My *Huaca*: The Use of Archaeological Heritage in Modern Peru from a Public-Archaeology Perspective

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

APROTUR	Asociación de Promotores Turísticos del Santuario Histórico Bosque de Pómac (Pomac Forest Historical Sanctuary Tourist Promoters Association - Created on August 6th 2004)
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
INEI	Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática (National Institute for Statistics and Informatic)
MNS	Museo Nacional Sicán (Sicán National Museum)
PNUD	Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (United Nations Development Programme
SAP	Sicán Archaeological Project
SERNANP	Servicio Nacional de Áreas Naturales Protegidas por el Estado (Natural Areas Protected by the State National Service)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Preface

As an archaeologist, most of my interest used to be focused only on the remains of ancient societies. Unveiling the secrets that lie in every unearthed evidence makes archaeology a very interesting science where we can "touch" history. The importance of an undisturbed archaeological context gained strength through my undergraduate studies in Peru to the point where I also condemned every activity that may damage it. I was convinced that archaeologists were the idealized researchers that recovered the ancient history of past societies using a scientific approach for the benefit of society. I also wondered why there were many people that could not understand the importance of the archaeological record, and considered it was a problem of miscommunication or lack of information.

In the year 2004, while carrying out a comparative study between the archaeology of Peru and Japan, I understood how difficult it is to know very little about the archaeology of another country and, moreover, to learn it in a totally different language. As well as my colleagues in Peru, Japanese archaeologists use a specific jargon for explaining every aspect of their research. In that moment I realized how the general public might be struggling to understand what archaeologists try to explain to them. Then, during a seminar in the year 2005 I came in contact with the field of Public Archaeology. Its potential in terms of theory and methodology, as well as its global perspective, led me to consider that this field would have a lot of possibilities in Peru since several Peruvian archaeologists began projects oriented to improve the relationship with the general public years earlier. This idea was also influenced by my participation in the WAC-6 Inter Congress in Osaka in 2006. As a result, my former classmates in Peru and I decided to build an electronic journal of archaeology, "Arkeos, Electronic Magazine of Archaeology PUCP", still online to date. The main objective of this magazine was to open a space for discussion about archaeology with other fellow researchers and the general public. We were surprised to observe that our main feedback came from the general public rather than archaeologists, making it clear that archaeology is a topic of interest for a wide audience outside the academic world.

With this background, in the year 2007 I decided to focus my research on improving the relationship between archaeologists and the general public at the Graduate University for Advanced Studies (National Museum of Ethnology) in Japan. By that time, the Poma Forest in the Lambayeque Province in Peru seemed a very interesting area, especially for the continuous interaction between the local people, the Sicán Archaeological Project and the Sicán National Museum. I have been lucky enough to see the development of this museum since its foundation and to know the researchers there, committed to the preservation of archaeological remains and local education. After 6 years of intensive research, my perspective of archaeology has drastically changed, partly because of my interaction with researchers from different fields in Japan (including archaeologists, anthropologists, linguistics, among others) but mostly because of the interaction with local population living around the Poma Forest.

Now I realize the diversity of perspectives related to archaeological remains. There are several ways to interact, interpret and use them beyond the scientific perspective. The title of this thesis relates to this idea. "My *Huaca*" ("Mi Huaca" in Spanish) was a common way to refer to archaeological sites by several stakeholders when these sites were in private property or undergoing a scientific excavation. By means of appropriating archaeological sites, stakeholders were able to relate to their environment and to other stakeholders, defining borders and establishing alliances. Understanding that archaeologists are just another group of stakeholders with a specific agenda and interests helped me relativize my own position as archaeologist and accept different perspectives on archaeological remains. I believe that, by acknowledging this position, archaeologists can find better ways to integrate other perspectives to the official discourse, involving the participation of the general public in the process of interpreting their own history, and eventually improving their relationship with the public. If we are considering the idea of a common archaeological heritage, it is necessary to identify and understand these perspectives, finding common elements between them and engaging into discussion to include as many stakeholders as possible. This research was carried out with this perspective.

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Last but not least, I would like to thank my family, especially my parents Rodolfo and Maria. Although living away from them for several years, their support and love was always present, even on those difficult moments when I had doubts of my future and the success of my research. I thank also my sister Carmen, her dedication to her goals and studies have been always an example for me, and I wish to become a good teacher like her someday. To my grandmother Inés, who sadly was unable to see the end of this research but endlessly supported my passion for archaeology without fully understanding it. To my uncles and aunts who have been like second parents, thank you for believing and supporting me during the long and difficult process of this research.

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Chapter 1: Introduction: Research Objectives, Significance of the Present Research, Background, Statement of the Problem, Theoretical Framework and Methodology

1. Research Objectives

This research aims to add new elements for discussing the definition and use of archaeological heritage by introducing the relationship between different stakeholders and archaeological remains in the north coast of Peru. The hypothesis postulated here is that, contrary to a common belief, the disinterest on archaeological remains protection of the Public is not driven only by ignorance or lack of information about their archaeological value, but actually a conflict between the values and use (sometimes antagonistic) given by the Public and archaeologists. In order to ease this conflict and engage the Public into archaeological heritage protection, archaeologists need to identify, understand, and include other perspectives in the concept of archaeological heritage.

Therefore, the research questions proposed include the following: Since archaeologists' perspective is taken as the official discourse for defining and using archaeological remains in Peru, is it the only existent perspective or are there others co-existing with it? If there are other perspectives, how can they be identified and how do they interact between them, especially with the official discourse? Is it important to include different multiple perspectives in the official discourse or is it enough with the archaeologists' perspective?

In order to answer these questions, the present thesis has the following main objectives:
1) Identify and define the existent perspectives related to archaeological remains, focusing on the use and values given to them by different stakeholders.

2) Analyze the interaction between stakeholders in relation to archaeological heritage, focusing on how the use and values previously identified are negotiated, adapted, ignored or prohibited.

3) Offer a critical observation on the official discourse and the role of archaeologists in society based in the discussion presented here.

This research has been divided in five chapters. The rest of Chapter 1 will present the significance of the present research, background, statement of the problem, theoretical framework and methodology of this research. Chapter 2 will introduce the background of our area of study, paying special attention to the interaction between archaeologists and the Public. The conflicts that arise between the different uses and values given to archaeological remains in the area of study by archaeologists and the Public will be analyzed in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 will focus on a first-hand observation on the implementation of a project aimed to benefit the Public. In Chapter 5 I will present the conclusions of this research and discuss the role that archaeologists should have for the society based on the information presented in the previous chapters.

2. Significance of the Present Research

The results of the present research can be used in different fields. In heritage studies, for example, it can help to bring new information on how to define cultural/archaeological heritage and it is used in different contexts. Some scholars have pointed out that participation on archaeological heritage protection might be related to the capacity of members of the Public to exert its rights as citizens and participate in the decisions to manage it (Matsuda 2009). This situation can be particularly observed in developed countries, where the access to education and information is more widespread than in developing countries (Matsuda and Okamura 2011). This situation has not been fully observed in the case of developing countries, mainly because of the lack of research on how the negotiation about the definition of heritage takes place there, although the situation is increasingly changing in late years. In this sense, the present research would add specific data from an area where economic differences affect the access to education and citizen participation in the definition and management of heritage.

The definition of heritage is important for local, regional and national cultural policies regarding preservation and management of archaeological remains. It is expected that the results of this research may give an insight on how negotiation on these remains takes place and how conflict can be avoided by presenting a case study that exemplifies this overlapping of different perspectives and interests between different stakeholders. Recently, the Peruvian government has promoted the use of archaeological heritage as tourist attractions to economically develop poverty areas –economically and logistically supported by international aid organizations, as well as using own financial resources–, it is necessary to determine if these efforts are really improving the quality of life of these areas and including the population as citizens in decision-making about these remains or if it only strengths the gap between those who have access to better economic and education situation and those who don't. Since the tendency to use archaeological heritage to develop poor areas through tourism is a global tendency in developing countries, the results of our research are important for contrasting different contexts abroad.

In this sense, a critic review of the archaeologists' perspective and role in society is necessary, since they are in charge of identifying, defining, studying and managing archaeological remains. This can be considered a power position over archaeological remains supported legally in Peru and other

Latin-American countries, and it is reflected on the limitations given by government policies for using these remains by local people. Then, it is important to analyze if this top-bottom relation between archaeologists and the Public is actually in the benefit of the latter, or if there are alternative ways to include the Public in all activities related to archaeological heritage including those monopolized by archaeologists.

The results of this research may also add more information about the use of archaeological remains nowadays, and how the information about them is passed through local population. Especially in the case of monumental sites, the importance of these remains as landmarks for the local population places an interesting topic about the relationship between human beings and their landscape: how people establishes connections with the remains of sites that were built, used and abandoned before they inhabited that area? The results of this research will give an insight about how local population interlinks its present lives with elements from a distant past through local stories and economical activities on everyday life.

3. Background

3.1 Studying archaeology and modern society

Archaeology has been described as a social science that studies societies through material culture (Renfrew and Bahn 2004: 12-16). Mainly focused in societies of the past, the methodology used by archaeologists for gathering data includes survey and excavation of the remains left by these societies. Later, through deep analysis of this data, archaeologists elaborate hypothesis and interpretations about these societies, which are subsequently published in reports, articles and books mostly aimed to the academic world. This is a conventional scientific concept about archaeology that places archaeologists as scientists discussing about the past only between them, having few interaction with people outside the academic field. In fact, in the field of archaeology, it is very easy to find specialists that avoid interacting with people outside the academic world who argue that the discussions become non-scientist and frivolous.

However, even if archaeologists may feel uncomfortable with non-academic audiences, the former need to interact with the latter for several purposes, a situation they are not always prepared or willing to do. For instance, in order to get financial support, archaeologists have to convince public or private entities about the importance of their research. Also, it is not enough to get an official permit from a government agency to carry out an archaeological excavation; they also need the approval of people living around archaeological sites. In late years, this interaction with non-academics has become even more demanding. Local communities and governments ask archaeologists for their help to improve local economies by using archaeological remains to attract tourism. Added to this reality, archaeologists are often also entitled by governments as managers of archaeological heritage, dealing with local authorities and developing industries who would not hesitate to build infrastructure over areas where archaeological sites are located, putting archaeologists in a conflictive position between their interest about preservation and the interests of several other actors. Archaeologists, then, cannot play only their role as scientists anymore; they need to become stewards and managers of archaeological remains being in constant interaction with a wide variety of people.

New fields of specialization have appeared to satisfy this demand for professionals who can manage archaeological remains and interact with stakeholders. One of the oldest is Museum studies. Since museums have been the common place for interaction between scientists and the general public, it is natural that inside this field, new trends to improve this interaction are being developed. Museum studies has been extended to include not only the exhibition itself, but also the planning and carrying out of new museums from scratch, making it an interdisciplinary field oriented to the public. In an attempt to put museums closer to people, it increasingly includes the feedback of visitors to plan and renew exhibitions. Also, the construction of new museums has changed its orientation, not looking anymore for buildings that just store different artifacts but also integrates with local landscape and communities. An example of this new trend can be seen on the development of site museums and interpretative rooms, which are planned now to keep harmony with their surroundings. However, this field is limited to the location of the museum or exhibition. It is almost impossible to carry out a project on museum studies where they do not exist, a common case for most archaeological sites in remote areas.

Cultural Resources Management (CRM) and Cultural Heritage Management (CHM), for instance, deal with the preservation of several types of cultural expressions, including archaeological remains. Influenced by rescue archaeology, they have been promoted by research institutions and governments to preserve and manage cultural assets. Although the preference for the term Cultural Resource or Cultural Heritage may depend on the country they are used at (U.S. for the former and U.K. for the latter), both are connected to the demand of making cultural (archaeological) heritage valuable for nowadays society (King 2012: 8). There are, however, other languages that make a clear differentiation between these terms. In the case of Japanese, while Cultural Resources can be easily translated as *Bunka-shigen*, Cultural Heritage is translated as *Bunka-isan* and it is derived from the long-used term *Bunka-zai* or Cultural Properties (Matsuda 2013). In the case of Spanish, the term *patrimonio cultural* when referring to cultural assets, and although *patrimonio* was originally used as a term for objects and monuments inherited by previous generations[1], now it is used and translated to English as Cultural Heritage by international organizations like UNESCO (1972; 1972a).

[1] This change will be explained in detail later in this chapter.

Inside the field of Archaeology, several sub-fields have also paid attention to the relationship between archaeologists, the general public and archaeological remains. In Latin-America, in particular, the sub-fields of Social Archaeology and Archaeology for Development have been around for some time. Social Archaeology was developed during the 1960's as a Marxist political response to the "imperialistic" influence of American archaeologists in Latin-America. As a way to empower local archaeologists, it postulated that archaeology should be actively used in politics, avoiding alienation of the past by recognizing the connection of indigenous people from the past to their oppressed descendants in the present (Lumbreras 1974, Tantaleán 2004, Franco Salvi 2008). While it was a clear product of its time, it still has many adepts who consider that local archaeologists should have priority over the decision of researching and managing archaeological remains in their own countries. Archaeology for Development is a newer concept and although it did not have the influence Social Archaeology had in its time, its goals share a common ground: this sub-field is oriented to make archaeology of some use to nowadays society in order to improve the quality of life (material and spiritual) of disadvantaged groups. It aims to help these groups defend their historical rights, contributing to build a society based on justice, democracy, and inclusiveness, also respectful of human and cultural rights. (Arqueología para el Desarrollo 2014). Some examples can be observed in the use of methods from archaeology/physical anthropology to solve mass-killing cases by excavating mass graves in countries like Peru, Guatemala, among other countries.

Another new tendency is Public Archaeology, defined as the sub-field that studies the relationships that arise between different actors when Archaeology expands beyond the academic world (Merriman 2004, Renfrew and Bahn 2005), analyzing and explaining those relationships, giving alternatives for a better management and protection of archaeological remains. It appeared in industrial developed countries (e. g. United States of America, United Kingdom, Australia, Japan, among others) where the concept of citizenship is related to an active population with more access to education and information, making it possible to enable a discussion between specialists and the general public for agreeing on how to use archaeological remains for the public benefit (Matsuda 2004). Although it is still unknown if it is possible to apply this model to developing countries with unequal access to education and information, this sub-field has successfully criticized the privileged position of archaeologists when interpreting the past over other groups that may have dissonant interpretations.

Although still there is no a final agreement on its definition, any project that relates archaeologists (or archaeology as a whole) with the general public can be considered matter of analysis for this sub-field. An advantage of Public Archaeology over other sub-fields is its capacity to critically analyze the role of archaeologists in present-day society by putting them in a horizontal position with other stakeholders. Moreover, its focus on the context where the relationships between different stakeholders interact gives it a wider perspective on how each stakeholder connects with archaeological remains[2]. Therefore, this research will take a Public Archaeology perspective as the main approach to identify, analyze and interpret the relationship between archaeological remains and different stakeholders (including archaeologists) in a study case. Further discussion about this approach will be presented in the theoretical framework section below, but first an introduction on the situation of the relationship between archaeologists and the general public will be presented.

3.2 Archaeology and the public worldwide

Public archaeology and Archaeological Heritage Management are different on each country depending on the predominant theoretical approach archaeology (more anthropologically oriented in the United States or more historically oriented in Europe, for example), the economical socio-political context and how it affects the job of archaeologists, and the historical context of the country. The theoretical orientation predominant among professionals in a country determines if the concept of heritage and its managing may become more professionally or public oriented. The situation of archaeologists depending on steady jobs financed by the government or private companies in charge of rescue archaeology has also shaped how archaeologists engage the general public. A historical context influences on the way archaeology might be used to build a national identity (especially in post-colonial countries), on the quantity of materials obtained from excavations and how they are exhibited, and so on (Matsuda and Okamura 2011:2-3).

Most archaeological remains are managed by government institutions worldwide, often in charge of archaeologists. Steady jobs in the government and the discourse of archaeologists taken as the official one can be observed in these contexts. The United States, for example, has a long history related to Cultural Resource Management (CRM) managed by the government. Jameson (2004) mentioned how after the Second World War, the United States entered in a period of economic growth, increasing at the same time the investment in infrastructure across the country. Several massive construction projects (like the Hoover dam, highways, railways and others.) affected many archaeological sites, something that alerted the general public. The development of professional archaeology had a boost when they were needed for carrying out rescue archaeology excavations on sites that would be affected by these development projects (especially in the Southwest). These excavations were able to gather a vast quantity of information, but also created problems about insufficient archaeological reports (forced by the little time to carry out rescue excavations), storage

[2] Examples of Public Archaeology studies can be found on the literature about archaeology in UK (Merriman 2004), an analysis for Somma Vesuviana in Italy (Matsuda 2009), Public Archaeology as officialdom archaeology in China (Wang 2011), the development of archaeology in North America (Smardz 2004; Lea and Smardz Frost 2011) archaeology and nationalism in South Korea (Kwon and Kim 2011), between others.

problems for an increasing quantity of archaeological materials and protection issues of these materials from the black market of antiquities. The development of a code of ethics for researchers, clear storage directives and manuals, as well as guides for excavation reports were issues of concern for several professional associations, including the Society for American Archaeology (SAA), which has focused its efforts on education and ethical issues (Smardz 2004). In this case, archaeological remains and its management are entrusted to professional archaeologists.

Other problems faced by American archaeologists are how to adapt different perspectives on archaeological remains beyond the scientific scope and how to include histories of formerly oppressed groups. In the case of different perspectives, an important step has been the implementation of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAPGRA) that recognizes the connection between Native American descendants and ancient burials in federal land. By this act, they are able to recover these remains and rebury them, allowing their customs to be respected. About the inclusion of other histories, the fight from Afro-American descendants to be recognized as an important part of American history has been an important step towards protecting the cultural remains that present the way of living of their ancestors (Jameson 2004, Shackel 2004)

Government economic support has been very important to manage archaeological remains and make them available for the general public. In the United Kingdom, for example, English Heritage is a non-departmental public body in charge of looking after the National Heritage Collection of historic sites and monuments and the guardianship of several other objects in public archives. It aims to help people understand value, care and enjoy England's unique heritage (English Heritage 2014). This institution has government support, but also accepts memberships of non-professional people who might be interested in protecting archaeological heritage who can attend special events (although the membership does not mean they are included in the decisions of conservation of this heritage). The aim towards engaging the general public has been quite successful in this country, especially after the Second World War and the change in politics that aimed to the public instead of collections, having a massive attendance to museums and huge amounts of people interested in archaeological events (Merriman 2004). Nevertheless, the United Kingdom also faces problems on how to include other ways of appreciating and studying archaeological remains, like the groups of amateurs using metal detectors (Bland 2004, Thomas 2004, Holtorf 2007,).

Japan has also a long tradition of archaeology managed by the government. As Okamura (2011) mentions, 90% of archaeologists work for local governments or foundations established by archaeologists. After being a devastated postwar country, its economic revitalization during the 70's and infrastructure boom led to a deeper interest in education, storage, analysis and diffusion of

Buried Cultural Properties (*Maizo Bunka-zai* in Japanese). On one side, an archaeology managed by the government that controlled and carried out rescue excavations on sites to be affected by infrastructure projects led to a bureaucratic system of archaeological projects sustained by the state with few participation of the general public, but on the other side, important discoveries that involved community movements to protect heritage (like the Tsukinowa Kofun in Okayama prefecture or the Heijo Palace in Nara Prefecture) opened a new space for archaeology to be consumed by the general public. This last aspect has not been fully taken advantage by archaeologists. There has been a clear division of professionals in charge of Cultural Properties (a concept that became useful to solve conflicts between stakeholders about management by selling the idea of a homogeneous past for all Japanese) since the main focus has been on objects rather than people, making it less attractive to a wider public who became less interested in archaeological topics discussed only by specialists.

Economical and infrastructure development seem to be important triggers of heritage discussions in other countries. In the case of South Korea, the rapid economic growth and infrastructure development led to conflicts between archaeologists, who may want to preserve certain archaeological remains, and local residents who want the development to be carried out. Educational activities carried out by archaeologists to encourage the general public to participate in the preservation of archaeological remains have been successful only to certain groups (housewives and elderly population) who have the time to participate in them. There is also the issue on competition of cultural heritage between provinces against a common macro-history proposed by the state based on nationalism (Kwon and Kim 2011).

China has a different approach but not less troublesome. Rescue archaeology has increased because of the economic growth as it happened in other countries. Nevertheless, an archaeology focused on nationalism and supported by the state has different problems. There is still an idea of archaeological remains as antiques, so there is a struggle on how to apply concepts of heritage brought from western countries and apply it to local collections (Wang 2011).

The issue of heritage and its management becomes more complicated when referring to oppressed groups in the past that try to regain their own history. This element is particularly conflictive in the case of post-colonial areas like Australia, where the archaeology and heritage of aboriginal groups is in a constant dynamic discussion of empowerment, avoiding any possible paternalism towards them (McNiven et al 2005).

In Latin-America, countries like Brazil are facing similar problems to elsewhere in the world. In the case of Brazil, for example, economic growth, based on natural resources extraction, has led to an increase of archaeological rescue projects in rural and urban areas, affecting not only archaeological remains but also indigenous groups living in these areas. The concept of a homogeneous general public is difficult to assess since economic differences between different groups nay be reflected on the official history. Moreover, the illicit trade of archaeological remains and still weak initiatives by each government to attack this problem make the situation more complicated (Funari 2004; 2012). In this global context, the situation of archaeology and the Public in Peru will be introduced below.

3.3 Archaeology and the Public in Peru

Peru has witnessed an improvement in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) reaching 6.1% in 2012 (INEI 2012). It has been the result of liberal economy measures mainly concentrated on the extraction of minerals. Poverty levels have been reduced to a 27.5% index of poverty in 2013, and in a total population of 28.220.764 habitants, only 1.9% live in extreme poverty. 76% of the population concentrates in urban areas, while 14% lives in rural areas (PNUD 2014). The economic growth has been particularly high in urban areas, where a construction boom has taken place with new apartment buildings, shopping centers and infrastructure. Here most of the basic services are concentrated (health, school, transportation, among others) Rural areas had a slower development and many basic services are limited, especially in education and health. Schools or medical posts, managed by the central government, usually lack of materials, equipment and qualified staff. To face this problem, the central government has been increasing on the last five years the financial support for investment on different projects aimed to improve the quality of life of local people, reaching an approximately of 29.4% of the annual GDP. Archaeological heritage preservation programs financed by the government fall in inside the category of public investment, although in a small amount and face the same problems as most of the government projects: adequate appraising when planned and being out, as well as monitoring of their results (Lumbreras L-E 2013:1).

In order to understand why the central government is interested in recovering archaeological remains, it is important to observe the change on the concept of heritage through time. National and local authorities have tried during colonial and republican periods to regulate property over archaeological remains. During colonial times, objects inside archaeological sites were considered treasures and they were regulated by the Spanish viceroyalty (Luque 2012). Later, after the Republic of Peru was established, archaeological sites and objects were considered "monuments and its objects"[3] owned by the state, and their restoration or destruction was entitled to a government agency (*Patronato de Arqueología* created with that objective. The members of this agency included the Education Minister, the Dean of the San Marcos University, elected representatives of other universities, the Director of

[3] As defined in the law 6634, Article 1 (year 1921)

the National History Museum and the President of the Geographical Society of Lima. During the 1970's, archaeological remains became cultural "assets" belonging to the *patrimonio* of the nation[4], being later managed by the National Institute of Culture (part of the Education Ministry) and finally by the Ministry of Culture created on the year 2010. The concept of a national *patrimonio* used today carries the idea that the legacy of ancient cultures is inherited by every citizen. Archaeological remains, then, have been considered for long time treasures to become later cultural assets used for the construction of a nation. Therefore, they were integrated in a national official history, highlighting their necessity to be studied, protected and managed by a governmental agency that was first composed by elite members of the society, to later become managed by bureaucrats (usually archaeologists).

It is only until recently[5] that the concept *puesta en valor*[6] of archaeological remains appears in the Peruvian legislation. To carry out a *puesta en valor* of a historical/artistic asset implies to prepare it for an optimal use by enhancing its characteristics in order to reach a transcendental objective like the economic benefit of a region. It this concept also implies that, by giving these assets an economic value, they can be enjoyed by a wide number of people. This economic value can be reached through tourism (Instituto Nacional de Cultura 2007). For archaeological monumental sites, this concept would be a process where they are excavated, cleaned and prepared in order to be appreciated by everyone through tourism, although lately some archaeologists suggest that it should be reviewed to go beyond an economic value (Lumbreras 2013:2).

Although it will be further analyzed in Chapter 3, I would like to highlight two ideas to be kept in mind about this concept in order to understand how the relationship between archaeologists and the Public has developed in Peru. The first idea considers that archaeological remains only gain value when studied/excavated by archaeologists and preserved for tourism. In this sense, any archaeological remain that has not passed through this process is not considered ready to be *used* by society. The second idea considers the *social use*[7] of archaeological (cultural) heritage as a cultural-economic resource. Archaeological remains will be considered of value for local people and will encourage the local identities in its area of influence only after being used as an economic asset.

The Peruvian state, accomplishing its role defending archaeological remains as national heritage, has

[4] This definition in the law 24047, Articles 1 and 2 (year 1985) is influenced by the 1972 UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage; Also found in the Peruvian Constitution, Article 21 (year 1993)
[5] Law 28296, Article IV (year 2004)
[6] The concept is defined in the Quito Conference 1967 as a recommendation for all Latin America (Instituto Nacional de Cultura 2007)
[7] The concept of *social use* has become part of the idea of *puesta en valor* in late years, as it can be observed in the website of the Ministry of Culture when defining *patrimonio* (Ministry of Culture 2014). However, this concept is stated in singular and restricted to an official use, and it does not consider the wide variety of "social uses" (García Canclini 1999) of archaeological heritage for local people.

an official agenda towards preservation and use of these remains, a role entrusted to archaeologists since they are considered the specialists in this area. Therefore, it is not strange to find out that the general public considers those with a professional degree (i.e., archaeologists, anthropologists, historians) as the only people interested and dedicated to manage and interpret archaeological remains, and archaeologists feeling themselves as the main professionals to achieve adequate heritage preservation.

This is the general situation of the relationship between archaeologists and the Public. However, there are specific regional characteristics that shape this relationship in different areas in Peru. Below, the situation of the relationship between archaeologists and the Public will be introduced for the north of Peru, the area where the fieldwork of the present research was located.

3.3.1 Strategies towards the Public in the North of Peru

Archaeologists have had different attitudes towards its role as stewards of archaeological remains. Since these remains are important as undisturbed context for their studies, they have been actively involved in their protection. One strategy often used was reinforcing the concept of *intangible*, which refers to the restriction imposed by law of altering by any mean archaeological remains. In many cases, it involved separating archaeological sites from the Public by a fence or putting archaeological objects behind a glass case. It was a direct response to looting, an activity that has been responsible for the destruction and commercialization in the black market of many remains[8]. It can also be linked to the concept of "assets owned by the nation" (a property concept). Lately, a new strategy goes towards a guided use of these remains for productive activities, like tourism, and it is related to the concept of "cultural resources", which has become very popular in the last decade.

This second strategy is the result of influences in global and country levels. In a global level, UNESCO-Peru has been promoting an "adequate" use of cultural resources in order to help the economic development of the population living around them, in a responsible way towards cultural customs and the environment. This institution considers that tourism can help in several levels to local population, not only allowing an economic income, but also intercultural exchange. Moreover, the income from tourism and an adequate control on the flux of tourists can help protect and preserve archaeological heritage (UNESCO 2003).

Tourism related to archaeological remains has become an important activity used as an education tool about the value of archaeological research but its scope was limited to the most popular sites. For years, the only archaeological sites that had a constant affluence of tourists were in southern Peru: the Inca

[8] In some areas like the north coast of Peru, looting became a semi-professional activity supported by rich landlords until the 1960's which continues until now.

ruins of Cuzco (Machu Picchu and the archaeological sites surrounding Cuzco city) and the Nazca Lines in Ica. Archaeological discoveries and their media coverage have changed the Public's perception of archaeology since the late 1980's. The excavations of rich elite tombs at the sites of Sipán (Lambayeque Region, Mochica culture) in 1987 (Alva and Donnan 1993), Kuntur Wasi (Cajamarca Region, Formative Period) in 1989 (Onuki 2006), and Huaca Loro (Lambayeque Region, Sicán culture) in 1991 (Sicán Archaeological Project 2014) had a social and economic impact in the population living around archaeological sites. The most distinctive feature beyond the quantity and quality of the findings was the fact that it was the result of archaeological excavations[9]. Its coverage by national and international media showed to the general public the richness and complexity of ancient societies in Peru and the value of archaeology to unveil their secrets. This new importance given to archaeology and the use of archaeological remains as cultural resources can be observed in the central role played by museum building and the development of activities associated to them. This role in the north of Peru can be divided in two stages:

a) First stage (years 1990-2006)

The first stage is characterized by experimentation, and it can be connected to the opening of the Museum of the Nation in the year 1990 in Lima[10], showing the interest of the central government. In the provinces, where most impressive findings were done, the central government support was still weak but archaeologists focused on finding private support (both national and international) for their ventures towards the Public. Some archaeological projects, like the ones mentioned before, led to the construction of archaeological-site museums owned or managed by local communities (e.g., the Túcume Site Museum, the Kuntur Wasi Museum and the modular site museum in San Jose de Moro). Later at this stage, archaeologists used international funding for the construction of large regional/national archaeological museums (the Royal Tombs of Sipán Museum and the Sicán National Museum), integrating them into the museum government system managed by the National Institute of Culture (INC in Spanish) from the beginning, increasing the offer for archaeological tourism in Peru.

Since the support of the central government was scarce at the beginning of this stage, archaeologists opted to involve local inhabitants into the management of these museums but keeping a central role in the organization of this support. In all cases, archaeologists determined the construction and museography (including design, story and exhibition) of the museums. Strategies changed due to the archaeological project that originated each museum. In the cases of San Jose de Moro and the Kuntur Wasi Museum, for example, they were based in archaeological projects of short-term excavation

[9] Moreover, in the case of Kuntur Wasi and Huaca Loro, it was the result of long-term archaeological projects (the Japanese Archaeological Mission to the Andes and the Sicán Archaeological project, respectively)

[10] This museum used the infrastructure of the dismantled Fishery Ministry, becoming also the central offices for the National Institute of Culture and later the Ministry of Culture (El Comercio 2010).

seasons each year. It meant that archaeologists couldn't stay for the whole time to administrate the museums. In the case of San Jose de Moro, archaeologists developed the modular museum as an open-air museum, with only one closed module whose key was carried and administrated by a local person who worked in the project (Saucedo-Segami 2011). In the case of Kuntur Wasi Museum, archaeologists gave the administration to the local community which organized a committee in charge of it. Archaeologists became advisors for solving problems that the community could not do by itself (Onuki 2006). The Túcume Site Museum and the Leymebamba Museum had archaeologists on the field all year round, giving them the possibility of taking decisions about the museum directly. Larger museums, like the Royal Tombs of Sipán Museum and the Sicán National Museum, meant a new organization since they were integrated from the beginning to the National Institute of Culture (now Ministry of Culture). They have resident archaeologists in charge of the administration.

Integration with local communities also depended on the location, dimension and administration of each museum. Site museums, because of their location inside communities and smaller size had a closer relationship with them (Silvermann 2006a). Larger museums were located in bigger cities away from archaeological sites, so they had fewer possibilities to integrate with local communities. In order to face this problem, some museums like the Túcume Site Museum, the Royal Tombs of Sipán Museum and the Sicán National Museum developed the concept of *Patronato*. Conceived as a Board of Trustees, they are non-profit associations whose participants were archaeologists from the museums, local intellectuals and authorities in charge of organizing activities to support archaeologists in managing and protecting archaeological remains. Usually the director of a museum (an archaeologist) was the head of the board.

