

The World Ayahuasca Diaspora

Ayahuasca is a psychoactive substance that has long been associated with indigenous Amazonian shamanic practices. The recent rise of the drink's visibility in the media and popular culture, and its rapidly advancing inroads into international awareness, mean that the field of ayahuasca is quickly expanding. This expansion brings with it legal problems, economic inequalities, new forms of ritual and belief, cultural misunderstandings, and other controversies and reinventions.

In *The World Ayahuasca Diaspora*, leading scholars, including established academics and new voices in anthropology, religious studies, and law fuse case-study ethnographies with evaluations of relevant legal and anthropological knowledge. They explore how the substance has impacted indigenous communities, new urban religiosities, ritual healing, international drug policy, religious persecution, and recreational drug milieus. This unique book presents classic and contemporary issues in social science and the humanities, providing rich material on the burgeoning expansion of ayahuasca use around the globe.

Beatriz Caiuby Labate has a Ph.D. in social anthropology from the State University of Campinas (UNICAMP), Brazil. Her main areas of interest are the study of psychoactive substances, drug policy, shamanism, ritual, and religion. She is Visiting Professor at the Center for Research and Post Graduate Studies in Social Anthropology (CIESAS), in Guadalajara, and Adjunct Assistant Professor at the Drug Policy Program of the Center for Economic Research and Education (CIDE) in Aguascalientes, Mexico. She is also co-founder of the Nucleus for Interdisciplinary Studies of Psychoactives (NEIP), and editor of NEIP's website (<http://www.neip.info>). She is author, co-author, and co-editor of twelve books, one special-edition journal, and several peer-reviewed articles. For more information, see: <http://bialabate.net/>

Clancy Cavnar is currently a licensed clinical psychologist working with dual diagnosed clients. In 2011, she received a doctorate in clinical psychology (PsyD) from John F. Kennedy University in Pleasant Hill, California, with a dissertation on gay and lesbian people's experiences with ayahuasca. She is Research Associate of the Nucleus for Interdisciplinary Studies of Psychoactives (NEIP), and co-editor, with Beatriz Caiuby Labate, of three books: *The Therapeutic Use of Ayahuasca* (2014); *Prohibition, Religious Freedom, and Human Rights: Regulating Traditional Drug Use* (2014); and *Ayahuasca Shamanism in the Amazon and Beyond* (2014). She is also author of peer-reviewed articles (at the *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs* and the *International Journal of Drug Policy*).

Alex K. Gearin has a Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of Queensland (UQ), Brisbane, Australia. His Ph.D. dissertation involves an ethnographic study of ayahuasca use in Australia and focuses on sensory, medical, and ethical themes of ritual practice and social organisation. He currently lectures in anthropology at the University of Queensland and works in the UQ Anthropology Museum, Brisbane, Australia. For more information, see: <https://culturaladmixtures.wordpress.com/>

Vitality of Indigenous Religions

Series Editors:

Graham Harvey,

Open University, UK

Afeosemime Adogame,

The University of Edinburgh, UK

Ines Talamantez,

University of California, USA

Routledge's *Vitality of Indigenous Religions* series offers an exciting cluster of research monographs, drawing together volumes from leading international scholars across a wide range of disciplinary perspectives. Indigenous religions are vital and empowering for many thousands of indigenous peoples globally, and dialogue with, and consideration of, these diverse religious life-ways promises to challenge and refine the methodologies of a number of academic disciplines, whilst greatly enhancing understandings of the world.

This series explores the development of contemporary indigenous religions from traditional, ancestral precursors, but the characteristic contribution of the series is its focus on their living and current manifestations. Devoted to the contemporary expression, experience and understanding of particular indigenous peoples and their religions, books address key issues which include: the sacredness of land, exile from lands, diasporic survival and diversification, the indigenization of Christianity and other missionary religions, sacred language, and re-vitalization movements. Proving of particular value to academics, graduates, postgraduates and higher level undergraduate readers worldwide, this series holds obvious attraction to scholars of Native American studies, Maori studies, African studies and offers invaluable contributions to religious studies, sociology, anthropology, geography and other related subject areas.

Other recently published titles in the series:

Religion and Non-Religion among Australian Aboriginal Peoples

Edited by James L. Cox and Adam Possamai

Shamanism, Discourse, Modernity

Thomas Karl Alberts

Anishinaabe Ways of Knowing and Being

Lawrence W. Gross

Progress and Its Impact on the Nagas

A Clash of Worldviews

Tezenlo Thong

Religious Change and Indigenous Peoples

The Making of Religious Identities

Helena Onnudottir, Adam Possamai and Bryan S. Turner

The World Ayahuasca Diaspora

Reinventions and controversies

**Edited by Beatriz Caiuby Labate,
Clancy Cavnar, and Alex K. Gearin**

First published 2017
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2017 selection and editorial matter, Beatriz Caiuby Labate, Clancy Cavnar, and Alex K. Gearin; individual chapters, the contributors

The right of Beatriz Caiuby Labate, Clancy Cavnar, and Alex K. Gearin to be identified as the authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Photos: Benjamin K. De Loenen

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress

ISBN: 978-1-4724-6663-1 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-55142-5 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Apex CoVantage, LLC

To Erik, Des and their garden.

Contents

<i>Author biographies</i>	ix
<i>Foreword: ayahuasca in the twenty-first century: having it both ways by Glenn H. Shepard Jr.</i>	xv
Introduction: the shifting journey of ayahuasca in diaspora BEATRIZ CAIUBY LABATE, CLANCY CAVNAR, AND ALEX K. GEARIN	1
1 If tradition did not exist, it would have to be invented: retraditionalization and the world ayahuasca diaspora ANDREW DAWSON	19
2 Between ecstasy and reason: a symbolic interpretation of UDV trance ROSA VIRGÍNIA MELO	39
3 The religion of the forest: reflections on the international expansion of a Brazilian ayahuasca religion BEATRIZ CAIUBY LABATE AND GLAUBER LOURES DE ASSIS	57
4 Culling the spirits: an exploration of Santo Daime's adaptation in Canada ELI ODA SHEINER	79
5 A religious battle: musical dimensions of the Santo Daime diaspora BEATRIZ CAIUBY LABATE, GLAUBER LOURES DE ASSIS, AND CLANCY CAVNAR	99
6 Good Mother Nature: ayahuasca neoshamanism as cultural critique in Australia ALEX K. GEARIN	123

viii *Contents*

7	Aussiewaska: a cultural history of changa and ayahuasca analogues in Australia	143
	GRAHAM ST JOHN	
8	Disentangling the ayahuasca boom: local impacts in Western Peruvian Amazonia	165
	JOSHUA HOMAN	
9	The economics of ayahuasca: money, markets, and the value of the vine	183
	KENNETH W. TUPPER	
10	Global ayahuasca: an entrepreneurial ecosystem	203
	DANIELA M. PELUSO	
11	A climate for change: ICEERS and the challenges of the globalization of ayahuasca	223
	BENJAMIN K. DE LOENEN, ÓSCAR PARÉS FRANQUERO, AND CONSTANZA SÁNCHEZ AVILÉS	
12	Ayahuasca in the English courts: legal entanglements with the jungle vine	243
	CHARLOTTE WALSH	
	<i>Index</i>	263

Author biographies

Glauber Loures de Assis is currently a PhD student in sociology at the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG) in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, where he leads a comparative research project on Santo Daime in the transnational context. He is also Research Associate at the Nucleus for Interdisciplinary Studies of Psychoactives (NEIP) and co-founder of the Center of Sociology Studies Antônio Augusto Pereira Prates (CESAP). He has developed research on Daimista groups from Brazil and Europe, and has also studied the sociology of religion from a wider perspective. His main interests include the ayahuasca religions, the New Religious Movements (NRMs), the internationalization of the Brazilian religions, and drug use in contemporary society.

Clancy Cavnar has a doctorate in clinical psychology (PsyD) from John F. Kennedy University. She currently works at a dual diagnosis residential drug treatment center in San Francisco and is a research associate of the Nucleus for Interdisciplinary Studies of Psychoactives (NEIP). She combines an eclectic array of interests and activities as clinical psychologist, artist, and researcher. She has an undergraduate degree in liberal arts from the New College of the University of South Florida, a Master of Fine Arts in painting from the San Francisco Art Institute, a master's degree in counseling from San Francisco State University, and a certificate in substance abuse counseling from the extension program of the University of California at Berkeley. Her art is inspired by her experience with psychedelics, especially with the Santo Daime religious tradition. She is author and co-author of articles in the *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs* and the *International Journal for Drug Policy*, among others. She is co-editor, with Beatriz Caiuby Labate, of four books: *The Therapeutic Use of Ayahuasca* (Springer, 2014); *Prohibition, Religious Freedom, and Human Rights: Regulating Traditional Drug Use* (Springer, 2014); *Ayahuasca Shamanism in the Amazon and Beyond* (Oxford University Press, 2014); and *Peyote: History, Tradition, Politics and Conservation* (ABC/Clio-Praeger, 2016). Clancy's art and academic work has been presented both in the U.S. and abroad. For more information, see www.neip.info/index.php/content/view/1438.html and www.clancycavnar.com

Andrew Dawson is a Senior Lecturer in Religion at the Department of Politics, Philosophy and Religion of Lancaster University, U.K. He obtained his

x *Author biographies*

doctorate at Oxford University and has degrees in Social Science and Religious Studies from U.S. and other U.K. institutions. Andrew's principal research interest concerns the interface of religion and modern society, which he examines mainly in the contexts of Brazil, Europe, and North America. Focusing chiefly upon the Santo Daime religion, he has worked upon the internationalization of ayahuasca religiosity by exploring its ritual, theological, and organizational implications. In recent years he has published *Santo Daime: A New World Religion* (2013), edited *Summoning the Spirits: Possession and Invocation in Contemporary Religion* (2011), and authored *Sociology of Religion* (2011) and *New Era–New Religions: Religious Transformation in Contemporary Brazil* (2007). Andrew has most recently edited *The Politics and Practice of Religious Diversity: National Contexts, Global Issues*, published by Routledge in 2015.

Benjamin K. De Loenen studied audiovisual media in the Utrecht School of Arts, the Netherlands, where he graduated from the master's program with honors as film director and editor of his documentary *Ibogaine: Rite of Passage* (2004), which he directed and produced. This documentary focuses on the therapeutic potential of iboga in addiction treatment and its traditional ceremonial use in Gabon. He is the founder of the International Center for Ethnobotanical Education, Research, & Service (ICEERS), a philanthropic, tax-exempt nonprofit dedicated to the acceptance and constructive integration of ayahuasca, iboga, and other traditional plants as psychotherapeutic accelerants and enhancers in Western societies. ICEERS was founded in 2009 in the Netherlands and currently has an office in Barcelona, Spain, and in Montevideo, Uruguay. In 2012, Benjamin made the documentary *Experience Bwiti: Renascence of the Healed*, and he is currently working on a documentary about the legal aspects and therapeutic potential of ayahuasca. He is also a member of the board of directors of the Global Ibogaine Therapist Alliance (GITA), and of the Ethnobotanical Stewardship Council (ESC), an organization that ICEERS helped incubate, which is dedicated to the safe use and sustainability of traditional plants.

