

**The Valorization of Cultural and Natural
Resources
For
Development
in
PERU**

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Dr. Scott Tiffin
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Rena Gündüz

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The Valorization of Cultural Resources for Development 100182

PERU

Introduction

This paper outlines some of the key issues related to the conservation, valorization, and development of cultural and natural heritage resources in Peru. In defining these issues it is important to define heritage and its relationship with culture and nature, as well as its value in relation to development. The following is a series of definitions to consider.

HERITAGE

- ◆ **Heritage** is that which identifies an individual or a collective group of individuals that have a common and **shared value**, that is significant and important in establishing and confirming self and group identity. This value exists in both tangible and intangible forms, be it places, spaces, objects, structures, actions, or thoughts and words. It can be identified as; rituals, customs, traditions, monuments, ancient and modern sites, sacred sites, landscapes, flora, fauna, cultural icons, music, literature, and knowledge. All of these trigger a series of emotional and physical responses that ultimately have an **intrinsic value**. This value can evoke a range of sentimental, nostalgic, or spiritual, feelings, as well as **produce** actions in response to these emotions creating a physical process resulting in the development of a chain reaction, which can generate economic **value** through **productivity** and **products**.
- ◆ Heritage is also a **holistic entity** that combines both **culture and nature** in the broadest sense. Culture is a creative process that is capable of reproduction and transmission as seen through natural landscapes and environments¹. There is a strong bond that exists between our human activities and our natural landscapes. This special association is

¹ Nature has multiple facets that involve ecosystems, biodiverse and geodiverse regions

reflected in the interaction that is engraved on the natural landscape through social and cultural values. Together they

- ◆ For a value to be defined in relation to cultural and natural heritage a formula indicating this development can be assigned: $\mathbf{P}\{c(\text{culture}) + n(\text{nature})\} = \mathbf{V}\{d(\text{dynamics}) + k(\text{knowledge}) + d(\text{development}) + e(\text{economics})\} = \mathbf{pv}$ (*product with value*)
- ◆ In summary cultural and natural heritage are the links that connect us to our past and bring significance and identity to our present and ultimately create a sense of belonging in our future.

Peru is a country that is host to a wealth of cultural and natural heritage. Unfortunately there is an tradition of destruction, abuse, and neglect in relation to these resources. This can be attributed to a long legacy of troubled; historical, political, natural, social, cultural, and economic trends and conditions. The results are evident in; the unabashed looting and pillaging of archaeological sites, destruction of monuments and natural spaces, illegal trafficking of archaeological and ethnographic materials, the destruction and trafficking of endangered animal and plant species, and demise of cultural traditions and customs, the loss and abuse of indigenous intellectual property rights, and so on. These constant threats play a large role in establishing the valorization and the development of cultural and natural heritage sites in Peru. Understanding these conditions and highlighting the problems will ultimately allow for an appropriate means of conservation and development to proceed.

The initial section of this paper will present a synopsis of Peru, followed by an outline of the cultural and natural heritage resources available in this country. This will be proceeded by an examination of some of the dilemmas of conservation and valorization of the cultural and natural heritage sites. This is followed by examples of sites that have been valorized and developed some of which have shown promise for the benefit of local stakeholders. Machu Picchu and the Amazonas region will be highlighted.

Peru

It is important to understand that Peru is a country of diversities, both geographically, socially, culturally, and economically. These diversities have been the result of historical and socio-cultural transitions and it's bio-diverse ones. In understanding these important aspects concerning the make-up of Peru and its' people, one is able to comprehend the most feasible approach and methodology to valorizing cultural and natural heritage.

The following is divided into four important and distinct headings namely; Peru: A Physical Synopsis, Peru: Its People and History, Peru: Political, Social, Economic Conditions, and ultimately Peru Today.

Peru: A Physical Synopsis

Located south of the equator Peru is the fourth largest country in South America, with a population of 25,588,000 million people-. Spanning 1,285,220 square kilometres, it is surrounded by Ecuador and Colombia to the north, Brazil and Bolivia to the east, and Chile to the south. The western part of Peru runs laterally along the Pacific Ocean, stretching approximately 3,079 kilometres from north to south.

Peru is one of the worlds' most unique geographical and bio-diverse countries. This incredible physical diversity is evident in its three distinct geographic areas; which comprise of the *costa*(coast), *sierra*(Andean mountain range), and the *selva*(tropical rainforest).

Costa/Coast

Running from north to south along the Pacific rim is Peru's *costa*, one of the most arid desert regions in the world, with an annual rainfall of 5 mm per year. This is directly related to the unusual cold and hot water currents that run alongside the coastal area. These currents are known as the Humboldt, which runs from south to the north and consists of cool water, and the warmer La Niña, which runs north to south. They create a seasonal

- Statistics for 1998-1999

climate along the coast whereby the winter season is distinguishable by the winter (May to November) *garúa* which is a thick misty fog that envelopes part of the coast. This condition creates a high humidity with lower temperatures averaging around 12°C around the central coast. These conditions however are relative as one goes further north towards the equator, here temperatures rise and skies are clearer. Summer temperatures during November to April are often scorching hot ranging from 22°C to 38°C depending on the coastal region.

Yet the meeting of these two currents are not only responsible for water temperature changes, but they also create unusual climatic conditions. These conditions can be either beneficial or disastrous for Peruvians. One of the profitable roles that they play is their ability to support a dense population of plankton, which has created a very large coastal feeding area for fish. This in turn has created a large fishing industry for Peruvians. Unfortunately however, these currents are also subject to global phenomena, which is seen in a rise in water temperature, occurring between twelve to twenty years. Known as the El Niño this change in temperature has had ill effects on the coastal region, whereby heavy rains, coastal storms and unusual water temperatures, have created both human and ecological tragedies.

The Peruvian coastal area has always played an important role both historically and economically within the country. It was in fact along the northern coast that the Spanish conquistadors landed in 1532. It was also here that they predominantly colonised making their capital in 1543. Dubbed the 'City of Kings,' the capital city of Lima is advantageously located directly in the centre of the coastal plain. Historically, it was said to have started out with a population of --thousand in 15--. Today however, it is leagues away from its colonial beginnings and is now home to approximately 8 million Peruvians. Lima has had a stunning annual growth rate of 2.8%, making it one of the fastest growing cities in all of Latin American-. With such a rapid growth rate, this metropolitan city finds itself in the centre of social, economic, and environmental dilemmas. These are seen in high unemployment rates, low average incomes, squatter settlements, water and sanitation deficiencies, as well as rising criminal activities. Like many Latin American cities Lima is the picture of sharp contrasts between a minority of wealthy elite and a growing poor.

To the North and South coast of Lima, towns and agricultural communities are linked by the Pan-American Highway, which was completed in 1940's. This highway extends from Ecuador to Chile, running through Peru's desert heartland. The effects of this transportation route has played a large role in the linking of towns and cities and their respective economic markets, to that of the consumer capital; Lima. Today this efficient and recently face lifted highway is dotted with industries, manufacturers, towns, desert and farming regions.

