The diversity of **gender roles** in the Andes:
Implications for **tourism**

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Abstract | Gender relations of host societies are a key factor in tourism, as they influence how power, identity and change are produced and negotiated (Kinnaird & Hall, 1996; Swain, 1995). Vague definitions of gender have been identified as problematic in many cases of economic development (Ferguson, 2010). Hence tourism projects that seek to equally involve and empower women need to be based on a good understanding of local gender roles. This paper provides an overview of ethnographic anthropological research from the Andean region, including some of the author's data from a preliminary study. Findings show a general pattern of male dominance in most *mestizo* communities (Bourque & Warren, 1981; Navarro, 2002; Weismantel, 2001), contrasted by roughly equal status and complementary contributions in the more indigenous communities (Allen, 1988; Bolin, 2006, 1998). Gender identities have been negotiated in various ways before and in response to tourism (Henrici, 2007; Weismantel, 2001). Even though indigenous culture constitutes a major tourist attraction, indigenous women generally do not benefit as much as their urban counterparts, and tourism can even erode women's traditional power base. This paper illustrates how ethnographic studies can reveal the complexities of Andean gender relations and thus help create more equitable tourism development.

Keywords | Gender, Tourism, Andes, Women, Ethnography.

Resumo | As relações de género nas sociedades de acolhimento são um fator de extrema importância para o turismo, uma vez que influenciam a forma como o poder, a identidade e a mudança são produzidos e negociados (Kinnaird & Hall, 1996; Swain, 1995). Definições muito vagas de género foram identificadas como sendo um problema em muitos casos de desenvolvimento económico (Ferguson, 2010). Desta forma, os projetos turísticos que procuram envolver e capacitar as mulheres também precisam de ser ancorados numa boa compreensão dos papéis de género locais. Este artigo pretende fornecer uma visão geral de uma investigação antropológico-etnográfica realizada na região dos Andes, incluindo alguns dados recolhidos pela autora durante um estudo preliminar. Os resultados mostram um padrão geral de dominação masculina na maioria das comunidades mestiças (Bourque & Warren, 1981; Navarro, 2002; Weismantel, 2001), que contrasta com o *status*, mais ou menos, igualitário e as contribuições complementares que existem nas comunidades mais indígenas (Allen, 1988; Bolin, 2006 1998). As identidades de género têm sido negociadas de várias formas e em resposta ao turismo (Henrici, 2007; Weismantel, 2001). Mesmo que a cultura indígena constitua uma grande atração turística, as mulheres

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indígenas geralmente não beneficiam da mesma forma que as mulheres que vivem em áreas urbanas, e o turismo pode até mesmo destruir a sua base de poder tradicional. Este trabalho pretende ilustrar a forma como os estudos etnográficos podem revelar as complexidades das relações de género e, assim, ajudar a criar um desenvolvimento mais equitativo do turismo.

Palavras-chave | Género, Turismo, Andes, Mulheres, Etnografia.

1. Introduction

Tourism in the Andes is booming. In Peru, the most visited Andean country, 9% of all employment is now in the tourism sector; this number has doubled since 1990 (World Travel & Tourism Council, 2011). Tourists are attracted by images of mysterious Inca ruins, colonial architecture, and colourful local culture. Women are ubiquitous in these images, as they are in the day-to-day running of all aspects of tourism. Who are these women, and how is tourism affecting their lives? Gender issues cannot fully be understood in isolation as they are always intertwined with other variables. Andean women do not just have to deal with men but also with the powerful dynamics of their society's social hierarchy. Class and ethnicity strongly affect women's opportunities in the tourism business, as well as the barriers and problems they are likely to face.

Tourism projects that seek to equally involve and empower women need to be based on a good understanding of how gender roles are locally defined and negotiated and how they intersect with class and ethnicity. Based on an overview of anthropological data, this paper examines the variations of gender relations in different parts of the Andes and how these impact women's experiences in the tourism business. Even though their culture constitutes one of the main attractions for tourists, indigenous women generally do not benefit as much from tourism as their urban counterparts. However, within these structural inequalities women do find ways to exercise power and agency.