Alex K. Gearin has a PhD in anthropology from the University of Queensland (UQ), Brisbane, Australia. His PhD dissertation involves an ethnographic study of ayahuasca use in Australia and focuses on sensory, medical, and ethical themes of ritual practice and social organization. He currently lectures in anthropology at the University of Queensland and works in the UQ Anthropology Museum, Brisbane, Australia. For more information, see <https://culturaladmixtures.wordpress.com/>

Joshua Homan is a PhD candidate in sociocultural anthropology at the University of Kansas in Lawrence, Kansas. Since 2005, he has conducted extensive ethnographic fieldwork among indigenous (Shawi, Kukama, and Quechua) and mestizo communities throughout the western Peruvian Amazon. He is currently conducting fieldwork among the Inga of the Pastaza watershed in the northwest Peruvian Amazon, examining the relationships between information

and communication technologies (ICTs), such as shortwave radio and indigenous political action. For more information, see www.runashimi.org and www.amazonianist.org

Beatriz Caiuby Labate has a PhD in social anthropology from the State University of Campinas (UNICAMP), Brazil. Her main areas of interest are the study of psychoactive substances, drug policy, shamanism, ritual, and religion. She is Professor at the Center for Research and Post Graduate Studies in Social Anthropology (CIESAS), in Guadalajara. She is also co-founder of the Nucleus for Interdisciplinary Studies of Psychoactives (NEIP), and editor of NEIP's website (www.neip.info). She is author, co-author, and co-editor of 13 books, one special-edition journal, and several peer-reviewed articles. For more information, see <http://bialabate.net/>

Rosa Virgínia Melo earned her PhD in social anthropology from the University of Brasília (UnB), Brazil, where she was an adjunct professor. Currently, she is a postdoc researcher and professor at the Federal University of Paraíba. She has developed ethnographic research on gender and violence, cultural heritage, and popular culture. Her most recent interests include Brazilian religions, religion and the public sphere, mutual help, and religion and mental health. She has published articles on mediumistic trance within the Brazilian ayahuasca religions.

Òscar Parés Franquero studied philosophy and anthropology at the University of Barcelona, after which he earned a master's degree in drug addiction at the same university. He is currently Assistant Director/Social Network Coordinator of the International Center for Ethnobotanical Education, Research, & Service (ICEERS) Foundation (and coordinates drug policy projects. He trained as a volunteer at Energy Control (ABD) and later was hired to facilitate educational harm-reduction workshops with youth. For more than seven years he has collaborated as a consultant with the government of Catalonia in coordinating risk-reduction programs in the area of nightlife and in the field of the regulation of the activity of cannabis social clubs in Catalonia. He is founder of the Instituto de Políticas de Drogas y Sostenibilidad (IPDS).

Daniela M. Peluso is a sociocultural anthropologist who has been working in the Peruvian and Bolivian Amazon Basin since the 1980s. Her current Lowland South American research focuses on indigenous urbanization and relatedness. She works in close collaboration with indigenous organizations and has been involved in various local efforts on issues relating to health, gender, and land rights. Daniela also conducts research in the U.K. and the U.S. on business organizations. She received her PhD from Columbia University in 2003 and is a Senior Lecturer at the University of Kent.

Constanza Sánchez Avilés is a political scientist and holds a PhD in international relations and international law. Her work focuses on the political economy of illicit drugs, transnational organized crime, and national and international drug

xii *Author biographies*

policies, issues on which she has published several papers and book chapters. From 2007 to 2013, she worked at the Department of International Law and International Relations at Universitat Pompeu Fabra. She has been a Visiting Scholar at the University of Miami (2010), the Justice in Mexico Project at the University of San Diego (2012), and Research Assistant at the Global Drug Policy Observatory at Swansea University (2013). She did fieldwork on drug policies in Peru, the United States, Mexico, and the U.S.-Mexican border, and collaborates with several drug policy research institutions. In 2013 she joined the International Center for Ethnobotanical Education, Research, and Service Foundation (ICEERS), where she coordinates the law, policy, and human rights activities, including legal defense for ayahuasca practitioners who are prosecuted; policy reform activities; and the development of reports about this subject matter. In this frame, she coordinates the Ibiza Expert Committee for the Regularization of Psychoactive Ethnobotanicals created at the World Ayahuasca Conference in Ibiza in September of 2014.

Eli Oda Sheiner is a graduate student in the Division of Social and Transcultural Psychiatry at McGill University in Montreal, Canada. He studies the internationalization of the ayahuasca religions, with an emphasis on Santo Daime. Eli's research focuses on the ethical and political issues arising at the intersections between Santo Daime, First Nations and Aboriginal people, and contemporary Canadian society. He is also interested in the politics of ontology, or the way worlds, worldviews, and attendant power dynamics are navigated in an ontologically plural environment. His findings will trace the similarities and dissimilarities in discourses between South American ayahuasca traditions and geographically removed communities in Canada, and explore the conflicts and confluences between ayahuasca as it is understood by the Canadian government and by the Canadians who employ it as a sacrament.

Graham St John, PhD, is an anthropologist specializing in dance movements, event-cultures, and entheogens. He is the author of several books, including *Mystery School in Hyperspace: A Cultural History of DMT* (North Atlantic Books, 2015); the monographs *Global Tribe: Technology, Spirituality and Psytrance* (Equinox, 2012) and *Technomad: Global Raving Countercultures* (Equinox, 2009); and the edited collections *The Local Scenes and Global Culture of Psytrance* (Routledge, 2010), *Victor Turner and Contemporary Cultural Performance* (Berghahn, 2008), *Rave Culture and Religion* (Routledge, 2004), and *FreeNRG: Notes From the Edge of the Dance Floor* (Common-ground, 2001). He is currently editing *Weekend Societies: Electronic Dance Music Festivals and Event-Cultures* (Bloomsbury). Dr. St John has been awarded postdoctoral fellowships in Australia, the United States, Canada, and Switzerland, where he has recently begun researching the global Burning Man diaspora. He is founding Executive Editor of *Dancecult: Journal of Electronic Dance Music Culture*. He is Adjunct Research Fellow at the Griffith Centre for Cultural Research, Griffith University. For more information, see www.edgecentral.net

Kenneth W. Tupper is Adjunct Professor in the School of Population and Public Health at the University of British Columbia, where his research interests focus on the cross-cultural and historical uses of psychoactive substances; public, professional, and school-based drug education; and creating healthy public policy to maximize benefits and minimize harms from currently illegal drugs. Kenneth has a PhD in educational studies from the University of British Columbia and an MA degree in education from Simon Fraser University. For more information, see www.kentupper.com

Charlotte Walsh (LLB; MPhil) is a legal academic at the University of Leicester School of Law, England, where she runs an undergraduate course on criminology, largely concerned with drug policy. Her main research focus is on the interface between psychedelics and the law, viewed from a liberal, human rights-based perspective, and she has published widely on this subject, both in edited collections – such as the recently published *Prohibition, Religious Freedom and Human Rights: Regulating Traditional Drug Use* – and in leading journals such as the *Criminal Law Review*, *British Journal of Criminology*, *International Journal of Drug Policy*, *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs*, and *International Journal of Human Rights*. She believes that drug prohibition conflicts with our fundamental right to cognitive liberty. Charlotte is involved with advising people who are being prosecuted for activities involving plant psychedelics. She is a member of the International Center for Ethnobotanical Education, Research, & Service (ICEERS) Expert Committee for the Regularization of Psychoactives, a group concerned with coordinating a common defense strategy in ayahuasca cases and with the development of a global strategy of normalization for ayahuasca.

Foreword

Ayahuasca in the twenty-first century: having it both ways

The genie is out of the bottle, tweeting about the next shamanic bodywork leadership seminar, and the bottle; well, check and see if it isn't in the back of your fridge by the vegan TV dinner.

Who would have ever imagined that ayahuasca, the enigmatic jungle potion William S. Burroughs once referred to as “the secret” (Burroughs & Ginsberg, 2006 [1963]) and whose very botanical identity was a matter of debate through the mid-twentieth century (Schultes, 1957) would, within a matter of decades, become a household (or at least, yoga-mat) word; the subject of hundreds of scientific, anthropological, and medical studies; a magnet for international tourism; the motor behind a global religious diaspora; and the victorious plaintiff *in absentia* of an historic Supreme Court case?

The rhyme “herbal brew”/“bamboo” in Paul Simon’s 1990 ayahuasca-inspired song “Spirit Voices” already rings of kitsch, but there is still something, if not fresh, then at least compelling about Sting (2005, p. 18), in his biography *Broken Music*, revealing that “ayahuasca has brought me close to something, something fearful and profound and deadly serious.” But by the time Lindsay Lohan confides to a reality TV host in April of 2015 that ayahuasca helped her “let go of past things . . . it was intense” (Morris, 2014), Burroughs’s “final fix” has finally entered the realm of cliché.

How did this happen? What is the special appeal of this bitter Amazonian brew in the post-post-modern global village toolbox of self-realization? How has it fared in the bustling marketplace of New Age spiritual entrepreneurship and on the battleground of the War on Drugs? And what does it all mean for the multiple, religiously and socially diverse, communities and individuals who consume ayahuasca, as well as various ayahuasca-like analogs, around the world?

We can think of the global ayahuasca expansion of the past two decades as a kind of second wave to the psychedelic revolution, following upon that other, “fantastic universal . . . inevitable . . . high and beautiful wave,” Hunter S. Thompson describes as cresting in the mid-1960s only to crash so quickly, and so disappointingly:

So now, less than five years later, you can go up on a steep hill in Las Vegas and look West, and with the right kind of eyes you can almost *see* the high-water mark – that place where the wave finally broke and rolled back.

(Thompson, 1998 [1971], p. 68)

Many of those who sought out ayahuasca in the Amazonian rainforests in the 1970s and 1980s were indeed spiritual orphans, in some sense, of this failed revolution that, though inspired by natural psychoactive substances and indigenous medico-religious rituals of the Americas, relied heavily on synthetic substances like LSD and mescaline, often consumed in informal or recreational, rather than ritual, settings. In its initial expansion, beginning in the 1980s, ayahuasca came, first, to non-Amazonian urban centers in tropical countries, and later, to dozens of countries across the globe, in much the same form as it was consumed in its place of origin. Traditional practitioners and religious groups still export ayahuasca, brewed from the rainforest vine *Banisteriopsis caapi* and the dimethyltryptamine (DMT)-containing shrub *Psychotria viridis* and related species, to adepts in many world countries, who risk and sometimes face prosecution under international controlled substance laws. Freelance enthusiasts operating at the fringes of legality may also obtain raw ingredients and make their own preparations.

