MYTH, MAGIC, MEANING & MEMORY – MENTOR TOUR GUIDES AS CENTRAL TO DEVELOPING INTEGRATED HERITAGE TOURISM AT ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN CUSCO, PERU.

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‘The real voyage of discovery consists not in seeking new landscapes but in having new eyes’
Marcel Proust

Abstract
This paper draws on research being currently undertaken on the role of tour guides in the development of heritage tourism in Cusco, Peru. Specifically, the focus is on what happens when archaeological sites become tourist attractions, particularly in the context of less developed world areas. In the context of Peru where international visitor arrivals have mushroomed since the eradication of the Shining Path over the last decade, has exacerbated the often-tense relationship between tourism and archaeology. The lack of a range of interpretation supply, apart from guides, is a weakness as is the sole reliance on tour guides.

A review of the little-researched subject area of guiding is offered and points to the wider implications linked to the role, such as destination image, integrated development and local participation in planning. In Peru there are two types of guide ‘official’ from the meztizo population and ‘local’ from the indigenous one, adding ethnic and power relation issues to the discussion. A key question is, can the guide really can be a bridge across from the foreign to the intelligible for visitors? The paper highlights the importance of the virtuous circle of providing emotional access, creating magical and memorable visits, deepening understanding, affording meaning and therefore achieving interpretations’ main objective: eliciting care and concern for the site’s conservation.

Recommendations centre on the need for improved training for guides in order to standardize the quality of the emotional and intellectual access they facilitate. The need for appropriate training for local people living on or near archaeological sites is highlighted if integrated heritage tourism is to develop. This points a way forward to including the outsiders, both the local indigenous population and the international tourists. The fieldwork for this research was undertaken in collaboration with the Institute of Archaeology of University College London and part-sponsorship from the Anglo-Peruvian Society.

1.0 Types of Guides
Several types of guide have evolved over time and this development reflects the changes in demand for guiding. From the days of the Cicerone guide of the grand
tour, (Twain, 1954) to the publications of guide-books to modern day audio-guides, the range is broad, (Tourism in Focus, 1997). The type of guides that is of interest to this research are human guides who are hired by tourists to visit the archaeological sites in and around Cusco, notably the Sacred Valley as Figure 1 shows. In Peru as in other less developed countries, this is the main type of interpretative supply. Although the range of tour guides operating in Peru also extends to tour leaders (often from the generating countries) accompanying a package holiday group or specialist archaeological guide on bespoke tours, these guides are not part of the scope of this study. In the discussion that follows on tour guides and their roles however, some of the analysis may be relevant to those types of guides.

Fig 1 – Map of Cusco Region, Peru

In Cusco, there has been a rise in what is locally known as ‘Spiritual Tourism’ or ‘Mystic Tourism’, (Rough Guide, 2000). This particular type of tourism product uses so-called Shamans as guides for those visitors interested in the occult and ancient healing rituals from previous cultures. This has been a growing niche market (Rough Guide, 2000) in the recent past. As Van den Berghe & Flores Ochoa, (2000:6) comment,

‘Tourists seeking to experience ‘Andean mysticism’ usually do so in archaeological settings such as Machu Picchu or Qenqo.’

These guides offer trips to archaeological sites but the key motivation is not so much to learn about the meaning of the site but more to re-enact ancient rituals supposedly from Inca and pre-Inca times, (Fine & Spear, 1985; Rough Guide, 2000). These tours are often undertaken after sunset and have been known to involve the ingestion of hallucinogenics by the tourists, (Rough Guide, 2000). Although the performance by
the shaman or spirit guide necessitates the use of parts of archaeological sites, in particular the ceremonial areas of these, this type of guide is outside the scope of this study as their brief is not the communication of information about the material remains of a people, its culture and heritage.

This research explores a general tour guide profile. This paper focuses on tour guides who are usually, but not exclusively, a native of the country in which he is working. It focuses on the tour guides who work freelance for several agencies and who accompany individual or groups of tourists to archaeological sites and who aim to explain the place to them. The majority of tour guides operating in Cusco fit this profile.

The title guía is used quite loosely in the region, in some contexts it refers to a university graduate in guiding who might be freelance and employed to show a group around the Sacred Valley. In others instances, it might denote an adventure guide who has no formal training as such but knows the area and can offer visitors safety, guidance and companionship, when undertaking activities such as trekking or white-water rafting. This latter type would be what Cohen called ‘pathfinder’ as opposed to the former type, who he would classify as ‘mentor’ (Cohen, 1985).

Those known as ‘official guides’ have usually trained in Cusco, either at the undertaking a degree specifically in guiding, or alternatively at a College where they have undertaken a more vocational and less academic training in the subject. Having interviewed two ‘official’ guides last summer, one University trained, the other College trained, the author identified from their comments that even among the body of trained and official guides there is a rivalry and a hierarchy. The College guides consider the University guides to be trained with too academic a focus, with not enough emphasis on practice in the field to achieve proficiency in areas such as group management, communication skills and visitor orientation. The University guides consider that the College guides have not been given a rigorous training in the subjects of culture, history, archaeology and architecture. It emerges, that the two different types of formal training provision for those wishing to pursue careers as guides separate the two key components of guiding. The universities training focuses subject knowledge while the colleges focus on communication skills for interpretation.

A third type of guide is what is known in the region as guía local, which is used as a term to differentiate from guía official. These are local people who usually live near sites, which have become tourist attractions and provide services as guides to those independent tourists who have not come accompanied by a guide of their own. Local guides at Raqchi and Ollantaytambo tout for tourists as a way to make extra income. Sometimes though an ‘official’ guide who has come to a site with a group will hire a ‘local’ guide to give him some extra information about the place. He or she will then translate and incorporate this into his own guided tour of the site for the tourists. As some local guides in the rural areas of Cusco speak Quechua (or sometimes Aymara) as their first language, and some of the ‘official guides’ from Cusco city centre are bilingual in Quechua and Spanish, it is not uncommon for the guides to speak amongst each other in Quechua and then for the ‘official’ guide to translate that to the visitors into either Spanish or English.