2. Methods

This is a descriptive paper that reviews and analyses findings from different ethnographic studies of Andean culture, gender norms and tourism. Ethnographic research involves observation, participation, and interviewing, long-term stays and close engagements with people allow for building of rapport, so that ethnography can provide rich detail on local perspectives that other research methods cannot (e.g. Miller, Van Esterik & Van Esterik, 2010).

While examples from across the Andes are used, this work focuses on two case studies from southern Peru: the town of Pisac and the island of Taquile in Lake Titicaca. In addition, the author also include some of her own ethnographic data from two visits to the Cuzco area of Peru: four months in 2002 for a study on dietary change in Urubamba and Yanahuara (Guelke, 2004), and five weeks in 2009 for preliminary research preparing a forthcoming study on tourism. During both studies the author lived with local people and observed and participated in daily as well as tourist activities. The tourism-related work included informal interviews with a total of 28 vendors and restaurant and hotel workers.

Through this synthesis of ethnographic data one hopes to illustrate the contribution that anthropology, and especially ethnographic methods, can make towards a more in-depth understanding of culture and gender in the context of tourism. While the focus of this analysis is on women who are self-employed, many of the general benefits and challenges identified will likely be similar in other forms of employment.

3. Gender, development and power

Gender has been recognized as a key factor in tourism (Kinnaird & Hall, 1996; Swain, 1995). However, the concepts of gender and equality are frequently not clearly defined and applied in different ways (Ferguson, 2010). Also, non-Western people in general and women, in particular, have often been described as the 'other', which prevents true understanding (Aitchison, 2000). Common development discourse, for example, tends to neglect the diversity based on class and region and presents Latin American women as passive, helpless and locked into traditional roles of wives and mothers (Escobar, 1995; Ferguson, 2010). International development and the tourism sector are showing some convergence in that development projects increasingly promote tourism to foster economic growth, while the tourism industry attempts to focus more on sustainable and equitable forms of development (Ferguson, 2010). In order to succeed with this, tourism projects need to be grounded in a good understanding of local gender and power relations.

There are several frameworks that are useful when analysing the situation of Andean women. One central concept is power, which includes the ability to make decisions as well as the means to enforce them (Bourque & Warren, 1981). Rather than seeing power as a stable entity that rests with certain institutions, groups, or people, Foucault (1978) highlights the fluid and situational aspects of power flowing within networks of relationships. However, this focus on the contextual, shifting aspects of power must not distract from the more systemic, structural inequalities that often characterize gender relations (Hartsock, 1990).

With regards to larger patterns of inequality, research on women's roles and economic development has revealed that women can maintain traditional power and increase their status if, first, they have control over productive resources or the opportunity to earn wages and control their income, and, second,

existing gender ideologies allow or even support women's participation in production and decision-making (Friedl, 2001; Lockwood, 2009). This is also important when assessing the potential benefits of tourism for women.

In the 1970s feminist theorists in anthropology argued that cross-culturally men's work mainly involved activities in the public sphere, while women were generally relegated to the domestic sphere with their contributions valued less (e.g. Rosaldo, 1974). Yet public and private spheres are intricately connected; households are not clearly separated refuges from the public but rather constitute extensions of the political, economic, and ideological forces that shape the public (Bourque & Warren, 1981). Anthropological analysis has since moved on to more detailed analysis of the multiple, and often indirect, ways in which women can exercise power (Lamphere, 2009; Weismantel, 1988, p. 28). For example, in the Andes most public offices are held by men, yet informal negotiations before and after public meetings offer women important venues of influence (Bourque & Warren, 1981). In the following discussion it is consider the situational aspects of power and agency as well as identify some of the larger, structural patterns of domination.