But, due to chronic problems of supply, transport, and storage, not to mention legal restrictions, a growing number of people have experimented with various ayahuasca analogs, using alternative plants or pure pharmacological substances (“pharmahuasca”) with essentially the same chemical constituents, to produce brews that have similar experiential effects, at least according to some enthusiasts. And yet, by all indications – and despite the myriad contexts of international use, from commercially adapted indigenous rituals in ecotourism lodges in the Amazon to weekend workshops at yoga academies around the world – the ayahuasca diaspora seems to have resisted what Thompson and others saw as the recreational denouement, hedonistic failure, and political marginalization of the 1960s psychedelic revolution. Instead, wherever it is used, imported, or reinvented, ayahuasca seems to quickly, almost automatically, elaborate around itself a protective cloak of ritual and social control, from the Christian-influenced doctrines of Brazilian ayahuasca religions to the idiosyncratic neoshamanic ceremonies emerging in North America, Europe, and Australia. Whether this is due to a changing social milieu of use, or something about the ayahuasca experience itself, remains to be seen.

Setting aside the hype, and respecting the cultural and individual variability inherent in such powerful subjective states, one constant element of the ayahuasca experience, attested across different cultures, spiritual traditions, and personal backgrounds, is its ability to propitiate encounters with radical otherness. Speaking myriad languages, through dozens of religious and spiritual idioms and within infinite possibilities of individual variation, ayahuasca drinkers across the globe have described visions of celestial landscapes beyond comprehension and encounters with awe-inspiring, alien intelligence that alternately tantalizes and terrorizes them with healing and bodily degradation, spiritual salvation and ego disintegration, ecological wisdom and universal apocalypse.

The ayahuasca experience defies ordinary notions of causality, space, time, and logic. Indeed, in its intensity and fundamental strangeness, the ayahuasca experience can feel like the cognitive equivalent of the far side of a black hole, spewing out new space-time tunnels and parallel universes with utter disregard for the laws

of cognition, if not of physics itself. It is perhaps the very intensity of the cognitive, bodily, and spiritual disassociation produced by ayahuasca that calls so desperately to the structuring powers of ritual, ideology, and social control to impose order, provide meaning, and even extract advantage from the boiling foam of ecstasy.

Trance associated with altered consciousness of all kinds is characterized by symbolic visual imagery and nonlinear thought processes that can result in revelatory insights or intuitions about self, others, nature, and the cosmos (Winkelman, 1986). Gregory Bateson's (1972) cybernetic theory of mind sheds light on the adaptive functions of trance and altered states. In his reformulation of Freud, Bateson suggests that, for reasons of sheer economy, mental processes that are repetitive or that surpass the boundaries of the individual self become "sunk" into the subconscious. Bateson (1972) views art and certain kinds of religious beliefs as serving a corrective function, allowing integration of the narrow, individual consciousness with larger circuits of mental process, including collective and environmental "ecologies of mind." In the light of Bateson's theories, psychoactive plants like ayahuasca can be seen as tools for loosening up mental processes, blurring ego boundaries between individuals and their larger social and ecological context (Shepard, 2005). By amplifying the unexpected, nonlinear associations of the subconscious, this "ecstatic mode" of consciousness allows for the perception of new patterns and relations among things, experiences, and events.

Although trance states emerge for the individual through specific alterations in brain function, these personal experiences become framed and imbued with meaning by the social group, often in a ritual context. Victor Turner's (1974) classic writings on ritual, structure, antistructure, and the countercultural movement of the 1960s provide a framework for understanding what several authors call the "re-traditionalization" of ayahuasca (Labate & Cavnar, 2014). For Turner, people participating in rituals occupy a *liminal* or transitional social state, clearly distinguished in space and time from ordinary social life. During ritual, social structure is temporarily suspended and replaced by an undifferentiated *comunitas* of equal individuals who share a mutual sense of identity and belonging. The social distinctiveness of ritual is accompanied by a distinctive cognitive state in which ordinary logic is suspended and replaced by the nonlinear, inductive, combinatorial logic of symbols. Thus, ritual itself represents a kind of altered state of consciousness that, when amplified through trance techniques or the use of psychoactive substances, only reinforces the social, spatial, and temporal distinctiveness of the ritual state (Shepard, 2005).

Though he began his work studying rites of passage in a Zambian village, Turner realized that these concepts could also be used to understand the social upheavals of the 1960s. Although serving to maintain the functional stability of "institutionalized and preordained" social structures, liminality and *comunitas* can also emerge in moments of "radical structural change" (Turner, 1974, p. 248). The difference, for Turner, is that institutionalized rituals, when they conclude, facilitate the orderly return of individuals from liminality and *comunitas* back into the social order, whereas revolutionary and countercultural movements attempt to create permanent liminality: not a passage, but rather a constant state (1974).

xviii *Foreword*

Perhaps ayahuasca is the contemporary world's way of having it both ways; of being both traditional and modern, ecstatic and scientific, heterodox yet messianic, transgressive but safe and (eventually) legal, altruistic and selfish. It is precisely around this set of contradictions – or dialectics, or challenges – that the current volume is organized. Moving beyond the ethnological purists' snubbing of neo-ayahuasca practices as mere drug tourism, and yet also avoiding the intellectual pitfalls of naïve enthusiasm, the authors in this volume apply the classic tools of critical sociocultural analysis to the universe of the global ayahuasca diaspora. The chapters present a multitude of voices, from "Aussie-huasca" (a native Australian analog) enthusiasts hoping to save the planet from the evils of capitalism, to indigenous Amazonian communities torn apart by rivalries and economic disparities brought on by the "ayahuasca boom." Though sympathetic to this diversity of experiences and opinions, the authors take an unblinking look at the legal and social conflicts and ideological contradictions produced as indigenous shamans and Brazilian ayahuasca churches have entered the global marketplace of New Age spiritualism. Contributions discuss troublesome emergent issues, including the commodification of ayahuasca practices, the reconfiguration of shamanic worldviews to attend to the modern self-as-project, health and safety concerns (drug interactions, ayahuasca-related accidents, sexual harassment), legal disputes, the "bureaucratization of enchantment" in ayahuasca religions, and the sanitization of darker aspects of traditional Amazonian shamanism, such as witchcraft and attack sorcery.

Will the "re-traditionalization" of global neo-ayahuasca ceremonies provide adequate social controls and ideological coherence to ensure that this "second wave" psychedelic revolution doesn't crash and dissipate somewhere between the headwaters of the Amazon and the Great Barrier Reef? Will the contradictions of the modern self and the temptations of capitalism undercut the radical vision of individual and planetary healing that some neo-ayahuasca enthusiasts prophecy? Will ayahuasca become another battlefield casualty in the global War on Drugs, or will legislation evolve to protect ayahuasca as a religious sacrament, as a medicine, as a tool of experiential freedom? We don't yet have all the answers to these questions, but the authors of this book are on the crest of the wave, and if anyone can see ahead to the far shore, it is they.

Glenn H. Shepard Jr.
 Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi

References

- Bateson, G. (1972). *Steps to an ecology of mind*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Burroughs, W. S., & Ginsberg, A. (2006). *The yage letters redux*. San Francisco, CA: City Lights Books. (Original work published 1963.)
- Labate, B. C., & Cavnar, C. (2014). *Ayahuasca shamanism in the Amazon and beyond*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Morris, B. (2014, June 15). Ayahuasca: A strong cup of tea. *The New York Times*, p. ST1. Retrieved July 1, 2015 from www.nytimes.com/2014/06/15/fashion/ayahuasca-a-strong-cup-of-tea.html

- Schultes, R. E. (1957). The identity of the malphigaceous narcotics of South America. *Botanical Museum Leaflets, Harvard University*, 18, 1–56.
- Shepard, G. H. Jr. (2005). Psychoactive botanicals in ritual, religion and shamanism. In E. Elisabetsky & N. Etkin (Eds.), *Ethnopharmacology: Encyclopedia of life support systems*, Theme 6.79. Oxford, UK: UNESCO/Eolss Publishers. Retrieved March 17, 2016, from www.eolss.net.
- Sting. (2005). *Broken music: A memoir*. New York, NY: Dell.
- Thompson, H. S. (1998). *Fear and loathing in Las Vegas*. New York, NY: Random House/Vintage Books. (Original work published 1971.)
- Turner, V. (1974). *Dramas, fields and metaphors: Symbolic action in human society*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Winkelman, M. (1986). Trance states: A theoretical model and cross-cultural analysis. *Ethos*, 14(2), 174–203.



10 Global ayahuasca

An entrepreneurial ecosystem

*Daniela M. Peluso*¹

This chapter addresses the business of ayahuasca. In approaching ayahuasca as a burgeoning industry linked to the ayahuasca diaspora – the spreading of its use beyond Amazonia – I will discuss its emergence through entrepreneurship arising amid local contexts and participants. My analysis of how the ayahuasca industry has developed in only a few decades from an obscure practice into a cosmopolitan capitalist endeavor is examined through a case study in the Tambopata Province in Peru. It also suggests that small-scale entrepreneurship has contributed toward shaping ayahuasca's international popularity. This chapter further contemplates the actual and potential impact that ayahuasca businesses have on South American indigenous and local peoples whose expertise and practices have long been the hallmark of ayahuasca practices, and raises questions of South American postcolonialism and its legacy of imperialism.² As such, this analysis provides an anthropological approach toward understanding the emergence and development of entrepreneurship, and makes contributions to literatures on postcolonialism, globalization, Amazonia, and ayahuasca.

Entrepreneurism, the processes of initiating and enterprising one's own business or organization, emerges all around us, and mostly proliferates in potential business settings that reflect untapped or high-demand markets that can accommodate new investments and start-up companies. The Amazon Basin is no exception to this global phenomenon. In fact, entrepreneurial businesses have long been operating in its midst, particularly since the seventeenth century, via strong colonial trade networks in animal skins, timber, vanilla, cacao, and later, quinine, rubber, and other commodities that propelled personal business pursuits (Cleary, 2001; Alexiades, 2009). A general pattern of exporting natural resources was well established by the nineteenth century and has markedly shaped the economic and political realities of Latin America today (Bulmer-Thomas, 2003). Many of these entrepreneurial businesses benefitted from colonial discourses of primitivism and wildness that still pervade popular views about Amazonia (Taussig, 1987). Indeed, it was often traders who perpetuated myths of danger so as to keep other entrepreneurial competition away (Taussig, 1987).³

Overview

Increasingly, the majority of people who live in Lowland South America reside in urban areas (Alexiades & Peluso, 2015), a number estimated to be at 70%

(Padoch et al., 2008). Amazonia is home to several large cities, including Manaus (a Free Trade Zone) and Belem – each with a population exceeding two million – alongside others, like Iquitos and Satarem, with populations in the hundreds of thousands. This also means that rural areas have become further linked to urban areas (Peluso, 2015) and also attract increasing economic interests. For instance, in rural and peri-urban parts of Amazonia, ecotourism and other tourist-related activities, alongside the environmental economy, have flourished in the last few decades and are growing exponentially (Peluso & Alexiades, 2005). For example, in 1989, \$150,000,000 was spent in Manaus in hotel construction, with tourism being the largest source of income in the state of Amazonas (Veseth, 2002).