Although most of the coastal region is desert, certain valley areas are conducive to good soil conditions and natural irrigation canals, whose regular flow of water runs from the

· Gilbert:1995:331

Andean highlands fertilizing the dry coast. Some of the primary agricultural crops grown within these regions are; barely, rice, sugar cane, tobacco, and a variety of vegetables and fruits; the majority of which are export crops. It is important to note here that much of the farming that has been going on along these regional areas is still done in the traditional manner, it is within the last ten years however that there has been a surge of modern agricultural machine equipment in certain areas. The coastal area is also renowned for its poultry production, salt mining, and fishing industry, which is the second in the world next to Japan.

Yet the *costa* is a fragile eco-region, that has been facing problems with sand erosion, insufficient drainage, fertility depletion, and a new burgeoning migrant population. These are all serious problems that have caused great concerns, yet conservation solutions have been slow in coming.

Sierra/Andean Mountains

The *sierra* or Andean mountain region comprises 26% of Peruvian geography. Running laterally along the coastal region, the *sierra* goes back to the Paleozonic age where ancient sedimentary and volcanic rocks were thrust upwards and eventually were folded and faulted to form this immense cordillera that is now known as the Andes. With peaks reaching as high as 6768 metres above sea level as with Mount Huascarán, and with the world's highest fresh water lake known as Lake Titicaca, Peru's *sierra* is impressive as it is immense.

The Andes are a harsh living environment, yet they are inhabited by 53% of Peru's total population, of which 50% is indigenous. This population lives at altitudes that are higher than 2,000 metres above sea level and reaching up to and over areas above 4,600 metres. With a thin atmosphere, lack of oxygen, and cold climatic conditions, this environment is believed to be a contributor to the physiological changes of its' indigenous inhabitants; who have adapted to these harsh elements over thousands of years.

Human survival in the Andes has created a unique and highly specialized agricultural base, which is evident in its organized terraced farming. Altitude and minimal arable area, (1.5% of which is farmable), has forced agriculture to occur in the fertile valleys and on mountain terraces. The climate also plays a role in this, whereby, April to October is the dry season or summer, and November to March is the wet season or winter. The dry season sees temperatures rising up into the mid 20°celsius mark, and dropping at night to below freezing temperatures. The wet, winter season sees lower temperatures during the day and rainfall occurring during the afternoons and evenings. Like all parts of Peru these climatic classifications vary depending upon the region, making each area very distinct and unique to others even between neighbouring areas.

Agricultural products in the *sierra* such as; potatoes, barely, grains, and indigenous root crops are grown, with special consideration to altitudes and seasonal temperatures.

Domestication of livestock such as sheep, llamas, alpacas, and vicuñas are also raised and bred in these areas. Here these camelids with the exception of sheep, graze on high altitude plateau's known as *punas*. Animal production in the *sierra* is ranked as the largest industry in Peru, and the agricultural products from this region are predominantly for Peruvian self-consumption.

Selva/Tropical Rainforest

The *selva* region is inhabited by 5% of Peru's total population. Here native groups such as the Jivero, Chunchu, and Zaparo occupy 62% of the nation's territory. A recent study has indicated that there are approximately 19 indigenous groups that exist in the Manu area, yet that have not had any encounter with modern civilization. This number could be much higher as dense jungle areas in Peru are still virgin. This tropical rainforest is divided into two sections consisting of the *selva alta* (high jungle) and the *selva baja* (low jungle). The *selva alta* is part of the eastern Andean region, prior to its sloping into lower fertile valleys and plains. With an altitude ranging between 400-1000 metres above sea level, this region is known for its ecological diversity and density. Thick forest growth and vegetation as well as steep slopes and sharp valleys make communication and transportation extremely difficult within this area.

The *selva baja* which lies just under the 400-metre mark is also extremely dense tropical rainforest, however most of the population resides in this area along thousands of tributary rivers and streams. The main artery is the Amazon, which is located in the northern part of Peru and runs through the east and west of the country. Cultivable land and some transportation via waterways make this area far more habitable.

This region also has its distinct climatic zones that are divided into a dry and wet season. The wet season runs from November to May and the dry season from April to October. Temperatures in this region range predominantly in the mid 30°C range. This region does have economic potential in harvesting such products as jute, rubber, rice, coffee, and tropical fruits. During the 1800's the Amazon basin did experience a boom and bust economy based on rubber production, this however was short lived and was much later followed by coca farming along the Andean eastern slopes. With a growing global narcotics trade and national and social problems, rice was introduced into the area as an alternate crop. Forestry is also a large industry in Peru, with resources that rank second to Brazil. In fact forests cover two-thirds of Peru, these residing predominantly in the *selva*.

Peru: Its People, Its History

Peruvian history and its physical environment have led to an interesting ethnically diverse population. With a multitude of geographic sub-regions, Peru's people have adapted physically and socio-culturally within their environmental region. It is interesting to note that the harsh Andean environment has been a contributor to physiological changes and features of its population group, which lives predominantly at an altitude above 2000msl. This adaptability has included a development of a larger heart (approximately by 20%), more capacious lungs as well as 2 quarts of more blood within the circulatory system. In addition to this the average Andean population also has much shorter arms and legs to reduce the strain on the heart and circulatory system. The environment has also created distinct patterns of adaptability forming unique cultural, social, political, economic, and regionally centralized patterns that distinguish one local area from another. It has been identified that some of these distinctions are visible in linguistic patterns that presently see 67 distinct languages and ethnic compositions actively surviving within the boundaries of Peru.

The history of Peru has also stratified and embellished the diverse cultural and racial nature of Peruvians. Many theories have plagued the arrival of man to this part of the world. Some point to the north others point across the sea. Archaeological evidence points to the earliest occupation within Peru dating to approximately 10,000 BC. Subsequent research has indicated the birth of civilizations, as introduced through ceramics and ceremonial centres can be attributed firstly to Chavín de Huántar (2000 BC) in the Andean *Callejón de Huaylas* region of Peru. Archaeological evidence has marked this as the birthplace of Andean civilization. Identified as a strong ceremonial/political centre Chavín de Huántar is said to have influenced regional coastal cultures from the north to the south both culturally and economically. The influences are apparent on stylized ceramics and architectural structures. It is from the influences of the Chavin that cultures such as the Paracas, Nazca,

Moche, Sican, Chancay, and Chimu evolved as well as the countless other smaller regional cultures. The Andes region and its civilizations also evolved alongside the coastal civilizations, often interacting with the coastal peoples through war or economic trade. These highland regions emitted such cultures as the Tiahuanaco, Huari, and eventually the Inkas who unified the smaller and larger coastal statehoods.

In the 16th century the Inkas began to rise as an empirical power assimilating regional groups under their auspices. The Inkas not only dominated the Peruvian highlands and coastal regions within what marks its modern boundaries today, but also parts of Ecuador, Chile, Colombia, Bolivia and Argentina. As the largest Empire in the Americas, the Inkas were based on a hierarchical socio-political structure that saw the ruling Inka as the divine descendent of the sun. As the head of the polity this Inka was joined by his *coya*, or wife at the apex of the social pyramid. Below him stood the noble class which were referred to as the *Capac* Inkas, these were said to be the true descendants of the founding Inka *Manco Capac*. These *Capacs* belonged to some ten or twelve *panacas* or royal houses, which were founded by previous living and ruling Inka Emperors as they ascended into power. On their death these Inkas would be mummified, cared for, and consulted by their appropriate *panacas*. The *panacas* also had extended kinship groups which were referred to as noble *ayllus*, who comprised of lesser nobility but were regarded as 'Inkas-by – privilege'. Underneath this class existed the regional ruling classes, which lived outside the Inka empirical city of Cuzco. The whole Empire was interconnected by sorts except for the masses which were regarded as the *yanakunas* or the working class who served the Ina and the various *panacas*.

