable territories that have recently developed into popular tourist destinations as they pursue their political and economic projects. As it will be analysed in the following chapters, in processes of place-making whereby a neoliberal model of tourism development is implemented within highly vulnerable territories, local destinations will suffer from environmental degradation and increasing socio-environmental conflicts, making tourism development unsustainable. In addition, tourism development will increase the degree of vulnerability of local populations and this activity could be used as a tool to reproduce deeply rooted discriminatory practices and social differences, perpetuating a colonial relation of exploitation over the natural environment and local populations.

The anthropological debate prompted by critical anthropologists Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson and the contributors to their edited collection “Culture, Power and Place” (1997c) has been one of the main guiding theoretical and methodological frameworks of this study. In the late 1990s, after more than one decade of intense academic debate about the founding principles of the anthropological practice (Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Clifford, 1997b; Marcus, 1998), Gupta and Ferguson (1997b) proposed a ground breaking methodological strategy aimed at undermining spatialised conceptualisations of culture in classic anthropological writing. The main aim of this debate was to inspire anthropologists to undertake a different kind of ethnographic work by raising questions regarding the historical association of place, people and culture, with the hope of analysing the production of socio-cultural difference and identity within a locality. By analysing processes of cultural change and contact, these authors taught us to critically analyse the power relations that link localities to a wider world and the way hegemonic cultural forms are adopted and imposed.

Another contribution that has been central in shaping my methodology comes from the anthropological debate led by the anthropologists Philippe Descola and Gísli Pálsson. By analysing the nature and society interface, the contributors to Descola and Pálsson’s (1996) collection revealed the ambiguity of the nature-society dichotomy made dominant by the dualist paradigm. These authors challenged this dichotomy with ethnographic accounts showing that conceptualisations of nature are culturally shaped, at the same time demonstrating that different societies relate to the natural environment in manifold salient ways. In this study, I have tried to design a methodological strategy that could help me to build bridges between Gupta and Ferguson’s (1997c) approach to the notions of culture and place with Descola and Pálsson’s (1996) debate on nature and society. I considered this very pertinent for analysing the socio-cultural transformations triggered by the expansion of the tourism industry in the relationship established with environmentally vulnerable natural resources as a result of processes of place-making occurring in a context of neoliberal reform.

In my work, the concepts of ‘vulnerability’ introduced by social scientists analysing the social and cultural construction of disasters (Maskrey, 1993; Blaikie et al., 1994; Lavell, 2000a; Lavell, 2000b; Bankoff et al., 2004) and the notion of ‘risk’ thoroughly worked amongst anthropologists (Douglas, 1992; Douglas and Wildavsky, 1982) have also been guiding concepts for my study of the socio-cultural impacts of tourism amongst local populations living within environmentally fragile territories. I explored the notions of

risk and vulnerability, associated to the changes in the uses of the space and the coastal land of the district of Mancora, in order to understand how global tourism and neoliberalism shape local notions of risk, which in turn increases the degree of vulnerability of local populations.

### **3.3.2 *Research Techniques: interviews, participant observation & archival research***

As noted previously, the ethnographic material used in this study was collected using a variety of qualitative research techniques: informal conversations, semi-structured interviews, participant observation and archival research. Although these research techniques were used throughout the fieldwork process and represented the main resources for accessing my object of study, I prioritised some of them depending on the context and the stage of my fieldwork. For example, in the early stages of my fieldwork in Mancora, Piura and Lima, I took note of conversations or “informal interviews” (Agar, 1996) with a variety of actors engaged in the tourism industry. Asking general questions in informal contexts allowed me to identify topics of interest, recognise agents of tourism engaged in Mancora’s tourism development and obtain enough information before undertaking a semi-structured interview with specific actors about a particular topic. Informal talks were also very useful for validating my thoughts with my informants in the course of the research process. I usually combined this technique with participant observation, especially when I attended meetings, observed violent conflicts between land invaders and local inhabitants or when I ‘hung out’ with my informants. As such, I agree with Agar when he argues that “observation and interview mutually interact with each other, either simultaneously or sequentially” (Agar, 1996, p. 158).

I also conducted formally arranged, semi-structured interviews or “reflexive interviewing” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1997) with a wide variety of actors engaged in the tourism industry at different levels of society, combining a non-directive and directive approach (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007) depending on the way the interview unfolded or the nature of the topic under discussion. After arranging a meeting with my informants, I normally arrived with a previously prepared list of issues I wanted to cover in the interview, with the aim of obtaining data about a pre-existing social world (Silverman, 1993) that they were part of and I wanted to learn about. Nonetheless, I always tried to adopt a flexible approach, allowing the interviewee to talk about topics related to my research that he or she considered relevant or focusing on topics that I did not contemplate initially but at the moment of the interview I found

crucial in understanding my research problem. It is important to mention that my research questions guided the actions I carried out throughout the reflexive process of deciding what to observe, what to ask and who to approach. In addition, I always sought to find any possible source that could illuminate my research questions and I followed them (Des Chene, 1997) as much as economic and timing factors allowed me to.

In Mancora, I generally introduced myself to my informants and the people I worked with as a Limeño researcher that would stay a long period in Mancora investigating or 'haciendo un trabajo' (doing a job) about tourism in the town. Later, I reflected on this general way of introducing myself as I realised that many outsiders arrive at Mancora with the aim of staying long periods working in the tourism industry so I was not entirely sure if they initially understood my role as a social researcher or conceived me as another temporary worker or as a '*colorado*', which is a socially charged term used by the Mancoreños to talk about the Limeño residents<sup>32</sup>. Being aware of this, throughout the fieldwork process, whenever relevant, I explained my research and academic interests and the way the information that they provided me would be used in my thesis. Also, I ensured them confidentiality and anonymity in case they did not want their names to appear in my thesis. When I approached the informants I previously interviewed in 2007, I explained them that I was back to continue with my research but this time I would stay for a longer period, with the hope of knowing more about Mancora and tourism. In some cases, I had to present a formal letter written by my main supervisor introducing me and explaining my research interests before our interview, especially when I interviewed authorities, state agents and people involved in legal processes.

As described in the previous section, I also conducted archival research within official institutions at different levels of government, at regional libraries and within personal folders of informants who had allowed me to study them. I considered archival research a very beneficial ethnographic source that helped me to understand how, following historical anthropologist Mary Des Chene (1997), the past informs the present of a society and place that has been historically connected to different localities as a result of the political and economic interests of the elites and the impact of capitalism. Whilst taking an anthropological attitude (Des Chene, 1997) and looking at the 'social organisation' of the documents gathered (Silverman 1993), I tried to make the

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<sup>32</sup> I will come back to this term in my empirical chapters.

documents 'speak' about the social and economic characteristics of Mancora's recent past, with the aim of understanding Mancora's place within the world historical process of which it is part (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1992). This allowed me to formulate new questions and assisted me to discover information that was crucial in the process of knowledge production (Des Chene, 1997), convincing me that ethnography and archival research are complementary methods that can inform the way a process unfolds over time.

By combining ethnography and the production of local history, I demonstrated how the Mancoreño society is a 'process in time', that is, a historically situated social reality embedded in wider worlds of power and meaning that give it life (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1992). Thus, I wanted to unravel the process whereby the cultural constructs used by the Mancoreños to give sense to their social world have always been changing as a result of the imposition of hegemonic notions of nature and place, shaping them as subjects and transforming their natural environment in particular ways. As such, archival research was a constitutive part of my fieldwork, especially in the stages of my research when I was trying to unravel the historical process of place-making that developed Mancora into a tourist destination and when I analysed the legal conflict between the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora and the Municipality.

During the process of fieldwork, I used different ways of recording my thoughts and the material I gathered from interviews and observations. I always carried with me a camera, a voice recorder and a small notebook where I wrote down notes, names, phone numbers, dates of meetings and things to do. Apart from helping me to organise my daily activities in the field, this small notebook enabled me not to trust solely my memory in order to ensure the good quality of my ethnography, especially when I needed to remember detailed and crucial information taken from observations or informal talks that I had to write down quickly. Secondly, I used a voice recorder while conducting formal interviews, always asking my interviewees beforehand whether they accepted being recorded and ensuring them anonymity if required. I also included in my fieldnotes information about the context of the interview, the physical characteristics and the behaviour of the interviewee during the interview in order to record information that a voice recorder cannot register (Guber, 2004).

I systematically wrote fieldnotes throughout my fieldwork period, maintaining a record of my activities, the topics covered in interviews or observations, my thoughts about a

particular topic and new questions that emerged during the research process. Unlike anthropologist Michael Agar who argues that field notes are solely ‘working notes’ that the ethnographer could stop making at some point of the research (Agar, 1995, p. 162), I consider the process of writing down fieldnotes a key part of the reflexive exercise involved in the anthropological practice as it helps the ethnographer to reflect on the material collected and get familiarised with the object of study. In addition, field notes are very important during the ‘writing up’ stage as they help the ethnographer to remember the context of certain social events or interviews, especially after undertaking long periods of fieldwork involving a great number of informants and activities. Therefore, I agree with Hammersley and Atkinson when they argue that the writing of fieldnotes “should be carried out with as much care and self-conscious awareness as possible” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 142).

### **3.4 Analysis**

The process of analysis started during my master studies and first year of my Ph.D. studies when I engaged with the scholarly debates that helped me to formulate my research questions and informed the arguments I develop in this thesis. Nonetheless, at this point of my research my analytical tools were not entirely developed in relation to my research problem as it was still necessary to collect and study the empirical data needed to ground my analysis. During my fieldwork, the process of making fieldnotes, which involved an initial effort of linking the collected material and my thoughts with the scholarly debates I engaged with, was a crucial part of the process of analysis and a challenging intellectual exercise. As discussed previously, making fieldnotes allowed me to organise my ideas and thoughts, formulate new questions in order to gather new material, compare the material I collected, identify actors, detect threads across my research and recognise potential lines of arguments to develop in the future.

By the end of my fieldwork period, before returning to the UK to start the ‘writing up’ stage of my research, I produced a ‘Mind Map’ where I initially sketched the argumentative structure of my thesis<sup>33</sup>. This mind map was composed of five main codes: ‘Tourism & Development’, ‘Social Construction of Place’, ‘Nature & Society’, ‘Tourism & Conflict’ and ‘Tourism & the El Niño Phenomenon’. These main codes were followed by sub-codes or topics that I wanted to develop combining the analytical

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<sup>33</sup> Find Mind Map in Appendix A, page 289.

tools obtained from my readings and the data collected from the field. Although this mind map changed several times during the process as I systematised and analysed my data, it was an important intellectual exercise that enabled me to leave the field with a graphic idea of the topics I wanted to develop for each of my empirical chapters in order to inform the argument of my thesis.

I left the field with a great amount of interviews and qualitative material collected from different sources that I needed to study closely and ‘objectively’ in order to develop my arguments<sup>34</sup>. Firstly, I transcribed a group of interviews that I conducted with key informants, which I considered crucial in order to start writing the initial drafts of chapters four and five. I transcribed and analysed the interviews used in chapters six and seven once the initial drafts of chapter four and five were already written. I decided to do this because I considered it pertinent to start analysing Mancora’s process of place-making and the land conflicts that have emerged as a result of the swift expansion of the tourism industry, before moving on to analysing the dominant discourses of tourism that sustain the expansion of the tourism industry and the role of the Peruvian state in controlling the tourism industry. In this process, although I have tried to make my data ‘speak’, I selected the data that was useful to me for making a specific point, separating data that I did not consider fully relevant for the argument I develop in this thesis or data that could be used in future studies.

I decided to spend long hours transcribing the interviews myself not only because of a lack of funding, but also because I considered this tedious phase of the research process very useful. Transcribing the interviews myself enabled me to get familiarised with my data. In addition, I found previously unnoticed features of my data while checking it in detail and it helped me to develop the analysis further (Silverman, 1993). Following this, I introduced the transcripts of interviews into ATLAS ti., which is a software designed to facilitate the analysis of qualitative data. Based on the analytical strategies suggested by Grounded Theory researchers (Charmaz, 2006), I used this software for creating codes, identifying relationships between codes and writing memos. In doing this, I identified tensions and contradictions in the data, separated and synthesised the data through qualitative coding and developed ideas and arguments while writing memos or preliminary analytic notes. As a result, this process helped me to develop an original theoretical framework to interpret my data (Charmaz, 2006).

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<sup>34</sup> To see the list of interviews go to Appendix A, page 279.



I have decided to leave the transcripts of my interviews and the extracts of written texts used to support my argument in Spanish, the mother tongue of those who assisted me and shaped the direction of my research. I argue that this way of presenting ethnographic evidence guarantees that some aspects of the empirical material, such as the texture of the language used by the informant during formal and informal interviews or the meaning of other symbolically charged terms specific of the Peruvian context, are not lost in the process of translation. Nonetheless, a non-Spanish reader will find a footnote at the end of each extract indicating the page where the English translations can be found in the Appendix B.

During the process of analysing my data, I also relied on other analytical tools in order to work with qualitative material collected from different sources. In chapter four, I used timelines and graphics, combined with qualitative coding and writing memos using ATLAS ti., to examine written news, official documents, extract of interviews, descriptions of events, laws, municipal bylaws, magazine articles, pictures and maps. This allowed me to construct a coherent representation of the historical and socio-political process of place-making whereby Mancora was produced as a tourist destination that helped me to develop my argument. Chapter six also demanded the application of a particular set of analytical tools developed by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) studies, combined with ethnographic accounts and my own experience as a Peruvian living in a highly fragmented society, in order to analyse the hegemonic discourses of tourism that sustain the expansion of the tourism industry within highly vulnerable territories.

### ***3.4.1 Critical Discourse Analysis***

Recently an increased number of social researchers have opted to apply the methodological approach developed by Critical Discourse Analysis studies to analyse, amongst other things, relations of power and notions of hegemony represented through language (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, Fairclough, 1995, Howard, 2007, Howard, 2009, Howard, 2010, Van Dijk, 1993). Central in this approach is the idea that language plays an essential role in the processes of construction of reality and the enactment and negotiation of social relations and identities (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, p. 50). As such, these authors consider Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as an effective analytical tool with which to explore “[...] the relations between discourse, power,

dominance, social inequality and the position of the discourse analyst in such social relationships” (Van Dijt, 1993, p. 249).

In analysing discourse in a critical way, CDA aims to obtain an understanding of the process whereby social life is controlled by social structures, as well as the dialectical process whereby social structures are actively modified by discourse (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, Fairclough, 1995). One basic theoretical assumption is that discourse is an element of social practice and therefore is understood as a form of production of social life, which is located within a network of power relations. In addition, CDA highlights the reflexive dimension of discourse “as people always generate representations of what they do as a part of what they do” (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, p. 22-26), creating knowledge and theories about social practices.

In this study, I draw upon the Foucauldian notions of discourse and regime of truth, key theoretical concepts used by social analysts who have adopted a critical discourse approach, to analyse the dominant discourses of tourism that sustain the expansion of the tourism industry in Peru. On the one hand, Foucault’s definition of discourse underlines the fact that discourse is an instrument and an effect of power “Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it” (Foucault, 1979, p. 100-1, quoted in Foucault, 1981, p. 51). In addition, as Professor in Linguistics Norman Fairclough (1995) argues, the notions of ideology, language and discourse are concepts that complement each other in the reproduction of social life: whilst ideology is materialised in language, language is influenced by ideology (Fairclough, 1995, p. 73).

On the other hand, linked with the notion of power and discourse lies the Foucauldian concept of ‘regime of truth’ which has been defined as “the type of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned [...]” (Rabinow, 1984, p. 73). In other words, the regime of truth is the conceptual framework elaborated by each society to set out the boundaries of what is true or false, which are defined through discourse. In this sense, discourse has the power to include and exclude, to create knowledge, things and subjects through verbal and non-verbal types of language; it constitutes an “order of things” (Foucault, 2008 [1966]).

Although I applied the analytical framework developed by Critical Discourse Analysis studies throughout my empirical chapters, I have mainly used this analytical approach in

chapter six to critically analyse the ideologies used by members of the elites to make hegemonic discourses of tourism and development that ideologically justify the expansion of the tourism industry whilst reproducing deeply rooted patterns of domination. In this chapter, I critically analysed extracts of interviews conducted with key informants from different levels of society and I complemented my argument with ethnographic accounts produced during my fieldwork in Mancora, Piura and Lima. My main aim was to challenge both hegemonic notions of tourism and development and dominant representations of local inhabitants with my experience as a Peruvian and my knowledge about fishing communities and the characteristics of the tourism industry in Northern Peru gained during my fieldwork<sup>35</sup>.

Before moving into the empirical chapters of my thesis, it is important to mention that during my postgraduate studies I have been involved in several conferences and symposiums acting as a convener or presenter. Presenting my work in progress to a wide academic audience composed of researchers from different nationalities specialising in tourism studies, Peruvianists and Latinamericanists has been a crucial, thought-stimulating and challenging experience. In addition, I have frequently discussed my chapters with my supervisors who gave me their comments and suggestions to each of my drafts. In addition, American anthropologist specialising in fishing communities of Northern Peru, Dr. Constanza Ocampo-Raeder, read an early version of chapter four, providing valuable comments and theoretical suggestions to improve the analysis of my data. However, I have been the only person responsible for organising the material and analysing the material of each of the chapters. I embarked on this project with the main aim of producing knowledge about a topic that needs to be rigorously studied and a geographical region that has been continually neglected by social researchers.

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<sup>35</sup> In chapter six, I will come back to this point and discuss the benefits of combining Critical Discourse Analysis and Ethnography to analyse a social problem.

## Chapter 4 Socio-Historical Process of Making Mancora a Tourist Destination

“Como el Rey Midas, el turismo transforma en Oro lo que toca<sup>36</sup>”  
(Alayza Paz Soldán, 1947, p. 24).

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter will analyse the socio-political and historical process of place-making whereby Mancora has been constructed as a tourist destination and composed as a culturally diverse community. I will look back at the history of Mancora to understand the changes in the relationship established with Mancora's vulnerable natural environment and the transformations in the uses given to the space which have subsequently changed the identity of the place. I will propose that the re-making of Mancora into a tourist destination is the result of the increasing interest of the members of the national elite in spreading a market-based development model throughout the territory while constructing the post-colonial state. By imposing hegemonic constructs of place and nature, they have shaped local identities, increased socio-cultural differences and provoked important cultural transformations, specifically in the relationship that local inhabitants had established with their vulnerable natural environment and place.

I ground my analysis on the theoretical debates on culture, power and place (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997c) and the nature and society interface (Descola and Pálsson, 1996). As introduced in chapter two, places are not given natural facts (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997b). Places are intertwined in hegemonic configurations of power (Koptiuch, 1997), hierarchically interconnected and articulated to larger regional, national and global structures and processes prompting cultural and social changes (Ferguson, 1997; Gupta and Ferguson, 1997c). As such, local spaces develop into places as a result of complex socio-political and historical processes of place-making whereby they become communities with given particular spatial meanings (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997a; Gupta and Ferguson, 1997b). However, local notions of nature and place are transformed as a result of processes of cultural contact, social change and development, that in turn, alter the way people relate to their natural environment.

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<sup>36</sup> Like King Midas, tourism turns everything into gold.

In section two, I will explore how the identity of Mancora has been transformed from a 'Hacienda Mancora' into a 'Fishing Village'. In section three, I will analyse how tourism has been introduced to Mancora by middle and upper class Limeños and the strategies that they initially undertook in order to secure coastal land. Particular attention will be given to analyse the shifts in the relationships established with Mancora's vulnerable natural environment and the place in the last century. Moreover, I will explore the ways in which local inhabitants and members of the elite have conceptualised the coastal area and have given different uses to the space in order to shape the identity of the place. In the final section, I will analyse the recent structural changes on land possession in Peru, exploring the impacts of the implementation of both the Agrarian Reform and the neoliberal model of economic development in Mancora in relation to the emergence of the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora.

## **4.2 From 'Hacienda Mancora' to a 'Fishing Village' (1880 – 1970)**

### **4.2.1 *Haciendas in Piura and 'Hacienda Mancora' (1880 – 1940)***

The socio-political and historical process before Mancora became a tourist destination, has involved contact between multiple agents at different levels of society that have been historically linked through relations of power and the impact of diverse socio-economic changes taking place at wider levels of society. In this section, I start analysing this socio-historical process of place-making starting with the identity of Mancora initially constructed as that of 'Hacienda Mancora'. I explore the socio-economic structure that characterised the region during this period (1880-1940) and the links between Mancora and regional and national spaces. In addition, I analyse the uses given to the coastal land by local inhabitants as a result of the changes in the relationship established with Mancora's vulnerable natural resources.

With the Spanish conquest, centuries of adaptation to a unique geographical area and natural environment by indigenous people of northern Peru were abruptly disrupted by the imposition of the colonial socio-economic structure<sup>37</sup> (Hocquenghem, 1995). During the first half of the seventeenth century, great *Haciendas* emerged as independent socio-economic units for land exploitation, developing into the base of the colonial economy.

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<sup>37</sup> Among other things, the colonial socio-economic structure prevented developing an irrigation system for large-scale agriculture until the Republic. In addition, the Spanish conquest diminished considerably the population of indigenous people (about 75%) as a result of the wars and epidemics triggered by the arrival of the Spaniards.

The first historical record of the Hacienda Mancora dates back to 1626, when the Spanish Crown awarded Martin Alonso Granadino a great territory situated in a very dry geographical area. At that time, the hacienda's limits were the Tumbes River in the North, the Chira River in the South, the Amotapes in the East, and the Pacific Ocean in the West<sup>38</sup>. This vast territory encompassed the territories of both the Hacienda Mancora and Hacienda La Brea<sup>39</sup>.

In early colonial times, the economy of the region of Piura was based mainly on cattle farming. Because of that, estimating land value was seldom carried out in terms of land extension, but instead according to the number of cattle that could be raised within the hacienda's jurisdiction (Aldana and Diez, 1994, p. 75). In particular, the economy of the Hacienda Mancora was based on tar extraction in the annex of Hacienda La Brea, and exploiting carob dry forests throughout its territory. Both activities had been carried out since pre-colonial times by indigenous people<sup>40</sup>. However, the colonial encounter transformed traditional uses of these resources, changing the relationship that local inhabitants established with their natural environment.

As Mary Louise Pratt (1992) has pointed out, with the Spanish conquest, Peru became a "space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict" (Pratt, 1992, p.4). In fact, the colonial regime was founded upon a technology of domination and exploitation based on the race/labour relation that allowed the colonisers to dominate American Indians, exploiting them and their natural resources in order to develop capitalism (Quijano, 2008). Rooted in modern Eurocentrism, this technology of domination relied on natural history to systematise the elements of the natural environment and compose an ideological picture of the world from an European perspective (Pratt, 1992), making dominant a mode of identification of the natural

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<sup>38</sup> In 1908, the limits of the Hacienda Mancora will be used by the Peruvian state to create the District of Mancora, Law 818. This point will be explored in the following sections and chapter five.

<sup>39</sup> The emergence of the Hacienda Mancora would later allow a sector of Mancora's population to claim rights over the land during the process of Agrarian Reform undertaken in 1969 by the Military Government of President General Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968 -75).

<sup>40</sup> Tar was mainly used in colonial times for caulking boats and for making wine barrels impermeable (Aldana and Diez, 1995). In pre-colonial times wood from carob trees was used for building houses, graves, and shrines, and their fruits and leaf sheath as food (Hocquenghem, 1995; Rostoworowski, 2005).

environment based on the dualist paradigm of Western ‘Naturalism’; that is, the belief that nature does exist as a separate ontological domain different from the social and cultural domains (Descola, 1996).

Eurocentrism and Western Naturalism provided the epistemological basis for the perpetuation of a relation between nature and society that is governed by the ‘environmental orientalism paradigm’ (Pálsson, 1996). As presented in chapter two, in conceiving humans as masters of nature, this paradigm assumes that humans are in charge of the world and therefore they have the right to exploit elements of the natural environment in order to satisfy their needs, establishing a negatively reciprocal relationship with the environment characteristic of a colonial regime (Pálsson, 1996). As such, under the colonial rule, as well as early in the republic, carob dry forests were identified as valuable natural resources exploited in order to satisfy an increased demand for its derivative products. Wood was used for building houses in the emerging colonial cities and natural coal was the main power source used in homes and industries (Hocquenghem, 1995; Rostworowski, 2005).

In post-colonial Peru, after the War of the Pacific and during the period named as the Aristocratic Republic in particular (1895-1919), a powerful and closed oligarchy composed of a handful of exporters and businessmen from the capital carried out what has been called a traditionalist type of modernisation while constructing the post-colonial state. For this economic elite, modernity, economic growth and development were going to be achieved by expanding capitalism and by applying an export-oriented state model based on the exploitation of natural resources (Thorp and Bertram, 1978; Klarén, 2000). Although they diversified the economy and expanded their businesses throughout the country, a sector of this Lima-based oligarchy was particularly interested in the coast because of its appropriate natural environment for agriculture (Klarén, 2000).

In order to fight the lack of water within the region of Piura, hacienda owners used foreign capital to introduce an innovative agricultural technique consisting of elevating the river-bed’s water level by using steam pumps, allowing agriculture to be developed within the Chira and Piura valleys (Aldana and Diez, 1994; Hocquenghem, 1995). This allowed the coastal haciendas to achieve a better degree of mechanisation and to gain efficiency with large scale capitalist lines of production (Thorp and Bertram, 1978), functioning with paid labour and developing into capitalist enterprises (Matos Mar and

Mejía, 1980). Subsequently, late in the 1920s most former cattle farming haciendas in the northern coast had developed into cotton and sugar producers (Hocquenghem, 1995, p. 76), which eventually became the country's leading export commodities (Klarén, 2000, pp. 209-210). The development of coastal haciendas increased land value in coastal areas and assisted Peru in consolidating itself as a raw material exporter country; the most popular exported products after cotton and sugar being salt, goat leather and straw hats (Aldana and Diez, 1994, pp. 99-100).

Unlike most other capitalist Haciendas, the hacienda Mancora was situated within an extremely dry and arid zone lacking humid lands needed for developing large-scale agriculture. The scarcity of productive lands and short supply of water had been everyday problems for centuries<sup>41</sup>, limiting agriculture production to auto-consumption and generating conflicts with nearby districts<sup>42</sup>. However, the environmental adversity of the region did not make Mancora a permanently inhabited place since the Hacienda period<sup>43</sup>.

Before the 1940s, Mancora was economically interconnected with the regional and national levels of society through the production of natural coal from carob dry forests; the output of which was destined for the emerging agricultural industry of the coast as well as for important cities of Piura and Lima. Demand for coal arose when steam pumps were introduced in the agricultural sector to irrigate the Chira and Piura valleys as a result of the oligarchy's interest in mechanizing agriculture to increase exports. The hacienda's wood and natural coal output was extracted from the carob dry forest situated by the 'Fernandez ravine' (see figure 4.1) and sent by boat to important cities such as Sullana, Piura, Callao and Lima. As historian Maria Rostoworowski (2005)

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<sup>41</sup> In Commander Jorge Juan and Don Antonio de Ulloa's travel notes about their trip from Quito to Lima in 1740, they describe Mancora as a place where a stream of fresh water runs in winter but where in summer there were only a few salty water wells inappropriate for drinking (Juan and Ulloa, 1748, p. 10). Probably, they were making reference to the Fernandez ravine situated in the north end of the district where currently a source of water supplies the population of the towns of Mancora and Los Organos.

<sup>42</sup> One example of this is the difficulties faced by the countryside dwellers of Mancora, in the last few decades only being able to cultivate few products for auto-consumption; therefore, having to purchase products from nearby villages and towns to offset the scarcity of productive lands and water. Lack of water also makes equal distribution of this vital resource difficult amongst neighbourhoods and nearby districts; this is currently getting even worse while conflicts and tensions around water emerge as a result of tourism development and population growth.

<sup>43</sup> In 1876, only 151 inhabitants composed the Hacienda Mancora's population (Fuentes, 1878).



points out by quoting Melo (1906), in early twentieth century Mancora was well known in Lima as an important coal and wood producer, where locals used traditional rafts for loading it onto the boats for its commercialisation (Rostworowski, 2005, p. 66). However, the relationship established upon this natural resource brought about an indiscriminate cutting of carob dry forests throughout the coast, which in turn transformed the environment of this region (Rostworowski, 2005, pp. 62-6). Thus, it could be argued that a predatory naturalism (Descola, 1996) or the paradigm of environmental orientalism (Pálsson, 1996) mediated the relationship between nature and society during this period<sup>44</sup>.

During the ‘Hacienda’ period (1880-1940), *Mancoreños* used the space in a particular way. According to my informants whose parents were hacienda workers, social life was circumscribed into two areas. In the country side (*zona del campo*) the population was very small in number and only a handful of families lived there. They were told that prior to the 1930s, people from surrounding villages of the countryside came down to Mancora to work on coal production, together with people from the nearby city of Sullana; however the latter left soon after the hacienda’s output declined since coal was replaced by other modern sources of power such as paraffin. Workers who stayed in Mancora built their villages within areas designated by the administrator of the hacienda and named them ‘Angolo A’ and ‘Barrancos’; renting out the land and making an annual payment in order to allow them to graze their cattle within the Hacienda’s land. These villages still exist nowadays but some district-dwellers regard them contemptuously as ‘peripheral areas’ surrounding the north end of the district. This way of naming areas of the district acts as markers of social and political differences between members of the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora and other district dwellers<sup>45</sup>.

Rather than a permanent ‘living area’ for countryside people, the coastal zone was mainly used for ‘storing coal’. One of the first Mancoreños I approached when I started my fieldwork period in September 2010 was a 72 year old member of the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora, Lucho Aguilar. Lucho is well known in Mancora for being one of the oldest local villagers who knows about the history of the town. I first met him in

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<sup>44</sup> I am borrowing from Descola and Pálsson (1996) terms such as ‘predatory’ or ‘colonial relation of exploitation’ to talk about the types of relationships established between nature and society.

<sup>45</sup> The conflicts between the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora and the District of Mancora will be explored in chapter five.

2007 when I did my fieldwork for my B.A. in Anthropology. In October 2010, I interviewed him again in his house in Mancora; I asked him about the uses of the coastal area during the Hacienda period:

*Extract 4.1:*

- 1       **Lucho:** A la quebrada de La Pepa, yaaa, y de allí, había un corralón, grandasasaso era el corralón, donde vive la Chemena. En ese corralón, el hacendado traía todo su carbón que sacaban de por acá, lo traía y lo almacenaba allí, y leña, pero leña de 14 libras cada grupo de leña. Esa
- 5       leña y ese carbón, venían tres barcos del Callao, uno se llamaba el Olmedo, otro se llamaba el Chiclayo, y el otro creo que era el Presidente. Esos se llevaban el carbón. Hacían unas balsillas grandasas y llenaban y se llenaban los barcos y al Callao, todo ese carbón era para el Callao. Acá no consumían carbón, acá cocinaban con leña. Todo era exportación
- 10       para el Callao porque en ese tiempo los barcos funcionaba con carbón para caldearlos, entonces, a eso se dedicaba la Hacienda Máncora (Interview with Lucho and Cesar Aguilar, Mancora, 8<sup>th</sup> October, 2010)<sup>46</sup>.

In fact, old countryside dwellers tell that previous generations did not go to the coast very often because only a few families used to live there, rendering it as an uninhabited area where carob trees grew freely. However, the coastal area fulfilled a strategic role in the Hacienda's economy due to the fact that by this time long distances were travelled by boat, as roads and other appropriate overland transport systems needed for commerce were lacking. Thus, the coastal area provided a storage place before coal was loaded onto boats; it was stored in a lumberyard situated within El Puerto, as Lucho described in the extract above. In other words, whilst Mancora's economy relied upon the extraction of the carob dry forest, the coastal area played an important role in the coal and wood circuit and the countryside had more value as a living area.

In this sense, this colonial relationship over the natural environment in Mancora can be traced back to colonial times and the beginning of the twentieth century, when a powerful and Lima-based oligarchy applied an export-led development model that depended on the exploitation of natural resources to modernise the country and ensure economic growth. However, by the end of the first half of the twentieth century, and because of the wave of export expansion fostered during the 1940s, Mancora became an important fishing village, exporting marine products to foreign markets. Throughout this transitional process, the economy and the social composition of Mancora experienced important changes, altering the identity of the place and the way Mancora developed as a community.

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<sup>46</sup> See p. 290, Extract 4.1, for English translation.

#### **4.2.2 *Caleta Máncora (1930 – 1970): Fishing Boom***

In this section, I explore the process whereby the identity of Mancora changed from ‘Hacienda Mancora’ to ‘Caleta Máncora’ (Fishing Village). I analyse the changes in the composition of Mancora as a community and in the political make-up of the district. Following this, I explore the changes in the uses given to the space during this period (1930-1970) that resulted from the transformations in the relationship that local inhabitants and members of the elite established with Mancora’s natural environment.

Initially, fishing families in Peru used to build seasonal villages near springs or ravines where they could find fresh water (Hocquenghem, 1995, p. 38)<sup>47</sup>; however, in the last century fishing villages turned into permanent inhabited areas due to population growth as well as an increasing demand for fish by the regional market (Aldana and Diez, 1994, p. 27). Nonetheless, research has shown that “fishermen and their families are quite mobile as a group” (Sabella, 1974, p. 19). This became particularly apparent in the 1930s when first canneries were built through local and foreign investments (Thorp and Bertram, 1978, p. 180).

Late in the 1930s the economy of the country began to revive after a decade of economic and political instability brought about by the worldwide depression, as well as a substantial shrink in the international market’s demand for the leading export crops such as sugar, cotton and wool. President Manuel Prado (1939-1945) allowed great amounts of U.S. investment aimed at stimulating growth during the following years (Klarén, 2000). His regime was supported by industrialists and members of the oligarchy who sought political liberalisation, capital investment in industry and more state expenditure. This coincided with an interest of the U.S. in Peru as a provider of raw materials and commodities as a result of the outbreak of the World War II. Subsequently, during the 1940s, members of the oligarchy advanced the fishing industry, turning Peruvian fishery into “the most rapidly-expanding area for local enterprise” (Thorp and Bertram, 1978, p. 81) and fishing into one of the most important sectors of the Peruvian exports during 1940s and 1950s (Klarén, 2000). During this period, fishery products such as fish-liver and canned, smoked and salted fish were exported in great

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<sup>47</sup> According to local inhabitants and fishermen, before the twentieth century Mancora was conceived as a seasonal stop for fishermen coming from Sechura and Bajo Piura while they were following certain fish species toward the north because of the existence of running water in the Fernandez ravine.

volume first to U.S. and then to Europe, bringing considerable profits to the small-scale fishing sector.

By the end of the 1940s, forty-nine plants in operation had spread throughout the coast of Peru (Thorp and Bertram, 1978, pp. 180-1), while around six fishing companies (Conulsa, Interamérica, Ballarino, Pesquera Máncora, Graña, La Nacional) had established their operation buildings near El Puerto neighbourhood in Mancora. These companies arrived with motorised boats and innovative industrial fishing techniques looking for fish species such as Swordfish (*Xiphias gladius* L.), Tuna (*Thunnus*) and different species of sharks; turning Mancora into an important fishing village of Northern Peru<sup>48</sup>. Old fishermen say that the catch was loaded into refrigerated boats of 1, 200 tons capacity and sent over to Lima and the U.S., as well as to Panama by plane after the Ballarino Company from Panama built a runway towards the north end of the fishing village.

These companies fostered changes in the composition of Mancora as a community and the socio-economic dynamic of the place, resulting in a change of the identity of the place. Following the fishing companies, fishermen from Puerto Pizarro, Sechura, Catacaos and Paita in the North as well as from Callao, Lima, Pisco, Chincha, Tambo de Mora and Ilo in the South took up residence in Mancora and gradually populated the town. Some of them settled within the El Puerto neighbourhood while other groups of fishing families coming together from Sechura gave rise to the Santa Rosa neighbourhood. Old fishermen arriving in the early 1940s say that at that time, Mancora was a one-street town, lacking all basic services such as electricity and power as well as potable water and sanitation. However, they frequently commented that such was the abundance of fish and resultant economic wealth that fishermen used to light cigarettes with notes and waste alcoholic drinks to show their economic power.

During the 1920s, the emerging oil industry in Peru and the breakdown of the cotton and sugar industry, as a result of a global economic crisis, diminished demand for coal (Klarén, 2000, p. 264), affecting the Hacienda Mancora. Consequently, whilst the Hacienda Mancora was heading for bankruptcy and the countryside was losing importance in the social dynamic of the town; the economic prosperity brought about by

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<sup>48</sup> Swordfish and shark-liver were used for fish liver-oil (main source of Vitamins A and D during the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War) and tuna for canneries until the Japanese canned fish industry revived in the U.S.A. market, competing with and displacing the Peruvian industry by mid 1950s (Thorp and Bertram, 1987, p. 243).

the fishing industry drew countryside dwellers towards the coast, forming an area that by 1975 would become the Nicaragua neighbourhood. Initially, countryside dwellers did not know the art of fishing. However, they were able to develop skills to assist the fishing industry, such as supplying fishermen with fresh water by bringing it from the Fernandez ravine or working in the factories salting and filleting fish. Social and cultural differences between fishermen and countryside dwellers were recognised in the names they gave each other; fishermen were called '*cholos*' and countryside dwellers '*montubios*'. This is an example of how during this process of place-making, the construction of the notion of locality and 'community', following Gupta and Ferguson (1997b), was a relation of difference that emerged as a result of the contact between culturally diverse groups that at that time composed the Mancoreño community.

At a local level, the fishing industry brought with it population growth and sped up migratory processes, not just in Mancora. The 1940 national census revealed that a larger scale phenomenon occurred in that period. It showed that in sixty-four years the country's population had tripled while the coast had acquired more significance as a living area due to fast urbanisation processes fostered by migratory waves. Migratory waves from the highlands to the coast began in 1919, when Lima underwent an intense process of 'masification'; hereafter until 1940s the coastal population grew at 2.0 per cent per year (Klarén, 2000). In the second half of the twentieth century, in Piura, six out of seven inhabitants were living along the coast and the rest in the highlands (Aldana and Diez, 1994, p. 112). However, in the early 1960s, the emerging fishmeal industry halted this process at a local level, persuading fishing companies and fishing families to head south to Chimbote looking for cold seas fish species such as Anchovy (*Engraulidae*), provoking in the following decade an economic crisis in the local economy.

Thus, in contrast to the 'Hacienda period', where timber was the main activity and the natural resource identified as a commodity and therefore exploited was the carob dry forest; in this period, the national economic elite focused on marine species in order to advance the fishing industry, establishing a colonial relation of exploitation over marine resources. In fact, the overexploitation of marine resources that took place during the 'Fishing boom' dramatically reduced the population of fish species, turning industrialised fishing into a fluctuating activity with decreasing tendencies (Tello and Gonzales, 2002).

By the beginning of the twentieth century, new districts and provinces emerged due to changes in the political and administrative structure of the country that sought the consolidation of the Peruvian state over the country's territory. These changes were aimed at creating a network of local authorities that could challenge the traditional *gamonal*<sup>49</sup> hegemony that had taken control of rural areas while exerting more control over the population. By then, Piura was composed of three provinces: Piura, Paita and Ayabaca. In 1908, former president Augusto B. Leguía (1908 – 1912) promulgated Law N° 818, creating the district of Mancora in the province of Paita. This Law used the Hacienda Mancora's limits to delimitate the district's jurisdiction and assigned Talara's town as capital. By then, in contrast to the town of Mancora that was only a small hamlet situated in the countryside, the town of Talara was the largest and most productive oil field of the country (Klarén, 2000).

As described before, during the first half of the twentieth century Mancora was constituted as a community of fishermen and people from the countryside who mostly resided within the coastal area, creating the hamlet of Mancora<sup>50</sup>. In 1932, the hamlets of El Alto, Restin and Mancora formed the bigger district of Mancora, which had Lobitos's town as capital of the district<sup>51</sup>. In 1955, twenty two years later, former President Manuel Odría (1950-1956)<sup>52</sup> turned these hamlets into three smaller districts within the initial territory of Mancora: 'Mancora', 'Lobitos' and 'El Alto'. By then, because Mancora's town was already established as a fishing village, the neighbourhood called 'El Puerto' was assigned as capital of the district.

In 1956, the Province of Talara was created<sup>53</sup> within the territory initially described as the former district of Mancora by the previous Law N° 818. The Province of Talara was composed of the districts of 'Pariñas', 'La Brea', 'Mancora', 'Lobitos' and 'El Alto'. In 1960s, the district of Los Organos was added to the province. Thus, by the beginning of the twentieth century the name Mancora was confusingly used to refer to both the district, which covered the current territory of the Province of Talara; and the hamlet,

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<sup>49</sup> I will come back to this term later in this chapter.

<sup>50</sup> According to Law N° 27972, a town could become a district only if it has a minimum of 1, 000 over age inhabitants whose home address is in the town.

<sup>51</sup> Law N° 7627

<sup>52</sup> Law N° 12217

<sup>53</sup> Law 12649 promulgated in March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1956.

situated in the countryside<sup>54</sup>. This political configuration changed in the 1950s as a result of population growth brought about by the fishing and petroleum booms, transforming the town of Mancora into a district and developing the former district of Mancora into the Province of Talara.

In addition to changing the political configuration of Mancora, the fishing boom also transformed the uses of the space. Pictures taken before 1970s (Figure 4.1) show how Mancora's coastal zone had been occupied until then. Three main natural features delimited the extension of the area where the town had arisen; the ravines named Cabo Blanco and Fernandez indicate the south and north end of the town respectively; while the seashore delimited the west line, a cliff on the east surrounded the area where local inhabitants had raised their houses. Houses were built on both sides of the Pan American Highway which goes through the entire town dividing it into two. Fishing companies built their plants on the seafront next to Cabo Blanco ravine in the south-west area of the town.

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<sup>54</sup> These laws will be used by Mayors of the district of Mancora to claim rights over the land of Mancora during the legal conflict between the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora and the Municipality of Mancora (chapter five).

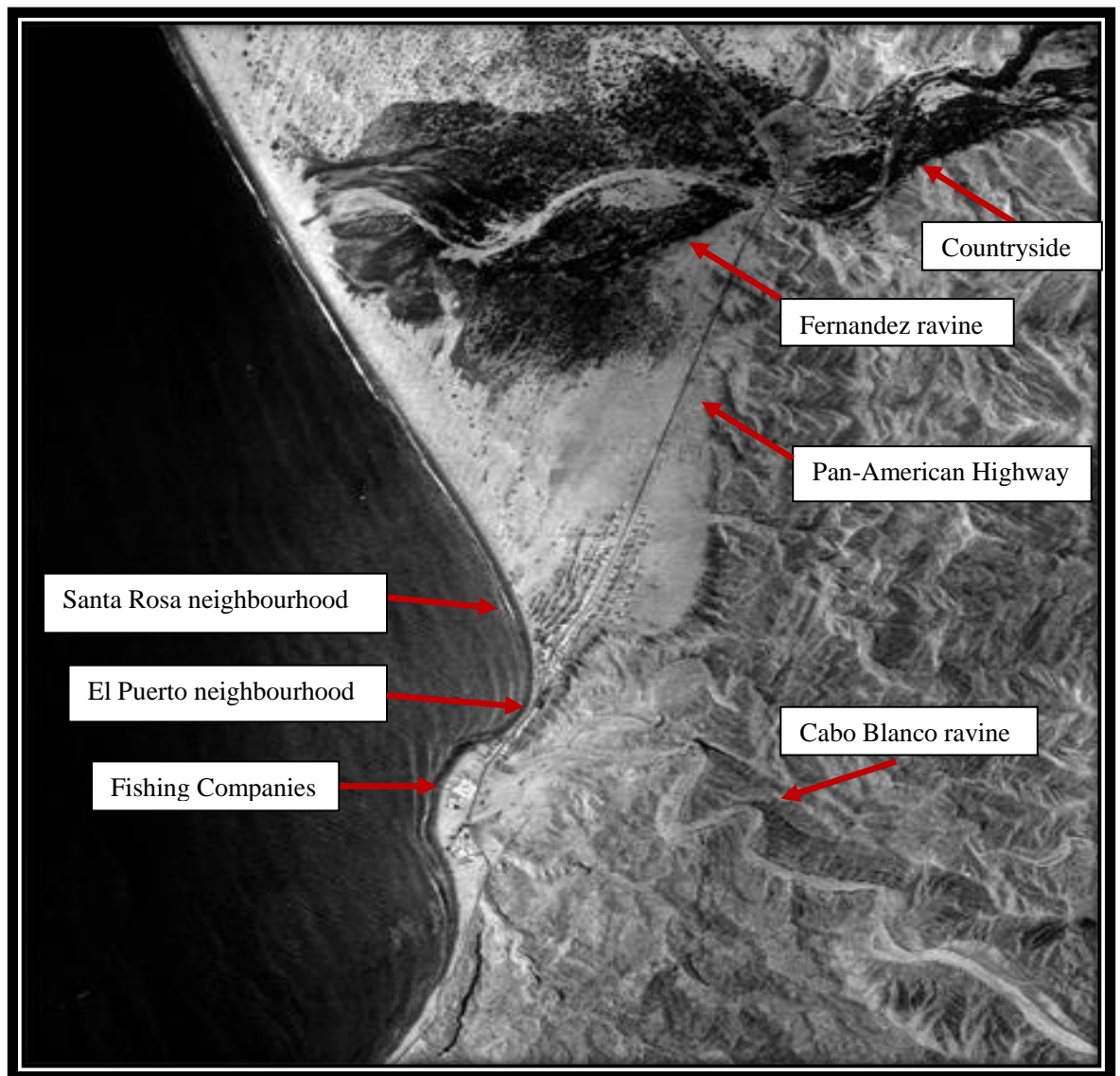


Figure 4.1 Aerial Picture of Mancora taken before 1970<sup>55</sup>

Then (Figure 4.2), El Puerto neighbourhood was further north passing Cabo Blanco ravine. Most of the houses within this neighbourhood were situated on the east side due to the fact that the beach and familiar dry docks were on the west side of the Pan American Highway; by then, the seashore was beside and near the Pan American Highway. During this period, fishermen used to make unrestricted use of the beaches, running aground their boats and traditional rafts<sup>56</sup> and parking refrigerated lorries between the Highway and the beach. The space between both the Pan American Highway and the seashore and the former with the cliff expands while carrying on north

<sup>55</sup> Scale: 20 micron. Geographical Institute of Peru. Photograph code: Foto 3067.

<sup>56</sup> “[...] small craft that are rowed, sailed, or have low h.p. motors and which differ little in construction or style from those of previous generations (Sabella, 1974, p. 14)”; this traditional crafts ties current fishermen with their pre-colonial ancestors (Sabella, 1978, p. 180).



after El Puerto neighbourhood. This allowed local inhabitants to build their houses on both sides of the Highway, populating the Santa Rosa neighbourhood.

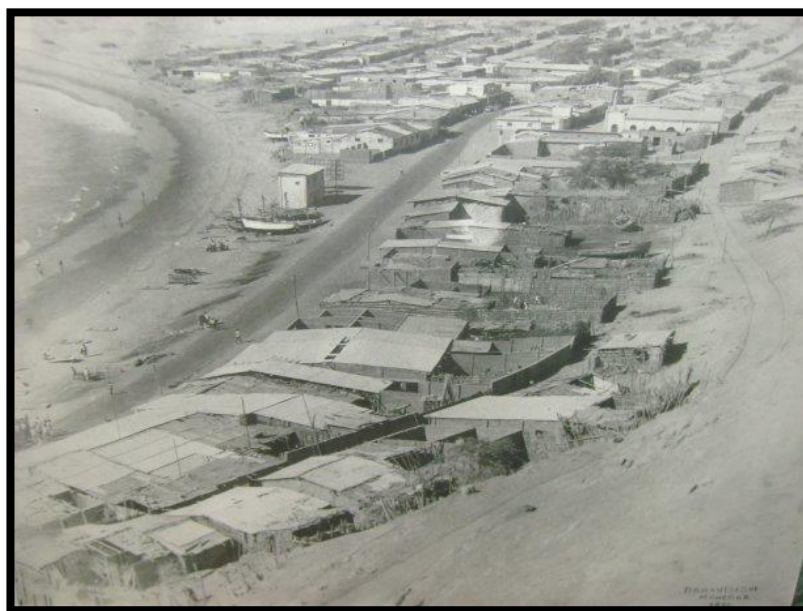


Figure 4.2 'El Puerto' neighbourhood during 1970s

Fishermen named the main neighbourhood of the town El Puerto because the bay and the seashore in front of the houses was an appropriate area for anchoring and running their boats and traditional rafts aground<sup>57</sup>. Within this area the sea allowed them to transport their nets, provisions, fuel, and their catch from their boats to the beach and vice-versa by using traditional rafts. The proximity to the Pan American Highway allowed them to easily load the catch onto refrigerated lorries for its commercialisation. This way of naming the neighbourhoods highlights how the landscape was experienced and sensed by fishermen who attached to their natural surrounding symbolic meanings characteristic of the fishing cultural world in order to make the place meaningful.

Thus, the emerging fishing industry in Mancora brought about migratory processes, which in turn populated the first coastal neighbourhoods of the town, making Mancora a culturally diverse community composed of cattle farmers, lumberjacks and fishermen. The presence of new actors in the social dynamic, as well as the increased focus on marine resources during the fishing boom, transformed the uses given to the space. As such, in contrast to the 'Hacienda period' where the coastal zone was mostly conceived

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<sup>57</sup> Although three dry docks were the most known (one in the south of El Puerto, another next to the Police Station, and other in the beach of the Santa Rosa neighbourhood), fishermen used to run their boats aground in front of their houses situated by the beach before 1983; this is done by fishermen owning motorised boats usually twice a year for its maintenance.

as a ‘storage area’, during this transition from ‘Hacienda’ to ‘Fishing Village’, the coastal area became more significant in the everyday life of its population, turning into a ‘living area’. By the 1970s, Mancora’s prevalent identity was that of a fishing village and a coastal district.

### **4.3 Beginnings of Tourism (1970 – 2000)**

The configuration of the space during the period in which Mancora was a fishing village changed with a number of significant events. As described in chapter one, the ‘El Niño’ phenomenon of 1983 changed the physical space of the district, revealing that Mancora’s vulnerable territory is constantly subjected to great environmental uncertainty due to the likelihood of future occurrences of the ‘El Niño’ phenomenon. Moreover, in 1994, the construction of the fishing pier concentrated most of the fishing activity within and surrounding the area where the fishing pier was built, between the El Puerto and Santa Rosa neighbourhoods and the tourist area of the Las Pocitas. In this section, I explore how the identity of the place, the configuration of the space and the social dynamic of Mancora changed as a result of the process whereby tourism was introduced by middle and upper class Limeños.

As presented in chapter two, in processes of place-making, places are rendered meaningful and actively sensed as a result of the relationships that people establish with their territories and the natural environment. In relating to their places, people comprehend and experience the natural landscape surrounding them and attach to their places symbolic meanings in order to make them meaningful (Feld and Basso, 1996b). In other words, people are always creating and experiencing different ‘senses of place’ (Feld and Basso, 1996a). However, the experience of place is culturally conditioned (Feld and Basso, 1996b) and socially constructed, immersed in political contests where some people have the power to establish spatial meanings and make places of spaces according to their cultural values and political interests (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997a). Drawing upon this debate, I propose that, by fostering processes of place-making that will assist them to pursue their political and economic projects, powerful social groups impose hegemonic models of nature and place in order to make “certain kinds of identities salient at particular historical moments” (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997b, p. 14). As a result, they provoke important socio-cultural changes, transforming the relationship that people establish with their natural environment and the place.

In fact, in the early 1970s, upper and middle class Limeños introduced tourism into Mancora, prompting important cultural changes in the relationship between nature and society while reshaping the identity of Mancora. Erik Cohen (1979) has pointed out that the dynamics of tourism will depend on the way tourism has been introduced into the area: the tourism industry can grow organically or it can be introduced from the outside. According to this author, if tourism has been introduced from the outside, the early stages of tourism development will be governed by clear gaps between tourists and local villagers (Cohen, 1979, p. 24). In fact, since the process that developed Mancora into a tourist destination begun, knowledge, cultural and economic gaps distinguished the Mancoreños from the Limeños. This was initially reflected in the way both Mancoreños and Limeños culturally conceived the coast and the place, the way members of each group refer to each other, as well as in the way both groups carried out actions in order to secure coastal land. These gaps allowed Mancoreños and Limeños to obtain different degrees of control over the key natural resource needed for transforming the place into a popular tourist destination and therefore defining their role and position in the tourism industry.

Geographer Richard Butler (1980) has argued that tourist areas are always changing; they evolve and change over time as a result of changes of tourist preferences, environmental degradation and changes in the original natural and cultural attraction, amongst other things. According to Butler's (1980) model of 'Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution', the *exploration stage* refers to the stage of tourism development of a destination in which a small number of tourists, specifically sporadic national visitors, travellers and surfers, arrive at potential tourist destinations without a regular visitation pattern, carrying out several actions to foster tourism development (Butler, 1980). When Mancora was passing through this stage of tourism development, the relationship between Limeños and the Mancoreños was mediated by several social and cultural differences. From positions of power where they had the means to trigger changes at a local level, Limeños sought to shape the identity of the place according to their cultural values and economic interests, attaching the symbolic meanings that would identify Mancora as a popular tourist destination. Moreover, in contrast to the Mancoreños who were unfamiliar with the tourism industry, the Limeños secured as many plots of coastal land as possible by using their specialised knowledge about the laws promoted by the Peruvian state with regard to housing development and uses of the land.

#### 4.3.1 *First Contacts: the Pioneers and the Mancoreños (1970 – 1983)*

The first group of Limeños arriving in the fishing village between 1975 and 1983 are termed by the Mancoreños as the ‘pioneers’ and ‘visionaries’. They are called with these symbolically charged names because in contrast to the Mancoreños, this group of Limeños saw in Mancora’s natural environment a ‘potential’ tourist attraction. In comparison to other fishing villages, they found a unique place whose natural characteristics, marine biodiversity as well as tropical and dry weather fitted with the natural requirements needed for developing coastal tourism. Furthermore, they realised that Mancora’s waves were suitable for surfing and the natural richness of its sea was ideal for diving, sports that were becoming popular amongst upper and middle classes in Lima. Even though these natural characteristics were familiar to the Mancoreños, they did not share the same cultural values and knowledge about the tourism industry that allowed the Limeños to see the ‘potential’ of Mancora as a tourist paradise.

Javier Paraud was one of the first members of the elite from Lima who arrived in Mancora in 1975. Previously, Javier had lived for four years in Marbella, Spain, where he worked in the tourism industry sailing tourists to Gibraltar and Tanger. Business-minded and a surfer, on his initial visit to Mancora he ‘discovered’ its ‘potential’ for tourism development, becoming into the first person who conceptualised and imagined the place as a tourist resource that needed to be produced and transformed into a tourist product. Near the end of my fieldwork period, I interviewed Javier at his house in Lima. After introducing himself as the ‘discoverer’ of Mancora, he told me how he initially conceptualised the place:

*Extract 4.2:*

- 1       **Javier:** Y me acuerdo que me gustó el sitio y regresé a Lima y decidí  
irme por allá, como yo había estado en Costa el Sol, en todo lo que es  
Málaga, había visto la transformación de ciertos pueblitos ¿no?  
insignificantes que llegaron inversores turistas y los convirtieron pues en  
5       centros de esparcimiento ¿no? para turismo. Entonces vi eso. (Interview  
with former Mayor of Mancora Javier Paraud, Lima, 20<sup>th</sup> May, 2011)<sup>58</sup>.

By the time Javier arrived in Mancora, the place was not an empty space where an identity had to be inscribed; it was already a consolidated fishing village with local authorities and a community socially composed of people from the countryside and

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<sup>58</sup> See p. 290, Extract 4.2, for English translation.

fishing families. However, at this early stage of Mancora's tourism development (1970-1983), when the 'pioneering' Limeños started to arrive with the hope of developing tourism; some Mancoreños were leaving the town following the fishing industries. In my interview with Lucho Aguilar, the old member of the Comunidad Campesina, and Cesar Aguilar, Lucho's nephew and primary school teacher, they explain how fishermen began selling their land to foreigners:

*Extract 4.3:*

- 1       **Fernando:** El '83 es cuando las empresas pesqueras ya se habían ido y el pueblo estaba constituido como una caleta.  
**Lucho:** Ya se había retirado a la Anchoqueta. Y mira cómo es ¿los verdaderos Mancoreños dónde están? Tambo de Mora, Pisco, Callao, Supe, están en Chimbote, por allá están los verdaderos Mancoreños, los pescadores antiguos.  
5       **Cesar:** Se fueron con la Anchoqueta, ya sabían pescar y emigraron.  
**Lucho:** Y como ya no hay sitio dónde hacer su casa acá, ya no pueden venir. Ya el que se iba vendía su casa por 200 soles, por lo que le cayera, la vendía y se iba. Ahorita cuántos desearían tener un terreno para hacer una casa y no hay (Interview with Luis and Cesar Aguilar, Mancora, 8<sup>th</sup> October, 2010)<sup>59</sup>.

In the extract above, Lucho and Cesar highlight that the 'true' Mancoreño did not value the place and the land in the same way as the Limeño. In fact, they mention that because fishermen were following the fishing companies, some Mancoreños did not imagine themselves living in the place at that stage of Mancora's tourism development. Because of that, they disposed of their land and their properties and left the place to follow the fishing industry. Thus, if for the Mancoreños the place was a permanent or a temporary living area, for the 'pioneering' Limeños the place was a potential tourist resource to be exploited. In other words, the place was conceptualised and imagined in different ways by the Mancoreños and the Limeños. Consequently, each group engaged in the place and the natural environment according to their own 'mentality' or cultural values. This tourism mentality allowed the Limeños to give more priority to the land. In the extract below, Javier Paraud stresses this point:

*Extract 4.4:*

- 1       **Fernando:** A veces pienso, porqué los locales, en cierta forma, porqué ellos no cogieron partes de la playa para poner sus hoteles y restaurantes, siempre fue gente foránea en cierta forma.  
**Javier:** Porque el foráneo estaba, como te digo, el local se dedicaba a la

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<sup>59</sup> See p. 290, Extract 4.3, for English translation.

- 5 pesca, el foráneo iba con otra mentalidad, no con la del local. El foráneo iba a explotar turistas, a tener un terreno para hacer algo relacionado con el turismo, porque Máncora no es otra cosa que un pueblo turístico (Interview with former Mayor of Mancora Javier Paraud, Lima, 20<sup>th</sup> May, 2011)<sup>60</sup>.