Ayahwasca tourists increasingly visit Amazonian cities and rural areas. Such tourism is part of adventure and/or international tourism, whereby individuals and groups travel for the opportunity to take the brewed mixture of *Banisteriopsis caapi* and *Psychotria* or various other admixtures. Ayahuasca holds great fascination for travelers, particularly because of its potential for providing hallucinatory visions that can be used to diagnose and heal illness, as well as to provide psychotherapeutic benefits (Trichter, 2010), alongside its association with romanticized and exoticized images of Amazonia in the popular imagination (Ramos, 1987; Conklin, 1997). Ayahuasca rituals, whereby ayahuasca is administered by an *ayahuasquero* (individuals who use ayahuasca, including some shamans), have long been practiced locally in Amazonia and its surrounding Andean environments by indigenous people and mestizos (Dobkin de Rios, 1970; Taussig, 1987; Gow, 1994; Beyer, 2010; Luna, 2011; Calavia Sáez, 2014); and, since the 1930s, these rituals have also been integrated into popular expanding religious forms through Santo Daime, Barquinha, and the União do Vegetal (UDV) in Brazil (Labate, Macrae, & Goulart, 2010).

With the advent of ayahuasqueros traveling abroad and the export of ayahuasca itself, ayahuasca tourism has assumed international proportions, and ayahuasca seekers and tourists are no longer restricted to drinking this hallucinogenic beverage *in situ*. The possibilities for participating in ayahuasca ceremonies or consuming it individually have been mounting (Labate & Cavnar, 2014). Now more readily available outside of local or regional Amazonian settings, ayahuasca experience-seeking is a global trend (Alexiades, 2002; Winkelman, 2005; Tupper, 2008; 2009; Labate, Cavnar, & Barbira Friedman, 2014). As such, ayahuasca is now replicated or integrated into new forms of practice in places like Australia (Gearin, Chapter 6 in this volume), Canada (Tupper, 2011), the United States (Trichter, 2010; Harris & Gurel, 2012), the Netherlands (Groisman, 2001), Spain, Germany (Balzer, 2005), as well as countries in Africa (Greenfield & Droogers, 2001; Sobiecki, 2013), Asia, and elsewhere (Labate & Jungaberle, 2011).

Overall, in the last decade, ayahuasca ceremonies and retreats have been offered frequently enough for the opportunity to be considered commonplace (Davidov, 2010; Fotiou, 2010). I suggest that until recently, ayahuasca, as a potential industry, has mostly remained untapped because of its spiritual and religious uses that may be seen as antithetical to modernity, alongside its variable legal status. Its temporary haven as an unexploited market is also linked to a general interpretation

of the ayahuasca experience as being sacred and therefore outside of the realm of capitalism. For instance, its existence as a practice is often negated as having anything to do with money (Peluso, forthcoming). Prior to the international focus on rainforests and the creation of national parks and reserves, tourism to Amazonia was steady and in some cases lagging. For some time, ayahuasca had been rather protected from an onslaught of attention and the unleashing of its own marketing potential. However, for the last two decades, the emerging position of the ayahuasca experience as a potential income source, both locally and internationally, can no longer be ignored. Ayahuasca tourism has ignited the potential economic business lure ablaze with local, national, and international interests in ayahuasca as part of broader sets of globalization processes.

Ayahuasca economies

I would like to first distinguish between ayahuasca as part of a local economy and ayahuasca as a form of entrepreneurship. Economically, shamans and ayahuasqueros have long been participating in various forms of exchange that have generally compensated them for their time, skills, and talents. They have tended to peoples outside of their communities, cities, and countries. Indeed, shamans from “afar” are often perceived as being more powerful, and therefore people tend to travel great distances to cure more serious illnesses or social problems (Taussig, 1987). As healers and sorcerers, ayahuasqueros have always been integral to their local and regional economies, yet systems of reciprocity and tendencies toward egalitarianism, whereby peoples’ livelihoods may be different but their lifestyles are not, have meant that their status did not indicate economic stratification (Clastres, 1987).

In this chapter, “ayahuasca entrepreneurship” refers to a set of responses to the dynamics of increased ayahuasca tourism and the marketing strategies used to attract such tourism. This phenomenon has resulted in the proliferation of shamans, ayahuasqueros, tourist lodges, and agencies that provide the ayahuasca experience alongside a plethora of other secondary businesses that participate in this rise in popularity and demand. Here, entrepreneurship reflects smaller-scale activities than those normally associated with high-profile entrepreneurship (e.g., the creation of Apple, Inc.), thus incorporating micro-businesses and enterprises. In taking heed to Keith Hart’s (1975) call that the use of “entrepreneur” be refined, here I refer to entrepreneurs as leaders who exercise particular “aspects” of their roles (Barth, 1963, p. 6), whereby they assume risk and implement initiative, anticipating and taking advantage of market opportunities as they arise, and often “manipulate other persons and resources” to meet their ends. In referring to the entrepreneurial role, I highlight the opportunistic features of that push toward profit maximization, whereby profit can also include enterprises listed as non-profit organizations, such as various nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), eco-ventures, and charitable institutions. I also emphasize how entrepreneurship is a cultural process (Greenfield & Strickon, 1981) that reflects consumer targeting and desires, and the social and political milieus and principles to which these businesses abide and in which they operate.

It is useful here to explore ayahuasca as being part of an “entrepreneurship ecosystem,” a term that I borrow from Isenberg (2010) and modify to reflect an anthropological approach to the ayahuasca industry. For Isenberg, an entrepreneurship ecosystem consists of the complex combination of “individual elements – such as leadership, culture, capital markets, and open minded customer. . . . In isolation each is conducive to entrepreneurship but insufficient to sustain it” (Isenberg, 2010, p. 3). I view such elements as already being informed by and shaping one another so as to reflect the fluidity, mixture, and unboundedness of culture. An ayahuasca entrepreneurial ecosystem would need to include indigenous and nonindigenous individuals, groups, and organizations, and the nations/states in which they reside, and be a crucial mechanism for the ayahuasca diaspora. These entities, or “stakeholders,” can be favorable or inhibitive for entrepreneurs to prosper.

There is a scant, yet growing, literature on the anthropology of entrepreneurship (Stewart, 1991). Historically and currently, much entrepreneurship is studied within the context of large-scale organizations (Casson, 1986; Oviatt, McDougall, & Loper, 1995). Yet, more recently, it has been located in the individuals who craft local forms of livelihood amid processes of global capitalism (Dolan & Johnstone-Louis, 2011; Sanchez, 2012; Meisch, 2013). It is in this latter vein that I explore the unfolding entrepreneurship surrounding ayahuasca. Here, I suggest that ayahuasca tourism and ceremonies have generated a series of profit-based opportunistic small businesses that, as a whole, link into the larger, broader industries, such as adventure travel (Palmer, 2002), international tourism (Becker, 2013), and the New Age movement (Davies & Freathy, 2014). To illustrate how such small-scale entrepreneurship emerges and expands, I elaborate by focusing on the Tambopata Province of Madre de Dios, Peru – one of many regions that attract ayahuasca tourists – and then broaden the analysis to include the international market for ayahuasca.⁴

Amazonian and international frontiers

The Tambopata Province is the largest of three provinces in the department of Madre de Dios. Its economy is based on the extraction of raw materials, including gold mining and timber, as well as forest products, such as Brazil nuts. Tambopata is designated as a biodiversity “hot spot,” comprised of the Tambopata National Reserve and the Bahuaja-Sonene National Park. These form part of a “mega-corridor” aimed to tie together Bolivian and Peruvian protected areas (Bennett & Ader, 2004). Thus, ecotourism is a major growing industry in the province. In 2005, in the Tambopata Province, ecotourist lodges brought in U.S. \$6 million out of U.S. \$11.6 million spent on Peruvian rainforest ecotourism, of which U.S. \$3.8 million were local revenues, i.e., funds transacted in Tambopata (Kirkby et al., 2011). Ayahuasca, once a decidedly local practice, has exploded alongside this environmental economy sector.

Only 30 years ago, the ayahuasca usage landscape was starkly different. In the 1980s, the information for nonlocals who were interested in experiencing

ayahuasca was scarce, and very few people were openly known as ayahuasqueros. In 1983, a nonlocal European man who lived in Puerto Maldonado, the capital of Madre de Dios, was one of the first nonlocals to be interested in taking ayahuasca. He explained how it was not a straightforward process in those days to encounter people willing to talk about ayahuasca. After trying to determine who knew how to prepare and drink the brew and whom he could approach, he was eventually directed to two men, a *Tacana* and a *ribereño*, both living in the Ese Eja native community of Infierno.⁵ When he first went to the community to search for either of these men, he met an Ese Eja man who was serendipitously approaching the ribereño ayahuasqueros to drink for the very first time, an experience they shared together. Although the eco-lodges in Tambopata now boast that ayahuasca is an ancient Ese Eja tradition, Ese Eja, like many other indigenous groups, recently learned to drink ayahuasca from nonindigenous others (Alexiades, 2000).

In the 1980s, there were also several mestizos and one well-known Shipibo ayahuasquero, now deceased, with the characteristic frontal-occipital skull deformation of Shipibo-Konibo peoples who also practiced in Puerto Maldonado. When I interviewed his daughter-in-law, she explained that “gringos” never came to see him, yet patients arrived from elsewhere. Surely there were numerous other ayahuasqueros that were unknown to outsiders, and certainly in some of the indigenous communities such as Tres Islas, where the practice continued among Shipibo, with one younger ayahuasquero who continues to drink to date. Yet, there was generally much silence around ayahuasca’s use, and it certainly would have been challenging for travelers to come across ayahuasqueros.