The various types of guides and training routes available in Peru creates the potential for variability in both the standard and quality of supply.
1.2 **Tourism & Archaeology in Cusco, Peru**

According to the Rough Guide to Peru (Jenkins, 2000), Peru is the most varied and exciting of all the South American nations. Since the time of the sun-worshipping Incas, the land of gold has fuelled the imagination of the Europeans. Currently, to any outsider looking in, this vast country still holds tremendous fascination. Peru is home to truly spectacular landscapes across three distinct and contrasting environments: immense desert coastline, vast tracks of tropical rainforest and the Andes. Moreover, it offers abundant wildlife, a wealth of heritage attractions and a vibrantly diverse culture in its people. Consequently, stemming from these resources, the tourism products available in Peru can be largely categorised into four types: heritage, adventure, eco-tourism and cultural tourism. The vast supply of archaeological sites is a treasure-trove for the tourism industry as it create heritage tourism products for the consumption of its growing visitor numbers.

Peru received 133,546 international visitors in 1970, which created US$44 million in income. By 1980, Peru recorded 372,790 international visitors, which was the second largest figure in South America, surpassed only by Brazil’s visitor numbers (Japan International Co-operation Agency & Ministry of Tourism, 1999). It has remained one of the most popular countries to visit in the continent over the last 40 years, though due to economic and political turmoil, Peruvian tourism experienced two significant troughs. One in the early 1980s and the other a decade later, in the early 90s. In 1992, the number of visitors fell to 216,534, the lowest figure since 1973. (Japan International Co-operation Agency & Ministry of Tourism, 1999).

However, two years later, in 1994, a sharp increase to 386,120 was recorded and largely attributed to the improved economic conditions brought about by President Fujimori’s first term in office, and most importantly to the capture of Guzman, the head of the Maoist terrorist group, the Shining Path. Peru was subsequently able to market itself as a much safer destination and this trend has continued in recent years, with 1998 logging a record 833,807 international visitors, responsible for generating US$631 million income (Japan International Co-operation Agency & Ministry of Tourism, 1999). Tourism in Peru contributes significantly to the economy, and constituted 12% of the total export revenue in 1996. Currently, it is estimated to contribute between 10-11% of the total export and it has been calculated by the national association for tourism, CANATUR, that 1.6 jobs are created for every direct job in tourism (Japan International Co-operation Agency & Ministry of Tourism, 1999). Tourism in Peru is managed from within the Ministry for Industry, Tourism, Integration and International Trade Negotiations (MITINCI) and within the tourism department, there is PromPeru, which is the external marketing arm of the organisation who are responsible for selling the destination and its tourism products overseas.

The body responsible for Peru’s archaeological sites is the INC under whose auspices are many of the related museums. This organisation, like the Ministry of Tourism, is a centralised operation, with headquarters in Lima and offices in the main cities of the country. Peru, largely due to the Inca culture and its empire, (along with the remains of many of its lesser known pre-Inca cultures), has a larger number of archaeological sites than any other South American country. The INC has identified no fewer than 36,000 known archaeological sites in the Cusco region, (Jenkins, 2000). Despite the evident inter-dependence of both archaeology and tourism, there is little evidence of
integration or dialogue between these two key organisations for the management of the heritage tourism currently undertaken. At present, the link facilitator in operation, the player in the system who connects these two entities, albeit indirectly, are the tours guides.

1.3 Tour Guides

Although the role of the tour guide in the story of the tourism industry is readily understood, it is not so well-documented in the literature, or up until recently has still been largely descriptive of the vocation, skills of a competent guide. Later in the paper, the complexity of the roles of the guide is discussed in relation to the difficulty of defining what constitutes the role of a tour guide. Of the literature on interpretation, it is the subject area with the least written about it. From the mid-1980s the subject of guiding began to move into a more academic debate, (Holloway, 1981; Cohen 1985; Pearce, 1985; Pond, 1993; Bras & Dahles, 1999; Bradt, 2000; Ap & Wong, 2001; Cohen, 2002). Though, even here, it was only very recently that the links were drawn between guiding and the wider tourism issues such as service quality and destination image, (Ap & Wong, 2001) Dahles, (2002). Only more recently has the need to reconsider training needs for guides in the light of the changing profile of demand been explored, (Cohen, 2002), despite the fact that the early literature with a vocational focus, insisted on the importance of the guide as the interface between a destination and its visitors.

Over the last twenty years tourists have matured and become more independent, (Cooper et al, 1993). Little attention has been given to the role of the local indigenous guides, though what has, (Cohen, 1982; Adams, 1994; Gurung et al, 1994; Cohen, …) has been in-depth though largely country-specific. Pond, (1993:84) attribute this omission to the problems of defining the role of a guide,

‘Clearly, the roles of guides and the degree to which guides are addressing their status warrants more attention.’

This is not to say, as Pond, (1993:71) points out, that it is a subject not worthy of research.

‘Although little published research on commercial guiding has appeared since Holloway’s study, it would be an error to suggest that the professional guide has no philosophical or empirical foundation from which to draw. It is appropriate instead to recognise that a philosophy and even an extensive body of research and literature does exist, and has for some time, within the field of interpretation. To the great extent that practitioners and researchers in the field of interpretation have tediously and carefully explored the sociological, educational, and cultural underpinnings of guiding.’

There follows an overview of interpretation.

1.3.1 Interpretation

Interpretation is, in the words of Tilden, (1977:6),

‘An educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects by first hand experience, and by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information’
Freeman Tilden wrote these words in the context of the natural resources of his native North America, in particular the national parks and the conservation movement. In his book, Interpreting Our Heritage, Tilden outlined six principles of interpretation and as each of them has relevance to this paper, they are set down below.

1 Any interpretation that does not somehow relate to what is being displayed or described to something within the personality or experience of the visitor will be sterile.

2 Information, as such is not interpretation. Interpretation is revelation based upon information. But they are entirely different things. However, all interpretation includes interpretation.

3 Interpretation is an art, which combines many arts, whether the materials presented are scientific, historical or architectural. Any art is in some degree teachable.

4 The chief aim of interpretation is not instruction, but provocation.

5 Interpretation should aim to present a whole rather than a part, and must address itself to the whole rather than any phase.

6 Interpretation addressed to children (up to 12) should not be a dilution of the presentation for adults, but should follow a fundamentally different approach. To be at its best, it will require a separate programme.