4. Ethnicity and class

Gender norms and practices always intersect with other variables; women are not a homogeneous category but differentiated by factors such as age, ethnicity, physical ability, and class. The Andean countries today have a high degree of social stratification, so a discussion of women's status and their opportunities in tourism needs to address the role of their class and ethnic background as well.

Based on their colonial history, populations across Latin America today are a heterogeneous mix of Spanish and indigenous ancestry. Andean people are usually divided into three broad catego-

ries: White[1]; *mestizo*, referring to a person of mixed European and indigenous origin; and Indian or indigenous; sometimes the term *cholo* is used to describe someone with characteristics falling between *mestizo* and indigenous (Mitchell, 2006; Weismantel, 1988). Distinctions are based less on phenotypic differences, which are not very prominent, than on cultural and socio-economic markers like education, occupation, and clothing. It is also important to note that people often use the terms 'Indian' and *cholo* as insults for those regarded as lower on the social scale. The social constructs of 'race' are powerful and fuel different forms of discrimination across the Andes (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1999; Weismantel, 1988, 2001).

In the following discussion, the above categories are used as general descriptors; however, these categories are by no means clear-cut but vary between regions, individuals, and even situations (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1999; Weismantel, 1988, 2001). The term 'indigenous' is also interchangeably used with 'Quechua', which is the name of the most prominent indigenous group in Peru and Ecuador. The two general patterns of gender relations here discuss map approximately onto the Quechua/indigenous versus *cholo/mestizo* population. This is a simplification, as the actual variations are far greater. Yet focussing on two patterns, which in a sense constitute ends of a continuum, will hopefully provide useful generalizations that illustrate some aspects of the existing diversity and show how this affects women's opportunities in tourism.

5. Gender relations in the Andes

5.1. Female subordination: *Machismo* and *marianismo*

In most areas where the Spanish have dominated for the past five centuries, gender relations modelled on Spanish culture can be seen (Weisman-

tel, 2001). This applies to large parts of the *mestizo* population who mainly live in small towns across the Andes. Women's work is centred on household chores, food preparation, and childcare, while men work in various jobs outside the home which brings higher status than women's domestic work. Fitting with the gendered divisions into public and private spheres are the ideologies of *machismo* and *marianismo*, which are prominent across Latin America. *Machismo* constructs men as superior, dominant and aggressive, while *marianismo*, based on the perceived characteristics of the Virgin Mary, considers women are saintly, passive, and domestic (Stevens, 1973). Navarro (2002) criticizes this as a sexist and orientalist ideology which limits women's freedom and forces them into dependency on men. In this case a powerful restrictive gender ideology and little control over resources coincide with generally lower status for women.

However, women may exercise indirect influence over decisions men make in their public roles (Bourque & Warren, 1981) and exercise power by serving or withholding certain foods (Weismantel 1988). Furthermore, *marianismo* can give women moral superiority as well as familial support and security (Stevens, 1973). While it is important to recognize these areas of hidden power, this should not distract from the overall picture of inequality. Being the stronghold of moral integrity for the family also means heavy sanctions if the moral code is broken. The potential power gained through moral status is thus inseparable from the restrictions and limitations it entails.

5.2. Parallel hierarchies

While in most parts of the Andes female subordination is the norm, a different system can still be found in some indigenous communities. This dates

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[1] Using the concepts black and white in reference to humans falsely naturalizes these categories; by capitalizing the term White, it is intended to indicate that, just like Black, it is a culturally constructed category and not based on physical reality.

back to Inca times when high-ranking men and women could exercise power over their lower-ranking counterparts in a system of parallel hierarchies (Bolin, 1998). Parallel descent allowed each gender access to resources from their respective families, and both women and men could hold political positions (Silverblatt, 1987). What is notable is the roughly equal value given to the duties of men and women; the most prominent status differences were found between classes, not genders.