Museums from this stage faced different challenges. One challenge was auto-sustainability. In cases of larger museums, since they depended on state funds, they could cover most of the utilities and maintenance expenses by public funds, but smaller site museums had to deal with fewer resources, especially for those with no public funds support. In these cases, archaeologists decided for smaller buildings, reducing utility costs by using natural lighting and maintenance costs by the support of local communities, as well as relying on donations. Another challenge was how to make the museum attractive for tourists. Since they were the first of their types in areas with no previous tourism-related activities, archaeologists had to work with local authorities, private companies and media in order to create new tourist routes. In order to offer other services to tourists, they encouraged local population to take training courses for manufacturing souvenirs or to build community hostels. In many cases, archaeologists directly participated in retrieving funds and specialists for these activities. Archaeologists also had to deal with the internal problems of local communities, often becoming mediators between different factions which had different opinions about how to use archaeological remains, museums and the land where they were located. This stage, then, can be defined as an experimentation moment with archaeologists participating as active actors towards encouraging the Public by tourism and museum-related initiatives. These initiatives were not a common policy and usually supported by private funds. They served as answer to problems that appeared in each case. In all cases, tourism had a central role as an activity to appeal for the Public's support.

b) Second Stage (year 2006 onwards)

The second stage is characterized by a more active participation of the central government through different means like the creation of a new administration entity called "Executive Units" in the year 2006, the constant financial support made by private entities, and a new focus on educational programs to develop ties with the general public. The Executive Units are designed as decentralized institutions with budget capabilities receiving direct funding from the government in order to carry on different projects (Ministerio de Economía y Finanzas 2014). The Ministry of Culture carries seven Executive Units, four of which directly related to archaeological sites and museums (Ministerio de Cultura 2011). Their objectives include registering and putting in value archaeological remains in order to improve tourism and quality of life of the local population. Their funding is used for archaeological excavation, administrative expenses for local museums and construction of new museums. In the case of the Lambayeque Region, the Executive Unit 005 "Special Project Naylamp" is in charge of the archaeological museums in the region, financing at least five archaeological projects each year. It also gave funds for the constructions of the Huaca Chotuna and Huaca Rajada site museums. There were also other all-year-round projects financed by different institutions. It was the case of the Huacas de Moche Archaeological Project and El Brujo Archaeological Project in La Libertad region, which are being carried out since the 1990's. The first was a project from the National University of Trujillo, financed by several institutions and private companies associated in the "*Patronato de las Huacas del valle de Moche*", while the second project was financed by the Wiese foundation. Both projects led to the construction of the Huacas de Moche Museum and Cao Site Museum. In the case of the construction of the Chavín de Huantar National Museum, it was encouraged from the National Institute of Culture and had the economic support of the Japanese government, Antamina Mining Company, regional authorities and local associations. Another project that receives government funding is the Qhapaq Ñan Project, which includes the research and put in value of several archaeological sites along the network of roads used by the Inka Empire (Lumbreras L-E 2013).

Many of the problems faced by archaeologists on the first stage led to a new concept on the management of archaeological remains. The conception of each museum considered the participation of several specialists, not only archaeologists, addressing those problems. Maintenance costs, for example, were lowered by building smaller ecological structures that would match with their surroundings[11]. Archaeologists also considered the insertion of museums on tourist routes. The biggest example for the north coast is the “Moche Route”, which includes the main area where the Moche or Mochica culture developed. To date it also includes other prehispanic periods like the case of the Sicán culture in Lambayeque. This route has been conceived as an alternative to the tourism done in Cuzco region and takes advantage of the road network and service access already existent in coastal cities (Ministerio de Comercio Exterior y Turismo 2014).

At this stage, a sense of self-identification for local population with archaeological remains has been achieved through tourism, although it has not been equally implemented in each important archaeological site or museum. This inequality can be addressed to the degree of interest of some archaeologists to integrate local population in the process of put in value of archaeological remains and the existence or not of an urban settlement near archaeological sites (Trivelli and Hernandez 2009). Active integration with local population has been usually achieved with the support of other specialists through workshops focused on handicraft-making, manufacturing of local products and tourist-services management. Successful results can be observed at cities and towns where museums and projects are using this approach, like the Túcume Site Museum (Slean 2005), the Sicán National Museum and the San Jose de Moro Project (Curay 2011; Saucedo-Segami 2011) and Huacas de Moche Site Museum (Canziani and Wakeham 2010), where local population is actively participating in workshops and other initiatives organized by archaeologists.

Education has been another area developed by archaeologists with the support of other specialists to integrate local population. The Túcume Site Museum, for example, developed with the Axis Group[12] a series of educations materials designed to complement the classes at local schools with local information about customs, stories and traditions. This material is free of charge and can be downloaded from internet, making it accessible to a larger public (Axis 2014). The Sicán National Museum also developed a training program with school teachers from Ferreñafe city in the years 2003 and 2004. It aimed to train teachers into using the museum as a classroom and planning activities where kids could touch and interact with archaeological remains (Curay 2011). The San Jose de Moro Project developed a different perspective, constructing or improving facilities in the town where the archaeological site is located. Gathering private financial support, the project rebuilt the local primary school decorating it with motifs found in Mochica pottery. This project also built a workshop facility

[11] Huacas de Moche Site Museum and Cao Site Museum are good examples of how private funding could invest in museums. Both were conceived to harmonize with areas where the only bigger structures are the archaeological sites. In the case of Huacas the Moche Site Museum, it also takes advantage of sunlight for lighting and wind movement for cooling, becoming an ecological building (Canziani and Wakeham 2010).

[12] Axis is an interdisciplinary group of applied research from the Faculty of Art of the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru. It supported also the Huacas de Moche Site Museum.

for traditional pottery making and training in 2010. This project is supported by the Sustainable Preservation Initiative Grant from the Archaeological Institute of America, a program that seeks global heritage preservation through local economic development (Sustainable Preservation Initiative Website 2014). As in the case of tourism-oriented projects, these education-oriented projects needed the active involvement of archaeologists with local population to succeed.

4. Statement of the Problem

As it can be observed in the recent context of archaeological remains, there is an increasing interest in giving them a positive economic value for society usually through tourism, education and enhancing national/regional identities. This is an official interest from the government carried out mostly by archaeologists, but also private organizations are actively participating. Nevertheless, there are questions that arise from this situation.

In the case of archaeological remains preservation, for example, is there actually an idea of preserving the past shared by other people than professional archaeologists? If this idea is shared by other stakeholders, does it carry the same interests archaeologists have or it includes other interests and perspectives about these remains? How archaeologists can face other perspectives and include them in the official use of archaeological remains? In the cases presented in this chapter, the position of archaeologists is predominant over any other possible use of archaeological remains. Therefore, one may ask if actually it does include other stakeholders' participation or if it is imposed (either directly or indirectly) by archaeologists playing their roles of qualified professionals in charge of these remains.

The problem of participation also leads to other questions. Almost every project aimed to the general public mentions an integration of local population in carrying out projects for protecting archaeological remains. However, these projects already assume that local population wants to preserve these remains. If the idea of preservation is already assumed, does it mean that archaeologists are imposing their own perspective of these remains instead of actually integrating local people on every decision about their own archaeological heritage? Are archaeologists including the opinion of local people on every part of the planning and carrying out of preservation projects?

If archaeologists may be imposing their preservation perspective over other stakeholders, it may be representing a social problem that is not dealt with: the possibility of every citizen to have the same rights towards deciding what they want to do with their own archaeological heritage. Moreover, an imposed perspective would also determine beforehand what is considered archaeological heritage or not without including the perspective of other stakeholders. This situation may present a social gap where academic/professional groups tell the general public what should be considered heritage or not, somehow alienating the space where they live and making them the exotic descendants of ancient civilizations that should preserve their landscape as pure and pristine as possible. Instead of encouraging local development, this position may only reinforce an up-down relationship between people who have access to high-level education and those who do not. The question rises on how archaeologists can avoid this situation and really involve local people on decision making over defining and using their own archaeological heritage, even if that implies that archaeologists may lose power on deciding what to do with archaeological remains in this process.

5. Theoretical Framework

To address the problem introduced above, the present research will use an approach from the sub-field of Public Archaeology explained in detail below.

5.1 Definition of Public Archaeology

The concept "Public Archaeology" was first mentioned by MacGimsey (1973) as he was proposing a way to improve the insertion of archaeological work in modern society by presenting different examples of interaction between archaeologists and the general public, while questioning the role of archaeologists as public servants in Indiana, United States. From this first definition, Public Archaeology has been reconsidered through different influences outside the academic field, either in social and economic realms. Nowadays Public Archaeology has extended its scope to become an interdisciplinary field that focuses not only on archaeologists' perspective but also in the different perspectives carried by groups comprising the general public, paying special attention to the relationships these groups build with archaeological remains (Matsuda 2011). In order to understand its development I will explain below about the concepts inside this field of study.

5.2. The concept of "Public" in Public Archaeology

It is important to clarify the concept of "Public" in Public Archaeology. In the present research, I will use two definitions presented by English archaeologist Nick Merriman (2004) that will help understanding the different dimensions on the relationships between the Public and archaeological remains. Merriman (2004: 1-2), while giving an interesting summary about the origins and concept of Public Archaeology, mentions two notions of "Public" that illustrates its contrast with archaeologists. The first notion is the idea of "public" as an opposite of "private", which is related to the initiatives of a state that acts on behalf of "public interest". The second notion, the Public, refers to the concept of a huge diversity of the population (audience) who does not earn their living as professional archaeologists[13].

[13] In order to avoid confusion about these two ideas of "Public", when this term is used as an opposite of "private", it will be written as

5.2.1 Notion of public vs. private

Since its origin, Public Archaeology was related to state issues. The first use of the term can be found in the United States "associated with the practical exigencies of development-led cultural resource management (CRM), in contrast with academic archaeology and its apparent concern with wider research questions" (Merriman 2004: 3). Since several archaeological sites were endangered by the increasing construction development on the 50s and 60s, the state considered important to encourage non-archaeological Public in protecting archaeological sites. However, as archaeology became more professionalized, archaeologists were entailed to manage cultural resources on "behalf of the public", usually through strategies that consider their preservation for "posterity" or their recording before destruction, becoming the first and widespread concept of Public Archaeology.

As it was introduced before in this chapter, similar situations happened in other industrialized developed countries like the United Kingdom and Japan, where Archaeologists became the stewards of these resources as a result of the professionalization of archaeology, making the participation of the Public decrease (Merriman 2004: 3-4, Matsuda 2011). In the case of Latin America, and more specifically Peru, a similar situation has happened between the Public and archaeologists. Archaeology started as a venture of interested intellectuals and aristocrats from the Public, but when it became professionalized, archaeologists became the specialists in charge of the archaeological remains in behalf of the Public, especially to the legal aspects concerning its management. Infrastructure development and the search for natural resources have increased this process, making archaeologists the only specialists in charge of recognizing, interpreting and managing archaeological remains, becoming the official discourse. Therefore, this concept of "public" will be used when referring to state initiatives "on behalf of the Public" for the present research.

5.2.2 The notion of Public as an audience

The problem between different perspectives about archaeological remains is directly related to the second notion about the term "Public" as audience. This notion is the result of the communication relationships established between archaeologists and the Public based on how the information is interpreted and shared. In this sense, the Public can be a passive audience that receives the information from archaeologists without participating directly in the research and interpretation of archaeological remains, or they can be an active audience that discusses the information presented by archaeologists from different perspectives.

As seen previously on this chapter, there are several trends on how to interact with the Public

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"public". When it refers to the general public, it will be written as "Public".

worldwide. These trends are the result of different political and social contexts where the role of archaeologists are discussed as the solely interpreters of the past. Former oppressed groups, for example, have challenged the official discourses in their countries since they believe it gives a wrong interpretation of their own past. This can be observed, for example, in the cases of archaeological research carried out on American Indian graves and Afro-American archaeological sites in the United States. Post-colonialism archaeology has also faced similar problems since archaeology was first introduced by groups that had economic and political power over others. After colonialism ended in this countries, previously controlled groups or the descendants of decimated groups began a process of empowering the interpretation of their own history, like in the cases of Australia, South Africa and Polinesia (Jameson 2004, Byrne 2004, Thiaw 2011).

Globalization and the insertion of archaeological remains in a market economy –mainly through tourism– raised another ethical issue: how to manage archaeological remains. Scholars from different countries in Europe and North America raised the question about how the past should be protected, presented and used nowadays. The scientific perspective that archaeologists carry about archaeological remains was criticized, since those remains should be considered part of the past that belongs not only to them, but to the whole society. Archaeological remains, as a heritage from societies of the past, were considered to have several values as part of the identity of different groups and nations. The archaeologists' role as stewards of archaeological remains was then questioned, since it was considered that archaeologists should include other groups' perspectives on how to manage these remains (Preucel and Hodder 1996, Merrimann 2004).

Two main questions define what can be considered as Public Archaeology today: How different perspectives about the past can be integrated and how the remains of the past should be managed. Public Archaeology is presented as a field that understand that Archaeology is not only important for archaeologists, but for a wide variety of groups beyond the academic sphere. These groups, like archaeologists, have interests and relationships with archaeological remains and can be defined as the Public. Public Archaeology, then, appears as a field that studies the interests and relationships that arise when archaeology goes beyond the academic sphere into the Public sphere. As Merriman (2004: 4-5) notes, Public Archaeology becomes a space where archaeological products (i.e., educational programs, museums displays) can be discussed not only by specialists but also by the Public.

It should be added that Public Archaeology also carries an additional objective as a field of study. Its ultimate objective aims to improve the relationship between archaeologists and the Public, making archaeology relevant to nowadays society. This objective includes questioning the role of archaeologists as the only actor that can interpret and manage archaeological remains, proposing a facilitator role that should encourage the participation of the Public. As Renfrew and Bahn (2004) mention:

> Some archaeologists have challenged the view that their role is one of stewardship, protecting resources that are conceived as cultural property. Instead, they see the role of the public archaeologist as one of professional mediator between different interests in the past. Public Archaeology is all about consulting and negotiating with a diverse set of people and their interests in a world that extends far from the academic discipline. Public Archaeology is in this way a transdisciplinary space.

In this definition of Public Archaeology, the role of archaeologists as mediators is mainly focused in the “use” of archaeological remains. Renfrew and Bahn emphasize how archaeologists do not decide what should be done with archaeological remains, but actually consult and negotiate with different groups of interest. In this sense, the “use” archaeologists may propose for an archaeological site or object may clash with different perspectives from other groups. This aspect leads to another problem for archaeologists as mediators, the “value” of archaeological remains. When negotiating with different groups, each of them has a particular interpretation of these remains. For example, while archaeologists mainly focus on the “scientific” value of archaeological remains, other groups may focus on how these remains are a symbol for their identity with deep roots in the past, even if that is not possible to confirm scientifically. The real challenge for archaeologists is how to negotiate between these different “values” to create a common history that includes as many perspectives as possible in order to achieve consensus on how to “use” archaeological remains.

The concept of “use” is particularly important and will be discussed later on following chapters. The concept of “Social Use” has been introduced by UNESCO for heritage management as tourism (UNESCO 2003). Some countries, like Peru, have taken this concept into archaeological heritage management, although not being clear enough about its definition. The Ministry of Culture of Peru states in its website (Ministry of Culture). The lack of definition of this concept leads to the problem of what use ─from all the possible ones given by different stakeholders— should be considered the official social use, and if it is actually representative for the concept of world or national heritage (García Canclini 1999)

In order to understand the values given by different actors and the possible use that can be proposed for an archaeological remain, it is necessary for archaeologists to develop a communication relationship. As it has been observed in this chapter, archaeologists have developed several strategies to communicate with the Public. By comparing them, Merriman (2004:5-6) considers that two models exist so far:

a) Deficit model

In this model, the Public has not knowledge about the past and archaeologists are the only specialists that can teach about it through their scientific. It is characterized by a vertical relationship between archaeologists and the Public. Archaeologists are considered the only "managers" of the archaeological remains, and their interpretations about the past become the official discourse. Archaeologists in this model usually tend to consider themselves objective, and try to avoid any subjective information to their interpretations. This model is very common in countries where the access to education and information are related with the economic level of the population. In many cases, protection of archaeological sites, education programs and museum planning are mainly managed by archaeologists, who work together with the local population on developing initiatives that are mostly focused on strategies on how to use archaeological resources for developing local economies through tourism (Funari 2004; Silvermann 2006a; Jennings 2006; Saucedo Segami 2012).

b) Multiple Perspective model

In this model, archaeologists work together with the Public to create a space where the Public's discourse has the same value as archaeological interpretations. For archaeologists following this model, any relationship with the archaeological remains is equally important, even those that can be considered opposite to academism (esoteric beliefs, new-age ideologies and folkloric traditions). For them, archaeology is only one of the possible interpretations about the past, and the subjective information is as important as the objective one. Examples of this model can be found in industrial developed countries (Barkzan and Bush 2003, Bland 2004, Jameson 2004, Potter 1994, Thomas 2004). In those countries, information about archaeological sites is accessible to the public, and it can be openly criticized by non-professionals. Even archaeological findings could be done by amateur people. These countries are also characterized by having initiatives related to protection of archaeological remains coming from the Public, usually related to protection of ancient landscapes or ancestor relationship.

These two models have positive and negative aspects. A Deficit Model has the advantage of being easier to apply, especially in areas where there is not an active involvement of the Public towards archaeology and protection of archaeological remains. Also, since the information is retrieved through academic research, it can be characterized as "objective", having less trouble with aspects related to authenticity and enjoys the support of government institutions. However, it demands the constant supervision of an archaeologist on the field and limits the participation of the Public to a passive role. It can also be argued that its official discourse is univocal since it only allows the information retrieved by academic research, leaving aside local traditions and other non-academic information that the

Public may have. The Multiple Perspective Model, on the other hand, supports the empowerment of the Public in becoming an active stakeholder of archaeological remains, allowing the participation of non-archaeologists in interpreting and protecting those remains. The role of archaeologists in interpreting the past with the Public becomes more horizontal, giving the opportunity to enrich the official discourse with both the archaeological and the Public's knowledge, giving it a multivocality characteristic.

The characteristics of the Multiple Perspective Model give a participatory role to the Public. Instead of being just receptive of archaeologists' interpretations, the Public becomes an active actor participating in the protection of archaeological remains. But there are some problems when applying this model. Radical opposition towards an archaeological perspective, for example, makes difficult to find common ground for non-academic perspectives. Also, some authors have questioned the possibility to apply a Multiple Perspective Models in countries where education and access of information are related to the economic level a person belongs to. Matsuda (2004) mentions that in order to have a successful discussion of ideas, it is necessary that all the people involved have at least the capacity to elaborate an appropriate logical statement, something that could be difficult in countries with strong social and economic differences. Other authors are worried about the possibility of giving "unauthentic" interpretations to the Public if some dissonant interpretations are put on the same level to academic ones (e. g., extraterrestrial influence in archaeological sites or esoteric interpretations.).

So far the Deficit Model has been widely used by most archaeologists, but through the influence of globalization and the concept of a shared past for all humanity, the Multiple Perspective Model has been gaining more adepts. This last model also seems to be better fit for understanding the dynamic of how human beings elaborate their own ideas of the past. As Matsuda (2009) pointed out, even if archaeologists have an official role as interpreters of the past, it is the Public at the end who chooses which information is more important or useful for them. It means that, regardless the archaeologists' perspective, the Public will create anyway their own idea of the past.

A refined version of these two models have been introduced first by Holtorf and then by Matsuda and Okamura. Holtorf (2007) mentions that there are three models on the strategies archaeologists use to engage the Public applying concepts of the relationship between science and society. The aim of the Education Model is to make as many people as possible to "come and see both the past and the occupation of the archaeologist on the same terms as the professional archaeologists themselves", improving the communication with archaeologists by being passive receivers of archaeological knowledge. The Public Relations Model, on the other side, involves convincing the Public to have their opinions more compatible with the interest of professional archaeology, something important especially in a context where archaeologists need economic and social support to carry out their projects. Finally, the Democratic Model involves inviting everyone to encourage and develop their own enthusiasm and interest in archaeology, always caring that it respects the needs and rights of others. In this model, the professional does not judge other's perspectives, embracing diversity.

Matsuda and Okamura (2011) notice that both Merriman and Holtorf proposed models can be combined. The Education and Public Relations Model are part of the Deficit Model, while the Democratic Model can be compared to the Multiple-Perspective Model. They even consider that these two models can be subdivided on two approaches: a Critical Approach and a Multivocal Approach. The Critical Approach would be related to criticize positions of power towards archaeology, especially defending the position of oppressed or dominated groups that may not have their own mechanisms to discuss their own ideas about the past. The Multivocal Approach is related to an idea of studying the diversity of opinions about the past in various contexts of contemporary society. Both of these approaches involve a "left-wing" political point of view about the relationship of the Public and archaeology.

García Canclini (1999) also presents four approaches for managing heritage focused on its social uses, especially on the preservation in Mexico. These approaches can be applied to understand the archaeological heritage management in other areas of Latin America. The Traditional-Essential approach considers that historical assets should be preserved for the intrinsic high value they carry, independently of their use nowadays. The Mercantile Approach sees heritage only for its potential value or for being an obstacle on the progress of an area. Heritage is valued in terms of the benefits or expenses it may create. The Conservationist-Monumental approach sees historical assets for their value in encouraging nationalism, being symbols of cohesion and majesty. Finally, the Participative approach considers heritage and its preservation according to the global needs of nowadays society. The decision on what and how it is preserved is made democratically in a process that includes interested groups, their customs and opinions.

The Participative approach can be easily related to the Multiple-Perspective, Democratic and Multivocal approaches, although there are no examples in Peru of this approach. For the case of the Traditional-Essentialist approach, it can be related to the Deficit and Educational approaches, since all of them consider archaeological remains have an intrinsic value that should be taught to modern society independently of the use they have nowadays. In the case of the Mercantile and Conservationist-Monumental approaches, they can be considered part of the Public Relations approach, since both of them have the objective of presenting archaeological heritage as something valuable for modern society, either for its economic or national/regional/local identity values.

In the case to be presented here, it will be intended first to identify which approach is more common for Peruvian archaeology, analyzing the problems about heritage in the north coast of Peru, and proposing later if that approach is effective for improving the relationship between archaeologists and the Public. Below, the methodology applied for the present research will be explained.

6. Methodology

6.1 Area of Study

The north coast of Peru is an interesting area for carrying out the present research because of its richness in archaeological remains, the looting and destruction of them until today, and the initiatives taken by archaeologists to protect them give us good examples to observe the relationship between the Public and archaeologists. Archaeological sites are also used in many different ways than expected from archaeologists. Most of the population has lived for many generations close to archaeological sites, becoming part of their daily lives. The use they give to archaeological remains may sometimes include their destruction (e.g., widening agricultural land, building farms or a house on top of an ancient building.). Archaeological information has also being used to demonstrate property of land. The local population has a strong sense of identity that uses archaeological heritage as a proof of how "native" they might be, making a strong differentiation from migrants of other areas, especially from the nearby Andes Mountains. Considering that the Public relates in many different ways to the archaeological remains, it is understandable that the archaeologists' attempts to encourage their protection without considering those relationships may face several problems. It is important, then, to first identify and observe the different actors and the relationships between them and archaeological remains. Our area of study will be the Poma Forest and its surroundings in the Lambayeque region. This area managed by the Sicán National Museum and under the constant research of the long-term Sicán Archaeological Project has several actors with interest in the archaeological remains, giving us a good example of the different relationships between archaeologists and the Public.

6.2 Research Strategies

The methodology developed for the present research will be explained according to the two main objectives mentioned above. To understand the relationship between different actors and archaeological remains, it was necessary to identify these actors and to observe, describe and compare how "archaeology" is experienced in our area of study. In the present research, in order to refer to the different actors around archaeological remains, the term "stakeholders" will be used. This is a term originally used in business theory and project management to define those who affect or can be affected by the activities of a business or a project as a whole, and it has been applied also for Cultural Resources Management. Project Management defines project stake holders as:

> (…) individuals, groups, or organizations who may affect, be affected by, or perceive themselves to be affected by a decision, activity, or outcome of a project. They are comprised of persons and organizations such as customers, sponsors, the performing organization, and the public who are actively involved in the project. They may also exert influence over the project and its deliverables. Stakeholders may be at different levels within the organization and may possess different authority levels, or may be external to the performing organization for the project. (Project Management Institute 2013)

Stakeholders, then, includes organizers of a project as well as those who receive the benefit of it or that may be affected by it. It also includes groups that are not directly affected by the results of the project, but whose influence can affect the project itself. In the case of a Public Archaeology project, stakeholders include archaeologists, the different groups inside local communities, regional and local authorities, among others. Their position of power, involvement, or influence to the project determines if they are key stakeholders and the approach that should be taken to each of them. In this research I will identify stakeholders and key stakeholders in relation to the initiatives carried out at the communities around the Poma forest by archaeologists from the Sicán National Museum

Stakeholders in this area include those actors that have an active position of power towards the interpretation and management of archaeological remains: Archaeologists, government representatives, tourism managers. Those actors who have a passive position (may be interested in archaeological remains, but have a low degree of power in the decision-making about the interpretation and management of these remains) are also stakeholders included here: tourists, local farmers, collectors, amateur historians, journalists. The present research focused on understanding the relationship between these two groups of stakeholders and their influence towards archaeological remains. As it will be explained in following pages, although active stakeholders have a direct influence and power over these remains, passive stakeholders can influence the decisions or gain power through different actions (e.g., amount of tourists in the area, illegal appropriation of land, political influence, among others.).

To obtain the necessary data for the present research, a methodology including fieldwork interviews and participant observation was carried out. Additional information was included from text analysis of related scientific articles published by archaeologists working in the area, government documents and newspaper articles, as well as visual representations of archaeological remains in mentioned locations. For contrasting the perspective of archaeologists with local population in the area, I participated in daily activities of the Sicán National Museum, especially the redesign of the materials for the educational program. This experience allowed me to closely observe the problems and possible solutions that arise when implementing projects intended for the general public. This information complements the final part of this research, which is focused on showing the problems and possibilities for archaeologists to develop a successful Multiple-Perspective Model for Peru.

6.2.1 Fieldwork interviews and participant observation

In order to achieve the first objective, three fieldwork seasons were carried out during the years 2008 (from July to August, 1 month), 2009 (from June to September and from December to February, 6 months) and 2010 (from July to January, 6 months). Interviews and participant observation were carried out in three different spaces: The Sicán National Museum, the cities of Chiclayo and Ferreñafe, and towns around the Poma Forest. As a result, not only information about archaeological remains was obtained, but also information related to everyday life and local customs and stories (Table 18).

a) The Sicán National Museum

Considering that most of the decision about archaeological remains was made by archaeologists, I carried out a participant observation in everyday activities of the Sicán National Museum, helping the staff with paperwork and other office duties. This strategy allowed me to attend some of the meetings with local authorities, observing the different relationships between archaeologists and other stakeholders, as well as participating in some of the activities that the museum staff developed towards protecting archaeological remains. Also, I was able to access information about the tourists visiting the museum during the year 2009 by their opinions placed in the visiting book. This source of information was very useful to have a profile of the tourists that come to the museum and their opinions about the exhibition.

I was able to carry out interviews with most of its staff, including archaeologists, conservators, secretaries and tourist-related personal. These were unstructured interviews with open questions in order to record their points of view about what they conceive as archaeological remains and how these remains should be managed and showed to the Public. Some members of the Sicán Archaeological Project, including its director Dr. Izumi Shimada, were also interviewed to have a general idea about how the museum was designed and built. Although these interviews were extremely useful, I complemented this information with informal conversations during my stay. These conversations allowed me to observe some of the relationships between actors at the museum, being able to understand which roles are accomplished by each actor for the management of archaeological remains on the field and in the museum. It was interesting to observe, for example, that most archaeologists were not born in Ferreñafe, and this aspect was very important for other stakeholders since there is a strong sense of regionalism. It was also interesting to observe that archaeologists develop strong ties to some members of the staff either by education background, political affiliation, sense of hard-working, or by working together for several years. Further observations related to our research will be mentioned along the text.

b) Chiclayo and Ferreñafe cities

Archaeologists are not the only stakeholders with an interest in archaeological remains. Other stakeholders play active or passive roles towards interpreting archaeological heritage, and some of them even challenge the position of archaeologists as interpreters of past societies. I interviewed some of them which had an active stance about archaeological remains or past societies in the Lambayeque Region. Their background ranged from education activities, political groups and mass media. These interviews allowed me to observe the active citizenship position that these stakeholders played on giving their opinion about how information about the past and archaeological remains should be interpreted and used. It was interesting to note that all these stakeholders were not professional archaeologists but people from different professions. Most of them shared the idea that local population should be educated about the past in order to encourage the sense of regionalism in this area. Their activism was put in practice through publications of books and newspaper articles, radio programs and political influence on local authorities.

c) Poma Forest local communities

One important aspect of this research was to carry out a modern ethnography on the use of archaeological heritage at the Poma Forest. There are several communities living around the Poma Forest, including very old ones that can be traced to the colonial period, and more recent ones consisted of immigrants from the Andes Mountains (mainly the Cajamarca region). I carried out informal interviews and conversations with local people from the main settlements, putting special attention in the town of La Zaranda, which has a large population. I focused mainly on finding out if there was any relationship with archaeologists or archaeological heritage and how this relationship took place. Through these interviews, it was possible for me also to understand aspects of everyday life and the changes that have occurred in the last 50 years from the hacienda period until now. This information was corroborated with data recovered by participant observation.

In order to protect informants, personal names have been replaced by a code of initials according to their main activity in relation to the present research and a consecutive number. In the case of persons in charge of a specific institution or project that may have means to reply the data presented here, they are referred to their personal names. The list of initials is as follows:

MSN: Museo Nacional Sicán (Sicán National Museum)
SAP: Sicán Archaeological Project Member

FAR: Local Farmer

ATG: APROTUR Tourist Guide

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization Member

ST1: School Teacher

INT: Informant from Organizations outside the Poma Forest

SH: Shaman

6.2.2 Text and visual representation analysis

Nearly 150 articles of regional and national newspaper articles published between the years 2000 and 2010 were collected in order to observe which topics are usually emphasized by mass media about archaeology. The topics were related to the activity of the Sicán National Museum, the discoveries made by archaeologists in this area, and the eviction of illegal appropriators of land carried out in the year 2009. In these articles it is possible to observe the different positions local population has about archaeologists' work and the political interests behind the management of archaeological remains. A register of visual representations related to archaeological remains was also carried out. Through this analysis it was possible to observe which elements were given more attention by the Public, and how they are adapted to everyday life. Sculpture and painting are the most common representations, but some theatrical representations can also be found. These representations are mostly oriented to tourism and their themes can be diverse, though most of them tend to be related to historical motifs and tended to become iconic.

The most common representations are from the objects found in archaeological excavations and exhibited at the Sicán National Museum or in non-academic publications. From these representations, the most frequent one is a funerary golden mask, which can be found in several places across Ferreñafe city. Other important representation is the "tumi", or ceremonial knives, which have facial representations of elite members and are made of gold, silver or copper with a semi-lunar blade. These representations became icons of this city, and are used to contrast their historical legacy with other cities. For example, cities where museums related to the Mochica culture are located tend to represent individuals from the elite burials of this culture in restaurant banners, posters, statues at the entrance of cities, among other representations. In contrast, Ferreñafe city authorities and population chose to use representations based on archaeological remains from the Sicán.

6.2.3 Active participation: Educational Program at the Sicán National Museum

As a direct way to measure the problems and difficulties that arise when carrying out projects oriented to the Public, participation in a project of this kind was necessary. Unfortunately, there was no active project from the Sicán National Museum at the time of my research. For this reason, I suggested to help refurbishing the Educational Program carried out between the years 2003 and 2004. I interviewed the organizers and some participants, as well as reviewing some of the documents made at that time. With this information, I was able to reconstruct some of the problems that the program faced and plan a course of action for reactivating it.