The Inka realm was a highly organized statehood both political, economically, and socio-culturally. Everything was communally organized, food was distributed to all, highways and roadways connected the entire kingdom from north to south and into the central sierra. Religious life evolved around the ruling Inka and the laws of reciprocity, which governed all aspects of Inka production. Interestingly enough, Inka rule tolerated the different regional polities and their appropriate religious and cultural beliefs and customs, often assimilating them within their own cultural frameworks. This led to the toleration and maintenance of many highland and coastal traditions, customs, and social structures to this day.

In 1532 the Inkas had their first encounter with the Spanish conquistadors led by Francisco Pizarro. This encounter dramatically changed the face of Peru and its population. Conquest and colonization brought with it the dissemination of the Peruvian identity and the discrimination of the indigenous population by the Spaniards. It divided race into three distinct categories; white, mestizo, and Indian. These distinctions found themselves institutionalised in Spanish colonial law, economic, political and social structures. Conquest saw to white European domination over the indigenous population and with it the control of the market economy. This was done through the implementation of the *encomienda* system, which forced labour and tribute on the indigenous population. It was a system that was foreign to a people who based their existence on redistribution and

reciprocity. It was a system that alienated the native masses from the elite Spanish invaders.

As the Spanish ruling class began to settle in Peru they defined a social class that became defined as *Criollas*. *Criollas* as defined by Tshopick are the “the Peruvian-born descendants of the Spaniards’ who defined the early aristocratic social class”-. This class over time became assimilated with the indigenous population and was defined as the *mestizo* race. As for the ethnic majority of the population it was and still is defined as Indigenous or ‘Indian’. This group predominantly lives in the highland regions and as a removed majority has maintained its traditional national and regional customs and languages of either Ayamara or Quechua. These clear racial distinctions would define the Peruvian social class system for 400 years to come in fact very little synthesis has occurred between these three groups. This in part is the result of geography, history, language, socio-economic status, and genetic composition.

Although Peruvian census as of 1972, has eliminated the enumeration by ethnic classification, it is believed that approximately 53% of the population is Indigenous, 38% mestizo, 15%white (Spanish), and 1% other. The three predominant ethnic groups display a homogeneous population that ranks 45th in the world. In fact the majority of the population is comprised of indigenous peoples, yet this group accounts for a small percent in power as compared to the *meztizo* or whites. Over the last several years a new terminology has been introduced to identify the latest ethnic group. This group has been termed as the Indian *cholo*, which refers to those indigenous peoples who have acculturated to the Spanish language and the modern city life. This has put a strain on the traditional rural highland communities, which have begun to threaten their traditional lives and community structures.

Peru ‘s history and geography have played a large role in creating a diverse cultural people, who still to this day maintain many of their own distinct customs, languages, and ideologies. These differences have divided Peruvians in achieving a national identity that looks to its past for reaffirmation, and into the future for unified development and progress.

Tshopick:

Political, Economic, and Social Conditions

Peru has had a troublesome political, economic, and social history, beginning with the 16th century Spanish conquest and followed later by colonialism, Independence, and the creation of the Republican State. The Spaniards had arrived in the New World during the age of European expansionism, seeking Christian souls, precious minerals, and virgin territory in the name of their European King. As 16th century invaders in this uncharted territory the Spaniards initial mission was to prove ultimate supremacy over their newly acquired New World subjects. In proving this, the Spaniards set about immediately destroying, and exploiting, Peru's human, natural, and cultural resources. These actions proved to have a strong impact on the native population, which suffered the immediate consequences at the hands of their conquerors.

Prior to the Spanish arrival the Inka Empire had been the largest ruling Empire in the New World covering what is today Peru, Ecuador, Chile, parts of Colombia, Brazil, Argentina, and Bolivia. Although, deemed to have been suffering under political stress prior to the Spanish invasion, the Inka Empire as a whole was unified through political polities which were managed and run by both Inka and native chieftains. The Spaniards on arriving were amazed by a culture that not only was highly skilled in metal work and agricultural production but they were also socially stratified and urbanized. Thus the Spaniards set

about conquering and dismantling the Inkas administrative and religious structure and replacing them with Spanish frameworks and importantly the Christian faith. The impacts on Indigenous culture were dramatic and radical as European disease took its toll on the native population reducing the population by 90% along the coast.

The Spaniards had viewed the Peruvian environment and its resources as a venue for exploitation and immediate wealth. This was first initiated through the looting and sacking of its visible and invisible mineral resources, which was then quickly followed by the control over its native population through religion and forced tribute, as well as the division of land for agricultural production. Thorpe notes that ‘...Peru’s original integration into world trade occurred during this ‘plunder phase’ of European expansionism”-. Here the looting and later the mining of gold, silver, and precious minerals were the focus of Spanish colonial wealth. Yet, by the late 1700’s Peruvian discontent saw a series of skirmishes and wars that brought on the Independence of Peru. This liberation was induced by external military forces from Argentina and the Chileans under General José de San Martín who took up occupation in Lima in 1820. This occupation promptly led to a series of chain events, which led to the final battle of Independence; led by Simón Bolívar the Battle of Ayacucho in 1824. San Martín and Simón Bolívar became the liberators attempting to reform both social and economic conditions within the newly emancipated state.

Independence from Spain did little however to solve the critical socio-economic conditions that faced this new nation. The Spaniards had systematically raped and exploited Peru of its natural resources, Peru had emerged from the Independence Wars bankrupt, exploited and politically divided. The new Republic under the ideological dreams of Bolívar, were plagued with problems that saw no immediate solutions the abolishment of Indigenous tribute, the emancipation children of slaves, the agrarian land reforms all remained dreams on paper.

In 1840 the Peruvian market economy was given a boost as the demand for agricultural fertilizers which were in high demand in Europe. This began the quarrying of *guano* for countries such as England and Germany who were in the midst of an agricultural boom. By 1860 Peru was the single largest exporter in Latin America of *guano* delivering more than 400,000 tonnes to these European markets. This boom led to a new economic surge in Lima as well as the monumental building of railroads into the Andean regions. The railroad revitalized some of the earlier exploited mines such as those in Cerro de Pasco, Huancavelica, where the mining of zinc, copper, lead and other non-ferrous minerals and the traditional silver and gold continued. By the 1870’s the *guano* boom went bust, as the supplies became completely depleted. Peru once again was faced with an economic crisis. By 1876 this crisis saw banks closing, the suspension of the government’s foreign debt and an ensuing war with Chile: the War of the Pacific. Peru was defeated, and Chilean

- Thorpe:1987:3

occupation fell as the final *coup d'etat* as they levied taxes, dismantled industrial equipment, and forced payments from the Indigenous population.