Even though contemporary indigenous communities are far less stratified, ethnographic accounts indicate some continuities with this system. Allen's (1988) study of Sonqo in south-eastern Peru shows that women and men perform different tasks that are equally valued. This is similar in Chillihuani, a small herding community in the department of Cuzco. While men are formally seen as the heads of households, it is commonly acknowledged that women make most of the important decisions regarding family and household economics (Bolin, 1998). Despite a clearly gendered division of labour, there are no taboos against performing the other gender's work if needed (Bolin, 2006). This contrasts strongly with societies where women's work is valued less, and men risk loss of status by performing these tasks.

Bolin further observes that, as in Inca times, men and women still belong to different political organizations: men to the village council and women to the women's committee, thereby exercising influence without directly competing with each other. Both men and women rejected Bolin's (1998) suggestion that women join the village council; the women argued that they could work more successfully within their own committee.

On Taquile Island in Lake Titicaca, neither men nor women are regarded as an adult until they marry and have united with their essential other half; the concept of male/female parallels other prominent conceptual dichotomies of upper/lower and left/right and again reflects strong interdependence and overall equality (Zorn, 2004). Similarly, in highland

Ecuador a couple's assets are not fused after marriage, but spouses work together and support each other through a form of gift exchange (Weismantel, 1988). The overall picture that emerges is one of diverse gender roles in the Andes. While some indigenous populations have preserved more equitable gender relations, they generally find themselves in an unequal power relationship with *cholo* and *mestizo* groups.

5.3. Performances of class, ethnicity, and gender

Discrimination and racism are common across the Andes, and indigenous people are the ones most often targeted (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1999; Weismantel, 2001). However, given the fluid distinction between the different groups, a person who considers herself a *mestiza* may reject anyone she considers 'more Indian' than herself, illustrating how power is not simply resting with any one group but circulating in complex ways (Foucault, 1978). While people often shun the markers of indigenous identity in an attempt to move 'upward', this process is not unidirectional. Weismantel (2001) describes how market women actively perform multiple roles: by varying their dress and language in response to different customers, they act out more indigenous or urban identities in order to make their goods more attractive. Thus, in this case, the market women are not striving towards passing as more White but rather exercise power by defining their identities to a significant degree. One will return to this performative aspect in the context of tourism below.

6. Gender and tourism

For Andean people, the advent of mass tourism in the 1960s introduced another important variable that brought new opportunities while also reinforcing some old inequalities. In the following discussion it will be examined how ethnic and class differences

affect the kinds of benefits and challenges people experience when participating in the tourism business; this will be the basis for understanding the structural inequalities women face and the ways in which they can exercise agency and power within these restrictions. Given that indigenous culture has become a big attraction for tourists, it will be consider if the growing value of indigeneity has the potential to increase the status of women.

First, however, it is important to mention a prominent ideology that intersects with tourism practice, particularly in the Peruvian highlands. *Indigenismo*, sometimes termed *incanismo*, developed in the 19th and 20th centuries as a protest against Spanish domination; the movement focuses on the glories of the Inca past and depicts the Inca state as a benevolent model empire (van den Berghe & Flores Ochoa, 2000; Weismantel, 2001). Many of the concerns of *incanismo*, such as the preservation of Inca architecture and the promotion of indigenous culture, converge with the interests of tourists. Yet *incanismo* has been primarily directed by urban middle and upper class members who consider themselves legitimate heirs to the Inca heritage but tend to distance themselves from contemporary indigenous people and their concerns (van den Berge & Flores Ochoa, 2000, p. 12). In a similar manner, middle and upper class members generally control the tourism business.