Although the initial intention was to carry out the program in the area, it became evident that same issues that stopped the program on 2004 would become a problem again while interviewing old participants in order to evaluate the previous program. The economic limitations of the museum and the present research, as well as the limitations imposed by fieldwork time, made impossible to carry out the project as a whole. Therefore, instead of reinstating the whole program, I focused on some aspects that may help eventually carry out the program when more economic support may be obtained. After discussing it with the staff from the museum, we reached to the conclusion that it would be better to focus in preparing a booklet that may be used by archaeologists and local teachers to guide themselves on using the museum. This experience was useful in many ways, including the possibility to observe the curricula of national schools, the way local teachers carry out their classes and how students respond to them. Until the end of my fieldwork season I was able to finish the last draft for this material and discuss it with different members of the local community. It is expected to have a final design as soon as the museum is able to find sponsors for it, although it will depend on the museum authorities if using it or not.

Chapter 2: Case study description: Archaeology and the Public in the Ferreñafe Province and the Pomac Forest Historical Sanctuary, Lambayeque, Peru

In this Chapter, I will present the area and background for a case study where archaeologists' value and use given to archaeological remains influence or clash with those from the local population. This case study is focused on the relationships established between different stakeholders and the archaeological remains located in the Poma Forest at the Ferreñafe province in the north coast of Peru. First, I will present the geographical, environmental and historical background of the area in order to give a general idea about the situation of archaeological remains. Second, I will focus on the problems caused by the different concepts of how to use archaeological remains in this area by archaeologists and local population. The information presented here is a compilation of field observation, interviews and analysis of documents, visual representations and publications as explained in Chapter I.

1. General Characteristics of the Area of Study

The Ferreñafe Province is located in the Lambayeque Region, north coast of Peru. It is bordered by the provinces of Chiclayo, Lambayeque and Incahuasi (Fig. 1). Its location between the coastal and the mountain provinces makes it an important communication route between these provinces. Like most of the north coast, this is a desert area where the rivers that flow from the Andes Mountains create "oasis" of vegetation and agricultural land, concentrating most of the population. The Poma Forest is located in the Pítipo district, at the beginning of the lower La Leche valley. It is a desert area with a weather consisted of a dry season between April and November (autumn, winter and spring) and a rainy season between December and March (summer). Temperatures vary between the 12°C to 24°C in the dry season and 20°C to 35°C in the rainy season. The rainy season is a consequence of "El Niño" Phenomenon, characterized by an increase of temperature in the Pacific Ocean water during the summer. The sudden evaporation of water causes strong precipitations that can damage houses, crops and archaeological sites. La Leche River is dry most of the year, except during this moment (Municipalidad de Pítipo 2009; SERNANP 2011).

The wild vegetation is characterized by a "dry forest". It receives its name by the existence of the native trees *algarrobo* and *zapote*, which are only green during the rainy season, appearing dead and dry the rest of the year. These trees are used by local population as wood for house construction and fuel. During their blossom on the rainy season, they are used for honey production. Some of their fruits are used for animal and human consumption. For example, *zapote* fruits are usually used for cattle while the *algarroba* fruit is used for preparing *algarrobina*, a kind of syrup used for health and gourmet purposes. There are several other plants used for medicinal purposes known by local population, making the forest an important resource for them. Fauna in the dry forest is diverse, although it is threatened by human activities. It includes different kind of birds, foxes, pumas, bears, iguanas and lizards. The coastal puma and the spectacled bear are two of the endangered species in this area. Since their living area includes not only the dry forest, but also the surrounding mountains, they sometimes enter into populated areas killing livestock. There have been cases where local people have killed some of these animals in the vicinity of their land. Domestic animals also take advantage of the forest. It has been a custom for local population to take their cattle and sheep inside the forest to feed them (Municipalidad de Pítipo 2009; SERNANP 2011)

Water sources are limited on the surface. Most of the water is located underground and it is extracted by artificial wells. Other sources of water include the *jagueys*, which are natural ponds in the slopes of the nearby mountains. There are some neighboring rivers, like the Chancay-Lambayeque River located south of La Leche valley, that have water all the year round. Its water is diverted by a system of canals, which includes the modern Taymi Canal that irrigates the southern part of the Poma Forest, where most of all-year-round-agricultural fields are located. The geology of the area is very diverse. The valleys located in this region are characterized by their extension, since they are composed of mostly flat land compared to valleys in the central and southern coast. This characteristic allowed the development of intensive agriculture since prehispanic times, but also exposed settlements to flood on rainy season. The surrounding low mountains lack of vegetation beyond some types of cactus and small bushes. Most of these mountains are composed of sedimentary material, usually used for construction purposes and extracted on informal quarries. There are also areas called *medanos* which are dunes of fine sand moved by the strong winds coming from the coast, having this sand also informally extracted in recent years. Archaeological sites can be located in any of these areas, even under modern settlements, which may give name to these sites. In other cases, some modern settlements reused archaeological remains for construction (Municipalidad de Pítipo 2009; SERNANP 2011).

2. Historical background

As a general reference to understand the current situation of this area, it is important to present a brief historical background of the north coast. Population in this area is the result of a long process of *mestizaje* (mix between native inhabitants and Spanish conquerors) that introduced Catholicism, transforming the native belief system and introducing Spanish as the main language between the 16th and early 19th centuries. This process was particularly deeper for coastal population, since it was increased during the late 19th and 20th centuries with the control of this area by *haciendas*. Despite of this process, there are still many local customs that can be seen until today. Some of these cultural expressions were studied, mostly by focusing on the language, myths and customs of the local population. One of the most famous studies was done by Heinrich Brüning (Brüning 1989) during the late 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. He recorded and published several aspects of the Lambayeque province, including the now-disappeared *Muchik* language, local histories of some towns, and pictures of local population. Recent studies on the north coast have focused on traditions and customs of the area. Some examples present a relationship between modern communities with prehispanic customs, like the production and consumption of *chicha* or maize beer (Hayashida 2008), the connection between abandoned archaeological sites "huacas" and local population found in historical records (Ramirez 1996), and the use of archaeological remains for shamanism rituals (Seki 2007). Even local citizens have tried to record customs and myths of this area and using Internet to publish their results.

Although the cultural processes are very complex in this area and include different groups and relations of power, the history in the area could be divided in three general stages: The Prehispanic stage, the Colonial stage and the Republican stage.

a) The Prehispanic stage

The Prehispanic stage (approx. 5000 B.C. to 1532 A.D.) has been studied mostly by archaeologists and it is subdivided in "archaeological cultures" and periods, according to the material culture (especially pottery) found in excavations. In La Leche basin, most of the archaeological remains belong to the later periods and cultures (Sicán 750-1375 A.D., Chimú 1375-1476 A.D., and Inca 1476-1532 A.D.). These societies based their economy in agriculture, animal husbandry (mainly a coastal kind of *llamas*) and commerce. They also mastered ceramic, textile and metal production. Their political organization was based in an elite group related to ritual practices which controlled different groups of population by kinship relationships. The Sicán culture has been deeply studied by archaeologists of the Sicán Archaeological Project, and its results are exhibited in the Sicán National Museum, which will be explained in detail later. The common language supposedly spoken at this time called *Muchik* is also used as a "native" or "ancient" identity by local scholars (SERNANP 2011).

b) The Colonial stage

The Colonial stage (1535 A.D. to 1821 A.D.) is characterized by changes done during the occupation of Spanish conquerors after their arrival to the American continent (1492 A.D.). Although most of the kinship political system was maintained for tribute, the decrease of population due to illness and other causes deeply damaged that system. Spanish conquerors later grouped the dispersed population in settlements called *reducciones* in order to maximize the tribute revenues and facilitate the conversion to Catholicism. These *reducciones* owned land destined to produce goods for paying tributes and self-consumption. While most of these settlements became the modern towns of today (v. g. Lambayeque, Ferreñafe, Jayanca, among others), other land controlled directly by Spanish settlers and their descendants, as well as the Catholic Church, became *haciendas* that lasted until the Republican stage (SERNANP 2011).

c) The Republican stage

The Republican stage (1821 A.D. until now) begins with the Independence of Peru on July 1821. The *haciendas* passed their ownership to different families, but still kept the control of most of the fertile land. With the industrialization of agriculture at the end of the 19th century, owners of the *haciendas* became the most powerful group in this area, having most of the local population at their service. New job opportunities produced a strong migration from the Andes Mountains to the coast. This process influenced the illegal appropriation of land, which increased after 1969, when the socialist-military government of general Odria broke the *hacienda* system by taking their ownership and giving it to the local communities during the *Agricultural Reform*. Most local population formed *agroindustrial cooperatives* to administrate the land, but due to bad management, they decreased their production. In late years, these cooperatives are selling their stocks to corporations from the capital city of Lima (SERNANP 2011).

3. Local population around the Poma Forest

Agricultural land has expanded since the 1970's as a result of the division of land after the hacienda period in the year 1969. This expansion has affected the dry forest and the archaeological remains as well. As it can be observed by maps made by the National Geographic Institute of Peru and by the testimony of local population and archaeologists, the Poma Forest has lost more than 60% of its extension (Fig. 2). In 1991 it was designated Zona Reservada de Batán Grande by the national government with an extension of 13 400has, but nowadays its extension only reaches 5 887has (SERNANP et al. 2011). This dramatic drop has been the result of the change in subsistence activities in the area by local population, from an economy based on goat ranching towards intensive-single-crop farming. While in the hacienda period the economic activities were centralized and managed by the hacienda's owner, strictly controlling the use of land, after the Agricultural Reform in 1969 and its division of land resulted in the atomization of land and its management. There were two types of land, one type belonged to the cooperative and it was supposed to be worked by all the members, and the other type was allocated to each member (*comunero*) of the communities for personal use (nearly 2has). In the case of the Batán Grande hacienda located in the Poma Forest, it was in charge of the Pucalá Cooperative and it included the communities of Batán Grande and La Zaranda at the beginning. The area where the Poma Forest was located used to be *potreros* (e.g., Poma I, Poma II, Poma III, Santa Clara, El Verde, and Ojo de Toro) or pasture lands during hacienda times, therefore, mostly untouched.

Due to bad management and corruption problems most of the common land was unused, which led to its illegal appropriation, first of members of the same communities and later by settlers coming from the Cajamarca Region (Angulo 2008:14). While old commoners used the new appropriated land for living, pasture and medium-intensive agriculture, new settlers practiced a more intensive use of land for agriculture and were better organized, taking the land by force and creating new towns like Santa Clara and El Verde in the year 1990. Violent confrontations between new settlers and old commoners have been happening very often since then (Angulo 2008).

The interaction of these two groups and their environment influences on the protection of archaeological remains, therefore it is important to understand each group background and the relationship they have been establishing in recent times. For explanation purposes I will name these two groups A and B according to the time they came to live to the area (before or after the illegal appropriation of land in 1990). Older settlers are Group A, which includes the communities of La Zaranda, Las Salinas, Íllimo, Huaca Partida and Poma III. Newer settlers belong to Group B which includes the communities of Santa Clara, El Verde and Ojo de Toro (Table 3). To date it is still possible to talk about these two groups since there are only two generations for Group B, and members of this group keep their roots with their communities of origin. However, the second generation of Group B is slowly mixing through marriage with Group A, although they are still recognized as outsiders from the area by Group A.

The average nuclear family is composed by two parents and three children. It is usual that after a couple gets married, they leave the parents' house and build their own. The main income comes from men, since they usually have a steady job and other part-time ones. Although most women dedicate to house shores, they also run small business for extra cash usually related to small commerce, and they also manage the family budget. Although each family is economically independent, they keep a connection with close relatives by using their extended family network. Close extended families can be connected through paternal or maternal side and are composed of first degree relatives. They are used for helping raising children and taking care of the elder, and also economically support nuclear families if needed. An open extended family is also used here, composed by second degree or farther relatives in other communities. For the case of Group A communities for example, people from La Zaranda town come from Íllimo and Batán Grande. Poma III is related to families in Íllimo and La Curva. The case of Group B is different since they come from even farther places like the Cajamarca and Amazonas Region, having a wider interaction network. It is common that extended families gather on the oldest member's house on Sundays or special occasions (birthdays, funerals, baptisms) for eating and drinking together, a moment that is usually helpful to gather old stories about the family members or the area.

Although most of the population is Catholic –especially in Group A communities–, Protestant churches are spreading widely in the area, changing some customs. For instance, members of these churches are not allowed to drink alcohol, an element that excludes them from the usual gatherings in each town. The rapid growth of these churches have also to do with the fact that there is only one Catholic priest for the whole Pítipo district who resides in Ferreñafe city, while there are more Protestant priests and they usually go door-to-door spreading their word. Because of this method, their target population has been women who stay at home doing house shores, which resulted in families mixed between Protestant and Catholic members.

According to the 2007 census of the National Institute of Informatics and Statistics (INEI 2011), the population of the Pítipo district does not have still all their basic needs covered. One of the main problems is the access to health services. Being a rural area, there are only medical posts in located in larger towns like Batán Grande, La Zaranda and Pítipo, which can only give basic health care and they are open only on weekdays from 8am to 1pm. For emergencies, local people have to travel around 20min to Ferreñafe city or almost an hour to Chiclayo city. Access to medicines is also restricted, since the closest drug stores are at Ferreñafe city. Because of this situation, there is still a strong use of herbs and natural medicine techniques. Primary and Secondary education is covered by the Peruvian state and it is free. Schools have been refurbished in late years with rooms made of bricks and concrete, having wide spaces for practicing sports and organize events. These schools face problems like lacking of libraries and legal problems with some community members that illegally occupied school's property. Since schools place an important role in the present study, their situation will be further discussed in Chapter 4. Transportation and infrastructure is quite limited around the Poma Forest. Most of the internal transportation between communities is done by *mototaxi*[14], motorcycles or bicycles. For going to bigger cities like Ferreñafe or Chiclayo one has to use a *colectivo*, which is a shared taxi that charges around 3 to 5 soles (approximately USD 1.5 to 2, 150 or 200 yen) depending on the distance. Passengers are picked up along the main route between Batán Grande and Chiclayo. Buses pass with less frequency and they usually go to farther places beneath the valley, like Mochumí| and Incahuasi. There is also one company that has a bus for Lima that only passes once a day.

As mention before, local population bases their subsistence activities in agriculture and livestock

[14] Mototaxis are three-wheel motorcycles with a passenger seat and a roof, usually used for transportation on short distances.

farming. There are other important activities like commerce and tourism. Labor is also a common activity, especially for the construction, extraction of sand or marble, and also archaeological projects. On the year 2011, the minimum salary was around 600 soles (nearly USD 219 or 20 000 yen). Most of the population is involved in more than one economic activity.

The principal activity in this area is still agriculture. Due to economical revenues, farmers tend to emphasize one type of crop in their farm fields (Table 4). The main crops are rice, sugar cane and hard-yellow corn. Rice and sugar cane are sowed for human consumption in an industrial level, though lately sugar cane is also used for production of ethanol. Hard-yellow corn is used for animal consumption (mainly poultry). Rice sowing is based in flooding the farmland, an activity that has caused deterioration of soils. After the harvest, the farmland is burned to prepare it for the next sowing. Since land in the Ferreñafe province is flat and fertile, it is suitable for agriculture in a large scale. The main problem is the access to water, since only land closest to canals can receive water from the Tinajones dam almost all year long. The rest of the farms use artificial wells that can go up to 10m deep, made by the farmers themselves without deep technical knowledge. Improved irrigation methods have been introduced lately, but since they are expensive, this kind of irrigation is not widespread yet.

Livestock farming is another important activity (Table 5) and includes cattle, sheep, pigs and equine. Poultry farming became important in late years for satisfying the demand of big cities like Chiclayo. Most of the livestock is left free during the day and later taken to a stockyard at night, except in the case of poultry, pigs and horses, which are kept in captivity all day long. These stockyards are usually located next to the houses. Beekeeping is also an important activity for communities belonging to Group A (especially for the cases of Jayanca, Íllimo, La Zaranda and Santa Rosa de Las Salinas). There are around 600 beehives in the area, producing 25kg per year (harvesting is done twice a year), from which 80% of the production is sold in Lima. Commerce is based in agricultural and livestock products, which are distributed in the markets of main cities like Chiclayo, Ferreñafe and Batán Grande. Ferreñafe city serves as a hub for manufactured and electro domestic products brought from Chiclayo, Lima or abroad. Most of the population from the countryside of the Ferreñafe province and the nearby province of Incahuasi comes to sell and buy different products here.

Tourism has become an important activity in the area, though it is only carried out by members of the Group A. The developing of tourism-related activities in the Lambayeque Region has increased after the year 2000 with the construction and renewal of four archaeological museums. Nevertheless, there is little investment in transportation and hotel infrastructure, two factors that slow the development of this activity. Tourism is based in natural resources (protected areas for wildlife and beach resorts) and archaeological resources (archaeological sites and museums). There are two natural reserved areas in Ferreñafe province under the surveillance of the National Service for Protected Areas (SERNANP): The Poma Forest Historical Sanctuary (Santuario Histórico Bosque de Pómac – SHBP in Spanish) with 5 887ha and the Laquipampa Refuge for Wild Life with 8 328ha. Only the SHBP has been partially prepared for receiving tourists. It has an *interpretative center*, a building at the entrance to briefly introduce the characteristics of the forest. Since roads have been used by local population to travel between communities from the past until now, they are in a fairly good condition. Signaling and a small viewpoint have been implemented near the main archaeological sites. Preservation of one of these sites (Huaca Las Ventanas) is in process. There is no charge for entrance fee yet. In the year 2000 it received 7 067 visitors, a number that increased to 17 607 visitors for the year 2008 (Table 7).

Archaeological resources are managed by the four main museums in Lambayeque Region under the direction of the "Executive Unit 005 Naylamp", a regional entity financed by the Ministry of Culture. These museums are the Enrique Brüning Archaeological National Museum (MNAEB), the Royal Tombs of Sipán Museum (MTRS), the Túcume Site Museum (MST) and the Sicán National Museum (MNS). They are the main tourist attractions in the department (Table 6). Since its construction in the year 2001 at Ferreñafe city, the Sicán National Museum is in charge of the management and protection of the archaeological sites in the Ferreñafe province, especially those inside the SHBP. It works together with local and regional authorities and the SERNANP. Its exhibition is focused on showing the characteristics of the Sicán Culture by using the archaeological remains recovered from the excavations made by the Sicán Archaeological Project. In the year 2008 the museum received a total of 23 517 visitors.

Although tourism is increasingly becoming an important activity in the area, especially through the efforts of SERNANP and the Sicán National Museum, most initiatives are focused only to communities of Group A. This is the result of the close relationship that archaeologists working in the area developed with this group. The relationship with communities of Group B is more difficult since archaeologists promoted and supported the eviction of these communities who took unlawfully nearly 2000has of the SHBP.

To understand this problem, I will present the archaeologists' activities in the area and their influence.

4. Archaeologists and their influence in the Ferreñafe Province

As mentioned before, the north coast of Peru is an area rich in archaeological remains, which can be found almost everywhere. In the case of the Lambayeque Region, it has been until recently that the scientific study of these remains started. Long before archaeologists started working in this area, a looting tradition was common. There are two types of looting, as mentioned by Seki (2007). One is the "commercial looting", usually related to the black market of archaeological remains. This type of looting can be traced to the Colonial Period (Ramirez 1996), and it was widely spread during the 19th and 20th centuries during the control of this area by the haciendas. The other type of looting is the "non-commercial looting", related to shamanism activities and local customs, like the custom between local communities to dig for ceramic vessels on Holy Friday (Eastern Week), and the expansion of agricultural lands, which caused the destruction of many archaeological sites. Looting, then, it is not just an activity focused only in the illicit trade of archaeological objects. It can be understood as an activity that has deep roots in the local population as a custom.

In the case of the Ferreñafe Province both types of looting occur for many years, but the commercial looting was carried out in a more intensive way. The peak of the looting for the archaeological sites inside the Poma Forest happened during the last years of the Batán Grande hacienda, when it was owned by the Aurich family. According to several ex-workers of the hacienda, the Aurich family had groups of workers dedicated to the extraction of archaeological objects, especially those made of gold or silver. These workers used different methods including the use of front loaders. After the end of the hacienda period, most of the collection was sold by the family to different people ending up in private collections or museums. The quality of these objects and the complex techniques that were used to make them were important elements that called the attention of different researchers, since it was considered that a complex society should have existed to make these kinds of objects in such a vast quantity. In order to know more about this society, the Sicán Archaeological Project, the longest and more intensive archaeological research, has been carried out here.

a) The Sicán Archaeological Project

The Sicán Archaeological Project (SAP) started in 1978, directed by archaeologist Izumi Shimada, "with the basic aim of gaining a holistic understanding of the pre-Hispanic Sicán culture centered in the Lambayeque region on the north coast of Peru" (Sicán Archaeological Project website 2012). This project has been carried out continuously for more than 30 years, alternating excavation and laboratory seasons. It has been sponsored by several science and media institutions from USA and Japan (including the Wenner-Gren Foundation, National Geographic and Tokyo Broadcast System between others). The excavation and laboratory seasons usually last from 3 to 9 months, around July and September during the austral winter. Archaeologists from USA (professors and PhD. students) and Peruvian universities (undergraduate students or licensed archaeologists) are in charge of excavation areas, registration and analysis of recovered objects. Local people from Batán Grande, La Zaranda and Poma III are hired as workers for helping the excavation and analysis. Many of them work every year and had experience as looters before working in the project. This project has excavated and surveyed archaeological sites in La Leche basin, mainly inside the Poma forest.

The most famous discoveries of this project were the finding of two elite tombs in the site of Huaca Loro on the years 1991 and 1994. The complexity of the tombs and the beauty of the artifacts found inside them called the attention of media. Although for years it was known for local people that this area had tombs where members of the elite were buried with finely decorated funerary masks, it was the first time that they were recovered and registered scientifically. This aspect was important also to local population, since the SAP became the first reference for archaeological research and methods of excavation.

A museum to exhibit the results of the project and the findings was planned later with support of the Japanese government. The fact that Dr. Shimada was a Japanese-American researcher played an important for this support. At that time the Peruvian president was Alberto Fujimori Fujimori, who used his Japanese ancestry to strengthen the ties between the Japanese and the Peruvian government. Through the Japanese ambassador Morihisa Aoki, the government of Japan asked Dr. Shimada to elaborate the project for the museum, which was financed by the *Fondo Contravalor Peru-Japón*, an inter-government fund for development projects.

b) The Sicán National Museum

The Sicán National Museum (MNS) was opened in the year 2001 outside Ferreñafe city, on the highway that goes to Batán Grande and the Poma forest. According to Dr. Shimada, the museum was constructed in this city because at that time the town of Batán Grande lacked basic services and police security. The main structure of the museum resembles the form of the mud-brick pyramids from the Poma forest and it is the biggest building in Ferreñafe city. It has an exhibition area that includes audiovisuals about the archaeological research carried out by Dr. Shimada, dioramas showing the manufacture process of metal and ceramic objects, representations of the main tombs discovered, and a vault with the metal objects recovered from the tombs. Other areas belong to administration offices, research laboratories, conservation laboratories and warehouse. There is a temporary exhibition area which is commonly used for conferences, a souvenir store and a small cafeteria. A small residence for the director and the curator of the museum is located behind the main structure.

Most of the employees are from the area around the museum or ex-workers from the SAP. Professional employees (archaeologists and conservation experts) are from Lima or Trujillo, and the museum has agreements with the United States embassy for receiving students in a Collection Management Internship. Members of the SAP are allowed to use the laboratories and storage their findings in the warehouse. There are at least three projects carried out by foreign archaeologists or Peruvian archaeologists doing their postgraduate studies abroad that also use the facilities of the museum. Resident archaeologists include the Director Dr. Carlos Elera, the curator and administrator Victor Curay, and other five archaeologists in charge of the projects carried out by the museum in the forest.

Dr. Carlos Elera has played an important active role for the protection of the Poma forest. He was co-director of the SAP for several seasons, being close to the workers of the projects, especially those from La Curva and Poma III. As he has seen the shrinking of the forest by the activities of illegal invaders and local population, he has been pulling strings in the central government to designate the area as a Natural Protected Area. In the year 2001 he finally succeeded to promote the category of the forest to Historical Sanctuary, the maximum qualification for protected areas in Peru, which determines that the area cannot be used for any other purpose rather than protection. This qualification led to a long trial to evict illegal occupants of nearly 2000has inside the Sanctuary, an eviction that was carried out in the year 2009 and that would be explained in detail on Chapter 3. In late years he has been trying to extend the area of interaction of the Sanctuary to the whole valley, which has caused confrontation with some communities that believe it would affect their property rights over the land.

c) The Poma Forest Historical Sanctuary

The Poma Forest Historical Sanctuary (SHBP) is a national reserve where the forest and the archaeological remains inside of it are protected created in the year 2001. The natural resources and administration is in charge of the National Service for Protected Areas (SERNANP), while the archaeological remains are in charge of the Sicán National Museum. Local communities from nearby towns around the forest participate as forest rangers to protect it (INRENA 2006). The only economic activity allowed in the SHBP is tourism, under the regulations of the administration. In order to adequate the area for tourists, some of the roads that cross the forest are now used as touristic routes which includes the *Algarrobo Milenario* (a very old algarrobo tree considered worshiped by the local catholic population), a viewpoint in the Salinas hills, the Karl Weiss house (a German citizen who introduced apiculture in the area) and the Sicán complex of temples that includes Huaca Las Ventanas and Huaca Loro. Entrance to the SHBP was still free until the year 2013, but it was recommended to go with a local guide from the group APROTUR, an association whose members come from local communities and have been trained to become tourist guides in the SHBP by communicating their own experiences with the forest through their lives, who charges 20 soles per group (around USD 6 or 600 yen). The route does not have basic services like illumination or restrooms, so tourists have to go with their own transportation means or hire a *mototaxi* for other 20 soles. As mentioned before, at the entrance of the SHBP tourists can find the Interpretation Center. Here there is a module for administration purposes, an exhibition room with maps and stuffed animals from the forest, and a small room for selling local products like honey or *algarrobina*.

The chief of the SHBP is also an archaeologist[15], while his team includes forest engineers. He has worked together with the director of the MNS, police officers and local population from the Group A communities to evict illegal invaders of the Sanctuary. It can be noted that those who work supporting the activities of the Sanctuary belong to this group too. There have been many attempts to regain the lands by the invaders, so the chief works with forest rangers to avoid it. They also control wood cutting inside the Sanctuary patrolling the area day and night. Nevertheless, some local families still enter to the area of the SHBP with their cattle and goats for pasture, an activity that it is still difficult to control.

Archaeological excavations have been carried out by members of the MNS in Huaca Las Ventanas and Huaca Rodillona, while the SAP has kept sporadic excavations at Huaca Loro. Huaca Las Ventanas is the only archaeological site that has undergone a conservation project to preserve it for tourists, but this project has taken many years and it is still incomplete. Archaeologists not only face problems with local population from Group B, but also from the environment. During the rainy season, with the increase of volume of La Leche River and the amount of continuous rain for days has damaged all the archaeological structures. There has been the case of Huaca La Merced that was almost completely destroyed by the river in one of these occasions. Because of this problem, archaeologists have been working in protecting the river side of the temples. Workers are hired from local population (mostly Group A) for excavation and protection works almost all year round, being paid by the Executive Unit 005 Naylamp.

The relationship between local population and the SHBP depend on their relationship with its authorities. For example, families living on the limits of the SHBP from Group A usually cooperate with local authorities. Those living closer to the entrance in La Curva community, for example, have controlled the access to the SHBP for many years. They have also actively participated on archaeological excavations. Although there is a legal and verbal agreement between communities from Group A to avoid building any structure inside the SHBP, there have been some problems with

[15] It is not mandatory that an archaeologist should have this position. He resigned from this position on the year 2013 and was replaced by another archaeologist from Lima.

people from Poma III who have built some rooms or houses on 2013. Their usual explanation is that they were allowed by some authority from the SHBP or the MNS (not permitted by law since it is a Sanctuary). People from these communities also tend to bring their livestock to pasture inside the forest, passing the border fence. SHBP and their supporters from Group A communities are stricter with Group B communities, especially after the eviction of the SHBP took place in 2009.

The buffer zone of the SHBP is the area directly outside the fence and that includes property of local communities surrounding it (Fig. 1). Legally, SHBP authorities have no jurisdiction over the activities done by local communities in this area. Nevertheless, they have been actively trying to convince them of abandon intensive agriculture of a unique type of crop and to focus on rebuilding the extension of the forest by planting native trees (*algarrobo*, *zapote*). Local communities have been reluctant to abandon this kind of agriculture because of market advantages of selling one large crop to cities. Some communities have also sold part of their land to individuals outside their communities, who are keener to this kind of agriculture. Planting of native trees also has the disadvantage that it takes longer to get the products from these trees.

Lately, in order to have more political control over this issue, authorities of the SHBP and the MNS (with the support of a congressman in the national parliament) have pushed the law project No. 2818/2013-CR to create the National Archaeological Park of Batán Grande (PANBG) on most of the buffer zone. Through this project land property will not be affected, but the management committee of the park[16] will have authority to define the norms and objectives for taking decision over the territorial, environmental, cultural and touristic management on the area towards a sustainable development. One of the main objectives is to develop activities like the rural-communitarian tourism based on archaeological remains and traditional local customs. Another objective is to preserve archaeological heritage and its cultural landscape in order to encourage sociocultural development and strengthen local identities in the area (Congreso de la República 2013). It is yet to be seen if this new concept of the area will ease or not the relationship between local communities and SHBP authorities,

5. Other important actors in the Poma Forest

NGOs and other international development agencies working in this area are also an important group to be considered in the issues about archaeological remains preservation. There are several NGOs working at the same time with the communities around the Poma Forest in activities related to economic development. They work on project basis, each project lasting between 1 to 3 years. One

[16] This committee is consisted of one representative from the Ministry of Culture of Lambayeque, the Lambayeque Regional Government, the Sicán National Museum/Executive Unit No.005, the Ferreñafe Provincial Municipality, and the Pítipo District Municipality. It is important to note there is no representative from local community organizations.

of the oldest NGO in this area is ProNaturaleza. They have been working with people from Group A communities on training workshops oriented to take advantage of the Poma Forest without deforesting it. They have trained local people on honey and *algarrobina* production and commercialization, and supported a reforestation program in the area recovered after the eviction of 2009. In a joint project with the Spanish International Cooperation Agency for Development (AECID) they have been empowering and supporting the local group APROTUR. CARITAS is another organization that supports local population through training workshops and projects. One of the main projects they have elaborated is the production of native cotton, especially with the population of Poma III. They have been able to recover different types of native cotton, which is processed and later used to manufacture different textiles that are sold to tourists. CARITAS has also tried to encourage local population in the establishment of small enterprises related to tourism, like restaurants, where local dishes are prepared. Due to the objectives of these organizations, they have received direct support from the MNS and SERNANP for their activities.

There are other cooperation agencies and NGOs that have other perspectives, though. The Spanish Red Cross and the NGO Oikos, for example, have been working with population from the Group B communities in training workshops directed to the production of organic bananas. This support was also reflected in the construction of a school in the town of Santa Clara and a bridge to access the town. Their activities have been criticized by the other NGOs because it is argued that with their training support they are acknowledging the position of illegal invaders, mostly because Santa Clara is a town that developed through invasions. Moreover, the introduction of large scale irrigation systems for a non-native crop like bananas goes against the ideas of other groups to encourage native crops. This extensive way of agriculture is also dangerous for archaeological sites located inside the fields.

Through their activities, these organizations have developed close ties to local population. Although their objectives and methods may differ, having them as allies is important for archaeologists to develop strategies towards promoting the protection of archaeological heritage in this area. In late years, the MNS and the chief of the SHBP have been trying to unite efforts and objectives with these organizations, but the competition between NGOs for reaching all communities and the different perspectives they have about the development in the area have made these efforts not entirely successful.