The silence and secrecy that once effusively surrounded ayahuasca practices is understandable considering that municipal officials, the Catholic Church, and evangelical groups have systematically condemned the practice of ayahuasca drinking (Dobkin de Rios & Grob, 2005; Tupper, 2008). Such demonization of the practice certainly continues to inform attitudes of rural and townfolk toward both ayahuasca and its participants. The crucial step in normalizing ayahuasca in the Madre de Dios region was the emergence of AMETRA 2001 (Aplicación de Medicina Tradicional), an indigenous health project aimed at integrating local health beliefs and practices with basic aspects of primary healthcare (Cueva, 1990, Alexiades & Lacaze, 1996).⁶ Although drinking ayahuasca was not a specific aim of the program, the program did aim to support and revitalize shamanism. The project was modeled after AMETRA-Ucayali and counted on the participation of Shipibo shamans, whose presence gave prominence to the use of ayahuasca in shamanic practices and resulted in the training of shamans as ayahuasqueros. By 1986, the project had spread throughout Madre de Dios, and it cast ayahuasca, alongside other indigenous treatments for health and illness, in a positive and popular light. It is in the AMETRA era that various indigenous individuals who did not customarily drink ayahuasca began to do so with more frequency. During my own fieldwork visits, I witnessed the training of Shipibo, Ese Eja, Hauchi-paere, and Amahuaca individuals as ayahuasqueros, as well as others. Ayahuasca practices were focused on community health and healing, but with the eventual changes that were to come, a few individuals began to drink with tourists; and one

of these ayahuasqueros began holding ayahuasca ceremonies in Cusco, a prime South American tourist destination.

Nationally, tourism began to surge after the election of Alberto Fujimori as President of Peru in 1990, the subsequent renegotiation of foreign debt, and the defeat of *Sendero Luminoso* and the *Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru* (MRTA) activities.⁷ These actions encouraged international investment as the country invested in their transportation infrastructure, thrusting Peru toward a tourist boom (Desforges, 2000) that has not stopped since. Tourism to the Tambopata district benefitted from these changes particularly, as international interest in the rainforest movement also gained momentum, and international conservation organizations became more active in South America. Furthermore, the 1990s was a catapult decade for technological and communications innovations that served to bridge the temporal and spatial distances between places as geographically remote as Tambopata and the rest of the world, a transformation referred to as a “time–space compression” (Harvey, 1989), and critical to globalization processes.

Further, gradual changes in attitudes toward ayahuasca in the 1990s emerged from two principal directions: the flourishing tourism lodges (“eco” or otherwise) that began to prosper; and the small but influential migration to Puerto Maldonado of individuals and their families, which was unassociated with previous migrations related to the “gold rush” (mining) or poverty alleviation strategies. Such a migration was in distinct juxtaposition to Andean migrants who began to arrive to Tambopata in the late 1960s, and increasingly in the 1980s, mostly due to state incentives, population pressures, landlessness, poverty, or to economic booms, such as the “gold rush” or lax regulations on timber extraction (Serra-Vega, 1990; Fraser, 2009). This small but different wave of migrants opened small businesses and embraced the benefits of living in an Amazonian town. They also tended to show interest in rainforest conservation and the struggles of indigenous peoples.

The setting in the 1980s – when there were only two lodges and no other touristic operations apart from a few freelance guides who only sporadically obtained work by standing at the small airport whenever a flight arrived – has changed significantly. In fact, the airport, formerly a one-room tin-roofed structure, was replaced by a more seemingly modern structure. By 2008, there were 37 ecotourism lodges (Kirkby et al., 2011); and since then, at least a dozen more have opened, as Peruvian legislation increasingly grants private concessions for conservation or ecotourism ventures. As nonlocal individuals increasingly traveled to the Amazon in search of ayahuasqueros, the lodges began to offer an option to drink ayahuasca with their own ayahuasquero, someone they kept in-house or at hand, or by transporting guests to the ayahuasquero’s home or center.

The increase in tourism, lodges, and the influx of people has had a significant impact on how the ayahuasca experience is perceived locally. Although conservative Christian beliefs against the ritual still prevail, seeing it as the work of the devil, their influence has lost its grip against the encroachment of other views. The fact that national visitors and international tourists were seeking out ayahuasca prompted local peoples and businesses to perceive it as something valuable. Consequently, ayahuasca began to be viewed as a potentially lucrative source of

income whose demand by outsiders helped to validate its legitimacy. This meant that more people wanted to become openly associated with ayahuasca, including many who had no prior interest or knowledge about it, and this also served as a catalyst for the current proliferation of ayahuasqueros and their apprentices.

The entrepreneurial drive

Accordingly, ayahuasca became much more accessible, less secretive, and more readily available via individuals and lodges. Whereas it was once lone travelers who made their way to seek an ayahuasquero, burgeoning tour guides and tourist lodges soon began to bring tourists together with ayahuasqueros. In such scenarios, there is a wide array of participants who may potentially come together for the ayahuasca experience, and with ever-increasing chances that they are inexperienced. In both urban and rural areas, individual homes and lodges began to make themselves available as part of an ayahuasca ecosystem, offering their spaces and attempting to gather together basic levels of expertise. Such accommodations range from small and basic to large and luxurious; they can be individually or family owned, partly owned by an indigenous or ribereño community or owned by a larger consortium of partners. They can thus cater to backpackers, affluent visitors, and anyone in between.

Locally, the critical nucleus for an ayahuasca ceremony had usually been the patient and the healer. This could also include assistants and family and community members. In such a setting, there is little that resembles a formal business, apart from the fact that services are rendered and some form of compensation, usually voluntary, eventually follows. Yet in the specialized centers, one sees the full gamut of ayahuasca entrepreneurship and, in the larger lodges, one is struck by the way that the ayahuasca experience is offered to tourists as readily as a bird-watching activity or hiking event, mostly through a language that exoticizes its features, e.g., “ancient,” “tradition,” “magical,” etc. (Labate, 2011). By the 1990s, some ayahuasqueros began to seize the opportunities that adventure tourism presented by starting to operate lodges or healing centers on their lands, or purchasing or renting lands for such purposes. In the case of the Tacana ayahuasquero mentioned earlier, he reorganized his homestead to make space for sleepover guests and put up a large wooden plaque upon which he painted his name. He also sporadically asked his son to help with transportation, but for the most part, at the age of 84, he still runs a solo business. Most other ventures are often family-based but also employ workers such as cooks and cleaners. Having a lodge or center also broadens the extended involvement of tour agencies, tour guides, additional tourist attraction activities and sites, botanical and artisanal producers and markets, boat and taxi drivers, and social media and business Internet sites. I would classify this type of interest and expansion as small-scaled entrepreneurship, wherein the growth of the business comes from an existing livelihood.

The eco-lodges in the Tambopata area represent much larger-scale entrepreneurship than the ventures I have just described. Lodges openly advertise ayahuasca ceremonies as one of many possible activities that their guests may participate in.

Some lodges have been exclusively set up with ayahuasca retreats in mind (Fotiou, 2010). Furthermore, these lodges have a strong presence on the Internet via their own websites or other websites that cater to tourism. Often, visits to these lodges are also part of larger tourist industry packages (Kirkby et al., 2011), and at least three of these lodges own or have commercial ties to tourist agencies in Cusco or Lima. Further, income can also be garnered from government conservation concessions and grants (Kirkby et al., 2011) and from certification accreditation for behaving as model eco-tourist businesses (Cater, 2006; Jamal, Borges, & Stronza, 2006). These larger operations employ a retinue of managers, guides, boat drivers, bus drivers, airport greeters, cooks, cleaners, and several others.

The lodges and centers specifically set up to capitalize on the ayahuasca boom are strongly linked to the New Age movement, either through their ownership or their clientele. In the last two decades, Peruvian nationals and non-Peruvian entrepreneurs, not local to Madre de Dios, founded a majority of these lodges; they often incorporate a local partner, though more usually, a caretaker. This trend is also common in other parts of Peru (Fotiou, 2010; Holman, 2011; Labate, 2011) and reflects the ability of nonlocals or foreigners to better access cash, and therefore to seize such entrepreneurial opportunities. A frequent origin narrative among a subset of more recent newer lodges is that the owners were greatly enthused by ayahuasca visions and were thus inspired to permanently move to the place where they had their ayahuasca “awakening” (Doyle, 2006, p. 14), an experience in which one experiences their own “divinity” (p. 13) and that stirs one to dedicate his or her life to a greater spiritual quest. I have commonly witnessed ayahuasca tourists return to Tambopata with messianic zeal, believing that they were “chosen” to save the world, which is not necessarily negative as long as it is rooted in an understanding of local reality and is not detrimental to others. In one case, a woman sold her home, gave up her career as a professional musician, and arrived ready to open a lodge. By the time she got a clear sense of how everything worked, all of her money was gone. Cases of post-ayahuasca-session-euphoria have been amply documented both historically (Gearin, 2015) and contemporarily; a memorable example is the case of an Englishman who returned to Peru to follow his ayahuasca vision using his substantial cash savings to build a seven-story floating wooden pyramid hotel/cultural center, only to watch it disintegrate into driftwood (Mann, 2011). Yet several lodges designed as ayahuasca centers, having a separate *maloca* (ritual house) for the ceremony, are successful, especially when they take time to allow their businesses to develop and thus attain a better sense of local culture and how things are best situated. These lodges will seek their own shaman, and the owners themselves are often interested in becoming neoshamans: nonlocal ayahuasqueros. It is common for them to apprentice with the ayahuasquero in residence.

Ayahuasca lodges and ceremonies are also advertising in New Age periodicals and websites, as well as in blogs and social media. On many of these websites, individuals share their spiritual awakenings and indirectly entice others to follow suit. In order to sell rooms and tour packages, lodges are registering with service websites such as Trip Advisor and Booking.com, where consumers can, in turn,

give feedback. Other websites, such as Aya Advisor (<http://ayaadvisor.org>), cater specifically to ayahuasca tourist interests so that travelers can post reviews based on various aspects of their ayahuasca experiences.

International ayahuasca tourists began to organize ayahuasca sessions in their home countries, flying in their shamans and hosting workshops. At these workshops, attendees pay per person and the funds are divided differentially to cover the ayahuasquero's travel and associated expenses, yet also allow him or her to return with a stipend that usually ranges in the thousands, if not tens of thousands, of dollars. In the latter cases, particularly in places like California, arrangements are made for ayahuasqueros to hold rituals with celebrities who demonstrate their appreciation monetarily (Labate, 2011). In addition, the host's costs are usually also covered. This, too, ranges differentially; whereas some hosts are only covered for the expense of hosting such an event, others derive a percentage for their efforts. Such entrepreneurial efforts serve to create an international market for both ayahuasca and ayahuasqueros.