6.1. Ethnic and class relations in tourism

The inequalities between indigenous and non-indigenous groups also shape people's participation in tourism which two rural tourist destinations in Peru illustrate well. Pisac is a small town in the department of Cuzco, which attracts tourists primarily due to its Inca ruins and 'authentic Andean market'. In the 1960s, the Peruvian government targeted Pisac for tourism development with the goal of modernization (Henrici, 2007), an example of the increasingly common trend of using tourism as an economic development strategy. The population of Pisac can broadly be characterized as *mestizo* and *cholo*, but members of the surrounding indigenous communities also frequently attend the market and seek to be involved in tourism. Yet ironically it is mainly vendors from Cuzco or even Lima who sell in Pisac's 'traditional market', since indigenous people are only allowed to sell their crafts outside the main market; in this way tourism clearly reinforces existing relations of inequality (Henrici, 2007). Similar barriers for indigenous people's participation in tourism have been reported from other parts of Latin America, such as Copán, Honduras (Ferguson, 2010) and Chiapas, Mexico (van den Berghe, 1994).

The second location, Taquile Island in Lake Titicaca, has been described as a relatively successful example of community-controlled tourism. The population of the island is more homogeneous than in Pisac, so indigenous people do not have to compete with local *mestizo* groups. Ypeij and Zorn (2007) identify three key factors that have been pivotal for successful community control: (i) in the 1960s and 70s, locals began marketing their weavings themselves; (ii) they managed to distribute economic benefits relatively equally; and (iii) they refused to sell land to outsiders. However, over the past decade the power of outside *mestizo* middlemen has increased and caused conflicts on Taquile as fewer benefits go directly to local people (Ypeij & Zorn, 2007). These cases indicate the impact of class and ethnicity on tourism opportunities. Even though their culture constitutes one of the major draws for tourists, indigenous people rarely control the conditions, or reap many of the benefits, of the tourism encounter.

6.2. Women's roles in tourism: Structure and agency

Within this overall hierarchy of power, women of the different groups have to negotiate their roles in the tourism business. As outlined above, women's

control over productive resources and/or the opportunity to earn and control wage income is strongly related to their status; it is also important that their culture's gender norms support them in these roles (Friedl, 2001; Lockwood, 2009). However, economic development also has the potential to erode traditional bases of women's power; this can happen when Western patterns of gender relations are imposed on different cultures without understanding of local context (Lockwood, 2009). Based on the false, nostalgic notion that women were primarily occupied with sewing and weaving, the government project in Pisac promoted craft production primarily for men. As a result, women are generally only involved as craft vendors, which carry less status than craft production (Henrici, 2007).

Despite this limited access to production, work in the markets still allows women to access to some income and decision-making power and thus improve their status. Whether selling to locals or tourists, market vendors express agency through similar strategies of performing their identities. For example, *mestizo* market vendors in Pisac may use Quechua phrases of endearment for tourists (Henrici, 2007). In our experience, market women may also use English, French or German greetings or mention family members who live abroad. Thus, the women can choose to act more indigenous to emphasize the exotic appeal of themselves and their wares or, conversely, emphasize their connections to the international sphere in order to establish rapport with foreigners. As Weismantel (2001) has shown, modifying aspects of language and dress to their advantage were strategies women employed long before the advent of modern tourism; they are not new in kind but rather modifications of what people have done before.

Furthermore, *mestiza* market vendors actively challenge *marianismo* which defines a woman's place as in the home. While they may succeed in their work, the social repercussions can be strong. In Pisac, local men and women often call female market vendors prostitutes and accuse them of using witchcraft

to get tourists to buy their wares (Henrici, 2007). In this case, the local gender ideology is clearly restrictive. In some cases the backlash against women has been even more severe. In Chiapas, Mexico, two female Maya potters were murdered, likely because the wealth and status they had gained through tourism was perceived as threatening to men (Colloredo-Mansfelt, 1999). Despite these structural restrictions *mestizas* face in their own communities, they can still exercise power over both men and women who are poorer or 'more Indian' than themselves. Rarely will anybody interfere when they drive off an indigenous person in order to protect tourists and guard their own sales (Henrici, 2007). This type of discrimination has a long history and is structurally sanctioned.