Another important group of actors is the local teachers. Although their power of decision seems to be limited to school activities, their influence on local population is very strong. In the case of the Poma forest, most local teachers live in Ferreñafe city and commute every day to the different schools in the area. Some of them live in the towns they teach, especially in the case of Batán Grande and La Zaranda. As it will be explained in detail on Chapter 4, local teachers have the advantage of reaching local population through activities made with their children. This position allows them to reach all the community for specific purposes. Reforestation of the area, for example, was a project carried out by one teacher at the local primary school of La Zaranda. By encouraging students to participate in plantation and caring of native trees in the school area, he was able to get support from the chief of the SHBP and a NGO to get a donation of small trees. Another teacher at Batán Grande has been very active in encouraging his students into learning more about the customs and archaeology of the area. As a result, some ex-students constituted a theatrical performing team. They use words from the native *Muchik* language and dress with clothes designed after the objects found at archaeological excavations and perform musical representations of what they believed were prehispanic rituals. These representations are performed during festivities in the area and at the MNS as a tourist attraction.

6. Stakeholders identification

As we have seen in this chapter, there are several actors with different interests in archaeological remains or the land where they are located. To resume the data presented above, the following stakeholders can be found in relation to projects oriented to the protection of archaeological remains.

Archaeologists

a. SAP Archaeologists

b. MNS Archaeologists (*)

c. SHBP Authorities (*)

Communities

d. Group A Communities

   d1. APROTUR (*)

   d2. Forest Rangers

e. Group B Communities

Others

f. NGOs working with SHBP authorities

g. NGOs independently working in the area

h. School Teachers (*)

i. Tourists

After the information collected (background analysis, interviews and participant observation) and presented above, it was possible to identify key stakeholders (including archaeologists). In the case of Group A communities, since there were two organizations that have specific purposes towards the forest and archaeological remains, each one was considered as another group of stakeholders. For referring to members of the communities with no special organization beyond them, I considered Group A and Group B communities as a whole. This information was later plotted in a "Power/Interest Grid" reflecting the "power" stakeholders have for damaging/conserving archaeological remains, and the "interest" they have on protecting them (Fig. 3). The four sections of this grip help us to determine which stakeholders may need more attention. Those inside the "Manage Closely" section can be considered key stakeholders. Their relationship with other stakeholders is crucial for any project towards protecting archaeological remains.

As it can be observed, key stakeholders include MNS Archaeologists (b), SHBP authorities (c), School teachers (h), and members of APROTUR (d1). They not only are very interested in protecting archaeological remains, but also have some level of power to do it. Since their support is important, the present study will pay especial attention to them. Group A (d) and Group B (e) communities, on the other side, fall into the "*Keep satisfied*" section, which characterize them for having certain amount of power to determine the preservation of archaeological remains, but are not entirely interested on it. The relationship between these stakeholders and key stakeholders is important for protection projects that seek becoming more popular in the area. Since both groups of stakeholders are in a power position towards archaeological remains, it is easy to have conflict between them (as it will be seen in Chapter 3). The lower sections of the grid have those stakeholders that do not have much power to determine the protection of archaeological remains in the area. They are consisted by SAP members, the forest rangers, tourists and NGOs working in the area. Having most of these stakeholders with a high interest in preservation of archaeological remains is necessary since they can eventually influence other groups with more power.

As we have seen in the present chapter, archaeological remains are in the middle of interests of several groups in the Poma Forest, either in a direct or indirect way. Archaeologists seeking the protection of these remains face not only conservation problems, but also political problems concerning the property of the land, economic interests of each group and the abilities to get support from other groups in order to achieve their goals. In Chapter 3 I will present in detail some cases where the archaeologists' perspective towards archaeological remain preservation is challenged by other stakeholders. One special case that will be seen in detail is the conflict that occurred after the illegal appropriation of land from the SHBP and the eviction that took place in 2009. By presenting these cases, I intend to observe the actions taken by archaeologists and the reaction of other stakeholders, pointing out the different interests, values and use given to archaeological remains in the area.

Chapter 3: Conflicting perspectives on archaeological remains

MNS Archaeologists working at the SHBP face several problems when trying to engage local population into the protection of archaeological heritage. Antiquities black market and looting are still threats to archaeological remains in the area, but a more extensive threat is the illegal occupation of land and its use for agriculture, farming and informal mining. Extensive agriculture needs plain areas and the construction of canals or wells for irrigation. Archaeological remains within agricultural fields are leveled with bulldozers or irrigation systems are located over them, in many cases damaging the structures underneath. Farming also damages these remains since structures for keeping the animals are usually located on top of archaeological sites, leveling them for better use. Informal mining can affect directly archaeological sites located in the premises of the quarrels or indirectly through the opening of paths to go to the mines over these sites[17]. These activities directly collide with archaeologists' concepts of research, protection and preservation of archaeological heritage and its landscape, as it has been discussed on Chapter I.

1. The issues around the appropriation and ownership of land

As we have seen in Chapter II, the different backgrounds of each stakeholder around the Poma forest influence their position towards archaeologists' work. While it can be said that communities from Group A have a closer relationship with archaeologists –mostly because many members from these communities work in archaeological projects–, it does not determines that all members of these communities actively share the same purposes archaeologists have for protecting archaeological remains. Moreover, it should be noted that even if they actively participate in the protection of archaeological remains or natural landscape, it does not necessarily mean that they automatically carry the same interests archaeologists have about them. There are cases where other values over archaeological remains prevail and supporting archaeologists' perspective may be helpful for a particular stakeholder' interest. An example is the value of "property rights" over land where archaeological remains are located, especially in this area where Group A and Group B communities are in constant confrontation for it. This is particularly evident in the case of the ex-workers of the Batán Grande hacienda, now grouped in the AgroPucalá cooperative. They claim that most of the land in the Poma Forest has been taken illegally by settlers from the mountain communities. In many cases, these invasions have resulted in violent confrontation with local communities with people murdered (as it can be read on news in the local newspaper Expresión December 10th 2009). These ex-workers are very active in trying to evict the invaders from their land using the destruction of the natural landscape and archaeological sites as main reasons (Fig. 4, 5).

[17] Informal mining has become an important issue on many archaeological sites, not only because of the extraction of materials close to archaeological sites but also because of related activities like transportation. Since this activity has been controlled inside the SHBP, it will not be addressed in this research.

This confrontation was particularly evident during the eviction in 2009 of the last invaders of the SHBP, and the active fight against them carried out by the director of the MNS and the chief of the SHBP. The director of the MNS has been actively fighting for the protection of this area since the 1980's, considering its value as a natural and archaeological protected area. The judicial process took nearly 6 years and it was mainly promoted by him through the SHBP's Management Committee. This process was initiated in the year 2003 and the eviction finally took place in 2009. Before the eviction, a large (nearly 1350) contingent of unarmed policemen was designated to the area, staying surroundings of La Zaranda in order to be ready to take action. Local population from La Zaranda, Poma III and Batán Grande were supporting these policemen by preparing food and shelter for them.

Informant SAP1 mentioned that Group A Communities were very active in supporting the eviction:

> "Days before the eviction, several of us were supporting it. There were the forest rangers and the guides, together with others from La Zaranda, Batán Grande and Poma III. We were in charge of preparing rancho and take it to the policemen. Don Vicente and Dr. Elera were coordinating everything with the police." (SAP1, 2010/11/28)

For several days, helicopters with loudspeakers flew over the occupied area trying to convince the invaders to pacifically abandon the land. Although large groups (mostly women and children) did abandon the area, there was still a large group of invaders that stayed. The date of the actual eviction was still unknown in order to have more information of the area, since there were rumors that the invaders had hired ex-members of the military to defend them and they were heavily armed. Finally, on January 20th the eviction was carried out with the loss of two policemen and several other wounded by snipers working for the invaders. This degree of violence demonstrated the level of interest that some groups had in order to keep the possession of land in this area. On following days, policemen used bulldozers to demolish the houses of the invaders and established a perimeter to defend the area. After the eviction, the area occupied by invaders was recovered and a permanent police post was built inside the SHBP in order to protect it from other attempts of invasion.

Although the eviction from the SHBP cost human lives, it was considered successful by media and authorities:

> «Juan Sandoval Valdivieso, Natural Resources regional manager, said that "the fact of recovering Pomac marks a point in the conservationist history" and from now on it will depend on the spontaneous recovery of the forest and the protection of archaeological remains» (El Ciclón 24 de Enero del 2009)

> "Pomac Forests offer an economical take off. After the recovery of the invaded sectors, the Pomac-Batangrande Forest Historical Sanctuary offers an opportunity for an economical take off of Lambayeque with the impulse of specialized tourism of bird-watching, said the president of the Production and Commerce Chamber of Lambayeque, Otto Zoeger Navarro". (Correo Lambayeque 25 de Enero de 2009)

Parallel to the eviction process, the central office of the SHBP and SERNANP elaborated a Master Plan (SERNANP 2011) that includes a detailed account of the ecology and archaeology of the SHBP and the local communities located in its buffer zone, including management strategies for the years 2011-2016. Also, the limits of the forest and the buffer zone were completely established and fenced. The director of MNS and the chief of the SHBP mentioned that if the eviction would not have been carried out, it was probable that SERNANP and MNS could not carry out any research activity or infrastructure improvement in the SHBP. Therefore, archaeologists and other professionals in charge of the SHBP consider themselves as people who worked for the country's social benefit against the interests of a small group of people (the invaders) who only wanted to use the land for private economic benefit.

In an interview carried out by the Peruvian newspaper El Comercio after the eviction, MNS's director Carlos Elera mentions the importance of the eviction in a national level:

> "It will create a noticeable precedent for the protection of natural and cultural areas in Peru, a country that characterizes for its mega biodiversity and for being one of the focus of highest culture, and where the origins of civilizations of the planet can be found." (El Comercio January 25th, 2009)

He also mentions that the groups involved in the illegal traffic of land in the area were outsiders and threatened his life:

> "From long time and since I have been reporting the presence of people with fire guns, I have been target of threatens to kill me. All of this comes from groups of power, land traffickers and not poor farmers as it has been intended to show. (…) These are persons with strong economic power from Chota who operates at the wholesale market of Moshoqueque in the Leonardo Ortiz district." (El Comercio January 25th, 2009)

As he said, there are two groups of people responsible for the invasion of the SHBP. On one side, there is a group of fraudsters from Chota and Cutervo provinces in Cajamarca that illegally sold land from the SHBP to farmers from these provinces. According to the newspaper La República (January 30th, 2009) the average price for 4has was 10 000 soles (approximately USD 3000 at that time). The other group responsible is that of the buyers. Although they allegedly mention that they were poor people in need of land, this argument can be criticized by the amount of money they were able to spend for buying and working the illegally acquired land. Added to the price of the plots, the cost of constructing wells in them was around USD 2000. When the transaction was finished by the two groups, the buyers had to take possession of the land by force, building at least a small hut and staying there 24 hours. After this time, the police cannot throw them out of the land without a judicial order. The communities of Group B have been carrying out this strategy since the 1980s. Therefore, the main problem in the invasion of the SHBP was the informal means of acquiring land in the area as private property, and the impossibility of local people and authorities to avoid it.

But illegal appropriation of land is not only a strategy of Group B communities. It was also a strategy used by Group A communities. For example, members of La Zaranda community invaded 700has of land at the Poma Forest in the year 2000 (La República October 12th, 2000), being reported by community leaders of Santa Clara (Fig. 6). Not only land from the SHBP has been target of this problem, other open areas are subject to invasion. The primary school at La Zaranda town, for example, has been having problems with members from the community that have illegally taken some parts of its property. This a new school built in the government of Alan Garcia Pérez (2006-2011). Its area includes classrooms, a sport field and an open area that still keeps part of the old Poma Forest. Only the entrance of the school has a brick fence, while most of its surroundings are open. Because of this situation, some people from the same community have built houses in its premises arguing it belonged to them before. There have been also other attempts to build small huts in not-fenced areas in order to take them. Luckily, they have been reported to the police by the director of the school just after it happened, letting policemen evict these invaders without having to go to court.

Community land can also be subject to invasion. An open area behind the old primary school at La Zaranda community destined for a school farm was invaded by people from the community after the school was relocated at the other side of the town (Fig. 7). According to informant SAP1:

> "When they built the new school, the old one passed to the community and the land that was behind. People from the same community took possession. Even one of the classrooms from the old school was taken by a school teacher who said that since the cooperative didn't pay her for many years, she was taking it in exchange and now lives there." (SAP1, 2011/12/02)

What can be observed here is that any open area belonging to the community, if it is not clearly delimited or actively used, can be subject to be taken as private property. Informant ATG1 mentioned how this was a common and old practice since the town was formed, without any planning:

> "Before, when one's family grew, what we used to do was building a new house just a bit farther. Therefore, little by little, it was growing (the town), a bit disordered. That is the reason why some houses flood when it rains. I built mine in a more elevated area, so I don't have flooding problems." (ATG1 2010/02/12)

As it can be seen by these examples, there are three concepts of property overlapped in the same area: private property, community property and state property. While private property is a clearer concept, especially since owners actively use their lands for living, agriculture or farming, community and state property are more vague concepts. Even if their limits are marked and registered, the transformation of community and state property into private property by illegal/informal means is a common practice in these communities. Continuous government campaigns for registering property of land have worsened the situation, since many illegal invaders have been able to register this illegally taken land as their own, indirectly helping the traffic of land. Confrontation occurs when the ownership of land is challenged, and could lead to violence as the eviction of the SHBP has shown. Since archaeological remains are located indistinctively in this area, they face the same problems as the land they are located in. For instance, even if archaeological remains are property of the nation, their preservation or destruction is related to the position of the owner of the land. In the case of state land, archaeologists as representatives of the state have more control over these remains. However, although by law they can forcibly ensure the preservation of these remains even in community or private lands, it is very difficult in the practice to do so.

To the property rights over land by private people or communities, one should also add the sense of ownership. Ownership, considered as the sense that someone has over a determined place or territory even if they do not directly have property rights to them, can lead to confrontation. One example is the sense of ownership displayed by archaeologists. It is not rare that archaeologists also develop a sense of ownership while they carry out archaeological excavations. While this ownership is mostly expressed only in a colloquial sense between friends ("*mi huaca*", "*mis trabajadores*"), it can also lead to certain "excavation rights" over a specific site attached to the sense of "professional ethics". As an archaeologist, I asked what would happen if I decide to present an excavation project on one of the main sites inside the SHBP that had excavations in late years or a site that an archaeologist from the MNS had interest I got these answers:

> "In principle, there wouldn't be any problem (for you to do excavations), but exists this idea of professional ethics which implies that if someone has been excavating in a site for a while, at least you should talk to that person before presenting a project" (MNS1, 2009/08/18)

> "That *huaca* belongs to X. When we were carrying out project Y, we walked over it. X has it separated and it is sure she would get angry if someone excavates it." (SAP1, 2012/01/13)

This sense of ownership over archaeological remains, driven by a personal relation with the area archaeologists are excavating, also encourages protection and preservation initiatives. While it can be seen as a good initiative, it may also cause confrontation with other stakeholders that also have other senses of ownership for the land where archaeological sites are located, as we have seen in the examples above.

Property rights and ownership depend also on how effectively they are demonstrated. Fencing and signaling, actively defending the land by calling authorities (or by violent means), and actively using the land for economic activities (v. g. farming or agriculture) are ways to demonstrate ownership over land. These means are widely used in the case of private and community property, but difficult to achieve for state property. It is not only a matter of having a document that shows property rights over land, but one has to actively use it and protect it if you want to keep it.

This also leads to another problem, the authority image. Authority image is reduced in this area, especially for the lack of state representatives. In towns like La Zaranda, for example, there is no police station. The closest police stations are at Pítipo town and Batán Grande, both at 20min distance with very few police officers (around 2-3). The only state institutions in town are one medical post and two public schools. While school teachers may influence in some decisions inside the community, they do not have actual authority over it. The community itself has its own means to establish order inside of it, but since it is not centralized in a specific person or group, it is hard to consider it authority. The size of La Zaranda town makes it dependent of Pítipo municipality, with the category of *caserio* (small town). The organization duties are divided in committees in charge of specific tasks, the most important being the control of the water tank in town. Advice and help from relatives is a way to solve disputes between individuals. The *asamblea comunal* is the biggest meeting in the community, but it is only called when there is an important event that affects the community as a whole or when a representative from the government or an NGO wants to communicate something to the community. With this small presence from the state authority, it is difficult for archaeologists to protect archaeological remains by using coercive means. Therefore, the only option archaeologists have is to gather allies inside the community that understand archaeologists' interest in protecting these remains.

As it can be observed, the protection of archaeological remains in the SHBP and its buffer zone is not an easy task. Confrontation can easily arise because of property rights and ownership concepts clashing between each other, adding also the informality of the acquisition of land and authority problems. Archaeologists need to find strategies that avoid challenging private and community property in order to achieve their goal of preserving archaeological remains. Some of the strategies carried out by archaeologists include the use of archaeological remains in economic development in this area, but this concept may also enter in confrontation with other types of use given by local population to archaeological remains or the space where they are located. In order to understand this problem, values and use of archaeological sites observed in the field will be introduced below in order to later discuss about how the perspective of archaeologists can be connected with the perspectives of other stakeholders.

2. Struggle between perspectives for the management of archaeological remains in the SHBP

2.1 Archaeologists perspective about the SHBP and archaeological remains

In order to propose a concept about how interests from other stakeholders can be connected with interests from archaeologists, it is important to understand first the archaeologists' position about archaeological remains. In Peru, archaeologists are considered the only specialized professionals that can research archaeological remains by the Ministry of Culture. This situation emphasizes archaeologists' perspective as the nation official voice about archaeological remains over any other interests that may exist. Archaeological remains, as their name states, have an intrinsic archaeological value given by archaeologists who determine that certain sites or objects have this characteristic. The main value of these remains resides in the possibility of extracting information from them. A disturbed context makes it difficult, and in some cases impossible, to recover appropriate information from it, therefore the necessity of an untouched and preserved context.

2.1.1 Archaeological remains as scientific objects

Archaeologists have a particular interest in archaeological remains since they need the information they can obtain from them to improve their interpretations about the past. With better interpretations, they can make more publications, improving their academic status and gathering more financial support for their research. Archaeologists have also other interests involved in the definition, registration and excavation of archaeological remains. In late years, due to infrastructure and urban development, rescue archaeology has become an important economic income for many archaeologists since it is necessary to hire a professional archaeologist to determine the existence and carry out monitoring of archaeological remains, or to elaborate the Certificate for Inexistence of Archaeological Remains (C.I.R.A.)[18]. Therefore, without archaeological sites, archaeologists cannot

[18] The CIRA is the official document by which the Peruvian State officially declares the inexistence of archaeological remains in an

exist. This not-so-obvious agenda can be seen in how archaeologists influence the official discourse towards the management of archaeological remains in Peru, having a prevailing position over the decisions concerning these remains. This idea does not intend to present archaeologists as selfish professionals looking only for their own benefit —there are many archaeologists who have an idealistic vision about how their research can help their own society— but it actually aids to understand that, as professionals, they have their own interests as any other stakeholder involved in the use of these remains.

These interests can be observed in the context of archaeologists working at the SHBP. In the case of the SAP, for example, the main objective is to understand the development of societies in the prehispanic past, especially the Sicán Culture. In order to achieve that goal, its director Dr. Izumi Shimada has developed different strategies to acquire more funding for his research. So far he has been able to do it with the support of many academic grants achieved by his development as a well-known researcher. This situation also gave him the possibility to receive the support of the Japanese television channel Tokyo Broadcast System (TBS), which has the exclusiveness to broadcast his excavation results:

> "We have an intimate relationship with the TBS for 20 years. Although the project is scientifically independent in terms of what to do and what objectives it has, but TBS has exclusivity rights over the images. I consider TBS as a serious channel, whose key people understand about archaeology. Though at the beginning I didn't trust it much because of past experiences, these people were the ones that gave me support and trust." (Izumi Shimada 2009/08/10)

In the case of the archaeologists working at the MNS, they have scientific and economic interests towards archaeological remains. Since they work for the government, they not only carry out activities like registering and research of these remains, but also projects aimed to make them useful for the general public, usually through tourism (the concept of "put in value"). Therefore, to obtain for financial support for their projects, they appeal to government institutions like the Ministry of Culture through the Executive Unit No. 005 - Naylamp by presenting archaeological remains as "archaeological heritage", which can be used as touristic resources that can help the economic development of the area.

> «With an investment of nearly five million soles, works to improve the services at the Poma Forest historical sanctuary will begin in order to make it a touristic product for the region in 2013. Carlos Elera Arevalo, director of the Executive Unite No. 005 Naylamp-Lambayeque said that the Ministry of Foreign Trade and

area, allowing any other activity (i.e., construction, mining) to be carried out (Ministry of Culture 2014)

> Tourism, through the Copesco Plan, will finance the accomplishment of this initiative (…) "Research is very important because it gives originality to the Lambayeque tourist product. We should not do *Disneyland* but to reestablish, through the research results, everything that is linked to an adequate interpretation of what was nature and how it was understood by the people that lived in a specific zone. This way we can talk about a product with identity that few areas have", he said» (Andina 10th November, 2012).

2.1.2 Archaeological remains as heritage and tourist attractions

In order to understand the concept of "archaeological heritage" used in Peru and its management as a cultural resource, a brief explanation is presented below. The Archaeology Direction of the Ministry of Culture of Peru, in charge of the management and protection of archaeological remains, considers them as "archaeological heritage" and part of the National Cultural Heritage. The General Law for National Cultural Heritage No. 28296 defines cultural heritage as:

> "It is understood as an asset of the National Cultural Heritage every expression of human life –material or immaterial- that because of its paleontological, archaeological, historical, artistic, military, social, anthropological, traditional, religious, ethnological, scientific, technical or intellectual importance, value and meaning is expressly declared as such or which exists the legal assumption of being. Those assets have the condition of public or private property with all the limitations that the Law establishes". (Law No. 28296, 2nd Article)

The Archaeology Direction is mainly composed by professional archaeologists, and although it is difficult to extend its concept of heritage to the total of archaeologists working in Peru, it can be consider that it exemplifies the popular perspective that is carried by the majority of them. As it is stated in its website based in the 4th Article of the General Law for National Cultural Heritage, archaeological heritage should be recovered with the ultimate objective of "*puesta en valor*":

> "Final objective: *Puesta en valor*
> Archaeological zones are recovered with the goal of putting them into value. This means, giving them a social use, so they can be appreciated and enjoyed by everyone. Fenced, signaled, illuminated, declared and delimitated. Protecting these sources of pride and ancestral knowledge, we are turning archaeological monuments into archaeological attractions." (Ministerio de Cultura 2012)

These official and legal definitions are influenced by the archaeologists' perspective and international conventions carried out by organizations like UNESCO or the American States Organization (OEA), which convened in specific applications for archaeological remains in modern society (UNESCO 2003; Instituto Nacional de Cultura 2007: 409). It can be noted that, as in the case of movable archaeological heritage (pottery, artifacts, human and animal remains) stored and displayed in museums, unmovable (monumental) archaeological heritage should be recorded, catalogued, and displayed to the Public. An important aspect for this statement is that it aims to have archaeological heritage used as archaeological attractions for the Public, but at the same time it emphasizes the role of archaeologists as the main actors to preserve and protect it, especially from the Public itself. This aspect of the archaeologists' perspective is interesting because it presents us how archaeologists emphasize their main role in defining archaeological remains and how to use them.

The concept of "tourist attraction" is also interesting for discussion. This is a widespread concept in Peru not only between archaeologists but also inside the Public, and there are several cases where we can observe this perspective nationwide. The case of Machu Picchu, the major tourist attraction in Peru is still the most popular case, as well as the Nazca Lines, the Kuelap archaeological complex, the Huacas of Moche in La Libertad, among others. In our area of study, archaeological remains used as tourist attractions are divided in two groups. On one side, there are the objects recovered from the elite tombs in the SHBP, now displayed in the MNS. These objects are displayed inside glass cases, with some replicas available to be touched by the visitors. Metal objects are displayed in a separate area with special illumination, enhancing its bright to the observer. On the other side we find the monumental structures (mound-brick pyramids) located inside the SHBP. The only structure undergoing a *puesta en valor* project is Huaca Las Ventanas. Fenced in its surroundings, it can be accessed by visitors through a walking route which leads to the top, where they have a panoramic view of other sites and the forest. Excavations trenches have been left open in several areas, but there is no explanation signaling and they are also fenced. The only explanation that visitors can receive is from the practical guides that tour them through the SHBP if they hire them. As it can be observed, tourist attraction here keeps the concept of experiencing the monumentality of the site and how it is located in the environment of the forest.

Insertion in the tourist market becomes more complicated when it is associated to the concept of "social use" of archaeological remains. Although the director of the MNS, Dr. Carlos Elera, has been working with local NGOs and international cooperation agencies like AECID (Spanish International Cooperation Agency for Development) to actively support local communities in training workshops about reforestation, manufacturing of honey, native cotton and *loche*[19], as well as supporting local associations like the forest rangers and local guides with uniforms, the results are not immediate to the participants and the direct revenues are focused on the specific groups that participate in the workshops. Moreover, it is still difficult to boast tourism for many reasons. The lack of appropriate

[19] *Loche* (Cucurbita *moschata*) is a kind of pumpkin typical from the Lambayeque region. It appears to have been cultivated since prehispanic times and it is used for food consumption.

roads, signaling and services inside the SHBP, as well as poor transportation means to get there from Ferreñafe city, are elements to improve. Archaeologists' decisions to support some stakeholders more than others also add more difficulties, even inside same communities. In Group A communities, for example, there is unrest about the quantity of support given to a small community like Poma III instead of supporting more other larger communities like La Zaranda.

> "All the support goes to Poma III. Here in La Zaranda we have been supporting the eviction and we have always worked with Dr. Shimada and Dr. Elera, but nothing is done here. Moreover, they hire workers that come from other places or they do not check if there are workers from the same family, instead of supporting those that are the only income at home" (SAP1, 2011/12/03)

There are also problems between local guides from APROTUR and official tourist guides. While local guides are grouped in an association of people from local communities interested in giving tourist guidance through the SHBP and just earning extra money for their families (25 Nuevos Soles per group, roughly 18 USD), official tourist guides are people from Chiclayo city who have studied tourism at an institute or university and work full-time for an agency. These two groups often have arguments because of who will guide the groups of tourists in the SHBP and who give more reliable information about the history of the area.

> "I don't have any problem with tourist guides. I understand they have done their studies and they have their titles, but it bothers me that they don't obey the rules when they get into the forest. Tourists come in their pickup trucks and bring their guides, but they don't say anything if tourists throw garbage or are too loud. Plus, they don't know the paths and go by wrong ways" (ATG1 2010/02/10)

As we can observe, tourism can be used for developing the area, but it also can become a matter of dispute and jealousy between different groups.

To summarize what it has been presented here, archaeologists' perspective about archaeological remains is oriented to its value as a scientific object and its possible use for economic development through tourism. In both cases, they consider themselves the professionals that should manage their preservation, protection and use over any other interest group. This perspective is based in the concept that they are working for the "public benefit", making them the professionals in charge of determining how the social use of these remains should be done and for whom, an idea that is supported by the state. Although they may have altruist ideas on how archaeological remains can be used, they can also cause problems between local groups that compete for the benefits of inserting these remains into the tourism market.

2.2 Other stakeholders' perspectives about the SHBP and archaeological remains

The value of archaeological remains as tourism resources can be considered a consequence of the activities carried out by archaeologists at the SHBO. Group A and B communities have taken this concept and adapted it to their lives, although they also carry their own concepts about archaeological remains, especially in matters related to property ownership and use. Therefore, there are other values given by these communities to archaeological remains that have no direct relation with archaeologists. In many cases, these values can co-exist or even overcome those proposed by archaeologists, threatening the preservation of archaeological remains. In order to understand their importance to local communities, these values will be explained in detail.

It is important to observe the definition of archaeological remains carried by communities. Group A communities, due to its longer exposure to the landscape of the Poma forest and the activities of looters and archaeologists in the area, have a better defined concept about archaeological remains. In order to identify their definition, I developed a strategy consisted of asking practical guides from La Zaranda to take me to archaeological remains in the area without telling what I consider archaeological or not. The main idea was to openly give them the opportunity to show me what places/remains are archaeological for them. Walking with them was also gave me the opportunity to be introduced to their relatives and acquaintances in the area, and collect personal data about their interaction with their environment. I also used this strategy for safety reasons, since after the eviction there was still some unrest to see someone unknown walking around.

Informant SAP1, who had experience helping archaeological survey in the area and leader of the local guides, had a better understanding of what could be considered an archaeological site. He took me not only to monumental sites, but also to small mounds that had a concentration of pottery sherds. It was easier for him to recognize the accumulation of some archaeological features (pottery sherds, bones, shells) forming an archaeological site. For him, archaeological sites belonged to any moment before the Hacienda period, and those belonging to the Colonial and Historic periods were not archaeological. However, he did recognize the importance of preserving old buildings that used to be part of the Batán Grande Hacienda because of its historical value.

> "Here was the school before, but it used to be a house from the hacienda. The roof still has tiles, something you don't see any more in other houses. Next to it had a waterwheel and a sink where people used to come to take water. It would be nice if it could be reconstructed and a museum would be built." (SAP1, 2011/10/29)

Informant ATG1, on the other side, had only participated once in an archaeological excavation of the

SAP. His choice for archaeological sites included all the monumental sites inside the SHBP and some big mounds in La Zaranda town. While walking, he did mention that years ago he found some archaeological objects under his property while digging a hole for making *adobe* bricks. After Dr. Shimada had the chance to observe them, it was determined that they were pottery kilns. However, since at that moment informant ATG1 was more interested in making his *adobe* bricks, he destroyed most of the archaeological evidence before archaeologists arrived. For him, it was obvious that there was no archaeological site under his property and they were only isolated objects since it was not a monumental site.

> "I was excavating a hole and some kilns came out. Dr. Shimada came and took a look at them. It was not the only old thing in here. That wall in my house was before I constructed it, all that foundation." (ATG1, 2010/02/12)

Another aspect of archaeological remains is the one related to movable objects like pottery. Both informants had a small collection of ancient pottery that they have found while walking, received through friends or illegally excavated when they were children. They recognized ancient pottery as something older, but just recently understood its value and kept them.

> "Oh, I used to have more pottery but with time I gave them as gifts. Before who would have known they were valuable. I was keeping them because I liked how they looked. This one here is the only one I haven't given away because I liked it a lot. It is a whistling *huaco*. Some tourists came once and asked me to sell them but I told them no." (ATG1, 2011/10/19)

In one occasion walking around La Zaranda, informant XX saw an old pot and took it back home (Fig 5):

> "Look this pot, it is complete. I will take it to reconstruct it at home. I will have it there to decorate. Outside my house I have another one; I put it in a concrete base" (SAP1 2011/10/29)

It is possible to observe that in both cases they have an idea of what can be defined as archaeological. In the case of informant SAP1, his experience with archaeological project gave him a wider definition of archaeological site, but still it was a general one. Considering he participated in survey projects, it is possible that the definition he developed was influenced by observing that archaeologists recorded any site with signs of pottery sherds or other features grouped in an area, as well as monumental sites. In the case of informant ATG1, his definition was closer to the idea of a monumental site like those old mounds and pyramids that can be found inside the SHBP, but he did not considered archaeological sites under the modern houses. Movable archaeological remains are, on the other side, something they can recognize pretty easily, probably because of the looting customs that were common in this area. Moreover, they are used to find these archaeological objects everywhere and if it is preserved enough, take it back home. They do not consider it looting, since it is like finding something on the road and anyone can pick it up.

2.2.1 Archaeological remains and its value for local beliefs

Monumental archaeological sites are considered especial for Group A communities. Not only they were important because of the rich objects that could be found inside of them (something they witnessed in looting and archaeological excavations), but also because they carry a supernatural power that can even protect them from looters. This power is represented by the shamanism practices and myths related to archaeological that are very common in this area. During a ritual known as *baño de florecimiento* for protecting workers at the archaeological excavations in Huaca Loro (Fig. 8), a shaman from the Buenos Aires town (near Salas town, a place known for its *curanderos* or healers near the SHBP) mentioned his definition for *huacas* (monumental archaeological sites).