In fact, the Mancoreños' cultural values and lack of knowledge about the tourism industry prevented them from conceptualising and imagining the place in the same way as the 'pioneering' Limeños. In my conversations with local artisans and fishermen whose parents used to live within the El Puerto neighbourhood, they constantly commented how they did not know tourism was going to turn their land into an area with great market value; otherwise they would have not sold it. This cultural gap played a crucial role in the land conflicts that emerged in the following decades when tourism became a predominant economic activity. Nonetheless, this context presented a golden opportunity to the 'pioneering' Limeños whose priority was to secure the natural resource that would allow them to exploit the place. Subsequently, they bought plots of coastal land, especially within El Puerto neighbourhood, in order to build the first hotels and develop tourism. Following this, the 'pioneering' Limeños proceeded to change the identity of Mancora which they considered was similar to that of a 'bus stop-town' or a 'disgusting' and 'dirty' fishing village comparable to a 'pig farm'. In the following extract Javier Paraud underlines this point:

*Extract 4.5:*

- 1 **Javier:** Es un basural ¿no? Porque eso era Máncora, un basural. Sin saber lo que podía significar el turismo, ni el valor que podría adquirir la propiedad con unos años, se vendía pues a centavos (Interview with former mayor of Mancora Javier Paraud, Lima, 20<sup>th</sup> May, 2011)<sup>61</sup>.

Once Mancora's potential for tourism development was identified, the Limeños took Mancora through a process of production and appropriation, whereby the features and meanings that would identify the town as a tourist destination became hegemonic, turning the identity of the town from a 'Fishing Village into a 'Tourist Destination'. Being an upper class Limeño, businessman and aware of the basic requirements for tourism to develop, Javier Paraud accepted the position of mayor of Mancora (1978-1980) and applied his knowledge of business and management to undertake projects for

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<sup>60</sup> See p. 291, Extract 4.4, for English translation.

<sup>61</sup> See p. 291, Extract 4.5, for English translation.

cleaning up the town and improving both the water supply and the electric systems<sup>62</sup>. He sought to turn the identity of the formerly ‘disgusting’ fishing village into a clean and tidy town ready for tourism development. He says that having done all these public works, “the conditions needed for the town to arise were given” (Javier Paraud, Lima, 20<sup>th</sup> May, 2011).

In the late 1970s, Javier Paraud went into partnership with one of the heads of the Occidental Petroleum Company<sup>63</sup> (OXY), developing the first hotel in Mancora. The OXY built its operation base and the workers’ camp in the nearby district of Los Organos while extracting petroleum from the subsoil of the Province. Hundreds of engineers and professionals from the United States, Argentina and Lima took up temporary residence in Los Organos, and saw Mancora as a near leisure centre. Javier considered this as a stroke of luck because, having opened his business, he had a turnover of thousands of dollars and his hotel was always full of costumers, mainly OXY workers, as well as other Limeños friends of him coming to Mancora for surfing. This increased Mancora’s popularity amongst wealthy Limeños who started considering it not only as a sport destination and leisure centre but also as a potential town for investing in developing tourist infrastructure.

#### ***4.3.2 Visionaries and Las Pocitas (1983 – 1989)***

During the 1970s the process of developing Mancora into a tourist destination had started, with the coast turning into the most valuable natural resource amongst Limeños. Subsequently, during the 1980s and 1990s other new tourist areas emerged within former inhabited and vulnerable areas of the town. Together with the El Puerto neighbourhood, Las Pocitas, also known today as Mancora Chico, was transformed into a tourist area. With two lines of recently built luxurious beachfront hotels and extravagant houses, this exclusive touristic zone of the district differs from Mancora’s downtown (El Puerto and the El Centro Veraniego neighbourhoods) because it is visited by the wealthiest tourists. Planted to give the place a tropical and tourism identity, a line of palm trees disguises the fact that this is actually an extremely arid and highly vulnerable zone. This zone started being inhabited, especially by upper and middle class

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<sup>62</sup> During this period, the role of Municipal Authority was given to ‘renown’ local villagers from a ‘mestizo’ background that were involved in the relations of power that characterised the *gamonalismo* (Muñoz, 2005).

<sup>63</sup> International oil and gas exploration and production company.

Limeños, soon after the landslides provoked by the ‘El Niño’ (FEN) phenomenon of 1983 destroyed the former Pan American Highway, which is currently used as the main access road to Las Pocitas along the seashore<sup>64</sup>. Since then, the number of Limeños settling down in Mancora has risen.

With the presence of the members of the national elite living permanently in Mancora, the composition of Mancora as a community changed, resulting in increased socio-cultural differences between the Mancoreños and the Limeños. Apart from the way each group conceptualised the place and the coast, socio-cultural differences are also manifested in the way the Mancoreños use the socio-racial term ‘colorado’ to refer to the group of Limeños who settled in Mancora. In the extract below, school teacher and current mayor of Mancora (2011 – to present), Victor Raul Hidalgo, defines what the term ‘colorado’ means:

*Extract 4.6:*

- 1       **Victor:** [...] Ha crecido, sobre todo en estos últimos 15 años que la cosa se ha expandido totalmente. [...] pero falta todavía concientizar  
          turísticamente al poblador. Todavía hay una querrela absurda entre el  
5        poblador y el colorado que le dicen; el poblador no quiere saber nada con  
          el colorado a pesar de que el colorado le da su cuenta de trabajo al  
          poblador. Acá la gente depende del turismo.  
          **Fernando:** ¿El colorado es...?  
          **Victor:** El Limeño, el blanquito, lo miran así. Son los dueños del hotel,  
          del restaurante; el foráneo que ha venido a establecerse aquí.  
10       **Fernando:** ¿El inversionista?  
          **Victor:** El inversionista.  
          **Fernando:** ¿Hay un resentimiento?  
          **Victor:** Pero absurdo. Y pensar que esta gente de acá está dependiendo  
15        de acá. Por ejemplo, hay pescadores que cargan su lancha, ya los  
          encuentras de guardián, de jardinero, de cocineros. Entonces ya dejaron  
          la vida marítima que es bien sacrificada y quien le da el trabajo son ellos.  
          (Interview with current mayor of Mancora Victor Raul Hidalgo,  
          Máncora, 6<sup>th</sup> October, 2010)<sup>65</sup>.

In the extract above, Victor Raul highlights that the socio-racial term ‘colorado’ emerged in a specific socio-historical site, specifically as a result of the process whereby tourism was introduced into Mancora. This term is mainly used in the Mancoreños’ discourse to refer to the middle and upper class Limeño entrepreneurs that turned Mancora into a tourist destination. In opposition to the Mancoreños, the identity of the Limeños is socially constructed as ‘white’ and as a group of wealthy people with the

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<sup>64</sup> Las Pocitas Association is a gated community with limited access to the beach.

<sup>65</sup> See p. 291, Extract 4.6, for English translation.



means to increase employment opportunities and, consequently, with the power to improve the 'hard' way of life of local inhabitants<sup>66</sup>. This shows how the identities of the Mancoreño and the Limeños are socially constructed, following Hall (1996), Gupta and Ferguson (1997b) and Howard (2009), through an on-going and open-ended relation of difference, that initially emerged as a result of the process of place-making whereby Mancora turned into a tourist destination.

The extract above also demonstrates how the 'colorado' and the Mancoreño identities are constructed within the play of power and exclusion (Hall, 1996) and power and place (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997b). In fact, the term 'colorado' highlights that even though the Limeños are situated within a privileged and powerful position in the social structure of Mancora, the unequal relationship between Mancoreños and Limeños is characterised by rivalries and resentments. Because of that, while talking about this first group of colorados, most Mancoreños regard them as the 'Visionaries' because they saw Mancora's potential for tourism and introduced a particular way of using the space and exploiting the natural environment. Nonetheless, during my informal conversations with Mancoreños about the initial stages of Mancora's tourism development, they frequently said that the colorados were thought to be a group who used alcohol and drugs heavily and were used to a life of idleness and luxury in Lima. Others were said to have had problems with the justice system and thus found in Mancora a place to take refuge and reproduce their way of life freely. In addition, when land conflicts occur, it is common to hear some Mancoreños saying that the 'colorados' stole the land belonging to the Mancoreños, regarding them as the first group of 'land invaders'<sup>67</sup>. In this sense, the term 'colorado' acts as a marker of cultural difference between both groups,

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<sup>66</sup> I will come back to this point in chapter six.

<sup>67</sup> In fact, the term 'land invader' has become a very common term used by all social groups that compose Mancora as a community. Some Mancoreños, including fishermen, former and current authorities as well as local inhabitants, sometimes use this term to refer to the first group of Limeños (also called 'Visionaries') who arrived during Mancora's initial stages of tourism development and fenced off the land within 'Las Pocitas' or the 'El Centro Veraniego' zones. In addition, this term is mainly used by Limeños and Mancoreños, mostly by those who are members of local associations or in positions of power, to refer to the group of people who are fencing off public areas for illegal activities. However, this symbolically charged and polemic term also emerged several times during public meetings or social events where Mancoreños and Limeños were having arguments or confrontations. In these contexts, some Mancoreños said to the Limeños entrepreneurs 'you stole our beaches' or 'you have forgotten that you were the first land invader that took over the beach of Mancora'. As such, I am including this term into my writing as I picked it up from the empirical material I collected during my fieldwork. I will be coming back to this term throughout the following chapters.

containing positive and negative connotations that have been attached to the term as a result of processes of cultural contact whereby the place was constituted as a community.

In my view, the unequal relationship between the Mancoreños and the ‘colorados’ is also rooted in the way each group used the space and exploited the natural environment during these early stages of Mancora’s tourism development. In fact, after the former Pan American Highway was destroyed by the ‘El Niño’ of 1983, Las Pocitas zone became inaccessible, lacking any public or private infrastructure or basic services, turning its legal condition into barren land or ‘*zona de tierras eriazas*’. According to the Peruvian Legislation<sup>68</sup>, ‘*tierras eriazas*’ are lands belonging to the state in which either an excess or lack of water has made the area uncultivable (Del Castillo, 1997, p. 70). Since the early twentieth century, the Peruvian Government has promoted private investment within this type of land to increase its value, especially for agriculture purposes (Observatorio de Tierras, 2011)<sup>69</sup>. Furthermore, in the context of the fast urbanisation of coastal cities resulting in increased migration of people from the countryside that begun in early 1950s, the government of former president General Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968 -75) promulgated several Laws aimed at stimulating the private sector to undertake housing projects within this type of land. These laws sought mainly to overcome housing deficit, raise employment and foster the national economy<sup>70</sup>.

Although initially, according to Law 18460 promulgated in 1970, the Peruvian state transferred the ownership of this type of land free of charge to private and public stakeholders, when Law 19955 was passed two years later, it stated that if the housing project was not started within five years of taking possession of the land, the ownership of the land would revert to the state<sup>71</sup>. Almost a decade later, when Law of Municipalities 23853 was passed in 1984, ownership of state assets such as land were transferred to Provincial governments, and, depending on their development programmes, Provincial Municipalities had the legal faculty to decide what uses their lands were going to be given. Furthermore, they were specifically told that ‘*tierras eriazas*’ could be directly awarded in cases in which it was going to be used for investing purposes. Thus, now having this legal structure, the Provincial Municipality of

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<sup>68</sup> Agrarian Reform Law 17716, Title XVI; Ley de Tierras N. 26505

<sup>69</sup> <http://www.observatoriotierras.info/node/7886>. Retrieved: 22/07/2011. Agrarian Reform Law 17716, Title XVI.

<sup>70</sup> Law 18460, 03/11/1970

<sup>71</sup> Law 19955, 20/03/1973.

Talara was in charge of identifying and classifying ‘tierras eriazas’ within its jurisdiction. Subsequently, it was able to award land upon request and proof that the land would be used for investment projects in housing; thus increasing land value and fostering economic development at local and regional levels.

Prior to the arrival of the ‘colorados’, whilst fishermen made unrestricted use of the beaches within Las Pocitas area for fishing or running their boats and traditional rafts aground, other Mancoreños were not interested in this area because they considered it an inaccessible and useless zone, situated far away from the centre of the town. Furthermore, Las Pocitas was not considered as a living area because the Mancoreños perceived it as a high-risk zone after experiencing the landslides provoked by the ‘El Niño’ phenomenon in 1983. In other words, the local knowledge about the natural dynamic of the place gained by the Mancoreños as a result of experiencing previous events of the ‘El Niño’ phenomenon allowed them to be aware of the latent dangers that their place could be subjected to.

In contrast, one of the colorados, lawyer Ricardo Elias, saw in the isolated coastal zone of the Las Pocitas an opportunity for business, taking voluntarily the environmental risks that make this area highly vulnerable. As a lawyer, he used his expertise on land use and land possession to gain access to this natural resource. Being very well informed about the Peruvian Laws of that time and knowing the procedure needed in order to obtain legal possession of ‘tierras eriazas’, Ricardo Elias secured the previously disaster-stricken area of the Las Pocitas and made it accessible again. Next, he fenced in large extensions of land by the beach, and then requested legal possession from the Provincial Municipality of Talara.

Thus, contrary to the Mancoreños, the ‘colorados’ conceptualised the land and the landscape within this area of the town as a profitable and exploitable natural resource needed for developing tourism and making a profit, regardless of its environmental vulnerability. In fact, many Mancoreños initially thought of Ricardo Elias as mad when he settled in Las Pocitas. However, they later realised that, although he neglected the fact that this was a highly vulnerable area, he did this in order to develop tourism, becoming viewed then as a ‘Visionary’. By the end of the 1980s almost all plots of land in Las Pocitas had been divided amongst a handful of ‘colorados’, who following Elias’s strategy, tried to obtain as much land as they could within this area.

### 4.3.3 *Tourism Stakeholders (1990 – 2000)*

The popularity achieved by Mancora as a potential tourist destination amongst members of the entrepreneurial class triggered land markets within uninhabited and vulnerable areas of the town, attracting Limeños who migrated to Mancora and populated previously disaster-stricken areas of the town. By the 1990s, Mancora's tourism development was entering to Butler's (1980) *development stage*, where natural attractions are advanced and physical changes are more obvious due to the importance of tourism in social life; these changes are accompanied by an increase in the number of visitors (Butler, 1980).

In the 1990s, potential tourism stakeholders had two options to secure land within Las Pocitas; they could place a request through the Municipality of Talara, or buy it from the first group of the 'colorados'. By then, the first group of the 'colorados' were at risk of losing their requested plots of land due to the conditions stated by Law 19955, so they fostered a land market in which a square metre was initially worth \$70 U.S. dollars<sup>72</sup> (1990s). At this time, the Mancoreños had none opportunities to obtain land within this area. They did not have the knowledge about the legal framework used by the 'colorados' to secure land and they lacked the economic means to buy the land that the 'colorados' did. In other words, knowledge, cultural and economic gaps prevented the Mancoreños from securing a plot of coastal land within this area. Oscar, owner of Puerto Palos hotel in the Las Pocitas area, who bought land from Elias, describes this point:

*Extract 4.7:*

- 1       **Fernando:** ¿Y la gente que compró en esta zona de las Pocitas básicamente fue gente de fuera?  
**Oscar:** ¡No!, ¡no! Hay gente de Lima, gente de afuera estaré yo.  
**Fernando:** Me refiero con gente de afuera, con gente fuera de Máncora.
- 5       **Oscar:** Ah sí, ¡no! Todo fuera de Máncora, los pescadores no tenían capacidad de comprar. 5, 10, 15, 20 mil dólares, 8, 7, 12...  
**Fernando:** Ese era el costo de los terrenos.  
**Oscar:** Por ahí, sí, 6 mil dólares ,7 mil, 10 mil, 11 mil; depende de la cantidad de terreno. Entonces, lo que sí que con el tema de la
- 10       prescripción había que construir en 12 meses entonces esto empezó a crecer rapidísimo. Y todos empezaron a hacer infraestructuras turísticas simpáticas, con buena onda, no te digo de lujo pero si con buen servicio.

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<sup>72</sup> At present, a square meter of coastal land within Las Pocitas has increased to \$350 U.S. dollars.

Y realmente fue creciendo una zona residencial, prácticamente residencial (Interview with hotel owner Oscar Christoph, Las Pocitas – Máncora, 26<sup>th</sup> October, 2010)<sup>73</sup>.

As a result, most of the Las Pocitas zone was colonised and divided amongst the ‘colorados’. Initially, the colorados built their houses by the beach. However, most of them invested in building more rooms to provide accommodation when tourist visits increased. After the event of the ‘El Niño’ phenomenon of 1998, the number of hotels and houses increased considerably, turning this area into a tourist destination for Limeños. Although the Peruvian state had a crucial role in stimulating land possession of ‘tierras eriazas’, the state did not have an active role in promoting and planning tourism development nor regulating the use of vulnerable natural resources<sup>74</sup>. Thus, in contrast to the fishing village, the ‘colorados’ turned the vulnerable area of Las Pocitas into a residential zone, becoming the most exclusive tourist area of the town.

How has the re-making of Mancora, prompted by the Limeños, transformed the relationship between nature and society at a local level? What changes did they foster with regard to the uses of natural resources? And how did this process change the way people engaged with their environment, transforming the social dynamic and the relationships amongst social groups composing Mancora? The presence of the ‘colorados’ reinforced a colonial relationship over the natural environment that is governed by the ‘the orientalist exploitation’ paradigm (Pálsson, 1996). As explored previously, the paradigm of orientalist exploitation has been represented by the way the natural resources have been exploited in the last century, which has revealed, following Descola (1996), a relationship of predatory naturalism established with the environment since the Hacienda period. If by the beginning of the century the carob dry forest was the main natural resource identified as a commodity, and by the 1950s the fishing boom displaced the forest for the sea, both natural resources were extracted to be commercialised within national and international markets. However, the introduction of dominant notions of place and nature by the colorados transformed this relationship. In prompting a process of commoditisation and appropriation of the place, the natural environment, particularly the coastal land and the marine landscape, became market commodities with great market value. As a result, the coastal area developed into the most valuable resource, regardless of its degree of vulnerability. In so doing, the

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<sup>73</sup> See p. 292, Extract 4.7, for English translation.

<sup>74</sup> Services needed for tourism such as phone lines, electricity and to some extent water were developed within this area by the colorados. See also chapter 7.

colorados strengthened a relationship in which humans consider themselves as masters of nature, with the capacity to control, transform, domesticate, conquer and exploit the natural environment.

As a result of this process of socio-cultural change, the composition of Mancora as a diverse community was altered. Initially, Mancora was mainly composed of the group of cholos (fishermen) and montubios (gente del campo), who identified themselves as Mancoreños. Then, after the gradual arrival of the colorados (Limeños) that started in the 1970s, socio-cultural differences between the Mancoreños and the ‘colorados’ increased. The main socio-cultural difference between both groups was rooted in the way each group used the space and the natural resources and related to the place. This relationship was conditioned by a particular conceptualisation of the natural environment and the place, governed by a colonial relationship over the natural environment and mediated by a cultural conceptualisation of risk. As a result of this process, the identity of the place changed. From being a lumberyard for storing coal and wood at the beginning of the twentieth century, turning then predominantly into a fishing neighbourhood; by the end of the 1990s Mancora became one of the most popular tourist destinations on the Peruvian coast with hotels and restaurants receiving a large number of national and foreign visitors.

#### **4.4 Structural Changes on Land Possession: The Comunidad Campesina of Mancora**

The Agrarian Reform Law of 1969, together with the changes in the land tenure legal system brought about by the neoliberal turn in the Peruvian economy during the 1990s, have had a crucial role in shaping local identities and experiences of localities which, in turn, transformed the identity of Mancora as a place. Whereas the Agrarian Reform Law distributed most of the territory of the country amongst associative enterprises, such as *Grupos Campesinos* and *Comunidades Campesinas*, eliminating the hacienda system and a powerful landowning class. Twenty years later, the process of structural adjustment of the economy, implemented during the 1990s, erased the protectionist laws stated by the constitution of 1972 that prevented the *Comunidades Campesinas* from selling the land, liberalising the land of indigenous and rural communities whilst triggering land markets. As a result of this process, the expansion of the market economy perpetuated, reinforced and naturalised constructs of the natural environment

that perceive the land and the coast as unlimited commodities to be exploited in order to generate economic growth.

In this final section, I explore the socio-political context that characterised the Peruvian society during the 1960s and 1970s, with the aim of identifying the factors that allowed the implementation of the Agrarian Reform and the subsequent emergence of the Grupo Campesino of Mancora. Next, I examine the motivations that led a group of Mancoreños and upper and middle class Limeños to come together and create the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora. Following this, I move on to analysing how the implementation of the neoliberal reform impacted the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora. I consider this crucial before moving into chapter five, where I will critically explore how this process evolved into a violent and tense process of place-making as a result of the swift expansion of the tourism industry and the impact of neoliberalism, provoking severe socio-environmental problems that threaten the sustainability of the tourism industry and, at the same time, increasing the population's conditions of vulnerability.

#### ***4.4.1 The Social and Economic context during the 1960s***

During the 1940s and 1950s, intellectuals and politicians intensely debated whether a process of agrarian reform would change the large-state *latifundium* regime, which made Peru a country with the most complex and unequal land tenure system of the region. Agrarian reform was seen as a solution to the exploitative labour practices, workers were subjected to in the irrigated desert coastal Haciendas. In the highlands, it was considered a remedy against feudalism and a door to capitalism (Mayer, 2009, p. 10). Above all, the Agrarian Reform was perceived as a tool to fight the power of a gamonal class who exerted abusive forms of servitude such as that termed *gamonalismo andino* (Burga and Flores Galindo, 1981). This type of landowning exploitation exerted control over the Indian and rural populations through traditional means of paternalism and clientelism (Klarén, 2000). Members of the gamonal class were represented as heirs of the Spanish conquerors, who accumulated land by means of violence, looking to the authority of the state to support their projects; enlarging their territories at the expense of the native communities while exploiting the Indian population in exchange of protection (Bourricaud, 1970). According to Mayer (2009), these haciendas were “owned by an absentee landlord, administered by a local employee, and had a resident indigenous serf population (called *colonos* or *yanacochas*) that was permitted to grow

crops and pasture animals on the owner's land in exchange for work on the hacienda's own (demesne) lands" (Mayer, 2009, p. 9).

In the 1960s, the economy of most Latin American countries relied on the Import Substitution Industrialization model (ISI), with the hope that industrialisation would allow poor countries to overcome their structurally disadvantaged position in the world capitalist system that resulted from their condition as primary producers (Escobar, 1995; Green, 2003). In Peru, the implementation of the ISI policies started in 1959 with the state giving good tax and tariff benefits to industrial enterprises, prioritising public investment and social services, and seeking to increase domestic employment and economic growth in urban rather than rural areas in order to catalyse the emergent national industry<sup>75</sup>.

During this period, power and wealth were geographically located in coastal cities, especially amongst middle and upper classes based in Lima. The increasing differences between the impoverished rural areas and the modern cities forced migratory waves to the capital, populating the surrounding areas of the city in shanty towns called 'Pueblos Jóvenes' (young towns). Lima was seen by migrants as an opportunity to gain access to a better education and employment opportunities, threatening the powerful and wealthy urban elite of Lima who found in the agrarian reform the solution to stop these migratory waves (Klarén, 2000; Eguren, 2006; Mayer, 2009). In the highlands, the poor rural population were claiming access to the scarce fertile land and denouncing increased gamonal seizure of their lands. Consequently, the socio-political context in the early 1960s was characterised by several mobilisations, strikes and lands invasions undertaken by peasants, rural syndicates and peasant federations who were seeking to obtain land and political recognition (Klarén, 2000).

On the international agenda, the debate on whether the Agrarian Reform should be implemented gained more political weight when, in the context of the Cold War, the United States and international organisations pushed many Latin American governments to undertake processes of agrarian reform and redistribute the land in order to prevent revolutions. Ideologically, they were attempting to prevent the spread of Communism and the influence of the success of the Cuban revolution in other Latin American countries (Green, 2003). Consequently, pressurised by internal and external forces, former President Fernando Belaúnde (1963) undertook an unsuccessful process

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<sup>75</sup> This will be also explored in chapter seven.



of agrarian reform. Although Belaúnde's agrarian reform was disappointing, weak and not easy to implement (Klarén, 2000; Mayer, 2009); it was the first attempt at abolishing the status of serfdom (*yanaconaje* and *colonato*), as well as guaranteeing peasants' communal possession grouped in indigenous communities (Mayer, 2009).

#### **4.4.2 Velasco's Agrarian Reform and the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora**

The armed forces seized power through a coup d'état on 3<sup>rd</sup> October, 1968, sending former president Belaúnde to exile in Argentina. Progressive and aware of the unequal social reality that characterised Peru during the 1960s, members of the armed forces behind the reform advocated fundamental societal reform and considered the state as the main apparatus whereby major social reforms could be canalised (Klarén, 2000). Whilst applying social engineering, the revolutionary government expanded the role of the state throughout the country. In addition, they gave the state an active role in the economy, with the hope that the country's economy would gain autonomy. Consequently, they controlled diverse and strategic sectors previously under foreign control and set up state enterprises. These actions were undertaken in order to shift from an export-led into a more autonomous economic model of growth and development, ideologically based on a 'third way' between capitalism and communism, with strong patriotic and nationalist inclinations (Klarén, 2000).

Subsequently, on 24<sup>th</sup> June, 1969, former President General Juan Velasco Alvarado issued the Peruvian Agrarian Reform Law (N. 17716), and applied it in subsequent years; making it the most radical amongst all the Latin American countries (Klarén, 2000; Eguren, 2006; Mayer, 2009). Certainly, besides the neoliberal recipe that drove the country to a market-based development model in the 1990s, this represented the most important reform conducted on a national level that was aimed at eliminating Peru's unjust land tenure system. As a development model, reformists were expecting these changes to modernise the economy and the country's politics (Matos Mar and Mejía, 1984), making Peru a more equal and democratic society.

By addressing agricultural workers as '*campesinos, el patrón ya no comerá de tu pobreza*' (peasant, landlord will no longer feed from your poverty), the Military Revolutionary government considered that in redistributing the land they were delivering the vital instrument for the country's great transformation. In doing this, Velasco sought to change the social structure of power of the country by integrating the

peasant and indigenous population into the structure of the state<sup>76</sup>, eliminating the hacienda structure, dissolving the landowning class and redistributing the land to the peasants. Velasco's reformers mostly applied the agrarian reform amongst haciendas by the coast and in the highlands, conceiving the country's diverse peasant population as a homogenous group. Subsequently, the reformers imposed a model based on an Andean pattern of social organisation (*ayllu*), which prioritises collectivist features of land ownership for the agrarian sector. It replaced the traditional Hacienda model, redistributing the expropriated land and the hacienda's technology among associated enterprises (CAPs in the coast and SAIS<sup>77</sup> in the highlands), Grupos Campesinos (peasant groups) and enterprises of social property<sup>78</sup>. According to the reformer's plan, this was expected to turn the peasants into "full-time wage-earners/owners of their increasingly more efficient cooperatives" (Mayer, 2009, p. 22).

Velasco's agrarian reform has been criticised because despite a total amount of 15, 826 estates and more than 9 million hectares were expropriated between 1969 and 1979, only a quarter of all rural families ended up benefiting from these measures (Eguren, 2006, p. 12). Although in theory the Peruvian agrarian reform gave land to many peasants and eliminated the old unjust land tenure system, the peasants' land access problems were not solved (Klarén, 2000; Mayer, 2009). In fact, the agrarian reform mainly favoured families of ex-hacienda workers, but excluded temporary workers and the non-resident farm population. In addition to this, the failure of the agrarian reform was not only seen socially but also geographically as it favoured agricultural policies for the coastal sector whilst leaving poor rural areas in the highlands unattended (Klarén, 2000).

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<sup>76</sup> Despite the fact that it has been criticised (Caballero, 1981), in 1966 the Inter American Committee for Agriculture Development (CIDA) provided a picture of land concentration features to Velasco's reformists. This study showed that in 1961 while less than one thousand large estates had 80 percent of the surface area of the fertile irrigated coast, in the highlands there was "thirteen times the number of agricultural units in the coastal region, but fifteen times more land" (Mayer, 2009). Counting together coast and highlands, this unequal distribution of land becomes even more evident as "Large multifamily haciendas represented only 1 percent of the nearly three-quarter million units but controlled 75 percent of the land" (Mayer, 2009).

<sup>77</sup> CAP - Cooperativa Agraria de Producción (worker-managed cooperatives) and SAIS – Sociedad Agraria de Interés Social (Agrarian Societies of Social Interest).

<sup>78</sup> For a discussion about the impact of the Agrarian Reform in the agrarian sector see Eguren (2004), Eguren (2006).

If by the beginning of the twentieth century the Hacienda Mancora -comprising the carob tree woods and the dry coastline- organised Mancora's social life and the uses of the space around the production of natural coal; its power at a local level decreased when coal lost market value and Mancora turned into a fishing village. Thus, unlike other great haciendas of the region –powerful capitalist producers and lucrative exporters of cotton and sugar crops- targeted by the agrarian reform, the population living within the Hacienda Mancora's territory was comprised mainly of fishermen and a small population living in the countryside, cultivating livestock and a few products for auto-consumption. In fact, by 1975, although the desert coastal land was owned by an unproductive Hacienda Mancora, Mancora was already a consolidated fishing village with recognised municipal and local authorities, attracting wealthy Limeños who were seeking to secure coastal land in order to develop tourism.

In this same year, the Peruvian state expropriated the Hacienda Mancora from its owners, the Borasino-Figallo family. I was told that due to the fact that the brother of the hacienda's owner was president of the Agrarian Court, the hacienda Mancora was taken as an example to commence the process of agrarian reform in the region. Besides, reformist agents fostered the Grupo Campesino Mancora<sup>79</sup> with forty-five male members linked to the countryside, former workers of the hacienda and fishermen. Subsequently, Francisco Rivas Olaya, first president of the Grupo Campesino, signed a contract with the state in which the latter adjudicated to the Grupo Campesino Mancora 26,226 hectares and 1,225 square metres distributed amongst the districts of the Los Organos, El Alto, Mancora and Zorritos.

According to this contract, the adjudicated land could be neither sold nor transferred by any means without consent from the Agrarian Reform General Direction (9<sup>th</sup> term of the contract). In fact, the Agrarian Reform Law supported the protectionist guarantees given to indigenous communities in the Constitution of 1933. This Constitution explicitly declared that the land of indigenous communities was imprescriptible, inalienable, and nonseizable; and assured total protection of their rights over land. Thus, even though Comunidades Campesinas were rightful owners of their land, they were unable to sell it (Castillo, 2007). Therefore, if they tried to make a land sale within their territory, it

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<sup>79</sup> According to Mayer (2009) “If a group of peasants did not belong to a community, the agrarian reform labelled them grupos campesinos (peasant groups) in the hopes that they might in the future organize themselves into a cooperative or become a newly recognized peasant community” (Mayer, 2009, p. 20).

would be declared null. However, this condition was modified later during former President Morales Bermudez's administration, allowing land transfers and sales only amongst *comuneros calificados*<sup>80</sup>.

In the following decade, an increasing state interest in turning the status of Grupos Campesinos into Comunidades Campesinas<sup>81</sup> granted more stability to this form of organisation. Some Grupos Campesinos considered turning into Comunidades Campesinas for a chance to guarantee and maintain land ownership (Diez, 1999, p. 105). In the case of Mancora, as they did not have their land title inscribed in *Registros Públicos*<sup>82</sup>, members of the Grupo Campesino Mancora could not stop the Provincial Municipality of Talara who were selling the coastal land to the 'pioneering' and 'visionary' Limeños, arguing that the land belonged to the Peruvian state. Thus, members of the Grupo Campesino of Mancora began to carry out the paperwork needed to change their status, transforming into Comunidad Campesina of Mancora in 1989<sup>83</sup>. For its members, to become a Comunidad Campesina was a priority not only to obtain the official recognition of the state and adequate its status to the current legislation but also, and even more importantly, to restrain the Provincial Municipality of Talara from selling the land of the Grupo Campesino to foreigners. In the extract below, Pedro Moran, former president of the Comunidad Campesina who undertook the titling process, describes the interests of the members of the Comunidad Campesina during that period:

*Extract 4.8:*

- 1       **Fernando:** ¿Entonces qué pasó allí? Se formó una empresa entonces.  
          **Pedro:** Entonces, cuando Talara empieza a vender tierras del Grupo  
          Campesino, viajé a Piura, fui a la PRADEC, la PRADEC me dijo: 'más  
5       rápido tienes que convertirte en Comunidad Campesina para que puedas  
          salvar esas tierras'.  
          **Fernando:** Porque la Municipalidad de Talara estaba vendiendo todas  
          las playas de Vichayito y Pocitas.  
          **Pedro:** Todas las playas de Vichayitos, Pocitas, todo eso. Y luchamos  
          bastante para convertirse en Comunidad Campesina.

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<sup>80</sup> D.L. 22748, art. 3 (13/11/1979).

<sup>81</sup> This interest will gain more support with the Comunidades Campesinas General Law (N. 24656) promulgated on during former President Alan Garcia's first period in office (1980-5)

<sup>82</sup> This is an official organism of the judicial sector of the state in charge of inscribing and publishing contracts.

<sup>83</sup> The Comunidad Campesina Mancora was recognised on October 24<sup>th</sup> of 1989 (Resolución Directoral No 005-89/CORPIURA/GPO).

- 10 **Fernando:** ¿Y quiénes estaban comprando esas tierras?  
**Pedro:** En ese tiempo estaban unos ‘colorados’ que venían de Lima, Limeños.  
**Fernando:** Porque, para ese entonces, esas tierras para los Mancoreños no tenían valor alguno ¿o sí?
- 15 **Pedro:** No tenían valor, claro. (Interview with former President of the Grupo and Comunidad Campesina of Mancora (1988-1992), Pedro Moran, Mancora, 4<sup>th</sup> November, 2011)<sup>84</sup>.

By the end of the 1980s members of the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora pursued the formal recognition of their land and obtaining the Property Title became a main issue in the general meetings during that period. As former president of the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora, Pedro Moran, mentions in the extract above, they were trying to save their lands. However, the Comunidad Campesina first needed to pay the agrarian debt owed to the Peruvian state (2,914.090.00 Soles de Oro<sup>85</sup>). As part of the agreement, Grupos Campesinos and Comundiades Campesinas had to pay an agrarian debt for twenty years, making the first payment no more than five years after signing the contract (Mayer, 2009, p. 22). Reformists behind Velasco’s agrarian reform expected the debt to be paid with the earnings generated by associative enterprises. However, like many other Grupos Campesinos (Mayer, 2009), members of the Grupo Campesino of Mancora were unable to develop neither agricultural nor cattle farming projects that could generate incomes. Consequently, the repayments of the debt turned into a source of stress due to the fact that, according to N<sup>o</sup>11<sup>th</sup> term of the signed contract, the expropriated lands would revert to the state in the case that the Comunidad failed to make two consecutive annual payments.

In order to raise funds to pay the total amount owed to the state, the board of executives admitted new members whose fees would contribute to pay the agrarian debt. However, when they realised that admitting only Mancoreños was not enough, they agreed to admit Limeños that had arrived in Mancora in the early 1980s. Most of the admitted Limeños were to some extent linked to the countryside because they had previously bought plots of land within this area from the Grupo Campesino and then subsequently got involved in the political life of the Comunidad. Nonetheless, some old comuneros believed that the colorados bribed the executives of the Comunidad to be admitted because they were looking to obtain benefits from the Comunidad. The benefits that new admitted members obtained included gaining extensions to their land and obtaining

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<sup>84</sup> See p. 292, Extract 4.8, for English translation.

<sup>85</sup> Approximately: 2, 914.09 Peruvian Nuevos Soles; 705.417 British Pounds.

land titles for the plots of coastal land they had occupied within the territory of the Comunidad Campesina. A representative case of the colorados in the Comunidad is that of Harry Schuller, Limeño, and owner of the second hotel set up in the town, Punta Ballenas, whose family contributed 80 per cent of the amount due to the state. In early 2000, Harry Schuller became president of the Comunidad Campesina Mancora. It could be viewed that becoming a member of the Comunidad Campesina was part of a strategy that members of the elite from Lima undertook in order to accomplish their economic and political plans.

Once the agrarian debt was paid, and Fujimori's government applied the neoliberal mechanisms for fostering land markets, the Comunidad Campesina obtained its land title in 1991<sup>86</sup>. In the following years, in order to become official owners, the board of executives of the Comunidad Campesina sought to register it in Registros Públicos. For this, they made an arrangement with the lawyer of one of the colorados member of the Comunidad, who would be in charge of carrying out the legal process in exchange for a 0.5 hectare plot of land by the coast as payment. In contrast to a great amount of Comunidades Campesinas without land title due to both lack of information and difficulties experienced by the comuneros in undertaking the titling process (Burneo, 2007, pp. 197-201); the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora undertook this process fast and efficiently. This could be explained not only because obtaining the land title was a priority for them, but also because throughout this process they were advised and supported by the colorados' lawyer, a specialist in land issues.

In 1996, members of the Comunidad Campesina officially inscribed its entire territory in the Registros Públicos. However, it is important to mention that when they did so, they considered the land of the district of Mancora as part of their territory, comprising the coastal territory where all the neighbourhoods emerged. This territory was supposed to belong to the Municipality of Mancora because it was an already populated area when they undertook the titling process. However, because previous mayors of Mancora had not considered regularising the ownership of the land of the district a priority, a handful of Mancoreños and Limeños members of the Comunidad Campesina became the owners of Mancora. This became a significant source of conflict between the Comunidad Campesina and the Municipality of Mancora in the following years after land value in Mancora increased as a result of tourism development.

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<sup>86</sup> Resolución Directoral No. 0280-91-RG/UAD II-Piura – May, 20th 1991.

The Comunidad Campesina of Mancora possesses a very specific identity. When the expropriation of the Hacienda Mancora took place, in contrast to the prototype of Hacienda targeted by Velasco's agrarian reform, its population was neither subjected to the gamonal power that characterised the traditional hacienda in the highlands, nor were its workers forced into exploitative labour practices used by other more capitalist coastal haciendas. Nonetheless, the land expropriated from the Hacienda Mancora and given to the Grupo Campesino, ended up rightfully in hands of the Comunidad Campesina, which was composed of former workers of the hacienda, local people linked to the countryside, fishermen, and members of the upper class of Lima. In using the state as an instrument to invent the Comunidad Campesina, this culturally diverse and socially mixed group relied upon the Agrarian Reform Law to legitimise their 'comunero' identity. The invention of the Comunidad Campesina allowed them to become rightful owners of this great extension of dry territory, including the coastal area. Following this, they fostered a land market amongst an increasing number of newcomers wanting to develop tourism in Mancora.

The case of the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora supports what some authors have pointed out with regard to the heterogeneous nature of the Comunidades Campesina in Peru (Diez, 1992; Diez, 1999; Burneo, 2007; Castillo, 2007; Diez, 2007). In fact, the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora shares some of the characteristics that define a Comunidad Campesina, but it also has some other characteristics that make this social organisation a very particular case. Peruvian anthropologist Alejandro Diez (1999) defined a 'Comunidad Campesina' as a type of social organisation usually formed by a group of peasants linked by kinship relations, who share the same territory and resources and are committed to collective works and duties. It is also a social organisation that is economically, legally and politically limited by the state. In addition, according to this author, these groups are governed by a particular type of organisation that has its own rules and norms for managing the uses of the space and resources (Diez, 1999, pp. 131-132). Although the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora shares most of these characteristics, it differs from this definition since not all its members are peasants, they are not all linked by kinship relations and they have different cultural, ethnic and social backgrounds. Moreover, in opposition to this definition, whilst only a small group of members of the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora are farmers or former hacienda

workers, others are fishermen or businessmen that belong to the economic elite from Lima. Finally, its members are not committed to collective works<sup>87</sup>.

Thus, the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora is neither a *Comunidad Histórica* (Historic Community), recognised by the Peruvian state in the 1930s, nor a *Comunidad de Hacienda* (Estate Community), created during the 1950s as a way to protect land; it is clearly a “*Comunidades de la post Reforma Agraria*” (Post Agrarian Reform Community) (Diez, 1999, pp. 98-104). Since the process of agrarian reform was in place between 1969 and 1990 the number of this new type of Comunidad Campesina raised to 2,564 (Trivelli, 1992 quoted in Mayer, 2009, p. 29). Members of this type of Comunidad Campesina, also called ‘*comunidades parcelarias*’ (del Castillo, 1999), neither use areas of their land collectively nor attribute land ownership to the Comunidad. In contrast, the whole territory is divided into plots, and its members have single ownership of them (del Castillo, 1999, p. 14 quoted in Burneo, 2007, p. 164). Because of this, the nature of the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora could be defined as mainly a group of landowners<sup>88</sup>. Therefore, it could be grouped with other similar Comunidades Campesinas such as that of Cajas Chico in the central highlands. As happened in Mancora, the Comunidad Campesina of Cajas Chico was created artificially by its members specifically to obtain from the state legal recognition of their land, dividing the territory of the Comunidad amongst their members as soon as it was recognised by the state (Soto, 1992).

#### ***4.4.3 Liberalising the Land of Comunidades Campesinas***

If Velasco’s agrarian reform has been considered the most radical in the region of Latin America, the process of economic structural adjustment undertaken by former president Alberto Fujimori has been labelled as the most extreme case in which the neoliberal formula was applied (Iguíñez, 1999; Green, 2003). His economic measures termed ‘*fujishock*’, stabilised the economy of the country after continued years of increased hyperinflation and led the country towards a swift process of change that turned it into the most neoliberal of the region.

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<sup>87</sup> See chapter five for more details about how the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora has used the land since it was created.

<sup>88</sup> Personal conversation with Anthropologist Alejandro Diez Hurtado (PUCP), Lima, November 2010.



Although lacking a long term development plan, central goals of Fujimori's economic strategy were to lure capital and to increase exports of primary commodities, especially in mining, agribusiness and the fishing industry (Iguíñez, 1999). By then, whilst the success of the Chilean agribusiness was taken as a model to follow, the optimum environmental conditions of the Peruvian coastal region were taken into account by potential investors willing to develop non-traditional agricultural products for export (Eguren, 2006). However, the restrictions on the uses of land imposed on the *Comunidades Campesinas* by Velasco's Agrarian Reform Law and the protectionist laws that it supported were considered an institutional obstacle as corporative investments in the agrarian sector were prevented.

Consequently, a package of laws aimed at liberalising the *Comunidades Campesinas'* land and facilitating land-titling<sup>89</sup> were promulgated from 1991 until 1997. Firstly, in 1991, Velasco's Agrarian Reform Law was repealed by the Legislative Decree (LD) 653, which mainly sought the emergence of land markets. Secondly, in 1992, after organising a coup against himself, Fujimori dissolved the congress and called for a new constitution. The new liberal Constitution of 1993 eliminated the protectionist guarantees given to indigenous communities by the state since 1920s.

Finally, the faculty of the *Comunidades Campesinas* to freely dispose of their land; namely, donating, selling or renting it amongst comuneros or third parties, was given by the *Ley de Tierras*<sup>90</sup> (1995) and *Ley de Titulación de Comunidades Campesinas de la Costa* (1997). The *Ley de Tierras* clarified<sup>91</sup> the mechanism whereby sales of the land of the *Comunidad Campesina* could be carried out. If any sale, donation, or whatever type of transferring land in discussion was going to take place, it must be approved by at least fifty per cent of the members present in the general meeting convened for discussing that issue. It is through this way that the neoliberal turn experienced since early 1990s, which sought to impose an agro-exporter model in the agrarian sector, liberalised *Comunidades Campesinas'* land while promoting land markets. All these institutional changes were undertaken under the dominant belief that the market would

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<sup>89</sup> As a consequence of the land-titling process triggered by Fujimori's government, the PRETT (Proyecto Especial de Titulación de Tierras y Catastro Rural) was created in 1992 as an institution responsible of undertaking the process of land-titling within the whole national territory.

<sup>90</sup> *Ley de la Inversión Privada en el desarrollo de las actividades económicas en las tierras del territorio nacional y de las comunidades campesinas y nativas*. N. 26505 – 18<sup>th</sup> July, 1995.

<sup>91</sup> Article 10<sup>th</sup>, section B.

encourage a more efficient use of the land, triggering the debate regarding their impact in the internal organisation of the Comunidades Campesinas (Burneo, 2007; Castillo, 2007).

Consequently, the application of Velasco's agrarian reform (1969) and the implementation of the neoliberal model of development (1990s) transformed the social dynamic, the structure of power and the uses of the space within rural areas, highlighting the hierarchical interconnection of local and regional spaces to a centralised and powerful national government. On the one hand, as a result of the implementation of Velasco's Agrarian Reform Law, new local identities and powerful social and political actors were created. In Mancora, the invention of the Comunidad Campesina increased social differences amongst Mancoreños and altered relations of power amongst the social groups that compose Mancora as a community. As a result of the agrarian reform, there were two different and overlapping local authorities coexisting within the same territory: the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora and the Municipality of Mancora. The scholarly literature about Comunidades Campesinas in Peru has already registered that the relation between district dwellers, migrants and comuneros, as well as between Municipal Mayors and the authorities of the Comunidad Campesina, tended to be characterised by tensions and conflicts (Diez, 1992; Gutierrez, 1992; Delgado *et al.*, 1997; Diez, 2007). In fact, as a result of the implementation of the agrarian reform and the neoliberal model of development, the contest between the Comunidad Campesina and the Municipality of Mancora aimed at obtaining control over the land generated severe land conflicts that hampered the emergence of structures of land governance at a local level.

On the other hand, in making the market ideology hegemonic at all levels of society, the implementation of the neoliberal model of development transformed the uses of the space and the relationship that local inhabitants established with their natural environment. In fact, the neoliberal ideology naturalised and legitimised the perpetuation of a colonial relationship of exploitation over the land. The elimination of the protectionist guarantees given by the state to the Comunidades Campesinas as part of the neoliberal restructuring of the economy, allowed the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora to foster a land market amongst local villagers and foreigners, adapting the uses of the space and the local knowledge about the vulnerability of the place to the market demands in order to generate economic development. Consequently, in Mancora, the implementation of both the Agrarian Reform Law and the neoliberal model of

development played a crucial role in the process of place-making whereby Mancora was transformed into a tourist destination and a community, as well as in the model of tourism development undertaken during the following decades which, in turn, transformed the identity of the place.

#### **4.5 Conclusions**

This chapter has analysed the socio-political process of place-making whereby the identity of Mancora has been transformed from a 'Hacienda Mancora' and a 'Fishing Village' into a popular 'Tourist Destination'. During this process, Mancora has been composed as a culturally diverse and socially mixed community of people related to the countryside, fishing families, a group of members of the national elite from Lima and immigrants engaged directly or indirectly in the tourism industry. With the introduction of tourism, the place was taken through a process of commoditisation, appropriation and production through which the cultural values of the colorados were imposed and made hegemonic in order to undertake their political and economic projects; changing the uses of the space, reshaping the identity of the place and increasing socio-cultural differences. Moreover, as a result of the implementation of the agrarian reform, the 1980s saw a group of Mancoreños and upper class Limeños create the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora in order to obtain legal ownership over the territory of Mancora, this becoming an important and powerful social and political actor at a local level.

This chapter has also explored that, since the colonial encounter, members of the national elite and local inhabitants have applied a colonial relationship over Mancora's vulnerable natural resources, with the hope of expanding a market base development model. If during the Hacienda period and the fishing boom the carob dry forest and the marine resources were identified as commodities and subsequently exploited near depletion in order to generate economic growth and develop capitalism; with the introduction of tourism, the coastal land became the most valuable natural resource, regardless of its high degree of vulnerability. This colonial relationship over the land was legitimised and naturalised as a result of the implementation of the neoliberal policies during the 1990s and the expansion of the market ideology. However, the increased pressure exerted over the coastal land as a result of the swift expansion of the tourism industry and the impact of neoliberalism, is bringing about severe land conflicts that are threatening the economic and environmental sustainability of tourism while

creating increasing conditions of vulnerability. In the following chapter, I analyse these socio-environmental conflicts.

## Chapter 5 Expanding Tourism in a Valuable but Vulnerable Place

### 5.1 Introduction

By 1996, Mancora's potential for tourism had already been identified by the Limeños, known by the Mancoreños as 'colorados', and tourism development was already underway. During this year, tourism became dominant and Mancora appeared to be passing through what geographer Richard Butler (1980) has termed the *involvement stage*. In this stage, by providing services to tourists, some local residents will become involved in the tourism industry as a result of the emergence of tourist seasons (Butler, 1980). In previous years, most of Mancora's coastal area had been fenced off by upper class Limeños, who began transforming previously disaster-stricken areas of the town into exclusive tourist zones. In the subsequent years, when the first hotels were opening, Mancora's popularity as a beach town was very well known by wealthy and well-travelled Limeños. Moreover, the end of the internal war waged between the Peruvian state and Shining Path increased the population's ability to travel around the country and the liberalisation of the economy fostered land markets within coastal areas and private investments in the tourism industry. All of these factors raised the numbers of tourists visiting Mancora very quickly, subsequently increasing the land's market value.

During the 1990s and 2000s, tourism was already dominant in the Mancoreños way of life, unlike the previous stages of Mancora's tourism development when the colorados had total control of the tourism industry. In other words, the knowledge and cultural gaps that initially distinguished the colorados from the Mancoreños had diminished. As a result, some Mancoreños became aware of Mancora's potential tourist destination and the economic benefit that this activity could generate, bringing about a cultural change in the way some Mancoreños conceptualised their place and their natural environment. Mancora was a 'living area' but predominantly a potential tourist resource that could be tapped into. Proof of this was that during this period the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora was 'invented' by a group of Mancoreños and Limeños in order to obtain rights over Mancora's territory, including the coastal land and the territory of the district of Mancora, as analysed in chapter four.

Alongside these new constructs of place, the relationship established between the Mancoreños and their natural environment also changed. Following the cultural pattern

brought into the town by the ‘pioneering’ Limeños, some Mancoreños identified the coast as a commodity that could be colonised, controlled and exploited, establishing a relationship mediated by the orientalist exploitation paradigm (Descola, 1996; Pálsson, 1996). Consequently, despite its high degree of vulnerability and environmental uncertainty due to the ‘El Niño’ phenomenon, uninhabited areas of the town were colonised, fenced off and imagined as areas where potential tourist projects could be undertaken. By then, Las Pocitas area had already been taken over by the colorados and the high value of the land excluded some Mancoreños from obtaining a plot of land within this area. Consequently, the highly vulnerable area gained from the sea after the ‘El Niño’ phenomenon of 1983-98<sup>92</sup> became contested by the local populations and newcomers because of a lack of areas available for the Mancoreños to get involved in the tourism industry. As a result, tensions and conflicts emerged amongst the diverse groups that compose Mancora as a community, turning the process of place-making into a land-grabbing race or a contest for obtaining control over the land in order to carry out plans for making Mancora a tourist destination.

This chapter will analyse the tense process of place-making whereby the actors that compose Mancora as a community have been competing to obtain control over the land in order to carry out their political and economic projects for the place. After examining the complex process of re-elaboration and territorialisation of local identities undertaken by each actor to legitimate their rights over the land, I will explore how this contest has shaped Mancora’s current pattern of resource utilisation and appropriation of the place. As such, I will look at the structures of governance controlling Mancora’s tourism development, the socio-environmental problems triggered by the implementation of Peru’s neoliberal model of tourism development and the changes in the perceptions of risks fostered by this process of place-making whereby hegemonic models of place, nature and development were imposed. Ultimately, this chapter will question the socio-economic and environmental sustainability of the tourism industry in an environmentally vulnerable and socially fragmented context such as Mancora, with the aim of challenging dominant discourses of tourism and demonstrating that the current model of tourism development is increasing conditions of vulnerability of rural populations.

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<sup>92</sup> See chapter one.

## **5.2 Actors' Projects for developing Mancora into a Tourist Place**

### **5.2.1 *Comuneros of Mancora***

As described in chapter four, in 1996, the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora officially inscribed its land title in Registros Públicos. Having done this, it became the only rightful owner of the territory of Mancora, which included the coastal area and the territory of the district of Mancora. By then, the process of restructuring the economy undertaken by Fujimori's administration was underway, drastically reducing the role of the state by setting out the institutional changes required for the neoliberal model to be applied. As part of this process, Fujimori's administration passed a package of neoliberal laws, aimed at repealing Velasco's Agrarian Reform Law in order to allow land sales, liberalising the land of the Comunidades Campesinas. Although the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora -more a group of landowners rather than an agrarian peasant community- owned a desert area and vulnerable territory, it benefited directly from Fujimori's agrarian policy as they were allowed to sell the land which they would not have been permitted to do previously.

In 1996, the members of the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora were divided generationally into two groups. The first generation of comuneros was composed of a group of former hacienda workers, fishermen and countryside workers that came together to create the Grupo Campesino during the 1970s. Former Municipal mayors said that this group of comuneros were not very involved in the social dynamic of the district and some comuneros commented that this generation did not look after their land. This was, in part, because during that period Mancora's coast was mainly considered a living area rather than a valuable commodity with potential for tourism development.

The second group encompassed the sons and relatives of the first group of comuneros as well as some upper class Limeños who arrived during the 1980s; this new generation was admitted because their fees would be used to assist the cancelation of the agrarian debt. Amongst this group, being the son of the first president of el Grupo Campesino, Abilio Rivas became president of the executive board in 1996, staying in power until 2000. According to Abilio's executive board, unlike previous generations of comuneros contemptuously called '*Montubios*' as a way to identifying them as 'indigenous', 'rustic', 'forgotten', 'unfriendly' or 'half-sleep person'; this new generation of

comuneros identified themselves as a modern generation possessing a business mentality (Sol, Mar y Campo, 1999, p. 11). This business mentality would be used in the following years to define the plans of the Comunidad Campesina for the place, as well as the role the Comunidad was going to play in the re-making of Mancora into a tourist destination.

Abilio Rivas' executive board's plans for making Mancora a tourist destination relied upon a particular conceptualisation of the place and Mancora's natural environment that previous generations of Mancoreños did not initially share. I met Mr. Abilio Rivas in 2007 when I did my fieldwork for my B.A. in Anthropology. After introducing ourselves to each other, Abilio gave me a local magazine, containing many short articles written by members of the Comunidad Campesina. This local magazine was published in 1999 and written during a period in which the Municipality of Mancora undertook a heated legal process against the Comunidad Campesina, with the hope of gaining rights over the land<sup>93</sup>. One of these short articles entitled '*COMUNEROS DE NUEVO CUÑO*' (a new breed of comuneros) stated:

*Extract 5.1:*

- 1        [...] La Comunidad Campesina Máncora ya abrió sus brazos y quiere el  
          hombro. Así que ya lo sabe el forastero: hay un sitio diferente en el Perú,  
          donde se puede estar al sol, bañarse en el mar y hacer negocios al mismo  
5        tiempo y durante todo el año, sin temor a ser engañado. ESTE SITIO ES  
          EL TERRITORIO DE LA COMUNIDAD CAMPESINA MANCORA  
          (Sol, Mar y Campo, 1999, p. 13 emphasis in the original)<sup>94</sup>.

It is clear in the quote above that, for Abilio's executive board, Mancora represented a unique place in Peru with a great potential as a tourist destination. In contrast to the first generation of comuneros, they had already incorporated the market and tourism ideologies that allowed them to conceptualise the place and their natural environment as tourist resources. In this sense, once tourism became hegemonic amongst some Mancoreños, their natural environment and its place were both identified as commodities so obtaining Property Titles became a priority in order to foster land markets.

Abilio's executive board worked in combination with a group of colorados in order to obtain the land title of Mancora before the end of the 1980s. Initially, the colorados

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<sup>93</sup> I will come back to this point later on in this chapter.

<sup>94</sup> See p. 293, Extract 5.1, for English translation.



involved in the Comunidad Campesina compensated for the Mancoreños' economic and knowledge gaps; working as links between the Comunidad Campesina and the Peruvian state, the tourism industry and the market. In fact, as mentioned in chapter four, the Mancoreños relied on the colorados to gather the money still needed to pay the agrarian debt. Moreover, this group of colorados that became comuneros suggested the name of a lawyer who was specialised in land issues and who carried out the legal process of inscribing the Property Title of the Comunidad Campesina in Registros Públicos<sup>95</sup>. In addition, the colorados fostered the process of place-making whereby the land of Mancora became a valuable commodity, turning Mancora's vulnerable territory into an 'ideal' place to develop a profitable land market. Subsequently, the colorados initially linked the Comunidad Campesina with the market, especially with an increased number of stakeholders interested in obtaining a plot of land for developing tourism.

Once adapted to the institutional requirements for participating in the land market triggered by Fujimori's neoliberal agrarian policy, the Comunidad Campesina, instead of carrying out a great beach development project, decided to construct Mancora as a tourist destination through a more local and communal project of tourism development due to lack of economic resources<sup>96</sup>. Based on three initiatives involving the uses of the Comunidad Campesina's land, Abilio's plans towards the place aimed at increasing Mancora's land market value while making a profit out of tourism as official land rights providers. Firstly, seventy hectares of land were given to each of its members, including the colorados, as a way to allow comuneros credit access and increase land values, at the same time fostering tourism development. After several unsuccessful attempts at interviewing Abilio Rivas, I interviewed him again at his house in Mancora in October 2010. He initially avoided giving me an interview arguing that he was not a comunero any longer and, as a consequence, he did not know what was happening in the Comunidad Campesina. Being aware of the main actions undertaken during his period in power, in our interview, I asked him about the role of tourism within his plans for the Comunidad Campesina and Mancora's land:

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<sup>95</sup> This lawyer would be the legal advisor of the Comunidad during Abilios' administration.

<sup>96</sup> Article entitled "The owners of Mancora: paradise of Limeños that now must regularise their property titles with Mancoreños". *Caretas*, 27<sup>th</sup> November, 1997

*Extract 5.2:*

- 1 **Fernando:** ¿En su periodo se hizo la repartición de tierras con miras a generar mayor agricultura o apoyar al turismo?  
**Abilio:** Apoyar el turismo. O sea, por decir, cuando tú tienes título de propiedad tú tienes acceso a créditos y todo eso pues ¿no?, tiene más valor, o sea cobra valor el terreno, cobra valor, esa era la finalidad.
- 5 (Interview with former President of the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora, Abilio Rivas, Mancora, 31<sup>st</sup> October, 2010)<sup>97</sup>.

Secondly, they declared intangible areas or Comunidad Campesina's reserve areas within their territory<sup>98</sup>; reserve areas located within the district of Mancora that would be sold to foreigners in the long term, representing the principal source of income to the comuneros. Being aware of an increased demand of potential investors interested in acquiring plots of land, they made clear that they were the sole owners of this place so potential tourism stakeholders would know exactly who to approach first if they wanted to do businesses in Mancora. This is clear in the extract presented above about the short article entitled 'Comuneros de Nuevo Cuño', where the Comuneros emphasised, using capital letters, that the territory belonged to the Comunidad Campesina. Thirdly, they offered district dwellers living within the urban centre, and colorados who had previously bought the land through the Provincial Municipality of Talara (around 650,000 m<sup>2</sup> or 65 hectares of coastal land), the opportunity to obtain property titles for a fee from the Comunidad Campesina<sup>99</sup>.