At the time of Tilden’s writing, a range of interpretation would have been in use in North America, including visitor centres distributing information via non-verbal media in the form of printed media on posters, visitor trails and paths with panels or via verbal media in the form of human guides, discussions and organized talks, (Hall & McArthur, 1996). However, the use of technology in interpretation would in the late 70s been limited to audio-visual presentations. It is only in the last decade that hi-tech media, such as infra-red audio-guides, for example, have been developed.

One technique within this wide range, the most traditional form of interpretation is guiding, but as Tilden’s principles imply when read in the context of guiding, it is not the most basic even if one of the oldest forms. (Twain, 1957: Tilden, 1977; Cohen,1985). Guiding, is not of course about imparting information but ensuring that curiosity is sparked and that visitors can make sense of their experience, with the information they are given.

The supply of interpretation can ease the tug of war that can occur between resource development (tourism) and resource conservation (be they natural or cultural resources). In fact, sustaining these resources to ensure there longevity, is as Pond, (1993:71) points out, one of interpretation’s key aims.

‘Interpretation has a noble origin. It’s creators believed that there were certain places so magnificent or significant as to oblige one generation to preserve them for the enjoyment of those to follow.’

Interpretation can be used to manage visitor demand, orientation and flow by re-directing pathways and routes. Effective use of interpretation, for natural
and cultural resources, centres on demand being in control of increasing demand and moreover, manipulating it to its own advantage, (Westlake, & Cooper, 1991). Appropriate use of interpretation allows a destination or an attraction to take control of its resource management which in turn allows those who have come to the place to enjoy improvement visitor experience. This in turn, as is later explained, satisfies them as customers and creates good word of mouth and may result in repeat visits.

It was in fact in North America, the cradle of interpretation, in the 70s that the term cultural resource management (CRM) was coined. It grew from the new archaeology movement developing at the time. The aims of cultural resource management were, using interpretation, to broaden access to archaeology to a wider public, increase funding for future excavation work and in the face of increasing visitor pressure to protect the sites for future generations, (Shanks & Tilley, 1989). This movement took off later in the UK but was referred to more regularly, as Heritage Tourism or Visitor Management from within the discipline of archaeology and tourism studies.

2.0 Heritage Tourism
The term heritage tourism is close in meaning to that of cultural tourism. Cultural tourism is often used to describe a range of tourism products that draw either directly or indirectly from a region or country’s culture, (Cooper et al, 1993). Cultural tourism is a large classification under which are housed various activities, rather like a Russian doll. It is used to cover tourism being undertaken in historic cities, (incorporating the built environment), such as churches, cathedrals, museums, galleries (but also extending to the human environment), such as people, language, customs and food.

Similarly heritage tourism encompasses both intangible and tangible features. This term emerged later, having its roots in late-1980s and early 90s when tourism demand was segmenting further into niche markets, (Cooper et al, 1993). Fowler’s text, (1989) identified the rise in popularity of heritage and nostalgia as part of collective coping strategy in the face of radical socio-economic and technological change. Public demand for access to the past, in the form of museums, galleries, historic houses and archaeological sites rose dramatically, (BTA, 2000) and the response from the supply-side of tourism, witnessed the creation of heritage products, some of which were actually brand new, while others were renovated and restored for leisure purposes, packaged for the consumption of tourists. Heritage tourism visits at archaeological sites in Europe as well as the UK, (BTA, 2000).

The ICOMOS definition of heritage (1999) demonstrates the breath of its manifestations.

‘Heritage is a broad concept and includes the natural as well as the cultural environment. It encompasses landscapes, historic places, sites and built environments, as well as bio-diversity, collections, past and continuing cultural practices, knowledge and living experiences. It records and expresses the long processes of historic development, forming the essence of diverse national, regional, indigenous and local identities and is an integral part of modern life. It is a dynamic reference point and positive instrument for growth and change. The particular heritage and collective memory of each locality or community is irreplaceable and an important foundation for
development, both now and into the future’

This is especially relevant for heritage tourists visiting archaeological sites as it not only the site itself that is of interest but the surrounding area, particularly for the sites in the Cusco region which often have spectacular landscapes and human heritage, (Rough Guide, 2000; Sillar, 2000). It is the sites, the surrounding landscape and people, including any visitors, which require appropriate management. The rise in interest in archaeological sites from visitors created a relationship between the tourism industry and the discipline of archaeology.

2.1 Tourism & Archaeology: The Unlikely Couple & A Stormy Relationship
The relationship between tourism and archaeology is an interesting and complex one, (Celera, 1993; Shackely, 1999; Sillar, 2000). This relationship could be thought of as that of an unlikely couple where the force of opposites have done their work and attracted the other. Despite very different academic profiles and trajectories and public image, this relationship, both in less and more developed areas, has become all but inevitable. In the light of growing interest of heritage tourism at archaeological sites, and the need for archaeology to create new sources of funding, (Shanks & Tilley, 1989), the reality is that increasingly, tourism and archaeology need one another.

It must be said, that these issues are still more evident from archaeology’s relationship to tourism, which is an interesting irony explored below. In general, if any one of the two needs the other more, it is currently archaeology which relies more directly on tourism for sustenance than tourism does on it. This does depend on where tourism is being developed but there are many types of tourism product and heritage products are just one part of the over supply. However, in the case of Peru, tourism probably relies just as much on archaeology as it does on tourism as the overwhelming majority of visitors are attracted to the county in the first place by the spectacular sites, (Japan International Co-operation Agency & Ministry of Tourism, 1999). Despite this clear importance of this relationship and the mutual need, the relationship between tourism and archaeology in Peru is a difficult one, often characterised as tense, immature and resentful of the inter-dependence between the bodies representing each activity. It is a similar story in many less developed areas of the world where traditional heritage management prevails as opposed to integrated heritage management. This is discussed fully in the paper.

However, and in general, we can caricature tourism and archaeology as individuals of the unlikely couple in a stormy relationship in its early days. Archaeology emerges as an intellectual pipe-smoking man, always busy on a dig or in the lab, pondering and scratching at his beard. He worries about identifying the data correctly and wonders why Tourism, the bubbly blonde attracted to in a persistent way, will not just take no for an answer. He has even put a ‘Do not Disturb’ sign on his door, but she still insists on knocking and asking to be shown around. She always wants to play with his work and she seems like someone who lives for the day, without heed for tomorrow. He eyes her suspiciously and is always relieved when she goes as it goes back to be quiet. When she has become a real pest, sitting on his desk and crumpling his papers, he had to spell out that he did not need her and took to locking the door and pulling down the blind. Over time however, this hardened stance from old archaeology gave way and he began to see the value in talking to tourism and eventually even being grateful for the opportunity to explain his work and therefore come to see she could bring benefits as well as pressures.
In countries where the relationship between tourism and archaeology is older, it tends to be more mature in that time has allowed the parties to see the other not as a threat but as an opportunity. McArthur & Hall, (1996) express the importance of developing an integrated approach to heritage management if the resources themselves are to survive the pressures of increasing visitor numbers. In this light, the outcome of protected heritage needs to be the shared goal of the organisations involved.