> "They are living beings. There are good ones and bad ones, depending if someone has lost his life while trying to loot them. Since they are *calientes* beings, a *pago* should be *frios*, like *agua florida* (a mix of water with white powder, perfume and white petals of flowers). Findings are related to the *pagos* to the *huaca*. If the *pago* is not appropriate or it does not please the *huaca*, then the project would not make good findings or an accident may happen." (SH1, 2008/08/05)

This definition of *huacas* is interesting in several aspects. First, *huacas* are those places where ancient remains can be found, usually monumental sites like those at the SHBP. In this definition, Colonial or Republican sites are not considered *huacas*, something similar to the concept carried out by other informants. The fact that the *huaca* can defend itself as person against looters is another interesting aspect. Like in the case of protecting the land, the *huaca* defends itself against looters by killing[20] or scaring them through accidents while they dig inside of it. Only the appropriate ritual given by a shaman can protect looters. It was the same case for archaeologists, since it was recommended that they also carry the appropriate ritual for protecting them and local people working at the excavation. Moreover, this ritual was also for helping them make "good findings". While for archaeological work any finding should be good as it is more data for their studies, the idea of a "good finding" is related to find a rich tomb, in other words, a treasure.

[20] In many cases, local people use the term *tragar* or swallow, as if the huaca swallowed looters when a tunnel for looting collapses, killing or hurting them.

Archaeological sites and objects are also subject of myths and supernatural personal stories related to them. Informant SAP1, mentioned a myth told by a relative about "golden ball of light" which appears at night and may lead anyone who sees it to a hidden treasure inside the sites.

> "They say that if you go walking by the forest at night and you see a ball of light that falls from the sky, it will be pinpointing a tomb. Several people have told me they have seen it, and then when they have followed it, they were taken to a *huaca*. If you excavate there, more than sure you will find a tomb with gold." (SAP1, 2011/12/03)

He also mentioned an episode where, for a week, workers at the archaeological project were having dreams at lunch break where a woman approached to them. This event was even emphasized by the fact that the SAP had found years ago several women sacrificed in one of the archaeological sites excavated inside the SHBP.

> "We were taking a break during excavation when suddenly one of the workers woke up scared. He said that he saw a woman with white clothes that got next to him and touched him in his dream. Many workers have had the same dream." (SAP1, 2011/12/03)

Other stories relate to times when the town did not have electric wiring. The family of informant SAP1 likes to gather every Sunday and have lunch together. After lunch, men sit in a circle to drink beer and talk about each other families or remembering old times. I participated in several of these meetings, listening to these stories which in many cases related to the Poma forest or the archaeological sites inside of it. A recurrent aspect was the fact that most of the stories happened inside the forest or in areas of the town where there was no electric illumination.

> "We talk a lot about elves. Before you could see more, but since there is electric light not so much. There in the highway was a tree and they always jumped from there. Elves always want to trick you. Those who have seen them say they are blonde children." (SAP1 2010/11/28)

There are also stories based in real facts with people that still live in the area. One of these stories explained some concepts about archaeological sites and the constant change in the area with newcomers.

> "The Millenary Tree has never been cut. Once they tried to do it with an axe and it broke, and after that a snake almost bites that person. Another time, one guy who lives at La Curva and he is evangelist, took some coins that are left to the cross next to the tree, in the small grotto. A while later he started to become blind.

That tree makes itself have respect, like the *huacas* in which people die buried inside." (ATG1 2010/11/28)

Since most of the town is catholic, it is interesting the especial emphasis in the aspect that it was an evangelist who was the target of a curse for not respecting the local beliefs. It is also interesting how *huacas* and the old tree are considered strong beings capable of making themselves become respected through cursing or killing those who try to harm them. The Poma forest, then, has an important characteristic as a land outside the town where strange things can happen, like in the story about elves. Certain places, like the *Algarrobo Milenario*, and archaeological sites become alive by these stories. They share the common aspect of being ancient and strong, capable of giving good fortune if treated well, but dangerous and fearsome if threatened. These stories also show that even with the influence of working with archaeologists, local population keep their own traditional beliefs about archaeological remains in parallel with scientific knowledge.

2.2.2. Archaeological remains as symbols

Some local communities have a tendency to use representations of archaeological remains as local symbols. As Shimada (2009) mentions, archaeological remains have been used as symbols for Modern Peru. To the examples with the ceremonial knife *tumi* or the Sicán golden mask he presented (the national petroleum company PetroPeru, the now-defunct national airline AeroPeru, and the national rugby team), we can add several other cases where archaeological remains are used as symbols. The Medical Association of Peru (Colegio Medico del Peru) for example, also uses a *tumi* in its logo as an adaptation of the Rod of Asclepius, the symbol of medicine (Galán-Rodas et. al. 2012). Recently, Prom Peru –the government institution responsible for the promotion of tourism-developed the concept of Peru Brand as a marketing strategy, using as a symbol a spiral shaped like the Nazca lines, and that can be found in the iconography of different ancient Andean cultures (Marca Peru website 2012).

Particularly for the case of Group A communities, archaeological remains are often used as symbols to represent themselves, especially by political authorities. Representations of the elite individuals from the Sicán culture unearthed by archaeological excavations are used for decoration in plazas, parks and schools of the province as local symbols. Although there is some influence from archaeologists about the information that is used for the representations, in most cases local authorities and artists carry out a free interpretation of the findings when making these representations, often taken from pictures or drawings (Fig. 9, 10).

Archaeological remains are also used as commercial symbols representing a business or a company around the SHBP. In La Zaranda, there is one lodge-restaurant named "*Bosque de Pómac*" and it has depicted in the welcome billboard and the front door an image of a Sicán funerary mask (Fig. 11). Other businesses in Ferreñafe city also use references to archaeological remains. Although in most of the cases they correctly associate Sicán symbols with archaeological objects from this culture, in some cases they mix it with those found at the Sipán site belonging to the Mochica culture.

Local representations usually focus on golden objects or murals depicted in some of the tombs and old temples. It is rare to find representations of pottery or other objects found at the archaeological excavations. Objects are also represented without any related image of a human being. This characteristic can be attributed to the influence of several sources. The tradition of looting, for example, considered more important metal objects found in tombs rather than any other material. The image of archaeological excavations projected by media also emphasizes metal objects over any other artifact. This aspect is also reinforced by the display of archaeological objects at the museums. Although in the case of the MNS the permanent exhibition includes other aspects of the Sicán culture, the exhibition halls dedicated to tombs and objects found in them (with especial emphasis on the golden objects) are intended to produce a sense of awe towards the manufacturing skills of these objects.

2.2.3. Archaeological remains as landmarks

A common value to archaeological remains given by communities from Group A and B is related to their role as part of the landscape and their physical characteristics (location, height, dimensions). They are used, for example, as geographical references when walking. The dry forest of the SHBP might not be as high as the tundra forest, but is high enough to make it difficult to pass through. Local population uses the archaeological sites as references for going from one place to the other, often differentiating them by their shape or color (i.e., *Huaca Colorada* means Red *Huaca*). It is not rare to be given directions between towns using *huacas* as references, although this custom is more often used in Group A communities. There are also cases where towns take the name of archaeological sites with specific characteristics, like the small town "Huaca Partida", a town located just before La Zaranda and characterized for having an archaeological site destroyed in half by the highway.

Since 2009, archaeologists from the Sicán National Museum renamed with muchik words some of the monumental archaeological sites inside the SHBP (i.e., Huaca Rodillona became Huaca Lercanlech). The new names were intended to give a more "native" aspect to the archaeological sites, often used in the signaling of the tourist route and by archaeologists in conferences or public appearances. Dr. Carlos Elera defended this strategy as a way to get closer to the original names the archaeological sites may have had, although there is no published study used as a reference for doing it. Amateur historian José Maeda openly criticized this change, mostly because he believes that names should be closer to the historical records of the old hacienda and the *Muchik* language. In his blog, he mentions that it is pretentious from archaeologists to change the name of these sites without any real criteria or further study of the local history. He also claims that he and his father have named several areas inside the forest as discoverers, and archaeologists have changed that to "become part of the history" (Maeda Ascencio website 2012). Workers at the MNS archaeological projects have taken a more flexible position. Depending on which person they address (archaeologists, tourists or neighbors) they use either the old or new naming.

Either the names were correct or not, what it is interesting is the position taken by different actors. Local names used until now may refer to the physical characteristics, a family or person that live nearby or a mispronunciation of a word used to refer to the area in the *Muchik* language. While archaeologists take a stance in defending their own decision to change those names arguing the recollection of oral stories, the amateur historian openly criticize them arguing he has studied property documents dating back to the colonial stage, which indicate other names. The fact that these names have changed and used in different ways by local people, he argues, gives them a sense of history that archaeologists are taking away with even wrong names. Project workers, on the other side, use both names at the same time. They do not openly criticize the authority of archaeologists to change the names for any reason, but keep using both for practical purposes. As it would be seen later, this is a dynamic idea of history, where several perspectives can coexist in people's minds.

2.2.4 Archaeological remains reused for its physical characteristics in construction

Taking advantage of the physical aspects from archaeological remains is another value given by both groups of communities, especially for housing. Since most of the area around the SHBP is plain, the height of monumental sites (serving as small mounds) is useful for house foundations. The height is useful for rainy seasons, keeping the inside dry since most of the water runs down the archaeological site. It is also helpful for controlling the surrounding fields, since it gives a better view of the area. (Fig. 12) Although not so much common practice lately in the SHBP, the *adobe* bricks that give shape to archaeological sites are also reused for new houses. Local people dismount the bricks and move them to the areas where they want to build a new house. If the ancient buildings have well preserved walls, sometimes they just reuse them on site, as it was the case with the house of informant AGT1. I

Archaeological sites are also used for farming. Leveling monumental sites for agriculture is a very labor demanding activity, and the soil where archaeological sites are located is often not suitable for agriculture. Therefore, an easier and practical way to take advantage of monumental sites is to construct a farmyard over it. The basic farmyards are built with pieces of lumber used as fences, especially in the case of medium-size animals like pigs. For bigger animals like cows and horses, they are tied to a nearby tree or to a heavy piece of lumber. The inside of the farmyard is filled with straw and a trough made from an old tire is placed for feeding and water. During a visit to control de destruction of archaeological sites by the staff of the museum, there was one case in the community of Tambo Real where the archaeological site had its top leveled in order to build a poultry farmyard with concrete foundation (Fig. 13). The guardian explained that poultry needs ventilation, and building the farmyard closer to the ground level would kill it because of the heat. Therefore, the height of the site was a perfect place for the farmyard:

> "This is not my *corral*. The owner is from Chiclayo and rents this site to raise chicken. He built the corral over here (the archaeological site) because the air flows better and the chicken won't die." (FAR1 2009/08/19)

Although it is undeniable archaeological remains are subject of destruction through this process, it is also truth that it is difficult to control every change that is done to these sites in such a wide area with the few resources that the museum has. Moreover, this task becomes more difficult without a proper inventory of every archaeological site and its recent condition. In the Tambo Real case, since its destruction was pinpointed by an old worker from the SAP, it was easy to find and talk to the person in charge. However, after that intervention, there has been not done any control to the situation of the archaeological site.

Beyond the illegality of destroying archaeological remains for private benefit, there is another way to analyze this problem. The modern reuse of archaeological sites is a topic not studied yet by Peruvian archaeologists. In most cases, the evidence of a modern reuse is discarded since it is assumed that modern activities have changed completely the original purpose of the site. Nevertheless, archaeological sites could have reuse activities even in prehispanic times, even changing the original purpose of the first construction. It is a topic of discussion, then, if modern activity should also be considered part of the historical process of the site, not discarding this information so easily. Also, from this perspective, if the legislation for archaeological sites becomes more open to modern time activities, it can be discussed if there are strategies that allow modern population to reuse archaeological sites without damaging them.

2.2.5 Archaeological remains as collection objects

Group A and Group B communities also share a similar idea about collecting archaeological objects.

As mentioned earlier, looting has been a common practice in this area since the colonial period, and it has its peak in the hacienda times (20th century) in the Poma forest. The Aurich family, last owner of the Batán Grande hacienda, was well known not only for having groups of workers dedicated to loot archaeological sites, but also for holding a large collection of archaeological objects that they sold later to different people. Since measures against looting became stricter in last decades, local population is less prone to openly commercialize archaeological objects[21], but almost every family holds a small collection of them (mostly pottery and stone artifacts) usually received by acquaintances and relatives, or found during their everyday activities of farming and agriculture. Besides the commercial value that archaeological objects can have, it is also possible to observe other uses given to them by local population related to collection.

Archaeological objects are used, for example, for decoration. As mentioned before, most of the objects that are found during everyday activities are pottery and stone artifacts. Since they are made of durable material and they are usually found in large quantities in archaeological sites, it is commonly found when working the land for agriculture, digging holes for garbage dumping or making mud bricks. During my fieldwork, I found four houses in Santa Clara and La Zaranda towns decorated with archaeological objects found in the surroundings. In the case of stone objects, some of them were put in a cement base or hanged over a beam at the entrance of a house. Stone and pottery vessels of medium size (i.e., pots) are used as vases for plants or flowers (Fig. 14), while pottery of bigger size is just placed as decoration objects in gardens (Fig. 15).

Figurative or decorated pottery, metal objects and bone or shell objects tend to have other kind of treatment. They are considered as treasures or art pieces. Informant AGT1 in La Zaranda had two decorated ceramics (one of them half of a “whistling pot”) and textile artifacts found while walking towards his relative’s house in Íllimo town. He had them hidden inside a box in his house, separated from the undecorated pottery that he placed in his garden. Two public schools in the area also had a small collection of decorated pottery in the directors’ offices, brought by local students and their parents, hold in small glass cabinets. In the case of decorated archaeological objects, it is possible to observe that their owners consider them as treasures, holding them in hidden or protected places.

Ownership of archaeological objects seems to be a very personal connection. AGT1 informant mentioned that he would like to make a small museum and charge for showing his collection to tourists. When I slipped him the idea that it might be better to ask other neighbors to do the same and make a bigger collection to show, labeling clearly which object belongs to whom, he answered me that it would be difficult to convince them. He mentioned that they would be afraid to lose their

[21] Still, there are local markets at Chiclayo city where it is very easy to buy archaeological objects.

personal collections to the government or to other neighbors and just changed the topic. By his reaction, I consider that he was uneasy with the idea of sharing his collection and the possible revenues he could get by building a small museum.

3. Discussion: Why confrontation arises for the management of archaeological remains?

As it has been introduced in this chapter, archaeological remains are subject of the interests of different stakeholders, either by the value that is given to them or by the land they occupy. These different perspectives can coexist, but there are situations where they collide. The idea of preserving archaeological remains, for example, imposes several limitations to their use. Moreover, it also enters in conflict with concepts of land property and ownership carried by local communities. Illegality and informality in property acquisition makes it difficult to control and avoid the destruction of archaeological remains. The eviction of 2009 was an important event that marked the importance of respecting private, community and state property. However, old customs in land appropriation still interfere with the adoption of a formal and legal system to acquire land for local population. Archaeologists face, then, the problem of forcing a formal system in a world of informal rules.

Although the eviction of 2009 was successful in the sense that it helped recover the invaded area of the SHBP, it also made other problems came into light. First, it showed the level of violence some communities are prepared to reach if they consider their property rights to be menaced. Therefore, archaeologists should be aware of their decisions when promoting the protection of archaeological remains, especially if it can be taken by some communities as a threat to their sense of ownership of the land. Second, it showed that although some communities may agree to support archaeologists' initiatives to protect archaeological remains, it does not mean they have made the objectives of these initiatives their own, like the case of Group A communities. This support, in particular, was received because Group A communities wanted to claim the land taken from Group B communities by force. The fact that archaeological remains were also in the area, as well as the protection of the SHBP as a natural reserve, were ideas that fitted this objective. After the eviction, these ideas were not actively used anymore by Group A communities, since their members still kept deforesting community land and using archaeological sites outside the SHBP the same way as before. Moreover, they became very critic about the management of the SHBP and the support given to some communities over others for training workshops carried out by NGOs. This unrest was based in the fact that they believed themselves to have helped the eviction take place, and they should have more rights to benefit directly from tourist and economic activities derived from the SHBP.

This aspect leads to the discussion about the "adequate" use of the natural and cultural resources of the SHBP mostly through tourism and focused on preservation, versus a "non-adequate" use of the land of the SHBP focused on extensive agriculture and farming, cutting trees for wood and leveling archaeological sites. In this struggle, three stakeholders with different interests and concepts interact with each other to control and manage these resources: Archaeologists, Group A communities and Group B communities. Each of them has a different idea about what is considered a resource and how to manage it, making the struggle even worse. In this sense, it is important to observe how each group defines these resources and what kind of management they want to carry out in order to make coexistence possible and elaborate a better plan to take full advantage of these resources. Through the use and value given by each stakeholder to archaeological remains, it is possible to analyze the how they conceive these remains and try to find common ideas on them.

In order to observe it, I have ordered the uses and values presented above according to their closeness to the archaeologists' perspective and or to the communities' perspective (Table 17). Depending on the value given by each stakeholder, each use was divided in academic, economic, emotional and political values. Later, considering if the use would benefit a person or small group or the wide society, they were separated into public or private sphere.

As it can be observed, there is a wide variation on the values that are given to archaeological remains, but in most cases they can be considered of economic value. Also, the kind of use given to these remains closer to the communities' perspective are related to the private sphere, while those closer to the archaeologists' perspective tend to be to the public sphere. Since conflict often arises when two perspectives are antagonists to each other, it is possible to assume that for these cases, conflict arises when the public benefit is confronted by the private benefit. In the case of archaeological remains as "Research Object", it has been considered as "private sphere" since archaeologists use it for themselves. However, since the information can be later used for the public benefit means that a private use can eventually result in a public benefit if its objectives include that perspective. Tourism, for example, was an activity considered to be only of private benefit for tourist business companies and that could damage cultural heritage if it was badly carried out. Nowadays, tourism is seen as a tool for local development and multicultural encounter, if it is appropriately regulated and carried out. It is possible then to transform private oriented uses into the public benefit.

Use of archaeological remains can also be observed from their closer relation to archaeologists or communities perspectives (Figure 18). In order to diminish the conflict between these two perspectives, archaeologists have been trying to promote the social use of archaeological remains to help economic development of the area, with the further purpose of convincing local population that destructing these remains would mean destroying potential tourist resources. Although this strategy could be effective for certain archaeological remains, especially those found inside the SHBP, it is arguable if it should be widely used in particular for smaller sites or inaccessible areas. Besides, tourism is only one kind of use that local communities give to archaeological remains, while other kinds are left aside. Since the communities' perspective about archaeological remains seems to include many other kinds of use and values, it would be important to adapt them as possible to the official discourse. This process, however, involves collecting more data about each use in order to fully understand its motives and concepts.

Another main issue is the concept of *puesta en valor* proposed by archaeologists. According to the definition of archaeological heritage given by the Ministry of Culture, archaeological zones are considered to be of no value until archaeologists designed them as "archaeological" and carry out initiatives to make them appreciated and enjoyed by the Public. As we observed through this chapter, there are several other values besides those determined by archaeologists, so it is not totally true that the archaeological zones lack of value before archaeologists start their work. Moreover, according to that definition, archaeological zones need to be fenced making it clear what is "archaeological" and what is not, separating them from their surroundings. This specific action collides with other uses of archaeological remains, not allowing any other rather than the archaeologists' use. Also, this action can be done only where the characteristic of the archaeological site allows it, and in the case of open areas with multiple structures is impossible or too costly, while in the case of non-monumental archaeological zones or those located in inaccessible areas it is difficult to make them tourist attractions. Moreover, fencing archaeological sites can be considered a threat to the property of local communities, whose reaction might be to not allow the archaeologists' work. Moreover, one can ask how much dynamism carries this concept of archaeological heritage stated above. Archaeological zones should be considered in a constant process of change or just frozen into a certain moment of their history? If frozen, what moment should be emphasized over others? Nowadays archaeologists' perspective emphasize the prehispanic past over other periods, especially over modern ones. Since the prehispanic past is only one moment of the history of the site and a very far one, how local communities can connect with it if the evidence of closer times that relates to them is not considered in the story of the site? Archaeologists should consider strategies that include modern history of the site and the landscape to the official discourse in museums and textbooks.

Finally, the concept of turning "archaeological monuments into archaeological attractions" can be criticized as well. Since it emphasizes the idea of transforming archaeological heritage into something that fits the tourist business, one can assume that the concept of "heritage" and "economic cultural resource" is being mixed. In fact, nowadays most people would directly associate heritage with tourism. This simple association is dangerous for the concept of heritage, since it limits archaeological heritage to its economic value. It also creates expectations in the Public towards creating a tourist attraction of every single archaeological remain, something that is impossible in some cases. Moreover, it changes the perspective of the Public towards archaeological heritage, making it valuable only if it can boast tourism, putting in danger archaeological remains that cannot fulfill this expectation. Heritage, in any of its forms, should be important for its society because it is part of their identity, feeling represented and connected by it, rather than the economic revenues that comes from their use.

As it has been seen in the present chapter, the management of archaeological remains is not an easy task. These remains, as well as the land they occupy, are immersed in a very complex context where several stakeholders have interests and different perspectives on how to use them. Archaeologists may have the official support of the government for managing these remains, but without the participation and collaboration of other stakeholders, it is very limited what they can do. Moreover, their inclusion as key stakeholders with power over the management of these remains puts them into a conflictive relation with other stakeholders. The illegality towards property in this area forced archaeologists to take a stance and gather allies on other stakeholders in the area in order to recover the land taken at the SHBP. In this specific case, they were able to find common objectives with these stakeholders. However, in a long term, it is still to be seen if this support can be sustained or if the position as authority taken by MNS archaeologists would become another element of conflict with their previous allies. In this sense, MNS archaeologists are carrying out several strategies towards convincing other stakeholders that archaeological remains are worth preserving. These strategies will be analyzed from within in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Interaction between archaeologists and local communities in the SHBP

As it has been presented on Chapter 3, the situation of archaeological remains is extremely complicated. There are several interests in them or in the land they are located. In this context, what strategies are used by archaeologists to engage other stakeholders into archaeological remains protection? Although there are several strategies available to achieve it, not all of them are successful or cost-benefit effective. It also depends on the amount of resources (either economical or human) available to carry them out, as it has been presented in many examples of Chapter 1. Large Public oriented projects, for example, tend to be time consuming and financially expensive, therefore they are usually carried out by government institutions and non-government organizations. Another problem is how to define effectiveness. As mentioned before, it can be criticized that some strategies tend to keep the Public as passive receivers of information created from the perspective of archaeologists, not necessarily focusing on building a space for discussion where the point of view of archaeologists and the Public can combine in one new concept of history.

Since the present research had time and financial limitations to carry out a stand-alone project, I decided to aim for reinforcing a project that has been already carried out by a local organization. In this sense, I chose to follow up projects carried out by archaeologists working at the MNS. The main reason for this selection was the characteristic of this Museum as a government organization able to carry out long-term projects in contrast to other local organizations, like NGOs. The MNS, of course, had its own issues, but since their staff has been carrying out several strategies towards the Public in the area, their expertise was very important for the present research. On the first part of this chapter, I will analyze the different strategies used by the archaeologists at MNS. On the second part, I will present my experience in participating on one of these strategies.

1. The Context of Projects Aimed to the Public at the SHBP

Archaeologists working at the MNS have been developing several strategies towards the general public with the objective of spreading archaeological knowledge in order to create awareness of the protection of archaeological heritage. Aimed to different groups (e.g., Tourists, local communities, regional and local authorities, teachers), these strategies are based in the information collected from the research carried out at the archaeological sites located in the SHBP. Some projects were carried only by MNS archaeologists, but there were also other projects that were supported by international organizations or NGO's. Most projects, however, were the result of archaeologists' initiatives, which later included the participation of other stakeholders. Although this cooperation was often promoted as an open participation where all opinions were included, the managing position was held by archaeologists and determined the decisions taken.

In the case of the SHBP, for example, after the eviction took place, several projects were proposed for local communities and the internal tourist management. Most of these projects were related to improve the quality of life of local people by training them in artisanal activities that can later relate to commerce and tourism, while other projects were related to specific management of the tourist routes inside the SHBP like the tourist routes, services, among others. The Master Plan of the SHBP (SERNANP 2011) was the main text for guiding the elaboration of projects, but their scheduling and priority was actually decided by director of the MNS and the chief of the SHBP, especially in terms of which project would have priority to receive government funding. Archaeologists' perspective was also predominant in the selection of which NGO's should be gathered for support. Those NGO's that were closer to the idea of preservation of the natural and cultural resources of the area worked closely with archaeologists, while others were not fully considered in their planning. In the case of the NGO Oikos, for example, they had a different idea of community development. Their projects were not focused on "ancient" techniques or "native" crops, but instead they chose to support organic banana plantations, an exotic crop in the area. They were openly criticized by MNS archaeologists and allied NGO's for not following a "conservationist" orientation in their projects at the SHBP buffer zone.

It cannot be denied that carrying out strategies needs a common orientation, but the predominance of only one perspective can affect the possibility of gathering more allies in the area. NGO's like Oikos had the advantage of being already immersed in Group B communities where archaeologists had difficulties in approaching after the eviction. Moreover, the conservationist perspective proposed by members of the MNS and the SHBP intends to promote the preservation of a traditional landscape, where ancient customs and native flora and fauna should be restored and protected. This is a static perspective of culture and nature that might be easier to apply inside an environment like the SHBP, but it is more difficult in a dynamic area like the buffer zone. Local communities and their sense of land ownership of make any proposal related to land management a complicated task that needs a diplomatic environment where ideas are discussed rather than imposed.

Another problem is the selection process for projects at the MNS. Projects proposed to the Executive Unit to receive funding were chosen by personal criteria of the MNS director. Although he has the best intentions towards the MNS and the SHBP, the lack of a selection process that includes other people with different perspectives made MNS projects focus only on his perspective. In this sense, archaeological excavations and preservation of one pyramid at the SHBP were priority projects in comparison to other projects at the MNS that may have had a direct benefit towards local population, like the establishment of an education section that may impulse the education program at the MNS. The exhibition at the MNS was also placed as a secondary priority, resulting on several problems with it.

2. Strategies towards the Public at the MNS

2.1 The Museum Exhibition

As it was mentioned before, the exhibition at the MNS was planned and developed by archaeologist Izumi Shimada, with the support of Paloma Carcedo. In less than one month, they had to prepare the whole narrative of the exhibition, including the division of each of the 10 exhibition halls, labels, illumination, selection of objects to be displayed, dioramas, among other responsibilities. When the museum opened in the year 2001, the concept they proposed was innovative in the area. While most museums were focused on displaying archaeological objects as art, the MNS dared to break the space between the Public and the archaeological remains by using glass-fiber replicas that can be touched, dioramas explaining how the archaeological objects were made and used, a detailed disposition of individuals and objects inside the tombs, and large explanations about the archaeological research process in video and posters. This revolutionary concept for the area had mixed opinions. On one hand, many visitors liked the idea of understanding more about what was behind an object, the idea of an old society, and the archaeological research. In another hand, there were several critical opinions about the quality of the exhibition, mainly to the concept of using replicas and not real archaeological objects, like other regional museums. Criticism from other archaeologists was also strong, especially related to the concept of Sicán Culture proposed by Izumi Shimada and the lack of information related to other perspectives about the archaeological material.

Between these two critical points of view, the MNS has finally established itself as an important museum and touristic spot in the area (Table 6). Nevertheless, the excessive focus on the situation of the SHBP has undermined the improvement of the exhibition. After more than a decade since it was opened, there has been no important changes on it. The management of the exhibition is in charge of the curator, archaeologist Victor Curay, with support from one of the local workers at the museum. Maintenance work and renewal of some of the display cases is done every Monday when the museum is closed. Most of the changes carried out by him include the addition of new objects (mostly pottery) that have been cataloged from the archaeological excavations, but the exhibition itself keeps its general setting. The equipment of the exhibition has also suffered diverse problems. A multimedia projector that opened the exhibition had to be removed after some years because there were no replacing bulbs for it, and importing them at the time was too expensive. The illumination also had problems, especially in the exhibition hall for metal objects. Since the illumination is based in optical-fiber, replacing or fixing it was also too expensive. The poor illumination of the exhibition halls, especially in this room, was one of the main complains of visitors since the legends on the glass cases were too small to be read (Table 15)

Some small improvements were done during the year 2012. A CRT television was replaced by a larger LED television, although the video displayed is the same. Victor Curay mentioned that a cause for these problems is the lack of financial support, but even after the Executive Unit was created, no funding has been assigned for the renewal of the exhibition. As a result, the MNS does not appear to have changed for someone who has visited it more than twice during these years, becoming another important topic of complains (Table 15).

Another problem is the language of the exhibition. The texts were written by curator Victor Curay, maintaining the main narrative that archaeologists Shimada and Carcedo proposed. Most of the explanations are done in a technical language, while diagrams and drawings are the ones used in the excavation records. While it did not appear as a topic of complains, it would be necessary in the future to evaluate if visitors actually gather enough information just by reading the legends on each exhibition room. The sequence of the exhibition halls is also confusing, making it necessary for the visitors to hire a guide in order to understand it better. When visiting it for the first time without any knowledge of the area when it opened, I was not sure if all the artifacts came from the two tombs that are exhibited or if they came from other sites and where were they located.

This apparent confusion, though, is well managed by tourist guides at the museum. One of them is Dr. Shimada's assistant and works permanently as a guide at the museum together with other two official guides. When asked how they complete the information that is not presented on the exhibition, they told me that they usually add information about the customs of their own families in the area, especially when answering questions about everyday life in the past.

> "When visitors ask about topics that are not explained at the museum, topics about daily life, I usually tell them what my grandfather used to tell us about how things were in the past. For example, if they asked where ancient people used to go to the restroom, I remember that my grandparents told me they used to do it in the open, near a tree." (MNS8, 2009/08/10)

At the museum there were no texts materials for further reading for several years. In 2010 archaeologist Izumi Shimada prepared a small explanation material with the support of the "Friends Association for the Sicán Museum" about the archaeological project in English and Spanish about the Sicán culture which is sold at the museum shop, but it has the same language problems as the texts in the exhibition. Language difficulties and lack of reading materials are a particularly important problem not only for tourists but also for any local who would like to know more about the Sicán culture and or the archaeological excavations. The available materials are mostly academic oriented and written in English, and hard to find in libraries outside Lima. Even with a background in archaeology some papers are quite difficult to understand, while buying them is not an easy task either because they are sold overseas. The local population, then, has very few ways to access more information.

This aspect contrasts with the access to information about this culture that the general public from other countries has been able to obtain through international exhibitions. Exhibitions carried out in Japan and Canada not only allowed the public on these countries to observe the materials excavated from the SHBP, but also gave it detailed explanations through audiovisual and text resources. The exhibition organized by the TBS in Japan during the years 2009 to 2011, for example, had several interaction materials including video interviews with Dr. Shimada, models and aerial views of the sites, kids' activities and several publications oriented to the public in Japanese. In addition, TBS made a documentary transmitted by television in Japanese explaining the last discoveries as well as showing the large recorded material they hold about the excavations during several years. Since TBS holds the copyright of the video materials and exclusive rights of the discoveries made by the SAP, these materials could not be freely used by personal of the MNS in the permanent exhibition (another problem is that the original language is in Japanese). After the international exhibition ended, only one model was donated to the museum, which has just been added to the museum exhibition in the year 2013.

Another aspect to be considered is the expectations visitors have about the museum. Another important topic of complain was about the objects that were exhibited (Table 15). Visitors complained that the museum has too many replicas, not showing original objects like other museums in the area. As a matter of fact, most museums in Peru characterize by its presentation of original artifacts in glass cases, like objects of art. While there are several original artifacts obtained from scientific excavation at the MNS, there are several replicas used to explain production processes and represent the excavated tombs in dioramas. It was, then, a valid complain for many visitors that they felt disappointed for being presented replicas instead of original artifacts in an archaeological museum.