In the context of tourism, the ability to interact directly with tourist becomes an important power base. Since traditionally it has been the men who moved beyond the community boundaries and engaged in trade in the valley towns (Henrici, 2007; Weismantel, 1988), they are more likely to speak Spanish, or even some English, and know how to engage tourists to sell goods or services. And even though Quechua women's contributions may be valued equal to those of men within their community, once they move into the valley towns they are being judged by different standards. Also, the growth of the cash economy in rural Peru has decreased indigenous women's control over family resources, as they become less involved in managing harvests and distributing goods; since the urban *mestizo* culture restricts the roles of women, they cannot easily transfer these skills and maintain their status (Bourque & Warren, 1981).

For these women, often the only way to make some money from tourists is by posing for photos or selling weavings. Henrici (2007) describes how, in the Cuzco area, the colourful fringes along indigenous women's hats have traditionally signalled their social status. Now young girls are increasingly wearing multiple colours, sometimes those for adult women indicating readiness for marriage, in order to pose for photos (Henrici, 2007), which can be

seen as a form of 'staged authenticity' (MacCannell, 1976). As a result of this, people in many indigenous communities surrounding Pisac do not know the colours' traditional meaning anymore (Henrici, 2007).

While the commoditization of culture can clearly be problematic, it is also important to note that cultural practices and ideas are never static and new meanings are constantly emerging (Cohen, 1988). Also, talking about the manipulation of a social role implies a deviation from a true role or self, yet Weismantel (2001) argues that the market women's varied performances are in fact all part of their complex identities. Wang (1999, p. 358) further proposes the concept of 'existential authenticity', "a special state of Being in which one is true to oneself", whether in opposition or in alignment with cultural norms. Considering these points it is important to be careful with quick judgments about cultural loss and rather focus on the details of change and the local perceptions of these processes.

While this discussion focused on self-employed women, the general power dynamics are likely similar for those working in restaurants or hotels. Five young *mestizas* working as maids in two high-end hotels outside of Cuzco mentioned difficult working conditions including unexpected late shifts, verbal abuse, and lack of job security. All of them felt that they were treated badly because their White bosses considered them lower in status. "They treat us as if we were Indians", one of them commented. This illustrates how the fluid ethnic definitions can be a powerful tool for discrimination of *mestizas* as well as indigenous women.

6.3. Increasing value of indigeneity

As outlined above, tourism and *incanismo* both focus on the positive aspects of the Inca past and contemporary indigenous culture, which constitutes a trend counter to the widespread devaluation and discrimination of indigenous people. Generally, characteristics such as speaking Quechua and wearing home-spun clothes make someone a target for discrimination (Weismantel, 2001, 2000; Zorn, 2004). But as tourist attractions, some of these cultural markers are now undergoing a partial reversal in meaning. For example, UNESCO declared Taquile's hand-woven textiles a Heritage of Humanity, which has brought recognition from beyond the island (Ypeij & Zorn, 2007). Both Taquilean men and women still wear hand-woven cloth on a daily basis and consider it an essential part of their ethnic identity (Zorn, 2004). This sets the community apart from other indigenous groups, where store-bought textiles are becoming increasingly common. Comparing tourism development on Taquile with that of the neighbouring island of Amantaní, Gascón (2005) argues that one reason Taquile has been more successful in attracting visitors is its lower degree of acculturation, which is most visible to tourists in the locals' traditional dress. Beyond that, rather than hiding indigenous markers to avoid discrimination, local people themselves come to value them more.

What does this mean for women in particular? An important issue is whether women have control over the marketing of these aspects of their lives. As Lockwood (2009) argues, it is the control over productive resources and income, as well as supportive gender ideologies, which determine how economic development impacts women. As it has been seen, women's contributions among Quechua communities are generally valued more equally with those of men, but once outside their village boundaries, they face discrimination for being indigenous as well as judgments based on the more restrictive *mestizo* gender norms. Hence in general indigenous women are far less likely to move outside of their communities (Henrici, 2007; Weismantel, 1988), which limits their abilities to learn about and benefit from tourism.