Cleere, (1993) in his review of the development of heritage tourism management, from archaeology’s viewpoint, highlights how the rise in public interest in archaeology over the last fifty years has witnessed the rise in threats to its protection. He locates the beginnings of it in the barren landscape of the post-war years.

‘The end of World War II saw the beginnings of archaeological heritage management as an integral component of social and economic planning. The devastation of 1939-45 provided boundless scope for archaeological initiatives in many countries.’

Necessity, experience reminds us, is the mother of invention. And in the above citation, there are traces of the cyclical reaction of destruction and protection history has shown us. This is interesting in the light of how the story developed further down the time line when archaeology moved, not entirely of its own will, into a closer relationship with tourism. He goes on to confirm, (1993:iii), the creativity born of the destruction.

‘It has been, however, the immense economic, political, social and technological changes since 1945 that have done the most to foster the development of archaeological heritage management.’

Cleere identifies development as the key to the decade of the 1960s and he outline the some of the key threats to the archaeological heritage management attempts of the time, among them features tourism. At times the tone of the review echoes the irritation that our caricature of Archaeology felt at having to adapt to changes brought about by Tourism, even though this relationship later bore the fruits of conservation through the use of interpretation, which came to be required for both archaeology and tourism to be able to manage in the modern operating context. In short, interpretation emerges as the relationship counsellor who is capable of bringing archaeology and tourism close enough to see that they can work together and not against each other.

### 2.1.1 Integrated Heritage Tourism - Interpretation for Conservation

In this light, the importance of interpretation for heritage tourism should not be underestimated, (Sayers, 1993). As expressed by Hall & McArthur, (1996), a modern approach to heritage tourism management allows for tourism to work for conservation. By placing the visitor and the local community at the centre, it enables the following virtuous circle. Hall & McArthur, (1996:4) express it thus;

‘When visitors have a satisfying experience they come closer to supporting the philosophy of the site’s management. The more visitors support management, the easier it becomes to manage heritage’

In the context of the visitors which Peru receives, this is particularly important. The profile of these visitors means they would be likely to support initiatives which allow
the rural communities access to participating more fully in the tourism developing around their homes.

When appropriate interpretation is a cornerstone for heritage management, tourism and archaeology have not only learnt to live with one another but to celebrate the existence of the other.

‘The goal of interpretation was not merely to provide information, but rather to convey the magnificence of a place, pass on its legacy, inspire visitors, and ultimately convince them of the need to preserve park lands’. (1993:71)

Essentially, traditional heritage means that the archaeological site is thought of as more important than the people around it. In this case, this refers to the residents and tourists who are at worst excluded from any planning considerations or, at best, are brought into the picture at the periphery but rarely at the core of discussion over the future of the site. A more modern approach to heritage management has at its centre the human element, both from the locals’ and the visitors’ viewpoint, towards creating a more integrated and sustainable site. This approach usually included the consideration of how best to present the site. Resources are used to interpret the site in the most authentic way possible to open access, (both intellectual and emotional) as widely as possible among both local residents to the surrounding area and any visitors. (Cooper et al, 1993; Hall & McArthur 1996; Sillar 2000).

2.1.2 Integrated Tourism Development & Less Developed Countries

The development of heritage tourism in less and more developed areas carries with it very different factors. In certain cases, it might be said that the development process entails such different issues and constraints that they are worlds away from one another. Nuryanti, (1996:257) paraphrasing Ashworth & Tunbridge, (1990) and Glasson (1994), succinctly summarises it as such,

‘In more developed countries, problems associated with heritage tourism usually take the form of more prosaic planning and management problems such as building demolition, overcrowding, and traffic management and parking problems, […]. In developing countries, in addition to these issues, there are often more intricate problems to deal with, including community relocation and questions of compensation for substantial numbers of people. Furthermore, the excavation of archaeological structures may disrupt communities of people who are already living in the designated site and have lived there from time immemorial’

It is common for less developed countries to be practising traditional, that is to say, un-integrated heritage management due to the immature stage of the key relationship between the bodies responsible for tourism and archaeology. At this point we turn out attention to the case study country of this paper, Peru.

2.2 Heritage Tourism & Archaeology in Peru

Peru, largely due to the Inca culture and its empire, (along with the remains of many of its lesser known pre-Inca cultures), has a larger number of archaeological sites than any other South American country. Instituto Nacional de Cultura (INC) has identified no fewer than 36,000 known archaeological sites in the Cusco region, (Jenkins, 2000). It is these sites, along with those in the northern region of Trujillo, which have been developed with a visitor orientation.
The body responsible for Peru’s archaeological sites is the INC under whose auspices are many of the related museums. This organisation, like the Ministry of Tourism, is a centralised operation, with headquarters in Lima and offices in the main cities of the country. The findings from the research to date highlight a traditional approach to heritage management on behalf of the INC, which tends to consider the built environment over and above the cultural and human dimension of heritage.

This approach naturally spills over and extends beyond the built resource itself, affecting the lives of the local people who live on or very near by the site (Sillar, 2000). Zoning and separating people from the places creates exclusion and this in turn can result in friction and conflict between locals and policy planned at national level. In the context of developing sites for tourism, the need to minimise conflict is imperative in order to maintain sustainable social carrying capacities, so that locals and visitors (consumers of the tourism experience) can be the recipients of mutually satisfactory service encounters feeding into an overall satisfactory experience of tourism.

2.2.1 Interpretation Supply in Cusco, Peru

The supply of interpretation available in and around Cusco is largely provided for by human tour guides. The INC limits its investment in interpretation of the sites to non-verbal media in the form of an information panel. A gate-keeper is employer to oversee security at the site and also to take admission charges from visitors. Some of the more significant sites, such as Ollantaytambo in the Sacred Valley and Machu Picchu, for example, do have on-site museums. However, many of these are in need of refurbishment.