These decisions taken by Abilio's executive board, and the way they were carried out, brought about several tensions. Almost all comuneros argued that the distribution of seventy hectares favoured only some of them, specifically the colorados, as only a handful obtained coastal lands. According to Abilio, when this distribution took place almost all comuneros did not consider the coastal area as a valuable resource or productive area, and thus when offered a choice of plots of land by the coast and the countryside, "they preferred countryside areas arguing they would not be able to feed their cattle with sand<sup>100</sup>". Tensions also emerged between the Comunidad and district

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<sup>97</sup> See p. 293, Extract 5.2, for English translation.

<sup>98</sup> El Alto: 10 000 hectares; Los Organos: 3 320 hectares; Mancora more than 7 000 hectares, including the urban and coastal area (Las Pocitas) of the district and the area for urban expansion (these are approximate numbers provided by the current President of the CCM).

<sup>99</sup> Local magazine published by the MDM on its 89<sup>th</sup> anniversary, 1997.

<sup>100</sup> Interview with former President of the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora, Abilio Rivas, Mancora, 31<sup>st</sup> October, 2010

dwellers, who suddenly found their properties in a condition of legal vulnerability<sup>101</sup>; as well as with the Municipality, who found its authority side-lined by the Comunidad; in turn leading to future conflicts and tensions amongst both institutions.

These points highlight how the business mentality that characterised the second generation of members of the Comunidad Campesina, allowed them to conceptualise the place and the land as a commodity to be exploited, generating social differences amongst members of the Comunidad Campesina. In addition, this demonstrates that, in obtaining legal rights over Mancora's land, the Comunidad Campesina became a very powerful social actor in the social structure of Mancora, creating social differences and provoking tensions and conflicts with other Mancoreños.

### ***5.2.2 Colorados in Mancora***

In September 2010, when I arrived in Mancora to start my fieldwork period, I was informed that former president of the Comunidad Campesina, Harry Schuller, had passed away a few months previously. Last time we met was in 2007 while I was doing my initial fieldwork for my B.A. thesis in Anthropology. I had been told he was one of the 'pioneers' (a 'visionary' as most Mancoreños call them), as well as former president of the Comunidad Campesina. Not knowing the different ways of becoming a Comunidad Campesina, it was, to me, absolutely contradictory that an upper class Limeño and wealthy hotel owner could become president of one of the associative enterprises that Velasco had created to eliminate the landowning class and the gamonal system through a process of agrarian reform. Because of that, I was intrigued to know how Harry got involved with the place and the actions he undertook in order to implement his political and economic project.

Harry Schuller, as well as other 'pioneering' Limeños, such as Javier Paraud and Ricardo Elias, represents a powerful social class that has occupied privileged places in the social hierarchy of the country<sup>102</sup>. Traditionally, this social class was composed of the country's oligarchy, representing the most important and powerful economic and

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<sup>101</sup> At present, more than 80 per cent of district dwellers do not have property title, preventing them in applying for bank loans that could allow them to participate in the tourism industry in a different way.

<sup>102</sup> In chapter six I will analyse the position that members of the national elite from Lima occupy within the social structure of the country and the racist discursive strategies they use in order to implement their political and economic projects.

political sector of the nation. During the Revolutionary Government of General Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968-1975), the economic elite engaged in the tourism industry emerged as a new and promising business sector that would modernise the national bourgeoisie and reduce the power of the oligarchy over the national economy. At present, as a result of the implementation of the neoliberal model of development, members of the entrepreneurial class engaged in tourism are fostering an endless and uncontrolled expansion of the tourism industry, with the hope of generating economic growth and capital accumulation in the short term.

In fact, during the initial stages of Mancora's tourism development, the 'pioneering' Limeños showed that they could easily obtain control of key local institutions while using national laws and institutions in order to implement their economic and political projects, imposing hegemonic notions of place, nature and development. In so doing, they sought to increase their land extensions, secure coastal land, change the uses of the space and attach to the place the symbolic meanings that would increase land value and make the place to be identified as a popular tourist destination. They were able to become Municipal Mayors as well as members of the Comunidad Campesina, and, in some cases, they successfully used their knowledge and comprehension of the political and economic context of the country to secure and obtain rightful ownership of coastal land previously invaded. They also represented the group of wealthy Limeños that applied their business mentality, acquired from previous experiences working in the tourist industry, to take Mancora through the process of production that shaped its identity as a tourist destination; ultimately turning this group from 'land invaders' into visionaries.

Following the arrival of the 'pioneering' Limeños during the 1970s, the majority of these colorados have been mainly attached to the place because of the economic benefits that they could obtain through exploiting the place as a tourist destination. As business minded people, the colorados have sought to turn the place into an international tourist destination, hoping that Mancora could reach levels of physical infrastructure and popularity similar to Cancun in Mexico or other mass tourism destinations within the Caribbean region. Thus, they have undertaken several actions to shape Mancora's identity in the way that they have imagined the place. Harry Schuller's case is the most illustrative example of how this socio-political process of place-making

was carried out during the *development stage*<sup>103</sup> of Mancora's tourist development, highlighting how the place was culturally imagined by the colorados.

Harry belonged to a family related to the tourism industry. His father owned a popular restaurant (*La Granja Azul*) and hotel (*El Pueblo*), both built on the outskirts of Lima and mostly visited by wealthy Limeños. His brother, Johnny, also a former comunero of the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora, is a TV presenter of '*La Ruta del Pisco*' programme<sup>104</sup>, which is nationally broadcast through the state channel. Harry's family first got involved with Mancora when they bought natural coal from the Grupo Campesino for their restaurant in Lima, as well as because of the family links between them and Mancora's parish priest. Harry and Johnny later bought the priest's house in the early 1980s, where the 'Punta Ballenas' hotel was founded. They became members of the Comunidad Campesina when this was raising funds for paying the agrarian debt, contributing with a huge proportion, 80 per cent, of the total amount due to the Peruvian state.

When I interviewed Harry in 2007, he was not a comunero anymore but president of an association of tourism stakeholders named COGEDETUPLATA<sup>105</sup>, representing the private tourist sector of the province and dealing with authorities and state agents in regional and national meetings. This association represented the business elite of the region engaged in the tourist industry, who came together to become a political force that could canalise projects for developing tourism. In our interview, Harry showed me his plans for transforming Mancora into an internationally renowned tourist destination that would receive international tourists and cruise ships. He told me that as part of a wider tourism project for the entire coast of the Province of Talara, he had presented a total of 52 projects to the Vice-Ministry of Tourism. Whilst some people close to him thought him a dreamer, questioning the feasibility of his plans, with

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<sup>103</sup> According to Butler (1980), in the 'development stage' there is a well-defined tourist area, advertising will increase while local control and involvement will diminish. In this stage, evident changes in the physical characteristics of the area are expected.

<sup>104</sup> TV programme aimed at promoting Pisco, Peru's national spirit.

<sup>105</sup> Comité de Gestión de Desarrollo Turístico de las Playas de Talara. The use of the acronym COGEDETUPLATA ('TAKEFROMYOURMONEY') to name this association of private investors shows how members of the economic elite mock and laugh at bureaucracy and the way state agencies and unions function, showing scarce respect and recognition for the rules, the authority of the state and the importance of social associations in channelling collective actions.

COGEDETUPLATA he mainly sought to channel foreign, but also national, investment in order to undertake his ambitious projects.

As part of his wider project for the Province's coastal area, he planned to build a marina in Mancora within the coastal land gained from the sea after the 'El Niño' of 1983. With plans in hand, he showed me where the casino, the hotel, the cruise ship dock, the nautical club and the shopping mall were going to be built. Furthermore, he planned to urbanise part of his 59 hectares, obtained previously from the Comunidad Campesina, to build a golf park. Whether correct or not, he asserted to me that 90% of his project had been accepted by both the Comunidad Campesina and COGEDETUPLATA, although he was still waiting for investors.

### ***5.2.3 Municipality of Mancora (MDM)***

The Municipality of Mancora, understood as the local authority officially recognised by the Peruvian state, whose jurisdiction is circumscribed to the current territory of the district of Mancora, was created on March 17<sup>th</sup> 1955<sup>106</sup>. Before that, Mancora was considered a hamlet due to the fact that its population was too small to be classified as a district. However, because of population growth and fast urbanisation of the coastal area brought about by the finishing boom during 1940s and 1950s, the former hamlet developed into the district of Mancora, having 'El Puerto' neighbourhood as capital<sup>107</sup>.

According to the 'Ley General de Municipalidades' (Municipalities General Law)<sup>108</sup>, district municipalities are both the most basic entity in charge of organising the territory of the state as well as being responsible for fostering local development. Thus, amongst other things, this institution is a local authority in charge of promoting, ruling and regulating, as well as supervising and controlling the spatial and physical organisation of the district, and determining the uses of the land within its territory. In other words, the Municipality is the governing institution in charge of distributing the urban space of the district. Amongst the specific functions regarding land uses, Municipalities should foster zoning, land registry and settlement legal clearing<sup>109</sup>. Furthermore, it is

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<sup>106</sup> Law N° 12217

<sup>107</sup> See Chapter four, section 4.2.2, for more details about the political configuration of the district of Mancora.

<sup>108</sup> The previous N° 23853: Art. 65: 7. and Art. 67: 12; and current N° 27972: Art. 82: 15. and Art. 73.

<sup>109</sup> Art. 73, Law N°27972

responsible for advancing tourism development by supporting tourism development programmes of local interest in order to ensure economic and social development.

Chosen each four years through local elections held by the local population, the municipal mayor is the main authority representing the Peruvian state at a local level. Lately, the mayoral position has become a desirable one amongst local inhabitants because it gives an opportunity to gain social prestige. Furthermore, in a country where the state is commonly used as a means to canalise individual interests, it could also mean an opportunity to increase individual economic benefits. In fact, accused of favouring his son to allow him to win a contract for the construction of the new municipal marketplace valued in 3 million Peruvian Soles, former Mancora's mayor Victor Saucedo (2007-2010) was recently removed from office when local inhabitants found several irregularities in the selection process and realised that the building materials used were overpriced. In addition, because this is the official institution in charge of both the social and economic development, as well as responsible for distributing the urban space of its jurisdiction, to become a Municipal Mayor in Mancora does not only result in becoming the local authority leading tourism development in the town but it is also an opportunity to gain control over the district's coastal land.

School teacher and former mayor of Mancora, Florencio Olibos (1996-1999 and 2003-2007), was responsible for leading Mancora's tourism development during the period in which Mancora went through Butler's (1980) involvement and development stages<sup>110</sup>. According to Florencio, when he came into power in 1996 the story of tourism was just beginning and because of that, together with the fact that neither local authorities nor local inhabitants had previous experience working in the tourism industry, they did not have a clear idea of the type of tourism they wanted to develop. However, when tourism became a predominant economic activity at a local level, the Mancoreños considered tourism as a new source of life and wealth. Consequently, Mancora as a place turned from being simply a living area into a place with great potential for tourism development.

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<sup>110</sup> In Mancora's tourism development, the *involvement* stage took place during the 1990s while the development stage during the 2000s.

Like many other Mancoreños, Florencio conceptualised Mancora as ‘the goose that lays the golden egg’<sup>111</sup>, alluding to Mancora’s capacity to generate economic wealth through the exploitation of its natural resources. As such, during his first period in power (1996-1999), Florencio’s main aim was to make Mancora a purely tourist town, imagining the place as the best beach town of the entire coast<sup>112</sup>. He believed that tourism was going to improve Mancora’s economy while increasing employment, so he undertook public works aimed at raising the number of tourists, advancing physical infrastructure and formalising properties. By then, first hotels within Las Pocitas were opening while the coastal area gained from the sea in front of El Puerto neighbourhood was uninhabited. During this period, the number of national and international tourists in Peru was still growing as a result of the efforts employed by the state aimed at increasing the number of tourists and investors, although not at the explosive rate as experienced in the following decade<sup>113</sup>.

During Florencio’s second period in power (2003-2006), Mancora was already going through Butler’s (1980) *development stage* and the pressure over the land was increasing exponentially as a result of the colorados interest in advancing tourism at a local level. Moreover, at a national level, the implementation of Peru’s neoliberal model of tourism development<sup>114</sup> was bringing positive short-term results to the tourism industry. Since the 1990s, marketing campaigns systematically undertaken by the Peruvian state have dramatically increased the number of national and international tourists travelling within the country. However, this occurred in a country lacking clear development policies and tourism environmental policies; adequately prepared national, regional and local authorities; and regulatory mechanisms needed to control the expansion of the tourism industry. Consequently, the dramatic expansion of the tourism industry within local spaces resulted in an increased pressure over Mancora’s vulnerable natural resources, allowing this tourism boom to occur within an unprepared local destination that remains subjected to a great environmental uncertainty due to the ‘El Niño’ phenomenon. In fact, during this period, tourist infrastructure was spreading along the coast very quickly without any control, increasing Mancora’s tourist carrying capacity, receiving both national and international tourists. By 2003, whilst most of Las

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<sup>111</sup> Spanish expression ‘*La Gallina de los huevos de oro*’ which meaning refers to a business that is economically successful.

<sup>112</sup> In chapter six, I will critically analyse Florencio’s discourse about tourism and development.

<sup>113</sup> See chapter seven, Graphic 7.1.

<sup>114</sup> I analyse Peru’s neoliberal model of tourism development in chapter seven.



Pocitas area was inhabited or fenced off by the colorados, the first plots of land had been fenced off within the area gained from the sea after ‘El Niño’ of 1983 and 1998.

When Florencio came into power again in 2003, tourism was already a dominant economic activity amongst Mancoreños. Because of that, he was strongly convinced that tourism had to be the main tool used to ‘build the City of Mancora<sup>115</sup>’. However, because during this period the Comunidad Campesina’s plans for the place were underway and the number of investors was considerably increasing, he prioritised territorial management, with the hope of making Mancora a more organised city. He believed that in defining and organising the uses of the territory of the district, the Municipality of Mancora would make the best use of the still un-occupied coastal areas of the town in order to allow all local villagers to obtain benefits from the tourism industry; at the same time, avoiding the uncontrolled expansion of tourist infrastructure experienced in previous years.

As such, his main plan consisted of assigning areas for urban expansion and delimiting areas specifically for the fishing sector, as well as giving out property titles to local inhabitants so they could access bank loans. Amongst his plans, he believed that by building a road along the coastal line, together with opening beach access throughout the district, the number of tourists would increase and that they would receive a better service. Also, he created the local tourism promotional office and, funded by the Vice-Ministry of tourism, he produced Mancora’s Territorial Management Plan<sup>116</sup>, which was considered the main guiding tool that would allow big tourism investments in the district.

However, Florencio’s attempts at controlling Mancora’s territory and undertaking his plans in charge of the Municipality were constantly hampered. Firstly, in the early 1990s, the Provincial Municipality of Talara sold Mancora’s coastal land arguing it was the correct level of government in charge of selling ‘tierras eriazas’ within the Province’s jurisdiction<sup>117</sup>. In response, by counter-arguing that the coastal area of the district was of interest to the fishing sector and that tourism development was not positively affecting Mancora’s development, the Municipality of Mancora passed two

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<sup>115</sup> Interview with Florencio Olibos, Former Mayor of Mancora, Mancora, 6th November, 2010.

<sup>116</sup> Mancora’s Territorial Management Plan was the first action undertaken by the Vice-Ministry of Tourism as part of the tourism project ‘Playas del Norte’.

<sup>117</sup> See chapter four, section 4.3.2.

bylaws<sup>118</sup>. These Municipal bylaws declared the tourist coastal area of the district as protected and warned the Provincial Municipality of Talara that the coastal land must not be sold<sup>119</sup>.

Secondly, since the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora obtained its land title in 1996, the Municipality's rights over the districts' territory were left aside due to the fact that it was now a private property rather than a public asset. As part of the 26,226 hectares and 1,225 m<sup>2</sup>; the state adjudicated the district's urban centre<sup>120</sup> to the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora. In addition to this, although it was not included in the land title granted by the agrarian reform, throughout this time the comuneros have argued that the urban centre included the vulnerable coastal area gained from the sea after 'El Niño' of 1983 and 1998, located between the El Puerto and the Santa Rosa neighbourhoods and the beach.

Florencio Olibos argues that at the root of this problem lays the fact that a former 'illiterate' mayor did not pay enough attention to a letter sent by the Regional Agrarian Unit of Piura when the Comunidad Campesina undertook the titling process in the 1980s. This letter informed the Municipality that the urban centre of the district was included in the Comunidad Campesina's request of agrarian reform. However, as the adjudication order could not be impugned, due to the mayor of Mancora not requesting back the rights over the district's territory, the urban centre officially became property of the Comunidad Campesina. In other words, apart from former mayor of Mancora, Javier Paraud (1978-1980), previous mayors did not consider the place as a tourist resource so the land was not considered as a valuable resource requiring control by the Municipality. This argument has been used by members of the Comunidad Campesina to justify their property rights over Mancora's urban centre, emphasising that the Municipality had the chance to become owner of the urban centre but they did not show any interest when they could.

In September 2010, after being told that the current president of the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora, Everardo Távora, accepted to be interviewed, I went to the office of the Comunidad, which is situated near the Fernandez ravine, in the north end

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<sup>118</sup> The Municipal bylaw N° 035-94-MDM, 26/08/2994 passed in during Manuel Casanova's administration and the Municipal bylaw N° 010-96-MDM, 26/02/2996 promulgated during first period of Florencio Olibos in power.

<sup>119</sup> Mancora Ahora. Special Edition, 88<sup>th</sup> Anniversary, p.10. November 14<sup>th</sup>, 1996.

<sup>120</sup> Olibos estimated 783.40 hectares for Mancora's urban centre.

of the district. Maps of the territory of Mancora decorate the walls inside the office of the Comunidad Campesina and there is always a long queue of people waiting to speak to Everardo about land issues or to ask about land contracts. Sitting around a big round table surrounded of several piles of files, I interviewed Everardo and the legal advisor of the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora, Erick Godofredo, on Saturday 25<sup>th</sup> September 2010. Even though I addressed several questions to Everardo, he only spoke two times throughout our interview and the majority of my questions were answered by Erick, clearly highlighting how the increasing land conflicts occurring in Mancora in the last few decades have made the Comunidad adopt a very defensive attitude towards outsiders. In our interview, I asked Everardo about the land that the Municipality of Mancora claims rights over. Erick replied instead:

*Extract 5.3:*

- 1       **Erick:** En el 96 la Comunidad se inscribe, el título se lo dan en el 91. Y  
en el 96 se inscribe. Entonces pasaron 5 años antes de la inscripción y  
nadie dijo nada. ¿Por qué? Porque a nadie le interesaba en ese entonces  
Máncora. Recién cuando ya empezó a crecer la importancia de Máncora  
5       y los terrenos empezaron a subir de valor, allí es cuando se dieron de  
cabezazos contra la pared por el error que habían cometido. (Interview  
with Everardo Távara, current President of the Comunidad Campesina,  
and Erick Godofredo, Legal Advisor of the Comunidad Campesina of  
Mancora, Mancora, 25<sup>th</sup> September, 2010)<sup>121</sup>.

The extract above illustrates how during the initial stages of Mancora's tourism development, whereas the Municipality of Mancora did not give priority to the land, the business mentality that characterised the second generation of members of the Comunidad Campesina, and their awareness of the increased market value that their lands would obtain as a result of tourism, allowed them to conceptualise the place and the natural environment as valuable commodities. The way that each group imagined and conceptualised the place resulted in social differences being created amongst Mancoreños linked to the Comunidad Campesina and district dwellers, increasing tensions and deepening social differences amongst groups. In the following section, I analyse the land conflicts that emerged as a result of the implementation of each of these social actors' economic and political projects.

### **5.3 Competing for the Land, Constructing Local Identities**

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<sup>121</sup> See p. 293, Extract 5.3, for English translation.

As introduced in chapter two, following the influential essay ‘The Tragedy of the Commons’ (Harding, 1970) and the scholarly debate on ‘common pool resources’ (CPRs) (Ostrom, 1990; Ostrom *et al.*, 1994; Becker and Ostrom, 1995; Ostrom *et al.*, 1999; Ostrom *et al.*, 2001), geographers working on issues of sustainable tourism have argued that both natural and highly advanced tourism landscapes, as well as natural resources, such as air, land and water, are common pool resources. As such, the place and the land have the two distinctive features of common pool resources: non-excludability, which indicates that it is very difficult to exclude additional users, and subtractability/rivalry, which means that consumption by one individual reduces the amount available for other consumers (Healy, 1994; Briassoulis, 2002). Tourism commons are also complex because there are overlapping and potentially conflicting uses and user groups; and heterogeneous because they encompass natural and built material (tangible) and immaterial (intangible) elements. When these resources experience problems of overuse and lack of investment incentive, tourism development is not sustainable. Therefore, the ‘tragedy of the tourism commons’ occurs (Briassoulis, 2002).

As I have shown in the first section of this chapter, as a result of the re-making of Mancora into a tourist destination the place became a ‘*tourism common*’. Consequently, almost all social groups composing Mancora as a community sought to obtain a benefit from exploiting the place, increasing the population interested in using the land, which is a limited and highly vulnerable natural resource cyclically subjected to the ‘El Niño’ phenomenon. In this section I critically analyse how the impact of global tourism and neoliberalism, and the imposition of notions of place and nature, fostered the construction and territorialisation of local identities at a local level, as part of a complex process aimed at excluding other users from exploiting coastal land. In particular, I analyse the process whereby some district dwellers and members of the national elite from Lima attempted to change the project for the place implemented by the Comunidad Campesina, at the same time, undermining the Comunidad Campesina’s official rights over the land.

Anthropologists analysing the linkages between people, culture, power and place (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997b) have questioned particular ways of thinking about identity and territory that are reflected in ordinary language and common sense, especially in the current context where social groups are more mobile than ever before (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997a; Malkki, 1997). The rooting of peoples in places and the naturalisation

of ideas of roots, soils, and territory in the everyday discourse is perceived as a natural need that indicates which particular group belongs to a certain place. In this way of linking people and places through the construction of local identities, “people are often thought of, and think of themselves, as being rooted in place and as deriving their identity from that rootedness” (Malkki, 1997, p. 56). However, what is behind these ideas of rootedness and the territorialisation of local identities is not always clearly stated. Because of that, we are still required to ask what means to be rooted in a place (Malkki, 1997), especially in tourist and conflictive contexts such as Mancora where the rights over the land are at stake.

Following this debate, I propose that the way each social group conceptualised and imagined the place during this process of place-making, and applied a colonial relationship over the land and the place in order to implement their political and economic projects, resulted in each social group creating identities for themselves and the others in order to legitimise their rights over the land. In so doing, they territorialised local identities within particular geographical spaces in order to exclude other users from using contested tourism commons. Consequently, social differences, tensions and conflicts emerged amongst social groups, hampering the emergence of structures of land governance that might control the expansion of the tourism industry and the use of natural resources. As a result, the uncontrolled expansion of the tourism industry has increased conditions of environmental vulnerability of the population and the probability of the ‘tragedy of the commons and the tourism commons’ and a disaster to occur in the near future.

### ***5.3.1 Colorados Aimed at Taking Control of Mancora’s Land***

In my view, Harry Schuller’s strategy to obtain control of Mancora’s land in order to implement his political and economic project for Mancora consisted of becoming president of the Comunidad Campesina’s executive board. Harry Schuller relied on the fact that his family had paid 80 per cent of the agrarian debt in order to take over the chair of the Comunidad Campesina, arguing that he had to look after his assets<sup>122</sup>. Subsequently, he accused previous president of the Comunidad Campesina, Abilio

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<sup>122</sup> Interview with Harry Schuller, Limeño, hotel owner, and former president of the Comunidad Campesina (2001-2003), Mancora, 6<sup>th</sup> May, 2007.

Rivas, of corruption when he found out that the sale of 521,000 m<sup>2</sup> of coastal<sup>123</sup> area was carried out without consultation<sup>124</sup>, accusing him of forging the comuneros's signatures to avoid the mechanism ruled by the *Ley de Tierras*<sup>125</sup>. Schuller was supported by other comuneros Mancoreños, who agreed that they had never received any detailed report regarding sales of the Comunidad Campesina's land as expected. Consequently, after calling a general meeting, seventy four comuneros dismissed Pedro Moran, then president, from office, establishing instead a provisional executive board chaired by Harry Schuller who reported criminal offences against the Comunidad Campesina. Following this, former presidents Abilio Rivas and Pedro Moran were removed from the Comunidad Campesina and Talara's criminal court sentenced Abilio and his executive board to four years in prison with a fine payment of S/. 7,000 (Peruvian Soles)<sup>126</sup>.

Once in power, Schuller sought to change Abilio's plan for Mancora, creating consent amongst the comuneros to carry out a new land distribution. During my interviews, many comuneros Mancoreños pointed out that Harry Schuller exerted great influence amongst them by promising that he was going to give out money and develop agriculture. According to former president of the Comunidad Campesina, Pedro Moran, "the way of speaking of the 'el colorado' convinced the comuneros who were easy to persuade because their lack of studies"<sup>127</sup>. In fact, Schuller made the comuneros hesitate about the validity of their property titles regarding the seventy hectares previously given out by Abilio's administration and he convinced them to believe that the land gained from the sea after 'El Niño' of 1983 belonged to the Comunidad Campesina. Schuller asserted that the previous distribution of 70 hectares of land to each comuneros was not carried out sufficiently by Abilio's administration. Consequently, once in power, he himself wanted to redistribute the land amongst the comuneros by applying different

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<sup>123</sup> Schuller said that it was agreed in that meeting that depending on the location of the plot of land, they were going to charge from \$1 to \$100 U.S. dollars; but Rivas only declared \$1 m<sup>2</sup> payments.

<sup>124</sup> "Destituyen a directiva y nombran una transitoria" *El Tiempo*, p.8, Monday August 7<sup>th</sup>, 2000.

<sup>125</sup> *Ley de la Inversión Privada en el desarrollo de las actividades económicas en las tierras del territorio nacional y de las comunidades campesinas y nativas*. N. 26505 – 18<sup>th</sup> July, 1995. This law states that any sale must be approved by at least fifty per cent of the comuneros.

<sup>126</sup> £1, 653.87 (British Pounds).

<sup>127</sup> Interview with former President of the Grupo and Comunidad Campesina of Mancora (1988-1992), Pedro Moran, Mancora, 4<sup>th</sup> November, 2011.

criteria. In my interview with Harry in 2007, when I asked him about Abilio's land distribution, he replied:

*Extract 5.4:*

- 1       **Fernando:** ¿Y estos terrenos cómo fueron adquiridos?  
          **Harry:** ¿Los míos? ¿Las 70 hectáreas? La ex directiva hizo una repartición de 70 hectáreas para cada comunero.  
          **Fernando:** ¿Y cada uno escogía el espacio que quería?
- 5       **Harry:** Yo fui uno de los privilegiados que pudo escoger. Lamentablemente al resto le dieron unas tripas de 20 metros de frente por tantos de fondo. Y, cuando entré a la presidencia, lo primero que pretendía hacer era hacer una nueva redistribución porque lo lógico sería darle al agricultor área de agricultura, al ganadero el área para ganado, al
- 10       leñador el bosque para que lo trabaje. (Interview with Harry Schuller, upper class Limeño, hotel owner, and former president of the Comunidad Campesina (2001-2003), Mancora, 6<sup>th</sup> May, 2007)<sup>128</sup>.

The extract above shows how the colorados constructed the social identity of the Mancoreños, including the way they should naturally relate to the place, the natural environment and the tourism industry. Harry Schuller's extract highlights that the Mancoreños were conceived of as subjects with fixed trades different from tourism. In Harry's construction of the Mancoreño identity, the Mancoreño is excluded from participating in the tourism industry because it is assumed that tourism is an unfamiliar activity for them. As such, it is presumed that the Mancoreños would not see the place as a 'tourism common' or a commodity and hence the coast would not become a valuable resource for them. In addition, by following Schuller's criteria of relating people to the territory, it could be assumed that, because the colorados introduced tourism into Mancora, coastal land should be distributed solely amongst Limeños or investors engaged in the tourism industry. Thus, whilst the colorado's identity is represented as naturally related to the coast and tourism, the Mancoreños are excluded from using the coastal land because they are not engaged in the tourism industry. This shows how local identities are territorialised within particular geographical areas, with the power to exclude individuals from using natural resources that have become highly valuable as a result of the impact of global tourism and neoliberalism.

This way of excluding the Mancoreños from the tourism industry whilst conceiving the colorados or tourism investors as privileged groups of users of the coastal area was pointed out several times in my interviews with Limeños engaged in the tourism industry. When some colorados imagine Mancora's future as a tourist destination, some

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<sup>128</sup> See p. 294, Extract 5.4, for English translation.

of them mentioned that the Mancoreños would eventually be replaced by foreign tourist stakeholders. According to them, in the process of turning Mancora into an internationally renowned tourist destination, foreign stakeholders would buy most of the Mancoreños houses, building resort hotels similar to those in Cancun, Mexico, in order to foster mass tourism development.

In this sense, this way of creating local identities and linking them to the territory in order to validate the use of natural resources, legitimised the implementation of the political and economic projects of the colorados, aimed at turning Mancora into an internationally renowned tourist destination. Nonetheless, these representations of the Mancoreño as a fixed group, and as a group needing to be replaced to make way for an ‘ideal’ type of tourism investor, neglects the fact that this activity also became dominant for the Mancoreños, resulting in competition to obtain land. Furthermore, this way of territorialising local identities discriminates fishermen because they are not viewed as legitimate users of the coastal land, threatening the sustainability of their livelihoods, local identities and local models of development<sup>129</sup>.

### ***5.3.2 Rooting and Territorialising the Mancoreño and Comunero Identities***

In the 1990s, the Municipality of Mancora adopted tourism as the main tool for developing the district socially and economically. Nonetheless, municipal authorities found in the Comunidad Campesina an obstacle in carrying out their plans for making Mancora the best beach town of the entire coast. Since this time, the relationship between both local authorities has been mediated by a context of legal conflict in which the coastal land has been contested. During the legal conflict between the Municipality of Mancora and the Comunidad Campesina, former mayor of Mancora, Florencio Olibos, relied on a particular construction of the ‘Mancoreño’ identity to show that Mancora is a deep-rooted district with more than 90 years of history. In doing this, Florencio sought to create a ‘*mancoñerismo*’ feeling amongst district dwellers in order to undermine the comunero identity, with the hope of gaining ‘entitlements’ regarding the rights over the land.

The Mancoreño identity was strategically constructed following the creation of the initial district of Mancora on 14<sup>th</sup> November, 1908<sup>130</sup>; a date that is seen as a foundation

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<sup>129</sup> I will come back to this point in chapter six.

<sup>130</sup> See chapter four, section 4.2.2.



date of the district. Florencio sought to generate consciousness about this ‘mancoreñerismo’ feeling during the 1990s by distributing amongst district dwellers a local magazine published annually by the Municipality of Mancora. Every year when Florencio published this magazine, the title page unfailingly highlighted the number of years since the district had been founded in 1908, followed by several articles indicating the position of the Municipality in the legal conflict against the Comunidad Campesina, as well as an ‘official’ version of Mancora’s history.

Written by school teacher Angel López (2006), the ‘official’ history of Mancora tells the story of the Pazos family, who arrived from Sechura at the end of the nineteenth century and settled in the coastal area of the town to work as lumberyard guardians of the hacienda. This version considers the Pazos family as the first family who settled within the El Puerto neighbourhood. As such, this family is regarded as the ‘Founders of Mancora’. Anecdotally, this version says that, soon after Law N° 818 was passed in 1908, provincial and local authorities celebrated the opening ceremony of the district’s foundation in the Pazos house. At present, this has become the locally accepted version of Mancora’s history, developing into ‘common sense’ amongst district dwellers when talking about their roots. In addition, this date is symbolically used to celebrate the district’s anniversary<sup>131</sup>, an annual celebration which aims to strengthen feelings amongst local inhabitants and foster a sense of belonging to a common place and territory in order to reaffirm their local identity and differentiate themselves from other groups such as the comuneros and colorados.

Nonetheless, there are some inconsistencies in various versions of the story suggesting that this story was strategically constructed in order to strengthen a politicised construction of the Mancoreño identity, with the aim of undermining the Comunidad Campesina’s rights over the land. Firstly, as it has been analysed in chapter four, by the time this Law was promulgated, Mancora’s town was still a small hamlet and its sparse population was based in the countryside producing coal rather than in activities linked to the coast. Thus, the countryside had more political weight than the coast, which was not considered then as a living area. Secondly, Law N° 818 named the current Province of Talara as the district of Mancora, declaring Talara’s town as capital of the district because of the petroleum boom. Moreover, this version does not take into account Law

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<sup>131</sup> A celebration that encompasses a week of activities including sport competitions, a beauty contest to select Miss. Mancora, a party for local dwellers organised by the Municipality and other formal events.

Nº 12217, promulgated in March 1955, which creates the municipal authority in charge of Mancora's current territory. Despite the above, in using Law Nº 818 as the district's foundation date, Municipal authorities have constructed and naturalised the Mancoreño identity as deep-rooted in Mancora's territory in order to legitimise their rights over the land.

Since this politicised version of Mancora's history was elaborated to favour the Municipality, neglecting and excluding the Comuneros as rightful owners of the territory of Mancora<sup>132</sup>, this version is constantly refuted by members of the Comunidad Campesina. In fact, in 2007, when I first met member of the Comunidad Campesina, Lucho Aguilar, he had in his hands the essay written by Lopez about Mancora's history. During our interview he wondered why some people wrangle that the district of Mancora has more than a hundred years of history when a century ago it was an uninhabited district and the town did not even exist, accusing them of lying about the town's history.

The construction of the 'official' history of Mancora justified the actions aimed at undermining the Comunero identity and therefore the rights of the Comunidad Campesina over the territory of Mancora. The legal contest for Mancora's land between the Comunidad Campesina and the Municipality of Mancora began in 1996, soon after the former inscribed its land title in Registros Públicos. Initially, former mayor Florencio undertook a legal process called '*Acto de Nulidad Jurídico*', aimed at declaring null the contract<sup>133</sup> signed in 1975 between the Peruvian state and the Comunidad Campesina as a result of Velasco's Agrarian Reform. Florencio emphatically regarded the process of agrarian reform as surprising and absurd, stressing the contradiction resulting from applying the Agrarian Reform Law in a place where its population does not depend on agriculture. In our interview, Florencio said:

*Extract 5.5:*

- 1 **Florencio:** Yo en mi caso ya seguí, primero, un '*Acto de Nulidad Jurídica*' que fue en mi primer gobierno. Ese quedó y todo el mundo nos daba la razón. Usted que viene y dice 'pero no hay razón de que la

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<sup>132</sup> Throughout Lopez's essay there is not reference at all to any historical evidence that could include the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora as an institution that is part of the district's social life. However, Lopez did indeed include a short text written by Olibos, in which he argues that the Comunidad Campesina instead of an agrarian enterprise, it has become a property company; holding up the town's sustainable development.

<sup>133</sup> Contract Nº 2011-75

- 5 Comunidad Campesina tenga los terrenos del distrito de Máncora, si le dieron era con fines agrarios y por qué le dieron a Máncora si Máncora no es un pueblo agrario’, entonces en todo nos daban la razón. (Interview with former mayor of Mancora Florencio Olibos (1996-1998, 2003-2006), Mancora, 6<sup>th</sup> November, 2010)<sup>134</sup>.

Following this, in 2003, based on the Law N°26845<sup>135</sup>, Florencio initiated a new legal process against the Comunidad Campesina, passing the Municipal bylaw N° 013-2003-MDM<sup>136</sup>. Finally, in 2006, Florencio built a new legal strategy by using Law N° 28667<sup>137</sup>, stating that lands previously adjudicated with agricultural purposes and populated before the 31<sup>st</sup> December 2004 could revert to the state if this condition had not been met; and Law N° 28685<sup>138</sup>, which declares the legal abandonment of lands belonging to Comunidades Campesinas of the Coast occupied by a human settlement. Moreover, although Fujimori’s administration totally liberalised the land of the Comunidades Campesinas during the 1990s in order to implement its neoliberal agrarian policy, Florencio wanted to demonstrate that the Comunidad Campesina did not have the legal faculty to sell or transfer its land, and by doing this, the comuneros were acting against the law<sup>139</sup>.

In recent years, this argument has gained consensus amongst district dwellers, regional and national authorities and people engaged in the tourism industry, who consider the Comunidad Campesina an obstacle for appropriate tourism development and responsible for the current social problems experienced by Mancora. In fact, the Comunidad Campesina was accused of fostering a disorganised urban development while making a profit from selling the land that was supposed to belong to the Municipality. In addition, Florencio publically criticised the projects of the Comunidad Campesina arguing that, instead of benefitting the whole community (more than 10,000 local inhabitants), tourism was only benefiting economically a small minority of 135 comuneros<sup>140</sup>. Above all, the Comunidad Campesina was blamed for detracting

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<sup>134</sup> See p. 294, Extract 5.5, for English translation.

<sup>135</sup> Ley de Titulación de las Tierras de las Comunidades Campesinas de la Costa. This Law stated that that lands that have been populated since March 1996 do not belong to Comunidades Campesinas.

<sup>136</sup> 03/10/2003

<sup>137</sup> Law 28667 promulgated on 11/01/2006

<sup>138</sup> Ley que regula la declaración del abandono legal de las tierras de las Comunidades Campesinas de la Costa, ocupadas por asentamientos humanos y otras posesiones informales. Passed in 24/02/2006.

<sup>139</sup> Mancora *Ahora*, 1996, p. 7

<sup>140</sup> Mancora *Avanza*, 2003, p. 5

investors potentially willing to make big tourism investments in projects for developing Mancora.

In doing this, Florencio sought not only to obtain control but also rights over the entire district of Mancora, which encompassed the urban centre, the area gained from the sea after ‘El Niño’ of 1983, and Las Pocitas. This became clear in 2006 when he passed the Municipal bylaw 013-2003-MDM, declaring the coast as an intangible area and indicating publically that none of the land within Mancora’s urban area belonged to the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora (Figure 5.1). As a local authority, he used an official resource to disavow the Comunidad Campesina’s land title, declaring the areas ‘rightfully’ belonging to the Municipality. Consequently, the comuneros, who understood Florencio’s legal strategy as an attempt at expropriating the Comunidad Campesina’s land, submitted to the Constitutional Court an unconstitutional demand (*demanda de inconstitucionalidad*) against Florencio’s bylaw, arguing that it went against their property rights. In November 2005, the Constitutional Court declared well-founded the comuneros’ demand, declaring article N°2 of the bylaw 013-2003-MDM as unconstitutional.

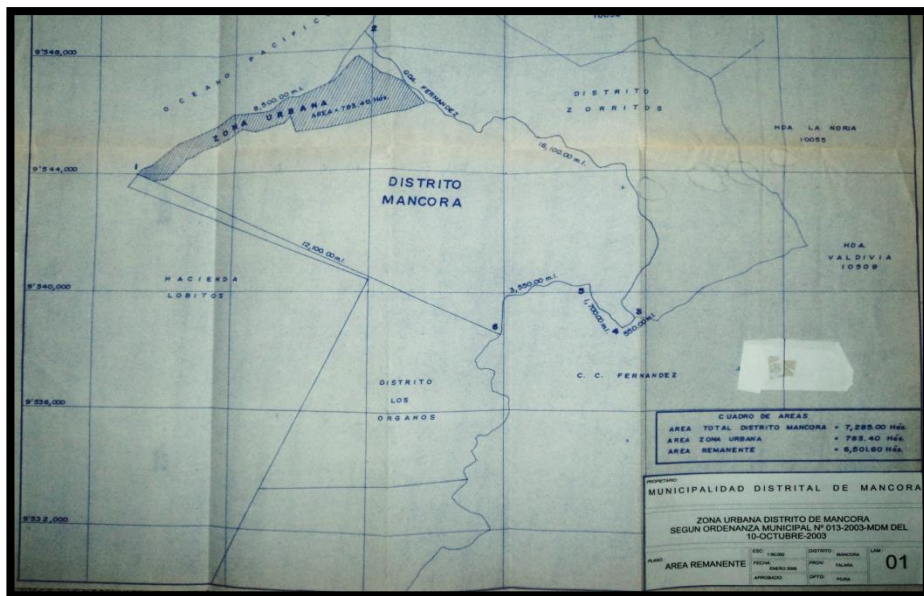


Figure 5.1 Urban area stated by the Municipality of Mancora in the Municipal Bylaw 013-2003-MDM

As seen in chapter four, the comunero identity emerged as a result of the Agrarian Reform Law, which created a homogenous subject in a socially and culturally diverse

country. In Mancora, the construction of the comunero identity entailed a process of negotiation between upper class Limeños, fishermen and countryside dwellers that came together in the fictitious form of Comunidad Campesina to obtain a benefit from the state. In doing this, its members have relied on the fact that Mancora was initially a Hacienda to create its comunero and peasant identity in order to legitimise their rights as beneficiaries of the Agrarian Reform Law. In 1999, the Comunidad Campesina published a small article entitled '*Reseña Histórica de la Comunidad Campesina Máncora*' in a local magazine, providing details about the history of the Comunidad. In using a historical record of the Hacienda Mancora dating from 1626, this culturally diverse and socially mixed group represented themselves as the deepest-rooted and oldest sector of Mancora's population<sup>141</sup>, legitimising their rights over the land while creating social differences between themselves and other district dwellers. This small article finished with the following quote:

*Extract 5.6:*

- 1 Amigo lector es un profundo estudio de nuestra realidad ancestral la misma que dejamos como un medio preciso y veraz de información, esperando que sea recogido por mentes hábiles, vigorosas y creativas, par[a] demostrar que la propiedad de nuestras tierras tiene una sucesión
- 5 histórica de trescientos sesenta y ocho años y ésta es INCUESTIONABLE (Sol, Mar y Campo, Comunidad Campesina de Máncora, 1999, p. 9 emphasis in the original)<sup>142</sup>.

However, the comunero identity has been constantly reshaped as a result of continued attempts by the Municipality to undermine their rights over the land. In fact, when the comuneros of Mancora have been compared to other more traditional types of Comunidades Campesinas, they have defined themselves as an unusual type of Comunidad, arguing that the group holds a *sui generis* nature. According to their members, they are a Comunidad Campesina similar to San Juan de Catacaos, Castilla and Sechura in that they are all ruled by the Comunidades Campesinas General Law, as well as by an internal statute. Also, they argue that they are different because the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora paid its agrarian debt, while the other Comunidades had their agrarian debt written off by the state<sup>143</sup>. Furthermore, they also see themselves as a group of landowners, arguing that, once the agrarian debt was paid, the comuneros could do whatever they wanted with their land, using it for their own benefit: "it [the

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<sup>141</sup> Municipalidad Distrital de Mancora, 1997, p. 3.

<sup>142</sup> See p. 294, Extract 5.6, for English translation.

<sup>143</sup> Sol, Mar y Campo, Comunidad Campesina de Máncora, 1999.

land] was not given free of charge” (Sol, Mar y Campo, 1998, p. 10). According to the members of the Comunidad Campesina, they developed into a Private Entity after the agrarian debt was paid.

In addition, in 2004, the colorados that had become comuneros were removed from the Comunidad Campesina because, according to the comuneros Mancoreños, they wanted to obtain personal benefits from the Comunidad<sup>144</sup>. According to the current president of the Comunidad Campesina, Everardo Távora, the comuneros made what they called a ‘purification’ of its members by separating the colorados out from the Comunidad Campesina arguing that ‘instead of being real comuneros, they were businessmen who sought benefits from the Comunidad’<sup>145</sup>. This focus on the ‘purification’ of the ‘comunero’ identity highlights how, following Hall (1996), the construction of local identities operates across difference and entails a process of binding and marking symbolic boundaries amongst interrelated groups. In fact, in separating the colorados out from the Comunidad, members of the Comunidad Campesina were trying to mark socio-cultural differences with the group of colorados; at the same time, strengthening their ‘peasant’ identity in order to legitimise their rights over the land as beneficiaries of the agrarian reform. In so doing, they eliminated the symbolic elements that could result in the Comunidad being perceived as a form of business organisation.

Finally, the Comunidad Campesina used the regional and national press to make clear that they were the rightful owners of Mancora as well as to protest against Florencio Olibos, who, according to them, was obsessed in becoming owner of 100 hectares of coastal land. One of the headlines of the regional newspaper *‘El Tiempo’* on the 1<sup>st</sup> of November 1997 stated: ‘Comunidad Campesina of Mancora asked to respect private property’. Next to it, a picture of Abilio Rivas sat down at a table surrounded by four members of the executive board, including the colorado lawyer; showed him holding the Comunidad’s land title: ‘Today we are defending our rights’. By the end of the same month, in the article published by the nationally read journal *‘Caretas’*, a picture showed Abilio and other members of the executive board walking across the beach

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<sup>144</sup> They did this by changing the articles of association regarding the requirements a comunero should fulfil in order to be admitted; specifically in the article 8, section b, stating that a comunero should have at least five years of stable and habitual residence in Mancora. This change affected most colorados whose place of residence was Lima.

<sup>145</sup> Interview with Everardo Távora, current President of the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora, Mancora, 18<sup>th</sup> December, 2010.

while a subtitle said: ‘Executives of the Comunidad Campesina walking around their lands’.

### 5.3.3 *What is at Stake?*

The contest whereby the Comunidad Campesina and the Municipality of Mancora have tried to implement their plans to develop the place into a tourist destination has brought into conflict two different groups of Mancoreños, increasing socio-cultural differences within a locality. Both of the actors involved in the conflict have sought to demonstrate their rightful ownership over Mancora’s land in order to obtain rights over the natural resource needed in order to put their plans for the place into action. This process has pushed them to construct and reshape their identities, as well as their history, in order to show which group is the most deep-rooted and original population living within Mancora’s territory. Nonetheless, according to both actors involved in the conflict, each of them wanted to obtain control of Mancora’s most valuable but vulnerable natural resources from the beginning in order to make a profit out of tourism. Former president of the Comunidad Campesina Abilio Rivas makes this point clear while describing the beginnings of the conflict with the Municipality:

*Extract 5.7:*

- 1       **Abilio:** [...] Quisimos llegar a un acuerdo cuando yo estuve con el  
alcalde en ese entonces, Florencio Olibos [96]. Tuvimos reuniones con él,  
como hago reuniones, tuvimos reuniones para llegar a un acuerdo, pero  
5       él propuso de los ingresos de los terrenos y todo eso que vaya un  
porcentaje para la Municipalidad y otro para la Comunidad. Pero, o sea,  
él era quien quería manejar el asunto. Pero porcentaje no dijo cuánto  
tampoco, pero nos pudimos dar cuenta que era pues mínimo. O sea, si  
la Comunidad era la propietaria ¿Por qué? Más bien nosotros tendríamos  
que elegir el porcentaje y si podíamos llegar a un acuerdo, pero no se  
10       llegó a un acuerdo. Esperando conversación, pum, proceso en contra de  
la Comunidad, el Alcalde, y se vino la guerra, ya no pues. Nos denunció  
a Talara, al final el Poder Judicial dio la razón pues la Comunidad es la  
propietaria, por ahí vino el pleito. (Interview with former president of the  
Comunidad Campesina of Mancora Abilio Rivas, 31<sup>st</sup> October,  
2010)<sup>146</sup>.

At present, this position is maintained by Everardo Távora, current president of the Comunidad Campesina, who emphatically states that instead of giving property titles to the Mancoreños, what the Municipality really wants to do is sell the land: “they will sell

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<sup>146</sup> See p. 294, Extract 5.7, for English translation.

it; they want to make a profit”<sup>147</sup>. This position and attitude of the President of the Comunidad Campesina supports the point of view of most Mancoreños regarding the fact that the executives of the Comunidad Campesina would unlikely transfer the urban centre since most of their income is based on land sales within these areas.

In this sense, the efforts of both Florencio and the Comunidad Campesina to create, naturalise and territorialise both the Mancoreño as well as the comunero identities within the place, were aimed at linking people to the territory in order to claim rights over the land whilst excluding other potential users from using a valuable tourist common. However, whilst talking informally with local villagers about Mancora’s history, it was clear that both groups question the comunero and Mancoreño identities, saying that Mancora’s population has always been very mobile and the district has only recently been habited. In an interview with member of the Comunidad Campesina, Lucho Aguilar, late in 2010, he stated emphatically that “NOBODY IS FROM MANCORA! Nobody is from Mancora my friend. All the people living here have come from other places”<sup>148</sup>.

Since tourism became a predominant activity at a local level, the social groups that compose Mancora as a community have come into contact, resulting in the establishment of a conflictive relationship. As a result of their overlapping plans for the place, what has been at stake is the opportunity to obtain control over the land in order to implement their political and economic projects, turning this socio-political process of construction of place into a contest over the land or a ‘land-grabbing’ race. Consequently, this contest over the land has hampered the emergence of structures of governance responsible for controlling the expansion of the tourism industry and regulating the use of vulnerable natural resources at a local level, shaping Mancora’s current pattern of resource utilisation and appropriation of the place.

#### **5.4 Building Mancora through Invasions, Increasing Conditions of Vulnerability**

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<sup>147</sup> Interview with Everardo Tavara, current President of the Comunidad Campesina, and Erick Godofredo, Legal Advisor of the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora, Mancora, 25<sup>th</sup> September, 2010. This was one of the two times that Everardo spoke in our first interview.

<sup>148</sup> Interview with Lucho Aguilar, Mancora, 15<sup>th</sup> November 2010.



At present, Mancora is going through Butler's (1980) '*consolidation stage*'. This means that a significant section of the economy depends on tourism while efforts are made to extend the visitor season and market area (Butler, 1980). Since the arrival of the colorados in Mancora in the 1970s, Mancora has experienced a swift expansion of tourism infrastructure and, at present, the majority of the population is either directly or indirectly engaged in the tourism industry. During this process, although the state did not carry out tourism projects aimed at developing local destinations, the implementation of Peru's neoliberal model of tourism development dramatically increased the number of tourists visiting the country. Moreover, this model of tourism development reduced the regulating role of the Peruvian state at all levels of society and liberalised local spaces in order to increase private investments and the exploitation of natural resources, justifying a colonial relationship over the natural environment. Consequently, as a result of the exponential growth of tourist numbers and investors in the last two decades, together with a lack of experts in tourism planning and tourism environmental authorities; the pressure over unprepared local destinations lacking basic services and social institutions to cope with this swift expansion of the tourism industry has dramatically increased.

According to Butler (1991), local authorities play a key role in controlling the expansion of tourism infrastructure and limiting tourist numbers, and this will only "succeed if there is an agreement by all levels of government and the electorate" (Butler, 1991). However, because the re-making of Mancora into a tourist destination developed parallel to a severe legal conflict between the Comunidad Campesina and the Municipality, this hampered the emergence of solid structures of land governance and the implementation of coordinated plans. Moreover, this process of cultural contact and change has increased and deepened social differences and tensions between the social groups that compose Mancora as a community. This has been reflected in the way each of these groups have conceptualised the place in different ways and have undertaken several actions in order to implement their individual political and economic projects. When these contexts emerge, "differences in perception about costs and benefits of resource use among so heterogeneous, and usually uncoordinated, groups results in overexploitation and degradation" (Briassoulis, 2002, p. 1075). As a result, Mancora is currently suffering from socio-environmental problems such as land conflicts, overuse of natural resources and environmental degradation.

### 5.4.1 *Land Invaders*

Catalogued as ‘land invaders’ by members of local associations and tourist developers, some local inhabitants have taken advantage of the absence of structures of land governance to secure as much land as possible in order to expand their businesses or to foster an illegal land market. In the last few decades the number of land invaders has swiftly multiplied as a result of the increasing amount of investors willing to engage in the tourism industry, making this pattern of resource utilisation and appropriation of the place overriding in Mancora’s tourism development. In fact, extending their properties or fostering land markets have become profitable businesses amongst local inhabitants given that land and property values have increased exponentially. An example of this rise in land values is that a house within the El Puerto neighbourhood would currently cost approximately \$50 000 (U.S. dollars). Some of my informants told me that in the 1980s they had bought their properties in that area for ‘pennies’ as a way to express the cheap prices they had paid. Another example of this is that whilst previously a square metre of land in the Las Pocitas area cost \$70 in the 1990s, stakeholders are currently paying \$300.

Land invaders are a combination of Mancoreños as well as people from other places such as Trujillo and Piura. Some are armed and violent family gangs, who are making a living by securing as many plots of land as they can while fostering an informal land market amongst foreigners and Mancoreños. For the media and local, regional and national authorities, these family gangs are turning Mancora into a ‘*Tierra de Nadie*’ (no man’s land) and it is becoming common to hear about people being shot dead due to clashes between them. There is another type of land invader who has illegally taken only one plot of land, hoping to set up a business related to the tourism industry, such as a restaurant, hotel or souvenir shop. They would first fence off the land during the night, building a sort of shack and sometimes planting palm trees to delimit the taken area. As time passes, they gradually build the ground and first floors with durable building materials, as well as expanding their fences as far as they can. As a result, they could have had a significant amount of years inhabiting that land and their livelihood may directly depend on tourism. This type of land invader has emerged as a result of the lack of opportunities to obtain a plot of coastal land during the initial stages of the process whereby Mancora developed into a popular tourist destination.

Land invaders seek to officially formalise their ownership by requesting that both the Municipality and the '*Juez de Paz*' issue proof of land possession. However, the only local institution responsible for formalising the land by issuing property titles is the Comunidad Campesina. For that reason, land invaders, as well as newcomers obtaining land, approach the Comunidad Campesina and then, subsequently, the Municipality. This has brought significant problems to the Municipality because they cannot control where the Comunidad Campesina is selling the land. In addition, executives of the Comunidad Campesina are not interested in finding solutions to this uncontrolled urban expansion because they are making a profit by selling the land. They choose not to undertake eviction processes because it would entail a great amount of time, as well as diverting economic and human resources. They only undertake eviction processes when more than 2 000 m<sup>2</sup> of their land has been taken illegally. The current President of the Comunidad Campesina describes what happens when the Comunidad's land has been taken illegally.

*Extract 5.8:*

- 1 **Fernando:** ¿En qué áreas había invadido?
- 5 **Everardo:** Todo lo que invaden son zonas costeras, porque las zonas costeras tiene más ambición, vale más para vender, vale más, tiene más precio, mejor precio le sacan. Lo desalojamos y todo y le ganamos el juicio. Después con los demás que hemos tenido procesos por desalojo, ya cuando los señores han visto que van a perder el juicio, llegamos a una conciliación y ellos terminan comprándolo a la Comunidad formalmente, ya se formalizan. (Interview with Everardo Tavara, current President of the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora, Mancora, 18<sup>th</sup> December, 2010)<sup>149</sup>.

As official owners of the land, members of the Comunidad Campesina argue that they are responsible for selling and providing land rights but not controlling the urban expansion of the district. They hold that they can sell any plot of land within their territory, including public areas or vulnerable zones within the district, due to the fact that they are rightful owners of the land. In addition, they argue that the accurate institution responsible for deciding where and what can be built is the Municipality. In other words, they can sell any plot of land within their territory but they are not responsible for controlling the uses that land will be given. Because of that, Municipal agents argue that since the Comunidad Campesina obtained official control of the land, the Municipality of Mancora has been pushed into the background as a local authority,

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<sup>149</sup> See p. 295, Extract 5.8, for English translation.

generating a power vacuum in the district. Subsequently, structures of control for tourism development are lacking. As a result, most of the Comunidad Campesina's land sales have not followed an urban development plan, turning this informal appropriation of the place into the main model of urban expansion.

Moreover, since the emergence of tourism in Mancora, the Municipality has been generally absent in regulating the use of land by tourist developers. In fact, the '*Plan de Reordenamiento Territorial of Mancora*' (or territorial management plan), which indicates what areas of the town are suitable for developing tourism infrastructure and what types of buildings are permitted, has taken five years to be approved. This document has specific goals to determine and rearrange the uses of the land within the entire territory of Mancora, whilst preventing and mitigating natural disasters. Municipal agents as well as tourist developers from the Vice Ministry of Tourism are relying on this plan to prompt a planned and sustainable tourism development, considering it as the main technical document and point of reference for promoting public and private investments. Initially drawn up during Florencio's second term in power in 2006, this document was finally approved in July 2011, showing that Mancora has developed swiftly without a territorial management plan that could have regularised and arranged the uses of the land for urban expansion<sup>150</sup>.

Thus, rather than being the main local authority controlling Mancora's tourism development, the role of the Municipality has been that of formalising properties by issuing proof of land possession in order to increase taxation. In addition to this, because of its lack of capacity to exert its authority and a lack of experts in tourism planning, the Municipality of Mancora does not supervise the urban expansion of the town at all. Not holding a building licence is not an obstacle for local villagers to carry out building works as it is not frequently requested or supervised. In this sense, this uncontrolled urban growth resulting from an unrestricted use of the land is a consequence of the lack of interest of the Municipality and the state to apply its authority in leading the urban expansion of the town. Moreover, it is the result of the

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<sup>150</sup> The main reasons delaying the approval of this important plan have been due to political and administrative issues inside the Municipality, together with continuous technical observations given by the Provincial Municipality of Talara who considered this plan out of date. This territorial management plan was sponsored by the Vice Ministry of Tourism in collaboration with the Ministry of Housing and the Municipality of Mancora as part of the tourism project 'Playas del Norte'.

Comunidad Campesina's selfish aim of making a profit by selling Mancora's land without considering what areas are suitable for developing tourism.

As a result, in the last few decades, access to natural resources such as land and space has been unrestricted because of the absence of governance structures generated by the conflict between local authorities, leaving room for land invaders to swiftly multiply and for the 'free-rider problem' (Ostrom *et al.*, 2001, p. 19) to emerge as a result of the impossibility to exclude users. Similar to the 'free riding' problem experienced by 'tourism commons' (Healy, 1994), land invasions could bring about overuse and destruction of a given resource because of the 'investment incentive problem'. This means that investors would not invest in improving or controlling the resource's use. In the case that tourism commons such as land, water and air, or other resources such as the landscape (including the townscape), experience problems of overuse or lack of investment incentive, the tragedy of the tourist commons takes place, provoking the tragedy of the tourist product (Briassoulis, 2002). Thus, unless specific steps are taken, Mancora could enter to a *decline stage*, facing a declining market as the area becomes less attractive to tourists (Butler, 1980). In Mancora, the overuse of natural resources as a result of the expansion of the tourism industry has been translated into socio-environmental problems, such as land conflicts and environmental degradation, which are threatening the sustainability of tourism in Mancora, thus increasing conditions of vulnerability.

#### ***5.4.2 Socio-Environmental Problems and Local Associations***

At present, the vulnerable area gained from the sea after 'El Niño' phenomenon of 1983, between the coast line and the Pan American Highway, is subjected to great pressure from the tourism industry. As described in previous sections, early in the 2000s, this previously disaster-stricken area was initially inhabited by a handful of upper and middle class Limeños who built their hotels and summer houses in this area, regardless of its high degree of vulnerability. Since then, this area, which is currently called the 'El Centro Veraniego' neighbourhood, has continually been illegally occupied by Mancoreños and newcomers that have built their hotels and businesses.