Weavings are a concrete marketable product that indigenous women have the expertise to produce but most *mestizas* do not. However, what indigenous women need is the know-how to sell, and that involves some knowledge of how to approach

tourists and the ability to speak some Spanish and possibly English. Due to these barriers, it is often *mestizo* middlemen or women who buy their weavings for a low price and then profit by reselling them. *Mestizas* are also more knowledgeable in how to use traditional weavings to create a greater variety of products for tourists, such as handbags, wallets, and clothing. Other marketable aspects of indigenous culture are even less under the control of indigenous women. In Cuzco, locals have commented to us that women posing for photos in indigenous dress were 'not real'. Even though they would never wear hand-woven clothes otherwise, *mestizas* or *cholas* can easily dress up for tourists, who are unlikely to detect this staged indigeneity. Thus, the potential power base of indigenous identity is not exclusive to people with an actual indigenous background, and unless they have concrete products to market that only they can produce, indigenous women are not likely to gain much from tourism. It appears that ironically it is often the *mestiza* women who benefit more from the appeal of indigeneity than indigenous women themselves.

7. Conclusion

As it has been seen, Andean women negotiating their roles in tourism today find themselves in a complex situation. Inca and colonial legacies have created heterogeneous and stratified societies across the Andes; this is reflected in gender norms that range from the dualistic ideologies of *machismo* and *marianismo* in most *mestizo* towns to remnants of a more egalitarian relationship in some Quechua communities. A prominent structural variable that has been identified is the power differential between these groups; those who define themselves as White have long dominated *mestizos*, who have done the same with the more indigenous population. And just as elite and middle-class members have driven the movement of *incanismo*, so they direct the tourism

business today. Taquile is a counter-example to this general trend; the island is often described as a model of community-controlled tourism (Gascón, 2005; Ypeij & Zorn, 2007; Zorn, 2004). This was easier to accomplish on the island, since locals, at least initially, did not have to compete directly with *mestizos*. As perceived, despite a more egalitarian gender ideology in some of their own communities, indigenous women find themselves at a disadvantage when having to compete with the *mestizo* population. It seems that indigenous people in general and women, in particular, have a better chance to benefit from tourism within their own territory. For example, in Patacancha, an indigenous community near Cuzco, *mestizo* middlemen from the valley largely control the tourism business through river rafting and bus trips. However, one area where local women have been able to exercise control and gain income and status is through the sale of their weavings, which are the main attraction of the village.

On Taquile, another aspect that has contributed to successful community-controlled tourism is the creation of a local tourism committee; however, women have not been elected to office but rather serve other tourism-related functions such as working in the community store (Ypeij & Zorn, 2007). This division of labour is reminiscent of what Bolin (1998) describes for the high-altitude community of Chillihuani, where men serve in the village council and women on a separate women's committee. However, the women's committee affords women some decision-making power, which mere employment in a store does not. If women can move into decision-making positions in tourism, their status will likely benefit more than through employment alone. In the development discourse, equal access to work opportunities has widely been regarded as the best strategy to improving women's lives (Chambers, 2010; Kinnaird & Hall, 1996). Yet as shown above, a gender-based division of labour does not automatically imply differences in status, and there is the danger of ethnocentrically applying Western standards to a very different cultural context. Greater wealth and technological develop-

ment also do not necessarily result in greater gender equality. While greater participation in the cash economy can bring women more income and status, there is also the danger that their work in the home will be devalued since it does not generate money (Lockwood, 2009). Work in different spheres can help women maintain or increase status, so tourism development that involves indigenous women in ways that extend and strengthen their traditional roles, rather than moving them into direct competition with men, need to be explored.

Andean women continue to be disadvantaged in comparison to men but also to women of higher classes and other ethnic groups. Further research is needed to examine how women's experiences differ based on their cultural background and their specific occupations in tourism. In order to develop tourism in ways that support women and offer them opportunities to improve their situation, it is crucial to first understand these power dynamics and to listen to the women themselves. In order to be sustainable and equitable, tourism development needs to be grounded in the local realities of gender relations.

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