‘Almost all archaeological sites in Peru do not have the effective measure to interpret them for visitors to the sites, such as not only basic facilities of sign and information (esp. for international tourists) or site-museum, but also visitor service facilities of the rest spaces and restaurants. On the other hand, some remote ruins have bad accessibility to the sites.

The main form of interpretation to all the tourism products in Cusco is through the human tour guides of which there are about 80, (Van de Berghe & Flores Ochoa, 2000).. These guides emerge as important in the overall interpretative supply in the area though there are also issues with the lack of standardization of quality from them. According to Sayers, (1994:166) this is seen as a symptom of lack of regulation particular to less developed countries engaging in tourism.

‘Tourism goes its own way, conservation struggles on and interpretation is best left to local guides, albeit sometimes excellent, and touts’

The Rough Guide to Peru (Jenkins, 2000:159) considers, Cusco to be ‘…easily the most exciting region in Peru’

Cusco city centre boasts some of the finest colonial architecture in the country and no less than 36,000 archaeological sites have been identified by the INC in this region. The master plan suggests the lack of interpretation to allow visitors an understanding is a major weakness for the region. It states, (1999:65)
‘It is necessary to develop the facilities for visitors, in order not only to fascinate them with attractive explanations about archaeological sites, but also to enlighten them on the significance of the site and its conservation.’

The question of commoditized images for export is discussed later in the paper. The interpretation supply at present in Peru can be expressed as immature and Figure 2 shows the lack of integration between tourism and archaeology, whereas Figure 3 shows how interpretation in the form of guides can bring the two together. The next desirable stage is the inclusion of local guides and the standardization of official guides.

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Archaeology \textbf{-----------------------------} Tourism \\
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Tourism not understood by archaeology, so its positive potential for development & conservation not harnessed \\
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\textit{Fig 2 - Worlds apart: current status and level of integration between the discipline of archaeology and the industry of tourism.}

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\hline
Archaeology \textbf{ÆÆÆÆ} Tourism \\
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Guides \\
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\textit{(Local and official guides bridging the distance between archaeology & tourism.} \\
\textit{Increased training & for consistent} \\
\textit{higher quality service and greater visitor satisfaction} \\
\textit{and resident participation)} \\
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\textit{Fig 3 - Talking heads: desired status and level of integration between the discipline of archaeology and the industry of tourism}

\subsection*{2.3 The Difficulty of Managing the Service Encounter}

The characteristics of inseparability, intangibility and the labour intensity of the tourism product, coupled with the inverted structure of the labour triangle of any service encounter, creates difficulties for the management of successful service encounters, as expressed in Figure 4.
Tourist
(Customer)

Guide
(Front-line staff)

Supervisors

Managers

Fig 4 - Inverting the labour triangle: tourist meets guide, demand meets supply at a local & concrete level without direct management oversight (adapted from Mahesh, 1988)
In the context of guiding, the relationship between guide and visitors is ‘live’, despite previous training being acquired, as each time a guide takes a new group around a site familiar to him, the dynamics will have changed somewhat, by dint of the very fact that the visitor mix present in that group will have changed. This point, where the guide and visitors are on the tour, in the ‘moment of truth’ (Carlson, 1987) is the litmus test. Neither the supervisors, nor the managers, of the tour operator or travel agency who have hired the guide are present to oversee or influence the unfolding of this encounter and its outcome. This has been identified as an operational difficulty for all service industries (McGrath, 1999). Literally, then, the service provider and the service recipient, are ‘on their own’. The training implications for this are important, and are further discussed towards the end of this paper.

If local people living in the vicinity of archaeological sites in the Cusco region are interested in participating as guides to visitors, an appropriate training model is necessary. Such a model needs to be able, at the very least, to offer protection to the local guides from the pitfalls of poor guiding quality and, subsequently, potentially irate and dissatisfied customers. However, at best, the training needs to provide the locals with an opportunity to participate and give the visitors an enjoyable and interesting guided tour. In order for this to happen, the training needs to focus on creating an authentic and therefore satisfying experience for both parties. This is echoed in Hudson & McEwan, (1987) and their work in rural Ecuador setting up a village museum with the local community. The Agua Blanca project, contributed to by Hudson, McEwan & Silva, (1993) aimed to make intelligible and present the value of the local archaeological heritage as much to the local people as to any foreign visitors. Jan Carlson, 1987:33, president of Scandinavian Airlines, coined and defined this ‘moment of truth’ as,

‘that precise instant when the customer comes into contact with any aspect of your business and, on the basis of that contact, forms an opinion about the quality of your service, and potentially, the quality of your product.’

There are important implications at destination level involved here for Peru as a whole.

2.3.1 The Post-Modern Tourist & the Problems of Knowledge Power

Moreover, the power resources that the guide hold over a group are also difficult to manage, (Hales, 1993) and in a modern context emerge as complex. It is knowledge power that the guide is expected to hold and this is what the visitors, along with other competencies traditionally are paying for by employing a guide. This knowledge, as is discussed in the following section, ranges from basic orientation to information about the culture and heritage of the people who built the archaeological sites, in this case the Incas.

Cohen, (2002) makes the very relevant point of the rise in the trend of questioning the long-held acceptance of the authority, particularly but not exclusively by younger people. The status of knowledge in the context of post-modernity has undergone radical change, ‘expert knowledge’, in particular. He quotes Martusewicz, (1992; 131-2) following Lyotard (1984),

‘…our assumptions about what constitutes everyday knowledge as well as academic knowledge, indeed the very possibility of knowing, have been placed deeply into question’.

These issues are particularly pertinent in the context of heritage tourism and guiding in Peru. This is for two reasons. First, this is very much a developed world
The Role of the Guide: Bridges to Meaning, Magic & Memory

It is difficult to talk of the primary role of a tour guide as most commentators agree that there are several roles required of the guide, often simultaneously. Pond (1993), echoing Cohen (1985) discusses the complexities of the roles of guides in the light of the difficulties of one single person possessing the broad range of skills required for the job.

Researchers have observed that there are strains and conflicts in guiding roles. [...] Some guides resent certain roles, perceiving them as extraneous or beneath their capabilities or station. Cohen suggests that guides are expected to fulfil, and the fact that they are required to serve in different capacities, lessens the chance that any one person could do it all.