In addition, between January and October 2010, as part of the project '*Playas del Norte*' (Beaches of the North), the Vice-Ministry of Tourism invested almost 4 million Peruvian Soles in building a promenade by the beach and a boardwalk surrounding the

marshland situated within this area of the district. Supported by dominant discourses of tourism and development, this public work was aimed at making Mancora more attractive for tourists, with the hope of increasing the number of visitors and therefore generating economic development (Valenzuela, 2009). However, soon after this public work was inaugurated, land invaders who previously populated the surrounding area began taking the recently built boardwalk, fencing off the land underneath the boardwalk and around the marshland.



Figure 5.2 Fences used by land invaders to mark their territories by the side and underneath the boardwalk built by MINCETUR

Because most of this vulnerable but valuable area has been occupied illegally, it has not been subject to an urban plan or to any kind of control. Moreover, neither the Municipality nor the state developed social services within this area. Consequently, it currently suffers from the surrounding hotels' sewage being drained into the marshland, especially during high tourist seasons when Mancora receives around six thousands tourists. All these factors have had a negative impact upon the marshland's biodiversity<sup>151</sup>, contaminating and invading an environmentally fragile area that was supposed to make the district more attractive to tourists.

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<sup>151</sup> Informe N° 001-2010/APECOINCA-PERU-SRCAN, Inspección ambiental del humedal de Máncora, Sullana, 12 de Noviembre del 2010.



Figure 5.3 Marshland's environmental degradation by human sewage from the surrounding hotels and tourism businesses

The increasing socio-environmental problems occurring in the last few decades have resulted in the creation of local organisations that seek to address the lack of structures of control and to undertake common projects for making Mancora a tourist destination. For example, Carlos Chunga, a Mancoreño engaged with the tourism industry, wants Mancora's chamber of Tourism to bring together most of Mancora's stakeholders, with the hope of canalising efforts and economic resources that could assist them in finding solutions to Mancora's problems. In addition, formed in 2008 by colorados, municipal agents and head teachers of two public schools, and currently led by a former UNESCO sociologist and middle class Limeña, Lucia Echeopar; the Environmental Association of Mancora (EAM) has recently played an active role in attempting to control the environmental problems in the hope of developing the marshland into a nature reserve or bird watching area.

Recently, the EAM and the Chamber of Tourism have been working with local, regional, and national actors in order to organise several 'cleanings of the marshland' that, amongst other things, have sought to evict land invaders that have taken control of this area as well as to request more presence of the Peruvian state and interest of local authorities in tackling land invasions. Behind these actions, local associations are seeking to undertake a project of tourism development that respects the uses of the

space and the environment, trying to manage and control the unrestricted use of the natural resources and tourism commons. As such, these local associations have become an important link between the local, regional and national levels. At a local level, it has exerted great influence on the mayor of Mancora, as well as other local authorities such as the Governor and the police, managing to put forward the 'cleaning' as the top priority on the municipal agenda. At national and regional levels, they have encouraged the Vice-Ministry of Tourism to take part in the 'cleaning' whilst developing awareness of this problem through the local and national media, with the aim of persuading authorities to find solutions. Most recently, they have used their social networks to bring Congress man Jaime Delgado Zegarra to lead a public hearing aimed at discussing Mancora's issues such as the illegal land market and the environmental degradation<sup>152</sup>.

As a result of these efforts, in early March 2011, under the premise that the marshland of the district needed to be cleaned up for the sustainability of tourism in Mancora as well as for the benefit of all Mancoreños, an eviction process against land invaders was proposed. The recently elected mayor of Mancora Victor Raul Hidalgo from the APRA party was forced to undertake the eviction process; under threat from the Vice-Ministry of Tourism who would have cut public investment in Mancora.

Weeks before the eviction process took place, Mancora's mayor Victor Raul Hidalgo had been attending meetings where representatives from regional and national authorities expressed to him their strong concerns about the terrible socio-environmental problems that Mancora was suffering. In basing his successful electoral campaign on the basis of three promises: 'Seguridad + Orden + Turismo Garantizado' (Safety, Order, and Guaranteed Tourism), Victor Raul was pushed by Mancora's Chamber for Tourism, the EAM and other powerful sectors of the population who supported him during the election to undertake the eviction process.

Thus, led by the mayor, governor, superintendent, and presidents of local associations, as well as a special correspondent from the Vice-Ministry of Tourism; a group of fifty people composed of municipal agents and a small number of the local population begun cleaning the beach as part of what was initially called a 'civic-minded activity'. Although members of the Comunidad Campesina were notified, they did not participate in the eviction process. The group of fifty people and the authorities then moved into

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<sup>152</sup> Public hearing 'Afectación de Servicios Turísticos y Zonas de Reserva Ecológica en Máncora' 17/12/2011.



the marshland in order to remove the stick fences used by land invaders for marking their territories.

When land invaders noticed that the stick fences were being removed by the municipal agents, they immediately came out of their businesses, threatening the group with machetes, guns and baseball bats, shouting at everyone who was close to their fences. Although they requested the presence of the mayor for an explanation as their houses were being broken into without previous written notice, they did not hold land titles that could prove official rights over the land but they considered it as their property or their home, as well as their main source of income for sustaining their families. Some 'land invaders' relied upon their identity as 'natives' of Mancora to justify their rights over the land and legitimated their appropriation of the land by arguing that all of Mancora's territory had been already taken illegally, and because of that, if they had not taken that area, somebody else would have. In addition, by conceiving themselves as the 'pioneers' of the El Centro Veraniego neighbourhood, they stressed the fact that because of the Municipality's inaction and lack of interest, they have long been looking after that plot of land, keeping it clear of addicts, criminals and other land invaders.

During the eviction process, heated clashes between Mancoreños and colorados also took place. Land invaders argued that the current context of urban disorder is rooted in the fact that "all current land invasions are a consequence of the first made by los colorados (member of the Maceda family, Mancora, 4<sup>th</sup> March, 2011)", considering them as the first 'land invaders' who took the best coastal lands of their town. In fact, I could observe a Mancoreño member of a family of land invaders shouting at the president of the Environmental Association of Mancora, Lucía Ehecopar, who had been one of the main promoters of the eviction process. After buying a plot of land by the beach from the Comunidad Campesina during Harry Schuller's administration in 2000, Lucia was one of the first coloradas to build a hotel within the El Centro Veraniego. During the eviction process, in the middle of a heated discussion between Lucia and a member of the Maceda family, the latter shouted at her: "Como si los Mancoreños se quedaran callados. ¿Qué piensa? ¿Que los chiquillos nunca iban a crecer? (Maceda family member, Mancora, 4<sup>th</sup> March, 2011)"<sup>153</sup>. This shows how these cultural and economic gaps that initially distinguished the Mancoreños from the colorados

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<sup>153</sup> The Mancoreños would not stay in silence. What did they think? That those kids would never grow up?

during the early stages of Mancora's tourism development, and excluded the former from securing a plot of land, play a key role in the land conflicts occurring at present.

As the eviction process continued, the tension increased. Land invaders adopted a very defensive and violent attitude against everyone who was not part of the group of neighbours affected by the eviction process as a strategy to defend their land and short-term interests. Even I was threatened by them on several occasions and asked for my identity details because I was observing and recording the event. Subsequently, some land invaders accused the municipal agents of an abuse of authority because they were not previously notified that the eviction process was going to take place. Others, in contrast, did not respect the authority of the mayor, governor and superintendent of Mancora, threatening them and telling them they were making the worse mistake of their lives. They also said they were going to "*hacer de Mancora otra tierra*" (turn Mancora into a different land), making it clear that they were not going to follow the rules and swearing they were not going to engage with the current municipal administration by any means.

The public prosecutor eventually finished the conflicted event by suggesting that in order to evict land invaders the Municipality should first initiate a legal process against them. At present, land invaders still have control of the marshland. The boardwalk built by the Vice-Ministry as part of the tourism project 'Playas del Norte' has been declared as an abandoned public work due to the land invasions.

### ***5.4.3 Increasing Conditions of Vulnerability***

In addition to the socio-environmental problems that are threatening the sustainability of tourism in Mancora and the population's health, the current model of tourism development and appropriation of the place is leading the expansion of the tourism industry within ever-changing coastal territories highly vulnerable to the 'El Niño' phenomenon.

A recent risk assessment report published in July 2011 by the regional branch of Peru's National Civil Defence Institute's (INDECI), stated that the area gained from the sea after the 'El Niño' phenomenon of 1983-98 is a medium risk area for flooding and heavy rains caused by a future 'El Niño' and a high risk area for earthquakes<sup>154</sup>.

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<sup>154</sup> INDECI (2011) Informe de Estimación de Riesgo Albufera de Mancora – Talara.

According to local inhabitants who have previously experienced this phenomenon, the sediment and water from several ravines overflowed through this area and drained in to the sea, turning it into a highly vulnerable area. During my interviews with Mancoreños that experienced the ‘El Niño’ event of 1983, most of them mentioned the case of Javier Paraud’s hotel to illustrate how this cyclical natural event impacts the physical infrastructure within the district. ‘Pioneering’ Limeño Javier Paraud built his hotel by the beach close to the ‘El Centro Veraniego’ neighbourhood. In our interview, I asked him how the ‘El Niño’ event of 1983 impacted him and his business. He said:

*Extract 5.9:*

- 1       **Fernando:** Y aparte de esa experiencia con el puente que fue importante en el FEN, ¿qué otras cosas del FEN recuerdas? Me imagino que como se fueron deslizando toda la zona de las Pocitas y derrumbo la carretera, me imagino que eso dejó incomunicado.
- 5       **Javier:** El Niño acabó con la carretera, ya no había tránsito a Organos si no era por bote, todo se hacía por bote. Yo me acuerdo que tuve que ir a dejar a mi familia a Tumbes al aeropuerto y encontraba los camiones, los tráiler, allí en la carretera, parados con cebolla, langostinos, con los termotines prendidos. Y comenzaba la lluvia, venía una riada, y al día siguiente no había ni un solo camión, desaparecía por completo. Y yo contrataba a porters para que lleven a mi hijo, a mi mujer, y a todos, para que los carguen cruzando todo eso hasta que llegaran a Tumbes. En Tumbes ya agarraban el avión y se venía a Lima. Yo me quede como un mes tratando de acomodar mis cosas, y sobreviviendo. Como yo tenía mi camioneta, iba a las quebradas, cargaba cebolla, traía la cebolla, la pasaba, llevaba gente, me cachuelaba, había quebrado carajo. Tenía mi tarjeta de crédito y lo que tenía en el banco. Después, ‘todos los huevos están en una sola canasta’. Y me recourseaba. Después ya vine a Lima, felizmente tenía amigos, me ayudaron, de nuevo levanté capital, y de nuevo hice plata.
- 10
- 15
- 20       **Fernando:** O sea que el FEN lo quebró.  
**Javier:** Me quebró, me quebró, me requebró. Me dejo con la ropa puesta. Tan es así que perdí hasta la mujer carajo. [Risas prolongadas]. Perdí todo, todo, todo lo perdí carajo, una desgracia fue para mí el Fenómeno del Niño, me dejó en la calle. Buena experiencia, se perdió pero se aprendió, de algo sirven estas cosas. (Interview with former mayor of Mancora and former hotel owner, Javier Paraud, Lima, 20<sup>th</sup> May, 2011)<sup>155</sup>.
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In the extract above, Javier Paraud describes how the ‘El Niño’ phenomenon negatively impacts Mancora. As described in the introductory chapter, Mancora ends up isolated due to the destruction of several stretches of the Pan American Highway, hampering the mobility of groceries and people. Moreover, the physical infrastructure built within

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<sup>155</sup> See p. 295, Extract 5.9, for English translation.

highly vulnerable areas is swept away by floods and landslides, representing a constant threat to the population's socio-economic well-being and the sustainability of tourism in Mancora due to the fact that this event could head businessmen to bankruptcy. A recent example highlighting that tourism investment projects carried out within this vulnerable area are not sustainable is the promenade recently built by the Vice-Ministry of Tourism as part of the 'Playas del Norte' project. In September 2011, less than a year after being inaugurated, the promenade ended up being seriously damaged as a result of a rough sea. In August 2012, another rough sea caused further destruction of the promenade.

Why are some Mancoreños and newcomers investing in tourism projects within high risk areas of the district? From my point of view, by turning the most vulnerable areas of Mancora into a valuable commodity and fostering a colonial relationship over highly vulnerable natural resources, the impact of global tourism and neoliberalism has assisted, following Oliver-Smith (2004), the creation of constructions of nature-society relationships in which nature is reduced to a malleable object that can be dominated and transformed to satisfy human needs. In this sense, the cultural changes provoked in the notions of place, nature and risk generated by this process of place-making, combined with the transformation of local knowledge about the cyclical and extreme environmental forces affecting the district, has raised conditions of vulnerability that, in turn, increases the likelihood of a disaster occurring in the near future.

In fact, some Mancoreños, including the so called 'land invaders' and members of the Comunidad Campesina, are intentionally withholding information about the environmental vulnerability of the place from potential buyers in order to make a profit by selling the land. This is especially the case of land invaders who had fenced in a plot of land, hoping to sell it to upper and middle class immigrants and tourism stakeholders from Lima, Piura, and Trujillo, as well as foreigners. They decided to take the land but not to build a house because 'the Mancoreño knows about the problem there'. 'The problem there' refers to the knowledge held by locals about the vulnerability of the area and that they themselves would not take the risk of investing in building a hotel or a house for the ravine to sweep it away in a future event of the 'El Niño' phenomenon. Thus, obtaining an economic benefit is one current element shaping and conditioning the relationship between Mancoreños and their environment.

This shows how the conception of 'risk' and the dangers identified by some Mancoreños have changed as a result of this process of cultural transformation

prompted by tourism. As presented in chapter two, conceptions of risk are culturally shaped (Douglas and Wildavsky, 1982; Douglas, 1992) and “risks may be deemed hidden, involuntary, and irreversible” (Douglas and Wildavsky, 1982, p. 27) depending on certain socio-cultural contexts. Before tourism became dominant, the Mancoreños were aware of the environmental risks some areas of the district were subjected so they were not interested in living in or securing land within these vulnerable areas. In other words, the ‘El Niño’ phenomenon was considered as a latent environmental threat that could cause severe harm imminently to themselves and the community. This perception of risk was not shared by the ‘pioneering’ colorados, who secured coastal land within previously disaster-stricken areas, such as Las Pocitas, in order to build their houses and hotels, regardless of its degree of vulnerability. As such, the Mancoreños did not initially follow the colorados’ way of appropriation of the place and resource utilisation.

Nonetheless, the imposition and adoption of hegemonic notions of place and nature has transformed the perception of risk held by some Mancoreños, pushing them to neglect the fact that ‘El Niño’ phenomenon is a latent environmental threat that could drastically change Mancora’s geography. This situation has resulted from the fact that new generations of Mancoreños engaged in the tourism industry have not experienced a very strong event of ‘El Niño’ phenomenon and, consequently, they do not have the same local knowledge about the natural dynamic of the place that prevented old Mancoreños from seeing vulnerable areas of the town as ‘living areas’ or as exploitable resources. It is also the case that the economic benefits that tourism generates has convinced some Mancoreños fostering an illegal land market to shape their local knowledge about Mancora’s natural dynamic in contexts of ‘El Niño’ in order obtain short term economic benefits from selling the land. This illustrates that the short-term production of economic wealth, following Beck (1992), is “systematically accompanied by the social production of *risks*” (Beck, 1992, p. 19 emphasis in the original).

In this sense, since a colonial relationship over the land became dominant as a result of the impact of global tourism and neoliberalism, Mancora has been increasing its degree of environmental vulnerability as most of the productive economic infrastructure of the district has been built within previously disaster-stricken areas. As such, the implementation of tourism projects for the place by each social actor (colorados, Comunidad Campesina, land invaders and the Municipality), combined with the lack of structures of land governance at a local level and regulatory mechanisms controlling the expansion of the tourism industry, has increased the conditions of vulnerability of the

local population. Inevitably, this has raised the probability of a disaster occurring in the near future, threatening the sustainability of tourism in this specific area and putting at risk the population's life, health, livelihood and socio-economic well-being.

## **5.5 Conclusions**

This chapter has explored how the process of place-making whereby tourism and a colonial relationship over the land became hegemonic at a local level has generated and deepened social differences between the social groups that compose Mancora as a community, increasing tensions and conflicts amongst groups. In so doing, this chapter has underscored how, as a result of this conflicted process of place-making, social groups in Mancora have constructed and territorialised local identities in order to legitimise their rights over the land, with the hope of excluding other users from using valuable but vulnerable 'tourism commons'. Moreover, this chapter has analysed how this tense process of place-making has hampered the emergence of structures of land governance and the implementation of coordinated plans at a local level, allowing the 'free-rider problem' to emerge (Ostrom et al., 2001). As such, the lack of structures of governance responsible for controlling the expansion of the tourism industry at all levels of society (see chapter seven) has allowed land invaders to swiftly multiply, supporting a pattern of resource utilisation and appropriation of the place that is bringing socio-environmental problems such as land conflicts, overuse of vulnerable natural resources and environmental degradation.

This chapter and the previous chapter have explored how Mancora's tourism development has taken place within a territory that is subject to a high degree of environmental uncertainty due to the 'El Niño' phenomenon, in a context of neoliberal state reform. Because of that, the perpetuation of a colonial relationship over the environment and the continuity of the current neoliberal model of tourism development are increasing the population's degree of vulnerability, despite the fact that discourses of tourism portray tourism as an effective tool for development. Consequently, if political actions are not taken in order to control the use of natural resources within local destinations, 'the tragedy of the commons' will occur and the probability of a disaster occurring in the near future will continue increasing, making tourism economically and environmentally unsustainable in the long term. In the following chapter I will critically analyse the discourses of tourism and development that sustain

the expansion of the tourism industry within highly vulnerable territories such as Mancora, with the aim of generating economic growth and capital accumulation.

## **Chapter 6 Tourism and Development: Implementing Tourism in Peru**

### **6.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, I will critically analyse the hegemonic discourses of tourism that provide ideological support for the expansion of the tourism industry throughout the territory and the tensions that emerge from these discourses in post-colonial countries such as Peru. I will analyse transcripts of interviews I conducted with various agents of tourism, using the concepts and the methodological approach elaborated in Critical Discourse Analysis studies (CDA) (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, Fairclough, 1995, Howard, 2007, Howard, 2009, Howard, 2010, Van Dijk, 1993). I will combine this with my field notes and archival data collected during my fieldwork in Lima, Piura and Mancora. The combination of a Critical Discourse Analysis approach and a multi-sited ethnographic approach (Marcus, 1995; Marcus 1998), as discussed in chapter three, will be beneficial. CDA will allow me to explore how the main social agents involved in Mancora's tourism development construct and represent their social reality through language. A multi-sited ethnographic approach will enable me to include in my analysis important features of the social contexts where hegemonic discourses of tourism and development emerge and reproduce. In addition, this methodological approach will allow me to analyse the social relations that result from the negotiation and imposition of the meanings and values that sustain the expansion of the tourism industry. My readings about the scholarly debate on post-development studies, race and culture in Peru and Latin America will inform my analysis.

The second section will critically analyse the discourses of tourism produced by members of the national private sector engaged in the tourism industry and national tourism authorities, as well as the social practices that emerge from these discourses. My aim is to deconstruct the ideologies sustaining these discourses and practices whilst linking tourism to the discourse of development, at the same time examining how they assist in constructing and situating social subjects within the social structure of the country. I will argue that tourism is currently used as a tool to transform environmentally vulnerable rural territories into tourist attractions in order to generate economic development and capital accumulation. In doing this, members of contemporary national elites reproduce their power as a social class, perpetuating



colonial patterns of domination, excluding subaltern groups from processes of development and deepening socio-cultural inequalities with rural populations.

The third section will examine the role of discourses of tourism in the reproduction of social dominance and inequality. I will compare the discursive representation of local villagers created by members of MINCETUR, with my experience as a middle-class Peruvian anthropologist living in a highly fragmented and racist society, and my observations and knowledge gained during several long periods of fieldwork carried out in 2007, 2010 and 2011, in which I lived amongst Mancoreños engaged in the tourism industry and the fishing sector. In the final section, after exploring how discourses of tourism have become hegemonic at a local level, I will give particular attention to the way Mancoreños represent Mancora as a place and the way they perceive tourism development in their locality. Finally, I will introduce the point of view of Mancoreños regarding the development of the town and the way they engage and negotiate their relationship with the discourses and practices of development and tourism.

## **6.2 Dominant Discourses of Tourism**

### ***6.2.1 The Discourse of Tourism in Peru***

In 2010, as part of a national campaign to raise public awareness about tourism, the Vice-Ministry of Tourism released a video (accessible to Spanish, Quechua and Aymara speakers), telling the story of a ‘gringo’ hiker named Matthew who visited a rural community in Peru and decided to stay there for a while. The video starts with Matthew arriving at the rural town with a surprised local villager coming out to meet him and inviting him to stay at his house in exchange for English lessons. A few weeks after this first encounter, Matthew decided to go back to his country and all the grateful local villagers waved goodbye to him while he left carrying plenty of handicrafts. During the days Matthew stayed in the community, his host observed that Matthew used diverse services provided by other local inhabitants ranging from catering to transport and handicrafts, giving him a great idea. The man gathered the whole community in a classroom and convinced them to paint and decorate their houses, clean the streets and learn English; with the hope that they would convert their town into an ‘unforgettable tourism experience’.

Suddenly, one day, the local inhabitants received a letter from Matthew stating that he was sending lots of friends to visit the town. The community received this news with

great enthusiasm. When the tourists finally arrived, the town looked very different and local villagers seemed to be happier than before Matthew's arrival. The former quite rural town was now a cosmopolitan tourist destination, with signs welcoming tourists and clean, tidy and decorated streets, as well as restaurants, internet cafes, hostels and travel agencies catering for other 'gringos' like Matthew. By the end of the video, the voiceover says that the community and the local villagers' businesses are growing due to tourism, followed by a slogan saying '*Cuando tratas bien al turista, tratas bien al Perú*' (When you treat the tourist well, you are treating your country well)<sup>156</sup>.

Campaigns like this are part of a strategy designed by the Peruvian Ministry of Commerce and Foreign Trade and Tourism (MINCETUR), in agreement with the national private sector, that seek to impose tourism as a predominant activity and make hegemonic, at all levels of society, dominant discourses about the role of tourism in the development of rural communities and the country. According to Gramsci (1971), hegemony is a type of leadership that allows temporal internal control by one powerful class over other classes in order to carry out projects of domination. Certain social classes obtain control and power over society by constructing alliances with other classes and gaining consent through ideological means rather than by force (Femia, 1981, Fairclough, 1995). In this sense, by highlighting the economic benefits that tourism brings to local populations, MINCETUR aims at expanding the tourism industry throughout the territory, persuading rural communities to engage in the tourism industry and transform their local spaces and cultures into tourist products.

Discourses of tourism like Matthew's one have made hegemonic an ideological construct that links tourism to the discourse of development. Following the theoretical framework introduced in chapter two, this ideology argues that tourism is an efficient means for generating economic growth, development, modernisation and social inclusion. At the event '*Conversatorio Electoral – Turismo al 2016*', a top level event that I attended in Lima in 2011 and which I will come back to later in this chapter, tourism was represented as a fast growing industry with the power to transform local villagers into entrepreneurs while boosting local, regional and national economies, raising business and employment opportunities for local inhabitants, artisans, farmers and fishermen. Tourism was depicted by the speakers at this event as an opportunity to develop missing social services in rural areas such as electricity, water supply and

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<sup>156</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QKcUezaFNhA&feature=related>  
07/03/2012.

Viewed:

sewage systems; and as an activity that will connect ‘remote’, ‘poor’, ‘forgotten’ and ‘underdeveloped’ rural communities with bigger and ‘modern’ cities. Amongst the speakers, former president Alejandro Toledo defined tourism as an industry that generates economic growth without provoking environmental problems: tourism is the “*Industria sin Chimenea*” (Industry without Chimneys) (Alejandro Toledo, 21<sup>st</sup> March, 2011). In other words, high level authorities and businessmen represent tourism development as an opportunity for the local population to improve their well-being and quality of life and as a means whereby Peru can overcome socio-economic ‘abnormalities’, advancing into a ‘developed’ and capitalist country.

This ideology allows agents of tourism from the private and public sectors to perceive Peru as an outstanding country with great potential for tourism development (Sariego and García, 2008). This is particularly illustrated in marketing campaigns used to promote Peru within national and global markets of tourists. Marketing discourses elaborated by the Peruvian state portray Peru as a unique country with outstanding natural biodiversity, numerous ecological regions and exceptional natural landscapes, where tourists will be able to reconnect with nature and practice the most exciting adventure sports. This tourist portrait of Peru as one of the most biologically diverse countries in the world is complemented with that of a mysterious country containing vast and unveiled archaeological sites, evoking ancient and millenary civilisations. In addition, Peru’s remarkable cultural diversity manifested in thousands of festivities and cultural traditions and exquisite gastronomy, makes Peru an exotic country full of sounds, tastes, textures and colours waiting to be sensed and discovered<sup>157</sup>.

However, national authorities and businessmen conceive that the population’s lack of awareness about the importance of tourism and Peru’s socio-economic characteristics, poor connectivity and lack of social and tourism infrastructure constitute a major problem for the development of the tourism industry. Because of that, they view Peru as an exceptional country full of tourist resources but without attractive and competitive tourist products. At this event, current President Ollanta Humala constantly referred to the outstanding ancient city of Choquequirao and the fortress of Kuelap, located in Cusco and Chachapoyas respectively, to illustrate how Peru’s lack of infrastructure, inadequate connectivity between regions and poor quality of basic social services in rural areas have prevented the tourism industry from having more tourist products to

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<sup>157</sup> PROMPERU, 2008, Discover Peru Tourist Map; PROMPERU, 2009, Destinos del Norte.

offer. This is also shown in Matthew's video, when he initially arrived at the desolate rural town where there was a lack of tourism facilities. In addition, it is usually argued that the Peruvian state has not developed tourist circuits as a result of a lack of clear tourism policies, resulting in most of the tourism activity being focused solely in Cuzco, Machu Picchu and Mancora.

In the following sections, I will critically analyse the discourses of members of the private and public<sup>158</sup> sectors separately, bearing in mind that together these groups comprise the contemporary dominant elites in Peru and therefore the dominant discourse of the tourism industry. I will show how, as part of this complex process of making hegemonic discourses of tourism and practices of development, national tourism authorities and members of the national economic elite evoke old discourses of development, race and culture that persist to the present day and continue to play a key role in shaping the structural inequalities that characterise culturally diverse and post-colonial countries such as Peru.

### ***6.2.2 The National Private Sector: linking businesses to social development***

In 2011, the first and second round of presidential elections carried out in April and June respectively, that put current President Ollanta Humala in power, provoked a very intense and conflictive environment that deeply divided Peruvian society into two opposite bands. Supported by Peru's conservative political forces, the potential success of former president Alberto Fujimori's daughter, Keiko Fujimori, represented the return to her father's authoritarian and corrupt way of governing. At the same time, the increasing popularity of Ollanta Humala, military Commander and leader of the political organisation 'Gana Peru', gained in the provinces and working classes of Lima, suggested the emergence of the Peruvian version of the Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez. In fact, Humala initially presented himself as a left wing leader, whose main goal was to lead Peru through a great process of transformation based on the dismantling of the neoliberal model of economic development, proposing instead a national market economy open to the world. The economic elite in Lima considered this proposal a threat to Peru's recent macro-economic success and therefore they sought to

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<sup>158</sup> Although the public sector is not a homogenous group as there are agents of the state that come from different political backgrounds, especially after President Ollanta Humala took power in 2011, the case of the tourism sector suggests continuity from previous neoliberal administrations as there have not been substantial changes amongst high level authorities.

generate fear amongst Peruvians in order to persuade the population to elect Fujimori's daughter. Peruvian Nobel Prize Winner, Mario Vargas Llosa, went as far as to suggest that in this election Peruvians were being forced to choose between either HIV or Cancer because both options would result in the downfall of the country<sup>159</sup>. As a result, an overheated debate about the future of the country and the economic model that Peruvians had to choose between took place. Central to this was the debate about the role of tourism in the development of the country.

On the 21<sup>st</sup> March, 2011, I attended the event 'Conversatorio Electoral – Turismo al 2016'. This event was organised by the Peruvian National Chamber of Commerce for Tourism (CANATUR) prior to the Presidential General Elections in April 2011 and took place in the international hotel chain JW Marriot in the district of Miraflores, Lima. Covered by the press, this event brought together three important presidential candidates, Lima's former Municipal Mayor Luis Castañeda, former President Alejandro Toledo, and current President Ollanta Humala, who talked about their competing tourism projects; as well as representatives of the public sector and businessmen engaged in the tourism industry (mostly CANATUR members).

Created in 1971, CANATUR represents the wealthy private entrepreneurial tourism sector at a national level. Mostly comprised of several trade associations that emerged following the tourism boom in Cusco during the 1970s, and the process of liberalisation of the economy carried out in the 1990s, CANATUR has been labelled as the most traditional and less modern economic sector of the tourism industry in Peru. For former MINCETUR agents, CANATUR articulates the national economic elite who have the means to advance tourism and own the most important tourism enterprises in the country. CANATUR is also considered a small exclusive group whose main interest is to exploit tourist resources in order to generate profit, regardless of the negative environmental and social impacts that tourism could bring to rural communities. In spite of this, CANATUR is the most significant social actor in mainstreaming tourism as an effective tool for socio-economic development and social inclusion in order to legitimise the expansion of the tourism industry throughout the territory.

The event 'Conversatorio Electoral – Turismo al 2016' began with a speech delivered by CANATUR's chief executive officer, Carlos Canales, followed by the candidates'

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<sup>159</sup> <http://elcomercio.pe/politica/735790/noticia-vargas-llosa-volvio-comparar-fujimori-humala-cancer-sida> Accessed: 31/08/2012

presentations. In his speech, Carlos Canales argued that tourism is an effective means for developing the country. In order to support his argument, he combined quantitative data provided by the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO)<sup>160</sup> about the contribution of tourism to national economies, with ideas of development and social inclusion. Ten days later, I interviewed Carlos Canales in his office in the district of Miraflores in Lima. I asked him about the role of tourism in developing the country. His answer contained the same ideas used in his speech<sup>161</sup>. Being aware of that, in our interview, I sought to go further by questioning his point about the relationship between tourism and development:

*Extract 6.1:*

1 **Fernando:** Entonces, básicamente, quería entender, desde el sector privado, la importancia del turismo como una actividad aquí en Perú y el potencial del Perú como una actividad turística.

5 **Carlos:** Como sector privado nosotros entendemos que la única herramienta en el corto plazo para poder luchar contra la extrema pobreza, para tener una herramienta reguladora de la paz social, para poder generar trabajo rápidamente y, de alguna forma, buscar incluir a las zonas marginales, que especialmente están en las zonas rurales, es el turismo. O sea, nosotros entendemos como un disparador, un  
10 gatillo disparador de riqueza al corto plazo, de inserción laboral, de inclusión social, y básicamente de regulador del clima social que hay entre las diferencias entre las zonas rurales y las zonas urbanas. En el Perú el turismo se hace en zonas rurales, muy poco se da en las ciudades porque usualmente tenemos los restos arqueológicos fuera de la ciudad.  
15 Entonces esa integración con las comunidades locales, con las comunidades campesinas y nativas, hace que exista una actividad completamente descentralizada a lo largo y ancho del país.

**Fernando:** ¿Hay casos concretos que se tomen como ejemplos cuando se esté hablando de inclusión social, de lucha contra la pobreza, casos en lo que se pueda ver esto?

20 **Carlos:** Puno es un ejemplo completo. El manejo de la isla de los Uros, de las islas Taquile, son ejemplos concretos, puntuales. La comunidad de

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<sup>160</sup> The UNWTO is a leading international organisation in the field of tourism promoting tourism as a driver of economic growth. For more than four decades, this intergovernmental organisation has sought to promote tourism on the global agenda, creating consciousness amongst state leaders about the value of tourism as a successful tool to generate economic growth and development. UNWTO, W. T. O. 2011. About UNWTO. In: NATIONS, U. (ed.) <http://unwto.org/en/content/who-we-are-0> Accessed: 14/02/2012.

<sup>161</sup> On the 2<sup>nd</sup> December 2011, I also attended the ‘2<sup>nd</sup> National Congress of Students of Tourism’. Speakers at this event were general managers of renowned international hotel chains such as Marriot and Westin, and the audience was composed of students linked to the hospitality and tourism and catering trade from all around the country. In this event, Carlos Canales reproduced a similar discourse to the one delivered at the ‘Conversatorio Electoral – Turismo al 2016’.

Willoq en Cusco, las propias comunidades que están en la zona de Pisac, Ollantaytambo, son demostraciones permanentes de que hay una  
25 integración, e interacción entre la empresa, la comunidad local, y, específicamente, bajo el sombrero de la actividad turística. Últimamente se viene desarrollando algunas políticas públicas sobre el Turismo Comunitario Rural, pero que no funcionan. O sea, no puedes, el problema no es generar un atractivo, si no es tener un producto. Y en el  
30 Perú está lleno de recursos naturales, culturales y arqueológicos, pero lo que no hay son muchos productos; hay muy pocos productos. Entonces, el paso de un recurso para ponerlo en valor a través de un atractivo y luego que sea consolidado como un producto es bastante largo y de mucho conocimiento y técnica para poder comercializarlo en  
35 un mercado local y, con mayor razón, en un mercado global. Entonces, en ese sentido, la actividad turística todavía en el Perú tiene unas posibilidades extraordinarias porque se ha hecho muy poco desde el punto de vista incluso privado, y no se ha hecho nada desde el punto de vista público. O sea, lamentablemente, no han existido políticas  
40 sectoriales que potencien a la actividad turística como una política de Estado, es un discurso permanente que se queda en el lenguaje bucal y que no se transmite en las acciones, no está vertebrado todavía el tema turístico en el Perú. Porque no se le da el real valor, se le ve como una actitud muy lúdica o de esparcimiento, y no como una actividad  
45 económica de importancia. Y, muchas veces, se entiende al turismo como un sector, el turismo es multisectorial. Entonces, al ser multisectorial, porque coge muchas actividades económicas, y resulta ser transversal a la economía. Y esa es una visión que hay que entender con conocimiento de causa y poder comenzar a partir desde el origen. Que  
50 viene a ser la normatividad. O sea, si no hay lineamientos políticos, ni normatividad que ampare esos lineamientos políticos no hay sustento de nada, y desde el punto de vista físico, mientras no exista un ordenamiento territorial, una planificación estratégica, y luego un plan de trabajo, un plan de acción que ejecute estos grandes lineamientos no  
55 vamos a poder avanzar nada. Y lo que viene pasando en los últimos treinta o cuarenta años todavía es un crecimiento coyuntural de la actividad basado en acciones específicas pero no estructuradas como un todo. Y eso permite que al ser una debilidad el escenario en el cual nosotros tenemos también una oportunidad mucho más grande para  
60 poder hacer las cosas en forma correcta y mitigar lo que se ha hecho mal y ha generado muchos desordenes, se ha generado inequidades y también ha generado turgurización de algunos destinos. (Interview with Carlos Canales, Head of CANATUR, Lima, 31<sup>st</sup> March, 2011)<sup>162</sup>.

Carlos Canales' belief that tourism generates economic growth and employment opportunities, shows that the national private sector engaged in the tourism industry conceives tourism as a 'unique tool' that will assist Peruvians in fighting the problem of extreme poverty and making Peru a more 'developed' and inclusive society (lines 1-17). As such, Carlos Canales's discourse evokes this hegemonic notion of development

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<sup>162</sup> See p. 297, Extract 6.1, for English translation.

coined by development economics in which capital accumulation, deliberate industrialisation and development planning are the main ingredients that allow ‘underdeveloped’ economies to achieve a better stage of development (Escobar, 1995, pp. 74-84). In this view, development is reduced solely to economic growth and capital accumulation. Whilst the economy is considered the most important dimension of social life (Escobar, 1995, Esteva, 1992, Rahnema, 1992), other alternative discourses of development are excluded (Escobar, 1995). Because of that, members of the private sector in Peru situate capital accumulation, investment and rapid economic growth at the centre of their notion of development.

Moreover, Extract 6.1 sheds light on the way the social structure of post-colonial societies, such as Peru, are organised. In Extract 6.1, Carlos Canales presents poverty in Peru as a social problem that affects mainly rural and peripheral (*marginales*) areas because of their lack of integration into urban areas, lack of economic income and lack of employment opportunities. In other words, his notion of poverty is again defined in economic terms and in opposition to the material possessions and the way of life of the rich (Rahnema, 1992). In doing this, he constructs indigenous populations living within rural areas as ‘poor’ subjects, placing them within an inferior position. However, because most of the tourism activity in Peru occurs within rural areas, he continues, where the archaeological resources and the indigenous communities are located, these indigenous and ‘poor’ communities will become ‘developed’ (lines 4-17). Thus, under this regime of representation, tourism is conceived as a tool that will eradicate the social ‘abnormalities’ that perceive indigenous populations as ‘underdeveloped’ subjects. Because of that, tourism investors are situated in a privileged and superior social position because it is assumed that they have the means to ‘develop’ these ‘poor’ populations. Thus, the structure of power that derives from these discourses situates tourism investors within a ‘superior’ position, in opposition to an ‘inferior’ local population.

In addition, this prevalent representation of tourism shows that indigenous people and the archaeological sites of the country are conceived as tourist resources or commodities, becoming the main inputs that allow the functioning of the tourism industry in Peru. This demonstrates that from the point of view of the national economic elite engaged in the tourism industry, indigenous people hold the same social status as other natural, historical and archaeological tourist resources and therefore they are treated as exploitable objects. Anibal Quijano (2008) has argued that, during the colonial period,



Eurocentrism, that is, a hegemonic mode of producing knowledge that takes Western European history as the culmination of a civilising trajectory, provided the epistemological basis needed to categorise American Indian populations as ‘inferior’ or exploitable races. The technology of domination based on the race/labour relationship that resulted from the colonial encounter allowed Western European countries to situate themselves at the centre of the world capitalist system. According to this author, the perpetuation of this colonial mentality, which results from the articulation of the colonial axis over the institutional basis of the nation-state, assists powerful groups to dominate and exploit indigenous populations and their natural resources in order to carry out their own political and economic projects (Quijano, 2008). In Extract 6.1, Carlos Canales’ discourse is underpinned by this colonial mentality that conceives indigenous populations solely as ‘inferior’ subjects or objects for the capitalist market. In fact, Carlos Canales reinforces this point again in lines 26-35 when he states that certain types of tourism put forward by MINCETUR, aimed at benefitting local communities such as ‘Homestay tourism’<sup>163</sup>, have not been successful because of a lack of tourism policies. He argues that these state programmes have failed to transform indigenous communities into commodities or marketable tourist products attractive to national and global markets of tourists.

Moreover, in assuming that tourism is the ‘unique tool’ that will assist indigenous or ‘poor’ populations in overcoming their ‘social abnormalities’, tourism is viewed as the only valid or successful economic activity, neglecting and discriminating other non-capitalist economic activities and local models of development. For some authors, this economic representation of the world that the discourse of development and the global economy have made dominant, has given rise to the problem of capitalocentrism. Geographers Graham and Gibson (1996) have pointed out that “Capitalocentrism in this context involves situating capitalism at the center [centre] of development narratives, thus tending to devalue or marginalize possibilities of non-capitalist development” (Graham and Gibson, 1996, p. 41). For that reason, this problem of capitalocentrism has exerted great influence in coding other non-capitalist forms of economy as backward, primitive, stagnant and traditional; excluding the possibility of elaborating a view of social life not only through the lens of the economy but in terms of a whole life project which is culturally shaped (Escobar, 1995, p. 83). In fact, when I encouraged Carlos

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<sup>163</sup> In Spanish, Turismo Rural Comunitario (TRC). To know more about Homestay Tourism in Peru refer to Carnaffan (2010).

Canales to give me examples of successful cases in which tourism has eradicated poverty and developed local communities, he replied in lines 18-26 by arguing that the Taquile Islands in Puno are successful examples of tourism development. However, research has shown that as a result of the expansion of tourism, indigenous populations within these Andean communities have lost control over processes of decision making (Mitchell and Reid, 2001), including being unable to choose their own type of development (Zorn and Farthing, 2006, Zorn and Farthing, 2007).

In addition, Carlos Canales pointed out (lines 26-55) that even though Peru is a country that holds a large amount of tourist resources, a lack of tourism policies, planning, regulation and private investments has undermined the expansion of the tourism industry. Therefore, from Carlos Canales' point of view, tourism has not constituted a successful tool for development because the Peruvian state has not considered tourism as a priority in their national policies. In fact, he acknowledged (lines 55-61) that the recent expansion of the tourism industry in Peru has actually increased inequalities and has brought about a disorganised urban development in some places. In doing this, he contradicted his initial point in lines 9-12, where he argued that tourism is a key driver for economic growth and social inclusion. Thus, the extract above shows how this representation of tourism as a tool for development enters into contradictions when it is challenged with concrete examples or it is related to complex contexts such as that of Peruvian society.

Despite these tensions and contradictions, the ideology that links tourism to the discourse of development is used by members of CANATUR to justify their demands from the state and the implementation of their economic and political project. In his speech delivered at the event 'Conversatorio Electoral – Turismo al 2016', Carlos Canales detailed a list of proposals that members of CANATUR expected the next president to adhere to and to comply with. Members of CANATUR want to re-organise the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Tourism (MINCETUR) in order to divide the tourism and foreign trade sectors into two separated sectors. As such, CANATUR has proposed the creation of a Ministry of Tourism and also to separate out PROMPERU from PROMPEX<sup>164</sup> for the sector to gain more political weight and control over the state resources allocated for developing the tourism industry. In addition, CANATUR wants the Peruvian state to improve the aerial and terrestrial connectivity of the country and

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<sup>164</sup> State agency responsible for promoting exports.

increase the state resources for developing tourism projects and marketing campaigns. Also, members of CANATUR are seeking to obtain more decision-making power over the way the state spend the 45 million U.S. dollars that Law N° 27889<sup>165</sup> has collected since it was created in 2002 in order to foster the expansion of the tourism industry. Finally, CANATUR wants the Peruvian state to give taxation incentives to national and foreign investors engaged in the tourism industry and to make the Employment Law<sup>166</sup> more flexible in order to hire employees on a provisional basis. The former would benefit investors willing to build hotels and restaurants. The latter would allow these investors to hire people on a short term basis, with lower wages and without job security or social benefits. All of this benefits investors because they would not be obliged to pay taxes to the state and they would be able to gain an increased profit from their businesses. However, this clearly results in the exploitation of employees in the tourism sector.

Carlos Canales's discourse rather suggests that from the viewpoint of the national business elite, the short term development of tourism and the economic growth that this activity generates is more important than the benefits that local populations receive from tourism. Thus, the ideology that links tourism to the discourse of development disguises the contradictions, tensions and inconsistencies embedded in discourses of tourism, legitimising a hegemonic representation of a social reality that is in accordance with the interests of particular social classes. In addition, this ideology is used by businessmen to create consent about tourism among subaltern groups, arguing that this activity could improve their quality of life and socio-economic well-being. In this sense, the expansion of the tourism industry should be better understood as part of a hegemonic project that is led by Peru's economic elite, who seek to re-shape the identity of rural spaces into tourist attractions, with the aim of fostering the tourism industry and boosting capital accumulation.

### ***6.2.3 The State: economic development and the 'dirty' local villager***

MINCETUR is the main state institution responsible for developing the tourism industry at a national level and mainstreaming sustainable tourism as a tool for socio-

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<sup>165</sup> Ley N° 27889, Ley que crea el Fondo y el Impuesto Extraordinario para la Promoción y Desarrollo Turístico (Law that creates the fund and extraordinary tax for marketing and developing tourism in Peru), promulgated by former president Alejandro Toledo, 17<sup>th</sup> December, 2002.

<sup>166</sup> Ley General del Trabajo (General Employment Law).

economic development in Peru (Sariego and García, 2008, p. 46). In contrast to other traditional industries, such as mining, fishing and agribusiness, that have long occupied leading positions in the development of the Peruvian economy; the tourism industry has recently developed into a dominant and strategic economic activity, evolving into the third most important source of foreign currency input (Sariego and García, 2008, p. 46). Since Peru became a neoliberal state (Harvey, 2005) in the 1990s, the main role of the state has been to encourage private investments in tourism while articulating the interests of the private sector through a public-private alliance (*alianza público – privado*) (Sariego and García, 2008, p. 27). However, there are tensions between the Peruvian state and the members of the private sector. Whilst members of CANATUR demand the state to undertake tourism projects that would benefit the tourist destinations where they have their businesses, the main goal of the state is to increase the number of tourist products throughout the country in order to raise the contribution of tourism to the national economy.

Similar to the private sector, the notion of development held by state agents is strongly influenced by the discourse of development (Escobar, 1995, Esteva, 1992, Ferguson, 1994, Rahnema, 1992, Sachs, 1992) in which development is mainly conceived in economic terms. In April 2011, I interviewed the-then Vice-Minister of Tourism, Mara Seminario, at her office in the MINCETUR building in Lima. Since 2006, Mara Seminario has occupied key positions in MINCETUR; she has been Director of PROMPERU and, recently, she was appointed Vice-Minister of Tourism (2010-2011). In our interview, I asked her how the state measures whether tourism generates development at a local level:

*Extract 6.2:*

1     **Fernando:** Sobre el tema concreto del turismo como desarrollo. Se habla bastante de que el turismo genera desarrollo local. ¿De qué manera se ha podido evaluar eso o de qué forma se ha podido ver?

5     **Mara:** Mira, yo espero que con la cuenta satélite que se va a lanzar a fin de Mayo vayamos a tener números claros que puedan validar todo esto. Lo cierto es que hay sitios donde hay un antes y un después del turismo ¿no? Cusco es una razón. O sea, la gente de Cusco cuando te dice ‘no, es que el turismo no me trae dinero’ y ¿el día que no vengan turistas a quién le vas a vender tus chompas? ¿no? ¿A quién le vas a hacer el taxi? ¿A 10     quién le vas a vender tus papas y ollucos para los restaurantes y todo? O sea, es un verdadero motor. Yo espero que la cuenta satélite nos ayude a tener una medida clara de esto, ¿no? O sea, para no quedarnos en el discurso.

**Fernando:** Claro, a eso iba mi pregunta, porque el discurso está bien

- 15 estructurado en el tema de que el turismo es una herramienta que va en contra de la pobreza extrema.
- Mara:** Y ¿pero sabes qué? Yo creo que en nuestro país, ya hace tiempo que no debe de hablar de pobreza extrema. Yo creo que tenemos que ver el mundo positivo, que es la generación de riqueza, estamos generando
- 20 riqueza para más gente. O sea, no es al revés, no es luchar contra la pobreza, yo creo que la pobreza la estamos derrotando, la lucha ahora es generar riqueza. O sea, cómo hago para que esa persona que ya no está en la pobreza extrema, que ha mejorado su vida, le genero riqueza, ese es el gran reto nuestro. (Interview with former Vice-Minister of Tourism Mara Seminario, Lima, 13<sup>th</sup> April, 2011)<sup>167</sup>.

In Extract 6.2 (lines 1-13), Mara Seminario stressed the fact that, for the national government, tourism development is viewed in terms of the contribution of tourism to the GDP and in terms of the economic benefits that tourism generates for local inhabitants. These are the elements that national authorities rely on to justify their actions in expanding the tourism industry throughout the territory and impose tourism as a predominant activity at all levels of society. In contrast to the members of the private sector, national authorities use the Tourism Satellite Account (TSA) as a measurement to ‘prove’ and sustain their argument stating that tourism brings economic development (lines 7-11) and, consequently, that tourism has a positive impact on the local inhabitants’ way of life. Promoted by the UNWTO<sup>168</sup>, the TSA is a statistic tool designed to identify and measure the positive impacts of tourism in the national economies and to monitor the progress of this industry, indicating the contribution of tourism to the Growth Domestic Product (GDP). GDP is an economic quantifier that has been widely used by Western economists to define a country’s level of development (Escobar, 1995, Rahnema, 1992). In addition, in lines 17-24, Mara Seminario pointed out that the main goal of the state is to generate economic wealth for local inhabitants in order to improve their way of life. In doing so, Mara continues, the state is fighting the problem of extreme poverty and generating development. The emphasis on the GDP shows how development is predominantly defined in terms of economic growth and capital accumulation (Escobar, 1995, Esteva, 1992).

These ideas that link tourism to the discourse of development have materialised in marketing campaigns and tourism projects designed to raise the number of tourists, expand the tourism industry throughout the territory and persuade the local population with videos such as Matthew’s one to engage in the tourism industry. Therefore, the

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<sup>167</sup> See p. 298, Extract 6.2, for English translation.

<sup>168</sup> <http://statistics.unwto.org/en> Accessed: 17/09/2012

Peruvian state seeks to transform Peru into a popular and competitive tourist destination, increase tourism's contribution to the GDP, generate economic growth, raise employment opportunities and fight extreme poverty (Sariego and García, 2008, Valenzuela, 2009).

Recently, the Peruvian state has undertaken seven tourism projects aimed at diversifying the tourist demand currently concentrated in Cusco<sup>169</sup>. In particular, the tourism project 'Playas del Norte' encompasses the coastal area of the Piura and the Tumbes regions, in Northern Peru. The district of Mancora was taken as starting point for the implementation of this project given that it was already a consolidated tourist destination, with a sustained demand of tourists visiting the beach town every year. In addition, Mancora's tropical weather, warm sea, outstanding natural landscape and high quality restaurants and hotels made this former fishing village an ideal beach tourism destination, attractive to couples and families, as well as to tourists willing to have fun or practice surfing<sup>170</sup>.

MINCETUR agents also decided to begin developing the tourism project 'Playas del Norte' in Mancora because the district lacks a tourism management plan and sufficient tourist public infrastructure. In addition, the lack of an adequate sewage system within the tourist areas of the district was generating environmental problems that threatened the arrivals of tourists. Therefore, this tourism project was aimed at making Mancora more attractive and comfortable for tourists, developing basic public infrastructure and services that a negligent Peruvian state has never addressed within rural areas<sup>171</sup>. This idea of making the place attractive for others and not for the local inhabitants is also in the background of Matthew's video described at the beginning of this chapter, when the local inhabitants embellished their place in order to satisfy the tourists' requirements but not according to their own cultural values and needs. As such, in 2005 - 2006, the Vice-Ministry of Tourism initiated this project by funding the *'Plan de Ordenamiento*

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<sup>169</sup> These tourism projects are 'Playas del Norte', 'Río Amazonas', 'Arequipa, Cañones y Volcanes', 'Paracas - Nazca', 'Ruta Moche' and 'Lago Titicaca'. MINCETUR (2010) *Destinos Turísticos 2010-2011* (CD).

<sup>170</sup> Vice-Ministerio de Turismo, *Playas del Norte, Destinos Turísticos 2010-2011*, MINCETUR, 2009. To see a map of the 'Playas del Norte Project' refer to figure 1.1., chapter one.

<sup>171</sup> In analysing the thoughtless and disdainful role that the state has played in developing the educative system in Peru, Patricia Oliart (2011) has argued that most Peruvians perceive the state as a guarantee but, at the same time, as a threat for their personal integrity and rights (Oliart, 2011, p. 122-3).

*Territorial de Mancora*, the main municipal document leading tourism development in the district. However, due to the fact that this important plan took five years to be approved, and during this time Mancora's urban expansion accelerated dramatically as a result of a land grabbing race, at present this plan is redundant. Then, in 2009<sup>172</sup>, the Vice-Ministry of Tourism invested almost 4 million Peruvian Soles in building a promenade by the beach and a boardwalk within the district's marshland.

When I arrived in Mancora early in September 2010, the Vice-Ministry of Tourism was finalising the construction of these public works. In October 2010, even though they were not finished yet, the-then Minister of Foreign Trade and Tourism, Alfredo Ferreyros, arrived in Mancora with a delegation of members of MINCETUR, regional and provincial authorities and the press to officially inaugurate both public works. This was part of former President Alan Garcia's strategy, who inaugurated several unfinished public works throughout the country in order to gain political credit before his second period in power finished in July 2011. In the official ceremony, Alfredo Ferreyros declared to the press:

Mancora se ha convertido en un ícono del turismo norteño, nuestro propósito es la integración de este circuito de playas, con el claro objetivo de hacer más atractivo este destino turístico a nivel nacional e internacional<sup>173</sup>.

This shows that the state had several interests behind the implementation of these public works. The state sought to transform Mancora into a popular tourist destination, developing tourist infrastructure that was expected to link local destinations to national and global markets of tourists. This was aimed at attracting more tourists in order to generate economic development, but, for the administration in office, these public works were also used as a political instrument in order to obtain political credits.

However, despite the fact that members of the national elite argue that tourism is an efficient means for generating economic growth, development, modernisation and social inclusion; my research reveals that, in practice, the continuity of the current model of tourism development clashes with the rationality that characterises discourses of tourism. In fact, I have demonstrated that a neoliberal model of tourism development that exploits natural environments and local populations, increases socio-cultural differences that evolve into violent social conflicts, strengthening tensions amongst the

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<sup>172</sup> Convenio N° 20-A-2009-MINCETUR-COPESCO/DE, 24<sup>th</sup> July 2009.

<sup>173</sup> <http://www.eltiempo.pe/setiembre2010/edicion-30-09-2010/noticias/regional-100.html> Accessed: 10/10/2010. See p. 299, (Alfredo Ferreyros) for English translation.

local population. In addition to provoking environmental degradation, tourism development also raises the degree of vulnerability of local populations subjected to the ‘El Niño’ phenomenon, increasing the impact of a disaster occurring in the future and threatening the sustainability of tourism. As I will argue in chapter seven, this has been the result of the very weak role played by the state in regulating and controlling the use of natural resources within local destinations.

The public works undertaken as part of the ‘Playas del Norte’ project rapidly attracted my attention because they were built within a very tourist but highly vulnerable area, ‘El Centro Veraniego’. As described in chapter one, prior to the ‘El Niño’ events in 1983 and 1998, this area was entirely covered by the sea. As a result of these events, the seashore retreated around two hundred metres, leaving a new area of territory<sup>174</sup>. Despite the fact that this area is highly vulnerable to the negative impacts of future ‘El Niño’ events, rough seas and potential earthquakes<sup>175</sup>, it was swiftly occupied by newcomers and land invaders. In 2009, a former promenade built by the Municipality of Mancora within this area was swept away because of rough seas. Despite several warnings from the local inhabitants about the environmental vulnerability of this area, the MINCETUR project replaced the formerly destroyed promenade built by the Municipality, arguing that the structures of the new promenade were stronger. However, at present, the promenade built as part of the ‘Playas del Norte’ project is partly destroyed as a result of several rough seas that occurred during 2010 and 2012. Moreover, during my daily observations in Mancora, I evidenced how the district’s marshland (including the boardwalk built by MINCETUR) was fenced off by various land invaders, with the hope of fostering an illegal land market or expanding their businesses. Later on, these land invasions brought about a violent land conflict between land invaders, MINCETUR agents, local authorities and local inhabitants.

These events led me to follow the actions of MINCETUR and the state agents and authorities who were responsible for undertaking these public works. In addition, I attended several meetings organised by MINCETUR that took place in Mancora and Piura with local authorities and the private sector, as described in my methodological chapter. In one of these meetings, I met former National Executive Director of Tourism Development (2010-2011) and current Vice-Minister of Tourism (2011 - to present),

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<sup>174</sup> See Woodman and Mabres (1993) *Formación de un Cordón Litoral en Mancora, Perú, a Raíz de el Niño de 1983*. Bull. Inst. fr. Études andines. 22(1): 213-226.

<sup>175</sup> INDECI (2011) *Informe de Estimación de Riesgo Albufera de Mancora – Talara*.



Claudia Cornejo. A few months later, I interviewed Claudia at her office in the MINCETUR building in San Isidro, Lima, towards the end of my fieldwork period, late in March 2011, when the boardwalk built within Mancora's marshland was already declared an abandoned work due to land invasions. I asked her if she believed that tourism really increases the employment opportunities of local populations, and specifically whether hotel owners hire local villagers to work in their hotels. Extract 6.3 details part of her answer:

*Extract 6.3:*

- 1     **Claudia:** Hay mucha informalidad pero yo también, como te digo, vuelvo al tema de [la] educación.
- Fernando:** O sea turísticamente no es una población que ha estado...
- 5     **Claudia:** Imagínate que tú eras un pescador, o una persona que hacía 'x' y que de pronto empiezan a venir todos estos gringos, Limeños. Oye, ya pues, bacán, pongo mi farmacia, pongo mi puestito, mi hotel, como sea y como pueda. Pero a mí nadie me ha capacitado en que tengo que pagar impuestos, en que tengo que tener licencia de funcionamiento, en que el baño tiene que estar limpio. Y se dio, y hay gente que no tenía ningún
- 10    tipo de preparación para lo que se le venía. Más aún ahora, y por eso te digo que vuelvo al tema de educación, como ya están los turistas pues a mí qué me importa mejorar pues si igualito vienen.
- Fernando:** Máncora, es Máncora. Máncora tiene sus propias reglas.
- Claudia:** No pero si el baño está sucio, límpialo. No pero para qué, si
- 15    igual vienen. Entonces es un tema también de mucha dejadez ah. Yo soy muy dura en ese sentido, pero no solamente es Máncora, tú vas a otros pueblos y es lo mismo. Oiga pero barra, no le cuesta nada barrer acá, bote la basura. Pero para qué. Porque se han acostumbrado a vivir así, porque nunca nadie le enseñó a vivir de otra manera. Oiga Sr. usted no
- 20    sabe que las aguas servidas no se pueden tirar en su jardín. Oiga Sr. Usted sabe que la basura usted tiene que botarla y que hay una manera de despojar, y que la municipalidad tiene que ser. O sea, esos temas que para nosotros son cosas asumidas, porque siempre vivimos y nacimos así en limpieza relativa y orden, para esta gente no. Con lo cual hay esta
- 25    dificultad.
- Fernando:** Entonces es por dos lados, es por la población local, por un lado, y con las municipalidades, por otro lado.
- Claudia:** Lo que sucede es que tú tienes también, el tema es que mucha gente, como tú dices el sector privado que llega y que muchas veces se
- 30    ve con esta realidad que muchas veces no lo entiende. Porque tú dices 'oye compadre limpia pues', ¿no?, ¿Cómo que no vas a limpiar? ¿Cómo? No entiendo. Limpia, es básico, ¿no? Y tú te das de cabezazos contra la pared, es un bruto, es un ignorante, y no hay un entendimiento. Porque muchas cosas que nosotros damos como valederas y que así se tiene que
- 35    vivir y que esas son las reglas básicas de la convivencia cívica, para ellos

no es así. (Interview with Claudia Cornejo, MINCETUR, Lima, 25<sup>th</sup> March, 2011)<sup>176</sup>.