Peru was once again in turmoil, mobilizing the population into another series of revolts and skirmishes led by guerrillas and outlaws. By 1886 Peruvian military leader General Andrés Cáceres was at the helm, attempting to restabilize the Peruvian economy. With the re-financing of the national debt with British aid (they cancelled the national debt in control for Peruvian railways) and the rehabilitation of the railroads into gold and silver mining regions such as La Oroya – Cerro de Pasco, saw the economy swung upwards. By the late 19th century the production of sugar cane had increased along the coast giving way to large plantations and mass production. Much of this was due to modernization of equipment as seen through the use of steam-power. This was followed by the growth of the cotton industry along the coastal regions and fishing industry. The selva region also experienced a boom that saw cultivated rubber and quinine being exported abroad. This economic development however was short lived as rubber found its decline towards the end-of the century. Nonetheless with economic recovery and with the political aristocracy and commercial bourgeoisie in control a new phenomena arose in Peru. This saw modernization and the process of land acquisition by the upper classes as well as *enganche*, which defined a new labour system. This system saw the Indigenous peoples from the *sierra* recruited as labourers on haciendas, as well as the importation of Chinese *coolies* to work, each being reduced to mere slave labour. At the same time a new movement was taking hold, one which saw a rise of *indigenismo*, which led Peruvian intellectuals to unravel the plight facing the native Peruvian population in light of Creole irresponsibility. It became a burning issue, which would see the oppressed and their oppressors struggle through new economic, political and social movements all ending at the same point.

By the 1900's the United States began to play an active role in the Peruvian economy, establishing the Cerro de Pasco Mining Company. This step led to the control of most mines in the sierra region and the founding of a large smelter in La Oroya, which led to severe consequences by contaminating the population and the environment as it pumped arsenic fumes into the atmosphere. With the First World War Peru experienced a bit of a recession, yet promptly recovered with continued increased demand of copper, cotton, rubber, and guano. Light industry grew steadily during this time, yet inflation saw workers struggle to maintain a livelihood as food prices soared this was the result of Peruvian exports which saw landowners look to export cash crops for profit. Peru was once again at the brink of another crisis, which would see general strikes, the organization of unions, and a change of political direction with the organization of a new political party. The APRISTA or Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (APRA) founded in 1924 by Victor Raul Haya de la Torre, based his political ideology on a new nationalism and on anti-imperialist sentiments which were focused on the demise of the oligarchical rule. The attempts of Haya and the APRA movement to get into power never materialized as Peru struggled under the leadership of military and conservative governments.

As economic and political pressures swept throughout Peru during the early 20th century under the presidential rule of Fernando Belaunde the One of the most monumental moves under Velasco was the Agrarian Reform Law of 1969. This proved to be one of the most revolutionary reforms undertaken in Latin America as it expropriated excessive landholdings from landowners, and making them co-operatives. In conjunction with this Velasco also nationalized the petroleum, mining and fishing industry as well as re-instating Quechua as the second native language of Peru.

By the 1970's Peru along with the rest of Latin America suffered the severe repercussions of the OPEC oil crisis. This crisis hit developing countries like Peru extremely hard as the national debt crisis took root. The reason for this was that prior to this economic crisis, borrowing money internationally was very easy to do. It meant that developing countries such as Peru could borrow at negative real interest rates. The logic in doing this implied that developing countries could concentrate on stimulating their economic development programmes with borrowed funds. As would be realized this process would cause more damage than good. Political power during this period shifted and divided parties leaving Peru politically and economically paralyzed.

Further economic crisis hit Latin America in 1982 when Mexico announced that it could not pay its foreign debt. A shock wave resounded through Peru and the country found itself thrust into economic disparity as it sought relief from the International Monetary Fund. Compounded by one of the worst El Niños the economic situation worsened resulting in a deep recession. In addition to this Maoist Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) guerrilla movement surged to the forefront casting a shadow of terrorism over Peru. Attacks made by this predominantly rural movement were against 'exploitative' land-owners and merchants as well as police and military officials. Also formed were such other terrorist groups as the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MTRA) whose agenda dictated change and revolution for the masses. These activities led to a reign of terror in the highlands and in urban areas. By 1983 counter-terrorist attacks were underway and human rights groups organizations sought to discover the whereabouts of over 2000 *disparacedos* or disappeared persons.

In 1985 there was another change of government in Peru, which became the *esperanza* or hope of all Peruvians. Leadership was taken over by Alan Garcia, yet Peru continued to be plagued with economic and social problems. By 1988 the Peruvian central bank had run out foreign currency, throwing Peru into a deeper recession. This escalated terrorist activities, and led the terrorists to take control of Peru's only economic market that of illegal coca production. Under Garcia, Peru was in a state of emergency as terrorism, violence, and political chaos took its hold. Terrorism had cost Peru more than 17,000 lives and cost Peru more than \$14 billion in US dollars.

With the 90's emerged a change of direction for Peru. Garcia had left a legacy of theft, death and economic disaster. With political parties split and divided the Independent candidate Alberto Fujimori was elected into power. Inheriting a country in crisis, Fujimori has managed in his nine years of political power to create a stabilized political and social atmosphere, which has ultimately benefited Peru's market economy. With enterprising and revisionary tactics, Peru has gained a new Constitution, seen development changes through foreign investments, a stable government, and the end of terrorism. Yet, solutions are not quick and easy to come by as Peru still suffers from a long legion of problems, exploitations, and stratification's.

In retrospect given the geographic, social , historical, political and economic movements of Peru it is not difficult to understand why “..many writers have pointed to Peru as a prototype of evil effects of exploitation, a country which has been ‘underdeveloping’ rather than ‘developing’ over the long run”-. No one knows what the future holds for Peru in this coming millennium, however it can only be hoped the best.

An Examination of Cultural and Natural Heritage Resources in Peru

As illustrated in the previous synopsis of Peru, Peru is a country of vast resources. Many of these diverse array of cultural and natural heritage resources have neither been identified, explored, nor developed. With an amazing archaeological legacy that begins with the birth

of ancient civilizations such as the Chavin de Huantar (200 B.C.), to the New World's greatest empire state run by the Inkas (1400-1535), Peru is heralded as host to New World's largest archaeological sites. Today many of the monuments, sacred sites, petroglyphs, cemeteries, ceremonial, urban and political centres have found themselves in danger of being destroyed or on the verge of destruction. This can be attributed to poor archaeological identification, inventorying, and protective enforcement laws to name a few.

During 1983 Rogger Ravines for the National Institute of Culture (INC) undertook an inventory of the archaeological heritage. Although inaccurate and incomplete it illustrated the vast number of resources that Peru has. It can be estimated that approximately 70% of Peru contains archaeological monuments and remains within its' boundaries, the rest are unexplored or unidentified. One of the recent discussions in Peru has been to update the inventory of the national patrimony. A proposal has been outlined by the INC in conjunction with ICOMOS to do this, however this has not yet been undertaken. If this is an initial project a corresponding one should be to define the values, and assess these sites in accordance to them. (Something that has never been done) This should be done in conjunction with educational programming and subsequent valorization of sites in relation to economic value. Guidelines are also required to establish beneficial sustainable development programs for the benefit of stakeholders. In combination with this education and training projects are imperative to highlighting cultural values and the need to conserve them.