Pond also discusses the complexity of the roles of a guide and how these may be categorised (leader; educator; public relations representative; the host; the conduit) but ultimately during the guiding experience, these get synthesized and are applied almost simultaneously.

Cohen identified three key spheres in which the guide must operate: instrumental, social, and mediatory. If one single role could be identified as the key role of a guide, it must be that of providing access. Cohen’s seminal article (1985) identified two main types of guide. He created the broad classification of those guides which were ‘pathfinders’ and those which were ‘mentors’. Cohen (1985:9) made a distinction between the role of these two types of guide. He claimed that the for the pathfinder, it was to,

‘provide privileged access to an otherwise non-public territory’

while for the mentor it was the,

‘edifying his party as in social mediation and cultural brokerage’
The mediatory sphere mentioned earlier related to both types of guide and was related to the job of the guide in making the visited area make sense to the visitor. While this author agrees with Cohen in that access is a key role, she does not agree that such a dichotomy between these two types of guide is required in the context of the modern tourism industry. It is true to say that the dichotomy exists still, and more so in less developed areas such as Peru, but looking forward there will be an increasing demand for guides who as a matter of course, can lead the way and provide the physical access needed by the visitor (although the centrality of this role for many world regions is rapidly changing) but who also, once they have safely led the way to the destination, can turn into the ‘mentor’ role and actually provide something that neither the visitors alone can provide nor the site or place itself. This type of development may well be the way for the role of the tour guide to remain relevant to post-modern tourism demand.

Access then, if pathfinder and mentor roles are subsumed, is paramount, and increasingly this is what ICOMOS, (1999) term as key to overall site management.

‘A primary objective for managing heritage is to communicate its significance and need for its conservation to its host community and to visitors. Reasonable and well managed physical, intellectual and/or emotive access to heritage and cultural development is both a right and a privilege.’

This intellectual and emotional access is key to developing successful interpretation for conservation. Without the mentor types of tour guide with a high level of interpretative skill, the new visited place to remain closed off, mysterious, shrouded in myth and legend they cannot be understood, nor cared for by the visitor. Cohen, (1985:9) talks of interpretation in its literal form, building on Tilden’s (1957) principles, in a manner which highlights that the language and narratives (in its whole sense) of the destination needs to be converted by the guide into some shape for the visitors:

…the translation of the strangeness of a foreign culture into a cultural-idiom familiar to the visitor.

For the guide to function as a mentor, in the mediatory sphere, he must be a bridge for the visitor to cross from the familiar to the foreignness of what is being visited and still derive meaning from it and subsequently memories. The role of memory is particular important component of holiday-making, (Cooper et al, 1993) but so is it also for interpretation’s mission to create lasting impressions.

The role of the guide then in a post-modern context is to bring something extra, something that the visitors cannot get through any other media and to extend the traditional pathfinders aim of providing, ‘access to an otherwise non-public terrain’ to the encompass the intellectual terrain locked and otherwise inaccessible. In the place of the pathfinders machete, the modern guide needs to hone his presentation skills to cut through to the heart of the subject to blaze a trail which the visitors will want to follow, attentive and alert. The role of the guide is to give meaning and meaning can only be generated by mindfulness. Visitor motivation to travel into another world with the assistance of a guide will be high, particularly in the context of heritage tourism in Cusco. The myth and magic of the Inca heritage is a great draw but without meaning, fascination can turn to frustration for the visitor. The bridge of interpretation (in the form of guides) over misunderstanding and misguided information breaks and the magic of connection and care for what is being visited cannot occur. The casualties from this collapse are the communication process, visitor satisfaction and in part, destination image: great place, shame about the guides. But the guides themselves suffer from these failures to connect, though where this
happens, as discussed previously, it is often a lack of training in the confidence to offer pluralistic meanings and interpretations.

It is the role of the guide to allow the visitor to learn about the world through this subject as a portal, and to see with ‘new eyes’ things which they may have, up until now, taken for granted. If travel is to inspire awe, it is the role of the guide to provide a bridge into the foreign lands of the past (Lowenthal, 1989) and a safe passage back so that the visitors can make sense of and recount their magical experiences. In order to do this, these experiences must be meaningful. Moscardo (1999:83) discusses the importance of context. within the chapter ‘Telling a Good Story that Makes Sense’. Addressing interpreters, she states,

‘No matter how mindful you are, without context it is nonsense.’

Later on, (1999:84) this is explained further,

‘The basic argument is that you can make people mindful, but you will not change what they know or think if your information or message is confusing or poorly organised’

The guide emerges then as having a transformational role also. In the context of guiding visitors back in time, the role requires a level of alchemy. The more without context and without reference points an archaeological site is, the harder the job of bringing it to life. In terms of ancient history, the guide has the onus of dealing with several layers of deadness to create a performance for his audience. In this light, the role of the guide demands high levels of imagination and presentation skill to allow emotional and intellectual access to sites. This enables visitors to experience both the ‘otherness’ that tourism implicitly promises and thereby the opportunity for self-discovery.

2.4.1 Incaismo & Tourism
Monuments, museums architecture and archaeology in Cusco are to a great extent highly visual representations of Incaismo. It is not all Inca much pre-Inca and post-Inca, with the attraction of the Spanish construction, notably inferior buildings, on Inca foundations. However, as Van de Berghe & Flores Ochoa, (2000:20) explain,

‘Practically every tourist gets exposed to Inca matters, and the vast majority would not have come but for them.’

The phenomena of Incaismo and international tourism especially, though unrelated in origin, (Van Den Berghe & Ochoa, 2000), have become inextricably connected. They now, (2000:9).

‘…feed into one another to create a dynamic new reality.’

Incaismo is a special case of the wide literary, intellectual, and political movement known in Peru, (and in other Latin American countries, notably in Mexico) as indigenismo. In Peru, the roots indigenismo go back to the 19th century and it got turned into a protest ideology, capturing the imagination of leftist intellectuals. It became a popular trend, a fad almost between the 1920s and the 1940s. Garcilaso de la Vega, the 16th century Cuzco aristocrat, (161) is possibly the first ‘Incaist’ in the way that Alexander von Humboldt and Charles Darwin who travelled across the Americas in the 18th and 19th centuries could be the first tourists. One of the key criticisms of incaismo, and indeed indigenismo is that it is not the Quechua-speaking peasants, the direct heirs of that social order, who are its main proponents but the
Spanish-speaking, urban, mestizo intellectuals and other university-educated population from the mainstream. This issues is developed further in the section ‘Local Guides or Local ShowPieces.’