As in any museum, there are several aspects to be improved. The MNS main characteristic of being an archaeological museum where most of its exhibition comes from controlled scientific excavations make it a special place to observe how archaeologists can effectively communicate the result of their research to the Public, and how this information is perceived and received by visitors. Even if archaeologists try to be as scientific as possible, there are several questions visitors have about past societies that are answered by other means (tourist guides, for example). Therefore, even if archaeologists want to have control over the information presented, this information becomes just one reference for the Public that may use other sources. The museum, however, is only one of the several strategies used by archaeologists to reach the Public, as it will be presented above.

2.2 Public conferences and flyer distribution

If the information available about the Sicán culture is limited, how did archaeologists at the MNS have been distributing it towards the public beyond the museum exhibition? There have been three main strategies used by archaeologists: open conferences, flyers distribution and the educational program of the museum. The first strategy was aimed to expand the knowledge about the last discoveries made by archaeological projects at the SHBP. In especial occasions, the MNS organized these conferences or with other museums from the region, sometimes with the participation of foreign archaeologists. Archaeologists from the MNS also participated in several academic congresses during the year in order to share their experiences and excavation results. In other opportunities, local schools or associations asked archaeologists Carlos Elera and Victor Curay to hold conferences on specific topics (e.g., the local association of *loche* producers asked Dr. Elera to give a conference about the use of this plant in Sicán society). Although these conferences were an interesting strategy to establish more connections with the general public, in many cases attendants were limited to specific interested groups. Also, speakers were limited to professional researchers, focusing only on the official academic discourse. Moreover, the form of “conferences” established a passive relationship with the Public, since they could only participate with some questions at the end. There was no evaluation about the organization, topics explained or language used by the speaker, therefore it was impossible to know how the public received this information.

Another strategy aimed to encourage the protection of archaeological remains included the distribution of folded flyers to the local population. These flyers were designed and elaborated by the INC through their regional entity. Mainly aimed to local farmers, it was focused on telling the illegality of looting and aiming the Public to call local authorities if they witness someone doing it. The flyer included the legal framework that protect archaeological sites and the actions that can be taken against those who loot them. It is interesting to analyze this flyer since it shows the point of view of people in charge of protecting archaeological remains in the area (Fig. 16, 17). On its first page it has the name, address and telephone number of the INC regional office with an image and a message at the bottom that says “Stop the looting! Let’s preserve and defend our archaeological patrimony”. The image represents two backpackers (probably tourists) being guided by a person with a hat and a poncho towards an archaeological site. Over the archaeological site there is a “native” face with a band and a hand giving a “stop” signal. The archaeological site is represented by a main stone building a staircase and small buildings surrounding it. On the second page of the flyer there is a long explanation of four paragraphs about how archaeological sites were looted since the Spanish conquest until now and how it is a destructive and illegal activity. It also explains the term *huaca* (as something sacred or archaeological site) and *huaquero* (as the person who loot archaeological artifacts to sell them in the black market. It continues this exhortation by highlighting that archaeological remains are the result of the high quality work of Peruvian ancestors and part of a cultural heritage that should be protected and properly studied “in order to reconstruct our prehispanic history and reinforce our cultural identity”. It finishes mentioning how protection, research and preservation can allow many of them to become part of the cultural tourism and benefit local communities. The last sentence says “Let’s honor ourselves revaluing our rich cultural and historical past!” The third page gives a general Legal Framework that includes an explanation of related articles and laws in the Peruvian constitution that protect archaeological patrimony, as well as its definition by law and the state entities in charge of it. It ends with a paragraph mentioning how Peru is part of the UNESCO convention that protects Cultural Heritage. The last page has a picture of a looted site with an X on it and the telephone numbers of all the museums in the area in order to call them if witnessing any damage done to archaeological remains. Its last sentence says “Let’s protect our archaeological patrimony because it is part of our cultural heritage and national identity”.

The degree of awareness attained by this strategy is difficult to measure, but it gives at least enough information for those interested in protecting archaeological remains to contact the authorities. It also displays a general definition of an archaeological site and its importance for the country. Nevertheless, there are several aspects that can be criticized for becoming a successful strategy that can be adopted by the local population. First, although the language has been simplified, it contains too much information at once, especially on the second and third pages. This is particularly important for rural areas where just until recently the government has been enforcing alphabetization programs. It assumes that readers will be interested and will understand every aspect of the pamphlet, including the legal issues. Another important critic is how the concept of prehispanic societies is emphasized over an obscure Spanish period where archaeological sites were looted. This can be seen also in the representation of the first page, emphasizing the image of an Indian over an archaeological site. While it is true that many archaeological sites were destroyed during the conquest period, it is also true that concept of the Peruvian nation is based in a mix of cultures, including the Spanish influence, an aspect especially particular for the north coast where *mestizos* are common. Instead, this flyer emphasizes the importance of the “native” identity related to the past. The idea of archaeological sites is also confusing. Archaeological sites are represented as stone-monumental sites like Machu Picchu, not as common as adobe sites in the north coast. This representation reinforces the idea where archaeological sites are only big mounds that can be observed on the surface. Beyond the design and ideas behind it, the main problem with flyers is that it keeps the Public as a passive receiver of information.

A third strategy has been the development of a pilot Educational Program at the MNS. This program in particular had become one of the few spaces where some members of the Public (school teachers) can interact directly with archaeologists and interactively talk about societies from the past and their remains through training workshops. Since this strategy had the Public as a more interactive element on it, it will be explained in detail as follows.

2.3 The Educational Program at the MNS

From all the strategies oriented to the general public, one of the most successful and longest is the Educational Program. Carried out by curator Victor Curay during the years 2003 and 2004, the program aimed to encourage regional teachers to actively use the museum as a classroom for teaching prehistory of the area. An important aspect to understand why Victor Curay developed this program at the MNS is his background. Although he graduated as an archaeologist and worked in several research projects before working as a curator at the MNS, he also had a deep interest in teaching. He worked for several years at Pontificia Universidad Católica del Peru as a teacher assistant, training young archaeology students in the courses of survey, excavation and pottery analysis. This experience has helped him develop strategies on how to summarize archaeological information to be transmitted to a small audience, as well as interactive activities to be applied in a classroom. He also had training courses supported by the embassy of USA on museum management. Being an employee of the Ministry of Culture, he has been also asked to travel in several occasions to control the security of archaeological objects that were lent for exhibitions at foreign museums, having the opportunity to closely observe other educational programs at those museums. In late years, he has been working as a teacher for a tourism educational institute in Chiclayo. His background in education and his experience visiting museums in other countries have greatly influenced his intention to develop an educational program at MNS.

This program was the first to be done in a museum located outside the capital city of Lima. At that time, very few museums were actively training school teachers to use museum exhibition areas for their classes. Most of the school visits were limited to hire a guide and have that person explain each exhibition room while students passively listening. Activities prior or after the visit were not carried out or limited to students' written reports. As Victor Curay mentioned, he considers that school teachers are "promoters of change" (understood as social development promoters). Therefore the program should be aimed to them since they can work as connectors between kids, their parents and the museum. He also refers to a concept of “cultural identity” for reaching local population (Curay 2011), tied to the regional concept of the Lambayeque.

As explained by Victor Curay (2011), the educational program at MNS included “training workshops” for local teachers from schools at Ferreñafe city. These workshops consisted in training school teachers about regional history and identity, proposing the insertion of this content into school planning through the concept of “transversal knowledge” and activities carried out at the museum and in classrooms. During the workshops teachers are also encouraged to use the museum as an educational resource not only to explain the Sicán society but also the cultural identity of Lambayeque region. Taking as reference the work done by Freyre (2001) at the Puruchuco Museum in Lima, the workshop divided the activities in the classroom and at the museum proposed to teachers in three stages:

1) Preparation for the visit to the museum.
This stage is developed in the classroom. Teachers give an introduction to the topics to students to be worked at the museum.

2) Visit to the exhibition halls
In this stage, students visit the exhibition halls and explore the topics discussed in the classroom, trying to look for answers to the questions posed by the teacher.

3) Conclusion about the visit
This stage is developed in the classroom. The idea is to discuss the information gathered during the visit to the museum, further talking about the proposed topics.

This general planning for the visit is supposed to be adjusted to each schooling level. The Peruvian schooling system comprises four levels called “cycles”. Each cycle corresponds to three years of education for pre-school, primary school and the first years of secondary school plus the last two years of secondary school. Topics of the education curriculum are divided according to each cycle depending on the age of the students and the quantity of topics to be discussed. It is important to mention that the last change in the education curriculum happened on the year 2008 and considered a new division of courses where topics could be linked to student’s daily lives by the concept of “transversal themes or contents”. These contents are defined in the National Curricular Design for Regular Basic Education as topics that can help answer contextual problems of an area, based in values and attitudes (Ministerio de Educación 2009:22)

Attendants to the workshops during 9 months (16 sessions) included 30 teachers from pre-schools and primary schools in Ferreñafe city on its first year, widening the attendance for the second to 100 teachers from Ferreñafe, Pueblo Nuevo, Mesones Muro, Pítipo and Kamari's districts. This increase on participation responded to the fact that the first year was considered a pilot plan, while on the second year agreements were signed to the regional administration of education (Ferreñafe Educative Development Area, nowadays UGEL, Local Education Management Unit – Ferreñafe) under the program title of "Training Workshops on Cultural Identity". This agreement was a suggestion from the attendants to the first year since it would assure a compromise from regional authorities to support the program and pressure local teachers to attend the sessions. The workshop sessions concluded with the "I Educational Fair about Cultural Identity", where teachers presented reports and expositions about how they applied their experience in the workshops to the classrooms, as well as folkloric dances.

Although the program was considered successful by organizer Victor Curay and teachers, political changes of the authorities in charge of education matters in the regions let to withdrawal of their support. After that, the program was reduced to those schools who asked for it. Political changes have been an important influence in the MNS initiatives with local people, since the museum director is an active member of the APRA political party. These changes come with every election for district and provincial authorities, as well as for the president election. APRA has been a very strong political party in the north coast for decades, but their strength has been declining over the years because of corruption issues and the monopoly of public posts by their members. Nevertheless, it is still a strong party and its representative was the mayor of Ferreñafe during the years 2003 to 2006. During this period, the MNS had a strong support from local authorities, in part because the director of the MNS, Carlos Elera, was councilman then, especially in the insertion of Sicán representations in parks and roads in the city. This support contrasted with the following 2007-2010 period, when Acción Popular (an opposing party) won the mayor elections. As a result, the communication between the city hall and the MNS was weak. Activities carried out at the MNS, like folkloric music and dance festivals were discontinued, and the educational division of the city hall did not coordinate with the MNS for any future planning or activity. After the year 2011, a mayor that ended his period when the museum opened was re-elected, giving a new boost to the relationships between the city hall and the museum, but accusations of corruption and a revocation process to the mayor has slowed down this support.

The decline on this program also had several other reasons. While interviewing some teachers who attended the program, they added the important aspect of time, either by their side or Victor Curay as organizer. In the case of teacher's time schedule, it was difficult to arrange meetings at the museum because many of them had another job on their free time, especially male teachers. Receiving a low salary (between 1100 to 1200 soles per month) for taking of a whole family with an average of three kids was the main reason for having more than one job. An incentive to attend the workshop was to give certificates of attendance signed by the UGEL, since teachers can use it on their curriculum vitae as training experience in order to increase their salaries, but this incentive only worked the first time they attended it.

Time availability was also an important element for the organizer too. One teacher commented that because Victor Curay had other responsibilities at the MNS, it was difficult for him to arrange meetings with teachers.

> "There is no permanent staff at the museum, like public relations. There should be trained staff, not tourist guides but someone related to education. Although there was a good intention from Victor, sometimes he didn't have time and couldn't meet with us." (ST23, 2009/07/23)

This aspect is particularly important since the main problems for an education program at the MNS are the overlapping functions of the museum staff and the lack of trained specialists dedicated to education. While the museum is considered an educational institution, professional specialists at the museum are mostly dedicated to research, preservation or administrative work. In the case of Victor Curay, as the curator of the museum and administrator in charge, he has several responsibilities. As it was explained before, as curator of the museum, he is charge of the exhibition display and the maintenance of the exhibition halls. His duties as administrator include the control and supervision of museum staff, which ranged from maintenance, cleaning, ticketing, archaeological remains classification and preservation, among others. Beyond these activities he has his responsibilities as a teacher in educational institutes in Chiclayo city, as well as coordinating the training course for American interns at the museum. As it can be observed, although there are several people working at the museum, most of the responsibilities were concentrated on the only person that had interest and experience in the educational program for school teachers.

Another important problem has been the lack of appropriate materials for students and teachers to be used. As it was mentioned, there are very few reference materials for the public. The pamphlet prepared for tourists, although having a very good quality in graphics and design, has a specialized language. Moreover, its cost (around 12 soles) is another impediment for teachers and students to acquire it. Victor Curay confirmed the necessity of printed materials that can be used as reference for teachers at class, preferably dedicated for them. Printed materials seem to be especially useful in rural areas where the access to Internet is still limited and there are few good public libraries.

Nevertheless, one problem to elaborate these materials was the lack of funding for editing and printing given by the Museum and the Executive Unit. Another problem was the lack of human resources to make them. While archaeologists at the museum lack of enough time, qualification or interest to build them, local teachers also have few experience in preparing educational materials. This aspect is especially important since these materials should be adapted to the contents of the main curricula given by the Ministry of Education in order to be used by teachers.

One last problem with this program was the lack of feedback evaluation by teachers. While the program was organized by an archaeologist and many teachers participated actively, there were no mechanisms of feedback to revise the program in order to improve it on following years. Success of the program was measured by the consistency of attendance of teachers and their participation in the workshop sessions. The activities and results presented at the ending festival also gave some idea of the interest teachers may have had in the program. But this kind of evaluation was very subjective, especially if it was made by the organizer, since local teachers may express their own opinions but would not directly point out its problems. Even if they expressed their own opinion, it was mostly a general comment, usually pointing out the good results rather than the bad ones. It was necessary, then, to find mechanisms for teachers to express their opinion of the program. Victor Curay has also considered this problem, but he could not elaborate any adequate mechanism to solve it. He suggested that anonymous polls or reports may be a good idea for teachers to express their opinions more freely.

Although the Educational Program had several limitations, it was one of the few opportunities where a group from the Public (school teachers) could directly interact with archaeologists and share some of their ideas about archaeological remains. In this sense, the Educational Program, in contrast with the other strategies, served to create a space where attendants could actively engage in discussing the position archaeologists have as professionals towards archaeological remains instead of just passively receiving information. The premature ending of the program, however, left several aspects of the interactions between archaeologists and school teachers without further development.

3. Approaches towards the Public at the MNS

The strategies presented here lie in the Deficit Model of Merriman or the Educational and Public Relations Approach of Holtorf, Matsuda and Okamura (explained on Chapter I). The Educational Approach can be observed, for example, in the exhibition at the MSN. It clearly presents an intention of engaging visitors in order to make them understand what archaeologists do and how they reach their interpretations of past societies. There is no intention on establishing a dialog with other perspectives, which are omitted from the official discourse. Although tourist guides may have some freedom to include non-canon information, they tend to not distance too much from the official discourse. In fact, they tend to be keener to make their explanations using more absolute data than what archaeologists may use.

Public conferences and flyer distribution fall into the Public Relations Approach. They aim to bring archaeology to a wider public in order to appeal for their understanding and support to stop plundering of archaeological remains, as well as to protect the traditional environment of the SHBP. Public conferences, although possible spaces for discussing ideas, are events where a vertical relationship is established between professionals explaining and teaching about the past and an audience that receives information. Flyers, on the other side, are part of a strategy that uses a very authoritative language (both visual and textual) to present looting as an activity that should be eradicated and condemned. Since these strategies are difficult to adapt to become interactive spaces where different perspectives about archaeological remains can be discussed, they were not considered in the present research for further study. Nevertheless, it is yet to be analyzed the cost-benefit of carrying out strategies like these.

The Educational Program can also be considered inside the Educational Approach. Its objective to train local teachers into archaeology had a clear intention to make them understand how archaeology works and why it is important. However, the fact that teachers were able to share their own experiences and add more information on how they carried out their classes with the training received from archaeologists gives this strategy a potential to become a space for interaction. In this sense, it can become a strategy that falls into the Multiple-Perspective Model of Merriman or the Democratic Model of Holtorf (Chapter 1). In order to analyze this possibility, a project aimed to refurbish and reinforce the Educational Program was proposed in this study.

4. Reinforcing the Educational Program at the MNS

During my 2009 and 2010 fieldwork seasons I worked directly with Victor Curay in order to revive the Educational Program at the MNS. The main idea was to find possible solutions to the difficulties previously presented during the development of the pilot program on years 2003 and 2004. By this experience, I was able to participate directly in activities organized by personal of the museum, and also interact with different actors that could be interested in the program. The general evaluation information gathered through interviews of organizers and participants of the program was a base to start with for rethinking the program. These interviews also allowed me to get acquainted to local teachers. My position as a doctoral student helping Victor Curay made easier for me to approach to local teachers since they did not consider me another archaeologist trying to lecture them about local history. They were also open to talk to me since they were used to participate in other training programs with local NGO’s.

After several meetings with Victor Curay, we agreed that making a reference material would be the best strategy considering the limited amount of time and financial resources for the Educational Program. Based in different materials from museums abroad as well as materials prepared by the Puruchuco Museum in Lima, Victor Curay and I decided to prepare this material in a way that could be used for training not only teachers, but also another important group of stakeholders like the guides of APROTUR. Therefore, the information should be presented as simple as possible, including references about the environment and everyday activities that can relate nowadays people with those of the past. After finishing this reference material, Victor Curay also mentioned that it will be useful for the next renewal of the permanent exhibition.

Since the preparation of the material implied the participation of other stakeholders’ perspectives in order to make the language accessible for a wide audience, I chose one school in the buffer zone of the SHBP interested in participating on the program. The main objective was to closely observe everyday activities of local teachers, their interests and the way they understand/teach about the history of the area. Also, I intended to observe their interaction with local population, especially when they carried out activities together. Finally, I tried to evaluate the material through the opinion of different stakeholders by giving them a final draft and registering their opinions.

While the process of gathering information and summarizing it in the printed material took nearly three months, checking and discussing its context took another three months because of the limited time Victor Curay had available for it. Moreover, since the initiative of refurbishing the program was not an initiative from the staff of the museum but a proposition from an outsider, the project was not included as part of the activities of the museum although they gave me all the possible support and time available. This aspect influenced in the amount of time the project took place, since I believe that having a person dedicated at the museum for elaborating educational materials may take half of the time for gathering information, writing it down and checking it with museum authorities. It also influenced in the final publication of the material, since it was never finished to be officially presented and used by the Public mainly due to financial support.

4.1 Involving a local school in participating on the program.

A public school from the buffer zone of the SHBP was chosen for the purpose of this research in order to give a different perspective from those schools that previously participated at the Educational Program. This selection also responded to the necessity of reaching local communities in this area, where most archaeological sites are located. Public schools can be separated on three types: urban, semi-rural and rural. In the Ferreñafe province, urban schools are those located inside the city of Ferreñafe, while semi-rural can be found at the towns of Pítipo and Batán Grande, and rural schools in towns like La Zaranda and Santa Clara. While the school at Santa Clara is newer and students are only from that town, the schools at La Zaranda have a longer history in the area and population at this town are more used to engage in activities with archaeologists, as we have seen in previous chapters. There are two schools located at La Zaranda town, an elementary and a secondary school. Since the Education Program was aimed to teachers from pre-school and elementary schools, I focused my attention in the elementary school. I participated in some of the activities organized by teachers during the second semester of the year. By observing teachers' daily activities and attending their planning meetings, I wanted to clarify if the Educational Program could be adjusted to their needs and schedules in order to improve participation. I also carried out informal interviews in order to find out about their opinion of archaeologists, archaeological remains, local history and their interest in the MNS activities.

4.1.1 The primary school at La Zaranda

This school has 11 classrooms divided in six sections according to each school year. The difference between years with one or two classrooms depends on the quantity of students. There are approximately 400 students coming from towns of La Zaranda, Huaca Partida, Tambo Real, Santa Clara and Poma III. Students come to classes by different means, including walking (alone or with their parents), bicycle, or brought by their parents in motorcycles or *mototaxis*. Depending on the distance, it can take from 10 minutes to an hour. The school staff includes 7 female and 5 male teachers, a physical education teacher, a janitor and the director of the school. Almost all teachers live at Ferreñafe city and commute from Monday to Friday to the school by *colectivo* or motorcycle. It takes around 30 minutes to arrive to La Zaranda and one-way ride costs around 3.50 soles. The same *colectivo* is also taken by teachers from Batán Grande town, but there is no much interaction between teachers from different schools when commuting. A usual day begins around 7am and classes start at 8am. On Mondays, the national flag is raised in a ceremony held with all the teachers and students, singing the national anthem and praying. Although public schools should not support any specific religion, teachers do catholic prayers with children and have images of saints in their classrooms. Interaction with parents is done through the APAFA (the school parents association) which organizes several activities during the year, including festivals and raffles.

In the case of extra-curricular activities beyond the festivals, they depend on the initiative teachers during their free time. There are not so many of these activities, but I was able to observe one initiative carried out by a school teacher and another by the janitor of the school. These activities must have the approval of the school principal and the UGEL. Just before I arrive to this school, the principal told me about several problems that they had with some local neighbors when carrying out projects. One of these projects which included the construction of a small adobe platform was destroyed by someone unknown living in the area. When the school moved to its new location, two local families tried to invade land destined for the eventual expansion of the school taking advantage that it was not totally fenced. When this invasion happened, school teachers were unable to evict them because they took more than 48 hours to report it to the police, undergoing a long legal process that has not ended yet. In order to avoid future invasions (during my stay, at least one try happened), one of the teacher proposed to build a fence by planting several trees of *algarrobo*. This project was carried out by this teacher with the support of the janitor. They got the small *algarrobo* plants from a local NGO project that wanted to reforest the area, keeping them before planting at the janitor's house. Last-year students will participate planting these trees along the borders of the school.

A similar reforestation project was proposed by the school janitor. In 2009, school teachers tried to plant different trees at the entrance of the school with the help of students. Different from the fence project, they planted not *ficus* (an exotic type of plant) instead of *algarrobo* trees. *Ficus* trees have been widely used for ornamentation by city halls in the area since they can easily adapt to harsh environments with few water, like the one found at La Zaranda. From the nearly 10 trees planted, half of them were eaten by goats, which run free. The others did not have enough water but managed to last for more than one year. The janitor, also a member of APROTUR, thought it would be a good idea to plant *algarrobo* trees in places where the *ficus* trees died, building cane fences to protect them. Since he did not have a computer at home, he asked me to write the project for him in order to present it to the school principal. He later carried out the project only by himself instead of doing it with the students. I helped him some days in order to see how to plant *algarrobo* trees and also carry out informal interviews. During these opportunities, he mentioned many times how important was to keep native trees instead of those brought from other areas, a common discourse emphasized by authorities of the SHBP. With this concept in mind, he decided to take the *ficus* trees, even those that already growth, and replace them with *algarrobo* trees because they were not *native* trees.

Both examples of local projects have important context information to be analyzed and applied to any project that would be done in the area. In the case of the teacher project, it should be noted that it was a personal initiative which encouraged the planning and carrying out of the project. For example, the participation and initiative of local teachers vary depending on each person. Not all teachers are eager to give their personal time to encourage extra-curricular activities, but those who have that kind of initiative are often well considered by local population. Informant SAP1 mentioned, for example:

> “That teacher (the one doing activities with children) is very good, very dedicated (to its work). The other (female) teachers are a bit lazy and don’t do well their job. The worst thing is that if one complains about it, then they put bad grades to my children, so I can’t say a thing.” (SAP1, 2011/12/02)

Even if school teachers have a good image for the local population, this situation does not assure that their projects are accepted by the whole population without any problem. As it happened with the destruction of the adobe platform, interests of certain families or groups inside the local community can affect the results of the projects they carry out. Still, school teachers have strong support from most of the local population, so they should be considered key actors in the area.

In the case of the janitor’s project, there are interesting aspects to be highlighted. The fact that he did not have a computer and he was not confident redacting his plan to be presented to the principal of the school showed some logistic problems that local population may find if they want to carry out a project by themselves. At the same time, it shows local population can be very active to propose initiatives towards their own interests, an aspect that was already evident with the APROTUR group. In this sense, the participation of third parties that may have logistic advantages may help them elaborate better their ideas, present them to other actors, and carry them out. Nevertheless, this example also showed some problems that can be faced when supporting local population’s initiatives. In particular, if it is a one-person initiative, it will depend on the amount of time and compromise that person is willing to give. Since he not only had his job as a janitor, a guide in the SHBP and other personal business, he only had some days left to carry out this project in school’s winter vacation. After he got busy again, he just abandoned the project. This element is particularly important for future projects with local population, since in many cases projects are carried out by the support of only one person, but they are later abandoned when that person does not have enough time.

Another problem was the misconception about “re-forestation” he acquired from authorities of the SHBP. The focus on native plants drove him to the idea that any exotic plant should be eradicated. This concept may be important inside the SHBP, but given the diversity of plantations in the buffer zone, it could not be applied here. He was not aware that by extracting plants already grown in the area, he was somehow contributing to deforestation. Beyond the discussion of keeping native plants vs. exotic plants, what can be observed in this problem is that some ideas proposed by authorities or specialists may be taken to extremes. The emphasis on only one aspect some actors are particularly interested may be considered an unarguable truth by the recipients of the projects they elaborate. This is a very dangerous issue since it may lead to more confrontation in the area. In particular, the dichotomy native vs. exotic can be easily used to mark differences between conflicting stakeholders, like Group A and Group B communities. It is important, then, to be very careful when proposing an idea to local population, evaluating its impact and observing if it was taken to any extreme.

Within this context at the primary school at La Zaranda, I considered important to observe the daily lives and activities of teachers, as well as their pre-conceived ideas about visits to the museum and the MNS's Educational Program as an important step towards preparing a material that can be useful for them.

4.1.2 Discussing the Educational Program with teachers at La Zaranda

My first approach to teachers was through the school principal. She was appointed to her position since the year 2008 and she was eager to involve her school in any Educational Program proposed either by the MNS or local NGOs to improve the education quality at the school. She appointed the assistant principal to keep contact with me for any further coordination. Since he has been working at the school for several years, his experience and knowledge of the context of the school was important for planning. With him, I organized a first meeting with the school teachers in order to ask how much they knew about the MNS Educational Program and for more information about their year planning. Information collected from this meeting included their idea about a museum visit, their idea of the Educational Program and their interest in local history. Additional information was included later after attending teachers' meetings and everyday activities during the fieldwork in 2010 and 2011.

a. The concept of a museum visit

The concept of a museum visit that teachers had was very interesting and contrasted with the concept proposed by Educational Program. While this program intended teachers to use the museum as an extension of their classrooms for explaining better different topics to the students, some teachers considered the visit a day off. In particular, the commentary received by a female teacher showed this concept:

About the museum visit, one of the first comments I received from a female teacher was that it would be interesting to have a visit for teachers carried out by archaeologists. She even hinted that an archaeologist should carry on the students' visit to the museum.

> "I have never gone to the museum so far. It would be good if you take us with you, no? And also you can guide us through it to get to know it better." (ST8, 2010/11/29)

Her concept of the museum visit is something already mentioned by Victor Curay (2011) on his experience with local teachers. Since they can rely on tourist guides to carry on the visit and manage students, some feel they do not need to elaborate any planning or give further knowledge before or after the visit. This aspect appears to be difficult to understand for many teachers, since they are more used to teach objective facts to students (dates, places, people's names) rather than create a space for discussion, and it is also easier to grade student's knowledge by checking if they know these facts or not. In this sense, an aspect that the Educational Program has emphasized so far was the fact that archaeologists will not act as guides for the students during the visit. The idea was to elaborate a previous workshop meeting with teachers, giving them printed materials that could be used in classroom before the visit and that would help evaluate the visit after it was done. This was expected to allow teachers develop discussion with their students about the past, and how it connects with the present.

b. The MNS and its insertion in daily life

Another important aspect was the insertion of the MNS in daily life for school teachers. In other words, it was necessary to observe if teachers have visited the MNS on a regular basis and if they used the information available for their own classes. When asking how many of the teachers visited the museum in the past, only male teachers and two female teachers have visited it at least once. The main reason for not going to the museum for female teachers was that, since they have to take care for house shores as well as children at home, they are unable to go to the museum especially on weekends. Teachers who had gone to the museum at least once did it on their own initiative, usually when relatives visited the city and wanted to go to the museum. This behavior was interesting since it presents some perspectives about the image the museum as a "tourist attraction" not only for school teachers but also for the rest local community. It is a place to visit with guests to proudly present the cultural richness to outside people, a concept that can also be inferred from the comments left in the visitor's book.

This idea of "tourist attraction" was very strong between teachers and local people. The museum was conceived as a place to take tourists, while other attractions at Ferreñafe and Chiclayo were more appealing for going with their families on their free time. There is a variety of places and activities that can be done on weekends. People gather on these days at the city main plaza, local parks and shopping malls located in Chiclayo. Shopping malls, in particular, have special areas and games dedicated to children and family events. In this sense, the museum does not present itself as an option for entertaining local families, especially if they have children. Weekends are also days that are usually dedicated for family meetings (especially Sundays) and special occasions like birthdays, baptisms, religious and local festivities and weddings. These meetings could be at home, rented spaces, school or churches. In the case of family meetings, women are in charge of preparing food and caring for small children, while men are in charge of alcoholic drinks and talking with guests if there is anyone. In the case of special events, women from the family or institution hosting it are usually in charge of taking care of the administration of money and general organization, as well as providing food for all guests, while drinks and music are in charge of men.

Families, and especially women, have a very busy life in this area. Making the museum appealing for female teachers in particular and local women in general may need extra activities for the whole family and not just the exhibition. When the MNS held local music and dance festivals, many people gathered at the MNS because there were more interactive activities rather than just the exhibition of the archaeological materials. This aspect is particularly important since the museum may need to exploit better this opportunities in order to insert itself in the daily life of the city, an aspect that should be considered when planning the construction of new museums.

c. Storytelling and gender

Storytelling is particularly important in family meetings, either in rural areas like La Zaranda town or urban areas like Ferreñafe city. During and after the meal, all family members gather and they start talking about family stories, local politics and history, community and work problems, among other topics. In this context, men tend to take a more active role in telling stories or bringing a topic to discuss. Usually one man guides the conversation and later other people give their comments or questions. Women also participate in the conversation, but instead of bringing a new topic or actively taking a position in a discussion, they usually expand the conversation already happening. In this sense, women have a role of validating the story being told by their husbands or sons, adding more details when asked. It should be added that this appreciation comes from attending family meetings of one group of informants and the fact that they knew I was an archaeologists (although not carrying out an excavation project) and that I was a male guest may have influenced the interaction of men and women towards me. In this sense, men could have felt it was their duty to tell me about the history of the area and the local stories, while women were less keen to talk to me.

Despite their apparent passive role in the conversation, they also take an active role in story telling when only women gather or there are few men. These conversations are usually centered in gossips about local people's lives (*chismes*), children education or caring, household activities or important events happening in the area. The conversation is not guided by one woman in particular; they actually participate in a more fluent conversation giving their own opinions and questions, compared to the family gatherings. In the case of female teachers, they were very talkative, especially in teacher's meetings and during commuting to the school, while women in family meetings were more talkative when taking care of children or cooking together.

Of course, this does not mean that only women are keen to gossip or that men were not interested in household activities or local events. Actually, men were very curious about these topics. Especially about gossiping, they were very interested in knowing more about the personal lives of others (when talking to me, especially archaeologists' relationships), as well as knowing what important events have happened on nearby towns. Gossiping was especially important at the fieldwork projects carried out by the museum since local people often talked about the personalities of each archaeologist in charge. It served as a useful way to establish relationships with them, constantly evaluating their performance as professionals and chiefs (e.g., if they were hardworking and excavated together or just gave orders, if they had a preference for a worker and gave him easier duties, if archaeologists took care of their workers while excavating or put them in danger).