In viewing the number of sites that exist in Peru today, very few are developed and integrated into local level sustainable development frameworks. The potential exists on a large scale to develop heritage, however lack of cultural identity, education, expert planning, and economic funding have hindered these prospects. Exploration and research have marked many places in Peru as having cultural value (historical, sentimental and economic), such as Machu Picchu. Re-discovered by Hiram Bingham this site illustrates one of the many sites in Peru that has been ascribed a foreign 'value' and 'worth' (there is no doubt that there was a different type of value for the Indigenous population) that brought about the beginnings of scientific and tourist interests. This of course has changed the face of Machu Picchu and consequently the surrounding areas (unfortunately not always for the best). Again this is one of several examples of an archaeological site that has an ascribed value of interest due to research potential which has ultimately initiated economic development. Other sites of this nature include; Maria Reiche and the Nazca Lines, Thor Heyerdahl and Tucume, Izumi Shimada and Sican, Walter Alva and Sipan). Although these are a few examples there are many more which have equal value; academically, scientifically, economically, and strategically yet have not been ascribed an optimum value-

- Optimum value as defined by heritage value, economic, development,

UNESCO's designated World Heritage Sites such as Machu Picchu, Chan Chan and Chavin de Huantar and are examples of archaeological sites that have been given the potential to optimize their value. Sadly enough even though these sites are plagued by conservation and preservation problems. These have subsequently delayed and complicated local economic development and growth and have instead brought about an array of conflicts on both a local, national and international level. Some of the dilemmas include; poor strategic and multi-disciplinary planning, mismanagement of funding, inadequate community involvement, looting and corruption, poor training and educational support, no local level monitoring, as well as issues related to foreign 'cultural' values being imposed upon national and local ones. Although these are only a few examples of some of the conservation problems more are outlined in the section on the *Dilemmas of Natural Resources in Peru*, as well as *A Look at Machu Picchu*.

Other archaeological sites which have captured international and national interest include; Kunter Wasi, Pachacamac, Nazca Lines, the northern ruins of Sipan, Sican, Tucume, the Temple of the Sun and Moon, and such jungle sites as Chachapoyas. Some of these are being funded and developed by the private sector (corporations, universities, Ngo's and others both foreign and some national or a mixture of both). This has produced interesting results as in the case of Kunter Wasi, which has seen archaeological conservation and stakeholder participation generate into local economic development as the result of small-scale tourism.

Sites such as the famous Royal Tomb of the Lord of Sipan and its vast artefact collection however have found fame yet with discouraging local community results. This site has been faced with a wide variety of controversial problems which have seen a local community and its heritage divided with its' archaeological wealth and potential for development. There are also remote sites such as those of Chachapoyas, which are now becoming tourist sites due to television and marketing however the influx of tourism has proven difficult for the local communities to handle as well as for the conservation of the site. Another amazing jungle site is the Grand Pajatén, which since its official re-discovery in the jungle has seen looting and a wide variety of poor conservation, and development planning occur. This site is in immediate danger of disappearing yet is a valuable site with the potential of creating a multidisciplinary management plan that includes a natural ecological reserve and a local native population. There is no lack of archaeological heritage sites to manage and develop in Peru. The potential is there in fact, I have personally developed several for 'socially responsible' mining and petroleum companies as well as local communities.

Colonial heritage sites in Peru have had to face different dilemmas in regards to heritage conservation and development. Unlike archaeological sites which have been shunned for their 'indigenous value', post conquest sites have been perceived as being valuable

has been listed but is still to be registered as well as the Las Pampas de Nazca, Parque Rio Abiseo and its archaeological site the Gran Pajatén

historical landmarks. Although economic funding has not been available to maintain many of these historical sites, the preference in the recent past has been to restore these landmarks over archaeological ones. Cities such as Cusco, Cajamarca, and Lima are examples of colonial cities that have been designated by UNESCO as world heritage sites. With financial support from ICOMOS the restoration and development of many colonial churches, monasteries, buildings, and facades has occurred in these cities. One of the larger Lima based projects has been the restoration of the cloister of San Francisco. Also of recent development has been the restoration of Limas' colonial balconies. Supported and funded in part by municipality of Lima this project has seen corporate sponsors become involved in an 'adopt a balcony' and restore to its fullest condition. This has met with some success as many companies are sponsoring the restoration of these colonial treasures. Yet as much as there appears to be protection and preservation of these sites problems are still abound as architectural monuments and parts of these treasures are being dismantled or destroyed for more important development projects and developments.

Set-aside from both archaeological and historical sites and monuments Peru is also one of the richest bio-diverse nations in the world, hosting over 120 of 160 world known ecological regions-. It has more than 84 of the world's 114 life zones in species alone. This means that it contains 19% of the world's birds, 9% of its mammal population and 9% of the planet's amphibians-. Much of its flora and fauna has yet to be inventoried and discovered. Peru has 44 protected natural zones of, which cover approximately 10% of the country a percentage that is relatively insignificant given that the country is composed of 80% natural areas. The so-called protected areas are divided as follows; National Parks 8, National Reserves 8, National Sanctuaries 6, Historical Sanctuaries 3, Protected Forests 6, Communal Reserves 1, and Reserve Zones 10.

Organizations as the government agency INRENA (National Institute of Natural Resources) and non-profit organizations such as PROFONAPE (Peruvian National Trust Fund for Parks and Protected Areas) are dedicated to the protection of the natural heritage of Peru. Subsequent organizations such as SINANPE (National System of Protected Natural Areas) take this a step further as their primary objective is to contribute to sustainable development and proper management of these areas with eco-tourism as the focus. Once again like cultural heritage the natural heritage of Peru faces a series of dilemmas. These are the result of natural resource development and exploitation as in the areas of mining, petroleum exploration, logging, and agriculture. These industries or the development of new ones as brought on by tourism or those initiated by Ngo's have placed complicated stresses on the environment. These often include slash and burn agriculture, poaching, mercury poisoning, dangerous waste and pollution as well as unwanted contact between wildlife, native groups and outsiders.

Understanding the Dilemma facing Cultural and Natural Heritage Resources in Peru

There are many factors, which have contributed to the **de-valuation** and **depreciation** of cultural and natural heritage resources within Peru. Many of these conditions are rooted in the historical impacts of Spanish conquest followed by a series of socio-cultural, economic, political, events and conditions. The following six categories outline some of the key problems and observations that Peruvian government, institutions, organizations, and stakeholders, as well as foreign governments, organizations, corporations, and Ngo's, face for the future conservation, valorization, and development of cultural and environmental heritage.

1. Cultural Identity (Lack of Identity)

Historical conditions, geographic relations, and globalization are three of the key contributing factors that have resulted in a lack of cultural identity. This has ultimately resulted in a 'negative' value placement by Peruvians of their appropriate cultural and natural heritage resources.

- Result of social and economic class structure (post-Spanish conquest), which has historically stigmatized indigenous heritage and pre-Colombian history (archaeological sites and materials) as being “primitive” or “uncultured”.
- Environmental and geographic diversity, which has subsequently divided the population into distinct regional cultural groups who in turn are unable to identify with a common cultural identity or with other regional cultural groups i.e. highlanders with coastal peoples, jungle with highlanders etc.
- Large migratory population from the jungle and highlands into the coastal regions has put stress on the coastal cultural and natural heritage – lack of identification and value by migrants
- Lack of pride, social consciousness, and social responsibility in maintaining cultural and natural heritage
- Globalization trends, economic development, tourism have impacted indigenous cultural values and traditions replacing or introducing new cultural values and identities

The need for Peruvians to identify themselves and their needs in relation to cultural and natural heritage is imperative, yet this can not be achieved without proper educational awareness, initiative, and training.