Incaismo forms the heart of the images used in tourism promotion, despite the fact there are many pre-Inca material remains in Peru available to visitors as tourism products. Incaismo provides the image bank used to stimulate demand, both international and domestic. In tourism, a system of inter-ethnic relations, as (Van Den Berghe & Ochoa, 2000:7), express,

‘mutually satisfying and profitable relationships often result from the confluence of two or more ideologies and motivations producing a convergence of interests among disparate groups. Tourism, in short, often produces ‘working misunderstandings.’

The sole use of human tour guides as the interpretation supply in Cusco, as is discussed earlier in this paper, exacerbates the variable characteristic implicit in the live nature of the guiding service. Misinformation and misleading can unfortunately lead to misunderstandings between guide and tourist interactions, which is the exact opposite of interpretation’s intended outcome. At the wider destination level in Cusco, misunderstandings and communication gaps occur between the local indigenous, direct descendants of the population and the mestizo population, (Van Den Berghe & Ochoa, 2000:8).

‘The ideology of Incaismo became a marketable commodity, with much of the marketing under the control of the urban elite that spawned the ideology in the first place.’

Due to the large geographical scope of Tawantinsuyu, the Inca Empire, spreading across various neighbouring countries, Incaismo became the perfect template for the country’s nationalist myth formation. Tourism has revived Incaismo in a sense over the last twenty years by consolidating the national identity, which has become an exportable commodity. This allows Cusco to come back full circle to the time when it was the capital and occupied a central position as what the Incas called the ‘navel of the world’ and what the tourism industry has coined as one of its advertising log-lines.

2.4.2 Myth
Linked to Incaismo, indeed wrapped up in it, is the important element of myth involved in the packaging of tourism products. If Incaismo is Peru’s myth, Machu Picchu’s mystique further placed Cusco on the tourist map, (Van Den Berghe & Flores Ochoa, 2000). The romanticism of its discovery in 1911 as the ‘Lost City of the Incas’ has given way to extensive and varying accounts of this find, (Hemming, 1983). Similarly, the ‘Sacred Valley of the Incas’, with Ollantaytambo, Pisac and Chinchero archaeological sites and towns have also been imbued with myth and legend about their construction, discovery, original use and battles against the invaders.

Tourists have an interesting and complex relationship with myth and legend. On the one hand they are attracted by myth, as Incaismo is used for these images, while on the other hand, the research findings point to the frustration that the myth also creates. That is to say that myth is the ‘pull’ factor for stimulating demand but a ‘push’ factor can occur away from the destination if the tourists do not feel that the guide is able to
demystify the sites. The ‘push factor’ here being an alienation, a distancing and a
disconnection that occurs if the interpretation process is short-cut or fused.

2.4.3 Local Guides or Local Show-Pieces?
The role of local guides in Cusco is often relegated to a minor or marginal role in the
strict sense of the word guide. Local guides act as such when they show tourists
around sites inter-acting directly with them as the sole source of information at that
particular point in time. Van de Berghe, (1980:377) comments, and this is still true
twenty years later, on the marginal role that the local people play in the tourism
system despite providing some of the key attractions of the destination.

‘In ethnic tourism, the native is not merely ‘there’ to provide services, he is an
integral part of the exotic spectacle, an actor whose ‘quaint’ behaviour, dress and
artefacts are themselves significant attractions’

While local guides, usually men, are not discouraged by the INC or Ministry of Tourism to
tout for business from independent visitors who do not come with a guide of their own, the
majority of visitors do not make their way to the site on their own. The overwhelming
majority of international tourists visit the sites accompanied by an ‘official’ guide from
Cusco. Van den Berghe, (1980:338) describes this relationship as the ‘Tourist-tourree-
middleman interaction’ which is,

‘often highly impersonal, segmental, uninvolved, manipulative…[...] based on
mistrust and dislike, and patterned on crude stereotypes.’

The meztizo is the link as the bridge that connects the disparate parties of visitor and visited.
Or as Van den Berghe (1980:386) expresses it,

‘The meztizo middleman must in short have a foot in both worlds: the
tourist’s, so he can please him, and his won, so he can bring tourist and touree
together.’

The findings from the research undertaken in Cusco on the role of local guides, (in
the form of interviews with both local and official guides) revealed an interesting
relationship between Van den Berghe’s middle-man meztizo (the official guide) and
the touree. While the official guides stated they believe local guides were a valid and
legitimate contribution to the interpretative supply, they also pointed out that there
were limitations to their engagement with the Western audience due mainly to the
language barriers. All the local guides speak Quechua, most are bilingual Spanish-
speakers, but few speak other foreign languages so this would limit communication
with visitors. In fact, local guides are often employed by the official guides at sites.
Visitors then have the added ‘attraction’ of hearing Quechua and listening to legends
and myths about the site from the local guide. Often this is told directly to the official
guide in Quechua and translated to the visitors either in Spanish or in the relevant
foreign language.

‘Much as mestizos are past masters at exploiting everything else the Indian
has to offer, they have also made the most of the Indian as a touree. By and
large, however, local mestizos have an undisputed advantage in managing the
tourist trade, and they do so with considerable skill…’

From the local guide’s point of view, the research findings pointed to the problems of
access to the necessary skills and knowledge in order to become an ‘official guide’. There are physical and socio-economic constraints affecting the local indigenous
population. Training for professional guide status is delivered at universities or
colleges which are found in the urban centres and not the rural peripheries. The local
guides who were interviewed expressed that they could not afford to live in Cusco
and study full-time for two or three years (the average length of the courses). There is
another issue here also. Even if they could afford to do so or if there were initiatives
to facilitate this, there is the issue of appropriate training for the local indigenous
population.