The apparent division of roles in storytelling and the interest in certain topics may look like men are more interest in history than women, but it is not entirely true. While it can be attributed to the fact that, as a male interviewer, female teachers would feel less eager to ask me about the archaeology and history of the area, they were as open as male teachers to explain me their planning and classroom activities. The main difference was that I was not included in their conversation about their daily lives, while male teachers were more open to tell me about their extra-jobs and other activities they had beyond teaching. They were also more curious to ask me and discuss about historical facts of the area, while female teachers were more passive in receiving the information.

It can be asked why female teachers (and women in this area) seemed to be not interested in historical topics? A possible reason is the lack of information that depicts women as active actors in the history of the area. Although there are elite tombs where the main individual is a woman, publications related to the Sicán culture and information at the MNS has not included this information yet. The role of women has been depicted as an associated sacrificed individual at most. With the increasing activities of local NGO's towards empowering local women through training workshops on handicraft making and tourist services, it will be interesting to analyze in the future if they are more active to talk to outsiders about historical topics. The role of women in history and how self-identification works for local women and children through the information presented by archaeologists was an issue considered for the elaboration of the educational material[22].

4.2 Carrying out an Educational Project

After the meetings with local teachers Victor Curay and I discussed the possibilities for carrying out an Educational Project that may benefit the Educational Program at the MNS. The Educational

[22] It should be mentioned that the issue of gender roles about history, although a very important topic to be discussed, it was a topic not fully developed in this study because it may need a different approach and it is broad enough to become another research project.

Program used to have him as a main promoter, with the support of active teachers willing to participate in the program. Time was the main problem either for the organizer as for the teachers. Other problems included lack of materials and an evaluation system, as it was explained previously. Considering these problems, we decided it was necessary to elaborate a printed material that may serve as a reference for different stakeholders. Since teachers and archaeologists at the museum had little available time, this material could be used at any desired time, complementing future workshops and even could be used for other stakeholders like the members of APROTUR. This material, however, should include information presented in a non-specialized language in order to reach as many stakeholders as possible. It should also contain recent ethnographical and recent historical references as well as the archaeological information to help readers connect with it. Victor Curay suggested that the material should also contain indications for teachers on how to prepare, carry out and evaluate the visit, and linked to the National Curricular Design for Regular Basic Education (Ministerio de Educación 2009). The Educational Project objective, then, was the elaboration of a printed material.

4.2.1 Elaboration of the printed material

The elaboration of printed materials for a non-specialized public is recently being promoted by several museums and the Ministry of Culture in Peru. Nevertheless, the process of elaborating them is not published, making it difficult to replicate. In order to build our own material, we used the example of the material made by archaeologists at the Arturo Jiménez Borja - Puruchuco Site Museum (Freyre 2001) one of the first examples made in Peru. This material had the advantage that the author, Gabriela Freyre, has also a specialization in education. Therefore, this material was prepared with a simpler language and also suggested activities that could be used by teachers at class without the supervision of an archaeologist. Other reference was the material prepared for kids at the exhibition held in the year 2007 "Ancient Peru Unearthed: Golden Treasures of a Lost Civilization" in Canada.

Since the budget of the MNS did not consider financial support for this kind of material, we needed to find a possibility to make it cheap. Therefore, the main idea was to focus on the contents at first, and eventually gather financial support from the MNS or other sponsor for the design and printing process. We prepared, then, a draft to be used as a "master copy" to be used with stakeholders.

The steps for elaborating the material consisted in:

1) Gathering the dispersed archaeological, ethnographical and historic information, focusing especially on local aspects.

2) Summarize this information in simple paragraphs, using a non-specialized language as possible.

3) Reviewing the information between archaeologists at the MNS.
4) Reviewing the information with other stakeholders through a process of "validation".

For the first step, I used scientific and media publications, information gathered at the interviews and participant observation as references. On the second step I included information about how everyday life of women and children would have been in order to avoid the problems of self-identification mentioned above. For the third step, I met with Victor Curay on his free time in order to discuss the information written, and consulted with other archeologists and specialists at the MNS. The process of "validation" on the fourth step consisted on handing out the material to other stakeholders (workers at the museum, local teachers and members of APROTUR) for reviewing, gathering their comments and opinions as feedback, and rewriting the material. We repeated the third and fourth steps at least twice for each stakeholder. The final draft can be found on Annex 1.

4.2.2 Finding common ground for different perspectives

Preparing a draft for a wide public was not an easy task. Most of the information was highly specialized and summarizing it in short paragraphs was a long process. It should be added that the fact of being an archaeologists helped me understand and summarize this information as simple as possible, since most of it was in archaeological jargon. More complicated than this aspect was the elaboration of the information that was not included in the academic texts but could be of interest for the general public according to the tourist guides of the MNS. In this sense, their experience dealing with these questions was of extreme use for preparing this material. According to them, many tourists and school students asked about daily live information of the Sicán society (v. g. How did they go to the toilet? What did they eat? How did children played?). In order to answer these questions, tourist guides at the MNS used information from their own families, especially those stories told by their grandparents. Therefore, when I had to explain some aspect of the Sicán society not studied by archaeologists, I used ethnographical information collected during my fieldwork.

In order to give a general idea about the MNS and the Sicán culture, the material was divided in two parts. The first part included the presentation (Chapter I expected to be written by the director of the MNS) and the introduction of the material and the Educational Program (Chapter II). The second part included three sections divided in the services that the MNS provides and the objective of the material (Chapter III), an explanation of the Sicán culture (Chapter IV), and activities proposed to be done at the classroom (Chapter V, expected to be prepared with teachers). At the end of my fieldwork, Chapters II to IV were completed, while the rest was expected to be finished by the MNS later.

The contents of Chapter IV were the most discussed with stakeholders. To explain about the Sicán culture, an approach using questions and answer was used. Also, the contents were contrasted with information about nowadays life around the SHBP. Considering that the material would be used for visiting the MNS, most of the information referred to the exhibition halls. The section begins with an explanation about archaeologists and their work, emphasizing the importance of the archaeological context, including the importance of museums and the work of the MNS. The explanation of the Sicán culture is given by its definition (according to the perspective of the MNS), chronology (mentioning what was before and after rather than just dates), environment (compared to the environment now), population (density, housing), daily life (activities done by children and women, food, clothing), economic activities (textiles, pottery, metalworking and exchange), ideology (god worshiping, temple construction, rituals and funerary practices), and the events after the Sicán society faded out (until recent times).

4.2.3 Presenting the material to stakeholders

Gathering feedback from different stakeholders was also a long but extremely interesting process. It also gave me the opportunity to evaluate the dynamism that can be expected from each stakeholder to discuss about archaeology. For some stakeholders, for example, having a written material to read and discuss was a better way to have a reference to understand about an archaeological topic and discuss it, while for others oral discussion was more appealing. Members of APROTUR, for example, were eager to talk about the archaeological information and adding their own opinions during my interviews, but were less active when given the written material. Their "validation" process was only to refer that it was an easy-to-read material and it was good. On the other hand, archaeologists, local teachers and workers at the MNS were eager to discuss the material and give their own opinion. This difference can be attributed to the personal abilities of reading comprehension, but it may also have something to do with the fact that I, as an archaeologist (i.e., specialist in this topic), gave them a material to discuss and each stakeholder gave me a feedback according to this position.

All the responses included good comments on the initiative, and some of them referred to very interesting aspects that I did not realize while preparing the material. For example, archaeologists at the MNS suggested that the material should include the "Myth of Naymlap" since it is a good reference for the Sicán/Lambayeque culture, as well as a symbol for the region. Although I agreed with it, I also consider it was not a good idea to make an easy connection between the Sicán culture and this myth because it was difficult to scientifically prove it referred to the rulers of that society. I also suggested it was better to avoid any reference to the concept of a "Lambayeque identity", understood as a regional identity in opposition to other neighbor regions, since it may increase the differences between them and contribute to the conflict already existent explained in Chapter 3 and since the material would be used at Group B communities.

Workers from the MNS focused on a different aspect. While they did not criticize the information presented in the material, they focused on the way of telling it:

> "I think the material is very good and informative, but I also think that the way it is written is too "cold". The narration should be warmer, more human" (MNS5, 2011/01/17)

This aspect of storytelling is especially important considering that people in this area is used to this kind of interaction on family meetings, as described before. In this sense, having a text that relates to this way of "sharing knowledge" may be more appealing than just presenting the information in a simple language. Although for the final draft this aspect was not fully fixed, it is expected that before printing the material it will be reviewed by the tourist guides and other specialists.

Most important comments came from a local school teacher (ST2) in written form. In particular, there were four aspects that were highlighted. The first aspect ST2 commented was about the connection between the activities at the MNS and those that can be done at the SHBP:

> "…an alternative experience at the Forest is mentioned and the advantages of that visit if accomplished should be highlighted after the experience at the museum." (ST2, 2012/08/01)

In fact, this aspect needs to be developed in this material since it focuses mainly in the activities to be done at the MNS. However, the lack of appropriate infrastructure for developing activities at the SHBP at the moment limits the activities that can be connected with the MNS. This opinion will be considered later when the conditions at the SHBP will improve.

> "…in the part where the topic of archaeology is mentioned, it would be interesting to tell why it is necessary the intervention of an archaeologist in the work team and the final goal for studying and reconstructing what happened; In other words, focus on the importance of using imagination to transport oneself to the past and understand from that context the society studied and its role in the construction of the identity of the community" (ST2, 2012/08/01)

It is noticeable the concept carried by ST2 where archaeologists have an important role in "constructing the identity of the community". In this sense, this teacher recognizes the importance of archaeology in nowadays society as long as archaeologists share the way they study the past for the general public. However, it is not clear if ST2 suggests that the interpretations of the past should be discussed between archaeologists and the general public or if archaeologists should "teach" their knowledge to the community for constructing its identity. To encourage an active position about the reconstruction of the past of readers, we suggested that during the activities before the visit to the MNS, discussions should take place between archaeologists and teachers.

> "In my opinion, it is interesting the use of comparison to describe the past with the present in different aspects, making the composition more dynamic and focusing more on the image that is wanted to be transmitted." (ST2, 2012/08/01)

The use of comparisons between past and present was an idea taken from the material of the Arturo Jiménez Borja - Puruchuco Site Museum. It served as a way to help readers connect nowadays society with societies from the past, especially through common environment and the human condition, giving a sense of continuity that is usually non-existent in the discourses of most museums in Peru (including the MNS). In this sense, the material was successful to give a dynamic view of the past.

> "Beyond giving general information about the Sicán culture, the sources on which these ideas –the explored *huacas* and those in process of being explored– should be mentioned, then it would clarify that all the knowledgment gathered so far is not definitive and, therefore, future professionals interested in their study should be needed." (ST2, 2012/08/01)

This comment was very important. There is very few information available about recent research done at the SHBP. The information of excavations done by the SAP and exhibited at the MNS, for example, is mostly centered in the research done at Huaca Loro. Although there is also information about excavations done at other areas, it is not clear where this information came from. A similar case happens with the projects managed by the MNS. The results of these projects are available only if there is a discovery of tombs that call the attention of mass media. As this teacher mentions, a deeper knowledge about the research process is needed for students and the general public to get interested in archaeological research.

5. Experience Analysis

5.1 Information Gathering and Processing

Information gathering was not an easy task. The archaeology information, for example, took several weeks of reading dispersed material either in Spanish and English. My background as an archaeologists helped on this stage, but if this task would be done by a non-professional archaeologist, it would be very challenging especially because most of the information is in English and sometimes difficult to get without access to international libraries. This is an important ethical aspect to discuss, especially for foreigner archaeologists working abroad.

Access to information proved to be a difficult task. Excavation reports, for example, are managed by the Ministry of Culture in Lima. To consult them, an application should be submitted to the Ministry and they can be copied at a cost. Considering that the only way to access them is to travel to Lima, this meant additional costs on time and transportation for any professional working on province museums. An alternative way would be to have copies of these reports on local institutions, like the MNS. Unofficially, archaeologists leave a digital copy to the MNS Director but since this method is not compulsory, any archaeologist working in the area can skip this step. It should be considered mandatory to leave a printed copy in a local institution, like museums and universities. Other publications have similar problems. Copies of published books are rarely left at the MNS. Moreover, since most of these publications are made in foreign languages, they would not be accessible to local people even if they were available at the MNS. This particular case can be observed on the publications made about international exhibitions of objects at the museum abroad (either in English or Japanese). Finally, the lack of a library at the MNS where all this information can be accessed freely by any individual limits the possibility of encouraging the Public to gather information by themselves.

Going beyond archaeology and trying to find out what information would be of interest to other stakeholders was a time-consuming task that involved my experience as a participant-observer, interviews with local people and collecting information from several other sources like the Visitors' book. Finding out what information was unavailable for local population involved interacting day-by-day with them. When interviewed, members of organizations like APROTUR made evident their need for reference materials about archaeology. Moreover, they needed to be printed since their access to technological options (like Internet) at the moment was very limited. Even if a printed reference material was made, another problem was the educational situation of local communities. I believe that the lack of feedback from them was just not a matter of building confidence between us, but actually that they were not used to establish discussion about a printed material. In this sense, reading comprehension and discussion are skills that may need to be taught before carrying out a project that may include other perspectives in this area. Although it may seem obvious, an understanding of the social context of target public is necessary for any educational initiative.

Processing information was also time-consuming. Writing for a general public instead of writing to an academic audience was a challenging task. Even though Victor Curay and I tried to use the simplest language possible, the comments made by workers at the museum surprised us. Support from other specialists should be sought in order to avoid “coldness” in the language used. In this sense, maybe the support of some professional specialized in literature could have helped us to improve the language used in the printed material.

An important decision taken during the process of making this material was thoroughly discussed by Victor Curay and me. It was the use of a “Lambayeque Identity” in the text. While Victor Curay defended its practical use since it was an identity already existent and it would be easier to adapt the text to reinforce it, I was doubtful of its use now. My position was decided over the problems with local communities coming from the Cajamarca Region (Group B), since they would not feel associated to this idea of regional identity. Moreover, giving more elements to create boundaries between local communities may prove to backfire later if we intended to use the material in local schools of Group B communities. After much discussion, we decided to avoid this problem by focusing on the concept of location, where it is not about the regional identity but where your household is located the important issue. Therefore, we were able to present an idea of space where several events in history happened. It is still yet to be analyzed if this decision was effective or not when applying this material to schools in Group B communities, although there is no schedule for it yet.

5.2 Interaction with Stakeholders

Interaction with stakeholders proved to be a challenging task. In the case of local teachers, time schedule became a problem when trying to appoint a meeting with them. Second jobs or caring for children were issues that limited the opportunities for interacting with all of them at the same time. In the case of members of APROTUR something similar occurred. Since most of their members had at least two jobs besides their activities at APROTUR, I needed to adapt to their schedule, usually meeting them on weekends. If an appointed professional at the MNS had to do the same job, I doubt it can be done on an office schedule. Therefore, the working time should be as flexible as possible.

Interaction on areas of previous conflict was a sensitive task. The advantage of entering the area without being considered an archaeologist from the MNS allowed me to interview farmers from Group B communities that would have been less cooperative if I would have introduced myself as a member of the MNS. In this sense, using the network of already positioned NGO’s is extremely useful because they already know key stakeholders in every town and can safely introduce any person in the area.

5.3 Funding

An important limitation to this project was funding. Carrying out the elaboration of the material not only is expensive because of the materials needed, but also for the man-hours needed to make it. Talking about general numbers, the budget for the draft of the educational material was about USD 1000. It included USD 300 for consumables (copies, papers, among others), USD 500 for transportation costs and meals, and USD 200 for other costs (electricity, internet) on the six months the whole project was carried out. Considering a salary of USD 1000 per month for a professional in charge, and costs for other specialists' appraising on at least 5 opportunities for a total of 10 hours (approx. USD 35 per hour), professional services would be nearly USD 7750, making it a total of USD 8750 only to prepare the information draft. For designing and printing, USD 1000 should be added for nearly 200 copies, making it a total of USD 9750. This amount, although maybe small for a government institution with a big budget, is quite expensive for only one project in a small local museum. Nevertheless, I believe that National Museums like the MNS should consider making at least one publication like this per year aimed to the general public.

6. Discussion: Future challenges for engaging the Public at the MNS

As we have seen in this chapter, there are several strategies available for the MNS to engage the Public. Although the degree of success is difficult to achieve, it has been shown that a longer interaction with key stakeholders may be more useful than just carry out random activities. Awareness projects tended to be used for engaging the Public, but actually the project that had long-term results was the Educational Program, since it identified an interest group and dedicated time to it. Identifying key stakeholders and interacting with them is important for any project related to the general public. Moreover, the creation of spaces for discussion in a non-hierarchical level (discussing instead of teaching) is useful either for archaeologists as for other stakeholders. In order to engage stakeholders, it is necessary to understand their context, needs and expectations.

However, we cannot deny there are several problems when engaging stakeholders. Since it is a time consuming activity, one should be aware that it would become an extra load of work. In the case of the MNS, not only archaeologists had little time available, but also teachers[23]. It would be advisable to have someone dedicated to the Educational Program and public relations. By doing so, it would be easier to propose new projects and establish a better connection with local people and visitors. Also, since it is necessary to keep track of the results achieved by each project in order to adapt them to the necessities of each particular group, archaeologists at the MNS need to establish an adequate methodology to retrieve feedback from each stakeholder. As a conclusion for this chapter, it should be noted that there is no easy way to approach the general public. It is necessary to understand its

[23] In more than one occasion I had to rearrange meetings with teachers, either because they had other activities or because they just forgot we had a meeting. Therefore, I believe it is necessary to have a dedicated person with available time to arrange and carry out these meetings, especially during classes.

context and prepare methodologies to appeal to it, identifying key stakeholders that may help us in the future or may give us a good feedback. By using this information to evaluate our initiatives, we can develop better ways to engage the Public.

As a final evaluation of this experience, I should add that this project could not observe a change on the perspectives towards archaeological remains from the stakeholders. The limited amount of time and the lack of an opportunity to establish a workshop with local teachers did not allow me to interact with them long enough to engage them into discussion of archaeological remains in the area. However, a visible change was the position towards the Public from Victor Curay, the curator of the MNS and archaeologist in charge of the educational project. Although his interaction with local teachers and previous experience at the museum made him open enough to listen to other's perspectives about archaeological remains, the time spent at designing the educational material, the discussions held with me and other stakeholders during this process and the materials exchanged about Public Archaeology allowed him to build a critical perspective about the role of archaeologists and the projects aimed at the general public. Since he was appointed as a local archaeologist in the area, he can eventually apply the tools we developed for the educational material and establish a more horizontal relationship with other stakeholders.

Chapter 5: Building bridges between archaeologists and the Public

As seen in previous chapters, the definition of archaeological remains, their interpretation, value and use are not determined only by archaeologists but by different stakeholders. Each stakeholder relates to these remains in a variety of ways depending on their interests. In the particular case of the north coast of Peru presented here, the conflict of interests can become violent, especially when related to tenure of land. In this context, archaeologists face a complicated decision: Should they use their position as official representatives of the government and impose their perspective about archaeological remains? Or should they rather negotiate with antagonist stakeholders in order to achieve a common ground and minimize conflict? In the case of the SHBP, there is no easy answer for these questions, but it became clear that it is necessary in this area to take informed decisions considering the information about other related stakeholders. This information should include identification, social and economic context, and relationships between them.

In this sense, Public Archaeology may become a useful tool for archaeologists to understand the context they are working in and improve their relationship with the Public. Moreover, it can also lead them to make a self-introspection of their interests and goals in order to discuss and adapt them to other interests carried by other stakeholders, reaching a common ground that will help create a more democratic concept of heritage and its use. Although this specific case cannot be generalized to the whole situation of archaeological remains in Peru, mapping the relationship between stakeholders and archaeological remains in different contexts may lead to a better definition of archaeological heritage, improving cultural politics and opening a space for the participation of the general public. By studying different contexts, it will also be possible to have a more real image of the significance and use of archaeological remains in a complex and diverse country like Peru.

1. Conclusions

1.1 Public Support to Protect Archaeological Remains

In Chapter 1 I presented a brief introduction to the relationship between archaeologists and the Public in different contexts. A pattern that seems to repeat itself is the fact that when a country is immersed in a boom on infrastructure development and agriculture expansion, this change tends to affect archaeological remains, creating a situation where the value of these remains as patrimony or heritage is contrasted to the actual needs of present day population. Archaeologists, then, face a problem where they can be seen as an obstacle for development because of their interest in preserving those remains. It is necessary for archaeologists, then, to find allies in local population in order to encourage the support for protecting these remains.

In order to solve this problem, archaeologists usually develop new strategies to reach the Public and explain why archaeological remains are important for the society and how they can be used in ways that can economically benefit everyone (usually through tourism). However, the way these strategies are planned, developed and conducted can be done through a vertical process (Deficit, Education, Public Relations, Traditional-Essentialist, Mercantile and Conservationist-Monumental models), where archaeologists determine the meaning of archaeological remains and how strategies will be carried out, or a horizontal process (Multiple-perspective, Democratic, Critical Approach, Multivocal Approach and Participative models), where the meaning of these remains and the strategies towards them are negotiated with the Public. The predominance of one process or the other is determined by the political and social background of each country, as well as the awareness of the concept of citizenship carried by its population. On one hand, in countries that have a more horizontal relationship between their citizens and the access to information is open, the Public tends to be more participative and critic of the role of archaeologists, demanding to be integrated into the decisions taken towards the definition and management of archaeological remains. On the other hand, those countries where the population does not know or does not fully exercise their rights as citizens or the education level is directly related to the economic situation of a person, archaeologists tend to have a more vertical relationship with the Public.

In the case of Peru, as in many developing countries, the exercise of citizenship rights is linked to the access to education and information, which is also linked to the economic situation of each person. In this context, the definition, value and use of archaeological remains are usually determined by professionals in charge of their study and protection who will try to convince the whole population of the importance of their own perspective. Antagonistic definitions, values or use would be labeled as illegal and prosecuted. However, it does not mean that the Public would maintain a passive position, especially if there is a lack of effective means to coercively control the situation of each archaeological remain. There would be those who accept the concept given by these professionals and would defend it (even in a more vehement way), there would be others who may accept only part of that perspective but adapt it to their preconceived ideas, and there would be those who would not accept this perspective and fight against it, as it was observed on Chapters 3 and 4. A person would choose any of these positions according to his/her own interests and background.

Archeologists in Peru have developed different strategies to avoid conflict with the population on the preservation and management of archaeological remains. To the examples shown in Chapter 1, we can also add those presented in the I International Symposium on Public Archaeology (SIAP1)[24]. Being the first event that joined several specialists carrying out activities towards the Public, it gave

[24] Organized with the support of the Graduate University for Advanced Studies (Japan) and the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru in the year 2010 (Saucedo-Segami 2012b)

the opportunity to observe the different ideas on how to work with it. Using archaeological remains as resources for tourism and training local population on workshops to offer services to tourists are still popular strategies, especially in rural contexts. Either with public or private funds, these strategies have focused on improving the quality of life at towns near archaeological remains. Other strategies have directed their objectives to education, working with local schools and teachers to reach families and interest them into the protection of archaeological remains through letting them know the importance of ancient societies. In any case, there are still problems about the definition of heritage and how to manage it, especially with concepts of *puesta en valor* and *social use*.

This intention on reaching the wider public is a response to the endangered situation on which archaeological remains are in the present, but it is also a response to the demands for information of the Public about their own past. It is yet to be seen if these strategies would allow the construction of a better sense of citizenship with the right to discuss the interpretations about the past with archaeologists in a horizontal level, or if it would just reaffirm the vertical position of archaeologists teaching the Public about their own heritage. It is also unknown yet if the economic investment is worth the results obtained. To solve this problem, it would be needed to evaluate the feedback of each strategy, focusing on the response of the Public especially in their use of archaeological remains. A series of studies on the situation of archaeological remains in different areas would allow archaeologists to compare the results of each strategy and wisely invest resources, adapting them to different contexts.

The need of long-term projects or the establishment of local institutions (like museums) dedicated to the Public was also an important conclusion derived from reviewing the strategies presented here. It is not a coincidence that several projects and institutions in Peru have eventually dedicated more efforts to connect with the Public through these institutions. After long periods of working with local people, archaeologists develop a sense of social responsibility towards them in order to improve their quality of life and education. During this period, they also get to know better the problems and needs of local population, giving them the opportunity to have a different perspective than local authorities to solve these problems, proposing possible solutions and gathering support from government and non-government institutions, usually through tourism or education related activities, as it was observed on Chapters 3 and 4. This advantage, however, can be tainted if archaeologists do not realize that their own perspective is only one of the many existent and try to impose it to local people.

The methodology presented here was a product of the specific characteristics observed around the SHBP and the MNS. Nevertheless, the process of observing the general context in a determined area can be replicated on other locations. Carrying out an ethnographical analysis in the SHBP was crucial for later understanding how the relationships between stakeholders were established, as it could be observed in Chapter 2. Long-term archaeological projects in the area and the existence of an archaeological national museum added more information on how the relationship between stakeholders has developed on long periods of time. This ethnographical analysis also showed the conflict between some stakeholders (local communities) and archaeologists, and also that attention should be given to certain key stakeholders like members of a local guides association APROTUR and local teachers.

1.2 Archaeological remains and Stakeholders' Perspectives

In Chapter 3 the relationship between conflicting stakeholders was presented. The confrontation of the Peruvian state (represented by MNS and SHBP authorities), Group A and Group B communities had as a main problem land property and ownership issues. Archaeological remains as well as natural resources were in the middle of the conflict, with archaeologists actively participating in the eviction that took place in the year 2009. This situation showed some stakeholders can ally with archaeologists not necessarily because they believe in the protection of archaeological remains as heritage, but because this objective would fit their own interests, in this case the eviction of people from Group B communities. However, this support does not assure that archaeologists would have the permanent support of these communities. Problems arise when, after fulfilling this eviction, archaeologists did not equally support Group A communities on improving their quality of life through tourism related activities. Also, after the eviction, archaeologists of the MNS keep a tense relationship with Group B communities, making it difficult to include them in such activities. It should also be kept in mind that in this conflict, by enforcing the idea of protection of cultural and native natural resources, MNS and SHBP authorities' discourse may have been taken to extremes by local population, as it was shown on Chapter 4 by the reforestation project carried out by the school janitor. It can be observed that there is a high risk on creating more conflicts when carrying out decisions and projects on archaeological remains using a Deficit Model.

The existence of different perspectives from archaeologists and other stakeholders on how to give use and value to archaeological remains (or the land where they are located) can be conflictive. Even if archaeological remains are protected by law, the use and value can vary depending on each stakeholder. The conflict arises when private benefit collides with public benefit. However, the private benefit can be adapted to be beneficial for the society in general. This is the case of archaeological research and tourism. In this sense, it should be considered that almost any perspective from the private sphere can be adapted for a public benefit, including the use of archaeological remains as part of modern constructions or collections. In the case of modern constructions, for example, new methods of conservation can be used to protect archaeological sites in order to be used by its physical characteristics (farming) until they would be used for research or other purposes. Adapting archaeological sites to modern life is something that has been done in several parts of the world. There are several examples in the world where archaeological sites have been preserved as part of the new landscape, actively using the space where they are located. Collections can also be adapted to a public benefit by reinforcing the National Patrimony Registry and giving owners the status of "stewards of culture". In this sense, their collections could be admired either directly or by virtual means and the information would be stored in a database. Although for the case of collections this perspective has been applied in recent years, for the case of archaeological sites it is still difficult to propose this idea for several reasons. One reason is the legal issues, since the archaeological sites are considered untouchable. Moreover, there is still a tendency on most archaeologists to have a Traditional-Essentialist approach when deciding on the preservation of archaeological remains. For them, the idea of doing any modern activity over these remains (beyond folkloric representations) would be considered unthinkable, even if that is the actual reality. Therefore, before trying to propose this idea of an "active use of the past", it would be necessary to change the perspective of specialists by using any approach inside the Multiple-Perspective model.

1.3 Education as a Useful Strategy

We also reviewed the strategies used by the MNS to reach the wider public. There were a variety of strategies carries out by this museum, but the lack of an evaluation system made it difficult to assess the degree of effectiveness. To solve this problem, I participated on these strategies, observing the behavior of participants and observers, as well as interviewing some of them. The most dynamic strategy was the Educational Program with the participation of local teachers. It had the advantage of giving organizers and participants a space for discussion. Working with local teachers not only allows them to actualize their knowledge about archaeology and history, but also allows organizers to know the reality of the education in the area, the context of the communities and their needs. Teachers also become a link between archaeologists and local population, helping the museum to be inserted into daily life. However, in order to effectively take advantage of this situation, archaeologists need to understand the needs of local teachers, including time availability and access to educational tools. In this sense, Educational Programs should be reinforced in museums with enough human and economic resources to reach as many teachers as possible.

Another important aspect to take into consideration is the way the Public relates to history and archaeology. Academic specialized language can be helpful for keeping a certain degree of objectiveness to archaeologists' discourses, but it may present difficulties when trying to reach a wider audience. As seen in Chapter 4, storytelling is very important to communicate knowledge.

Therefore the texts oriented to the Public should have a simpler language and information that can help the reader relate to it. Moreover, local stories should also be considered as part of the history of the area and not excluded from the official discourse. This perspective includes not only oral stories but also the stories of the experience of local people living around the archaeological remains. These two different perspectives, the academic discourse and personal histories, were defined by Seki (2007) as "objective historical perspective" and "subjective historical perspective". In any material or project related to the Public, both histories should be included in the official discourse.

1.4 Application of Public-oriented projects

The context presented in previous chapters demonstrated a specific relationship between different stakeholders and archaeological remains. Although there were similar cases to compare in Peru and other countries, when reviewing the strategies of the MNS, in special the Educational Program, it became evident that it was necessary to adapt different methodologies with each stakeholder. Group A communities, for example, had a better communication with archaeologists, so the interaction with them was easier than with Group B communities. Meetings and interaction with teachers was different from the meetings with guides from APROTUR. For preparing the material for local teachers, it was necessary to adapt the information and communication methods to the context of local teachers at Ferreñafe and La Zaranda. Although this conclusion may seem obvious, it is important to realize that the understanding the context is the most important part of any public-oriented project.

Similarities in methodology can be summarized in the understanding of the context through the identification of stakeholders, their interests and needs. This identification, for this case, was possible to be done through interviews and participant observation in long-term fieldwork seasons (between 3-6months). Through this methodology, it was possible to not only identify stakeholders but also find out which ones were key stakeholders for the present research. It is always necessary to review the data gathered in the field on different times since our perception may vary or the position of certain stakeholders can change. Also, I have to add that my position as a doctoral student and served best to approach to local people since they did not have a hierarchical relationship with me, different from those archaeologists working at the MNS.

This specific case where a museum and long-term excavation projects were involved served as a good example to be compared with other similar cases. However, the scope of the present research could not determine how it would be the case for short-term excavation projects. Considering that is more usual to have this kind of projects ongoing in Peru, one should ask if it is possible to adapt these strategies to those cases. Lack of information about the archaeological site before excavation, the little time available to interact with local people and few economic funds seem to be problems to be solved for these projects. In the case of *puesta en valor* projects the situation is different. Since these projects are supposed to be Public-oriented, it is necessary that before doing any excavation or conservation process, archaeologists should identify stakeholders in the area in order to find out possible threatens and allies (especially in relation to property and ownership issues). Concentrating only in archaeological remains can induce a conflict with local stakeholders that would become an obstacle for the project itself and endanger archaeological remains. Moreover, archaeologists should be aware of the different interests that exist for archaeological remains and adapt their discourse to include discourses from other stakeholders into the official one. Through this process, they can effectively engage these stakeholders not only into the protection of archaeological remains but also to the process of interpreting and understanding a common past, showing that the idea of history is dynamic and has multiple perspectives.