In Tambopata, the ayahuasca entrepreneurial ecosystem has had various negative impacts on local populations who have long depended upon ayahuasqueros for purposes of health. These changes are part of a comparatively pan-Amazonian response to international ayahuasca tourism, and the resultant processes of commodification and appropriation of their practices, that entails local peoples' inaccessibility to ayahuasqueros due to tourist obligations, the legitimacy of practices, the sanitization of rituals for Western purposes, and a host of health and safety issues affecting both locals and tourists (Hutchins, 2000; Labate & Cavnar, 2004; Peluso, 2006; Tupper, 2009; Davidov, 2010; Holman, 2010; Labate, 2011; Homan, Chapter 8 in this volume; Tupper, Chapter 9 in this volume;). These impacts further exacerbate economic differences in local populations, and also vis-à-vis nonlocal participation in the commodification of cultural practices, a point I will return to.

If one considers that ayahuasqueros now also travel abroad, and that Westerners have also become ayahuasqueros and thus have their own tour and retreat schedules, then the level of participation expands yet further, as such activities are welcomed and endorsed by adventure travel and the New Age movement. Such New Age interests endorse a variety of shamanic retreats and training workshops, courses, and centers. Furthermore, the growing international popularity of Brazilian religions that use ayahuasca as a sacrament need to also be taken into account when considering the spread of ayahuasca's popularity. Add to this the sales, both on- and off-line, of the ingredients for brewing ayahuasca, and an array of other products and paraphernalia – such as raw tobacco rolls (*mapacho*), *agua de florida*, music CDs of ayahuasquero chants (*icaros*), textiles (such as Shipibo cloths, noted as reflecting the geometric patterns common in ayahuasca visions), jewelry, drawings and paintings – and there is further incentive to promote, produce, and reproduce ayahuasca practices. If one searches for ayahuasca ingredients and paraphernalia on the Internet, the pages go on and on.

Another entrepreneurial design has been the development and the sale of pharmaceutical⁸ or its equivalent, a synthesized form of ayahuasca (Ott, 2011; Araújo et al., 2015) with a strong underground market that services various ayahuasca

sects who prefer to ingest ayahuasca this way (Anonymous, personal communication). In addition, there is an arena of legal specialists who endeavor to protect ayahuasca's usage, the academics who write about ayahuasca, and the NGOs that support its use and practices – thus, there is a significant assemblage of livelihoods that come together to form this industry, ranging from a small household or community in Amazonia to financiers on Wall Street or celebrities in Ibiza.

It is therefore not only ayahuasca's spiritual status but also entrepreneurial efforts that have assisted in the ayahuasca experience emerging amidst a globalized set of activities. This flourishing has also inspired local NGOs that are concerned about the rapid proliferation of ayahuasqueros, many of whom are considered to be untrained. As an ayahuasquero in Tambopata explained, he is also disturbed by neoshamanism and the fact that many of the nonlocal peoples who are taught for short periods of time consider themselves to be bona fide ayahuasqueros. Furthermore, some local ayahuasqueros resent that Westerners come to apprentice them and then return to their own countries to earn money from their craft (Razam, 2014); this may also destabilize the local ayahuasquero's importance in the international ayahuasca network. Yet, established ayahuasqueros are just as concerned by the proliferation of indigenous ayahuasqueros as they are of foreign ones. Their concern is with anyone who is inexperienced and insufficiently trained, as they view this as impacting the quality of both the ayahuasca and the healing practices, and thus the reputation of their profession. In the case of Colombia, as a result of the gathering in 1999 of the most esteemed *yageceros* (ayahuasquero shamans) and community representatives, a declaration, code of ethics, and alliance among them was founded: the *Unión de Médicos Indígenas Yageceros de la Amazonía Colombiana* (UMIYAC) (the Union of Indigenous *Yagé* Healers of the Colombian Amazon), an alliance among Ingano, Kofan, Siona, Kamsá, Coreguaje, Tatuyo, and Carijona.⁹ Similar alliances, such as the Consejo de Yachak Runa Amazónico del Ecuador (Yachak Runa Amazonian Council of Ecuador) are aimed to preserve cultural and professional integrity.¹⁰

Ayahuasca cosmopolitanism

Ayahuasca tourism and its diaspora has also fostered a strong embracement of cosmopolitanism – a shared moral and philosophical commitment to “the primacy of world citizenship over all national, religious, cultural, ethnic and other parochial affiliations” (Beck & Sznaider, 2010, p. 6) – creating a sense for ayahuasca tourists that they are all part of a singular utopian community. In many cases, this creates blindness on the part of ayahuasca seekers toward the social and economic differences between Amazonians and non-Amazonians. The rising cosmopolitanism of ayahuasqueros has much to do with the capitalistic entrepreneurial ecosystem in which all participants partake and its focus is on urbanism. When ayahuasqueros first began to travel, their consumption of novelties was at first experimental; yet eventually, a political positioning was dynamically asserted through consumption and capital investment amid families, communities, and cities that embraces cosmopolitanism – indigenous, *ribereno*, mestizo, or otherwise.

The income and travel perks amassed while traveling abroad, where ayahuasca workshop prices are considerable, is often used to purchase an urban home or the land and infrastructure for a local lodge. Indeed, several ayahuasqueros I have interviewed have funded their lodges from money earned abroad, and they continue to travel when needed to bolster their funds (see also Labate, 2011).

Concern for well-being among practitioners and users of ayahuasca has recently spurred further entrepreneurship and niche marketing. Some lodges advertise only female shamans as a way of safeguarding against potential sexual impropriety (Peluso, 2014); others emphasize further details about the ayahuasqueros they use, as well as a series of safety guidelines and more comprehensive details. Ayahuasca seekers can also find an abundance of information via a plethora of user-friendly websites that offer valuable information, such as AyaAdvisor.org, Plantaforma, Steven Beyer's SingingtothePlants.com,¹¹ and other organizations such as the International Center for Ethnobotanical Education Research & Service (ICEERS) (see De Loenen, Parés Franquero, and Sánchez Avilés, Chapter 11 in this volume), who offer a comprehensive set of safety guidelines, as well as general and scientific information. Following such readily available services, a new NGO, the Ethnobotanical Stewardship Council (ESC), has also surfaced with the self-appointed mission to "protect people who work with this medicine [ayahuasca]" and to set up guidelines for practice so as to provide a comprehensive certification or "assurance" at the retreat center level, so that ayahuasca seekers and tourists can differentiate the market (Wickerham, Percival, Flaming, & Keller, 2014, pp. 13, 65). Although the organization claims to build broad consensus, its mission is based on the needs of Western consumers; and indeed, the idea for this organization emerged from the founders' attendance at the Psychedelic Science 2013 conference in California. Organizations like the ESC, with the support of its fiscal sponsor, the Multidisciplinary Association for Psychedelics Society (MAPS), reflect a common feature of ayahuasca entrepreneurship and the ayahuasca diaspora: that they seem to mostly financially benefit outsiders and target their efforts toward the well-being of Western clientele rather than the communities from where ayahuasca practices emerge, although their discourse and marketing are pitched as being concerned with the well-being of these communities. An examination of the ESC board and field-workers reflects a lack of field expertise and knowledge about local ayahuasca beliefs and practices, given their large sweeping mission. Their emergence as self-acclaimed authorities is symptomatic of the over-optimism that sometimes accompanies a variety of entrepreneurial forms (Dosi & Lovallo, 1997). It is not unlike the proliferation of poorly trained ayahuasqueros and is reminiscent of the messianic qualities of novice ayahuasca visionaries mentioned earlier. While it makes sense that the conference attendees who inspired the ESC had concerns about ayahuasca safety, even though many of them may not even see ayahuasca tourism as part of the problem, it was the concerns of Western conference-goers that were expressed, *not* the concerns of Amerindians. While larger eco-tourism businesses might view a certification scheme as beneficial, and they may be well positioned to acquire and market such a competitive advantage, the scheme would simultaneously prejudice those

smaller ventures that do not have the necessary Western-appealing infrastructure. There are serious challenges surrounding the complexity of identifying legitimate authorities, actors, voices, and criteria if an organization like the ESC were to place their brand on the ayahuasca market. Apart from reservations relating to viability and ethical considerations, or even the desirability, of whether devising effective measures of “transparency,” “efficacy,” and “safety” with regards to participation in ayahuasca sessions is even suitable or possible, the ESC’s scheme will unwittingly draw lines across the Amazonian landscape between those their organization would deem as legitimate actors and those they would not.¹² In turn, certification, as proposed by an NGO like the ESC, would offer a discriminative marketing tool; this tool would be discriminatory by default, as some organizations would gain a competitive edge in a world where there is already a marked disjuncture between what transpires in the spoken, material, and visible realities, and the unspoken, intangible, and invisible worlds.¹³ Such entrepreneurship makes sense for Western ayahuasca tourists, and would likely exacerbate tourism levels, but it makes little sense within the broader social, political, and cultural contexts in which the majority of local ayahuasca practitioners live and operate.

Ayahuasca entrepreneurship needs to be analyzed as part of the colonial legacy and postcolonial context from which it sprang forth, and within which it continues to be shaped. Economic growth and prosperity have been uneven across all sectors of society, and indigenous peoples and their lands have suffered at the behest of a long history of extractive industries, including rubber and, more recently, oil and gas companies. Indeed, in particular instances, entrepreneurship has been associated with piracy because, similar to pirates, entrepreneurs may sometimes appropriate value that they themselves have not created, thus unsettling processes of supply and demand (Dent, 2012, p. 29). As I have discussed, entrepreneurial efforts range from the most grassroots homestead, where profits are more localized, to larger tourist agencies and organizations that see an opportunity to find their niche, make their mark, and make money while the profits are garnered and stored elsewhere. As the ayahuasca ecosystem expands, ayahuasca tourists search for this “way of life” . . . and are ironically creating more “ways of making a living.”

Conclusions

There is a wide range of existing and potential forms of ayahuasca-related businesses that comprise an ayahuasca entrepreneurial ecosystem and contribute toward the making of an ayahuasca industry. This chapter has argued that such entrepreneurship is clearly linked to ayahuasca’s widespread global use, referred to in this volume as the “ayahuasca diaspora.” In my discussion of the emergence of ayahuasca businesses in the Tampobata province of Madre de Dios, Peru, from the 1980s through to the present, I address the transformations that have taken place locally over time – mostly the emergence of international tourism, local entrepreneurship, and the international popularity of ayahuasca, alongside local

perceptions of ayahuasca use and the political changes in Peru affecting both migration and tourism. In doing so, discussions of neo- and post-colonialism are inevitably linked to such transformations, particularly as profits are streamlined outside of local areas while the labor, expertise, and intellectual property of local peoples and their lands are disadvantageously appropriated.