In contrast to the stories told by MINCETUR in videos such as Matthew's one described at the beginning of this chapter, which are aimed at persuading Peruvians about the benefits of tourism, Extract 6.3 tells a different story. In fact, by supporting discriminatory practices against rural populations and by shaping the social structure of the country, Extract 6.3 illustrates how tourism is embedded in a complex set of power relations that allows the elites to reproduce and maintain their social power over subaltern groups. Whilst in Matthew's video local inhabitants of rural towns seemed to be happier because their businesses were growing as a result of the arrival of tourists; the speaker in Extract 6.3 (lines 1-12) represents fishermen and local populations in general as groups that do not take advantage of the business opportunities that tourism generates within their localities. Just like Carlos Canales in Extract 6.1, the speaker in Extract 6.3 illustrates how national authorities discriminate and neglect local models of development or other traditional economic activities such as artisan fishing in opposition to tourism. In this sense, the message content of the extract is as follows: if local inhabitants do not become involved in the tourism industry because they have chosen to follow a traditional economic activity, this is considered to be an unreasonable action because local inhabitants are not taking opportunities to become more 'developed'.

Claudia's use of 'direct speech', that is, the clear boundaries dividing the authorial voice from the voice of the person or group who is reported ('reportee') (Volosinov, 1986 [1929]), makes her point more powerful and impactful. In lines 14-36, Claudia represents the local inhabitants ('reportee') as a group with slovenly habits and careless of the consequences that dirtiness could bring to the tourism industry; at the same time, the use of 'direct speech' in her message reflects her assumed 'authority' and 'power' over local populations. In fact, Extract 6.3 illustrates how members of a 'white' elite attribute negative meanings to the way of life of rural populations to justify social differences, arguing that subaltern groups' habits are undesirable for tourism development. Thus, they invoke notions of 'cleanliness', 'education', 'culture', 'morality' and 'intelligence' to mark sharp differences between a 'white' elite and rural populations. In doing this, they rely on what Van Dijk calls 'local coherence' in discourse to create cultural boundaries, that is, "ideologically based beliefs" (Van Dijk,

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<sup>176</sup> See p. 299, Extract 6.3, for English translation.

1993, p. 277) used by a speaker as an ideological basis to sustain and construct an argument (Howard, 2007, p. 380).

This construction of cultural boundaries between local inhabitants and a 'white' elite is clear in Claudia's use of the personal pronouns 'nosotros' (us) to align herself with the interviewer and create a distinction between herself and local inhabitants who are referred to in a contemptuous way through the use of the grammatical feature 'esta gente' (these people). In doing this, she made a clear distinction between 'us' and 'them'. Rosaleen Howard (2009) has argued that "by the use of *personal pronouns*, speakers position themselves socially and culturally in regard to the addressee or other referred to in the interaction" (Howard, 2009, p. 28 emphasis in the original). Following this author, in lines 23 and 34, Claudia's use of the subject pronoun 'nosotros' reflects on how she fixes her identity and mine as being members of the same social class, sharing the same social identity. This leads me to describe briefly how other Peruvians tend to associate me with the 'white' urban middle class elite. Because of my physical features and skin colour, which are the result of the mix between a Peruvian woman with Italian roots and a Spanish man, people consider me 'white'. Moreover, the district in Lima where I grew up and the educative institutions I attended have also been social features that have resulted in me being associated with a 'white' urban middle class elite. While living in Mancora, these social and physical features worked as markers of social difference, suggesting to the 'Mancoreños' that I am a 'colorado' or a member of the group of Limeños living in Mancora. In this sense, Claudia's use of the personal pronoun 'nosotros' in her discourse is used to construct herself and me as socially 'white' and fix us as member of the same 'white' elite. Moreover, by using the personal pronoun 'nosotros', she is implicating me in her discourse in order to validate her position and make her argument more powerful, assuming that I agree with her statements. In doing this, she creates a social boundary that differentiates her social class from that of the local populations.

Anthropologist Rudi Colloredo-Mansfeld (1998) argues that 'hygienic racism' - or the linking of race to issues of class, cleanliness and national character - has been used by 'white' elites to characterise races in Ecuador and therefore portray a stereotyped picture whereby indigenous populations are represented as backward and dirty, producing the image of the 'dirty Indian'. This racial ideology of the 'dirty Indian' has validated the social hierarchy in Ecuador, "positing a clean, healthy, 'normal' white population and a dirty, weaker, native population" (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1998, p. 188).

In Extract 6.3, Claudia constructs a discourse of ‘hygienic racism’ in order to rank the ‘white’ urban middle class in a privileged position in comparison to the dirty local population. In fact, in Extract 6.3 (lines 22-24, 30-36), Claudia creates a representation of her social class as a group whose way of life and codes of conduct are taken as right and appropriate for tourism, stressing the fact that they were born within ‘more civilised’ clean and tidy environments (lines 22-24). Thus, this ‘hygienic racism’ that emerges from discourses of tourism assists members of the national elite in naturalising discriminatory practices and discourses that place local populations, especially indigenous communities, within an absolute inferior position in contrast to a ‘clean’, ‘white’, ‘civilised’ and ‘privileged’ powerful elite.

Drawing upon Benjamin Orlove’s study of the Geography of Peru (1993), Patricia Oliart (2007) has already pointed out that, as a result of the process of independence from colonial powers, indigenous populations from the coast were ‘de-indianized’ by Peruvian geographers, who used the racial category ‘indigenous’ for referring solely to populations living in the Highlands. In this sense, it is important to mention that although the Mancoreños are not considered as an indigenous group and, as analysed in chapters four and five, they are a culturally and socially diverse community, Claudia’s discourse demonstrates that these discriminatory and racist discourses and practices are also addressed to rural coastal communities. This shows how members of contemporary national elites seek to impose their social power over other socially or geographically distant populations living within territories that have been incorporated into their political and economic projects.

In addition, implicit in Extract 6.3 (lines 1-2, 10-11) is the belief that these unsuitable codes of conduct held by the local population could be manipulated and improved through education, echoing past discourses of mestizaje (de la Cadena, 2005). Marisol de la Cadena (2005) has noted that discourses of mestizaje in Peru considered that education had the capacity to build a healthy nation in a country where most of its original population was illiterate and therefore considered as ‘backward’. According to this author, education was expected to eliminate indigenous culture, wiping away lack of hygiene and cultural deficiencies of Indians while transforming them into mestizos and therefore civilised people. Consequently, just like Carlos Canales in Extract 6.1, Extract 6.3 illustrates that dominant discourses of tourism constructed by national tourism authorities are shaped by structural inequalities and racism that has

characterised Peruvian society, linking discourses of tourism to past dialogues about race, mestizaje and culture (de la Cadena, 2000, 2005).

In lines 15-19, Claudia shows how these negative and degrading characteristics attached to rural populations are assumed as given or natural by arguing that they are part of their habits, relying on the idea of culture as a way to legitimise these denigrating and discriminatory characteristics attached to subaltern groups. In other words, due to the fact that this dominant racism does not depend on biological determinism, it uses moral, cultural and educational differences to legitimate and naturalise social hierarchies amongst Peruvians (de la Cadena, 2000, 2005). In this sense, by following this way of thinking, Peruvian society has long been allowing racism to persist, linking race and skin colour to culture and education while legitimating discrimination and silencing denunciations of racism (de la Cadena, 2000, p. 9).

In fact, this racism that emerges within more private contexts, as displayed in my interview with Claudia Cornejo, is muffled by marketing campaigns disseminated through the media which highlight the particularities of indigenous and local cultures to capture more tourists. Like other countries with a considerable indigenous population and with ethnic and cultural tourism as a ‘solution’ to their socio-economic problems (van den Berghe, 1995), the economic elite prompting tourism development in Peru uses Peru’s cultural diversity and indigenous populations to situate the country within global markets. These marketing discourses portray Peru, and its violent past due to internal war in the 1980s (Milton and Ulfe, 2011), as an exotic and unmissable tourist destination because of its cultural diversity and ‘unexplored’ natural landscapes, giving indigenous culture the status of exotic commodities while perpetuating a continuity of a colonial relationship between the elites and the indigenous population (Carnaffan, 2010, González-Velarde, 2009).

In this sense, the analysis of Extracts 6.1 and 6.3 shows that this ideology that links tourism to the discourse of development legitimises Peru’s dominant racism, which Marisol de la Cadena (2000) has defined as “discriminatory practices that derive from a belief in the unquestionable intellectual and moral superiority of one group of Peruvians over the rest” (de la Cadena, 2000, p. 4). In doing this, this ideology provides the epistemological basis for conceptualising indigenous and rural populations as exploitable objects for the capitalist market, using them as tourist resources or simply as a cheap workforce in order to generate economic growth and capital accumulation. As

such, the racism embedded in discourses of tourism, and the hierarchy of power that results from them, consolidate the national elite's hegemony and social power over subaltern groups, allowing them to develop rural territories and local cultures into tourist products for the capitalist market. In other words, the ideology that links tourism to the discourse of development allows the reproduction of the 'coloniality of power' (Quijano, 2008), reinforcing the power relationships that have historically subordinated indigenous and rural populations to the political and economic interests of the elites.

### **6.3 Representations of the Local Population in National Discourses of Tourism**

#### **6.3.1 *'El Perro del Hortelano' and the Fishing Villages in Northern Peru***

As we have seen above, dominant discourses of tourism have naturalised an ideology that represents tourism as a key driver for socio-economic progress and development and as an effective tool to fight extreme poverty. This ideology that links tourism to the discourse of development is used by members of the state and the private sector to impose tourism as a predominant activity and to justify a colonial relationship over the natural environment and local cultures. Within the regime of truth elaborated by these discourses, subaltern groups are represented as the beneficiaries of tourism because it is assumed that tourism increases employment opportunities and that it is an important source of income. However, the naturalisation of this ideology has allowed national elites to legitimise discriminatory practices and social inequalities that assist them in fostering processes of cultural change aimed at expanding a market-based development model and reproducing their power as a social class. In addition to neglecting local models of development, this ideology has also reinforced a structure of power that situates subaltern groups within an 'inferior' position, in contrast to businessmen and tourist investors.

In March 2011, I approached the Vice-Ministry of Tourism's advisor, Eduardo Sevilla. I was interested in interviewing him after several of my key informants in Piura and Mancora told me that he had long been involved with tourism development at a national level. In our interview, I was interested to know his perception of tourism as a tool for development and the way that this activity brings benefits to local populations. Being aware that my research was focused on Northern Peru, Eduardo began talking about a big investment tourism project that the international hotel chain Decameron and the Peruvian investment group Nuevo Mundo (*New World*) had been jointly undertaking in

Mancora's nearby district of Canoas de Punta Sal, Tumbes, since 2008<sup>177</sup>. This project consists of building Peru's first 'all inclusive' hotel, entailing an investment of 30 million U.S. dollars within 26 hectares of coastal land. Similar to other tourist destinations within the Caribbean region, the 'Royal Decameron Punta Sal' would have 300 rooms and a capacity for 1,000 people, expecting to receive both national and international tourists.

In November 2010, the regional press reported that, together with local authorities, the local population of the district of Canoas de Punta Sal, mostly fishermen, were showing their opposition to this tourism project. The main argument behind this position was that within the 26 hectares of land sold by the Regional Government of Tumbes to the international hotel chain 'Decameron', there was a road that had existed for more than 25 years and was used by fishermen and local villagers to access the beach to carry out their daily activities<sup>178</sup>. In addition to this, concerned with the lack of water within this region, some local authorities were arguing that the hotel would put at risk the population's supply of drinking water because of the scale of the hotel's capacity. When I mentioned this to Eduardo (Extract 6.4, lines 6-7) in our interview, he put forward the following discourse in which he constructed a particular and widely shared representation of the local population:

*Extract 6.4:*

- 1     **Eduardo:** [...] Debe ir acompañada de políticas o normas que tienen que ver con el ordenamiento territorial porque tiene todas las condiciones para ir en un acenso sostenible. Es más, prueba de ello es que el primer 'all inclusive' en la historia turística del Perú va a estar en el litoral del
- 5     norte, la cadena Decameron del grupo Nuevo Mundo.  
      **Fernando:** Justo estaba leyendo algunas noticias, hay gente que se está oponiendo al tema del Decameron.  
      **Eduardo:** ¿Por qué se oponen?  
      **Fernando:** Porque está invadiendo una carretera que utilizan los
- 10    pescadores, un asentamiento...  
      **Eduardo:** A ver un ratito. Hace mucho tiempo el [ex] presidente [Alan] García sacó un artículo uno y dos que era el 'Perro del Hortelano'. El turismo es un hecho social, es un fenómeno de hecho social, básicamente.

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<sup>177</sup> <http://www.andina.com.pe/Espanol/Noticia.aspx?Id=Ah60+VIUMqU=> Retrieved: 02/11/2010

<sup>178</sup> [http://correoperu.pe/correo/nota.php?txtEdi\\_id=25&txtSecci\\_parent=0&txtSecci\\_id=71&txtNota\\_id=554570](http://correoperu.pe/correo/nota.php?txtEdi_id=25&txtSecci_parent=0&txtSecci_id=71&txtNota_id=554570) Retrieved: 23/02/2011;  
[http://correoperu.pe/correo/nota.php?txtEdi\\_id=25&txtSecci\\_parent=&txtSecci\\_id=67&txtNota\\_id=556343](http://correoperu.pe/correo/nota.php?txtEdi_id=25&txtSecci_parent=&txtSecci_id=67&txtNota_id=556343) Retrieved: 23/02/2011;  
[http://correoperu.pe/correo/nota.php?txtEdi\\_id=25&txtSecci\\_id=71&txtSecci\\_parent=0&txtNota\\_id=560800](http://correoperu.pe/correo/nota.php?txtEdi_id=25&txtSecci_id=71&txtSecci_parent=0&txtNota_id=560800) Retrieved: 23/02/2011.

15 El turismo es un aliado estratégico del medio ambiente, es un aliado  
 estratégico del desarrollo sostenible, el turismo bien planificado no  
 perjudica, no liquida escenarios naturales. No minimiza oportunidades,  
 más bien crea oportunidades de empleo. Si yo tengo un hotel y soy  
 20 pescador, yo le puedo asegurar que me van a pedir más cabrilla, más  
 congrio, más ojo de uva y más mero y más langosta para los restaurantes  
 y hoteles. No voy a tener que salir a venderlo lejos, lejos, si no allí no  
 más en el hotel me lo van a comprar. Entonces tengo un aliado  
 estratégico en mi bienestar económico con la presencia del hotel. Yo  
 tengo que verlo así, yo tengo que verlo como una oportunidad para  
 25 incrementar mis ventas y mi ingreso diario. Yo pescador. Si voy a  
 empezar a verlo desde el punto de vista de acceso, yo tengo que  
 coordinar con mi autoridad, mi autoridad edil, regional, como población  
 organizada manejan un comité. Entonces buscaremos la mejor forma  
 civilizada de diálogo para buscar una alternativa que un emprendimiento  
 30 hotelero no colisione con una necesidad del día a día de una población.  
 El grupo Nuevo Mundo es un grupo de tanto prestigio, con gente tan  
 profesional, que estoy completamente seguro que ellos ante una solicitud,  
 ante un pedido, ante un planteamiento, van a saber resolverlo  
 profesionalmente en coordinación con las autoridades. Pero por favor  
 35 tengamos grandeza de espíritu y grandeza en la mirada turística, no  
 seamos ‘Perro del Hortelano’. El turismo no puede atentar contra los  
 derechos, ni la tranquilidad, ni el bienestar de una población, por eso los  
 proyectos turísticos también tienen una evaluación social. Las empresas  
 tienen unas áreas o programas de responsabilidad social empresarial,  
 entonces mi desarrollo, mi intervención turística en el campo de la obra  
 40 civil no puede ni debe colisionar con el acceso de una comunidad, para  
 todo hay solución, diálogo, coordinación, concertación, empresa privada,  
 sus autoridades y la población local. Yo estoy seguro que hay tanto  
 profesionalismo, repito, y el grado de inversión y la visión de Decameron,  
 Nuevo Mundo, de que se va a encontrar una prontísima solución a  
 45 cualquier inconveniente que existe y que se dé. (Interview with Eduardo  
 Sevilla, tourist advisor from MINCETUR, Lima, 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 2011)<sup>179</sup>.

Just like Carlos Canales in Extract 6.1 and Claudia Cornejo in Extract 6.3, in Extract 6.4 (lines 3-24) Eduardo Sevilla evokes an ideology that links tourism to the discourse of development to persuade fishermen that the presence of the hotel ‘Royal Decameron Punta Sal’ in their locality will increase their sales and incomes and diminish the time invested to sell their products, representing tourism as an economic ally (*aliado estratégico*) of local populations. Nonetheless, this assumed and ethnocentric description of how coastal tourism is supposed to benefit local populations overlooks the current characteristics and socio-cultural dynamics of artisan fishing communities in Northern Peru where tourism has become the overriding activity. I will come back to this point in the following section, where I describe how tourism has impacted Mancora’s economic dynamic and how the transformation of Mancora into a tourist

<sup>179</sup> See p. 300, Extract 6.4, for English translation.



destination has affected Mancora's fishing sector, with the aim of contrasting these prevalent beliefs with what happens in practice.

Moreover, as Eduardo Sevilla's discourse shows in Extract 6.4, if fishermen oppose big investment projects that are assumed will boost the tourism industry they are labelled as 'Perro del Hortelano'<sup>180</sup>. This is clear in Extract 6.4 (lines 11-16, 33-37), where Eduardo makes a direct reference to a series of articles written by former President Alan García and published late in 2007 in a popular national newspaper<sup>181</sup> to discredit and undermine the arguments put forward by environmentalists criticising his neoliberal development policies. In these articles, Alan García creates the 'dog in the manger' image to represent a person who has access to countless and highly valuable natural resources. However, this person does not use these resources to full capacity (according to a capitalist model of resource exploitation) because of a lack of economic resources, technological knowledge and, above all, 'outdated' anti-capitalist and environmentalist ideologies. According to García, these ideologies cause a person who suffers from the 'dog in the manger' syndrome to say: *'si no lo hago yo que no lo haga nadie'* (if I do not, then no-one else should use them either), leaving those natural resources unexploited while preventing Peru from becoming a developed country.

By analysing García's 'dog in the manger' rhetoric, Paulo Drinot (2011) has argued that García's project of rule applied during his second administration (2006-2011) operated mainly through sovereign power rather than governmentality<sup>182</sup> (Foucault, 2007), thus acting against the interests of the Peruvian population. According to Drinot (2011), García's project of rule was mainly based on a capitalist revolution which, similar to previous administrations dating back to the early 1990s, favoured a neoliberal model of development that considered foreign and private investment as the miraculous hand that would assist Peru to achieve a better stage of development. In García's 'dog in the manger' rhetoric any of those who oppose private investment and his capitalist revolution based on natural resource exploitation are labelled negatively as 'anti-

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<sup>180</sup> The 'dog in the manger'.

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[http://elcomercio.pe/edicionimpresa/html/2007-10-28/el\\_sindrome\\_del\\_perro\\_del\\_hort.html#print](http://elcomercio.pe/edicionimpresa/html/2007-10-28/el_sindrome_del_perro_del_hort.html#print) Retrieved: 27/02/2012;

[http://elcomercio.pe/edicionimpresa/html/2007-11-](http://elcomercio.pe/edicionimpresa/html/2007-11-25/receta_para_acabar_con_el_perr.html)

[25/receta\\_para\\_acabar\\_con\\_el\\_perr.html](http://elcomercio.pe/edicionimpresa/html/2007-11-25/receta_para_acabar_con_el_perr.html) Retrieved: 27/02/2012

<sup>182</sup> That is, "a politics that privileges the police or discipline of the population over its 'improvement' and constitutions as self-regulating free subjects in the sense that while governmental power is deployed among a minority of the population, sovereign power is used to discipline the majority" (Drinot, 2011, p. 186).

capitalists', 'communists' and 'environmentalists'. But, similar to the broader racist discourse mentioned in the previous section, according to Drinot, García's fear of 'communism' is strongly influenced by a racist discourse that represents indigenous populations as backward and therefore as a problem or threat to the nation's progress because they do not exploit the natural resources available within their territories and they do not let the state tap into Peru's countless natural resources either (Drinot, 2011, pp. 188-189).

Eduardo Sevilla's discourse (Extract 6.4) follows García's dog in the manger rhetoric, in which local populations opposed to big tourism investment projects are represented as a threat to the nation's progress, as they are rejecting important flows of private investments that are assumed will bring development to the country. Thus, from the point of view of the elite, even though their way of life would be negatively affected, fishermen should not become 'dogs in the manger' and should accept the intervention of tourism and global capitalism in their localities. It is assumed, as an unquestionable fact, that the presence of private investments in rural communities will bring positive results to the tourism industry and the local economy. This is clear in Extract 6.4 (lines 30-33 and 42-45) where Eduardo Sevilla, in a very heated tone as a result of my comment, elaborates a very fundamentalist answer about the potential positive impacts of the hotel chain in the locality, arguing that the degree of investment of the Nuevo Mundo hotel chain is so important that it should not clash with the population's socio-economic well-being. However, in labelling fishermen as 'Perros del Hortelano', Eduardo regards the demands of fishing communities of Northern Peru as an obstacle to the development of the nation, justifying the capitalist exploitation of rural territories by the tourism industry.

Extract 6.4 again shows how traditional activities and local models of development end up being subordinated to the economic and political interests of the national elite and capitalism as a result of the expansion of the tourism industry. As such, this reflects how the problem of capitalocentrism (Graham and Gibson, 1996), that emerges as a result of conceiving development only in terms of economic growth and capital accumulation, overlooks, discriminates and marginalises other non-capitalist models of the economy, traditional economies and local models of development. In doing this, discourses of tourism and the social practices that derive from them threaten local models of development, negatively affecting the livelihood and well-being of local populations that are not engaged in tourism development.

### ***6.3.2 Tourism and Fishing Villages in Northern Peru***

In Mancora, tourism has generated economic benefits for some sectors of the population but not for all. These privileged sectors are mainly those who have the economic means and have access to the natural resources needed for this activity to develop; fundamentally those who could access credit, which in Peru is a minority because of its degree of informality; and those with enough knowledge about the tourism industry. The sector that obtains most of this economic benefit is the group of ‘colorados’ who own almost all the hotels and houses for rent located within Las Pocitas and other tourist areas of the town. As a result of the land market brought about by tourism development, the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora and the land invaders have also seen themselves benefitting from tourism, although the lack of available land and the increased land conflicts are making this business socially and environmentally unsustainable, as analysed in chapter five. Some Mancoreños and immigrants with economic resources or access to credit have been able to set up small businesses such as shops, restaurants, kiosks, hostels for backpackers, internet cafes, chemists, bars and clubs<sup>183</sup>. Others have become artisans, street vendors or ‘moto-taxi’ drivers in order to participate in the tourism industry. Tourism has also fostered the local and regional economies, increasing commercial relations between Mancora and other districts and regions, at the same time, intensifying the building and transport sectors.

For the fishing sector in particular, tourism has allowed some family members to obtain a source of income, especially women; although this only occurs during tourism high seasons (December to March and July). Firstly, a small number of fishermen and their families have learnt to make handicrafts and souvenirs that they sell to tourists. However, during tourist high seasons they have to compete with other foreign artisans for a space to show their handicrafts while facing lack of income during tourist low seasons (which is most of the year), forcing them to alternate with fishing or other activities. Secondly, although local inhabitants and members of the fishing sector have the opportunity to work in hotels and restaurants occupying predominantly female

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<sup>183</sup> During a walk throughout the main tourist areas of Mancora’s town (without including Las Pocitas, Centro Veraniego, Santa Rosa, Playa del Amor and Barrio Industrial) undertaken on the 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010 I registered the following businesses: Internet café: 15; Hostels: 30; Restaurants: 73; Bar/club: 13; Bank: 2; Kiosk: 32; Bakery: 5; Chemist: 3; Travel Agencies: 25; Artisan Shop: 8; Shops: 38; Liquor store: 9; Mini-markets: 10.

positions such as maids, cooks and cleaners or male position such as security guards or gardeners; these jobs are commonly taken by low-waged immigrants coming mainly from Piura, Sullana, Talara, Chiclayo, Trujillo and Lima and backpackers staying in Mancora for short periods. In fact, in my interviews with hotel owners most of them mentioned their preference to hire foreign workers because they live permanently in the hotels or houses for renting so they are available twenty-four hours a day for less money than the Mancoreño who has a family living in the town and wants to get paid more. Moreover, foreign workers, hotel owners say, are more qualified to work or willing to learn more about the catering sector than the Mancoreños. In addition, because most of these jobs are informal, workers are mostly hired during tourist high seasons and without security or social benefits.

Eduardo Sevilla's fundamentalist answer in Extract 6.4 regarding the way coastal tourism benefits local populations, specifically fishermen, invites us to contrast the prevailing beliefs embedded in his discourse to the way tourism has affected Mancora's fishing sector. Organised in the Asociación de Gremio de Pescadores de Máncora (AGREPESAR), the fishing sector of Mancora is currently composed of 600 fishermen and 110 fishing boats (Guerrero Chinchay, 2010, p. 4). Most fishing families arrived before or during the 1940s when Mancora became an important fishing village. They are considered the traditional sector of Mancora and according to local dwellers the number of fishermen has increased over time. In Mancora, there are four different types of fishermen which are divided depending on the type of fishing boat and fishing equipment they use. According to the current president of AGREPESAR, Martin Maceda, in 2011, there were 30 traditional rafts, around 15 and 20 'espineleras', 4 'bolicheras' and 70 'cortineras'<sup>184</sup>. Fishermen using traditional rafts stay close to the seashore fishing for short periods of time, resulting in a limited catch. The fish caught is mainly commercialised in Mancora's market or sold to restaurants and hotels. However, in my interviews with hotel and restaurant owners, most of them mentioned that they prefer to buy fish in nearby fishing villages because it is cheaper. In fact, since tourism became dominant in Mancora, the market value of seafood has considerably increased (even more during tourist high seasons), forcing local villagers to change their eating habits and buy chicken or other types of meat for themselves unless they have a family member involved in the fishing sector. If the fishing season is good, fishermen who

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<sup>184</sup> According to Constanza Ocampo-Raeder (2011), in 2009, there were approximately 137 fishing boats and 420 active fishermen: 107 'cortineras', 06 'espineleras', 04 'bolicheras' and 30 traditional rafts (Ocampo-Raeder, 2011).

usually use traditional rafts are recruited by the other fishermen to work with them in the other boats using different methods.

Most of Mancora's fishermen work on boats ranging in size between 3 and 7 tonnes of capacity boats and divided between three different types of fishing equipment: 'cortineros', 'espineleros' and 'bolicheras'. These boats usually spend around three or four days fishing within 5 miles of Mancora's seashore. However, when there is a lack of fish, these fishermen travel to nearby fishing villages where there is more fish, staying for weeks and sometimes months in order to reduce transport costs. The catch is usually sold to a 'comercializador' (wholesaler), who would have previously made a contract with the fisherman who owns the fishing boat (*el patrón de la embarcación*), giving him in advance the money needed to buy petrol, ice and groceries before he and another four fishermen go out to sea to fish. Although fishermen can keep for themselves a very small amount of the catch or sell it to relatives and friends<sup>185</sup>, when the fishing boats arrive at the dock, the catch belongs to the wholesaler and not to the fishermen anymore. In addition, the wholesaler owns the lorries used to transport the catch to other markets. As such, a handful of wholesalers have the monopoly of the fishing activity, deciding the price of the fish and to where the catch will be commercialised. Depending on the market prices of fish, the catch is commercialised in other regional markets, such as Lima, Piura and Chiclayo, or sent to the canneries in Ecuador. Because of that, the roads connecting fishing communities to regional markets are an essential part of the fishing activity. In fact, the 'El Niño' phenomenon negatively affects fishing communities of Northern Peru by destroying the roads they use to commercialise their products. Therefore, this explains why, in Extract 6.4, fishermen of Canoas de Punta Sal opposed to the presence of the international hotel chain Decameron, when they found out that the area where this hotel would be built threatened a road they use to continue their daily activities.

In fact, the increasing pressure over land and space that has resulted from tourism development is bringing about problems for fishing communities in Northern Peru. As described in chapters four and five, since tourism development started in the 1970s and Mancora's coastal land became a valuable and wanted commodity, the physical space used by fishermen to develop their daily activities has dramatically reduced. Before tourism, fishermen made unrestricted use of the beaches situated within Las Pocitas, the

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<sup>185</sup> If a tourist goes to the fishing pier willing to buy fish to the fishermen, they will usually tell him to go to the market and buy it there.

El Centro Veraniego and the Playa del Amor, using these areas to run aground their boats for maintenance and to park the lorries used for transporting their products to regional markets, as described in chapter four. At present, due to the fact that most of the coastal area has developed into hotels, the fishing activity is restricted to only the fishing neighbourhoods and Mancora's artisan dock (Embarcadero Artesanal de Máncora), which is situated at the entrance to the exclusive tourist zone of Las Pocitas. However, because land value within Las Pocitas zone has considerably increased in the last decade, land invaders are constantly attempting to fence off this area during the night to sell it to foreigners, resulting in several violent clashes between fishermen and land invaders. In addition to this, recent wealthy hotel owners next to the dock are demanding fishermen not to anchor their boats in front of their hotels because they spoil the view for their guests. Others are trying to invade fishermen's land to expand their hotels' area. This is bringing constant problems to the fishing sector which is continuously seeing land threatened by the expansion of the tourist infrastructure.

This situation has forced fishermen to seek to obtain legal rights over the land where the artisan fishing dock is situated. In January 2011, I interviewed fisherman Chicato in his house in Mancora. Whilst being president of AGREPESAR during the 2000s, Chicato spoke out in support of Mancora's fishing sector and dealt with local authorities of the Municipality of Mancora and the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora to obtain legal rights over the land used by the fishing sector. In the following extract Chicato explains this type of encounter with hotel owners:

*Extract 6.5:*

- 1     **Chicato:** [...] Entonces yo le dije ‘mira, tu agarras el terreno del  
pescador, tu ocupas allí, y al mismo tiempo nosotros somos nacidos y  
criados aquí en Máncora, y tú no vas a venir a adueñarte de este terreno,  
5     porque tú te has metido en el terreno que es también del pescador,  
porque nosotros el varadero es más al sur de donde vives tú, y tú viniste  
calladito a pararte una chocita con cuatro esteras y ahí ya te fuiste  
quedando’ (interview with Chicato, Máncora, 31<sup>st</sup> January, 2011)<sup>186</sup>.

In Extract 6.5, Chicato describes how the territory used by the fishing sector is constantly threatened as a result of the increasing expansion of the tourism industry, generating conflicts and tensions between hotel owners and fishermen. For the artisan fishing sector of Northern Peru this represents a major problem due to the fact that most of the fishing activity develops in the coast and, consequently, it is not only limited to

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<sup>186</sup> See p. 301, Extract 6.5, for English translation.

the sea or, as anthropologist Constanza Ocampo-Raeder (2011) has put it, “*El Mar no termina en la Arena*”<sup>187</sup>. Taking the case of Mancora as an example, Ocampo-Raeder (2011) has recently argued that the social relationships amongst fishing families of Northern Peru living within the same neighbourhoods play a crucial role in the sustainability of the fishing activity, as they represent a key social structure needed to achieve a sustainable use of common resources. However, Ocampo-Raeder (2011) has also noted that the rapid expansion of tourist infrastructure within fishing neighbourhoods is threatening this essential social structure. Moreover, Ocampo-Raeder (2011) found that fishermen of Mancora do not hold property titles as a result of the conflict between the Comunidad Campesina and the Municipality of Mancora and therefore they cannot access bank loans that could allow them to improve and update their fishing equipment and boats. Thus, in opposition to what discourses of tourism argue, the problems fostered by tourism are negatively affecting the sustainability of the fishing sector, threatening the livelihood of approximately 600 fishermen who depend on this activity.

Following Arturo Escobar (2005) who analysed manifestations of resistance to globalisation and global capitalism amongst black communities in the tropical forests of Colombia, for fishermen in Northern Peru, their territory and place are key elements for the re-production of their own cultural, economic and social values. In Mancora, even though tourism has allowed some fishing families to obtain extra economic benefits, tourism is not an economic activity that would replace fishing. In fact, fishermen in Mancora see tourism as something positive for the development of their society, but also as a constant threat to their territory, their right to exist, their identity and their own model of development. Although fishermen in Mancora are aware of the increased market value of their lands, most have decided not to sell because they want future generations of fishermen to benefit from it. Moreover, if they have decided not to become involved in the tourism industry it is because they view fishing as a profitable economic activity that will allow them to accomplish their own life projects and because fishermen in Mancora want to preserve their way of life and ‘fishing’ identity (Ocampo-Raeder, 2011).

In this sense, the increasing conflicts and tensions between fishermen in Northern Peru and hotel owners and land invaders must be understood as a manifestation of resistance

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<sup>187</sup> “The Sea does not finish at the seashore”

to the expansion of the tourism industry within local spaces. Above all, they should be conceived, following Escobar (2005), as an attempt at defending their places and identities in order to preserve their local models of place, development, nature and the economy that are continually marginalised and threatened as a result of the implementation of the elites' economic and political projects.

However, the use of the 'dog in the manger' rhetoric (Extract 6.4) and the exercise of discriminatory practices provide members of the national elites the epistemological basis to legitimise the appropriation of natural resources used by rural populations, including the land and the space, in order to generate economic growth and capital accumulation. As such, hegemonic discourses of tourism neglect the fact that artisan fishing families of Northern Peru require physical spaces and social recognition to sustain their socio-cultural values and local identities over time. In doing this, this ideology that links tourism to the discourse of development shows how discourses of tourism exercise social power over rural populations, showing a very oppressive and powerful side as it deprives local populations of the choice regarding the way of life they want to follow. Thus, in a similar way to what Arturo Escobar has argued for the discourse of development (Escobar, 1995, p. 44), discourses of tourism exclude what tourism as a tool for development is supposed to be all about: people.

## **6.4 Constructs of Place and Development within Local Discourses of Tourism**

### ***6.4.1 Discourses of Tourism and Development at a Local Level***

In Mancora, the Municipal elections held in October 2010 had nine candidates; three of them were former Mayors of Mancora and the other four were popular local figures, either singers or teachers or local inhabitants that had occupied political positions within previous administrations. This highlights the increasing interest on the part of local inhabitants to occupy positions of power. Former Mayor of Mancora, Florencio Olibos, was one of the candidates wanting to be re-elected. Being in a position of authority during two important periods of Mancora's tourism development (1996-1998 and 2003-2006), Florencio played a key role in shaping Mancora's recent history, as seen in chapter five. As Mancoreño and school teacher, he tried to create feelings of 'mancoñerismo' amongst local inhabitants, raising consciousness about the local identity while strengthening bonds between Mancoreños and their place. During his two periods in office, he undertook several legal processes against the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora, increasing tensions between different sectors of Mancora's



population. This was part of his strategy aimed at obtaining control of the land when Mancora was gaining increased popularity as a tourist destination. For that reason, his discourse about tourism development, the way he represented Mancora as a tourist destination and the actors participating in Mancora's social dynamic, sheds light on the cultural impacts that tourism prompts within local spaces. I interviewed Florencio in November 2010, one month after he had lost the General Municipal Election. In our interview I asked him to talk about the actions carried out within his previous administrations aimed at developing Mancora into a popular tourist destination and the main motivations leading him to undertake those projects:

*Extract 6.6:*

- 1 **Fernando:** ¿Con toda esta expansión del turismo, al hacer Máncora más turístico, cuál era el principal objetivo que se estaba buscando?
- Florencio:** Lo principal, pelear el primer problema que tiene el Perú y el Mundo entero: la desocupación y el desempleo. Que genera empleo está
- 5 demostrado ¿no? Yo siempre le ponía como ejemplo a la gente, que se hablaba de un pueblito, de una isla en Europa, donde la gente vivía en extrema pobreza ¿no? Y tenía una isla con hermosas playas, con sol, y la gente se dedicaba a la pesca no más. Y por ahí llega un loco como le decían al 'Loco Elías', al 'Loco Harry' ¿no? con esa visión, que les dijo
- 10 'pero ustedes viven en pobreza ¿Por qué? Porque quieren ¿no? Teniendo un paraíso acá, como lo dijo Antonio Raimondi: 'están sentados en un banco de oro' ¿no?' Entonces empezó a promocionarles, hacerle entender a la gente que el turismo era una fuente generadora de empleo pero tenían que hacer esto, esto, y esto y generarse sus ingresos, y lo
- 15 lograron, y hoy viven exclusivamente del turismo esa gente.
- Fernando:** ¿Eso es Máncora?
- Florencio:** Eso es lo que se busca de Máncora. Pero mucha inversión, tendría que meterse un presupuesto en lo que es la sensibilización, en lo que es crear consciencia, porque si a la gente tu no le creas consciencia
- 20 entonces de nada vale ir avanzando, tiene que ser paralelo. Porque la gente pues a veces no entiende, tienes que enseñarle que hay que cuidar las áreas verdes, que no boten la basura a la calle, que al turista no hay que cobrarle precios elevados, que no hay que robarle, que hay que devolverle su cámara cuando se le queda. ¡En eso estamos mal! ¡Mal!
- 25 Acá se te queda esto<sup>188</sup> en la moto y no la vuelves a ver. Y hay que ser realista ¿no? Yo me reunía con los mototaxistas, les hacía entender, por el momento entendían [...] Eso es lo que se busca y se seguirá buscando los que entendemos que el turismo es una fuente. El turismo es una nueva fuente de riqueza ¿no?, de desarrollo, de generación de empleo, y
- 30 eso nadie lo duda. Y la gente lo percibe así, los que trabajan directamente con el turismo lo perciben así. (Interview with Florencio Olibos, Former Mayor of Mancora, Mancora, 6<sup>th</sup> November, 2010)<sup>189</sup>.

<sup>188</sup> I was wearing a small bag with my voice recorder, a camera and my field notebook.

<sup>189</sup> See p. 301, Extract 6.6, for English translation.

In extract 6.6 (lines 1-5 and 27-30), Florencio's construct of tourism is one of an unquestionable source of economic growth and development and an activity for increasing employment opportunities at a local level. In fact, he confirms that tourism has brought about economic benefits for the local inhabitants, allowing them to become partly involved in the activity by providing services that assist the development of the tourism industry. Because of that, Florencio considers tourism to be the solution to these social problems or 'abnormalities' affecting Peru and the rest of the world. As such, this extract shows that Florencio's discourse merges with official and dominant discourses of tourism which focus on a construction of poverty and unemployment as the main social problem, ascribing tourism the power to eradicate the problem of poverty. In this sense, Florencio's discourse is a clear example of how intertextuality works at a local level of society. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), following Bakhtin (1986), have argued that "intertextuality can be understood as the combination in my discourse of my voice and the voice of another" and also as the combination in discourse of different discourses (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, p. 49). Therefore, Extract 6.6 evidences how this ideology that links tourism to socio-economic development is accepted and 'naturalised' in the discourse of the Mancoreños, developing into part of the common-sense of the local population.

In Extract 6.6 (lines 5-15), Florencio narrates a fictional story about Mancora, in which he attaches to the place a popular phrase attributed to XIX century Italian geographer Antonio Raimondi<sup>190</sup> "*El Perú es un mendigo que está[n] sentado[s] en un banco de oro*" (Peru is a beggar sitting on a bench of gold). Florencio uses this phrase to highlight that Mancora is a valuable place that could transform the 'Mancoreños' into a developed society through the means of tourism, eliminating their social 'abnormalities'. It could be said, following Gustavo Esteva (1992) and Majid Rahnema (1992), that Florencio's own perception of the Mancoreño's condition is that of an 'underdeveloped' subject that wants to escape from the undignified condition of 'underdevelopment'. However, Florencio also uses this phrase to highlight that cultural factors have impeded the 'Mancoreños' from tapping into Mancora's natural resources, leaving them in a condition of poverty. Subsequently, he attributes to external actors and outsiders the

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<sup>190</sup> I find Luis Felipe Villacorta's article about Antonio Raimondi (2008) very useful to understand the socio-political context in which Raimondi's metaphor emerged and how this representation of Peru as a country with plenty of natural resources has been incorporated into ideas of progress and development throughout the process of construction of the post-colonial state.

power to change this situation; in the case of Mancora this is attributed to the 'colorados', because they will provide the knowledge, vision and money that Mancoreños lack and need in order to exploit their place. Thus, Florencio's narration is indeed a clear manifestation of how the hegemony of the 'coloniality of power' (Quijano, 2008) comes into play through the naturalisation of the ideology that links tourism to the discourse of development and becomes part of the common sense of local inhabitants. This ideology results in local inhabitants of rural communities ranking themselves as inferior in opposition to the members of the economic elite from Lima who are situated at a superior position in the social hierarchy because they have the economic resources and the business mentality needed for developing tourism.

Nonetheless, the naturalisation of the ideology that links tourism to development amongst members of the local population occupying positions of power, also allowed them to justify their own political and economic projects. As described in chapter five, the socio-historical process whereby Mancora advanced into a tourist destination developed in parallel with several conflicts between the social groups that compose Mancora as a community. On the one hand, since the members of the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora obtained legal ownership over their land in 1996 and incorporated the cultural values that allowed them to see their place and their natural resources as commodities, they have been selling the land to foreigners in order to make a profit from tourism and develop Mancora into a tourist destination. They justified their actions by arguing that, by fostering tourism development and selling the land, they were contributing to the development of Mancora (Sol, Mar y Campo, 1999). On the other hand, during former mayor Florencio Olibos's administration, the Municipality of Mancora undertook several legal processes against the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora in order to obtain rightful ownership over Mancora's land. The main argument behind the legal actions undertaken by Florencio Olibos's administration was that the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora was an obstacle to the development of Mancora, hampering the implementation of his political plan aimed at developing Mancora into a purely tourist town, giving local inhabitants land titles so that they could access credit or sell their properties and avoiding and uncontrolled urban expansion. In this sense, by evoking the ideology that links tourism to development, both the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora and the Municipality of Mancora overtly justified their plans, actions and positions in their contest over the land.

In addition, Extract 6.6 reveals how the tourism industry aims to generate consent for this activity among local inhabitants. In fact, Florencio brings a local authority's point of view, which sees the impact of this global activity at a local level and the resistance of some groups to behaving in accordance with the interests of the tourism industry. In extract 6.6 (lines 17-25) Florencio addresses the fact that in order for tourism to be successful, he believes that awareness needs to be raised amongst local inhabitants regarding the economic benefits of tourism. In other words, by creating awareness amongst local inhabitants, the ideological representation of tourism highlighted by these discourses is transferred to sectors of the population in order to create consent about this activity, creating alliances with other social groups in order to develop tourism. Thus, in Gramscian terms, the main goal is to make hegemonic the ideas and beliefs sustaining discourses of tourism and practices of development, despite the fact that some sectors of the population do not want to be engaged in tourism. Consequently, we can argue, following Fairclough (1995), that the ideology that links tourism to the discourse of development allows tourism to be seen to be "based in the nature of things or people, rather than in the interests of classes or other groupings" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 35).

#### **6.4.2 Representing Mancora's Development at a Local Level**

Apart from the economic benefits that tourism generates for some sectors of the local population, my study has made evident that tourism also generates social problems that threaten the socio-economic and environmental sustainability of tourism. In September 2010, I attended the event '*Hablemos sobre Turismo*<sup>191</sup>' in the hotel Pacífico in Talara, Piura. This event was organised by the Provincial Chamber for Commerce for Tourism of Talara and gathered Talara's Provincial Municipal mayor as well as representatives from the districts of the province of Talara. At this meeting, Carlos Chunga delivered a speech on behalf of the private sector engaged in tourism development of the district of Mancora. As a Mancoreño involved in the tourism industry, and engaged with Mancora's political context, Carlos Chunga is usually invited to represent a group of members of the private sector of Mancora related to the tourism industry, especially the Mancoreño entrepreneurs and a few colorados<sup>192</sup>, and to participate in workshops and

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<sup>191</sup> Let's talk about tourism.

<sup>192</sup> The group of colorados from Las Pocitas is organised in the 'Las Pocitas Association'. Although representatives of the Las Pocitas Association have attended meetings organised by Carlos Chunga, they have not accepted to be included as members yet.

meetings organised by MINCETUR and other authorities. In this meeting, in contrast to the presentations of the representatives of other municipalities who talked about their local tourist attractions, I interpreted Carlos Chunga's speech as a public denunciation of Mancora's severe social and environmental problems such as increasing land conflicts, drug dealing issues and lack of security.

In March 2011, Carlos Chunga delivered another speech but this time in Mancora at a workshop organised by MINCETUR to discuss and coordinate actions between local authorities and local associations in order to address Mancora's social problems that were gaining increased notoriety in the national press. For MINCETUR agents, Carlos is a strategic tourist agent at a local level, but he is also an important local and active leader since returning to Mancora in 1998 following a professional career in Lima. Since 2009, Carlos Chunga has been attempting to create the Chamber of Commerce for Tourism in Mancora (*Cámara de Turismo de Máncora*). He is also a member of several local associations and has participated in processes aimed at removing local mayors from the Municipality; according to him, he is building on his career as a public figure to put himself forward as mayor of Mancora in a near future.

The meeting at which I recorded this speech took place soon after a TV documentary entitled 'Mancora Delivery' was screened in March 2011, portraying how Mancora's drug and underage prostitution problems have increased, and the lack of solutions offered by local authorities to address these problems. As expected, this documentary rapidly attracted the attention of national, regional and local authorities, but especially that of the former Vice-Minister of Tourism, Mara Seminario (2010-2011), who immediately sent a team of MINCETUR agents to coordinate actions with local authorities. This meeting gathered local authorities (including Mancora's Municipal Mayor and Governor, public prosecutor, Police Captain, secondary school head teachers), and representatives of local associations and the private sector. Carlos Chunga was invited as a speaker. He talked about Mancora and the role of tourism as the main economic activity developing the town. The text below is taken from that speech:

*Extract 6.7:*

- 1 [...] La misión como siempre es organizar, proponer y dirigir el desarrollo sostenible y competitivo de la actividad turística de Máncora mediante procesos concertados y descentralizados e inculcando el desarrollo social y generando empleo digno que mejore la calidad de

5 vida de nuestra población. Para mí eso es importante porque Máncora, a  
través de la historia, ha sido bendecido. Porque los que somos  
Mancoreños lo sabemos. Máncora en sus inicios, aquí por la zona del  
puerto, [era] una zona donde se almacenaba el carbón y venían los barcos  
10 ingleses a llevarlos. Luego vino, en la década del setenta, el boom de la  
pesca donde se tenía cerros, montañas, de pescado. Recuerdo de niño yo  
haber buceado, nadado en esas aguas, y el pescado me chocaba. ¿Pero  
nosotros como Mancoreños qué hemos obtenido de tanta riqueza que  
hemos tenido como un pueblo si nos falta de todo? Nos falta los buenos  
servicios de calidad, en la educación ya se ha mejorado un poco [y] en el  
15 sector de salud, pero lo primordial el agua, el desagüe, la electrificación,  
tener un instituto superior. ¿Por qué no empezamos a planear eso  
también? Porque al final eso tiene que ver mucho con la gente que salga  
de la secundaria a después a qué se va a dedicar esa gente, esos  
muchachos. Lo único que les quedaría es quedarse acá, hacer una  
20 actividad que puede ser lícita o ilícita porque ellos también quieren ganar  
su dinero y la mejor forma ahora parece meterse en el vicio. (Carlos  
Chunga's speech in the workshop 'Taller de Elaboración del Proyecto de  
Plan de Seguridad del Distrito de Mancora 2011', Mancora, 2<sup>nd</sup> March,  
2011)<sup>193</sup>.

Just like Florencio Olibos in Extract 6.6; Extract 6.7 suggests that the ideology that links tourism to development has become hegemonic amongst some local inhabitants. As such, tourism is considered an activity that will allow local inhabitants to achieve socio-economic development. Nonetheless, this ideology is not only incorporated but also questioned with regard to the Mancoreños' social reality and social needs. In this sense, Carlos Chunga's discourse presented in Extract 6.7 underscores a particular representation of Mancora's social reality, revealing that the way the Mancoreños perceive their place and the development of their society, having tourism as the main economic activity, seems to be a paradox. The contradiction between what is perceived as a wealthy place with abundant natural resources and what the reality is for local people, is evident in the fact that the Mancoreños as a group have not obtained benefits from all the wealth generated by the exploitation of Mancora's natural resources.

In Extract 6.7 (lines 1-11), Carlos Chunga points out that throughout Mancora's history, Mancora has been blessed with abundant natural resources to tap into. In the early nineteenth century the carob forest was the main natural resource for exploitation; then, the product available in the sea converted Mancora into an important fishing village. At present, their beaches and tropical weather are making the town a popular tourist destination. This representation of Mancora is widely shared amongst other Mancoreños.

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<sup>193</sup> See p. 302, Extract 6.7, for English translation.

In fact, in Extract 6.6, Florencio Olibos's use of Raimondi's phrase ('Peru is a beggar sitting on a bench of gold') to make an allusion to Mancora's valuable natural resources shows how the Mancoreños conceptualise their place as a valuable resource for improving their quality of life but they do not know how to use it (or they would not need to beg).

Moreover, in Extract 6.7, Carlos Chunga stressed the fact that Mancora's socio-economic development has always depended on the capitalist exploitation of its biodiversity; even at present, tourism has turned Mancora's coastal landscapes into commodities with high demand from national and international tourists. He asks himself (Extract 6.7, lines 11-23) whether the exploitation of Mancora's biodiversity has actually assisted the Mancoreños to improve their quality of life. In so doing, he questions and reflects about this ideological construction of tourism as a tool for development and comes to the conclusion that although tourism has increased the fluidity of capitals, Mancora has not developed reliable basic services such as water and electricity. The improvement of social services such as education, health, housing, water and sewage systems and lack of productive infrastructure, amongst others, has always been part of the demands that the population has made of the state. These are also services that, to a greater extent, local inhabitants expect that tourism will assist them to improve<sup>194</sup>. However, amongst the Mancoreños there is the feeling that the socio-economic benefits that tourism has generated has not translated into better social services.

In fact, Mancora's population constantly suffers from a lack of water, especially during high tourist seasons when the population doubles in number, leaving some neighbourhoods, especially fishing neighbourhoods, without water for several weeks. Moreover, a lack of oxidation ponds and a proper sewage system throughout the district is forcing local inhabitants in various neighbourhoods to continue their daily activities surrounded by sewage. Recently, current municipal Mayor Victor Raul Hidalgo has manifested publically that Mancora's water and sewerage system are collapsing and that 45 million Peruvian Soles are needed to replace them immediately<sup>195</sup>. These

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<sup>194</sup> Máncora Construye su Futuro: Plan Integral de Desarrollo del Distrito de Mancora (Piura) 2001-2002.

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[http://www.elregionalpiura.com.pe/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=11572:mancora-necesita-de-45a-00000000-de-soles-para-cambio-de-sistema-de-agua-y-alcantarillado&catid=68:talara&Itemid=393](http://www.elregionalpiura.com.pe/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=11572:mancora-necesita-de-45a-00000000-de-soles-para-cambio-de-sistema-de-agua-y-alcantarillado&catid=68:talara&Itemid=393) Retrieved: 07/03/2012

environmental problems threaten the population's health and increase their degree of vulnerability, especially during the 'El Niño' events. Moreover, local villagers are forced to go to private medical centres or travel to Piura due to the fact that Mancora's public medical centre lacks medicines, medical staff and proper infrastructure. In the last decade, private medical centres in Mancora have swiftly multiplied. However, they are owned by the same doctors who staff the public medical centre, leaving the latter unattended. In addition, primary and secondary schools in Mancora lack appropriate resources such as libraries and computers; at the same time, Mancora does not have a college where young people can study a profession. For local villagers, a lack of opportunities for young Mancoreños is persuading them to become increasingly involved in unlawful activities, such as drug dealing in order to make a living.

This is also combined with the feeling amongst Mancoreños that the group that obtains most of the benefits from tourism development are the 'colorados'. Like Florencio Olibos in Extract 6.6 and Carlos Chunga in extract 6.7, other Mancoreños engaged with Mancora's political context and the socio-economic development of the population consider that the exploitation of Mancora's natural resources are assisting only foreigners and middle and upper class Limeños, to generate economic growth and capital accumulation. The extract below has been taken from an interview with current Municipal Mayor of Mancora from the APRA political party and school teacher, Victor Raul Hidalgo. Victor Raul and his family own a successful mini-market that supplies groceries to hotels and apartments for rent within the Las Pocitas area. Having tourism as a crucial aspect of his governing plan for Mancora, Victor Raul won the recent Municipal elections in October 2010, after he promised Mancoreños, in a widely attended public meeting that took place in September, 2010, to increase the number of tourists, improve the public infrastructure of the town, make Mancora a safe place to live, build a market and create a college. I interviewed Victor Raul in his mini-market in Mancora a week after he became Mancora's elected Mayor. In our interview, when he talked about Mancora's demographic composition and the way each of these groups benefits from the exploitation of Mancora's natural resources, he said:

*Extract 6.8:*

- 1 **Victor:** [...] Hay un dicho muy hermoso de un limeño 'En Máncora la plata está botada, no saben cómo recogerla'. O sea el que viene aquí hace plata, el que ha venido aquí ha hecho plata rápido.  
**Fernando:** ¿Y esa plata se queda aquí en Máncora?



5 **Victor:** No se queda, se la llevan. (Interview with current Mayor of Máncora Victor Raul Hidalgo, Máncora, 6<sup>th</sup> October, 2010)<sup>196</sup>.

In extract 6.8, Victor Raul argues that in contrast to the Mancoreños, the Limeños living in the district have swiftly generated economic growth. Moreover, by arguing that the economic wealth is taken away from Mancora by the ‘colorados’, he raised the issue regarding the fact that the Mancoreños are not benefiting as much as they could from the exploitation of Mancora’s natural resources. This widely shared feeling amongst Mancoreños about the benefits of tourism, underlines the unequal nature of tourism (Mowforth and Munt, 2009). By analysing the power relations embedded within new forms of tourism promoted amongst the so called Third World countries, geographers Mowforth and Munt (2009) have emphasised that, “the uneven and unequal nature of global capitalist development [...] is inherent in the development of Third World tourism [...]” (Mowforth and Munt, 2009, p. 45).

In this sense, because tourism is governed by capitalist rules, the socio-economic development generated by tourism increases inequalities due to the fact that not all the social actors involved in the dynamics of tourism can participate with the same means or at the same level. In fact, people with access to credit, with knowledge about tourism and the market and with access to the natural resources needed for developing tourism, will participate in the tourism industry from a privileged position. In this sense, even though tourism represents an important source of income to some sectors of the population, tourism has not resulted in an improvement in basic services needed in order to develop the quality of life of the population. Above all, it is clear that tourism has increased economic and social inequalities.

## 6.5 Conclusions

What is the role that tourism should play in the development of the Peruvian society? Is it possible to conceive tourism as an instrument that would allow Peruvians to benefit from the country’s natural biodiversity, cultural diversity and historical resources – understood as common resources- to improve quality of life and make Peru a more democratic society? Can we include tourism in a national development plan aimed at benefiting all Peruvians and not predominantly an economic elite? Can tourism be developed parallel to other traditional economic activities, without representing a threat

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<sup>196</sup> See p. 302, Extract 6.8, for English translation.

to these traditional activities, the natural environment and to the way of life of local populations that have deliberately decided not to engage in the tourism industry? Can tourism be used as a means whereby the social and cultural inequalities that characterise Peruvian society diminish, instead of reproducing and reinforcing racist and discriminatory practices that have historically prevented Peruvians from seeing each other as equal? Can we think of tourism as an economic activity that would allow Peruvians to find alternatives to development in order to move towards what some authors have called a post-development era (Escobar, 1995, Esteva, 1992, Rahnema, 1992, Sachs, 1992)? Although there are no straightforward answers to these questions, the critical analysis of dominant discourses of tourism suggests that, in order to make tourism a means for developing Peru into a more democratic and equal and therefore 'developed' society, political action needs to be undertaken.

This chapter has explored how the tourism industry in Peru assists members of the national elite to undertake a cultural, economic and political project of domination which aims at making hegemonic, at all levels of society, dominant discourses of tourism and practices of development that apply a colonial relationship over the natural environment and local populations. Members of the private sector and the state are continually undertaking tourism projects aimed at expanding the tourism industry, transforming local spaces into tourist destinations and persuading local inhabitants to engage in the tourism industry. Although the ultimate goals of the private sector and the state differ from each other, both share the same economic and political project: to generate economic growth and capital accumulation through the means of tourism.

Because of that, members of the national economic elite and recent neoliberal administrations have naturalised an ideology that links tourism to the discourse of development (Escobar, 1995, Ferguson, 1994, Sachs, 1992). This ideology has provided the epistemological basis needed to justify and sustain the expansion of the tourism industry within environmentally vulnerable rural territories, ironing out the tensions, contradictions and discriminatory practices that emerge from discourses of tourism. In doing this, this hegemonic ideology disguises the elite's interests in a discourse that situates local populations as the target group to obtain benefits generated by tourism. However, this ideology has naturalised a notion of development that is defined solely in economic and material terms. Therefore, it has created a regime of representation in which subaltern groups are represented as 'poor' and 'underdeveloped' subjects, whereas members of the national elite are represented as 'developed' and 'modern'.

This has reinforced a hierarchised view of society in which the cultural values and political and economic projects of the elites are taken as a model and a solution to the problems of poverty and the social ‘abnormalities’ attached to local populations.

This chapter has also analysed how discourses of tourism have created a representation of social reality that perpetuates discriminatory and racist practices against local populations, resulting in the reproduction of the ‘coloniality of power’ (Quijano, 2008). Because of that, indigenous populations are conceptualised as exploitable objects and local inhabitants are conceived as ‘cheap’ and ‘disposable’ labour for the tourism industry. These discriminatory practices are silenced by the discourse of ‘hygienic racism’ (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1998) and the Peruvian dominant racism (de la Cadena, 2000) which are used to legitimate social and cultural differences between social classes. Moreover, these discriminatory practices are used to label local models of development and traditional activities as ‘inferior’ and as a threat to the development of the nation, discriminating local cultures and depriving rural populations of a choice regarding the way of life they want to follow. In addition, although the expansion of the tourism industry generates economic benefits for some sectors of the population, this activity only benefits a few, specifically entrepreneurs with the economic resources and business mentality needed to secure coastal areas and create businesses. As the case of Mancora shows, this group of entrepreneurs is mainly composed of upper and middle class Limeños. Thus, discourses of tourism justify the implementation of the elite’s economic and political projects, imposing ideas about way of life and livelihood and validating the use and exploitation of natural resources used by local populations to reproduce their way of life and local identities.