1. Education

A lack of education focusing on the necessity of maintaining and conserving cultural and natural heritage resources as important elements for cultural identity, future conservation and economic development has been neglected and ignored.

- ❑ Low literacy rate in certain areas or below average education has resulted in poor appreciation of cultural and natural heritage resources
- ❑ Poor ethical awareness and training
- ❑ Lack of proper and updated resource material and training related to heritage
- ❑ Historical conditioning which fails to focus on pre-conquest history and indigenous pride
- ❑ Insufficient educational projection as to the value of conserving both culture and the environment for future Peruvians and the rest of the global community.
- ❑ Inadequate investigative research and publications on cultural and natural heritage resources and the value in their protection
- ❑ Inaccessibility of written and published material for the majority of the population due to economic costs.
- ❑ Academic research is often foreign based and funded allowing little feedback, participation, or access to information by Peruvians – information is accessible to the minority and not the majority

1. Infrastructure

With little educational awareness and training the creation of positive and sustainable infrastructures are difficult to initiate and maintain. Without infrastructures designed and implemented in conjunction with education, Peruvian heritage will be destroyed at a rapid rate.

- ❑ Lack of economic support and funding to create strategic infrastructures
- ❑ Lack of specialists to effectively manage and plan infrastructures in areas of conservation and preservation as well as development
- ❑ Poor visionary and multi-disciplinary planning of infrastructures creating gaps or duplication in areas
- ❑ Lack of educational awareness, training, and expertise in areas of planning and management, of cultural and natural resources
- ❑ Lack of shared information, networking, and co-operation of national and international governmental, non-governmental agencies, groups, organizations or others to create a common infrastructure and plan.
- ❑ Lack of proper legislation and its corresponding enforcement
- ❑ No visionary planning or policy making in areas of industrial and urban development and settlement

1. Government

The focus of Peruvian politics has been geared towards economic recovery. This has left Peruvian cultural and natural heritage void of government protection interest or funding.

- ❑ Government has failed to organize and co-ordinate a proper cultural and natural heritage resource management plan for sites their evaluation, assessment, inventory, and development.
- ❑ Organizational government body officially in charge of culture the National Institute of Culture or *Instituto Nacional de Cultura* (INC) is an ineffective governing body which is plagued by poor organization, mismanagement, and corruption.
- ❑ Any policy or planning or conservation that relates to cultural and natural resources has been left in the hands of the private sector (foreign and national), corporations, Ngo's (national or international) UNESCO and other institutions and organizations. Control over conservation and preservation therefore has become disseminated causing additional stresses on these resources.
- ❑ No local level training and responsibility as to the potential that heritage has in terms of cultural and economic rewards

1. Legislation

There is no shortage of Peruvian or international laws and legislation protecting the conservation and preservation of Peruvian patrimony, however these are ineffective and un-enforced.

Legislation is existent yet is ineffective for the following reasons:

- ❑ Constant changes in the political forum have hindered the development of clear laws and legislation governing Peruvian heritage -- laws are constantly being written, replaced or lost.
- ❑ International laws, convenios, concerning the protection of Peruvian world heritage fail to analyse and subsequently understand local values, needs, and necessities to make conservation laws effective
- ❑ Too many local, national, and international laws attempting to govern cultural and environmental level which are contradictory, outdated, overlap and are often inadequate for changing times
- ❑ Bribery and corruption allows for the illegal trafficking of archaeological artefacts and natural species
- ❑ Laws are not understood nor made accessible on a local community level

1. Economics

Troubled and plagued by global economic pressures and national economic conditions Peru has had to settle for conservation of resources as being one of its least important priorities.

- ❑ Under the present government economic growth and development has taken priority over the conservation and protection of heritage sites
- ❑ Poor economic growth and development have resulted in illegal trafficking of cultural materials and destruction of heritage sites
- ❑ With economic development occurring in some regions government has chosen to turn a blind eye to heritage
- ❑ Multinationals, corporations, industry as well as Ngo's both foreign and national have been able to exploit and destroy cultural and natural heritage resources due to lenient government policy and legislation, poor enforcement

1. Environment

Prone and susceptible to unusual climatic and geophysical changes, heritage resources have suffered a variety of stresses due to climatic and natural occurrences and events.

- ❑ Environmental occurrences such as the El Nino, seismic activity, volcanic explosions have played an ongoing role in the natural destruction and damage of heritage sites whether natural, monumental, or sacred spaces.

1. Tourism

With a decade of stable political leadership that has seen the eradication of terrorism, Peru has become a tourist destination that cannot keep up with the influx of tourists.

- ❑ Large influx of tourists over the last several years has resulted in the contribution of stress on cultural and natural resources within Peru resulting in; destruction and deterioration of heritage sites, cultural and traditional changes, illegal trafficking.
- ❑ Poor development, management, and training for the conservation of archaeological and sacred sites, colonial sites, tourism and the hospitality industry; lack of services, inadequate infrastructure for the tourism influx

- ❑ Lack of tourist infrastructure. This includes lack of adequate hotels, restaurants, services, and commodities to meet the demands of tourists in areas outside of the main tourist attractions such as Lima and Cusco.
- ❑ Tourism has affected local culture; it has changed socio-cultural value systems, introduced a flourishing sex trade, impacted natural eco-systems, deteriorated and destroyed monuments and archaeological sites, etc.

1. Institutes, Organizations, Corporations, NGO's and Other

- ❑ Often foreign organizations or corporations are not equipped to properly maintain and develop heritage resources
- ❑ Poor understanding of local culture, history and local community values by industry and corporations resulting in heritage damage
- ❑ Lack of government guidelines and monitoring for corporations, companies, and others in relation to heritage conservation and protection
- ❑ Lack of ethical consciousness on the part of corporations and companies to conserve and preserve local community heritage. It becomes much cheaper to ignore or exploit then to conserve and maintain local heritage
- ❑ Problems of multiple groups and companies applying different values, methodologies and techniques in the areas of heritage conservation and development dividing communities, regions, and community values and development

1. Transportation Communication and Other

- ❑ With the development of roads and the opening of areas that have been inaccessible have come a series of dangers (as well as benefits) that include; access to virgin sites, potential exploitation and looting
- ❑ Communication has fuelled the illegal antiquities market making negotiations for patrimonial pieces available even on the web.