The ayahuasca entrepreneurial ecosystem – whose participants range from individuals and groups, and whose enterprises range from the most rustic local homesteads to large tourist agencies and international networks and organizations – briskly responds to the increasing intensity of capitalist supply-and-demand dynamics. Within such a growing ecosystem, where both access to goods and resources and the capital to invest in them are unevenly available, local peoples are systematically disadvantaged. It is difficult for them to competitively engage in ways that do not compromise the integrity of their ayahuasca practices, whether it be because their ayahuasqueros are with tourists or are too busy traveling, or because there is a plethora of undertrained self-acclaimed ayahuasqueros who are not effective healers or social mediators. As ayahuasqueros multiply as a response to indiscriminate demand and they become more customer- and consumer-oriented, both locally and in their travels, and as ayahuasca seekers become more product purchase-oriented, exchange is as unequal as the “structures of economic development that underpin the global circulation of designated ‘exotic’ goods” (Huggan, 2002, p. 15). As such, the emerging forms of entrepreneurship and cosmopolitanism of the ayahuasca industry participate in an historically ongoing economic neo-colonization of South America in ways that privilege non-local profits and benefits. Scholars note that, when nation-states are formed after long periods of imperial dominance, such as in Latin America, they recurrently become “managers for Western enterprise” as part of broader processes, whereby the generation of wealth happens abroad – or as Fanon crudely states, “in practice set[ting] up its country as the brothel of Europe” (Fanon, 1965, p. 154). With practices such as ayahuasca, when the market becomes determined and controlled by nonlocals, forms of the old colonialist practices emerge in these various entrepreneurial opportunities to find a market niche and generate profits. The tensions between “the official end of direct colonial rule and its presence and regeneration through hegemonizing neo-colonialism within the First World and toward the Third World” (Shohat, 1992, p. 107) is historically structured in these global relationships. The ayahuasca diaspora is aligned with the tendency for goods to flow from the “south” to the “north” (or also, toward powerful nationals); and, while it holds the promise of the great global transformations precipitated by many of its forerunners, such as rubber or quinine, it should also be heeded that this diaspora does not consist of similar patterns of exploitation and disruption as did some of its predecessors. Further caution is also due to how ayahuasca entrepreneurship may contradict some of the core values associated with ayahuasca that it seeks attain, uphold, and “sell.”¹⁴

The sweeping technological, transportation, and communication advances and ensuing changes across the globe, reflecting a “time-space compression” (Harvey, 1989), have been critical to globalization processes which minimize the temporal

and spatial distances between Amazonians and other people, places, capital, products, processes, and ideas. Such bridging has also meant that practices such as ayahuasca rituals become part of the flows of trade, migration, and movement of people and ideas. Yet, alongside this intensification of social relations¹⁵ and the greater dissemination of knowledge and beliefs, particularly through increased travel and diasporas of practices, is a greater potential for its appropriation and exploitation – to the extent that economic dominance overtakes what would otherwise be a more equally negotiated set of transformations that all culture and its effects undergo as part of the human condition.

Whereas innovation is a motor for change, it can also inspire entrepreneurs to push too hard and too fast. Ayahuasca entrepreneurship can also encourage excess and poor judgment, like the bundling together of a variety of Amazonian and Andean plant rituals and uses, such as San Pedro cactus (*Echinopsis pachanoi*); datura (various *Brugmansia species*); *kampo* venom (*Phyllomedusa bicolor*); tobacco (*Nicotiana*) in various forms such as eaten, snuffed, ingested, and as purges; and marketing them as part of this growing ayahuasca industry (see Labate, 2014). Such mix-and-match marketing is effective among the New Age groups who have a penchant for combining traditions.¹⁶ Notwithstanding, entrepreneurship is a human outlook and practice that is poised to partake in any competitive market opportunity. As I have described here, ayahuasca cosmo-capitalist endeavors hold significant possibilities toward fostering increasing inter-connectedness, but they also have escalating tendencies toward redefining the terms of business among an already unequal set of relations. Here, it is critical to understand that local and global ayahuasca entrepreneurs portray their products and activities as being “good” and intricately engaged in spiritual-seeking endeavors, which ultimately redefine and determine the outcome of such practices in ways that, inevitably, also reflect capitalism, globalization, and the postcolonial predicaments.

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to all of the individuals I interviewed who live or used to live in Puerto Maldonado and have wished to remain anonymous. I would especially like to thank Miguel Alexiades, Bia Labate, and Didier Lacaze for their comments on this chapter. Various grants have supported the long-term fieldwork that spans the timeframe covered by this chapter: the British Academy Small Research Grant, the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Social Science Research Council, Fulbright, and American Women in Science. I would also like to thank La Federación Nativa del Río Madre de Dios y Afluentes (FENAMAD) and the editors of this volume.

Notes

- 1 Senior Lecturer in Social Anthropology, University of Kent, UK. Email: D.Peluso@kent.ac.uk
- 2 This research is based on over 25 years of ethnographic participant-observation research in Amazonia, particularly in the Madre de Dios region of Peru and the Pando and Beni

- regions of Bolivia. For this study, I used targeted interviews with ayahuasqueros, ayahuasca-related entrepreneurs, and ayahuasca participants.
- 3 Some scholars suggest that the veneer of danger was part of a strategy to ensure compensation from the European colonial powers (Mabry, 2002).
 - 4 Peruvian cities such as Iquitos, Tarapoto, and Pucallpa are also popular ayahuasca-seeker destination sites.
 - 5 Tacanas are indigenous Amazonians (Takána language family). *Ribereños* are Amazonian people of mixed European and Amerindian ancestry who are native Spanish speakers.
 - 6 AMETRA-Ucayali was founded in 1982 by Guillermo Arévalo, a Shipibo shaman/ayahuasquero who began teaching youth in over 100 communities how to identify plants and prepare remedies to treat common health problems, such as intestinal parasites, diarrhea, and dehydration. Guillermo, his father Benito, also a shaman, and other established shamans came to Tambopata to assist with the AMETRA 2001. In an interview with the Tacana ayahuasquero of Infierno, he references an AMETRA workshop on ayahuasca (though not by name) in Tambopata to explain how he became inspired to use ayahuasca for healing, after having previously learned to drink ayahuasca among Bolivian woodworkers in the 1950s for personal use only. The important role of Didier Lacaze, as co-founder of AMETRA 2001 and health advocate dedicated to indigenous health issues, is often underplayed in the history of how ayahuasca spread in the Tambopata region.
 - 7 See Homan, Chapter 8 in this volume, for a comparative analysis regarding historical changes in Iquitos, Peru.
 - 8 Pharmahuasca contains crystalline N,N-dimethyltryptamine (DMT) plus harmine, as well as combinations of other psychoactive tryptamines with other β -carbolines (Ott, 1999).
 - 9 See the Amazon Conservation Team (ACT) website: <http://amazon.dead-city.org/umiyac.html>
 - 10 See www.ecured.cu/index.php/Yachak
 - 11 See, for instance, Beyer's risk management plan for lodges: www.singingtotheplants.com/2012/10/you-cant-call-911-in-jungle/
 - 12 See www.ayahuasca.com/amazon/statement-critiquing-the-ethnobotanical-stewardship-council-esc/
 - 13 See Cater (2006) for a viewpoint on the Western construction of ecotourism and her reflection on how certification schemes “may be used to further enfranchise the powerful tourism companies” (p. 26).
 - 14 See West and Carrier (2004) for a similar discussion regarding the ecotourism milieu, and Western projections and ideals concerning natural environments and the people who live there, further linking such values to neoliberal institutions.
 - 15 See Rosaldo (2002) and James (2006) for broader discussions in non-Amazonian contexts.
 - 16 This mixing of traditions as a means to achieve market diversification may, unfortunately, be associated with the increase in ayahuasca-related accidents.

References

- Alexiades, M. N. (2000). El *Eyámikewa* y el ayahuasquero: Las dinámicas socio-ecológicas del chamanismo Ese Eja [The *Eyamikewa* and the ayahuasquero: The socio-ecological dynamics of Ese Eja shamanism]. *Amazonía Peruana*, 14(27), 193–212.
- Alexiades, M. N. (2002). Ayahuasca (Banisteriopsis spp. and admixtures): Appropriation and globalization of a sacred NTFP. In P. Shanley (Ed.), *Tapping the green market: Certification and management of nontimber forest products* (p. 297). Oxford: Earthscan.
- Alexiades, M. N. (Ed.). (2009). *Mobility and migration in indigenous Amazonia: Contemporary ethnoecological perspectives*. London: Berghahn Books.

- Alexiades, M. N., & Lacaze, D. (1996). FENAMADs program in traditional medicine: An integrated approach to health care in the Peruvian Amazon. In M. J. Balick, E. Elisabet-sky, & S. A. Laird (Eds.), *Medicinal resources of the tropical forest: Biodiversity and its importance to human health* (pp. 341–365). New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Alexiades, M. N., & Peluso, D. M. (2015). Introduction: Indigenous urbanization in low-land South America. *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, 20(1), 1–12.
- Araújo, A., Carvalho, F., de Lourdes Bastos, M., Guedes de Pinho, P., & Carvalho, M. (2015). The hallucinogenic world of tryptamines: An updated review. *Archives of Toxicology*, 1, 1–23.
- Barth, F. (1963). *The role of the entrepreneur in social change in northern Norway*. Bergen: Universitetsforlaget.
- Balzer, C. (2005). Ayahuasca rituals in Germany. *Curare*, 28(1), 57–70.
- Beck, U., & Sznaider, N. (2010). Unpacking cosmopolitanism for the social sciences: A research agenda. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 61(s1), 381–403.
- Becker, E. (2013). *Overbooked: The exploding business of travel and tourism*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.
- Bennett, G., & Ader, A. (2004). *Integrating biodiversity conservation and sustainable use*. Gland, Switzerland: IUCN-The World Conservation Union.
- Beyer, S. (2010). *Singing to the plants: A guide to mestizo shamanism in the upper Amazon*. Santa Fe, NM: University of New Mexico Press.
- Bulmer-Thomas, V. (2003). *The economic history of Latin America since independence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Calavia Sáez, O. (2014). Teorías, actores y redes de la ayahuasca [Ayahuasca theories, actors and networks]. *Ilha Revista de Antropologia*, 16(1), 7–040.
- Casson, M. (1986). General theories of the multinational enterprise: Their relevance to business history. In P. Hertner & G. Jones (Eds.), *Multinationals: Theory and history* (pp. 42–63). Aldershot, UK: Gower.
- Cater, E. (2006). Ecotourism as a Western construct. *Journal of Ecotourism*, 5(1–2), 23–39.
- Clastres, P. (1987). *Society against the state: Essays in political anthropology*. New York, NY: Zone Books.
- Cleary, D. (2001). Towards an environmental history of the Amazon. *Latin American Research Review*, 36(2), 65–96.
- Conklin, B. A. (1997). Body paint, feathers, and VCRs: Aesthetics and authenticity in Amazonian activism. *American Ethnologist*, 24(4), 711–73.
- Cueva, N. (1990). *Un Acercamiento a la situación de salud en la provincia de Manu-Departamento de Madre de Dios* [An Approach toward the health situation in the Manu Province, Madre de Dios]. Manu, Peru: AMETRA/Centro Bartolomé de las Casas.
- Davidov, V. M. (2010). Shamans and shams: The discursive effects of ethnotourism in Ecuador. *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology*, 15(2), 387–410.
- Davies, K., & Freathy, P. (2014). Marketplace spirituality: Challenges for the New Age retailer. *Service Industries Journal*, 34(15), 1185–1198.
- Dent, A. S. (2012). Piracy, circulatory legitimacy, and neoliberal subjectivity in Brazil. *Cultural Anthropology*, 27(1): 28–49.
- Desforges, L. (2000). State tourism institutions and neo-liberal development: A case study of Peru. *Tourism Geographies*, 2(2), 177–192.
- Dobkin de Rios, M. (1970). A note on the use of ayahuasca among urban mestizo populations in the Peruvian Amazon. *American Anthropologist*, 72(6), 1419–1422.
- Dobkin de Rios, M., & Grob, C. (2005). Editors' introduction: Ayahuasca use in cross-cultural perspective. *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs*, 37(2), 119–121.