2.5 Access for Training Local Guides for Participation in the Tourism System
If learning is about opportunities for transformational change, (Blanton, 1981; Hussey
& Smith, 2002) and if effective learning facilitates the potential to change the way we
see the world, then an appropriate curriculum design is required for local guides. The
majority of these guides will have finished their formal education after primary
school as their village may not supply secondary education or they may be required to
work in agriculture or mining by their family, (Sillar, 2000). In this light, the design
of a programme for local guides needs to be underpinned with a review of other
subjects such as world geography, regional geography, introductions to the subject
disciplines of archaeology and Inca culture & heritage. It needs to prepare the local
guides to be able to understand their place, and importance, in the overall tourism
system. A training programme needs to outline the roles of guide and introduce the
notion of the service encounter and its operational difficulties. This training could
come in the form of work-shops to give the phenomenon of the tourism experience
some context to those who are working in this system (as guides, souvenir sellers, or
suppliers of accommodation), but who themselves have yet to be tourists (Blanton,
1981). This could go some way to include those who at present find themselves
somewhat excluded from the tourism system. It could deepen their understanding of
the industry’s composition, clarify tourist motivations, and empower local
communities by raising awareness of both the pitfalls and potential of tourism as a
development option.

2.5.1 Appropriate Training for Less Developed Areas
The management of the service encounter in the context of less developed areas
carries its own specific problems. Traditionally, tourism training and education has
been supplied by the direct importation of Western models, to areas with different
socio-economic structures (Go, 1988). Where international hospitality companies
choose to operate in these areas, area-specific training should be implemented for the
consumer-contact employees (Blanton, 1981). While ‘internal marketing’ can also
work as a strategic marketing tool for such operations, prior to such training taking
place there needs to be a thorough consideration of the characteristics of the local
area.

One such example is MAPATO, a cross-cultural training programme run at tourism
college in Kenya and organised by David Blanton (1981) and devised to counter the
‘conversion courses’ of international training programmes. One main aim of the
programme is to iron out misconceptions that staff may carry about the tourists
arriving in their country. Tourist motivations are discussed and videos of the
crowded, industrialised tourism-generating regions, in cities in Northern Europe and
the USA, are used in order to give the hosts a sense of the ‘push’ factor involved to
get away from bad weather and stress - and in order for them to more fully understand
the ‘push’ factor and the appeal of spending time in a spacious, warm and relaxing
country. This is vital in order to give the phenomenon of tourism some context as
most traditional societies have no cultural frame of reference for tourism and such
explanations are crucial if resentment and negative socio-cultural impacts are to be
minimised.
2.5.2 The Wider Implications of Successful Service Delivery

There is a knock-on effect from experiencing consistently high quality service in the wider context of the tourism destination as a whole. Good and high quality service can create good word-of-mouth marketing about a country, an area or an attraction. It is likely then, that quality service will motivate more people to visit there, as those hearing of the place will naturally be inclined to trust their family or friends reported experience. The strategic importance of good quality service, therefore, is not limited to the service encounter within one specific company. On a broader level, a destination which is planned strategically, will have taken account of the socio-cultural impacts of the service encounter and any attempts to improve the quality of the service encounter demonstrate a clear understanding of the wider issues at stake, such as the destination’s social carrying capacity, tourism for development and service quality.

Moreover, such planning helps narrow any gaps between the host and the guest. Customer-contact employees, out of their working hours of course, form part of and indeed make up the larger host community. This gap, like the gap between expected and perceived service, needs to be as narrow as possible for a successful service encounter (see Figure 5). McAffee (1991) discusses the importance of fair working conditions for employees in a study of the mismanagement of local labour in the Caribbean. Where already there are wide economic gaps between the host and the guest, as is common when the destination is in a less developed area, and the host is working in a customer-contact role, there is a real need for careful management if social tensions are not going to grow and manifest themselves in poor quality service. McAffee, (1991: 173) states that, “a tourism industry based upon exploitation, servility and hypocrisy is bound to foster hostility among those required to serve and smile for poverty-level wages”. There is a human and economic argument for appropriate training. If the smiles of the employees are to be real, and come from within, they need to have a reason to smile: satisfied, protected employees make satisfied customers.

Figure 5 represents the wider picture involved in the importance of the delivery of high quality service, in the general context of any given destination. The fine dotted line surrounding the service encounter represents how closely linked this is to the overall impression a tourist will form of the destination: the two are not separated by a thicker line to indicate how the impact of service quality spills over into overall visitor satisfaction and how, conversely, the customer-contact employees are also affected by the types of tourists they encounter on a daily basis. Often, and certainly in the case of mass tourism, opportunities for interaction between host and guest are limited to the guests meeting the host population through the customer-contact staff (Mathieson & Wall, 1982). Therefore, these tourists will form an impression of the country or area largely from the quality of his interactions with the customer-contact employees.
Fig 5 - The wider implications of successful service at destination level
One such example is MAPATO, a cross-cultural training programme run at tourism college in Kenya and organised by David Blanton (1981) and devised to counter the ‘conversion courses’ of international training programmes. One main aim of the programme is to iron out misconceptions that staff may carry about the tourists arriving in their country. Tourist motivations are discussed and videos of the crowded, industrialised tourism-generating regions, in cities in Northern Europe and the USA, are used in order to give the hosts a sense of the ‘push’ factor involved to get away from bad weather and stress - and in order for them to more fully understand the ‘push’ factor and the appeal of spending time in a spacious, warm and relaxing country. This is vital in order to give the phenomenon of tourism some context as most traditional societies have no cultural frame of reference for tourism and such explanations are crucial if resentment and negative socio-cultural impacts are to be minimised.

2.6 Conclusions and Recommendations

Developing the skills and competencies of the official guides so that they might become ‘mentor’ types guides may allow for the myth and magic which attracts visitors to be transformed into meaning therefore facilitating integrated heritage tourism. The need to create meaning for the visitor experience is central to allowing interpretation, in this case in the form of tour guides, to achieve its conservation potential. Allowing local guides access to appropriate training will ensure deeper participation in the tourism system.

Destinations like Peru, which happen to be the location for unique attractions such as Machu Picchu, or the Taj Mahal in India, or the Pyramids in Egypt, find themselves in the enviable position of having monopolistic characteristics. That is to say, whatever they do service quality-wise, they will always be in demand. However, beyond visitor satisfaction, improved quality service and successful service encounters, a modern approach to heritage management in the Cusco region of Peru could provide an opportunity to use tourism as a development option for the rural areas and the local people who inhabit them.

Improving integration between the INC and the Ministry of Tourism could lead to an improved visitor experience, higher quality service from guides, modernised and up-dated interpretation for sites that have become attractions, and the inclusion of the outsiders, both the tourists and the local guides, in the tourism system.

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