On the Positive Side

These are some of the differences that can make and are presently making Peru a country that can utilize it's resources for a '**valuable productivity** and **valuable products**' as defined in economic, social, cultural, conservation returns

- ❑ Peru has a broad range of natural and cultural resources that can make for excellent projects of development (on a local and national level) and economic revenue
- ❑ Tourism potential is great and diverse and can appeal to a broad range of tourists; archaeological and historical tourism, ecotourism, new age or spiritual tourism, adventure tourism, gastronomic tourism, outdoor tourism and the list goes on

- Peruvian government has combated terrorism opening up Peru's interior
- Roads, transportation, and communication have allowed access into remote regions and also allowed for the dissemination of information
- Tourist infrastructures have been growing in areas such as; hotels, restaurants, services and private sector enterprises
- Tourists have been flowing into Peru at a rapid rate over the last ten years, in fact it is estimated that there are 1000 tourists a day that visit places like Machu Picchu
- Marketing, media in all forms have now begun to promote Peru nationally and internationally as a safe tourist destination
- Archaeological investigations have promoted some of Peru's ancient past as seen through the Sipan and Sican exhibits on an international level

Key Elements Required to Bilaterally Conserve and Develop Heritage Resources in Peru

The principle key to the development and sustainability of heritage resources in Peru needs to be based on educational awareness and economic valorization. Due to the problems stemming from a lack of cultural identity and cultural diversity, Peruvians have been unable to acknowledge their heritage as having a profound value. This value needs to be understood and taught as a means of developing; cultural pride and identity, empowerment, a means of economic revenue, sustained development, or as a form of human global survival. It is imperative that values taught are values that correspond with the needs and perspectives of local communities.

In creating an educational awareness of the value and potential consequences of heritage destruction both conservation and preservation can be achieved as well as subsequent sustainable development and economic revenues for stakeholders.

Some of the key issues to be considered in Peru when approaching heritage management and development are:

Understanding the Culture the people, their history, language, etc. If this is not done effectively and properly problems will consistently exist in all stages of evaluation, valorization, management, and development.

Interdisciplinary Management is one of the keys to successful heritage management. This means that any management project or plan requires a '***communicative and responsive***' team that can consist of archaeologist, anthropologists, architects, local community members, sociologists, biologists, economists, tourism sector, administrators, private sector, , Ngo's, foundations and organizations etc

Teach don't Preach the potential value that heritage resources have. Learning is a *shared experience* and in it is important to illustrate the significance for the given local group (past, present, future) regarding its heritage and its significance outside of that group.

Language and Communication skills are often undervalued. It is important that in the development process listening, understanding local values, culture, and symbols are correctly managed and communicated

Ethical Responsibility is often overlooked or given silent lip service. A conscious and transparent approach when dealing with the activation or implementation of heritage or development plans is imperative.

Sharing and Networking is something that needs to occur on all levels of heritage management. This means sharing of information, ideas and disseminating for positive results.

Connecting on a local level is a key to having a management project evolve in the proper and constructive manner.

Guidelines and Procedures as opposed to Plans are a debatable issue for heritage management. In Peru plans often fail where guidelines might have the flexibility to be manipulated altered and to better suit the needs of the local stakeholders.

Be Prepared is something that quite often does not occur with heritage management plans. In all cases it is imperative to have a Plan B or C in case A fails or is non-operative.

Note: one of the interesting issues in Peruvian projects that has been a failure factor in Peruvian projects has been the lack of community dialogue, participation, and monitoring.²

² I presented these concepts at the International Meeting of ICOMOS in Mexico 1999

Potential Projects for Valorization

There is certainly no lack of potential projects for valorization, development, and conservation in Peru. Having planned and worked on several different corporate and community level archaeological, and ecological conservation projects, I have a list that can be drawn up for the benefit of IDRC of projects that are worthy of developing. The time is right in Peru for many projects to be initiated and developed as the conditions are stable and projects are young enough to do them the right way.

A Look at The Case of Machu Picchu

Much controversy has shadowed the World Heritage site of Machu Picchu. Declared a World Heritage site in 1972 by UNESCO, Machu Picchu has been considered the fundamental cornerstone of Peru's cultural heritage on an international level. It's conservation and preservation crisis is an example of the volatility of managing heritage sites in Peru.

A Brief Look at Machu Picchu

Profile

Located in the Province of Urubamba in the Department of Cusco

Area of the Sanctuary of Machu Picchu spans 32,592 hectares

Altitude: Located 2,430m a.s.l

Archaeological: Inka Ceremonial and Sacred Site

Animal Species on Site include:

- 42 Mammal Species
- 377 Bird Species
- 28 Reptile Species
- 10 Amphibian Species
- 8 Fish Species
- 500 Butterfly Species

Important wildlife species found in the region include: “oso de anteojos” racoon, Andean Condor, and Falcon.

Flora on Site Include:

23 Species of Orchids of great Importance

Place	PERU	Machu Picchu
Mammals	460	48(10%)
Birds	1710	377(22%)
Amphibians	292	10(3%)
Reptiles	342	28(8%)
Angiospermas	20,000	2350(12%)

Plan Maestro Machu Picchu 1998

The sanctuary of Machu Picchu has been often referred to as the ‘place where divinity descends’. It is this very concept that has given Machu Picchu a ‘value’ to the hundreds of thousands of tourists that pay it a visit yearly. Machu Picchu is not just an archaeological ruin but it is an experience that is often defined as ‘spiritual’, ‘mystical’ and ‘sacred’. Unfortunately this site has with a history of problems which have escalated into some detrimental problems. These problems have seen a heritage site reach world status, however as one of the greatest wonders of the world it is only to be plagued with over development and mismanagement.

To understand the dilemmas facing Machu Picchu it is important to grasp the history of a site struggling to survive. The following is a brief outline of some of the events surrounding Machu Picchu and its development as a heritage site.

- 1911 Hiram Bingham was led by natives of the area to the sanctuary of Machu Picchu; hence the re-discovery of Machu Picchu
- 1912 National Geographic in conjunction with Yale University did a clean-up of the site with an article being published in 1913 in National Geographic titled *En el Pais maravilloso del Peru*
- 1920 the Public Registry records dating back as early as 1782 stating the sale of the property which includes Picchu, Machu Picchu, Guayna Picchu, and others.
- 1948 road is constructed by the government of Manuel Odria and inaugurated as Bingham road.
- 1952 Supreme Court of Peru passes a law for the restoration of Machu Picchu
- 1962 fund the creation of a *museo de sitio* or on site museum on Machu Picchu grounds. This involved the recuperation of artefacts from the earlier expedition by Bingham and Yale University. Many of these pieces are still in the US. An idea of building a cable car had been discussed. It was thought that it could be built from the town of Aguas Calientes to Machu Picchu. This idea died and was put to rest as the technical and engineering feat could not be achieved.
- 1972 under the government of Velasco Alvarado the declaration to build a hotel in Machu Picchu was announced. During this period ENTUR the *Empresa Nacional de Turismo* was to oversee the feasibility study of this. This was followed by an announcement to build a hotel. Under these premises it also meant that 1400 hectares within the archaeological ruins would be sanctioned off as protective patrimony. No considerations were given by ENTUR as to the impacts a hotel would cause on the site (aesthetics, conservation, tourist influx, etc)
- 1972 UNESCO listed Machu Picchu as a World Heritage site.
- 1981 President Belaunde Terry declares Machu Picchu as a designated historic area under a Supreme law 001-81-AA. During this period a solution was drawn and a committee formed to look at the possibilities of exploiting Machu Picchu with the participation of the private sector. The project was announced as the Construction and Exploitation of a Hotel Complex in Machu Picchu.
- 1981 the sanctuary area is redefined under the law now incorporating 32, 592 hectares as the historic site. At this time the government had announced plans for a tram to be built. This year also saw the government announce under another Supreme Law the site of Machu Picchu as a National Tourist Reserve. This there by saw the formation of a committee that would deal with the administration and installation of services to Machu Picchu (information, security, waste handling etc). This has caused a series of

dilemmas as to which Ministry (Agriculture, Industry and Commerce or Cuzco's Tourist Board) would actually manage Machu Picchu and reap the economic revenue produced. Another issue is no mention of conservation and investigation participation in this process.