- Dolan, C., & Johnstone-Louis, M. (2011). Re-siting corporate responsibility. *Focaal*, 60 (Summer), 21–33.
- Dosi, G., & Lovallo, D. (1997). Rational entrepreneurs or optimistic martyrs? In R. Garud, P. Nayyar, & Z. Shapira (Eds.), *Technological innovation* (pp. 41–70). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Doyle, R. (2006). Hyperbolic: Divining ayahuasca. *Discourse*, 27(1), 6–33.
- Fanon, F. (1965). *The wretched of the earth*. New York, NY: Grove Press.
- Fotiou, E. (2010). *From medicine men to day trippers: Shamanic tourism in Iquitos, Peru* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI.
- Fraser, B. (2009). Peruvian gold rush threatens health and the environment. *Environmental Science & Technology*, 43(19), 7162–7164.
- Gearin, A. (2015, January 25). Amazonian ayahuasca tourism and millenarian imperialism: The story of the Ethnobotanical Stewardship Council [Web blog post]. *Cultural Admixtures*. Retrieved March 8, 2015 from <https://culturaladmixtures.wordpress.com/2015/01/26/amazonian-ayahuasca-tourism-and-millenarian-imperialism-the-story-of-the-ethnobotanical-stewardship-council/#comments>
- Gow, P. (1994). River people: Shamanism and history in Western Amazonia. In N. Thomas & C. Humphrey (Eds.), *Shamanism, history and the state* (pp. 90–113). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Greenfield, S., & Droogers, A. (Eds.). (2001). *Reinventing religions: Syncretism and transformation in Africa and the Americas*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Greenfield, S., & Strickon, A. (1981). A new paradigm for the study of entrepreneurship and social change. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 29(3), 467–499.
- Groisman, A. (2001). *Santo Daime in the Netherlands: An anthropological study of a New World religion in a European setting* (Doctoral dissertation). Goldsmiths College, University of London.
- Harris, R., & Gurel, L. (2012). A study of ayahuasca use in North America. *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs*, 44(3), 209–215.
- Hart, K. (1975). Swindler or public benefactor? The entrepreneur in his community. In J. Goody (Ed.), *Changing social structure in Ghana* (pp. 1–35). London: International African Institute.
- Harvey, D. (1989). *The condition of postmodernity*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Holman, C. (2010). Surfing for a shaman: Analyzing an ayahuasca website. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38(1), 90–109.
- Huggan, G. (2002). *Postcolonial exotic*. London: Routledge.
- Hutchins, Frank T. (2000). *Ecotourism in the Amazon: Commodification of culture and nature*. Paper presented at the 28th Midwest Conference on Andean and Amazonian Archaeology and Ethnohistory. Indiana University-Purdue University. Fort Wayne, IN.
- Isenberg, D. (2010). How to start an entrepreneurial revolution. *Harvard Business Review*, 88(6), 40–50.
- Jamal, T., Borges, M., & Stronza, A. (2006). The institutionalisation of ecotourism: Certification, cultural equity and praxis. *Journal of Ecotourism*, 5(3), 145–175.
- James, P. (2006). *Globalism, nationalism, tribalism*. London: Sage.
- Kirkby, C. A., Giudice, R., Day, B., Turner, K., Soares-Filho, B., Oliveira-Rodrigues, H., & Yu, D. (2011). Closing the ecotourism-conservation loop in the Peruvian Amazon. *Environmental Conservation*, 38(1), 6–17.
- Labate, B. C. (2011). *Ayahuasca Mamancuna merci beaucoup: internacionalização e diversificação do vegetalismo ayahuasqueiro peruano* (Doctoral dissertation). Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Brazil.

- Labate, B. C. (2014). The internationalization of Peruvian vegetalismo. In B. C. Labate & C. Cavnar (Eds.), *Ayahuasca shamanism in the Amazon and beyond* (pp. 182–205). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Labate, B. C., & Cavnar, C. (Eds.). (2014). *Ayahuasca shamanism in the Amazon and beyond*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Labate, B. C., Cavnar, C., & Barbira Freedman, F. (2014). Notes on the expansion and reinvention of ayahuasca shamanism. In B. C. Labate & C. Cavnar (Eds.), *Ayahuasca shamanism in the Amazon and beyond* (pp. 3–15). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Labate B. C., & Jungaberle, H. (Eds.). (2011). *The internationalization of ayahuasca*. Zurich: Lit Verlag.
- Labate, B. C., MacRae, E., & Goulart, S. L. (2010). Brazilian ayahuasca religions in perspective. In B. C. Labate & E. Macrae (Eds.), *Ayahuasca, ritual and religion in Brazil* (pp. 1–20). London: Equinox.
- Luna, L. E. (2011). Indigenous and mestizo use of ayahuasca: An overview. In R. dos Santos (Ed.), *The ethnopharmacology of ayahuasca* (pp. 1–21). Trivandrum, India: Transworld Research Network.
- Mabry, D. (2002). *Colonial Latin America*. Plantation, FL: Llumina Press.
- Mann, T. (2011, December). Letters from the Amazon: Magnificent visions. *Vanity Fair*. Retrieved May 1, 2015 from www.vanityfair.com/news/2011/12/amazon-201112
- Meisch, L. (2013). *Andean entrepreneurs*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Ott, J. (1999). Pharmahuasca: Human pharmacology of oral DMT plus harmine. *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs*, 31(2), 171–177.
- Ott, J. (2011). Psychonautic uses of “ayahuasca” and its analogues: Panacæa or outré entertainment. In B. C. Labate & H. Jungaberle (Eds.), *The internationalization of ayahuasca* (pp. 105–122). Zurich: Lit Verlag.
- Oviatt, B., Phillips McDougall, P., & Loper, M. (1995). Global start-ups: Entrepreneurs on a worldwide stage. *The Academy of Management Executive*, 9(2), 30–44.
- Padoch, C., Brondizio, E., Costa, S., Pinedo-Vasquez, M., Sears, R., & Siqueira, A. (2008). Urban forest and rural cities: Multi-sited households, consumption patterns, and forest resources in Amazonia. *Ecology and Society*, 13(2), 2.
- Palmer, C. (2002). “Shit happens”: The selling of risk in extreme sport. *The Australian Journal of Anthropology*, 13(3), 323–336.
- Peluso, D. M. (2006). “For export only”: Ayahuasca tourism and hyper-traditionalism. *Working Paper Series (Hyper-Traditions and “Real” places)*, 189, 482–500.
- Peluso, D. M. (2014). Ayahuasca’s attractions and distractions: Examining sexual seduction in shaman-participant interactions. In B. C. Labate & C. Cavnar (Eds.), *Ayahuasca shamanism in the Amazon and beyond* (pp. 231–255). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Peluso, D. M. (2015). Indigenous urbanization: The circulation of peoples between rural and urban Amazonian spaces. *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, 20(1), 57–79.
- Peluso, D. M. (Forthcoming). Altered states of dislocation: Ayahuasca tourism in the Peruvian Amazon. *Journal of Tourism and Culture Change*.
- Peluso, D. M., & Alexiades, M. N. (2005). Urban ethnogenesis begins at home: The making of self and place amidst Amazonia’s environmental economy. *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, 16(2), 1–10.
- Ramos, A. R. (1987). Reflecting on the Yanomami: Ethnographic images and the pursuit of the exotic. *Cultural Anthropology*, 2(3), 284–304.
- Razam, R. (2014). *The ayahuasca sessions: Conversations with Amazonian curanderos and Western shamans*. Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books.

- Rosaldo, R. (2002). Introduction: A world in motion. In J. X. Ina & R. Rosaldo (Eds.), *The Anthropology of Globalization* (pp. 1–34). London: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Sanchez, A. (2012). Questioning success: Dispossession and the criminal entrepreneur in urban India. *Critique of Anthropology*, 32(4), 435–457.
- Serra-Vega, J. (1990). Andean settlers rush for Amazonia. *Earthwatch*, 39, 7–9.
- Shohat, E. (1992). Notes on the “post-colonial.” *Social Text*, 31/32, 99–113.
- Sobiecki, J-F. (2013). An account of healing depression using ayahuasca plant teacher medicine in a Santo Daime ritual. *Indo-Pacific Journal of Phenomenology*, 13(1), 1–10.
- Stewart, A. (1991). Prospectus on the anthropology of entrepreneurship. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 16(2), 71–91.
- Taussig, M. (1987). *Shamanism, colonialism, and the wild man: A study in terror and healing*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Trichter, S. (2010). Ayahuasca beyond the Amazon the benefits and risks of a spreading tradition. *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology*, 42(2), 131–148.
- Tupper, K. (2008). The globalization of ayahuasca: Harm reduction or benefit maximization? *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 19(4), 297–303.
- Tupper, K. (2009). Ayahuasca healing beyond the Amazon: The globalization of a traditional indigenous entheogenic practice. *Global Networks*, 9(1), 117–13.
- Tupper, K. (2011). Ayahuasca in Canada: Cultural phenomenon and policy issue. In B. C. Labate & H. Jungaberle (Eds.), *The internationalization of ayahuasca* (pp. 319–325). Zurich: Lit Verlag.
- Veseth, M. (Ed.). (2002). *The rise of the global economy*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- West, P., & Carrier, J. G. (2004). Getting away from it all? Ecotourism and authenticity. *Current Anthropology*, 45(4), 483–98.
- Wickerham, J., Percival, E., Flaming L., & Keller K. (2014). *The ayahuasca dialogues report* [Company report]. Ethnobotanical Stewardship Council (ESC). Retrieved March 22, 2016, from www.ethnobotanicalcouncil.org
- Winkelman, M. (2005). Drug tourism or spiritual healing? Ayahuasca seekers in Amazonia. *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs*, 37(2), 209–218.