In this sense, even though tourism is indeed generating economic growth, the expansion of the tourism industry is strengthening social, cultural and economic inequalities in a highly fragmented society. Above all, the expansion of the tourism industry is threatening the livelihood and local identities of rural populations engaged in traditional activities as their territories, needed to develop and sustain their own way of life, have dramatically decreased. Thus, instead of being a means for developing Peru into a more equal and democratic society, tourism is in fact assisting members of the entrepreneurial elite to reproduce their social power, deepening the structural inequalities that have historically characterised post-colonial societies such as Peru.

How, then, can Peruvians benefit from Peru's natural biodiversity, cultural diversity and historical heritage through the means of tourism? Peruvian scholar Patricia Oliart (2004) has suggested that we should view Peru's natural and cultural biodiversity with caution and respect, arguing that Peruvians have to transform the colonial and discriminatory relationship established with Peru's natural and cultural biodiversity since colonial times into a reciprocal and more equal relationship. For this author, the perpetuation of neoliberal policies and social practices that have emerged from dominant discourses that represent Peru's cultural and natural biodiversity solely as an asset to generate economic development, as a result of the economic value given by private capitals, will result in the predation of the natural resources available within the territory. Moreover, they will increase the social inequalities that have deeply divided the Peruvian society for centuries (Oliart, 2004). Because of that, Oliart (2004) has proposed a challenging political change based on the transformation of the social relationships that the dominant elite has historically used to relate to indigenous populations and the country's natural biodiversity. This change should translate into national development policies that include the local populations' points of view, incorporating their cultural traditions, local knowledge and conceptions of nature, in order to ensure the preservation of their natural and cultural resources while making Peru a more inclusive and democratic society (Oliart, 2004).

This political change should have to articulate the demands and conceptions of development of local inhabitants engaged in the tourism industry, such as Carlos Chunga, who wish to achieve a better quality of life not only through the pursuit of profit but through the improvement and development of basic services, health, education and the preservation of their natural environment, cultural traditions and local identities. Moreover, this political change has to comprise the models of development of local populations engaged in traditional activities that have become blurred due to the hegemony of tourism, translating their demands into grassroots movements that may assist them in challenging dominant economic, cultural and political projects. Perhaps, a first step towards this is to join fishing communities in Northern Peru with the NGOs that are working towards recognising the contribution of rural communities to Peru's rich socio-cultural and environmental diversity as well as to the economic development of the country<sup>197</sup>. This will allow fishing communities living within tourist destinations

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<sup>197</sup> Recently, a group of NGOs engaged with the situation and development of rural communities in Peru have launched a campaign called "Territorios Seguros para las

to become part of a wider political project that seeks to prevent local populations from losing their territories and local knowledge.

In this regard, the Peruvian state should play a central role in orientating local processes of development where tourism has (or could) become a dominant economic activity. In my view, this entails a redefinition of the relationship that the state has long established with rural populations and the economic elites. Tourism policies should provide a democratic socio-political and economic context in which indigenous groups and local populations have the opportunity to decide how to engage in tourism development, strengthening their decision-making in processes of development. Likewise, the state should ensure that rural populations engaged in traditional activities different from tourism maintain the natural resources and social institutions needed to reproduce their local identities and models of development. In addition, although tourism policies should encourage private investments in tourism as they are important in developing the national, regional and local economies, local spaces should not be totally open to the capitalist market without regulation and control. As such, the state, together with the local associations, should be responsible for planning and controlling the expansion of the tourism industry as a means of preventing rural territories from experiencing negative socio-environmental problems that could increase the population's conditions of vulnerability. This might prevent tourism becoming another tool through which patterns of domination and discriminatory practices against subaltern groups are reproduced and perpetuated, increasing socio-economic inequalities amongst Peruvians. In the following chapter, I will thoroughly analyse the role of the state in developing the tourism industry in the last century.

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Comunidades del Peru". This campaign aims at, firstly, recognising contribution of rural communities to the socio-cultural and environmental diversity of Peru; secondly, they demand that the Peruvian state resume the process whereby rural communities will obtain legal rights over their lands. <http://comunidadesdelperu.ibcperu.org/firma-y-unete/> Accessed: 19/09/2012.

## **Chapter 7 Is the Tourism Industry Increasing Conditions of Vulnerability of Rural Populations?**

### **7.1 Introduction**

After analysing the hegemonic discourses of tourism that provide the ideological support for the expansion of the tourism industry throughout the territory, in this chapter, I analyse the process through which the tourism industry has become a predominant economic activity in Peru. It is my aim to provide a clearer understanding of the problems that threaten the socio-economic and environmental sustainability of tourism in Peru, and to evidence the role played by the Peruvian state in controlling and regulating the expansion of the tourism industry. This is crucial in order to understand the impacts of global tourism and neoliberalism within environmentally fragile territories of Northern Peru.

My analysis is grounded in the theoretical framework developed by the contributors to the debate on Common Pool Resources (CPRs) (Becker and Ostrom, 1995; Ostrom *et al.*, 1999) and sustainable tourism studies (Butler, 1991; Healy, 1994; Hunter, 1997; Briassoulis, 2002). This approach regards the tourism landscape, including the natural, cultural and human-made resources within it, as common pool resources, which should be regulated and controlled by human institutions in order to guarantee sustainable use of the resource (Ostrom, 1990). Contributors to this debate have paid particular attention to analysing the role played by national, regional and local authorities in managing, planning, limiting and controlling the use of these resources (Butler, 1991; Healy, 1994; Butler, 1999; Briassoulis, 2002), as it is assumed that “in the absence of coordinating and regulatory mechanisms, they [users] make unrestricted use of resources, affecting their quality and quantity available to other users” (Briassoulis, 2002, p. 1078), and leaving them vulnerable to an open-access regime (Ostrom *et al.*, 1999). Consequently, the expansion of the tourism industry without regulatory mechanisms generates environmental degradation and can lead to the potential destruction of the resource, thus increasing the likelihood that the ‘tragedy of the tourism commons’ may occur in the near future (Briassoulis, 2002).

In chapter five, I also relied on this scholarly debate to analyse how the severe land conflicts affecting Mancora are hampering the emergence of structures of land governance at a local level, in turn, generating socio-environmental problems and

allowing the productive infrastructure of the society to be built within previously disaster-stricken territories. Following on from this discussion, in this chapter, I will focus on the role played by the Peruvian state in leading the expansion of the tourism industry, analysing how the state has adopted the idea of environmental sustainability into their policies and exploring the ways in which the economic and ruling elites have engaged in the tourism industry. A state-focus analysis of the tourism industry will help me to develop a better understanding of the socio-environmental impacts that affects negatively tourism development in Northern Peru and the identity of rural populations, as explored in previous chapters. Ultimately, this discussion will enable me to explore the factors and tensions that have contributed to the increase in conditions of vulnerability of rural populations whose territories have been transformed into tourist attractions despite being highly vulnerable to the 'El Niño' phenomenon.

In the first of three sections, I look at the emergence and development of the tourism industry in Peru during the Twentieth century. Then, I explore the socio-economic and political context present in Peru during the 1980s, with the aim of contextualising the direction taken by the tourism industry in the following decades. Subsequently, I analyse how the implementation of the neoliberal model of development during the 1990s shaped the tourism industry and the regulating role of the state. Finally, I explore the role played by PROMPERU in changing the image of the country in order to assist the neoliberal reform and the expansion of the tourism industry.

The second section describes the evolution of international and national tourist flows in the last two decades, followed by my analysis of the main interests of recent neoliberal administrations and the private sector, behind the implementation of several marketing policies for tourism growth. Finally, I explore the tensions between PROMPERU and the Vice-Ministry of Tourism and the role of the MINCETUR as a tourism environmental authority. This allows me to offer an explanation on how tourist destinations, such as Mancora, have followed an unsustainable model of tourism development that is putting the livelihood and health of rural populations at risk.

In the final section I examine the tensions generated by the decentralisation process that, in turn, impeded the state in taking a leading role in the expansion of the tourism industry. Then, I describe recent efforts undertaken by the central government to organise the development of the tourism industry throughout the territory, in an attempt to change the way the state relates to the tourism industry. Finally, I analyse the role of

the municipal tourism offices to see how the tensions that characterise the role of the state in developing and regulating the tourism industry at the national level, are reproduced at the local level as well.

## **7.2 Tourism in Peru (1940s – 1990s)**

### **7.2.1 *The Industrialisation Period (1940s - 1980s)***

Import Substitution policies were widely implemented during the first half of the Twentieth century in Latin America. It was assumed that a state-led development of domestic industry would make national economies more independent of the world market economy. Consequently, most Latin American regimes in those years gave the state an active and leading role in developing their countries, adopting a protectionist attitude towards their economies while hoping to achieve industrialisation. As such, national governments protected local industries from foreign competition; key industries were nationalised and the ruling elites invested heavily in public infrastructure and social services, increasing public spending while expanding their domestic markets. Nonetheless, although the implementation of the Import Substitution policies in Latin America lasted until the 1980s, by the end of the 1950s this model of economic development was already appearing to be inefficient. The Import Substitution model did not generate the number of jobs needed to employ large sectors of the population, increasing inequalities between the rich and the poor (Green, 2003). In the following decades, the collapse of this model would have a severe impact on the economy of most Latin American countries.

But unlike other Latin American countries, during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Peru's ruling elite applied an export-led strategy for economic growth (Klarén, 2000, p. 331), resisting import substitution policies until late in the 1950s. In this period, despite the fact that the state had a minimal role in developing tourism, public investments were directed to improving the connectivity of the country, thus assisting the development of the tourism industry<sup>198</sup> (Fuller, 2009). Several administrations invested heavily in road building while also directing economic policies toward industrialisation, enabling the state to gain authority over remote areas of the country taken by the gamonal system and, at the same time, fostering commerce and trade (Klarén, 2000, pp. 243-250). As a

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<sup>198</sup> During this period, the main tourist authority was the *Touring Club y Automóvil del Perú*, which was created in 1924 (Desforges, 2000) following the creation of the 'Unión Ciclista' in 1896 (Alayza Paz Soldán, 1947).



result, main transport routes, such as the Pan-American and the Central Highways, were built and the national airline Faucett was created, increasing flows of national tourists within the country (Fuller, 2009, p. 110). In line with the discourse of industrialisation of that period (Drinot, 2011a), the economic elite from Lima dominating this activity, assumed that the tourism industry was going to modernise, develop and civilise remote populations (Alayza Paz Soldán, 1947, p. 28).

The creation of the *Cooperación Nacional de Turismo*<sup>199</sup> (National Tourist Board) at the end of the 1950s was a state reaction to the economic changes discussed above and reflected an attempt to play a more active role in leading tourism development. During the 1960s and 1970s, whilst the process of industrialisation accelerated (Klarén, 2000) and the national road system expanded, the state promoted and institutionalised tourism (Fuller, 2009). These efforts began during former President Fernando Belaúnde's first period of administration (1963-1968), which saw him implementing policies aimed at increasing flows of national and international tourists. Belaúnde also created the *Centro de Formación en Turismo* (CENFOTUR) and the *Corporación de Turismo del Perú*<sup>200</sup> (COTURPERU). The latter was the state institution responsible for organising the tourism industry, and promoting the restoration of heritage sites as well as managing all state hotels (Desforges, 2000; Fuller, 2009).

Subsequently, the military government lead by General Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968-1975) undertook major structural reforms in areas such as industry, land tenure, taxes, banking and government. Velasco's strategy "was designed to gain national control over the economic surplus and redirect it to a broad stratum of formerly marginalised local entrepreneurs" (Klarén, 2000, p. 341), with the hope of turning the state into "the most powerful agent within the economic structure" (Durand, 1994, p. 40). According to the expert on business-government relations in Peru, Francisco Durand (1994), Velasco's industrial 'nationalistic' policy prioritised national capital and sought to strengthen the national bourgeoisie while attracting investments under new agreements. However, economists who supported the neoliberal agenda have noted that private investments dramatically diminished during the 1970s and 1980s as a result of strategic sectors of the economy being increasingly regulated, controlled and supervised by the state, arguing that state intervention is harmful for the economy (Kisic, 1999, p. 78-79).

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<sup>199</sup> This Tourist Board was responsible for building state hotels and promoting the country (Desforges, 2000).

<sup>200</sup> Peruvian Tourism Corporation.

In other words, although Velasco's government benefited national private investments in order to advance the Import Substitution model, the traditional private sector rejected the interventionist and regulating role of the state, reducing its participation in the economy and worsening the economic crisis that hit the country in the following decades.

But this behaviour was not followed by the emerging economic groups benefitting from Velasco's tourist policies. The military government encouraged national private investments in the catering sector and in building public infrastructure by channelling subsidies and by creating taxes that benefited tourism entrepreneurs (Fuller, 2009, p. 114). Thus, the emerging economic elite engaged in the tourism industry became part of a modern national bourgeoisie, reducing the power of the oligarchy and the traditional entrepreneur sector over the national economy.

As tourism became an important economic activity during the Velasco administration, the state fostered tourism growth by undertaking marketing campaigns that highlighted the country's cultural and natural heritage (Fuller, 2009, p. 114). In addition, as part of the COPESCO<sup>201</sup> plan the state intensified the construction of tourism infrastructure building roads, airports, transport, energy links and development sites, as well as building lodges offering cheap accommodation (Fuller, 2009). This was particularly evident in the south as a result of the restoration of the Machu Picchu ruins (Desforges, 2000, pp. 182-183). Institutionally, COTURPERU was transferred into the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, which in 1978 became the Ministry of Industry, Tourism, Integration and Commerce (MITINCI)<sup>202</sup> (Desforges, 2000, p. 182). Whilst this state institution was responsible for promoting the development of tourism infrastructure, controlling tourism services and providing training to professionals involved in the catering sector, the *Fondo de Promoción del Turismo* (FOPTUR) was set up to mediate between the private and public sector (Fuller, 2009, pp. 110-117) and to promote Peru (Desforges, 2000).

The strong role of the state in the tourism sector during this period was also rejected by Peruvian entrepreneurs. In spite of the incentives given to the private sector by the state, members of the national economic elite opposed the state monopoly that emerged

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<sup>201</sup> The COPESCO plan is the governmental agency responsible for building infrastructure for tourism.

<sup>202</sup> In the 2<sup>nd</sup> July 2002 MITINCI was replaced by the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Tourism (MINCETUR) – Law 27790.

during Velasco's administration. In fact, by arguing that the companies in control of the state were facing important problems, such as a lack of investment and investing plans, excessive staff employed in state agencies, high levels of bureaucracy and scarce technological innovation (Kisic, 1999), national entrepreneurs sought to change the policies that enabled the state to control and regulate strategic sectors of the economy.

Consequently, during President Morales Bermudez (1975-1980) administration, also known as the counter reform period, the state's role in the economy reduced as a result of the initial implementation of the neoliberal agenda (Klarén, 2000, p. 359). In contrast to the Import Substitution policies, the neoliberal model of economic development holds that individual freedoms are guaranteed by freedom of the market and of trade and therefore state intervention in markets must be kept to a bare minimum (Harvey, 2005). As mentioned in chapter two, supported and promoted by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the United States, neoliberalism was initially introduced to the Latin American region during the 1970s. In the following decades, the neoliberal ideology travelled throughout the region of Latin American like a 'silent revolution' (Green, 2003), developing into state policies aimed at ensuring the free functioning of markets.

Therefore, during Morales Bermudez's administration, supported by both the national economic elite and international financial organisations, conservative political leaders began implementing measures aimed at liberalising the economy, with the hope of enhancing the market economy (Durand, 1994; Klarén, 2000). As a result, the power gained by the state during Velasco's administration returned to the hands of the entrepreneurial class and the economic power structure of the country was re-organised around the national private capital (Durand, 1994). This was a clear manifestation of how processes of policy-making and economic change undertaken by the state were prompted by powerful classes and international financial organisations in order to guarantee capital accumulation and the expansion of the market economy without regulation and control from the state.

Consequently, instead of developing infrastructure as it previously did under the Velasco administration, the state under Morales Bermudez only focussed its efforts on promoting and channelling subsidies to the private sector engaged in the tourism industry (Fuller, 2009), giving tax incentives and facilitating the process of acquisition of land owned by the state. As a result, the number of hotels in the country increased 43% between 1975 and 1980, highlighting the increasing role of tourism in the economy

during the Military government (Desforges, 2000, p. 183). This surge in the hotel industry did not, however, reflect the fact that the economic crisis had already deteriorated Peru's economy, limiting the further expansion of the tourism industry.

### ***7.2.2 1980s: Economic Crisis and Shining Path (1982-1991)***

In contrast to the previous decades, the tense socio-economic environment experienced in the 1980s (the so-called 'Lost Decade'), was marked by swift social changes prompted by internal flows of migration, difficult relations between the state and international development institutions, hyperinflation and recession, a lack of private investment, continued falls of real wages, political violence and the severe impact of the 'El Niño' phenomenon of 1983. Apart from negatively affecting the tourism industry, this adverse economic and political atmosphere shaped tourism policies reducing the role played by the state in the tourism industry from the 1990s onwards. Above all, the economic crisis that emerged during this decade, together with the socio-political crisis provoked by the internal war waged between the Peruvian state and Shining Path, contributed to the construction of a negative image of the country that stood against the national elite's political and economic interests.

During his second administration (1980-1985), President Fernando Belaúnde reinforced a free-market strategy of development, "reducing the economic preponderance of the state, removing tariff protection from industry, and encouraging private foreign investments" (Klarén, 2000, p. 374). However, in 1982, Peru's economy was hit by the 'debt crisis' that generated deep economic and social problems throughout the region, limiting Belaunde's economic programme and bringing the main productive sectors (agriculture, mining and industry) to stagnation and decline (Klarén, 2000).

The 'debt crisis' consisted of a rise in interest rates by the international financial institutions, together with the fall in raw materials prices<sup>203</sup> and the ceasing of new lending, in a context of increased socio-economic difficulties provoked by the failure of the export-led state model of development and continued rises in world oil prices. In order to avoid problems of productivity of capital, during the 1960s and 1970s, Western 'developed' countries carried out techno-economic changes that resulted in a reduced

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<sup>203</sup> According to Ugarteche (2000), there is a pattern that has provoked that last four debt crisis experienced in the Latin American region (1824-1940, 1870-1880, 1929-1950, 1980-1992), which consists in (a) a rise in interest rates and (b) a fall in raw material prices.

demand for raw materials such as those exported by Peru. Consequently, in the 1980s, Latin America's exports shrank and national governments were forced to cut down imports and public spending in order to pay their debts (Ugarteche, 2000). In addition, in implementing the stabilisation policies proposed by the IMF in order to reduce inflation rates in the region, national governments raised taxes, increased interest rates and devaluated the currency. As a result, the economy of the region plummeted and most Latin American countries defaulted on their foreign payments. This caused foreign banks to stop lending (Klarén, 2000; Green, 2003) and triggered a generalised crisis (Ugarteche, 2000) that increased unemployment and took almost half of Latin America's population under the poverty line (Green, 2003).

To make things worse, in 1983, the cyclical phenomenon of the 'El Niño' struck Peru, undermining Belaunde's economic stabilisation policy. The heavy rains and severe floods brought about by 'El Niño' reduced the GDP by 12%. In the region of Piura, productivity of agriculture and fishing decreased due to the fact that the productive infrastructure was destroyed and the output lost. The 1983 'El Niño' seriously damaged the Pan American Highway, paralysing commerce in the region and isolating rural areas. This natural disaster also resulted in loss of life. Mortality rates increased as epidemic diseases and plagues spread throughout the affected areas, worsening the living conditions of the poorest sectors of the population. Mancora became isolated and the geography of the district was drastically transformed. In addition to depleting the local market of products due to flooding and the destruction of the Pan American Highway (the main route in the articulation of goods), the catastrophic effects of the disastrous 1983 'El Niño' phenomenon included the collapse of the fishing industry and the emerging tourism industry.

In 1985, neither national nor international investment increased, preventing the country for overcoming the economic crisis. As part of his 'heterodox' economic program, former President Alan Garcia (1985-1990) restricted payments to foreign lenders and stressed state intervention in the economy, giving subsidies to business in order to revive economic growth. These policies severely damaged the relationships with the International Financial community, limiting the flow of external loans in the following years. In addition, Garcia's nationalisation of the banks two years later meant that businessmen and the economic elite began to take their capital abroad, weakening the relationships between the state and the entrepreneurial class. Apart from lack of investments, the Peruvian fiscal system did not adapt to the new changes brought about

by the increasing migration to the cities and the emergence of the informal economy, decreasing the income of the public sector (Klarén, 2000, pp. 385-398). As a result, national and international economic elites lost their confidence in the Peruvian economy, creating an important economic gap that had to be filled in the subsequent decade in order to stabilise the country.

Parallel to this economic crisis, during the 1980s, Peru experienced a decade of social unrest, upheaval and political violence. Declaring the war against the state in 1980, the Maoist political party Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) developed a powerful political and war machine that took control of several unattended departments within the Central Sierra and swiftly expanded to the capital over the following years. By regarding Abimael Guzman<sup>204</sup> as the fourth sword of communism after Marx, Lenin, and Mao, many young mestizos and Indians found in Guzman's radical ideology an opportunity to overcome the oppressive social order of a racist society that historically excluded rural populations and generated deep socio-economic and cultural inequalities. Thousands of discontent and hungry Peruvians adhered to the violent revolution proposed by the Shining Path, supporting an internal war that was aimed at obtaining political power (Stern, 1998; Klarén, 2000; Gavilán Sánchez, 2012). Considered as the “most intense, extensive and prolonged episode of violence in the entire history of the Republic”, the internal war waged between Sendero Luminoso and the armed forces resulted in a massive loss of life: 69, 280 victims between 1980 and 1992<sup>205</sup> (Truth Commission and Reconciliation, 2003).

During the civil war, Peru also became one of the most important coca producers. Due to an increasing consumption of cocaine amongst industrialised countries in the 1980s, coca crops destined specifically for cocaine production increased within the inaccessible Andean and tropical regions, especially in the Huallaga valley (Klarén, 2000; Kawell, 2005). While coca production for non-traditional and illegal uses rose, the Huallaga valley in the Amazon region developed into an area taken over by Colombian ‘narcos’ who dominated the international drug-trade. As a result of the absence of the state,

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<sup>204</sup> Shining Path's leader and founder now imprisoned.

<sup>205</sup> According to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, around 40% of the victims were from rural areas and Quechua speakers.

rivalries between the Colombian ‘narcos’ and Shining Path made this remote and hostile valley a very violent area<sup>206</sup>, turning the Amazon into a ‘tierra de nadie’<sup>207</sup>.

Thus, by the end of the 1980s, the prevalent perception of Peru held by international governments, foreign and national investors and tourists was that of a poor, unsafe and violent country with a collapsed economy. Consequently, even though the Peruvian state sought to attract more visitors through marketing campaigns, and through channelling financial assistance to the private sector, tourism development in the 1980s was practically non-existent, resulting in a sharp decline in tourist numbers<sup>208</sup> and a subsequent collapse of the industry (Chacaltana, 1999; Desforges, 2000; Fuller, 2009). In the following decade, this socio-economic and political context prevented the success of Fujimori’s neoliberal economic policies which heavily relied on tourism, international investment and privatisation as economic strategies. Before moving on to analysing how Fujimori’s administration changed the image of the country, in the following section I will analyse the structural changes undertaken during the 1990s as part of the neoliberal reform.

### ***7.2.3 Fujimori and the Neoliberal Model of Economic Development***

When Alberto Fujimori (1990-2000) came to power, he found a collapsed economy and the Shining Path leaders seeking to take control of the capital. Contrary to his presidential promises, during his first administration he radically applied a package of neoliberal policies which became known as *‘fujishock’*. Fujimori’s stabilisation programme initially modified the 1969 Agrarian Reform law, altered labour laws and privatised state-owned enterprises. Following this, Fujimori carried out a self-coup on 5<sup>th</sup> April, 1992, arguing that the Congress was hindering the implementation of his economic policies. Taking up dictatorial power, Fujimori closed the Congress, suspended the constitution of 1979 and called the military in to control the capital whilst the main political leaders of the opposition were arrested (Klarén, 2000). By eliminating opposition to his stabilisation programme, the Fujimori regime ushered in one of the

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<sup>206</sup> The increasing coca production within the Huallaga valley called the attention of the United States, who, under its anti-drug policy, undertook the ‘U.S. drug war’ in Peru, implementing eradication operations and development programmes to convince farmers to stop growing coca (Kawell, 2005).

<sup>207</sup> No man’s land.

<sup>208</sup> See Graphic 7.1.

harshest and more severe neoliberal models of economic development seen in Latin America.

Even though the neoliberal policies had been gradually introduced between 1975 and the late 1980s, the harsh measures towards liberalisation implemented by Fujimori's administration completely transformed the role of the state, centralising its administration in the national government and giving more power to the economic elites. Aimed at liberalising the economy, alleviating hyperinflation and restructuring the administration of the state, Fujimori's radical economic programme drastically reduced state spending and price subsidies, and triggered state privatisation, tax and tariff reform and deregulation of financial and labour markets (Abugattas, 1999; Iguíñez, 1999; Kisic, 1999; Klarén, 2000). Seeking to improve output and efficiency of the national productive system, these economic measures mainly encouraged private investments and generated a more competitive context for private entrepreneurs (Kisic, 1999, p. 84).

In other words, Fujimori turned Peru into a *Neoliberal State*, which is defined as the "state apparatus whose fundamental mission was [is] to facilitate conditions for profitable capital accumulation on the part of both domestic and foreign capital" (Harvey, 2005, p. 07). Consequently, Peru's participation in the international economy intensified, hyperinflation was reduced and international trade became a main economic policy, leading to signs of economic recovery in Peru by the second half of the 1990s. Due to the fact that Fujimori's economic policies allowed the national economy to recover after continued decades of economic crisis, neoliberalism, an ideology reliant on the power of the market for the creation of wealth and the elimination of poverty, was widely accepted and therefore swiftly developed into a hegemonic way of thinking in Peruvian society.

The authoritarian regime had a negative impact on the administration of the state. In order to impose the neoliberal model, the country's democratic institutions such as the Congress and the judiciary were directly attacked<sup>209</sup>. Furthermore, the power given to the armed forces to fight against Shining Path eventually resulted in accusation of human rights violations and crimes (Klarén, 2000). Subsequently, foreign investors and the international community supporting democratic regimes saw Fujimori as an authoritarian president and Peru as a high risk country to invest in because of its volatile socio-economic and political environment (Graham, 1994). In other words, Fujimori's

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<sup>209</sup> See de Belaúnde (1998).



authoritarian way of governing the country also reinforced a negative image of the country that was limiting the development of the tourism industry since the 1980s, making Peru an unattractive country for investors and tourists.

Fujimori undertook several structural changes in the administration of the state in order to impose the neoliberal model. Fujimori dissolved the regional governments elected in 1987 (Monge, 2006) and disrupted the process of regionalisation initially undertaken by former President Alan Garcia (Klarén, 2000, p. 391), centralising the administration of the state through the Ministry of the Presidency. During the 1980s and after twelve years of Military dictatorship (1968-1979), the Peruvian state undertook a process of regionalisation that was aimed at democratising local and regional levels of society, creating local and provincial municipal authorities with economic and administrative autonomy (Chirinos, 2005). This process sought to overcome the historical dominance of Lima and to disrupt the highly centralised system that characterised the Peruvian government since the establishment of the colonial government (Klarén, 2000).

In concentrating 25% of the country's annual budget and the power of the state in the Ministry of the Presidency, Fujimori's consolidated his political power. In fact, he reduced the authority of provincial governments and reinforced the role of local governments, giving them resources and decision-making powers over investments projects (Gonzales de Olarte, 2000; Monge, 2006). In doing this, Fujimori undermined the financial base of rival provincial-mayors and controlled the implementation of social programmes aimed at poverty reduction. Inevitably, these policies revived the dispute between regionalism and centralism in the country and weakened other state national agencies such as Ministries (Cotler and Grompone, 2000; Klarén, 2000).

During this period, the World Bank also channelled through the-then Ministerio de Promoción de la Mujer y del Desarrollo Social (PROMUDEH)<sup>210</sup> several social projects that sought to benefit vulnerable populations, such as women, indigenous populations and ethnic minorities (Oliart, 2011, p. 76). In addition, even though the social programmes run by the Ministry of the Presidency tried to bring the state 'closer' to the population, justifying this centralised way of governing the country with ideas about citizen participation and inclusive development, these programmes encouraged limited and restricted grass-root participation in decision-making (Monge, 2006). As such, by establishing a relationship of clientelism with impoverished sectors of the

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<sup>210</sup> Ministry of Women and Development.

population, these social programmes were used by the regime as a manipulative instrument to gain political support in re-election campaigns (Monge, 2006).

In addition, in the 1990s, whilst the idea of planning as a function of the state was undermined, the efforts to create Peru's environmental policy were disrupted. In 1991, Fujimori's administration deactivated the 'Instituto Nacional de Planificación' (INP) (National Institute of Planning) and the 'Sistema Nacional de Planificación' (National Planning System). Created early in the 1960s by the military government in order to modernise the state apparatus, the INP became a key and very important governmental agency responsible for training government employees (Guerra-García, 1999). The deactivation of the INP resulted in a state without plans and clear policies for the development of the regions and the country in general (Carrión and Villaronga, 2008), creating an important gap that weakened the administration of the state. Additionally, in 1992, Peru's fragile urban planning system was also disabled after the land and services were given to the private sector, representing a step backwards in the evolution of Peruvian policy and planning thinking. This allowed cities to grow without an integrated system designed in relation to the spatial characteristics of the territory and population needs (Pineda-Zumaran, 2012).

Moreover, the efforts seen early in the 1990s aimed at creating the '*Código del Medio Ambiente y los Recursos Naturales*' (CMARN) (Code for the Environment and the Natural Resources) were interrupted by the '*Ley Marco para el Crecimiento de la Inversión Privada*' (*Decreto Legislativo N°757*) (Law for Private Investment Growth). The CMARN was the first important state initiative whereby Peru's environmental policy would be designed by a single set of rules, with the hope that this environmental policy would regulate all economic activities. However, in 1991, the promulgation of the *Ley Marco para el Crecimiento de la Inversión Privada* formally eliminated the 'Sistema Nacional del Ambiente' (National Environmental System), stating that each Ministry should be responsible for regulating the environmental impacts generated by the economic activities they represent (Lanegra, 2008). Consequently, according to the *Ley Marco para el Crecimiento de la Inversión Privada*, the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Tourism (MINCETUR) became the governmental agency responsible for protecting the environment and conserving the natural resources within tourist destinations<sup>211</sup>.

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<sup>211</sup> This is also stated in the *Proyecto de Decreto Supremo "Reglamento Ambiental para el Desarrollo de la Actividad Turística*, published in Peru's official newspaper, El

Finally, the 1990s's economic shock shaped the tourism industry in several ways, which, according to Desforges (2000), favoured the entrepreneurial elite. In fact, the state liberalised the economy in order to foster private investments and assisted the private sector by improving transport infrastructure and basic services, with the aim of developing tourist infrastructure and create tourist attractions. Foreign airlines began operating in the country as a result of several international agreements signed between Peru and U.S.A. In addition, airports were privatised, roads across the country were improved and the new and used car markets were liberalised to increase the population's mobility. In addition, although the decision of the state to liberalise the land of Comunidades Campesinas from the coast was aimed at fostering land markets for agribusiness (Burneo, 2007, p. 197), it also advanced a land market amongst businessmen related to coastal tourism. Therefore, the number of hotels and restaurants within Cusco and Lima multiplied (Chacaltana, 1999) and the chain of state hotels was privatised (Indacochea, 1996, quoted in Fuller 2009) in order to boost private investments in tourism<sup>212</sup>.

Even though the implementation of the neoliberal policies stabilised the economy and fostered the development of the tourism industry, the state reforms undertaken by Fujimori weakened the administration of the state in favour of the economic elites. Peru became a centralised and authoritarian state without regional authorities, without a governmental institution in charge of training government employees, without clear development plans and without an environmental policy. It was assumed that if the regime gave the state a regulating role in ensuring sustainable use of the natural resources, this would have a negative impact on the model, obstructing the free functioning of the markets and the generation of capital. In addition, because the FMI and the World Bank prioritised the privatisation process during this period, the evaluation of potential environmental impacts of these economic measures were not included (Reed, 1996). This explains why throughout the privatization process undertaken by Fujimori, the environmental factor was not taken into account and the regulating agencies of the state were not made stronger (Lanegra, 2008). As a result, natural resources within rural areas were opened to the capitalist market, without governmental agencies responsible for regulating their use and avoiding potential

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Peruano, in the 13<sup>th</sup> November, 2006; the General Law of Tourism N° 29408, and the PENTUR (Sariego and Garcia, 2008).

<sup>212</sup> PROMPERU (2000) Evolución reciente e importancia del turismo en el Perú. Power Point presentation.

environmental and social problems. Thus, it could be argued that the neoliberal reform reinforced and legitimised a colonial relation of exploitation over the natural environment as a means of generating economic growth in the short term.

#### ***7.2.4 PROMPERU's Main Role during the 1990s***

Under this new neoliberal regime, if Peru wanted to attract investors and tourists, the government had to first change Peru's damaged international image and negative sense of place, dominant during the 1980s and early in the 1990s. Peru's portrayal as a country with a volatile economy and political context, helped no less by Fujimori's own self-coup<sup>213</sup>, was hampering commercial reform aimed at opening the economy in order to boost foreign trade. As such, from 1993 onwards, the state put most of its efforts into marketing Peru, advancing into what Normal Fuller (2009) has termed 'a promoter state'. It became a priority for Fujimori's government to create a positive sense of place able to attract investors and tourists, who could be confident that Peru's economy, political context and legal framework were appropriate for investment and travel. Therefore, in 1993, the Peruvian government created PROMPERU; a state institution that was given the task of developing a marketing strategy to sell Peru as a tourist destination in global markets.

PROMPERU was given economic resources and president's Fujimori institutional support<sup>214</sup> to undertake tourism projects and develop promotional videos highlighting the natural and cultural characteristics of the country as well as producing magazines that would communicate to potential investors the variety of business opportunities that Peru could offer. Amongst the efforts undertaken by PROMPERU during this decade, the international magazine 'El Dorado: Towards a Vision of Peru' stands out. Written in Spanish and English, this international magazine of outstanding editorial and visual quality, containing a great selection of colourful photos taken by experienced photographers, was distributed and well received amongst embassies and foreign investors. This was a clear manifestation of the interest of the state in registering the country's unique natural biodiversity; human and cultural diversity amongst the coast, the Andes and the rainforest; ancient historical heritage and potential for development in

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<sup>213</sup> According to Graham (1994), "After the coup, for example, most new decisions on loans by agencies like the World Bank, the International monetary Fund (IMF), and US Agency for International Development (AID) were postponed until after the completion of constituent assembly elections".

<sup>214</sup> According to my informants, PROMPERU became Fujimori's institution.

order to use this visual material to elaborate a marketing discourse that would change the way the country was visually sensed. Ultimately, this magazine was a tool used to foster the exploitation of natural, cultural and archaeological resources amongst national and international investors and tourists, assisting the regime and the economic elite in implementing the neoliberal model of economic development. According to PROMPERU's president of that time, 'El Dorado' was one of many efforts carried out to shape the new 'positive' image of Peru:

- 1 Peruvians have made a great deal of positive efforts, both public and private, to turn Peru into a viable nation, spotlight the [available] opportunities [there are] for potential investors, the unique attributes Peru features as an attractive destination for tourism or the quality of its
- 5 export products. (Boza *et al.*, 1999, p. 4).

At present, despite these marketing campaigns having ended up reproducing deep socio-cultural inequalities that have long been characterising the Peruvian society (González-Velarde, 2009), PROMPERU's efforts at shaping the image of the country abroad has shown to be very successful. In November 2011, the international community awarded PROMPERU the World Travel Award<sup>215</sup> 2011 for being the best tourism office in South America<sup>216</sup> and 2012's Grand EFFIE award for undertaking the most effective marketing communication campaign with the launch of the Peru Brand campaign<sup>217</sup>. PROMPERU's success in shaping the image of Peru is also recognised by agents of tourism who see this as a positive change for the development of industries such as agribusiness and tourism. Claudia Cornejo, who has had senior roles within the Vice-Ministry of Tourism and PROMPERU during recent neoliberal administrations, played a key role in fostering tourism growth in Peru and shaping a positive sense of the country. In our interview in 2011 when she was the National Executive Director of Tourism Development, she pointed out how Peru's perception has changed in the last few decades in favour of the entrepreneurial class:

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<sup>215</sup> "World Travel Awards serves to acknowledge, reward and celebrate excellence across all sectors of the global travel and tourism industry". <http://www.worldtravelawards.com/> Accessed: 16/05/2012

<sup>216</sup> <http://www.facebook.com/notes/promper%C3%BA-oficial/promper%C3%BA-gana-en-world-travel-awards-oscar-del-turismo-como-mejor-oficina-de-tur/256859287693035> Accessed: 20/10/2011.

<sup>217</sup> [http://www.rpp.com.pe/2012-05-26-promperu-gana-premio-gran-effie-2012-por-marca-peru-noticia\\_485952.html](http://www.rpp.com.pe/2012-05-26-promperu-gana-premio-gran-effie-2012-por-marca-peru-noticia_485952.html) Accessed: 28/05/2012.

*Extract 7.1:*

- 1       **Claudia:** Acuérdate que nosotros somos un país cuya economía está  
basada en todo lo que es la exportación de materia prima y que  
entonces somos un país relativamente nuevo desarrollando este tipo de  
industria. No solamente la turística, hay otras que son relativamente  
5       nuevas, el tema agroexportador. En fin, hay muchas cosas que poco a  
poco se están recuperando. [...] Entonces son tipos de negocios que  
poco a poco se van dinamizando. Pero se van dinamizando también  
porque no hay que olvidarnos que somos un país que poco a poco  
hemos ido cambiando nuestra imagen. De ser un país solamente  
10       relacionado con el terrorismo y con la droga, ahora estamos  
siendo un país visto de otra manera, un país seguro, un país interesante,  
un país que tiene una cultura, un país que tiene una estabilidad  
económica, un país en [el] que voy a poder cruzar la frontera y nadie  
me va a matar. Y entonces, poco a poco, y ese también es un proceso,  
15       vamos atrayendo otro tipo de gente y otro tipo de inversión. (Interview  
with former Peru's National Executive Director of Tourism  
Development (2010-2011) and current Vice-Minister of Tourism  
(2011 - to present) Claudia Cornejo, MINCETUR, Lima, 25<sup>th</sup> March,  
2011)<sup>218</sup>.

Thus, from the 1990s onwards, PROMPERU became the state agency responsible for changing the image of the country and marketing Peru within national and global markets of tourists and investors. The new symbolic meanings attached to the country by PROMPERU, which transformed the way Peru was perceived in the 1980s, were culturally shaped by a ruling and economic elite that used this state agency as a means for accomplishing their economic and political goals, facilitating conditions of capital accumulation and tourism growth. In this sense, the socio-political process whereby the image of Peru was transformed during the 1990s is a clear manifestation of the way the expansion of the neoliberal ideology and the market economy conditions the elaboration of new senses of place and new images of a nation.

In sum, tourism in Peru emerged as a result of the process of industrialisation undertaken by the economic and ruling elite who sought to expand the capitalist market and the administration of the state to remote areas of the country. During the second half of the Twentieth century, tourism became an official industry for the country's economy. However, the economic crisis that hit Peru during the 1980s, together with the expansion of Shining Path and coca production, developed Peru into a high risk country for investors and tourists, causing the tourism industry to collapse. This situation changed in the following decade when Fujimori applied a harsh neoliberal stabilisation

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<sup>218</sup> See p. 303, Extract 7.1, for English translation.

programme and the internal war came to an end. During the 1990s, even though the tourism industry recovered, the regulating role of the state in developing tourist destinations was reduced to a minimum. At the same time, the marketing of the country was given priority, leaving the development of tourist destinations open to the entrepreneurial elite. In fact, the state mainly focused its policies on creating an attractive image of the country for the neoliberal policies to be successful, developing PROMPERU into a key state institution responsible for marketing the country, both internally and externally. In the next section, I analyse the role played by PROMPERU increasing tourist flows, and the tensions resulting from the implementation of a neoliberal model of tourism development.

### **7.3 Peru's Tourism Boom and the Neoliberal Model of Tourism Development**

#### ***7.3.1 Evolution of Tourist Flows: Peru's Tourism Boom***

Since the early 2000s, Peru has been experiencing an explosive and sustained increase of international tourist arrivals. This swift growth in tourist flows can be seen as a direct result of the end of the internal armed conflict between the state and Shining Path and as a result of the tourism policies undertaken by the Peruvian state mentioned above. In 1992, Shining Path's leader Abimael Guzman was captured by the national intelligence agency of the Peruvian police, resulting in the end of the internal war. Six years later, in 1998, a final declaration of peace signed in 1998 between Peru and Ecuador after three years of war reopened the border, triggering commerce and tourist flows between both countries. As a result, flows of national and international tourists increased as middle and upper class Peruvians felt safe to travel within the country, and Ecuadorians and tourists travelling around South America were able to enter the country through the border with Ecuador. In the following years up until 2000, the tourism industry recovered from the drop experienced in the 1980s, maintaining its total number of tourists per year below one million (see Graphic 7.1 International Tourist Arrivals 1988-2010<sup>219</sup>).

Alongside improving the country's socio-political and economic context there is also a suggestion that the marketing techniques employed by PROMPERU have been successful in attracting international tourists and investors. From the beginning of this

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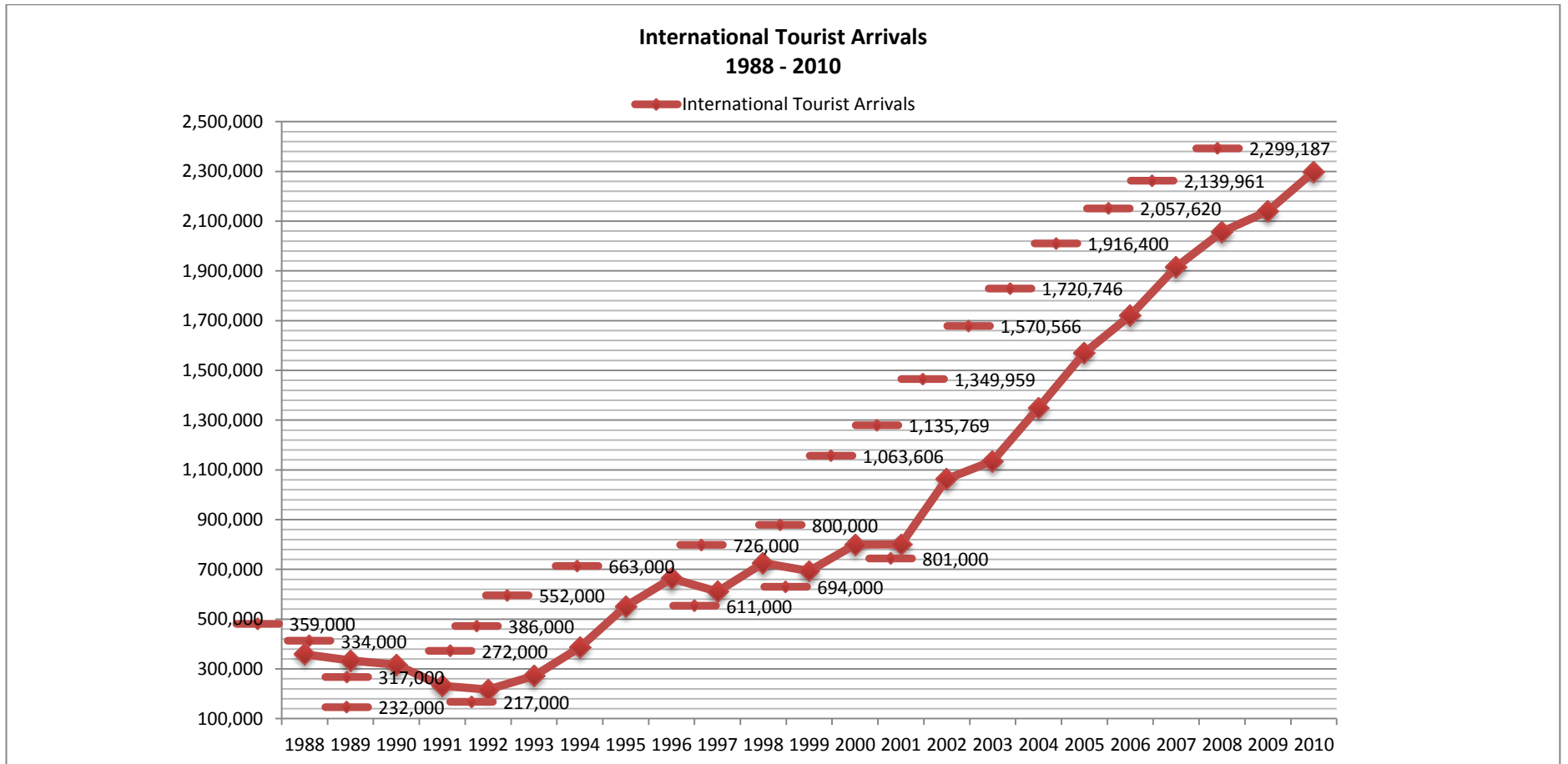
<sup>219</sup> Graphic created by the author using data from MINCETUR's webpage <http://www.mincetur.gob.pe/newweb/Default.aspx?tabid=3459> Accessed: 30/04/2012

century, tourism to Peru from the industrialised countries, and other Latin American countries, has grown enormously. As mentioned above, PROMPERU's marketing discourse invokes Peru's historical heritage and cultural diversity, remarkable natural biodiversity and suitable geography for practicing adventure sports, to portray Peru as a magnificent, colourful and lively country waiting to be discovered, seen, and felt by the tourist<sup>220</sup>. This representation of the country is heavily transmitted to tourists through promotional videos, magazines, pamphlets, international tourism fairs and the internet. In doing this, it has created a tourist product aimed at attracting diverse sectors of the tourist global market interested in cultural and historic tourism, ecotourism and adventure tourism (Sariego and García, 2008; Valenzuela, 2009).

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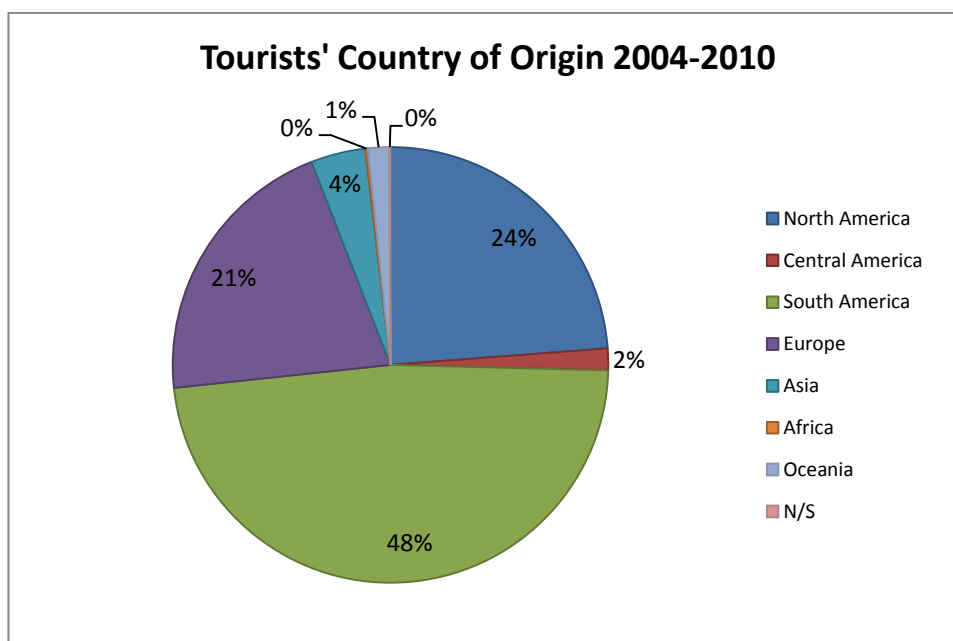
<sup>220</sup> Promotional Campaign 'Peru: Live the Legend'.  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GwGGiKNpLnQ> Accessed: 22/05/2012





Graphic 7.1 International Tourist Arrivals 1988-2010

From 2004 to 2010, most international tourists visiting Peru came from South America (48%), North America (24%) and Europe (21%) and, to a lesser extent, from Asia (4%)<sup>221</sup>, Central America (2%) and Oceania (1%) (Graphic 7.2<sup>222</sup>). In 2010, Peru was visited by almost 2, 300, 000 international tourists<sup>223</sup> and, if this keeps growing at a rate of 13% annually, the Peruvian state expects to receive approximately 3.3 million tourists by the end of 2013 (Sariego and García, 2008).



Graphic 7.2 Tourist's Country of Origin 2004-2010

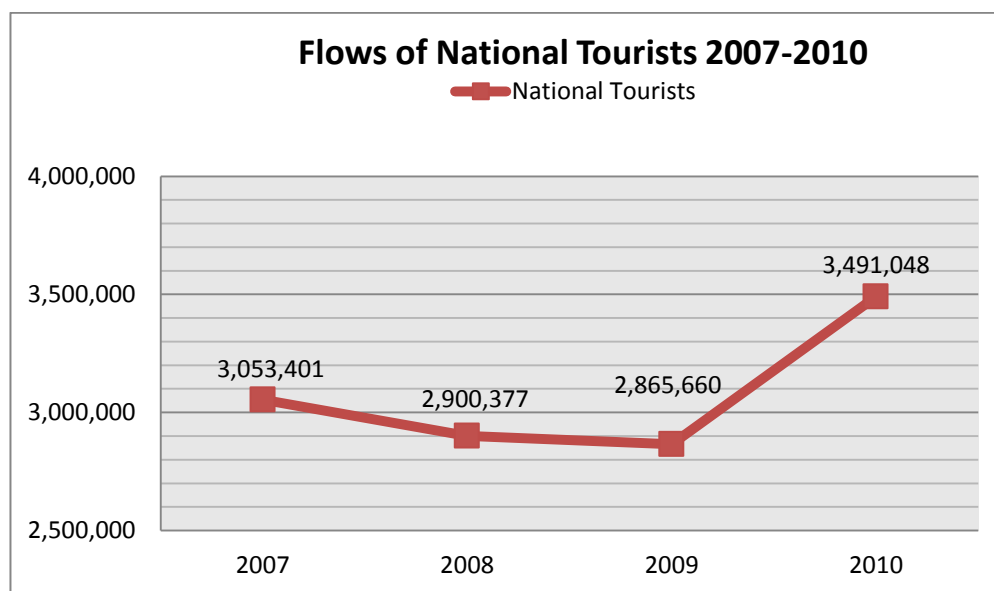
In addition, the number of Peruvians travelling around the country has increased in the last decade. According to PROMPERU agents, from 2004 onwards, Peru's upper and middle classes have grown, triggering domestic tourism. Instead of travelling internationally for holidays, middle and upper classes are considering Peru as an interesting place to visit or as a tourist destination for a second holiday in a year. Furthermore, in the last decade the country's connectivity and tourism infrastructure has improved, bringing more affordable tourist deals and, consequently, making some tourist destinations more accessible. Although a lack of statistical data within governmental databases does not allow us to see the evolution of domestic tourism

<sup>221</sup> There are efforts from the private sector seeking to attract the Asian market. <http://infoturperu.com.pe/2012/05/canatur-busca-atraer-turismo-chino-mejorando-proceso-de-visados/> Accessed: 23/05/2012

<sup>222</sup> Graphic created by the author using data taken from MINCETUR's webpage. <http://www.mincetur.gob.pe/newweb/Default.aspx?tabid=3459> Accessed 10/05/2012.

<sup>223</sup> 2,597,803 international tourist arrivals in 2011. [http://www.mincetur.gob.pe/newweb/portals/0/prensa/noticia\\_066\\_2012.html](http://www.mincetur.gob.pe/newweb/portals/0/prensa/noticia_066_2012.html) Accessed: 23/05/2012.

within a longer time scale, it is possible to note that from 2007 to 2010 (Graphic 7.3<sup>224</sup>) over two million and a half Peruvians travelled around the country. In 2010, national tourist flows in the country increased by 18%; Lima (82%), Arequipa (9.2%) and Trujillo (2.66%) being the cities where most tourists originate from.



Graphic 7.3 Flows of National Tourists 2007-2012<sup>225</sup>

Although around 90% of international tourists come to Peru to visit Machu Picchu (Desforges, 2000; Larson and Poudyal, 2012), beach tourism is becoming an increasingly popular type of tourism amongst Peruvians. In fact, the coast of Piura and Mancora in particular attracts a great percentage of this increasing tourist market as it one of the most important beach towns in Peru. In 2009, 94% out of the total of the tourists visiting Piura were national tourists arriving from Lima, whilst only 6% came from Ecuador, United States and Colombia<sup>226</sup>. Thus, in contrast to Cusco, which attracts mainly international tourists, Mancora has turned into an important tourist attraction for middle and upper class Peruvians.

### 7.3.2 Marketing Policies for Tourism Growth and the Economic Elite

<sup>224</sup> This information was given directly by PROMPERU's sub-director of Internal Tourism, Marisol Acosta, in April 2011.

<sup>225</sup> Graphic created by the author using data given by Marisol Acosta, Sub Directora de Turismo Interno, Promperu, 05/04/2011.

<sup>226</sup> Diagnóstico situacional: PIURA, updated to August 2010. Document given by PROMPERU agent Evelyn Grados.

In tourism planning, the idea of limit plays a key role as tourist areas have a maximum number of tourists that they can receive without inducing unacceptable alteration to the natural environment and society (Butler, 1991; Butler, 1998; Butler, 1999). As introduced in chapter two, once these levels [of carrying capacity] are exceeded, the character of the destination experiences negative changes, becoming less attractive to tourists, generating environmental degradation and negatively affecting local populations (Butler, 1999). In other words, unplanned and exponential growth in the numbers of tourists will inevitably increase the pressure and demands upon natural resources in local spaces, deteriorating the resource and threatening the socio-economic and environmental viability of tourism (Butler, 1991). Thus, limits to growth and tourism planning are crucial factors to take into account, especially in processes of local development undertaken within environmentally fragile territories, as this might strengthen the capacity of rural populations to cope with and resist from the impact of a cyclical, extreme natural hazards such as the ‘El Niño’ phenomenon.

As we have seen above, the tourism boom experienced early in the 2000s took place in a country where the state did not have clear development plans or the regulatory mechanisms required to control the expansion of the tourism industry. In spite of this, the private and public sectors engaged in the tourism industry continued to seek to increase national and international tourist flows. In fact, the powerful discourse that links tourism to the discourse of development analysed in chapter six is used by the national elites to foster an endless growth of tourists and expand the tourism industry throughout the country in order to generate economic growth. As such, this powerful discourse has also overlooked the strategies recommended by tourism planners that seek to control and limit the number of tourists.

In 2007, after obtaining economic resources from the Promotion Fund created by the Law N° 27889<sup>227</sup>, PROMPERU formed a sub-division of Internal Tourism. According to PROMPERU’s sub-director of Internal Tourism, Marisol Acosta, they were given the task of developing marketing campaigns promoting Peru’s most important tourist destinations and raising awareness about tourism, with the hope that these efforts would motivate upper and middle class Peruvians to travel within the country. Since the advent of these campaigns, flows of national tourists have steadily increased. These policies

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<sup>227</sup> Ley N° 27889, Ley que crea el Fondo y el Impuesto Extraordinario para la Promoción y Desarrollo Turístico, promulgated by former president Alejandro Toledo in the 17<sup>th</sup> December, 2002.

have since developed into more specialised policies aimed at attracting different sectors of the national tourist markets and, more importantly, increasing tourists' staying time and amount of money spent in the country (Sariego and García, 2008, p. 23). In addition, PROMPERU is constantly working with tourist entrepreneurs (hotel owners, transport agencies and restaurants) to create affordable deals that could encourage more numbers of travellers during low tourist seasons<sup>228</sup>. In doing this, PROMPERU agents expect that by the end of 2013 the number of national tourists will be around 4,921,000<sup>229</sup>. In the extract below, Marisol Acosta makes this point clear:

*Extract 7.2:*

- 1       **Marisol:** Yo creo que lo que se espera del crecimiento, mirando no  
solamente del turismo interno si no en términos generales, es que más  
que crecer en flujo, lo que queremos es crecer en gasto. Más que en  
5       cifras, en términos de gastos que se genera producto de esto. ¿Qué  
significa este gasto? El gasto significa que la oferta de actividades que  
puedes ofrecer en un destino, en términos de área, una mejor distribución  
también de ese gasto. La diversificación de la oferta, que tiene que ver  
nuevamente con esta distribución de gasto turístico en el país. Y  
nuevamente, creo que más que hablar de flujo hablamos de crecer en  
10       términos de capacidad de consumo. Y eso implica tener qué ofrecer,  
tener productos nuevos que brindar, y una capacidad de negocio que  
tenemos que generar. (Interview with PROMPERU's sub-director of  
Internal Tourism, Marisol Acosta, Lima, 29<sup>th</sup> April 2011)<sup>230</sup>.

As part of this plan, in 2009, PROMPERU launched a marketing campaign named 'Peru, Live the Legend'. This marketing campaign targeted at tourists seeking experiences linked to specialist themes such as surfing, trekking, gastronomy and history; tourists aspiring to visit places 'unaltered' by modernity; and tourists looking to consume tourist products such as 'ecotourism', 'cultural tourism' and 'adventure tourism' (PROMPERU, 2009, p. 19). In addition, 'Peru, Live the Legend' was aimed at encouraging tourists to think about Peru as the best choice destination for their next trip, as well as convincing them to visit Peru again and to recommend it to their relatives and friends. Above all, this marketing campaign was aimed at guaranteeing the sustainability of tourism by preventing Peru from becoming a mass tourism destination (PROMPERU, 2009, pp.

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<sup>228</sup> Examples of these deals are 'El Norte Pone', 'La Selva Pone', 'Cusco Pone'.

<sup>229</sup> Marisol Acosta's presentation at the Municipality of Piura, April 2011. In February 2011, I attended to an annual meeting organised conjointly by PROMPERU and DIRCETUR-Piura at the Municipality of Piura aimed to coordinate future promotional actions to be taken for the region. This gathered local and regional authorities, as well as businessmen.

<sup>230</sup> See p. 303, Extract 7.2, for English translation.

32-33). Subsequently, ‘Peru, Live the Legend’ portrayed Peru as a not-to-be-missed destination for tourism in Latin American, depicting it as an idyllic country filled with history and cultural heritage, unique landscapes and exotic animals waiting to be discovered and offering plenty of opportunities for exotic experiences. Videos and photos showing scenes where foreign tourists interact with local populations of the Andean region, tourists visiting Peru’s most famous ancient ruins, as well as hiking and sailing in the Amazonas region became the main visual and narrative discourse used to invite travellers to live a legend called ‘Peru’.