- 1983 UNESCO places Machu Picchu as a registered protected sanctuary of the World Heritage List
- 1985 – 1990 the APRISTA party ruled in Peru and nothing was done with Machu Picchu
- 1992 with a new government focused on regionalization/decentralization Machu Picchu was once again declared a national cultural and natural heritage site. Under this declaration was another agenda which declared the route to Machu Picchu as exclusive and serviced by *Empressa Turistica Regional Inka S.A.* (EMTURIN). This indirectly gave rights to one sole company as having exclusive rights of transportation to Machu Picchu and in doing this it also gave way for the rights to construct the tram carts.
- 1995 a legal decree was made that the Inka Trail would now be included in the protective Sanctuary of Machu Picchu. Overseeing the Trail would be the INC National Institute of Culture and INRENA National Institute of Natural Resources as well as DNT of MITINCI which is the Regional Directive of Industry and Tourism and its counterpart the regional Technical Administrative Counsel. The Inka Trail is one of the most important trails with sites such as; Qoriwayrachina, Machuk'ente, Llaqtapata, Runkurakay, Sallamaqmarcasites Phuyupatamarca, Winay Wayna, Choquesuy, and Intipunku along its path.
- 1997 a large fire broke out in the sanctuary of Machu Picchu believed to have been caused by agricultural slash and burn. This five-day fire destroyed and weakened the archaeological structures of the site, the Camino de los Inkas, as well as having destroyed native flora and fauna under listed under sanctuary protection.
- 1997 PROMCEPRI under the Special Committee for Privatization as formed under Supreme Decree 060-96 made a move to give a concession to the private sector for the construction and development of the cable car project.
- 1998 a Master plan was developed for Machu Picchu with the participation of UNESCO, INRENA, INC. This plan referred to some of the key problems concerning the site and sanctuary; slash and burn, transportation into Machu Picchu, roads, number of tourists on the Inka Trail, waste disposal, lack of knowledge of sanctuary limits. The predominant concern being the environmental impact on the Inka Trail.

Today Machu Picchu is facing some serious dilemmas as a result of mismanagement due to its constant changing past, political, legislative, and social irresponsibility. Although the site has a Master Plan the unfortunate reality is the plan is ineffective and the heritage site is being mismanaged. Machu Picchu has become an example of a developed tourist site that has seen economic development take precedence over the actual sites value as an archaeological site that needs conservation. Some examples include:

- Poor planning over the years has allowed for the construction of a hotel on the Sanctuary Site. This has posed new stresses and dilemmas for the ecological and monumental site
- Machu Picchu has never been assessed and defined in terms of a value be it: a spiritual value or mystical value that equals tourist visits and dollars
- The cable car project was announced as being a feasible project which could bring 400 tourists to Machu Picchu per hour. Again a stress that could destroy the site while in the process of delivering economic revenue.
- Tourist services such as Heli Cuso S.A. provide a service that allows tourists to fly over Machu Picchu (\$150.00 per person two ways) in 25 minutes. This takes away from the value of the ‘mysterious and tranquil Machu Picchu’
- Waste and contamination is a large problem with an influx of thousands of tourists in a week the Inka Trail and the Sanctuary have no proper means of disposing of these materials.
- Tour companies are left to their own demise in terms of ethical and conservation consciousness in giving guided tours on the Inka Trail
- Problems related to poor services and mistreatment of tourists on the Inka Trail
- Business, agencies, are unregulated and unsupervised resulting in a business frenzy that has no regard for the conservation of the tourist site
- Handicrafts and folk art do not always meet a designated quality standard that is acceptable.

Some of the key recommendations for Machu Picchu as a means of optimizing its value should include the following:

- A ‘revamped’ inter-disciplinary plan that examines; archaeological and ecological conservation, stakeholder development, settlement and site planning, and tourism. This has to be done in conjunction with government (national and local), the stakeholders and everyone else involved.
- A project that looks at the value of tourism and equates that with the stress placed on the site.
- Management on the Inka trail is critical as tourist numbers have increased, this means co-ordination and education with tour operators

- ❑ Guide system needs major improvement, transportation, signage, garbage cans, tourist maps of the site, souvenir shop, all these things need to be improved with proper training and development.
- ❑ Tourist operators need to take the initiative to: incorporate local community in its development
- ❑ Tourist operators need to develop their own infrastructure to accommodate tourists; this means training locals about the hospitality industry and its services.
- ❑ Needs to be co-operation between locals, municipality, private sector enterprise, as well as site conservators.
- ❑ Security and safety issues are also something that need to be developed and maintained on the site.

Machu Picchu is a site that has seen economic development and value being placed on its 'cultural and natural resource' potential, however this has been uncontrolled and dangerous to the site. It is interesting to note that the latest tourism to surface for Machu Picchu has been based on seeing the site before it changes through technology ie. the tram and other encroachments of modernity.

A look at Cultural and Natural Heritage in the Amazon Region of Peru

The Amazon basin in Peru constitutes what Peruvians refer to as the *selva* region. This area holds the world record in biodiversity and is composed of 62% of Peru's national territory. Predominantly unexplored this region is host to an array of cultural and natural resources that are classified under; archaeological, ethnographic (native rituals, customs, artefacts), flora, fauna, landscapes and sacred sites, as well as others. In the last several centuries the selva has been viewed as a source of natural resource exploitation for such products as: rubber, wood, natural gas, and gold. Little attention has been focused on the tourist industry up until the 90's. This is the direct result of a stable government and the opening of the selva region through roads and other means of transport and communication. Today Peru has 44 natural protected areas of which approximately 18 are in the selva. Yet all these protected areas only cover 10% of the country's landmass.

Tourism and Development

Presently two areas in the *selva* have been besieged by tourists these include: Iquitos and its sub district Belem, which rests along the Amazon river and Madre de Dios which rests in the southern selva region located in the reserve of Manu.

Eco-tourism constitutes the predominant form of tourism in this region. Many expedition and tour operators have focused in on these areas offering both resort and flora and fauna expeditions. Like all industries in Peru related to tourism there has been a lack of infrastructure and proper strategic planning evolved around these tours and tourist services.

Some common dilemmas include:

- Growth and development of tours have exceeded the service sector capacity
- Poor planning in areas have led to ecological destruction instead of preservation
- Lack of 'whole' community involvement – most tour operators come from outside and leave few benefits for local communities
- Competition for resources – animals and humans are being forced further into the wild
- Lack of training and education in areas of conservation and development

The potential to develop while conserving the biodiversity of this region is excellent, however once again as in the case of Machu Picchu a strategic plan with community consent and involvement is imperative. This should include education and training programs that will allow for well executed and balanced development and conscious conservation. The prospects of initiating such projects are excellent as in the case of Rainforest Expeditions and the rainforest Lodge in Madre de Dios. This is an example of a native community working alongside researchers and academics in the are of ecological conservation while promoting tourism and developing it. An integrated project Rainforest Lodge is a Canadian CIDA funded project that has one numerous awards for its multi-disciplinary approach to conservatin, tourism, and native development.