Changing the type of tourist is a solution that has been widely used amongst experts in tourism planning who seek to increase revenues while reducing the demands on the resources used by tourists (Butler, 1991, p. 204). The main assumption behind this strategy is that a small number of more economically active tourists “would produce equal or better ultimate financial return than mass-tourists, and [a lesser] disruption of the human and physical environment, thus representing a form of sustainable development of tourism” (Butler, 1991, p. 206).

However, in Peru, there are important inconsistencies regarding the number of tourists that the country is capable of receiving. Despite the fact that PROMPERU’s experts are seeking to attract the high end of both global and national tourist markets, the expectation of recent neoliberal administrations and the business elite is that Peru should seek to receive as many tourists as possible. The extract below is taken from an interview with former Minister of Foreign Trade and Tourism Mercedes Araoz (2006 - 2009). During former President Alan Garcia’s recent administration (2006-2011), economist Mercedes Araoz was a key member of the team that designed and conducted what Peruvian historian Paulo Drinot (2011b) has termed Garcia’s ‘capitalist revolution’. In 2007, while being head of MINCETUR, she successfully undertook a marketing campaign that allowed Machu Picchu to become one of the new Seven Wonders of the World, consolidating Peru as a popular tourist destination within global tourist markets. In our interview, she outlined the government’s main goals for the tourism industry:

*Extract 7.3:*

- 1 **Fernando:** Y está esta idea de seguir incrementando la cantidad de turistas. ¿Cuál es el mercado?  
**Mercedes:** El objetivo era llegar al 2016 a un monto de dieciocho millones de visitantes (o era dieciséis y al 2018), pero si era llegar a un

- 5 número donde puedas incrementar pero en la oferta diversificada, o sea no todo focalizado al Cusco, ese es el tema. Y llevarlo a que tú tengas a los visitantes que vengan de las fronteras, y también el tema de movilizar al turismo interno que también es importante. El Perú había paralizado durante años el turismo interno. [...]. Y entrar a segmentos de familias más pobres con atractivos en las zonas locales, destinos cercanos, con precios muy económicos. (Interview with former Minister of Foreign Trade and Tourism Mercedes Araoz, Lima, 12<sup>th</sup> April 2011)<sup>231</sup>.
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This position is strongly supported by the business elite engaged in the tourism industry. As I mentioned above, the private sector is the main social actor developing the tourism industry in Peru and their profits highly depend on the amount of tourists the country receives, suggesting that they may have a vested interest in exerting great pressure over the state when the marketing policies are designed<sup>232</sup>. By mainstreaming tourism as a tool for development, the Peruvian National Chamber of Commerce for Tourism (CANATUR) is the main agent of tourism that seeks an endless growth of tourist flows<sup>233</sup>. Recently, members of CANATUR have proposed that the government increase the number of posts for the private sector in the Directorate of PROMPERU. At present, the Directorate of PROMPERU is constituted of nine members of the public sector and four members of the private sector. These board members decide how to spend the state resources collected by the *'Impuesto Extraordinario para la Promoción y Desarrollo Turístico Nacional'* (Extraordinary tax for the Promotion and Development of Tourism) which by March 2011 had amounted to 45 million U.S. dollars. This money is destined for marketing campaigns and tourism projects. This shows how CANATUR wants to occupy more posts in the Directorate of PROMPERU in order to have increased control over the state resources allocated for developing the tourism industry. The extract below, which has been taken from an interview with the President of CANATUR, Carlos Canales, illustrates this position:

*Extract 7.4:*

- 1 **Fernando:** Y pensando en objetivos, metas o cifras que se podrían buscar para un futuro.  
**Carlos:** ¿En dónde?  
**Fernando:** En el aspecto turístico tanto nacional como... [Interrupción]
- 5 **Carlos:** Es que el Perú no tiene límites. Primero que la mayoría de

<sup>231</sup> See p. 303, Extract 7.3, for English translation.

<sup>232</sup> In fact, a reduction in the number of tourists due to social conflicts or environmental problems is a constant threat for the development of their businesses. <http://elcomercio.pe/economia/1398857/noticia-como-tener-hotel-lujo-vivir-contarla>

Accessed: 23/05/2012

<sup>233</sup> See chapter six for a more detailed analysis on CANATUR.

peruanos no conoce Machu Picchu. O sea, tenemos casi treinta millones de habitantes y, al año, a Machu Picchu van menos de doscientos mil [...]. (Interview with President of CANATUR Carlos Canales, Lima, 31<sup>st</sup> March 2011)<sup>234</sup>.

Although there are attempts at limiting the number of tourists and changing the type of tourist in order to prevent local destinations from experiencing negative socio-environmental impacts, the extracts above suggest that these efforts are subordinated to the interests of recent neoliberal administrations and the entrepreneurial class. Moreover, the extracts above make clear that the idea of limit has been totally absent in recent tourism policies. This helps to explain why the Peruvian state and the economic elite have recently sought to attract as many tourists as possible in order to generate increased revenues, regardless of the environmental capacity of local destinations to absorb the negative impacts generated by mass tourism.

Similar to the case of Mancora, studies of Machu Picchu have shown that the avalanche of tourists visiting the ancient Inca city, which receives between 400 and 3000 visitors every day, is threatening its ecological integrity and cultural authenticity (Larson and Poudyal, 2012). In a recent study, Larson and Poudyal (2012) have concluded that this increasing number of tourists have had a huge impact on the extremely fragile ecosystem of Machu Picchu. In a similar vein, anthropologist Keely Maxwell (2006) has pointed out that tourism has provoked environmental degradation of the Inca trail and the ancient Inca city, threatening the sanctity of Andean people's sacred sites in Cusco. Despite these socio-environmental problems and the cataloguing of Machu Picchu as a World Heritage destination in a declining stage (Hawkins *et al.*, 2009), the private sector continue to seek to increase the number of tourists in order to raise tourism revenue in the region (Larson and Poudyal, 2012).

These instances show that Peru's marketing policies have been conditioned by the sustainable tourism approach that geographer Colin Hunter (1997) has termed "*Sustainable Development through a 'Tourism Imperative'*". As mentioned in chapter two, this approach has a very weak interpretation of sustainable development as advocates of this approach seek to foster and expand the tourism industry in order to satisfy the needs of tourists and tourist operators, regardless of the loss of the quality and quantity of natural resources within local destinations<sup>235</sup>. Thus, the expectations of

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<sup>234</sup> See p. 304, Extract 7.4, for English translation.

<sup>235</sup> This approach differs from other approaches that have taken into account the environmental impacts of tourism (Hunter, 1997).



current neoliberal governments and the entrepreneurial elite with regard to the amount of tourists the country should receive are totally divorced from the capacity of local populations, the environment and the tourist destinations in general to deal with global tourism. In this sense, the tourism industry in Peru is experiencing “a lack of capability to determine level of sustainable development” (Butler, 1991, p. 201). This has allowed an uncontrolled expansion of tourism infrastructure in tourist destinations in Northern Peru, provoking severe socio-environmental problems within territories cyclically affected by plagues, epidemic diseases, extreme floods and lack of food due to the ‘El Niño’ phenomenon.

### ***7.3.3 Tensions between PROMPERU and the Vice-Ministry of Tourism***

Throughout the Twentieth century, and more evidently during recent neoliberal administrations, state policies towards tourism have developed following the same model, in which the state has exploited Peru’s historical heritage, multicultural diversity and rich natural biodiversity in order to increase tourist flows and generate economic growth. However, the Peruvian state has not given the same attention to the development of tourist destinations, the regulation of the use of limited and vulnerable natural resources and the control of the socio-environmental problems that result from the expansion of the tourism industry. In this model, which I have termed ‘neoliberal model of tourism development’ due to its ideological validation in the context of Fujimori’s neoliberal reform, the entrepreneurial class and the capitalist market have been the main actors in charge of developing tourism infrastructure within local spaces. Thus, contrary to what experts in sustainable tourism argue (Butler, 1991; Healy, 1994; Hunter, 1997; Briassoulis, 2002), the Peruvian state has not played a key role in regulating the expansion of the tourism industry, evidencing a “lack of realisation that tourism does cause impacts, is an industry, and cannot easily be reversed” (Butler, 1991, p. 201).

The economic and political power given to PROMPERU during Fujimori’s administration generated tensions amongst the state agencies responsible for developing the tourism industry. In fact, even though PROMPERU was a governmental sub-office of MINCETUR that depended directly on the ministerial office<sup>236</sup>, its chief executive was given the status of Minister, generating differences between PROMPERU and the

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<sup>236</sup> <http://www.mincetur.gob.pe/institucionales/OTROS/ORGANIGRAMA.htm>  
Accessed: 25/05/2012

Vice-Ministry of Tourism<sup>237</sup>. In addition, in the 1990s, the role of the state in leading tourism development in the country was drastically reduced. Due to cutbacks in state departments, the number of staff working in MITINCI (MINCETUR) was reduced from 2700 to 300. A similar thing occurred in the *Dirección Nacional de Turismo*<sup>238</sup> whereby staff were reduced from 270 to 16 (Desforges, 2000, p. 186).

The powerful role given to PROMPERU and the peripheral role given to the Vice-Ministry of Tourism during this period, developed in the following years into internal conflicts between both chief executives, hampering the elaboration of a conjoined plan that included advertising, developing tourist destinations and regulation. In my interview with Peruvian economist, Mercedes Araoz, she described how, when she became Minister of Foreign Trade and Tourism in 2006, these tensions and lack of coordination between both governmental sub-offices<sup>239</sup> governed the internal relationships between MINCETUR's authorities:

*Extract 7.5:*

- 1 **Mercedes:** En el primer periodo, yo me encuentro con un Vice-Ministro que no se hablaba con la de PROMPERU totalmente. Siempre va a haber, pero el conflicto era enorme y ya era inmanejable. Es más, no se hablaban con el Ministro. (Interview with former Minister of Foreign Trade and Tourism Mercedes Araoz, Lima, 12<sup>th</sup> April 2011)<sup>240</sup>.

As the extract above suggests, the lack of a coordinated plan between PROMPERU and the Vice-Ministry of Tourism, together with the administrative changes undertaken as part of the neoliberal reform during the 1990s, prevented the national government from controlling and planning the tourism industry at national and local levels. As such, apart from not providing training to local authorities facing a dramatic rise of tourism investors within their territories, the state did not restrict access to environmentally fragile territories or avoided environmental degradation within local destinations. In this context, the re-making of Mancora into a tourist attraction was mainly triggered by the market, tourists and private investors engaged in the tourism industry, who have built a beach town within a territory cyclically affected by the 'El Niño' phenomenon.

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<sup>237</sup> The Vice-Ministry of Tourism is responsible for leading tourism development at a national level.

<sup>238</sup> At present, this is a sub-direction of the Vice-Ministry of Tourism.

<sup>239</sup> Although, it should be noted that during this period there were attempts at making a more inclusive plan of tourism development with the inauguration of the PENTUR. This will be explored in the following section.

<sup>240</sup> See p. 304, Extract 7.5, for English translation.

These tensions between both institutions are also clearly manifested in the way the budget was allocated. In 2002, pressurised by the national economic elite, Alejandro Toledo's administration (2001-2006) created the Impuesto Extraordinario para la Promoción y Desarrollo Turístico Nacional in which each person entering the country from abroad by air was charged fifteen U.S. dollars. This tax was used by the *Fondo para la Promoción y Desarrollo Turístico Nacional*<sup>241</sup> for undertaking projects aimed at marketing the country abroad and developing tourist infrastructure. However, the way in which this economic resource was divided again highlights the tension between marketing and development; 70% of the funds were assigned to PROMPERU in contrast with only 30% assigned to the COPESCO<sup>242</sup> plan<sup>243</sup>.

Finally, since 2004, the head of MINCETUR has been either an economist or a business administrator specialising in market dynamics. This business background has allowed the tourism industry to be lead under a conceptualisation of tourism that is reduced to the relationship between supply and demand in terms of the number of tourist destinations available in the country and the number of tourists willing to visit Peru. This prioritisation of profit has hampered a conceptualisation of the role of the state that considers itself the main regulating entity responsible for governing the tourism industry. Consequently, in the processes whereby the state tourism policies have been set out and applied, the socio-environmental sustainability of the activity has been side-lined in order to allow the generation of capital and tourism growth.

#### ***7.3.4 Rural Areas and the Neoliberal Model of Tourism Development***

As a result of the implementation of this neoliberal model of tourism development during the 1990s, natural resources within rural areas were opened to the capitalist market and the tourism industry, leaving the responsibility for planning, controlling and regulating the expansion of the tourism industry to local authorities. This was socially and ecologically detrimental for Mancora because during this time it was seeing massive influx of tourists and investors. Consequently, the tourists and investors were coming to Mancora, but the local authorities were ill-prepared and ill-equipped to deal with what quickly became large-scale tourism. Mancora's municipal authorities lacked

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<sup>241</sup> Promotion and Tourism development fund.

<sup>242</sup> COPESCO is the state agency responsible for developing public tourist infrastructure.

<sup>243</sup> Ley N° 27889, Ley que crea el Fondo y el Impuesto Extraordinario para la Promoción y Desarrollo Turístico Nacional. <http://www.mincetur.gob.pe/plancopesconacional/> Accessed: 19/05/2012.

experience in managing tourism and they also lacked the ability to protect local natural resources because of a lack of information and resources. Thus, tourist destinations such as Mancora were opened to the market without having a tourism planning system and territorial plan that might have guaranteed appropriate management of the natural resources with restricted access to vulnerable natural resources. In the extract below, former mayor of Mancora and school teacher, Florencio Olibos, describes how, as a result of Fujimori's economic policies, during his period in power (1996-1999) the tourism industry in Mancora expanded without any previous planning actions or control from the national government:

*Extract 7.6:*

- 1       **Florencio:** Cuando nosotros entramos, nosotros encontramos que estaba empezando la historia del turismo.  
           **Fernando:** Recién estaba iniciándose...  
           **Florencio:** Con Manolo Casanova, yo lo remplacé al Ing. Manolo  
 5       Casanova, se impulsó el turismo, se promovía el turismo, no había todavía una idea tan clara ¿no? el turismo estaba cayendo por su propio peso.  
           **Fernando:** Era algo nuevo para le gente de aquí.  
           **Florencio:** Era algo nuevo para la gente. [...]  
 10       **Fernando:** Pero me imagino que tanto para los pobladores, usted también era nuevo en el turismo.  
           **Florencio:** Claro, por supuesto, por supuesto. No hubo un asesoramiento tampoco, no hubo un acercamiento desde el mismo Gobierno Central, Regional, Provincial. No hubo ningún interés directo como lo hay ahora  
 15       ¿no? con el turismo en Máncora. Lo veían de repente como una aventura, no sé, pero no financiaban proyectos de envergadura. Si desde esa época el gobierno hubiera tomado el toro por las astas Máncora tuviera otra historia, sería más ordenado. (Interview with Florencio Olibos, former Mayor of Mancora, Mancora, 6<sup>th</sup> November, 2010)<sup>244</sup>.

As the case of Mancora shows, Peru's neoliberal model of tourism development provoked intense social conflicts that prevented the emergence of regulatory mechanisms that might control the expansion of the tourism industry, legitimising a colonial pattern of resource utilisation. As analysed in chapter five, the legal conflict between the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora and the Municipality of Mancora, prompted by the liberalisation of the market of natural resources, limited the land use control at the local level. This lack of regulation resulted in the emergence of the 'free-rider problem', allowing land invaders to fence off land within previously disaster-stricken areas of the district, with the aim of fostering an illegal land market.

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<sup>244</sup> See p. 304, Extract 7.6, for English translation.

Thus, the implementation of the neoliberal reform in a socially fragmented society such as Peru reinforced what Ostrom (1999) has termed an ‘open-access regime’. This refers to the contexts in which natural resources are used without effective limiting rules and, consequently, the natural environment is subjected to environmental degradation and the ‘tragedy of the commons’ (Harding, 1970) or the ‘tragedy of the tourist commons’ (Briassoulis, 2002). Consequently, in addition to generating socio-environmental problems and negatively affecting the identity of fishing communities, this adverse context has increased conditions of vulnerability, putting the life and livelihood of rural populations in Northern Peru at risk. As such, this research highlights the need to change a model of tourism development that promotes an uneven distribution of power between marketing and development policies and simultaneously, neglects the importance of a tourism environmental authority.

## **7.4 Changes in the Model: Tourism, Environment and Planning**

### ***7.4.1 Changes in the Model***

Recent years have seen Latin American countries, such as Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador, showing overt opposition to the neoliberal agenda imposed in the previous decades by international financial institutions, U.S.A. and the economic elites, challenging the hegemony of the neoliberal ideology and interrupting the neoliberal project. Some authors argue that this opposition has resulted from the fact that the neoliberal policies have failed to overcome social injustice and have not consolidated a stable alternative development strategy (Hershberg and Rosen, 2006) or created the conditions for sustained growth (Sader, 2009). Consequently, some Latinamericanists have already begun referring to the period following the turn of the century as the post-Washington Consensus (Hershberg and Rosen, 2006) or the post-neoliberal era (Brand and Sekler, 2009; Sader, 2009) in order to stress the fact that the political and economic context of the Latin American region is changing. This post-neoliberal model would imply a move beyond deregulation, the weakening of labour relations and free trade (Sader, 2009).

At present, in Peru, there are no signs of substantial changes to the neoliberal model of economic development initially implemented during Fujimori’s administration (1990-2000) and continued by Alejandro Toledo (2001-2006), Alan Garcia (2006-2011) and Ollanta Humala (2011- to present). In fact, during his second term in office, former

President Alan Garcia (2006-2011), carried out his ‘capitalist revolution’ on the basis of undertaking major road projects, extensive port modernisations, massive irrigation projects and large scale exploitation of natural resources (Drinot, 2011b). Economically, the continuation of this neoliberal model has allowed Peru’s growth rates to steadily increase in recent years, cultivating a positive economic environment. However, this has resulted in the Peruvian economy being highly dependent on foreign capitals and global prices of natural resources. Moreover, as Drinot (2011b) has pointed out, this neoliberal revolution has also been a cultural revolution that has sought to overcome indigeneity and at the same time, has characterised Peru’s politics by corruption, clientelism and authoritarianism. Despite this, in the 2000s, after Fujimori’s authoritarian regime and the return to democracy, several actions were undertaken in order to overcome Peru’s systematic social exclusion, reshape the role of the state in the development of the country and design the state’s environmental policy.

#### ***7.4.2 The Process of Decentralisation and the Environmental Policy***

Pressurised by NGO’s, regional social movements and international institutions, in 2002, former President Alejandro Toledo initiated a process of decentralisation<sup>245</sup>. As Bruno Revesz (2006) has pointed out, this process was based on Amartya Sen’s (2001) liberal approach to development that conceives local participation as a means for expanding people’s freedoms and assumed that local and regional governments were in a better position to administrate the territory, the natural resources, the economy and the population. The aim of this process was to make the administration of the state more efficient and equal (Grompone, 2002) whilst affording citizens participation in decision-making processes relating to key issues such as development plans, annual budgets and strategies for local-level health and education (Monge, 2006). Ultimately, decentralisation was going to bring down a highly centralised government built during Fujimori’s authoritarian administration (Grompone, 2002; Adrianzén, 2003) and the historic dominance of Lima over the regions. In this process, NGOs played a key role in fostering and defending the implementation of the decentralisation process, advising regional and local governments, associating the process with ideas of democracy, development, equity (Grompone, 2002) and sustainable development (Revesz, 2006) and assessing the development of the process while proposing reforms and building

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<sup>245</sup> *Ley de Bases para la Descentralización* (N° 27783).

regional agendas (Grupo Propuesta Ciudadana, 2006; Grupo Propuesta Ciudadana, 2011).

The process of decentralisation transferred economic resources, as well as responsibilities and functions of each state institution, including development programmes, from the national government to regional and local governments (Grompone, 2002; Cotler (cord), 2009; Rodríguez, 2008, p. 65). In addition, this process re-defined the roles of each Ministry and that of their sub-regional branches. Consequently, whilst MINCETUR became responsible for setting the rules and regulations of the tourism industry throughout the Peruvian territory, regional governments and their sub directions of tourism took responsibility for leading tourism development while promoting sustainable use of the tourist resources within their regions<sup>246</sup>.

When this process was debated amongst academics, some researchers suggested that state agents at regional and local levels were not prepared to assume the administration of their regions. Subsequently, they warned that this could generate a context of un-governability of the territory (Grompone, 2002). Recently, Julio Cotler (2009) has pointed out that the process of decentralisation was carried out in a precipitated and improvised manner because it was not conducted together with a process of state reform that might have assisted the state in overcoming its institutional weakness and difficulty in applying its authority. In most cases, the implementation of this process brought about tensions amongst national and regional and local governments. These tensions and conflicts were rooted in the fact that while sub-levels of government have been given more responsibilities and functions, they have less economic resources and control over the use of power than the national government, limiting the governability of the territory (Revesz, 2006).

In my interviews with MINCETUR agents, most pointed out that the process of decentralisation has brought with it difficulties in the administration of the state. In particular, they regarded regional authorities' lack of training in tourism as the main problem that impedes the development of the tourism industry. The extract below has been taken from an interview with an advisor of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Tourism, Eduardo Sevilla, who makes this point clear:

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<sup>246</sup> Law N° 29408, Chapter III, Article 24°. Lanegra, 2006, p. 117.

*Extract 7.7:*

1       **Eduardo:** [...] Debemos asistir a una peruanísima realidad que es la  
siguiente, en el marco de la Ley de Descentralización, ya nosotros hemos  
transferido. Nosotros, los miembros del poder ejecutivo, a través de los  
5       ministerios, hemos transferido competencias sectoriales ¿A quiénes? A  
las regiones, mejor dicho, a las presidencias del Gobierno Regional  
porque lo que tenemos son departamentos. [...] Pero lo que yo todavía  
estoy viendo y asisto es a una deficiente gestión sectorial por parte de  
esas direcciones regionales. Sea porque no son profesionales en turismo,  
10       sea porque nunca trabajaron en el sector privado de turismo, sea porque  
es la primera vez que trabajan en el sector público por diversas razones.  
Pero yo te puedo decir, que durante las primeras elecciones regionales  
que duraron cuatro años [...] yo tenía a respetables médicos veterinarios  
como directores regionales de turismo, y tenía respetables ingenieros  
15       químicos como directores de turismo [...] ¿Por qué? Porque la norma  
qué decía: certificar un título profesional [...]. Y yo pregunto ¿Si  
queremos dar un despegue al turismo, no sería mejor proponer,  
establecer, en blanco y negro, de que tenga necesariamente ese Sr., esa  
Srta., esa Sra. formación académica en turismo? ¡Por favor! [...]. ¿Cómo  
20       poder pretender que alguien que jamás trabajó en el sector privado de  
turismo y/o jamás fue formado académicamente en turismo sea el  
Director Regional? (Interview with Eduardo Sevilla, tourist advisor from  
MINCETUR, Lima, 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 2011)<sup>247</sup>.

As Eduardo points out in the extract above, the lack of training of state agents occupying key job roles in regional and local governments is an important problem requiring a swift solution. When I interviewed Pedro Ortiz, Piura's Regional Director of Tourism, in January 2011, almost a month after he was appointed to this key position, Pedro sent me to talk to the Sub-Director of Tourism, arguing he was not aware of the functions and tourism projects recently carried out by the Tourism Regional State Agency (DIRCETUR-Piura). This incident supported what other informants working in the public sector for a longer time mentioned to me. They pointed out that the rotation of staff occupying key positions in the administration of the state is also limiting an adequate control of the tourism industry. This becomes even worse in a country where the allocation of administrative or political posts to relatives and friends in order to benefit them or to pay back political favours, has given key positions in the administration of the state to unprepared persons.

The extract above also makes obvious how the Law of Decentralisation has been interpreted by national state agents in a way that allows them to deliberately ascribe to regional authorities all responsibility for controlling and regulating the tourism industry.

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<sup>247</sup> See p. 305, Extract 7.7, for English translation.



In addition, it highlights that the national government has neglected its responsibility for training state agents in order to make the state apparatus more efficient. In contrast to what Eduardo Sevilla argues in the extract above, I believe that the problem is not whether the people who occupy positions in regional or local authorities hold professional qualifications unrelated to tourism or planning development. From my point of view, the actual problem lies in the fact that there is not a state agency in charge of training government employees and that, since 1991, there has not been a state agency responsible for designing regional and national development plans such as the 'Instituto Nacional de Planificación' which was deactivated by Fujimori<sup>248</sup>. Moreover, higher education institutions are not providing degree programmes in tourism planning, leaving this crucial feature of tourism development unattended (Regaldo and Oré, 2009, p. 16).

In addition, the power relations that characterise the relationship between the MINCETUR and the regional sub-branches create tensions that impede the state in taking a leading role in the development of the tourism industry. As described in chapter three, during my fieldwork I attended several working meetings organised by state institutions relating to the tourism industry. Most of these meetings were convened by the DIRCETUR-Piura but led by MINCETUR agents who came from Lima with an already established agenda. At the beginning of the meetings, both director and sub-director of tourism were recognised as Piura's tourism authorities but during the meetings it was clear that they were actually treated like state agents without any leading role. This shows how the role of the DIRCETUR-Piura has reduced to that of being a nexus between the MINCETUR and agents of tourism within the regions, especially with municipal tourist offices. In defending their position, authorities of the DIRCETUR-Piura argue that their scope of intervention is limited due to a lack of staff and economic resources. Thus, this reflects how Lima's centralism, regional authorities' lack of training and the state's lack of involvement in training government employees has impeded the state in taking a leading role in the development of the tourism industry, thus enabling local destinations to develop following an unsustainable pattern of resource utilisation, as seen chapter five.

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<sup>248</sup> In fact, the Plan Nacional de Descentralización y Regionalización (2012-2016), inaugurated recently by Peru's Secretaría de Descentralización, has pointed out the need to articulate the process of decentralisation with a wider political project of the nation and to create a decentralised National Planning System.

During this period, there were several efforts aimed at creating Peru's environmental policy. After the launch of the Brundtland Report, 'Our Common Future', in the late 1980s, conservationist groups, NGO's and international policies forced national governments to develop an environmental agenda in order to prevent environmental degradation. In Peru, these pressures were translated into the need to create a national environmental authority that might govern and articulate the environmental functions of each ministry and decentralised sub-offices<sup>249</sup>. In 2004, with the promulgation of the '*Sistema Nacional de Gestión Ambiental*'<sup>250</sup> (National Environmental Management System), Toledo's administration sought to organise the state's environmental management policies. Additionally, in 2005, the promulgation of both *Ley Marco del Sistema Nacional de Gestión Ambiental* and the *Ley General del Ambiente* were aimed at designing Peru's environmental regulation (Lanegra, 2008). Finally, in 2008, the Ministry of the Environment was created (*Decreto Legislativo* 1013<sup>251</sup>), becoming Peru's main national environmental authority<sup>252</sup>.

Rather than being a priority of the state, the implementation of this environmental agenda is the result of the pressure exerted by external actors when major mining projects had been undertaken or as a result of increasing environmental crises. This explains why, in Peru, some ministries have been forced to develop an environmental policy, while others have not included environmental issues into their policies (Lanegra, 2008). This is especially notorious in the case of the tourism industry, where almost all agents of tourism regard tourism as 'La Industria sin Chimenea' (The industry without chimney), arguing that tourism does not have a substantial impact upon the environment like other industries. In addition, even though MINCETUR's organisational structure indicates that there is a '*Dirección de Medio Ambiente y Sostenibilidad Turística*' (Directorate of Natural Environment and Tourism Sustainability), or MINCETUR's environmental authority, this directorate has not been created yet<sup>253</sup>. Likewise, since

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<sup>249</sup> Autoridad Nacional Transectorial.

<sup>250</sup> Created by the *Ley Marco del Sistema Nacional de Gestión Ambiental*, promulgated on the 4<sup>th</sup> June 2004.

<sup>251</sup> Promulgated on the 14<sup>th</sup> May 2008.

<sup>252</sup> In doing this, Peru has added itself to the group of countries that are concerned about global environmental problems threatening life on the planet such as climate change, degradation of natural resources, destruction of forests and water crises. [http://www.minam.gob.pe/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=3&Itemid=3](http://www.minam.gob.pe/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3&Itemid=3) Accessed: 17/08/2012

<sup>253</sup> Lanegra noted that by 2008 this directorate had not been created (Lanegra, 2008, p. 105) and, according to the Vice-Ministry of Tourism's diagram of organisational

November 2008, the *Proyecto de Reglamento Ambiental para el Desarrollo de la Actividad Turística*, which is supposed to regulate the environmental impacts of tourism, has not been officially approved. In other words, Peru does not have an environmental authority responsible for regulating the use of natural resources within tourist destinations. This explains why tourist destinations that swiftly developed during a context of neoliberal reform, such as Mancora, are currently experiencing the ‘tragedy of the commons’ (Harding, 1970). This also helps to understand why pre-existing rural populations living within these territories, such as fishing communities, feel that their identity is under threat as a result of an uncontrolled expansion of the tourism industry.

### 7.4.3 PENTUR

The Peruvian state has recently established several laws in order to assist the advancement of the tourism industry. In 2002, the administration of Alejandro Toledo created the Fondo para la Promoción y Desarrollo Turístico Nacional (Law 27889) in order to increase economic resources for marketing the country and developing tourist public infrastructure throughout the territory<sup>254</sup>. This increasing interest in tourism by the state would later make Alan Garcia, in 2009, declare tourism as an economic activity of national interest, stressing the fact that tourism plays a key role for the development of the country (General Law of Tourism N° 29408<sup>255</sup>).

Nonetheless, during this period there were several signs that made evident the need for developing a planning framework for tourism. Before 2004, MINCETUR and the regional state agencies of tourism had their own operating plans but they did not follow the same goals. In other words, the tourism industry was developing without any conjoined plan between state agencies, businessmen or the social actors engaged in the tourism industry. This lack of coordination between state institutions, together with the state’s interest in enhancing participatory mechanisms for local decision-making (Monge, 2006), made it necessary for the creation of a unique national plan, collating the views of national and regional actors and setting national goals. Consequently, in 2004, funded by the IBD (Inter-American Development Bank), the MINCETUR, in coordination with the sub-levels of government and the private sector, began to prepare

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structure, this directorate has not even been added to the diagram to date. <http://www.mincetur.gob.pe/newweb/Default.aspx?tabid=4200> Accessed: 13/08/2012

<sup>254</sup> Government studies have shown that state funding for tourism has dramatically increased since 2003 (Valenzuela, 2009, p. 30).

<sup>255</sup> Promulgated by former President Alan Garcia on 16/09/2009.

the *'Plan Estratégico Nacional de Turismo [PENTUR]'* (National Strategic Plan for Tourism).

PENTUR brings together the natural, cultural and political characteristics of particular geographical areas within the Peruvian territory, to suggest a model of tourism development based on the concept of 'tourist destination'. It proposes an integral system of tourism management that fosters the development of tourist circuits and corridors as a means of organising the tourism industry in the country (Sariego and García, 2008, p. 30). Next, PENTUR sets operating lines of actions for the creation of highly specialised tourist products grouped in three 'macro-regions' (north, centre and south) that compose a more general tourist product called 'Peru: Live the Legend'. In this model, 'Playas del Norte', which includes the coast of the departments of Piura and Tumbes (see Figure 1.1), is one of seven tourist destinations that the state has prioritised to develop public infrastructure, as seen in previous chapters. In the extract below, Peru's Vice-minister of Tourism, Claudia Cornejo, points out that PENTUR is a planning document that has transformed the way the state is involved in developing tourism at a local level:

*Extract 7.8:*

- 1       **Fernando:** La última pregunta que te quería hacer es sobre el tema de  
coordinación sobre un plan de desarrollo turístico. Se está tomando el  
caso de Máncora y Aguas Calientes, como mencionaste hace un  
momento, como los ejemplos que no se deben de repetir por el desorden  
5       o los problemas que existen, y se están tomando los otros lugares desde  
un inicio del desarrollo. ¿Es este un intento de cambiar de modelo? ¿Tal  
vez tratar de coordinar el desarrollo del destino previamente a que todo  
este desorden se genere?
- 10       **Claudia:** Es que no es cambiar el modelo, yo creo que estamos ahorita  
aplicando el modelo [risas]. [...] *Antes no habido modelo, simplemente*  
*las cosas sucedían* y entonces en el Estado tratábamos de... "bueno ya  
están allí los turistas entonces qué podemos hacer para mejorar las  
situación". Pero entonces, en el año 2004 que es cuando se saca el primer  
PENTUR, que es el Plan Nacional de Turismo, que luego se volvió a  
15       cambiar en el 2008 y es hasta el 2018, lo que se plantea ya es la  
metodología de desarrollo, es decir, cómo se debe hacer el desarrollo  
turístico. Entonces es un tema reciente para nosotros, es un tema reciente  
para el Perú, la industria es una industria que está creciendo mucho, pero  
reciente. Entonces, al final, claro, no es que como te digo que se haya  
20       cambiado el modelo, lo que pasa es que ahora hay un modelo que se está  
aplicando. (Interview with former Peru's National Executive Director of  
Tourism Development (2010-2011) and current Vice-Minister of

Tourism (2011 - to present) Claudia Cornejo, MINCETUR, Lima, 25<sup>th</sup> March, 2011)<sup>256</sup>.

The extract above reinforces the point that rather than being initiatives from the state, these reforms were carried out as a result of external pressures or as immediate solutions implemented to overcome contexts of crisis. In addition, it shows how the preparation of the PENTUR was an attempt at changing Fujimori's neoliberal model of tourism development due to the increasing problems this model brought to local destinations. This is highlighted by Claudia when she states that "*Antes no habido modelo, las cosas simplemente sucedían [...]*" (Before there was not a model, things just happened). By saying this, she confirms that with the implementation of Fujimori's neoliberal reform the state was totally absent from the development of tourist destinations and this resulted in environmental and resource mismanagement problems like those seen in Machu Picchu (Larson and Poudyal, 2012) and Mancora.

This context highlighted the need to reshape the role of the state and design a coordinated plan to organise the expansion of the tourism industry. As a result, the implementation of the PENTUR marked a changing point in the way the state related to the tourism industry, setting goals and plans that all agents involved in the tourism industry should seek to achieve. This new model of tourism development conceived the state as a key actor responsible for developing public tourist infrastructure and tried to construct a conjoined plan that includes both marketing and development policies, thus seeking to create a bridge between PROMPERU and the Vice-Ministry of Tourism.

However, the administrative apparatus of the state has substantial weaknesses that are hampering the sustainability of tourism in Peru. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, there is a lack of both experts in tourism planning and tourism environmental authorities at all levels of society. In addition, tourism is still regarded an activity that only requires the advertisement of tourist attractions and the provision of information to visitors, but not an industry that requires planning and control. As such, the continuation of the uneven balance of power between development and marketing policies represents an obstacle that still needs to be overcome. In the next section I will show how this is clearly reflected in the role played by the municipal tourist offices.

#### **7.4.4 Tourism Planning at Local Levels**

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<sup>256</sup> See p. 305, Extract 7.8, for English translation.

This culture of improvising policies is also seen at both provincial and local municipalities. Municipal tourist offices are not responsible for planning tourism development within their districts or to restrict access to vulnerable resources. In fact, they are not even linked to both the Municipality's department responsible for the district's urban development and the department responsible for the prevention of natural disasters (INDECI).

The main responsibilities that local and provincial municipal tourist offices have been given by the municipal administration in power are: to promote tourism within their localities, to give information to tourists, to organising the 'tourism week' every year, to organise events aimed at promoting handicrafts and to liaise with the municipality, the private sector and NGO's. Although representatives of the municipal tourist offices are invited to talk about their districts' tourist attractions in provincial and regional events, they are sometimes unable to do this because of a lack of funding. In fact, during my fieldwork I was told that in previous years Mancora's tourist office was even disbanded by the Mayor in office. Despite this peripheral role given to these offices, when I attended several meetings organised by MINCETUR to discuss the implementation of a project, or to coordinate actions to solve problems faced by the tourism industry, municipal agents from the tourist offices were also invited and considered as the tourism authority of their districts.

After interviewing several municipal agents from the Municipality of Mancora, I realised that tourism and urban planning is left to architects unfamiliar with the spatial and environmental dynamics of tourism. However, apart from dealing with the needs brought about by the normal expansion of a town, these municipal agents have to respond to the demands generated by tourism at a local level. All of this happens in a country where local municipalities tend to interpret urban planning as land administration due to a lack of an urban policy in the country. Current research has shown that this has prevented municipal agents from considering the spatial behaviour of the city and the natural dynamic of the territory as key elements when designing urban development within their localities (Pineda-Zumaran, 2012).

This ingrained lack of planning becomes a severe problem when we take into account that Mancora's official population has considerably increased in the last few decades,

from 7, 009 inhabitants in 1993<sup>257</sup> to 10, 547 inhabitants in 2007<sup>258</sup>. This becomes even worse during high tourist seasons, when the town receives an extra 6 000 people, almost doubling the population and therefore having a huge impact on basic services and the natural environment. In addition, due to the conflict between the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora and the Municipality of Mancora around the legal ownership of the district's territory, the Municipality does not even administrate the land. These are some of the reasons that also help to explain the emergence of the 'free rider problem' (Ostrom *et al.*, 1999) and the exploitation of territories highly vulnerable to the 'El Niño' phenomenon.

This shows how the uneven balance of power between marketing and development policies that characterises the national tourism policies employed by MINCETUR in the last few decades is also reproduced at sub levels of society. In addition, it makes evident again that the tourism industry is not conceived as an industry that provokes socio-environmental impacts and needs control, planning and regulation. A critic of the tourism industry in Peru has already highlighted this problem. Whilst travelling throughout Peru, traveller and television presenter, Rafael León, has noted that many rural communities invest many resources in advertising the tourist attractions within their districts, with the aim of increasing the number of tourists visiting their towns in order to generate economic growth. Nevertheless, he has also noted that local authorities have not taken into account that tourism could plunder the country's most valuable historical, archaeological, cultural and natural resources in the way that the industries of mining and fishing have exploited natural resources<sup>259</sup>. Thus, this makes obvious how tourism is an activity that tends to be mostly related to the catering and marketing sectors and not as an industry that triggers important cultural, social and environmental transformations.

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<sup>257</sup> Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática del Perú (INEI), National Census, 1993. <http://inei.inei.gob.pe/inei/RedatamCpv1993.asp?id=ResultadosCensales?ori=C> Accessed: 06/06/2012.

<sup>258</sup> Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática del Perú (INEI), National Census, 2007. <http://inei.inei.gob.pe/inei/RedatamCpv2007.asp?id=ResultadosCensales?ori=C> Accessed: 06/06/2012

<sup>259</sup> Rafael León "Contra el Turismo" Article published in the SOMOS magazine, El Comercio, Date: n.p. <http://nomadex.blogspot.co.uk/2007/05/abrapalabra-rafo-len-contra-el-turismo.html> Accessed: 22/08/2012.

## 7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the state lead expansion of the tourism industry during the last century in Peru. I have illustrated how, amongst other things, the implementation of the neoliberal model of economic development early in the 1990s weakened the administration of the state and reduced its regulatory role in order to allow the free functioning of the markets. Fostered by the economic elites and International Financial institutions, these structural changes in the economy were validated by the severe and adverse socio-economic and political context that characterised Peru during the 1980s. Although the neoliberal reform stabilised the economy after a continued economic crisis, it also transformed Peru into a centralised country without a governmental institution in charge of training government employees, without clear development plans and without an established environmental policy. As such, the liberalisation of the markets, including the market of natural resources, assisted in legitimising a colonial relation of exploitation over the natural environment as a means to generate rapid economic profit.

I have critically analysed how Peru has recently experienced an abrupt expansion of the tourism industry as a result of the implementation of a neoliberal model of tourism development. In the last two decades, the Peruvian state has prioritised marketing policies aimed at attracting an unlimited number of tourists, but it has not given the same priority to developing a planning framework for tourism that would avoid potential socio-environmental problems at the local level and ensure the socio-environmental and economic sustainability of tourism. Consequently, this has allowed tourist destinations developing in a context of neoliberal reform, such as Mancora, to experience what Elinor Ostrom (1999) has termed an ‘open access regime’, provoking environmental degradation, social conflicts and the ‘tragedy of the tourism commons’ (Briassoulis, 2002). Therefore, this lack of regulation and planning culture has increased the conditions of vulnerability of rural populations by allowing the construction of tourist infrastructure within territories cyclically subjected to the ‘El Niño’ phenomenon.

This chapter has also demonstrated that the efforts undertaken by the Peruvian state aimed at changing the model of tourism development in recent decades were insufficient. Decades later, the tourism policies which characterised the 1990s continue to reproduce the tensions that have long prevented the state from taking a leading role in the development of the tourism industry. Therefore, there is a need to transform the current model of tourism development, prioritising an environmental agenda and a



planning system for tourism at all levels of society. This might ensure that tourism generates positive impacts for rural communities living within environmentally fragile territories, becoming an important economic activity that benefits local processes of development rather than an activity that could increase the population's conditions of vulnerability.

## Chapter 8 Conclusions

In the last few decades, tourism has developed into a key industry for the Peruvian economy. This has been the result of several processes of political, economic and cultural change occurring in the last century, directly impacting the way of life of local populations, and transforming local identities, social dynamics and natural landscapes. In this context of continuous change, recent neoliberal administrations have undertaken aggressive marketing policies aimed at selling Peru as a not-to-be-missed tourist destination within national and global markets. In addition, with the liberalisation of the market of natural resources, local spaces have recently received a great amount of tourist investors, triggering processes of socio-cultural and economic change, with the aim of expanding the tourism industry. These policies seeking tourism growth have been ideologically legitimised by discourses that portray tourism as a ‘unique tool’ that will assist Peruvians in fighting the problem of extreme poverty and making Peru a more ‘developed’ and inclusive society.

However, one of the main conclusions of this thesis is that the current expansion of the tourism industry is embedded in a complex set of power relations that makes it not only unsustainable, but a substantial threat to rural populations and the environment. My study shows that by perpetuating a colonial relation of exploitation over the environment and local cultures, a neoliberal model of tourism development has generated severe environmental problems within local destinations. In addition, tourism has dramatically increased socio-cultural differences, reinforcing social hierarchies in a deeply fragmented society whilst discriminating and excluding subaltern groups, such as fishing communities, from processes of development. Above all, tourism has substantially raised levels of vulnerability of populations living within territories cyclically subjected to the ‘El Niño’ phenomenon, putting at risk their life, livelihood and socio-economic well-being. This has led me to conclude that the current expansion of the tourism industry is part of a project of domination that responds to the political and economic interests of contemporary elites whose principal aim is to generate economic profit in the short term, regardless of the cultural changes and the socio-environmental problems that tourism could generate at a local level.

## **8.1 The Elites and the Neoliberal Model of Tourism Development**

The economic elite engaged in the tourism industry consolidated itself as a powerful social class during the industrialisation process, specifically as a result of former president Juan Velasco Alvarado's (1968-1975) tourism policy, and during the 1990s with the neoliberal restructuring of the economy. As analysed in chapter seven, for Velasco's administration this initially represented a business elite that was going to modernise the national bourgeoisie and reduce the power of the oligarchy over the national economy. However, reluctant to accept the interventionist and regulating role of the state, during the 1990s members of this elite fostered processes of policy-making and neoliberal economic change, based on the de-regulation of markets and opening up of natural resources in order to implement a market-based development model.

The severe economic crisis of the 1980s, together with the internal war between the Peruvian state and Shining Path from 1980 to 1992, validated aggressive neoliberal state policies aimed at transforming the role of the state in the economy. Alberto Fujimori's government (1990-2000) centralised the administration of the state in the national government, deactivated the National Institute of Planning and the National Planning System and disrupted the elaboration of Peru's environmental policy. These structural changes sought to foster the free functioning of markets and attracting increased investments, with the aim of generating economic wealth and development. However, apart from weakening the role of the state in favour of the economic elites, these policies certainly prevented the emergence of governmental agencies responsible for regulating the use of natural resources and avoiding potential environmental and social problems at a local level.

In addition, the state reform in the 1990s allowed for the implementation of a 'neoliberal model of tourism development', in which the role of the national tourism agencies was redefined in order to allow the swift expansion of the tourism industry. The role of the Vice-Ministry of Tourism in developing and planning tourist destinations was severely undermined. In addition, the state created PROMPERU and developed a marketing strategy to sell Peru in global markets, giving this state agency political and economic power to elaborate an attractive image of the country for investors and tourists. This resulted in tensions being created between both state agencies, limiting the national government from controlling the industry and implementing a coordinated plan of tourism development. Nonetheless, this strategy

accelerated tourism growth at an unprecedented pace, allowing the development of tourist destinations to be led by the private sector and the market without regulation, control and planning from the state.

The current model of tourism development has ended up subordinating the state agencies governing the tourism industry to the interests of the entrepreneurial elites and current neoliberal administrations. Therefore, when planning tourism growth, the state mainly seeks to attract as many tourists as possible in order to generate economic growth, regardless of the environmental vulnerability and capacity of local destinations to absorb the socio-environmental impacts of tourism. In other words, the state has predominantly applied what geographer Colin Hunter (1997) has termed a “Sustainable Development through a ‘Tourism Imperative’” approach, privileging a very weak interpretation of sustainable tourism in order to satisfy the needs of tourists and tourist developers. This explains why the notions of limit and sustainability have been totally absent and side-lined in recent tourism policies undertaken by the state, as seen in chapter seven.

The wide adoption of neoliberalism by Peruvian society enabled the elites to transform the role of the state in the economy and society to favour their particular interests. By eliminating any barriers hampering the capitalist exploitation of natural and cultural resources, local spaces within rural territories were opened to the capitalist market, with the aim of facilitating conditions of profitable capital accumulation and the expansion of tourism throughout the Peruvian territory. In addition, neoliberalism allowed for perceptions of the country to be re-shaped according to the political and economic interests of the elites, who portrayed Peru as an ‘attractive’ destination with outstanding natural and cultural diversity in order to increase the number of tourists and investors. Thus, in light of Colás’s (2004) and Harvey’s (2005) critiques of neoliberalism, this thesis shows how the impact of neoliberalism in Peru assisted the elites to strengthen their power as a social class, at the same time naturalising a colonial relation of exploitation over the natural environment and local cultures.

## **8.2 Dominant Discourses of Tourism**

Contemporary business elites and recent neoliberal administrations have ideologically legitimised the recent dramatic expansion of the tourism industry with discourses of tourism and development. As analysed in chapter six, these discourses support a

hegemonic notion of development in which capital accumulation, investment and rapid economic growth are conceived as the main ingredients for developing Peruvian society. As such, they mainstream tourism development as an 'effective' tool that will contribute to eradicate the perception of indigenous and rural populations as 'underdeveloped' and 'poor' subjects, arguing that tourism generates economic benefits and increases employment opportunities in the short term.

Apart from fostering tourism growth, these discourses play a predominant role in defining and maintaining the power relations that shape the social structure of Peru. My research shows that discourses of tourism and development naturalise discriminatory practices against rural populations, validating discourses of 'hygienic racism' (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1998) and what anthropologist, Marisol de la Cadena (2000), has termed 'Peruvian dominant racism'. In doing this, these discourses reinforce a representation of the social structure in which tourism investors are situated in a privileged and superior social position, in opposition to an 'inferior' local population. This hierarchised view of society, combined with the racism that emerge from these discourses, enable members of the national elite to impose their power over other socially or geographically distant social groups. This is mainly manifested in the way indigenous and rural populations are conceptualised as exploitable objects for the capitalist market, and their natural and cultural resources are appropriated in order to foster tourism development.

In addition, by making hegemonic a notion of development that prioritises rapid capital accumulation, some members of the national elite marginalise and discriminate traditional economies and local models of development. In chapter six I have also demonstrated how local populations, as opposed to big tourism investment projects, have even been contemptuously labelled as 'Perros del Hortelano' ('dogs in the manger'). Consequently, subaltern groups are represented as a threat to the nation's progress because they are rejecting important flows of private investments that are assumed will bring development to the country. This denigrating way of representing rural populations clearly shows how the continuity of local models of development and traditional activities, such as artisan fishing, is threatened by the economic and political interests of the elites. In fact, my study has made evident the current problems faced by fishing communities of Northern Peru, whose access to land has been restricted as a result of the uncontrolled expansion of the tourism industry experienced in the last two decades.

My research has also illustrated the ways in which naturalisation of the ideology that links tourism to the discourse of development results in local inhabitants of rural communities ranking themselves as inferior, in opposition to the national elites. Despite the above, by generating consent for this activity from local inhabitants, members of the local population occupying positions of power rely on this ideology to justify their own political and economic projects, increasing social differences and tensions within a locality. Nonetheless, this prevalent notion of tourism is continually questioned by some local inhabitants who consider that tourism has mostly benefitted upper and middle class Limeños who initially fostered the process that transformed Mancora into a tourist destination. Ultimately, the ideology that links tourism to the discourse of development has led businessmen and local inhabitants neglect the imminent risks brought about by the ‘El Niño’ phenomenon to rural populations in Northern Peru.

In this sense, a critical analysis of the discourses that legitimise tourism growth in Peru makes obvious how tourism represents a new instrument for reproducing, following Castro-Gómez (2008) and Dussel (1995), the Eurocentric subject-object division that assisted the colonisers to dominate and exploit original populations from the Americas and other parts of the world. This illustrates how this colonial relation is still a central element defining the hierarchies that shape the relationships amongst social classes and the way contemporary Peruvians see each other as members of the same nation. Thus, under these characteristics, the expansion of the tourism industry reinforces and maintains the ‘coloniality of power’ (Quijano, 2008), strengthening deeply rooted patterns of domination that prevent post-colonial Peru from becoming more democratic and equal.

### **8.3 Socio-political Processes of Place-making**

By looking back at the history of Mancora and Peruvian society, I gave a comprehensive account of how Mancora was constituted as a culturally diverse and socially mixed community, organised around relations of domination, increased socio-cultural differences, social inequalities and conflict. In this abrupt process of cultural change, initiated by the colonial encounter and continued during the republic, the elites and local inhabitants have established and maintained a colonial relationship over Mancora’s vulnerable natural resources, with the hope of generating economic growth while constructing the post-colonial state. The changes in the socio-economic composition of Mancora brought about transformations in the uses of natural resources

and the territory, which in turn shaped the identity of Mancora from a 'Hacienda Mancora' and a 'Fishing Village' into a popular 'Tourist Destination' in the last century.

During the Hacienda period (1880-1940), Mancora was economically and socially linked to regional and national levels of society through the exploitation of the carob dry forest for coal and wood production. The forest assisted a powerful and Lima-based oligarchy to undertake an export-led development model that relied on the capitalist exploitation of natural resources to modernise the country and ensure economic growth. Before the 1940s, the physical space of Mancora was socially and politically organised around the countryside, whereas the coastal area was strategically used as a storage area, playing an important role in the coal and wood circuit. Nonetheless, several internal and regional migration processes occurring between the 1940 and 1960, combined with increased flows of foreign investments for developing the national industry, advanced Mancora into an important fishing village with several fishing companies and fishing neighbourhoods populating the coastal area. Fishing transformed the uses of natural resources and the social configuration of the space, fostering a colonial relation of exploitation over marine resources and advancing the coastal area into a living area. As a result, during this period (1930-1970), Mancora was consolidated as a fishing village and coastal district with local and political authorities as well as a culturally diverse community composed of cattle farmers, lumberjacks and fishing families.

With the introduction of tourism by middle and upper class Limeños during the 1970s, Mancora was taken through a process of commoditisation, appropriation and production. By implementing several strategies aimed at appropriating vulnerable coastal land, the Limeños, or 'colorados', changed the uses of the space and reshaped the identity of the place in order to undertake their political and economic projects based on the exploitation of coastal land and the coastal landscape. In fact, the 'pioneering' Limeños turned the coastal land into the most valuable natural resource and then prompted land markets in order to foster tourism development. Subsequently, they built the productive infrastructure of the society within a territory highly vulnerable to the 'El Niño' phenomenon, attaching the symbolic meanings that advanced previously disaster-stricken areas of the town into 'attractive' tourist zones. Moreover, the appropriation of coastal land and the opening of local spaces to the capitalist market brought about by the neoliberal reform restricted access to the areas previously used by fishing families and local inhabitants, increasing socio-cultural and economic differences that transformed the social dynamic of Mancora.

My multi-sited ethnography shows, following Gupta and Ferguson (1997c), how local spaces are hierarchically interconnected and articulated to larger social structures. In addition, it illustrates how this articulation of different spatial levels triggers processes of cultural change and contact through which hegemonic models of place and nature are imposed or accepted by subaltern groups. The imposition of hegemonic cultural constructs that support the subject-object dichotomy reinforces what Gísli Pálsson (1996) has termed ‘a colonial relation of exploitation’ over the natural environment and over the place. This allows for the identity of local spaces to be shaped in accordance to the cultural values of the elites, enabling them to pursue their political and economic goals based on the capitalist exploitation of natural resources. In this sense, the ethnographic evidence presented in this thesis validates my main argument that the identity of a place is conditioned by the cultural relationship that social groups establish with their natural environment and that this relationship is modified as a result of on-going processes of place-making.

#### **8.4 Socio-environmental Problems and Vulnerability**

The imposition of dominant models of place, nature and the economy provoked cultural changes in the way some Mancoreños conceptualised their place and their natural environment. This process of change narrowed down the cultural gaps that distinguished the colorados from the Mancoreños during the initial stages of tourism development in Mancora. In chapter four I have analysed how a socially mixed group composed of former hacienda workers, fishermen and upper and middle class Limeños strategically used the Agrarian Reform Law to create the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora. This enabled the Comunidad Campesina to request land rights over Mancora’s territory to the state, becoming an important and powerful social and political actor at a local level. Initially, this group of ‘comuneros campesinos’ were unable to sell their lands. However, by eliminating the protectionist guarantees given to indigenous communities by the state, Fujimori’s neoliberal agrarian policy entitled the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora to foster land markets within vulnerable coastal territories.

Thus, by advancing the place and the land into valuable tourism commons (Healy, 1994; Briassoulis, 2002) and making dominant a colonial relation of exploitation over the natural environment (Pálsson, 1996), the re-making of Mancora into a tourist destination turned previously disaster-stricken areas of the town into contested



territories. This placed the social actors that had composed Mancora as a community in direct competition to secure coastal lands in order to implement their individual political and economic projects for the place. As part of this process, local identities were strategically re-invented and territorialised by each actor in order to claim rights over the land while excluding other potential users, creating tensions and social differences amongst Mancoreños, members of the Comunidad Campesina and the colorados. As a result, Mancora's process of place-making developed into a contest over the land, or a land-grabbing race, which hampered the emergence of structures of land governance that might control the expansion of the tourism industry and regulate the use of vulnerable natural resources at a local level.

Therefore, the dramatic expansion of the tourism industry, brought about by the neoliberal model of tourism development, occurred in a place without regulatory mechanism of land governance due to internal social conflicts. Even worse, it took place in a country where a negligent state does not plan or control the expansion of the industry and the use of natural resources, but triggers unlimited tourist flows and investments. Inevitably, this adverse context ended up shaping the current unsustainable pattern of resource utilisation and appropriation of Mancora, allowing the 'free-rider problem' (Ostrom et al., 2001) to rapidly emerge. Chapter five clearly shows how the 'free-rider problem' is manifested in an increasing number of land invaders fostering illegal land markets within highly vulnerable and unprepared areas of the district. It also illustrates how this pattern of resource utilisation prompted an uncontrolled expansion of tourism infrastructure that is provoking severe environmental degradation, destruction of the tourist resource and violent land conflicts. As such, by re-defining local identities, this process of change occurring in a context of neoliberal reform increased socio-cultural differences and tensions between groups, creating a tense context that triggered the 'tragedy of the commons' (Harding, 1970).

Another central factor that allowed this context to emerge lies in the cultural transformations that the re-making of Mancora into a tourist destination caused in notions of risk and the local knowledge about the natural dynamic of the place. The imposition of hegemonic models of nature and place modified local conceptions of risk, allowing previously disaster-stricken areas of the town to be conceptualised as valuable tourist commodities by local inhabitants. In addition, by neglecting the fact that the 'El Niño' phenomenon is a latent environmental threat that could produce severe harm to the society, some Mancoreños became active users of vulnerable resources. Thus, these

cultural transformations strengthened risk-taking behaviours (Douglas, 1992; Douglas and Wildavsky, 1982) characteristic of a 'risk society' (Beck, 1992), intensifying the competition to secure coastal land with more users competing for the resource in order to obtain short term economic benefits from selling the land.

Consequently, the productive infrastructure of Mancora has swiftly developed by denying the environmental hazards Northern Peru is subjected to in order to foster tourism growth and generate economic development. As a result, tourism development has made the socio-economic well-being of the population to be strongly dependent on a productive system that is not sustainable in the long term. In addition, given that the 'El Niño' is already a substantial threat to the health of the population because it spreads epidemic diseases and plagues, a model of tourism development that generates increasing environmental degradation makes this an even more worrying problem. Thus, my study demonstrates, following Blaikie et al., (1994) and Hilshorst and Bankoff (2004), that an uncontrolled expansion of the tourism industry raises the conditions of vulnerability of the local population, increasing the probability of a disaster occurring in the near future. This does not only threaten the sustainability of the tourism industry within this specific region but, more importantly, puts at risk the life, properties and livelihoods of local populations of Northern Peru.

## **8.5 Sustainable Tourism in Post-colonial Societies**

The scholarly debates on 'common pool resources' (Ostrom et al., 1999) in tourism contexts (Healy, 1994; Briassoulis, 2002) and sustainable tourism (Butler, 1999; Hunter, 1997; Saarinen, 2006) have already emphasised the role that human institutions should play in controlling and limiting the use of natural resources within local spaces during all stages of tourism development (Butler, 1980). In fact, my thesis has thoroughly demonstrated that local, regional and national authorities are central actors in developing tourist destinations because the way they relate to the tourism industry will condition the sustainability of the destination. As such, in neoliberal states and post-colonial societies, where tourism and the power of the state are mainly used in favour of the economic elites, tourism will not be sustainable if the role of the state and the tourism industry in developing Peruvian society is not re-defined.

My research has made evident that tourism is an activity that provokes substantial socio-cultural changes that end up reinforcing social differences, discriminating fishing

communities and local inhabitants and transforming environmentally fragile natural landscapes. As such, it has stressed the need for state agencies at all levels of society to regulate, plan and control the expansion of tourism in order to avoid environmental degradation, increasing conditions of vulnerability and the appropriation of natural resources used by rural communities to reproduce their identities. In this regard, an environmental and social agenda for tourism development becomes an important concern, where limits to growth and the scale of development are clearly stated in accordance with the carrying capacity of local spaces, the socio-cultural and economic characteristics of rural populations and the environmental hazards they are subjected to. Otherwise, we could expect other destinations to experience the same socio-environmental problems seen in Mancora, provoking ‘the tragedy of the commons’ at a larger scale while increasing socio-cultural and economic inequalities.

This involves a political change aimed at making the relationship between the elites, the Peruvian state, rural populations and the natural environment more reciprocal, eliminating colonial structures of power that allow the natural environment and subaltern groups to be conceptualised as exploitable objects. As part of this project, hegemonic conceptions and uses of tourism that conceive Peru’s cultural and natural biodiversity solely as an asset to generate economic development should be challenged by a type of tourism development that respects the environment and rural communities. Likewise, this political change should have to articulate the demands and conceptions of development of local inhabitants engaged in the tourism industry and traditional activities, opening the possibility of articulating a view of social change as a whole life project culturally defined. Therefore, the cultural differences that make Peru a socially diverse society should be seen less as a problem and more as an opportunity to construct alternatives to hegemonic notions of development that could lead us towards a post-development era (Escobar, 1995, Escobar, 2005; Esteva, 1992) whilst making Peru a more equal and democratic society.

## **8.6 Final Remarks**

Tourism is rapidly -and silently- spreading within environmentally vulnerable areas of the region of Latin America without much attention from social researchers and policy-makers, raising levels of vulnerability and provoking cultural and socio-environmental transformations that are –dangerously- left unattended. Because of that, more studies analysing the characteristics of the tourism industry in the region are needed in order to

know more about the nature of tourism and how this activity affects rural populations. This becomes even more important in the current context of global warming, where countries such as Peru are constantly suffering the negative impacts of extreme environmental forces and where climate change is already affecting the livelihoods and way of life of rural communities.

This thesis has underscored the need to produce more ethnographic studies of fishing communities along the Pacific Coast whose livelihoods and territories have been affected by the impact of tourism and neoliberalism. It has also shown that multi-sited ethnography provides a methodological approach that allows us to grasp a better understanding of processes of socio-cultural change whereby hegemonic cultural constructs are imposed, adopted and transformed. In addition, it has demonstrated that coastal territories are lived spaces in constant transformation that need to be thoroughly studied and analysed in order to understand contemporary changes in culture and society, but also to look for new alternatives of development. Thus, more multidisciplinary debates analysing the links between the production of socio-cultural difference and vulnerability in post-colonial societies are necessary, which could help us to understand the cultural formations that emerge as a result of processes of cultural contact triggered by tourism.

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## Appendix A

### Interviews 2010-1011

Name	Association/Institution	Characteristics	Place of Interview	Date
Everardo Távara y Erick Godofredo Reyes Segovia	Presidente y Abogado / Comunidad Campesina de Máncora	Actual presidente de la Comunidad Campesina y asesor legal	Máncora - Quebrada Fernández - Salón Comunal	25/09/2010
Prof. Bolivar	Profesor / I.E. Túpac Amaru / Presidente Junta Vecinal Barrio Nuevo Máncora	Migrante Tumbesino	Máncora	05/10/2010
Victor Hidalgo	Alcalde de Máncora / Municipalidad Distrital de Máncora	Mancoreño	Máncora	06/10/2010
Prof. Cesar Aguilar	Profesor / I.E. Túpac Amaru	Mancoreño - Relación con el Campo	Máncora	07/10/2010
Luis Aguilar y Prof. Cesar	Pobladores / Comunero y Profesor / Barrio Nicaragua	Mancoreños - Relación con el Campo	Máncora	08/10/2010
Manuel Garrido Castro	Ex Alcalde Los Órganos / Municipalidad Distrital de Los Órganos	Migrante	Los Órganos	08/10/2010
Elautario Agurto	Comunero / Comunidad Campesina	Mancoreño - Relación con el Campo	Máncora	09/10/2010
Coco Salas	Jefe de Defensa Civil - Investigador Local / Municipalidad Distrital de Máncora	Mancoreño	Máncora	11/10/2010
Pobladoras	Pobladoras / Barrio El Bendito	Mancoreñas - Invasoras	Máncora	13/10/2010
Luis Aguilar Pena	Comunero / Barrio Nicaragua	Mancoreño - Poblador Antiguo	Máncora	15/10/2010
Milagros Duran	Especialista en Turismo Receptivo - Mercado de Colombia y Ecuador / PROMPERU	Funcionaria del Estado	Lima	21/10/2010
Martin Maceda	Pescador - Presidente del Gremio de Pescadores / Asociación del Gremio	Mancoreño	Máncora	25/10/2010

	de Pescadores del Distrito de Máncora			
Oscar Christoph	Presidente / Asociación Las Pocitas	Argentino migrante - Dueño de hotel Puerto Palos	Máncora - Las Pocitas	26/10/2010
Lucía Ehecopar	Miembra / Asociación Ambiental	Limeña - Migrantes del 90 y ex-hotelerera	Máncora	27/10/2010
Abilio Rivas	Ex Presidente / Comunidad Campesina	Mancoreño	Máncora	31/10/2010
Pedro Moran	Ex Presidente de la Comunidad Campesina de Mancora / Comunidad Campesina	Mancoreño - Comunidad Campesina	Máncora	04/11/2010
Francisco Maceda	Pescador Antiguo / Pesca	Migrante Tumbesino - Pescador Antiguo	Máncora	05/11/2010
Florencio Olibos Olibos	Ex Alcalde del Distrito de Máncora / Municipalidad Distrital de Máncora	Mancoreño	Máncora	06/11/2010
Eugenio Lanatta de las Casas	Ex Comunero / Comunidad Campesina - Migrante Limeño	Limeño - Comunidad Campesina - Primeros migrantes en Máncora	Lima - Chaclacayo	18/11/2010
Alejandro Diez	Profesor PUCP / PUCP	Limeño - Antropólogo	Lima	26/11/2010
Carlos Contreras	Profesor PUCP / PUCP	Limeño - Economista	Lima	29/11/2010
Evelyn Grados	Especialista en Turismo Interno / PROMPERU	Funcionaria del Estado	Lima	30/11/2010
José Yecarlaqué	Artesano / Zona Artesanal	Mancoreño - Buzo - Artesano	Máncora	14/12/2010
Leyter Arizaga	Presidente Caretur – Regidor Municipal / Cámara Regional de Turismo de Piura - Municipalidad Provincial de Talara	Talareño - Sector Privado y Público	Talara	15/12/2010
Willie Yauri	Ex Abogado Comunidad – Municipalidad / Comunidad Campesina de Máncora - Municipalidad Distrital de Máncora	Trujillano - Ordenanzas Municipales - Comunidad Campesina	Máncora	16/12/2010
Everardo	Presidente de la	Mancoreño -	Máncora	18/12/2010

Távara	Comunidad Campesina de Máncora / Comunidad Campesina de Máncora	Comunidad Campesina		
Carlos Chunga	Presidente de la Cámara de Turismo de Máncora / Cámara de Turismo de Máncora	Mancoreño - Líder	Máncora	27/12/2010
Martin Maceda	Presidente del Gremio de Pescadores / Pesca - Asociación del Gremio de Pescadores del Distrito de Máncora	Mancoreño - Pescador	Máncora	28/12/2010
Javier Maguillase	Jefe de Obras Gestión 2010 / Municipalidad Distrital de Máncora	Tumbesino - Gestión Local - Desarrollo Urbano	Máncora	30/12/2010
Lucía Ehecopar	Miembra / Asociación Ambiental	Limeña - Primeras migrantes y ex-hotelerera	Máncora	30/12/2010
Chicato	Ex presidente de la Asociación del Gremio de Pescadores del Distrito de Máncora / Asociación del Gremio de Pescadores del Distrito de Máncora	Mancoreño - Pescador	Máncora	05/01/2011
Juan José Sernaqué	Profesor / Micaela Bastidas - Asesor promoción 2010	Lobiteño	Máncora	06/01/2011
José Chapa Martínez	Director / Colegio Pagette	Mancoreño	Máncora	07/01/2011
Focus Group 1	Adolescentes Graduados / Colegios Secundarios Máncora (Micaela Bastidas - Pallete)	Mancoreños Gabriela - Berenice - David	Máncora	09/01/2011
Javier Ruzzo	Hotelero / Hotelier	Limeño - Migrantes del 80	Máncora	11/01/2011
Nikolas Pena	Joven Empresario / Pizzas Nikito	Mancoreño	Máncora	12/01/2011
Julia Lama	Pobladora Antigua (74 Años) / Barrio Santa Rosa	Historia Reciente Desde Población Local	Máncora	12/01/2011
Lucho Flores	Presidente - Propietario de casas para el Alquiler / Asociación Ambiental del Distrito de Máncora	Turismo - Pocitas - Pueblo	Máncora - Las Pocitas	13/01/2011



Ivon Von Mollendorf	Organizadora Arte del Sol / Arte del Sol - Pocitas	Islandesa - dueña de casa en Pocitas	Máncora - Las Pocitas	13/01/2011
Sr. Ramos	Pescador / Pescador de Balsilla	Mancoreño - Pescador Antiguo	Máncora	14/01/2011
Ricardo Belizan	Hotelero / Hotel Claro de Luna	Argentino migrante - Hotelero	Máncora - Las Pocitas	15/01/2011
Orlando Lipe	Albañil / Albañil	Sullana - Migrante	Máncora	18/01/2011
Ana Maria Boulanguer Chevalier	Pobladora / Nieta del Administrador de la Hacienda Máncora	Mancoreña	Máncora	18/01/2011
Luisa Adrianzen	Hotelera / Hotel La Posada	Los Órganos - Migrante - Hotelera	Máncora - La Quebrada	19/01/2011
Papayo y Paco Maceda	Pescadores / Pobladores - Pescadores	Mancoreños	Máncora	20/01/2011
Sergio Lanata	Inversionista / Ex-Ofisco	Limeño - Inversionista Antiguo en Máncora	Máncora	22/01/2011
Jorge Guerrero Chinchay	Administrador del Muelle / Desembarcadero Artesanal de Máncora	Desarrollo Pesquero	Máncora	24/01/2011
Marisa Saldarriaga	Directora de Turismo / Municipalidad Provincial de Talara	Talareña - Sector Público y Turismo	Talara	24/01/2011
Elsa Sarango y Mery Saldarriaga	Municipalidad Provincial de Piura - Iperu Piura / Municipalidad Provincial de Piura	Turismo - Región	Piura (Ciudad)	25/01/2011
Guillermo Dulanto	Gerente Regional de Desarrollo Económico / Gobierno Regional de Piura	Planes Turísticos	Piura (Ciudad)	25/01/2011
Norelia Garces	Directora de Turismo / Dirección Regional de Turismo - Piura	Piurana - Gob. Regional	Piura (Ciudad)	26/01/2011
Arnulfo Vasquez	Funcionario DIRCETUR / Dirección Regional de Turismo - Piura	Piurano - Gob. Regional	Piura (Ciudad)	26/01/2011
Lucia Echeopar	Miembra / Asociación Ambiental	Limeña - Migrantes del 90 y ex-hotelera	Máncora	28/01/2011
Fernando Olibos	Gobernador / Distrito de Máncora	Mancoreño - Autoridad	Máncora	28/01/2011
Juan José	Miembro / Cámara de	Limeño -	Vichayito	28/01/2011

Buraschi	Turismo Los Órganos	Migrante del 2000 - Inversionista		
Chicato	Ex presidente de la Asociación del Gremio de Pescadores del Distrito de Máncora / Asociación del Gremio de Pescadores del Distrito de Máncora	Mancoreño - Pescador	Máncora	31/01/2011
Martin Maceda	Presidente del Gremio de Pescadores / Asociación del Gremio de Pescadores del Distrito de Máncora	Mancoreño - Pescador	Máncora	01/02/2011
Francisco Maceda (Hijo)	Pescador	Mancoreño - Pescador	Máncora	02/02/2011
Zoila Cavero	Planificadora y Especialista en Proyectos de Inversión / Vice-Ministerio de Turismo	Funcionaria del Estado	Lima	10/02/2011
Zulema Burneo y Pedro Castillo	Antropóloga y Abogado / CEPES	Limeños - Académicos - Tierras y Comunidades Campesinas	Lima	11/02/2011
Manolo Casanova y Adán Hidalgo	FREDEMAN / Ex Alcalde - Poblador	Mancoreños - Integrantes del Frente de Defensa de Máncora	Máncora	22/02/2011
Lucho León	Hotelero – Arquitecto / Hotel Kimbas	Limeño - Migrante del 80	Máncora - La Quebrada	23/02/2011
José Yecarlaqué	Artesano / Zona Artesanal	Mancoreño - Buzo - Artesano	Máncora	27/02/2011
Arnaldo Aleman	Propietario / Restaurante el Balserito	Mancoreño - Inversionista	Máncora - Zona Centro Veraniego	01/03/2011
Manolo Casanova	Ex Alcalde – Hotelero / Municipalidad Distrital de Máncora - Hotelero "Casa Blanca"	Mancoreño	Máncora	01/03/2011
Romy Tello	Directora de Turismo / Municipalidad Provincial de Paita	Funcionaria del Estado	Paita	03/03/2011
Invasores del Humedal	Humedal	Invasores - Intento de	Máncora	04/03/2011

		Desalojo		
José Yecarlaqué	Artesano / Zona Artesanal	Mancoreño - Buzo - Artesano	Máncora	05/03/2011
Magno Távara	Poblador / Ex presidente de Fredeman - Organizador de la Marcha en contra de la Policía en Máncora	Mancoreño	Máncora	10/03/2011
Ana María Chavez	Ingeniera / Universidad de Piura	Piurana - Académica	Piura (Ciudad)	11/03/2011
Sra. Adela	Investigadora - Agencia de Viajes / Agencia de Viajes "Rutas del Norte"	Piurana	Piura (Ciudad)	11/03/2011
Everardo Távara	Presidente de la Comunidad Campesina de Máncora / Comunidad Campesina de Máncora	Mancoreño - Comunidad Campesina	Máncora	12/03/2011
Nikolas Pena	Poblador / Poblador - Papá de Pizzas Nikito	Mancoreño	Máncora	17/03/2011
Lizbeth Corrales	Coordinadora de Destinos / Vice-Ministerio de Turismo	Funcionaria del Estado	Lima	18/03/2011
Eduardo Sevilla	Asesor / Vice-Ministerio de Turismo	Funcionario del Estado	Lima	23/03/2011
Claudia Cornejo	Directora Nacional de Desarrollo Turístico / Vice-Ministerio de Turismo	Funcionario del Estado	Lima	25/03/2011
Claudia Oré	Planificadora y Especialista en Turismo / Vice-Ministerio de Turismo	Funcionaria del Estado	Lima	28/03/2011
Carlos Castro	Asesor del Despacho Ministerial / MINCETUR	Funcionario del Estado	Lima	28/03/2011
Marisol Acosta	Sub Directora de Turismo Interno / PROMPERU	Funcionaria del Estado	Lima	29/03/2011
Luis Bernós	Arquitecto – Consultor / Independiente - Trabajó para el Plan Copesco	Limeño - Arquitecto	Lima	30/03/2011
Carlos Canales	Presidente / CANATUR	Limeño - Sector Privado	Lima	31/03/2011
Claudia Oré	Planificadora y Especialista en Turismo / Vice-Ministerio de Turismo	Funcionaria del Estado	Lima	31/03/2011
Cecilia Raffo	Asesora y Coordinador	Funcionarios	Lima	01/04/2011

y Fernando Vera	de Proyecto TRC / Vice-Ministerio de Turismo	del Estado		
Julia Vinas	Office leader / Futurebrand	Consultora de Marca - Marca Perú	Lima	05/04/2011
Maria del Carmen de Reparáz	Sub Directora de Turismo Receptivo / PROMPERU	Funcionaria del Estado	Lima	06/04/2011
Mercedes Araoz	Ex-Ministra MINCETUR 2006-2009 / PROMPERU - Universidad del Pacífico	Ex-Funcionaria del Estado	Lima	12/04/2011
Mara Seminario	Vice-Ministra de Turismo / Vice-Ministerio de Turismo	Funcionaria del Estado	Lima	13/04/2011
Ines Claux Carriquiri	Arquitecta - Universidad de Piura / Universidad de Piura (Nacional)	Independiente	Piura (Ciudad)	28/04/2011
Juan Stoessel	Gerente - Vicepresidente / Casa Andina - Sociedad Peruana de Hoteles	Privado	Lima	06/05/2011
Javier Paraud Cárpena	Ex Alcalde Mancora – Hotelero / Las Garzas - Municipalidad de Máncora	Sector Privado - Municipalidad de Máncora	Lima	20/05/2011

### Attended Meetings 2010-2011

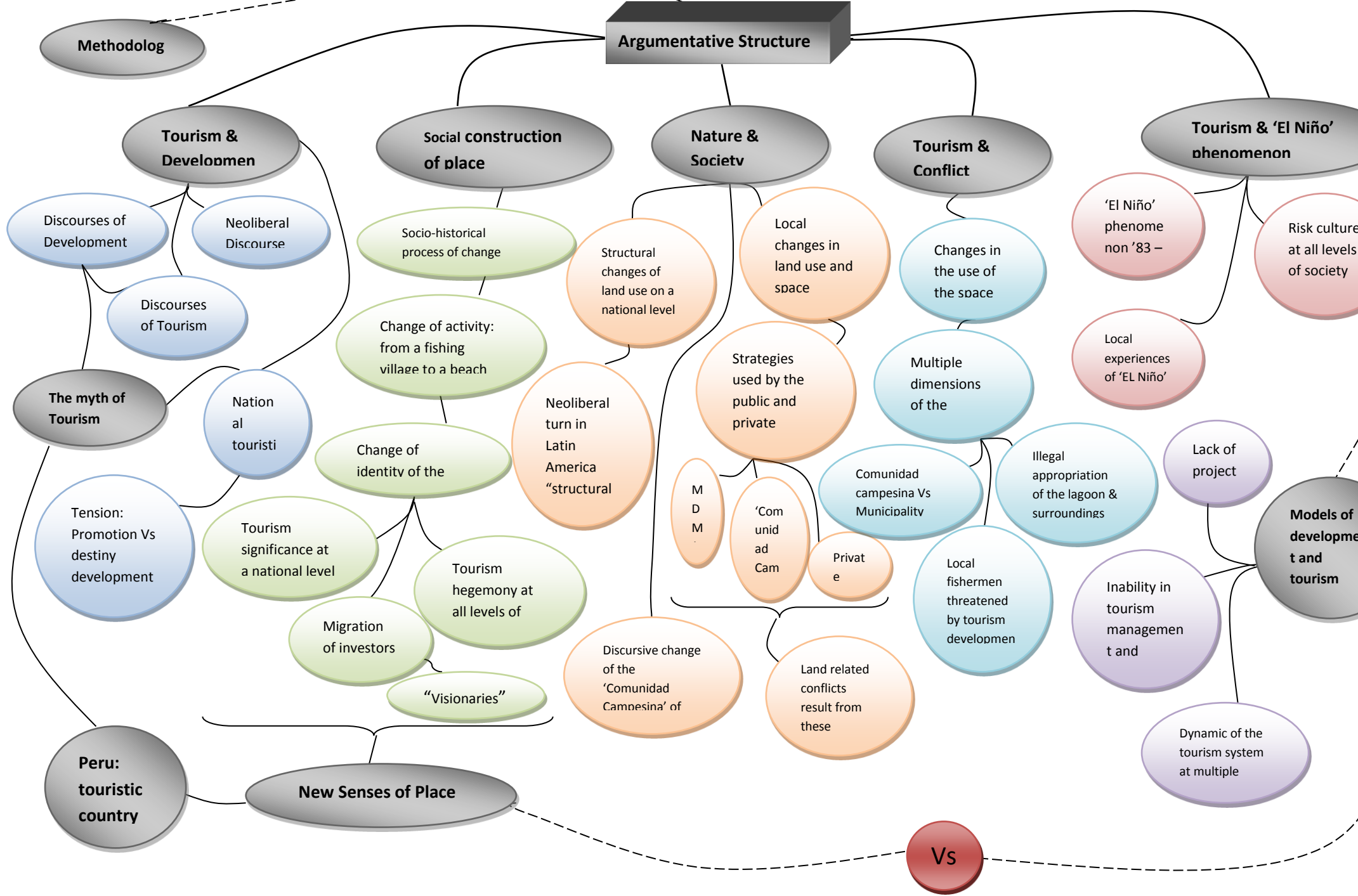
Nombre	Lugar	Fecha	Descripción
"Hablemos sobre Turismo"	Hotel Pacífico - Talara	14/09/2010	Conversatorio organizado por motivo del Aniversario de La provincia de Talara, presentaron representantes de los distritos de la provincia
Asamblea de Pescadores	Desembarcadero Artesanal del Distrito de Mancora - Máncora	12/10/2010	Asamblea entre autoridades distritales, provinciales, regionales, asociaciones y pescadores
Turismo, Cultura y Desarrollo	Centro Cultural de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú - San Isidro - Lima	21/10/2010	Conferencia académica sobre Turismo
Cámara de Turismo Máncora	Hotel MMH - Máncora	03/11/2010	Reunión del Sector privado de Máncora, Pocitas, Vichayito y Los Órganos para conformar la Cámara de Turismo de Máncora

Turismo al 2015 - Congreso de Estudiantes	Centro de Convenciones María Angola - Miraflores – Lima	02/12/2010	CANATUR/ Conferencia para estudiantes de Turismo: Carlos Canales, Ursula Gutierrez (Marriot), Marisol Acosta (Promperu), Cesar Alcorta (Brujas del Cachiche), Paul Ingebretsen (Westin), Kurt Holle (Rainfores Expeditions)
Proyectos de Inversión Playas del Norte	Hotel Esmeralda – Piura	03/02/2011	Consultoría - MINCETUR - Macroconsult / Reunión entre representantes Turísticos de los gobiernos locales de la región con representante de Macroconsult y MINCETUR
Taller de Involucramiento	Biblioteca de la Municipalidad Distrital de Máncora - María Rostoworoski	17/02/2011	Taller – Copesco / Taller de Involucramiento COPESCO - Obra expansión del Malecón
Atractivos Turísticos de Tu Distrito	Auditorio Municipalidad de Talara - Talara	22/02/2011	Conversatorio / Representantes de los gobiernos locales hablando sobre los atractivos de sus distritos
Jerarquización de Recursos Turísticos	Sede DIRCETUR - Piura	24/02/2011	Taller - MINCETUR - Desarrollo de Productos Turísticos / Reunión entre representantes de Turismo de la Región con Funcionaria del MINCETUR
CODISEC	Biblioteca de la Municipalidad Distrital de Máncora - María Rostoworoski	02/03/2011	MINCETUR - Autoridades de Máncora / Taller de Seguridad Turística - Autoridades de Máncora - Representantes Vecinales - José Jaimes y Santiago Vizcarra
Sala de Regidores	Sala de Regidores del Palacio Municipal del Distrito de Máncora	04/03/2011	Autoridades Locales – MINCETUR / Reunión de la Asociación ambiental y las autoridades locales con agentes del MINCETUR para evaluar el intento de desalojo
Municipalidad con Pobladores del Centro Veraniego	Restaurante El Balserito	14/03/2011	Reunión entre los representantes de la Municipalidad y los propietarios/invasores del centro veraniego para ver el tema del humedal
MINCETUR - Sector Privado	Biblioteca de la Municipalidad Distrital de Máncora - María Rostoworoski	15/03/2011	Reunión entre funcionarias del MINCETUR y sector Privado de Máncora, especialmente de las Pocitas
Candidatos Presidenciales 2011	Hotel Marriot	21/03/2011	CANATUR / Ollanta Humala - Lucho Castañeda - Alejandro Toledo hablan sobre el turismo y sus propuestas para el sector

## Interviews 2007

Name	Association/Institution	Characteristics	Place of Interview	Date
Tati del Carpio	Propietaria - Inversionista - Migrante Limeño / Hotel Casa de Playa	Hotelera - Migrante Limeña de los 90	Máncora - Las Pocitas	10/04/2007
María Cordova	Directora de Colegio de Niños especiales / Pobladora	Migrante del 79	Máncora	11/04/2007
Lucho Aguilar	Comunero - Poblador Antiguo - Cuidador de Terreno / Comunidad Campesina - Barrio Nicaragua - Lotes de la Playa del Amor	Poblador local, antiguo, mas de 66 años	Máncora	11/04/2007
Lucho Aguilar	Comunero - Poblador Antiguo - Cuidador de Terreno / Comunidad Campesina - Barrio Nicaragua - Lotes de la Playa del Amor	Poblador local, antiguo, mas de 66 años	Máncora	12/04/2007
Carlos Chunga	Poblador - Dueño de Cabina de Internet / Sector Privado Local	Estudió en Lima y regresó a Máncora a poner un negocio	Máncora	12/04/2007
Manuel Casanova	Hotelero - Ex Alcalde / Hotel Casa Blanca - Municipalidad Distrital de Máncora	Dueño de Hotel y ex trabajador de la OXY	Máncora	13/04/2007
Juan Preciado	Pescador Antiguo / Sector Pesquero	Arponero - Primeras promociones de pescadores	Máncora - La Quebrada	15/04/2007
Jorge Salas	Bibliotecario "Biblioteca Municipal del Distrito de Máncora 'María Rostoworowski'" / Municipalidad Distrital de Máncora	Poblador local que ha escrito revistas sobre Máncora y trabaja en la Radio	Máncora	16/04/2007
Manuel Alarcón	Pescador Antiguo / Sector Pesquero	Pescador migrante que llegó en la época del Espada	Máncora	17/04/2007
Harry Schuller	Hotelero pionero - Inversionista - Migrante Limeño - Ex Presidente de la Comunidad Campesina año 2000 / Hotel Punta Ballenas - Comunidad Campesina de Máncora	Uno de los primeros migrantes Limeños hoteleros	Máncora	06/05/2007

Pascual Gallo Vinces	Vendedor ambulante / Poblador Antiguo	Vendedor de Cocada	Máncora	07/05/2007
Elsa	Dueña de tienda / Entrada a Sol y Mar	Pobladora involucrada en la actividad	Máncora	08/05/2007
Oscar Vitte	Pescador y dueño de restaurante / Centro Veraniego de Máncora	Poblador que cambio de actividad, de pesca a turismo, invasor	Máncora	09/05/2007
Josie	Buzo y dueño de restaurante / Entrada a Sol y Mar	Buzo profesional involucrado en la actividad	Máncora	09/05/2007
José Yecarlaqué	Pescador y Artesano / Zona artesanal	Pescador, Buzo y artesano	Máncora	10/05/2007
Pedro	Pescador de langostinos / Centro Veraniego de Máncora	Langostinero y tiene negocio en Centro Veraniego, Invasor	Máncora	12/05/2007
José	Pescador	Pescador y su madre tiene restaurante en la playa	Máncora	12/05/2007
Adán Hidalgo	Poblador Antiguo	Descendiente de Hacendado	Máncora	





## Appendix B

### Chapter 4

**Extract 4.1. Pag. 75:** Interview with Lucho and Cesar Aguilar.

**Lucho:** [...] there was a huge lumberyard next to the ‘*La Pepa*’ ravine [...] where *el hacendado* stored all the coal and firewood that had been extracted from the Fernandez ravine. Then, three ships, one named Olmedo, another named Chiclayo and the other one named Presidente, I think, came over to collect the coal and firewood, transporting it to El Callao (Lima). Big traditional rafts were built to load the coal and firewood on to the ship. [...] This is what the Hacienda used to do. (Interview with Lucho and Cesar Aguilar, Mancora, 8<sup>th</sup> October, 2010).

**Extract 4.2. Pag. 85:** Interview with Javier Paraud

**Javier:** I remember that I liked the place, so I went back to Lima and decided to move to Mancora. As I had been in Costa del Sol and Malaga where I had seen the transformation of some small villages, right? Where tourism stakeholders arrived and turned these insignificant small villages into leisure centres, right? For tourism, so I saw that [in Mancora]. (Interview with former Mayor of Mancora Javier Paraud, Lima, 20<sup>th</sup> May, 2011).

**Extract 4.3. Pag. 86:** Interview with Lucho and Cesar Aguilar

**Fernando:** In 1983, the place was already established as a fishing village but the fishing companies had already left, right?

**Lucho:** [by 1983 the fishing companies] had already gone following the Anchovy. And look how it is, where are the true Mancoreños? They are in Tambo de Mora, Pisco, Callao, Supe, and Chimbote. The true mancoreños, old fishermen, are over there now.

**Cesar:** They emigrated after learning how to fish. They went with the Anchovy.

**Lucho:** At present, they cannot come back because there is no more space for them to build their houses here. The fishermen that were leaving sold their houses for S/. 200 (Peruvian soles), they would have taken whatever amount someone could offer for his house, they sold it and they left. Now, how many are wishing to have a plot of land for building a house but there are no more [available spaces] [...] (Interview with Luis and Cesar Aguilar, Mancora, 8<sup>th</sup> October, 2010).

**Extract 4.4. Pag. 86:** Interview with Javier Paraud

**Fernando:** I always wonder about something that locals mention all the time regarding the fact that they did not take plots of coastal land because they were already taken by Limeños who built their hotels and restaurants, which were mostly foreigners...

**Javier:** [...] as I said locals were fishing; newcomer came with another mentality, different from the local one. The newcomer was coming to exploit tourists; they were looking for a plot of land to do some business related to tourism because Mancora is nothing but a tourist town (Interview with former Mayor of Mancora Javier Paraud, Lima, 20<sup>th</sup> May, 2011).

**Extract 4.5. Pag. 87:** Interview with Javier Paraud

**Javier:** It is a rubbish dump, isn't it? Because that was Mancora, a rubbish dump. Without knowing what tourism could mean, or the value that properties could gain after a few years, [properties and land] were sold for pennies. (Interview with former mayor of Mancora Javier Paraud, Lima, 20<sup>th</sup> May, 2011).

**Extract 4.6. Pag. 89:** Interview with Victor Raul Hidalgo

**Victor:** [...] it has grown, especially in the last 15 years that the thing [the tourism industry] has totally expanded. [...] but we still need to raise awareness about tourism amongst local inhabitants. There is still an absurd quarrel between the local villager and the so called 'Colorados'; despite the fact that the el Colorado gives the local villager employment, the local villager doesn't want anything to do with the el Colorado. Here, people depend on tourism.

**Fernando:** The 'el colorado' is...?

**Victor:** The Limeño, the white-skinned person, they are seen like that. They are the hotel owners, the restaurant owners; the newcomer that has come to settle here.

**Fernando:** The investor?

**Victor:** The investor.

**Fernando:** Is there resentment [between them]?

**Victor:** But it is absurd. And thinking that the people here depend on the people there... For example, there are fishermen working on their boats that you now find as guardians, gardener and cooks. So, they have already dropped the maritime life which is a much sacrificed way of life,

and them [the colorados] give them work. (Interview with current mayor of Máncora Victor Raul Hidalgo, Máncora, 6<sup>th</sup> October, 2010).

**Extract 4.7. Pag. 93:** Interview with Oscar Christoph

**Fernando:** Were people who bought land in Las Pocitas outsiders?

**Oscar:** Oh yes, all of them, fishermen could not have afforded to buy land here; they would not have been able to spend 5, 10, 15, 20 thousand dollars [American dollars].

**Fernando:** Did land cost that much?

**Oscar:** Yes, it pretty much cost that much, depending on the extension, a plot could cost 6, 7, 10 or 11 thousand dollars. But this zone grew quickly because the requested land could revert to the State if there was no investment. So everyone built likeable tourist infrastructure [...] and then a residential zone started to grow (Interview with hotel owner Oscar Christoph, Las Pocitas – Máncora, 26<sup>th</sup> October, 2010).

**Extract 4.8. Pag. 101:** Interview with Pedro Moran

**Fernando:** So what happened next? [...]

**Pedro:** So, when we realised that Talara was selling the Grupo Campesino's land, I travelled to Piura and approached the PRADEC. PRADEC told me that a faster way to save the land was by turning into a Comunidad Campesina.

**Fernando:** Was the Municipality of Talara selling plots of land within the Vichayito and Pocitas beaches?

**Pedro:** All those beaches, Vichayito, Pocitas, all of those. And we fought a lot in order to turn it [the Grupo Campesino] into Comunidad Campesina.

**Fernando:** Who were buying those plots of land?

**Pedro:** In that time, there were few colorados from Lima, Limeños. (Interview with former President of the Grupo and Comunidad Campesina of Mancora (1988-1992), Pedro Moran, Mancora, 4<sup>th</sup> November, 2011).

## Chapter 5

**Extract 5.1. Pag. 113:** Extract from article ‘COMUNEROS DE NUEVO CUÑO’

[...] Mancora’s potential as a valley has been decided. The *Comunidad Campesina* Mancora had already opened their arms but wants the shoulder. So now the foreigners know: there is a different place in Peru where it is possible to be under the sun and swimming in the sea, while making business throughout the year, without taking any risk of being cheated. THIS PLACE IS WITHIN THE COMUNIDAD CAMPESINA MANCORA’S TERRITORY. (Sol, Mar y Campo, 1999, p. 13 emphasis in the original).

**Extract 5.2. Pag. 115:** Interview with Abilio Rivas

**Fernando:** Was the land distribution process undertaken when you were in office aimed at enforcing agricultural projects or fostering tourism development?

**Abilio:** It was aimed at fostering tourism development. Well, in some way, you can have credit access and all that stuff as long as you obtain your property title, right? So the value of your land increases, your land gains more market value. That was our main aim. (Interview with former President of the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora, Abilio Rivas, Mancora, 31<sup>st</sup> October, 2010).

**Extract 5.3. Pag. 124:** Interview with Everardo Távora and Erick Godofredo

**Erick:** The Comunidad’s land title was given in 1991, and it was inscribed in Registros Públicos in 1996. Nobody claimed it during the five years that it took us to inscribe the title. Why? Because, at that time there was nobody interested in Mancora. It was just when Mancora’s land value went up, as a consequence of its increased popularity, that they began banging their head against a brick wall because of their initial mistake. (Interview with Everardo Távora, current President of the Comunidad Campesina, and Erick Godofredo, Legal Advisor of the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora, Mancora, 25<sup>th</sup> September, 2010).

**Extract 5.4. Pag. 128:** Interview with Harry Schuller

**Fernando:** How were those plots of land acquired?

**Harry:** Do you mean my 70 hectares? The former board of executives of the Comunidad gave out 70 hectares to each comunero.

**Fernando:** Was each comunero free to choose plots of land within the areas they wanted?

**Harry:** In contrast to others that were given 20 metre plots, I was a privileged one that could choose [my plot]. However, the first thing I wanted to do as soon as I became President of the Comunidad was to redistribute the land again as it seemed logical to me to give the agriculture workers farming areas, the cattle farmer areas for raising his cattle stock, and the woodcutters forest areas [...] (Interview with Harry Schuller, upper class Limeño, hotel owner, and former president of the Comunidad Campesina (2001-2003), Mancora, 6<sup>th</sup> May, 2007)

**Extract 5.5. Pag. 131:** Interview with Florencio Olibos

**Florencio:** [...] During my first term everyone supported us when I first undertook a process of “*Acto de Nulidad Jurídico*”. Coming from somewhere else you could say that there is no reason for the *Comunidad Campesina* to be the owner of the district’s land. If the land was given for agrarian purposes, why did they give the land to Mancora, if this is not an agrarian town?

(Interview with former mayor of Mancora Florencio Olibos (1996-1998, 2003-2006), Mancora, 6th November, 2010).

**Extract 5.6. Pag. 134:** Extract

[...] the history of the *Comunidad Campesina* shows that we have had land rights for more than three hundred and sixty eight years so our property is UNQUESTIONABLE. (Sol, Mar y Campo, Comunidad Campesina de Máncora, 1999, p. 9 emphasis in the original).

**Extract 5.7: Pag. 136:** Interview with Abilio Rivas

**Abilio:** [...] We wanted to come to terms with Mayor Florencio to find a solution to this problem. In meetings we had for discussing this issue, he proposed that a percentage of the earnings generated by the *Comunidad’s* land sales should be given to the Municipality. He wanted to have control

of the matter. He did not even say what percentage would be assigned to us but we realised that he wanted to give us a minimum. Why then, if we were the official owners? It would be our choice what percentage to share. Well, we could have agreed but we did not. Whilst we were waiting for more negotiations, the mayor began a legal process against the *Comunidad*, starting the war. He denounced us in Talara but the Judicial Power said we were right as the *Comunidad* is the rightful owner. At first, the argument with the Municipality went that way. (Interview with former president of the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora Abilio Rivas, 31<sup>st</sup> October, 2010).

**Extract 5.8. Pag. 140:** Interview with Everardo Tavara

**Fernando:** What areas have they invaded?

**Everardo:** The areas that are mostly invaded are coastal areas because they have more ambition; coastal areas have more market value for selling, they have more value, a higher price and they [land invaders] can make more profit. We won the trial and we evicted them. Then, with the other people that we have undertaken eviction processes against, when they realised that they would lose the trial, they negotiated and they ended up buying the land from the Comunidad and they formalised their properties. (Interview with Everardo Tavara, current President of the Comunidad Campesina of Mancora, Mancora, 18<sup>th</sup> December, 2010).

**Extract 5.9. Pag. 148:** Interview with Javier Paraud

**Fernando:** Apart from what you have told me about the bridge that was severely damaged by the ‘El Niño’, what other events do you remember? I can imagine that all the area of Las Pocitas was negatively affected by landslides, destroying the highway and leaving the town isolated.

**Javier:** The highway was finished [destroyed] with the ‘El Niño’ and the only way of going to Los Organos was by boat. I remember that when I had to go to Tumbes to leave my family at the airport, we found many lorries and trailers with onions and prawns parking in the highway. After the rain started, provoking a flood, there was not even one lorry left the next day, all had disappeared [as they had all washed away]. And I hired porters to carry my son, my wife and everyone so they could cross and get to Tumbes. In Tumbes, they took a flight to Lima. I stayed for about a month trying to sort my things out while trying to survive. As I had a pickup truck, I used to go to the ravines to carry and bring onions and people, making money somehow as I was bankrupt. I had my credit card and what I had in the bank. Then, ‘all the eggs are in the same nest’ [So all my eggs were in the same basket]. And I tried to make some money somehow. I came to Lima after that, and I made money again thanks to my friends that helped me to increase my capital.

**Fernando:** So could we say that because of “El Niño” of 1983 you went bankrupt?

**Javier:** It bankrupted me, bankrupted me, it incredibly bankrupted me. It just left me with the clothes I just had on [...]. Shit, I lost everything, even my marriage [laughing]. The FEN was a misfortune for me; it left me out on the streets [homeless]. (Interview with former mayor of Mancora and former hotel owner, Javier Paraud, Lima, 20<sup>th</sup> May, 2011).

## Chapter 6

### Extract 6.1. Pag. 159: Interview with Carlos Canales

**Fernando:** So, basically, I wanted to understand, from the private sector point of view, how important an economic activity such as tourism is in Peru and Peru's potential as a tourist product.

**Carlos:** We, the private sector, understand that the only tool that will enable us to fight against extreme poverty in the short term, possess a tool which can bring about social peace, be able to generate employment quickly and, somehow seek to include marginalised areas, which are mostly located in rural areas; is tourism. In other words, we consider [tourism] to be a trigger, triggering wealth in the short term, creating employment opportunities, social inclusion, and basically [an activity] that can regulate the social environment and the differences between rural and urban areas. In Peru, tourism takes place in rural areas because the archaeological sites are usually located outside of the cities; it [tourism] is scarce in the cities. So, that kind of integration with local communities, native and peasant communities, allows for an activity that is completely decentralised throughout the length and breadth of the country.

**Fernando:** Are there any concrete cases that could be taken as examples when you are talking about social inclusion and tourism as a tool to fight against poverty; examples where we can see this?

**Carlos:** Puno is a well-rounded example. The ways the Uros and the Taquile islands are managed are solid and timely examples. The Willoq community in Cusco and the communities located in the Pisac region and Ollantaytambo, are lasting examples and show an integration and interaction between companies and local communities, specifically under the umbrella of tourism. Lately, some public policies regarding Homestay Tourism have been developed, but they don't work. In other words, you can't, the problem doesn't have anything to do with generating tourist attractions, it's about having a product (to sell). Although Peru is a country with remarkable natural, cultural and archaeological resources, tourist products are what is missing; there are very few tourist products. So, the process whereby a resource gains value and then is consolidated as a product is very long and to commercialise it within the local and, even better, the global market involves a lot of knowledge and technique. So, in that sense, there are extraordinary possibilities for tourism in Peru because very little has been done, even from the private sector point of view, and nothing has been done from the public sector point of view either. In other words, unfortunately, sectorial policies that could boost tourism as a state policy have not existed; it is a permanent discourse that merely gets talked about and isn't put into action; tourism is still not well-structured in Peru. It is viewed as a playful or leisure activity, not an important economic activity because it has not been given a real value. And, very often, tourism is regarded as being once single sector, tourism is multi-sectorial. Therefore, because it is multi-sectorial because [sic] it embraces many economic activities, and crosses many economic sectors of the economy. And this is a vision that



has to be looked into with proper attention being given to the facts and starting from the beginning. That's normativity [regulation]. In other words, without policies or normativity that can sustain those policies, there is no support. From the physical infrastructure point of view, as long as a territorial management plan is not implemented, and as long as strategic planning followed by a working plan, a plan of activities that can carry out these big policies are not in place, we will not be able to move forwards. And what's happened in the last thirty or forty years is that we've seen a circumstantial growth of the activity, based on specific actions but not structured as a whole. And although we find ourselves in a weak situation, we also have a much better opportunity to do things correctly and mitigate exactly what has been done wrong and brought on many problems. It [tourism] has brought about inequalities and has also resulted in some destinations becoming over-populated. (Interview with Carlos Canales, Head of CANATUR, Lima, 31<sup>st</sup> March, 2011).

**Extract 6.2. Pag. 165:** Interview with Mara Seminario

**Fernando:** About the concrete topic of tourism and development. It is often said that tourism generates local development. In which ways has this been measured or in which ways has this been seen?

**Mara:** Look, with the tourism satellite account that we will launch by the end of May, I am expecting that we will have numbers that could validate [reflect] all this. What is true is that there are some places where there is a 'before and after tourism', right? Cusco is one example. In other words, when the people of Cusco say 'no, tourism doesn't bring me money' and who will you sell your jumpers to the day tourists stop coming? Huh? Who will you give you taxi service to? Who will you sell your potatoes and ollucos to for the restaurants and everything? In other words, it's a real motor [generator]. I expect that the satellite account can help us to have a clear indication of this, right? Or rather, so that we can go beyond discussing it.

**Fernando:** Right. That was the point I wanted to make because when people talk about tourism as tool against extreme poverty it seems to me that the discourse is well-structured.

**Mara:** But, you know what? I think that talking about extreme poverty in our country became irrelevant a long time ago. I think that we should view the world in a positive light, [and focus on] the generation of wealth; we are generating wealth for more people. In other words, it is not the other way around, [problem] is not fighting against poverty, I think that we are beating poverty. The current fight is to create wealth. In other words, 'what can I do for that person who is not in extreme poverty anymore, who has improved their life', I create wealth; that is our great challenge'. (Interview with former Vice-Minister of Tourism Mara Seminario, Lima, 13<sup>th</sup> April, 2011).

**Pag. 168:** Extract (Alfredo Ferreyros)

Mancora has become an icon of tourism in Northern Peru; our purpose is the integration of this beach circuit, with the clear aim of making this touristic destination more attractive at national and international levels.

**Extract 6.3. Pag. 170:** Interview with Claudia Cornejo

**Claudia:** There is a lot of informality but I too, like I say, I come back to the topic of education.

**Fernando:** In other words, in terms of tourism, this is not a population that has been...

**Claudia:** Imagine that you were a fisherman or a person that used to do 'x' and suddenly all these gringos and Limeños start coming. Hey, come on, great, I set up my pharmacy, I set up my [souvenir] stand, my hotel, anyway and anyhow. But anybody has given me training for the fact that I have to pay taxes or that I need to have a working license, on that the toiled has to be clean. And it happened, and there are people who didn't have any kind of training for what was coming their way. More so now, and that is why I'm saying I go back to the topic of education. What does it matter to me, why should I improve my service? The tourists are already here and they'll keep coming anyway.

**Fernando:** Mancora, Mancora is Mancora and it has its own rules...

**Claudia:** No, but if the toilet is dirty then clean it! No, but why should I clean it if they come anyway. The issue is also to do with laziness, ah. I am very harsh that way. But it's not only in Mancora, it's the same in other towns. Hey, but sweep a little here it doesn't cost you anything!, throw the rubbish out. But, what for? Because they have never been taught to live differently, they've got used to living like that. Hey, Mr. don't you know that you have to throw the rubbish away and that there's a proper way to do it? And the Municipality should be ... In other words, those issues, that are second nature to us, because we always live in relative cleanliness and tidiness, we are and are born into it. These people aren't. Hence the difficulties.

**Fernando:** So it has two sides, on the one hand the problem comes from the local population and, on the other hand, the municipalities.

**Claudia:** What happens is that you also have, the thing is that many people, as you said, the private sector arrives and they very often have to face this reality that they do not understand. Because, you say, hey mate clean, don't you? Why wouldn't you clean? What? I don't understand. Clean! It is a basic thing, isn't it? And you bang your head against a brick wall; he/she is an idiot, he/she is ignorant, and there's no mutual understanding. Because many things that we take for granted and say 'this is the way people should live and these are the basic rules for living

together, for them it's not like that. (Interview with Claudia Cornejo, MINCETUR, Lima, 25<sup>th</sup> March, 2011. Author's emphasis).

**Extract 6.4. Pag. 176:** Interview with Eduardo Sevilla

**Eduardo:** It should go alongside politics and regulations concerned with territorial management because it has all the potential for sustainable growth. In fact, the proof of this is that the first 'all inclusive' hotel in the history of Peru, the Decameron Hotel chain that belongs to the New World group, will be built in the coast of northern Peru.

**Fernando:** Actually, I was just reading about this in the news, there are people who are opposing the Decameron construction.

**Eduardo:** Why do they oppose it?

**Fernando:** Because it is taking over a road used by fishermen and local villagers...

**Eduardo:** Wait a minute! Long time ago [former] president [Alan] Garcia published a series of articles entitled 'El Perro del Hortelano' [the dog in the manger]. Tourism is a social fact; it's social phenomenon, basically. Tourism is a strategic ally of the natural environment, it is a strategic ally of sustainable development, well planned tourism development doesn't cause any harm, it does not jeopardise natural landscapes. It doesn't minimise opportunities it actually generates employment opportunities. If I own a hotel and I am a fisherman, I can assure you that the restaurants and hotels will ask me for more Cabrillas, more Congrio, more Ojo de Uva, Mero, and more lobster. I won't need to go far, far away to sell my products as people will buy them from me right there in the hotel. Therefore, through the presence of the hotel, I have a strategic ally for my economic wellbeing. If I am a fisherman, I have to see it that way, and I have to see it as an opportunity that will increase my sales and my daily income. If I saw it from the access point of view, I have to coordinate with my local authority, my municipal and regional authorities. So, we will find the best civilised way of starting a dialogue in order to find alternatives, preventing this touristic project from clashing with the daily activities of the local population. The New World group is such a prestigious group, with such professional employees, that I am totally sure that if there is a request, or a proposal, they will know how to resolve it professionally in coordination with the authorities.

But, please, let's have a wide open spirit and a wide open approach to tourism; let's not be 'dogs in the manger'. Tourism cannot go against somebody's rights, nor the population's tranquillity and well-being. That is why some companies have a social impact evaluation. So my development, my tourism project cannot clash with a road used by a population, there is always a solution for everything, dialogue, coordination, agreement, private company, local authorities and the local population. I am certain that there is so much professionalism, I repeat, the degree of investment involved in this project and the vision of Decameron and Nuevo Mundo, so much so that I am sure that they will find an extremely prompt solution to any existing inconvenience or any

that might arise.. (Interview with Eduardo Sevilla, tourist advisor from MINCETUR, Lima, 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 2011).

**Extract 6.5. Pag. 183:** Interview with fishermen Chicato

**Chicato:** So I told him ‘look, you are taking the fishermen’s land, you are settling down there, and, at the same time, we were born and raised here in Mancora, and you will not come here to take ownership of this land, because you have entered an area which is also fishermen’s land, because our fishing dock is farther south than where you live, and you snuck up all quiet to build yourself a stand and there you went and stayed’ (Interview with Chicato, Máncora, 31<sup>st</sup> January, 2011).

**Extract 6.6. Pag. 186:** Interview with Florencio Olibos

**Fernando:** What was the main objective that you were seeking in making Mancora a more touristic place and by expanding the tourism industry?

**Florencio:** The main aim was to fight against the problem that characterises Peru and the entire world: unemployment. It has been already demonstrated that tourism generates employment, hasn’t it? As an example, I always used to tell people about a small town, a European island, where people used to live in extreme poverty, right? And this was a beautiful island with beaches, sun, and the people dedicated themselves to fishing and nothing else. And suddenly, this crazy man like the one everyone called ‘Crazy Elias’ or ‘Crazy Harry’ turns up, right? Having that vision, they said to them [the fishermen] ‘but you live in poverty, why is that so? Because they want to, don’t they? Having a paradise here, as Antonio Raimondi said: ‘You are sitting on a bench of gold’, right? So he started marketing the place, making people understand that tourism is an important source of employment but they have to do this and that in order to generate their own incomes, and they achieved it, and now these people live exclusively off tourism.

**Fernando:** Is Mancora like that?

**Florencio:** That is what we are aiming for. But we need more investments. We need to allocate funding in order to raise awareness amongst local inhabitants, because it is pointless to keep developing tourism if you don’t raise awareness; they have to do so side by side. Because sometimes people don’t understand, you have to teach them that they have to take care of the green areas, that they should not throw the rubbish in the streets, that you cannot charge tourists high prices, that you can’t steal their things, that you have to give their camera back when they forget it. We are bad in that sense! Bad! If you forget something in a moto-taxi (rickshaw taxi), you’ll never see it again. And, you have to be realistic, right, don’t you? I used to meet the moto-taxi drivers and tried to make them understand [...] That is what we are seeking and that is

what the people that understand tourism as a source of wealth, employment and development will keep aiming for. Nobody doubts it. People perceive it like that, those who work with tourism directly perceive it that way. (Interview with Florencio Olibos, Former Mayor of Mancora, Mancora, 6<sup>th</sup> November, 2010).

**Extract 6.7. Pag. 190:** Extract from Carlos Chunga's speech

[...] As always, our mission is to organise, propose and manage the tourism industry in Mancora in a sustainable and competitive way through agreed and decentralised processes, inculcating social development and generating decent employment, which improves our population's quality of life. From my point of view, this is the most important thing because Mancora has been blessed over time. Those of us who are Mancoreños know it. In Mancora's early days, here in the 'El Puerto' neighbourhood, was an area where coal used to be stored and the English boats would come to collect it. Then, during the 1970s, the fishing boom arrived and there were hills, mountains of fish. When I was a child, I remember that the fish would bump into me when I was swimming and diving in the sea. But, we, as Mancoreños, what have we gained from so much wealth if we lack everything? We lack good quality services. Education has already been improved a little bit and the health sector too. But, main things such as sewage system, drinking water, electricity supply and a college... Why don't we start planning that too? Because at the end of the day that has a lot to do with the people who leave secondary school and afterwards what are those people, those kids going to do? Their only option is to stay here and get involved in licit or illicit activities in order to make some money and, at present, the best thing to do seems to be to get involved in drug dealing. (Carlos Chunga's speech in the workshop "Taller de Elaboración del Proyecto de Plan de Seguridad del Distrito de Mancora 2011", Mancora, 2<sup>nd</sup> March, 2011).

**Extract 6.8. Pag. 183:** Interview with Victor Raul Hidalgo

**Victor:** [...] There is a very beautiful Limeño saying 'Money is thrown away in Mancora, they don't know how to pick it up'. In other words, everybody that comes here makes money; whoever has come here has made money very quickly.

**Fernando:** And that money stays here in Mancora?

**Victor:** It doesn't stay, they take it away. (Interview with current Mayor of Máncora Victor Raul Hidalgo, Máncora, 6<sup>th</sup> October, 2010).

## Chapter 7

### Extract 7.1. Pag. 215: Interview with Claudia Cornejo

**Claudia:** Remember that we are a country whose economy is mainly based in raw material exports and therefore we are a country that is relatively new to developing this kind of industry. Apart from tourism, there are other relatively new industries such as crop exportation. At the end of the day, there are many things that are being worked on little by little [...] So, these are kind of businesses that are making more diverse little by little. But they are making more diverse because we should not forget that we are a country that has recently changed its image. We have gone from being a country that was only related to terrorism and drugs, and now we are a country that is viewed in a different way, a safe country, an interesting country, a country with a culture, a country with a stable economy, a country in which I can cross the border line and nobody will kill me. Thus, little by little, and this is a process, we are attracting other types of people and other types of investments. (Interview with former Peru's National Executive Director of Tourism Development (2010-2011) and current Vice-Minister of Tourism (2011 - to present) Claudia Cornejo, MINCETUR, Lima, 25<sup>th</sup> March, 2011).

### Extract 7.2. Pag. 222: Interview with Marisol Acosta

**Marisol:** Not looking at domestic tourism in general terms only, I think that what it is expected from this growth, what we want is to grow in terms of the money that tourists can spend rather than a [an increased] flow of tourists. Instead of numbers, we are looking at the spending [profits] generated by all this. What does this spending mean? This spending means that the activities offered by a destination, in terms of an area, [provides] a better distribution of that spending. A diversified supply, which has to do with to the distribution of the money spent by tourists in the country. And, again, I think that rather than speaking about flow of tourists, we should talk about growing in consumption capacity. And this means having something to offer, having new products to show and businesses opportunities that we have to generate. (Interview with PROMPERU's sub-director of Internal Tourism, Marisol Acosta, Lima, 29<sup>th</sup> April 2011).

### Extract 7.3. Pag. 223: Interview with Mercedes Araoz

**Fernando:** And this interest in maintaining an increased number of tourists... what is the market?

**Mercedes:** The aim was to have 18 million visitors by 2016 (or it was 16 million by 2018), but the idea was to reach a number where you can increase but with more diversified products to offer, or rather not only focussed in Cusco, that was the issue. We wanted to foster border tourism and we also wanted to mobilise domestic tourism, which is also important. Domestic tourism was paralysed for many years in Peru [...]. We also wanted to get into the areas with poor families and open up attractions in local areas, close destinations with very affordable prices. (Interview with former Minister of Foreign Trade and Tourism Mercedes Araoz, Lima, 12<sup>th</sup> April 2011).

**Extract 7.4. Pag. 224:** Interview with Carlos Canales

**Fernando:** And thinking of the aims, goals and numbers that we could aim for in the future?

**Carlos:** Where?

**Fernando:** In terms of tourism, on a national level as well as...

[Interruption]

**Carlos:** Peru doesn't have limits. Firstly, most Peruvians haven't visited Machu Picchu. In other words, we have almost 30 million inhabitants and Machu Picchu is visited by less than 200 thousand people every year [...]. (Interview with President of CANATUR Carlos Canales, Lima, 31<sup>st</sup> March 2011).

**Extract 7.5. Pag. 227:** Interview with Mercedes Araoz

**Mercedes:** In my first term, I found that the Vice-Minister effectively did not speak to PROMPERU's director. There will always be conflict, but this one was huge and unmanageable. Moreover, the worst thing is that, they did not speak to the Minister. (Interview with former Minister of Foreign Trade and Tourism Mercedes Araoz, Lima, 12<sup>th</sup> April 2011).

**Extract 7.6. Pag. 229:** Interview with Florencio Olibos

**Florencio:** When we came into power, we found that the story of tourism was just beginning.

**Fernando:** It was only just commencing...

**Florencio:** With Manolo Casanova, I replaced Manolo Casanova, tourism was being propelled, tourism was promoted, there still wasn't a very clear idea, was there? Tourism was being dragged down by its own weight.

**Fernando:** It was something new for the people here.

**Florencio:** It was something new for the people [...]

**Fernando:** But I can imagine that, just as tourism was something new for the local inhabitants, it was also new for you as well.

**Florencio:** Yes, of course, of course. There wasn't any supervision either, and the Central, Regional and Provincial governments didn't even approach us. There was no direct interest like there is now, was there? Perhaps, it [tourism] was viewed as an adventure, I don't know, but they did not fund any important projects. If the government had taken the bull by the horns since that time, Mancora's history would be different; it would be more organised (Interview with Florencio Olibos, former Mayor of Mancora, Mancora, 6<sup>th</sup> November, 2010).

**Extract 7.7. Pag. 233:** Interview with Eduardo Sevilla

**Eduardo:** We should take into account a very Peruvian reality that is as follows. In the framework of the Decentralisation law, we have already transferred. We, the members of the executive board, have transferred sectorial functions through the ministries. To whom have we transferred them? To the regions, or rather, to the Presidencies of the Regional Governments because what we have are departments [...] But what I am still seeing is a poor sectorial management on behalf of the Regional Governments. This could be because they are not professionals in tourism, or it could be because they have never worked in the private tourism sector, or because this is the first time that they have worked in the public sector. But, I can tell you that, during the first regional elections that lasted for four years [...], I had respectable veterinary medics working as regional tourist directors, and I had respectable chemical engineers working as tourism directors [...] Why? Because of the law that said: check they have a professional degree [...] and I ask, if we want tourism to take off, it would not be better to clarify, in white and black, that this person should have some professional training in tourism? Please! [...] How can you expect somebody who has never worked in the private sector or somebody who has never received training in tourism to become a Regional Director? (Interview with Eduardo Sevilla, tourist advisor from MINCETUR, Lima, 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 2011).

**Extract 7.8. Pag. 237:** Interview with Claudia Cornejo

**Fernando:** The last question I wanted to ask you is about the implementation of a coordinated tourist plan. Are you taking the case of Mancora and Aguas Calientes, which you talked about earlier, as examples that should not happen again because of the problems that we can currently see there? You say you are intervening in other places which are in early stages of tourism development- Is that an attempt to change the model? Or, perhaps, are you trying to coordinate how the



destination will develop before the problems start emerging?

**Claudia:** It is not about changing the model. Actually, I think that we are applying the model right now [laughing]. [...] There was no model in previous decades, things simply happened and then, in the state, we tried to... 'well, since the tourists are already there, what could we do to improve the situation? But, then, in 2004, which is when the first PENTUR was launched, which is the National Tourist Plan, which got modified again in 2008 and runs until 2018, a methodology for developing destinations was proposed, that is, how tourism development should be done. So this is a new topic for us, it is a new topic in Peru. Tourism is an industry that is growing a lot but this has only happened recently. Thus, at the end of the day, sure, it is not, like I say, that we have changed the model; what is happening is that now there is a model that is being applied. (Interview with former Peru's National Executive Director of Tourism Development (2010-2011) and current Vice-Minister of Tourism (2011 - to present) Claudia Cornejo, MINCETUR, Lima, 25<sup>th</sup> March, 2011).