2. The role of Public Archaeologists in modern society

Through the examples presented here it can be argued that the definition given by Renfrew about Public Archaeology referenced in Chapter 1 is very accurate for our case study. Public Archaeology is everything about negotiation, not only on the strategies to reach the Public but also on the content and interpretation of past societies. Since the conscience of citizenship in developed countries is strong, they exercise their rights in an active way, participating in the interpretation of the societies of the past and even challenging the position of archaeologists. However, in the case of developing countries, this conscience of citizenship is less exercised and limited by the small access to information about societies of the past and reduced interaction with specialists, not having space for discussion or adding their own perspectives. Moreover, the academic interpretation is used as government policy, widening the gap between those perspectives.

Public Archaeologists, then, have an important position as facilitators between all these different perspectives. In this sense, they serve as a link between the academic and non-academic worlds, sharing and discussing archaeological knowledge with the Public but also questioning the privileged position of archaeologists as interpreters of the past. In developing countries, where economic boundaries may become an obstacle for local population to discuss their perspectives about the past with specialists, this role of Public Archaeologists becomes more important.

Making archaeology more relevant for the society not only implies including as many perspectives as possible from different stakeholders, but it also implies adding the "subjective historical perspective" archaeologists have. In other words, this means adding the personal experience information. Instead of focusing only in sharing the objective knowledge about archaeology, archaeologists should share their interests, feelings and motivations to do archaeological research. By doing so, they allow the Public to relate to archaeological remains not only through their own perspective, but also from the subjective perspective of archaeologists, making archaeology more "human" and easier to understand. This way of sharing knowledge still needs to be developed in countries like Peru, where the archaeological past is still considered something objective and distant.

The methodology centered in the context of the relationship between stakeholders can also be useful to classify archaeological remains in their degree of risk. In Peru, a country with a vast amount of archaeological sites, the registration of these sites is still beginning and there is no classification of the threats that can affect these sites. By understanding the context of each archaeological site and classify them into high, medium or low risk, it is possible to prevent their damage or destruction applying measures according to each level. Public Archaeology, then, becomes the link between the past and the present.

Figures

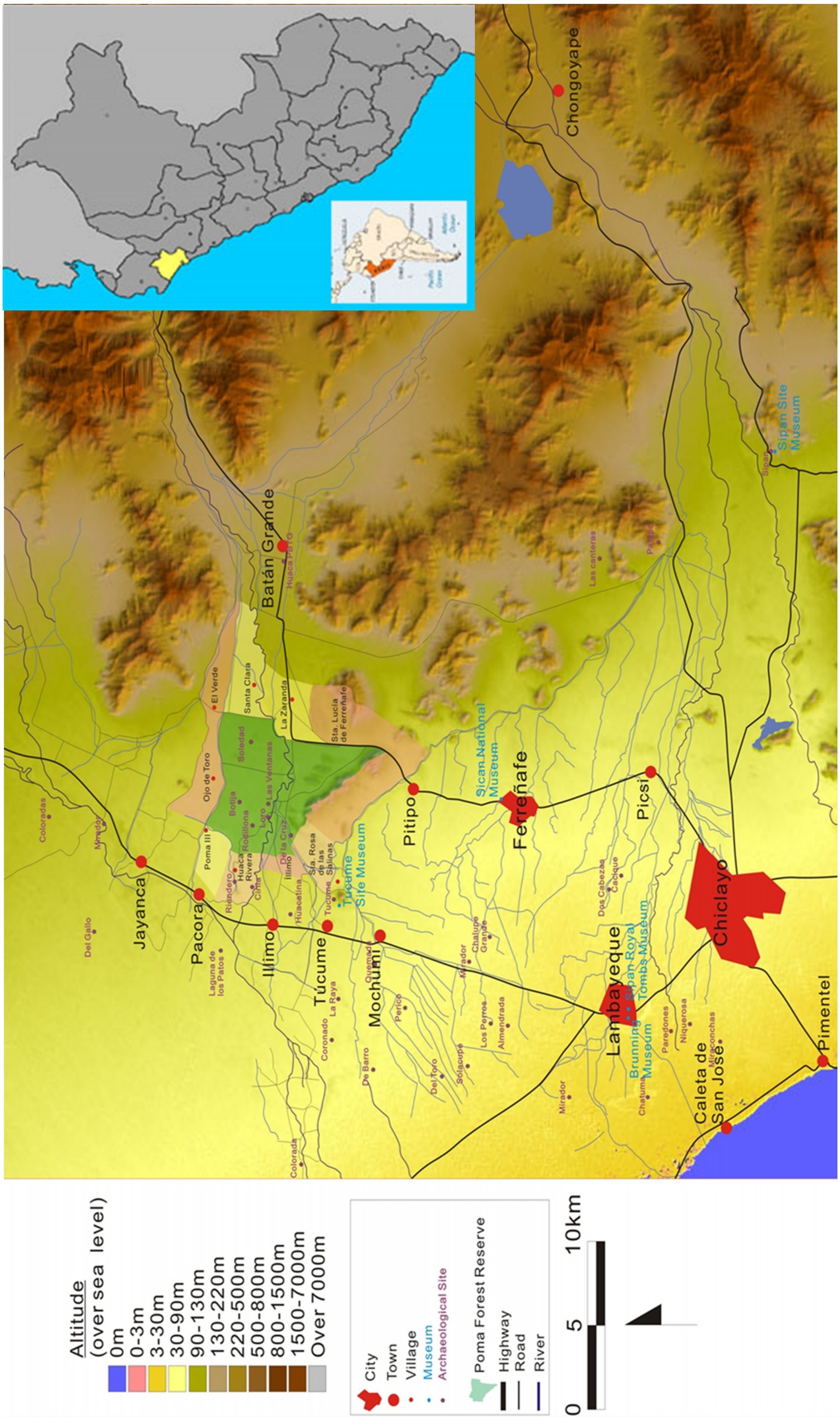


Figure 1: Map of the Lambayeque Region and the location of the SHBP

Figure 2: Deforestation at the Poma Forest

(Photo by Daniel Saucedo-Segami, 10/02/2010)

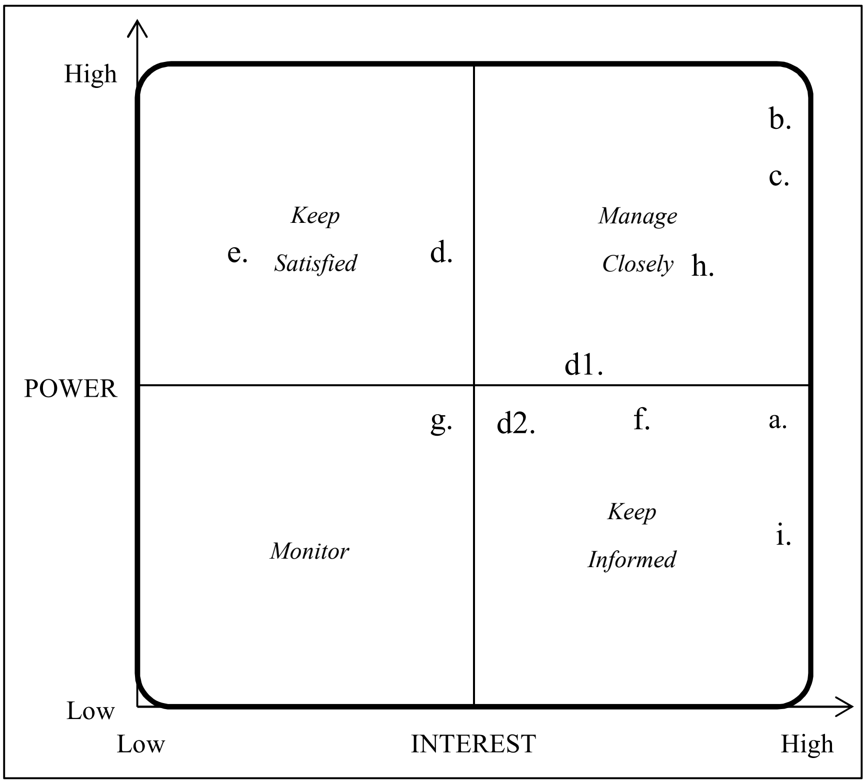


Figure 3: Power/Interest Grid of Stakeholders at the SHBP

Expresión semanario regional CHICLAYO, 10 AL 17 DE DICIEMBRE 2009

mi expresión

Periodista Rosa Amelia Chambergo Montejo.

PUCALEÑOS DECIDIDOS A TODO

Batán Grande debe regresar a su legítima propietaria

Cansados que una vez más se postergue el desalojo de los invasores de las tierras de la Empresa Pucalá ubicadas en Batangrande, el miércoles 9 d.c. más de tres mil trabajadores de la azucarera pucaleña salieron a las calles a solicitar a las autoridades judiciales y policiales se cumpla con la Resolución Judicial que determinó el lanzamiento de los invasores de las tierras batangrandinas que hasta ahora les ha ocasionado una pérdida de más de 150 millones de soles.

Según las informaciones vertidas desde AgroPucalá, la mayoría de invasores que por más de seis años usufructúan unas 4,000 hectáreas de tierras en su mayoría son provenientes de la serranía de nuestro país y estos son liderados por personas de dudosa reputación que arrasan con todo en su paso, embriagados de afanes expansivos y de lucro. Para nadie es un secreto que la zona de Batangrande atraviesa una de las situaciones más difíciles de su vasta historia. Anexos como Tambo Real y Patapón, en la actualidad, han sido sitiados con la presencia de un sinnúmero de invasores que trasgrediendo nuestras leyes se posicionaron e hicieron «dueños» de grandes extensiones de terrenos de cultivo, pertenecientes a la Empresa AgroPucalá, conllevando con ello a que la azucarera atraviese un panorama sombrío que atenta con la seguridad económica de sus trabajadores.

Los terrenos invadidos de propiedad de AgroPucala están ubicados en la jurisdicción de Batangrande y entre los que están ocupados ilegalmente figuran los anexos de Motupillo, La Zaranda, San Luis, La Traposa, Papayo y Mayascón, en cuya porción de estos territorios la empresa agroindustrial Pucalá mantuvo por años el despliegue de sus actividades agrícolas en considerables extensiones de tierra.

El incesante tráfico de tierras por parte de invasores plenamente identificados, vulneran groseramente el respeto al derecho a la propiedad privada, es tiempo que las instituciones tutelares del orden realicen una acción concreta que siente un precedente y frene esta actitud delincuencial. Los trabajadores cansados de tanto atropello y ante la pasividad de las anteriores administraciones de la empresa, que poco o nada hicieron por repeler la presencia de los invasores en las privilegiadas tierras fértiles de la empresa agroindustrial Pucalá, han decidido ahora defender su más preciada joya y han tomado por iniciativa propia fiscalizar que se ejecute la medida judicial de desalojo por lo que han advertido en las calles de Chiclayo una exhortación a las autoridades de turno que den cumplimiento a la Resolución Judicial que determina el lanzamiento de los invasores de estos predios.

Recordemos que además hay un listado de acciones que una a una fueron perdiendo su vigencia por la desidia, falta de interés y cumplimiento a la ley de parte de las autoridades correspondientes entre las que figuran la detención de los traficantes de tierras plenamente identificados los que plenamente armados acabaron con la vida de 8 pobladores en diferentes circunstancias y que de haberse ejecutado las acciones judiciales hubieran permitido el desalojo de estas personas años atrás; sin embargo, sus clamores no fueron escuchados ni atendidos.

El gerente legal de la azucarera pucaleña Max Ayora Inoñán, ha decidido ir junto a los trabajadores hasta las últimas consecuencia a fin que se retiren a los invasores de los predios que pertenecen a la empresa por lo que harán cumplir las sentencias judiciales respectivas, a fin que se logre con el desalojo la recuperación de toda el área invadida, lamentablemente la autoridad policial nunca pudo brindar las garantías del caso por diversos problemas, entre ellos el logístico. Y al que podríamos sumar la carencia de un trabajo planificado para evitar muertes como las registradas en Pómac, que dejó el saldo de dos policías muertos y siete heridos; resultado equidistante del trabajo de desalojo cumplido por parte de la policía en el mercado de Santa Anita, en Lima.

Hoy es precisamente necesario recordar que las muertes registradas en el Centro Poblado de Batán Grande, como la de Gregorio Castillo Inolopú, acontecida el 15 de julio de 1998 por invasores de Santa Clara; la de Cirilo Bayona Baldera, el pasado 3 de mayo de 1993, a manos de invasores de Santa Clara; la de Edwin Ordóñez Valverde, el 23 mayo de 2005 por un invasor; la muerte de Manuel Urbina Chiroque, el 7 de diciembre 2006 por invasores de Campana «B»; la de Pedro Mori Terrones, el 4 de marzo de 2007 por invasores de Campana «A»; así como la del adolescente Miguel Mío Jiménez, ocurrida el 10 de abril del 2008 en el sector San Luis – Batán Grande, son las razones de peso para que pobladores y trabajadores de la zona exijan a las autoridades – tanto del Poder Judicial, como de la Policía Nacional – ejerzan acción de dominio pleno y retiren a los usurpadores de tierras de la propiedad de AgroPucalá.

Muchos trabajadores son constantemente amenazados por los invasores, ellos están hastiados de la seguidilla de atropellos y muertes, e impedidos de toda acción en contra de estos, gente advenediza y extraña a Batán Grande y cuyo signo característico es la violencia armada, con armamento de corto y largo alcance que – aseguran - poseen, como es de conocimiento de la policía.

Vivimos en un Estado de Pleno Derecho, en un país democrático donde impera la fuerza de la razón y la ley, por lo que hoy más que nunca se hace necesario el cumplimiento de la Resolución Judicial de la Corte de Justicia de Lambayeque a fin de sentar un precedente de respeto a la propiedad privada y a las leyes de nuestro país. El Poder Judicial de Lambayeque y la Policía Nacional del Perú, deben sentar un precedente legal por el bien de la región Lambayeque en todos los aspectos, desde el económico, político, jurídico y porqué no social, a fin que como éste caso no se vuelva a repetir situación similar.

A los invasores no les queda sino el camino del cumplimiento de la ley porque ellos saben han cometido el gravísimo delito de apropiación de terrenos que tienen dueño y la propietaria se llama AGROPUCALÁ. Tarde o temprano la justicia cae por su propio peso.

Figure 4: Newspaper column criticizing the invaders activities

(Expresión, Dec. 17th 2009)

Figure 5: Banner at Batán Grande town saying "Invaders Get Out!"

(Photo by Daniel Saucedo-Segami, 08/12/2010)

La República - Perú - jueves, 12 de octubre del 2000 POLITICA 3

Inscriben 700 hectáreas de reserva forestal en Registros Públicos

Invaden zona arqueológica de Poma

Chiclayo.- Más de 700 hectáreas del bosque de Poma, ubicado en pleno Parque Forestal y Zona Arqueológica de la Cultura Llampayec (Sicán), fueron invadidas por los integrantes de una **Asociación Rural Ganadera y Agrícola La Zaranda**.

Asimismo, los dirigentes de esta asociación han tenido la osadía de inscribir en los Registros Públicos los terrenos ocupados, los mismos que son intangibles por encontrarse en una zona reservada por el gobierno central. El lugar es rico en recursos naturales y en aporte cultural al haberse asentado en esta jurisdicción la sede de la Cultura Llampayec o Sicán.

La Asociación Rural Ganadera y Agrícola La Zaranda invadió 700 hectáreas de la zona arqueológica de Poma.

La denuncia ha sido formulada por Román Risco Vásquez, presidente de la Asociación Agropecuaria Santa Clara Palería, Bernardino Vásquez Tapia representante de Santa Clara y Mario Guevara Rubio, presidente de los Comités de Autodefensa de Santa Clara, quienes pidieron la intervención del fiscal *ad hoc* para asuntos arqueológicos, Benjamín Vílchez Vílchez.

Risco Vásquez señaló que los invasores son más de 500 y están encabezados por Celso Edgar Farroñán Facho, quien es además presidente de la Asociación Rural Ganadera y Agrícola La Zaranda, los mismos que se han apoderado de una zona intangible.

"Hemos comunicado también al Museo Arqueológico Nacional Brüning de Lambayeque para que intervenga porque se trata de un claro atentado a nuestros monumentos arqueológicos, los cuales se encuentran en peligro por la presencia de invasores", anotó.

Explicó que los invasores intentan confundir a las autoridades y opinión pública aduciendo que los terrenos ocupados están en Palería, "lo que es mentira por cuanto solamente Palería abarca una extensión de 235 hectáreas y los terrenos ocupados por los sujetos que irrumpieron en este lugar superan las 700 hectáreas".

Risco Vásquez sostuvo que esto viene a demostrar que la zona invadida también abarca a la reserva forestal y monumental de Poma, que contiene flora y fauna en peligro de extinción, así como restos arqueológicos de indudable valor intrínseco.

EN PELIGRO DE DESAPARECER

Cabe indicar que hasta hace una década el bosque de Poma tenía 13,800 hectáreas, especialmente de algarrobos y faiques, el mismo que se ha reducido a menos de 6,000 hectáreas por la tala indiscriminada de los árboles.

Ahora no solamente la amenaza es contra la reserva forestal sino contra el corazón mismo que significa el complejo piramidal de la Cultura Llampayec o Sicán que se encuentra en el Bosque de Poma. La presencia de invasores en la zona monumental es un latente peligro.

Figure 6: Newspaper showing the invasion of land made by people form La Zaranda

(La República, October 12th 2000)

Figure 7: Appropriation of land inside the community of La Zaranda town
(Photo by Daniel Saucedo-Segami, 14/01/2011)

Figure 8: Shamanist ritual of *baño de florecimiento* at Huaca Loro during excavations of SAP
(Photo by Daniel Saucedo-Segami, 05/08/2008)

Figure 9: Representations at local parks of Sicán artifacts at Ferreñafe city
(Photo by Daniel Saucedo-Segami, 27/07/2008)

Figure 10: Local representations of Sicán artifacts at Ferreñafe city
(Photo by Daniel Saucedo-Segami, 27/07/2008)

Figure 11: Entrance of a lodge at La Zaranda with a Sicán mask drawing as decoration
(Photo by Daniel Saucedo-Segami, 02/12/2010)


Figure 12: House constructed over an archaeological mound at Santa Clara town
(Photo by Daniel Saucedo-Segami, 06/09/2009)

Figure 13: Poultry farm over an archaeological site in Tambo Real

(Photo by Daniel Saucedo-Segami, 19/08/2009)

Figure 14: Archaeological stone artifacts used as decoration at Santa Clara town

(Photo by Daniel Saucedo-Segami, 06/09/2009)

Figure 15: Archaeological pottery used as decoration at La Zaranda town
(Photo by Daniel Saucedo-Segami, 20/10/2011)

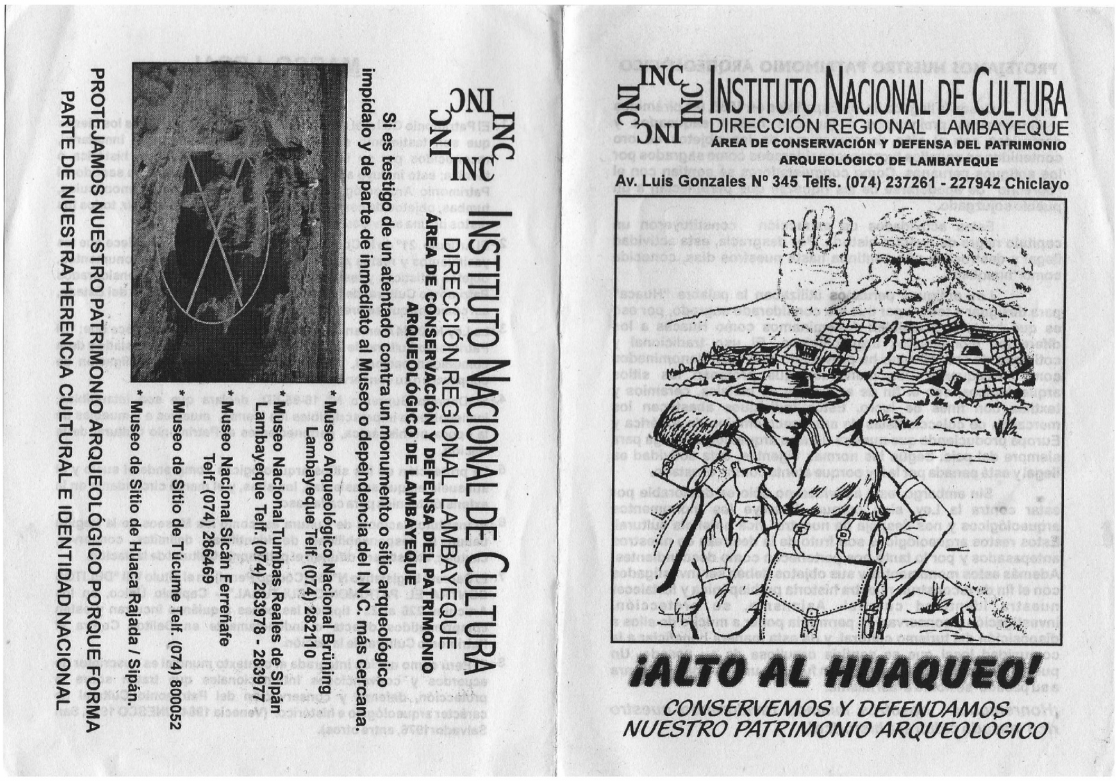
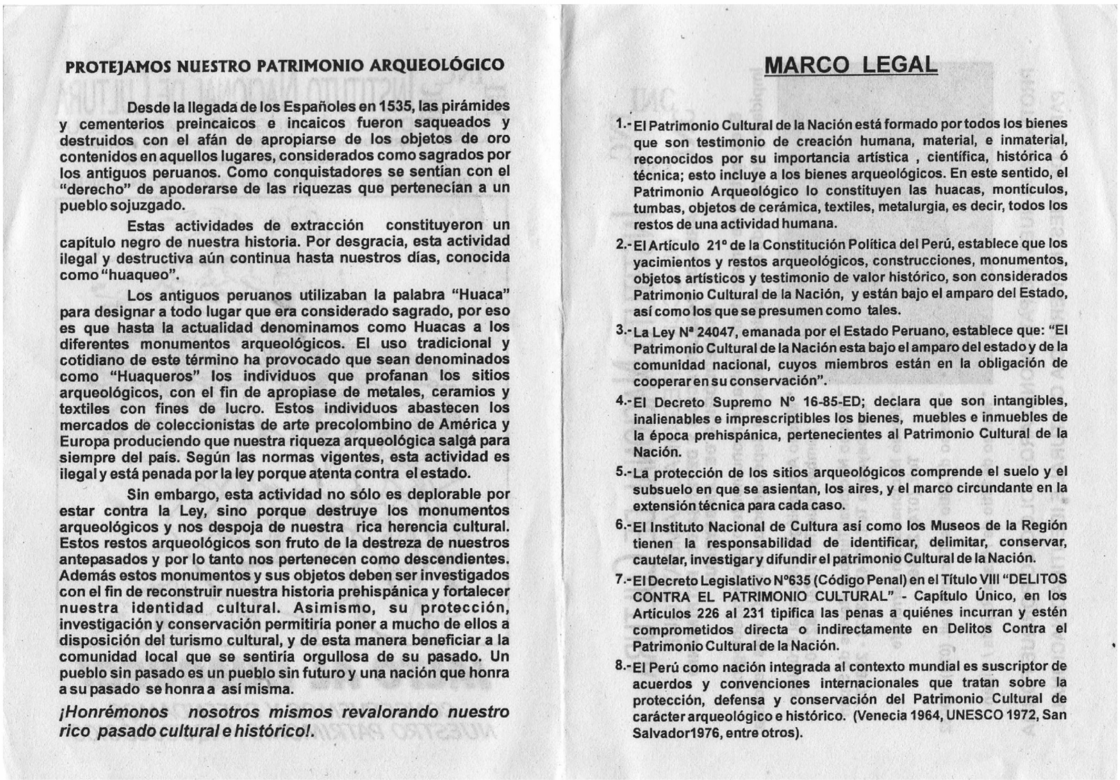


Figure 16: Flyer used by the MNS against looting of archaeological remains
(Outside, Museo Nacional Sicán 2010)



PROTEJAMOS NUESTRO PATRIMONIO ARQUEOLÓGICO

Desde la llegada de los Españoles en 1535, las pirámides y cementerios preincaicos e incaicos fueron saqueados y destruidos con el afán de apropiarse de los objetos de oro contenidos en aquellos lugares, considerados como sagrados por los antiguos peruanos. Como conquistadores se sentian con el "derecho" de apoderarse de las riquezas que pertenecian a un pueblo sojuzgado.

Estas actividades de extracción constituyeron un capítulo negro de nuestra historia. Por desgracia, esta actividad ilegal y destructiva aún continua hasta nuestros días, conocida como "huaqueo".

Los antiguos peruanos utilizaban la palabra "Huaca" para designar a todo lugar que era considerado sagrado, por eso es que hasta la actualidad denominamos como Huacas a los diferentes monumentos arqueológicos. El uso tradicional y cotidiano de este término ha provocado que sean denominados como "Huaqueros" los individuos que profanan los sitios arqueológicos, con el fin de apropiase de metales, ceramios y textiles con fines de lucro. Estos individuos abastecen los mercados de coleccionistas de arte precolombino de América y Europa produciendo que nuestra riqueza arqueológica salgá para siempre del país. Según las normas vigentes, esta actividad es ilegal y está penada por la ley porque atenta contra el estado.

Sin embargo, esta actividad no sólo es deplorable por estar contra la Ley, sino porque destruye los monumentos arqueológicos y nos despoja de nuestra rica herencia cultural. Estos restos arqueológicos son fruto de la destreza de nuestros antepasados y por lo tanto nos pertenecen como descendientes. Además estos monumentos y sus objetos deben ser investigados con el fin de reconstruir nuestra historia prehispánica y fortalecer nuestra identidad cultural. Asimismo, su protección, investigación y conservación permitiria poner a mucho de ellos a disposición del turismo cultural, y de esta manera beneficiar a la comunidad local que se sentiría orgullosa de su pasado. Un pueblo sin pasado es un pueblo sin futuro y una nación que honra a su pasado se honra a así misma.

¡Honrémonos nosotros mismos revalorando nuestro rico pasado cultural e histórico!.

MARCO LEGAL

1.- El Patrimonio Cultural de la Nación está formado por todos los bienes que son testimonio de creación humana, material, e inmaterial, reconocidos por su importancia artística, científica, histórica ó técnica; esto incluye a los bienes arqueológicos. En este sentido, el Patrimonio Arqueológico lo constituyen las huacas, montículos, tumbas, objetos de cerámica, textiles, metalurgia, es decir, todos los restos de una actividad humana.

2.- El Artículo 21° de la Constitución Política del Perú, establece que los yacimientos y restos arqueológicos, construcciones, monumentos, objetos artísticos y testimonio de valor histórico, son considerados Patrimonio Cultural de la Nación, y están bajo el amparo del Estado, así como los que se presumen como tales.

3.- La Ley N° 24047, emanada por el Estado Peruano, establece que: "El Patrimonio Cultural de la Nación esta bajo el amparo del estado y de la comunidad nacional, cuyos miembros están en la obligación de cooperar en su conservación".

4.- El Decreto Supremo N° 16-85-ED; declara que son intangibles, inalienables e imprescriptibles los bienes, muebles e inmuebles de la época prehispánica, pertenecientes al Patrimonio Cultural de la Nación.

5.- La protección de los sitios arqueológicos comprende el suelo y el subsuelo en que se asientan, los aires, y el marco circundante en la extensión técnica para cada caso.

6.- El Instituto Nacional de Cultura así como los Museos de la Región tienen la responsabilidad de identificar, delimitar, conservar, cautelar, investigar y difundir el patrimonio Cultural de la Nación.

7.- El Decreto Legislativo N°635 (Código Penal) en el Título VIII "DELITOS CONTRA EL PATRIMONIO CULTURAL" - Capítulo Único, en los Artículos 226 al 231 tipifica las penas a quiénes incurran y estén comprometidos directa o indirectamente en Delitos Contra el Patrimonio Cultural de la Nación.

8.- El Perú como nación integrada al contexto mundial es suscriptor de acuerdos y convenciones internacionales que tratan sobre la protección, defensa y conservación del Patrimonio Cultural de carácter arqueológico e histórico. (Venecia 1964, UNESCO 1972, San Salvador1976, entre otros).

Figure 17: Flyer used by the MNS against looting of archaeological remains (Inside, Museo Nacional Sicán 2010)

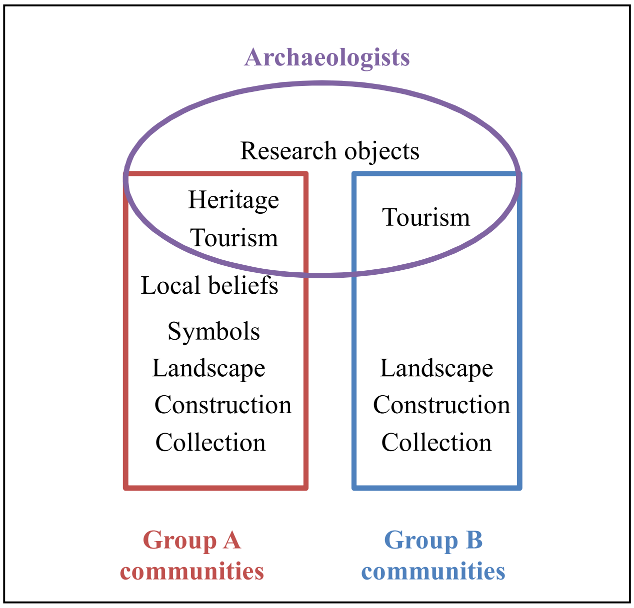


Figure 18: Perspectives about archaeological remains of archaeologists, Group A and Group B communities

Tables

Table 1: Opening of archaeological museums in the north of Peru between the years 1990-2010

Stage	Museum	Opening Year	Region	Type	Maintenance Funding
1st	Tucume	1993	Lambayeque	Site Museum	Public
	Kuntur Wasi	1995	Cajamarca	Site Museum	Private
	San Jose de Moro	1998	La Libertad	Site Museum	Private
	Leymebamba	2000	Chachapoyas	Site Museum	Private
	Royal Tombs of Sipan	2001	Lambayeque	Provincial Museum	Public
	Sican National Museum	2001	Lambayeque	National Museum	Public
2nd	Huaca Chotuna	2008	Lambayeque	Site Museum	Public
	Chavin National Museum	2008	Ancash	National Museum	Public
	Huaca Rajada	2009	Lambayeque	Site Museum	Public
	Cao	2009	La Libertad	Site Museum	Private
	Huacas de Moche	2010	La Libertad	Site Museum	Public & Private

Table 2: National Income for Tourism in Peru (per year)

Year	Income (Million USD)
2002	837
2003	1,023
2004	1,232
2005	1,438
2006	1,775
2007	2,007
2008	2,396
2009	2,440
2010	2,475
2011	2,912
2012	3,288
2013	3,925

Table 3: Population in habitants for the provinces, districts and communities around the SHBP based on 2007 census data, INEI website (SERNANP 2011)

Province (Population)	District (Population)	Communities	Population
Ferreñafe (96 142)	Pítipo (20 080)	La Curva	170
		Huaca Partid	350
		La Zaranda	**610**
		Los Aguilare	350
		Cachinche	684
		Poma III	**350**
Lambayeque (259 274)	Túcume (20 814)	Sta. Rosa de	750
		Sapamé	900
		Los Sánchez	400
	Jayanca (15 042)	Ojo de Toro	1 200
		El Verde	1 009
		Santa Clara	**3 200**
	Íllimo (9 107)	Culpón Alto	250
	Pácora (6 795)	Huaca Rivera	975
TOTAL	71 838		11 198

Table 4: Sowing time and agricultural products (Municipalidad de Pítipo 2009)

Rainy			**Dry**								**Rainy**
Jan	**Feb**	**Mar**	**Apr**	**May**	**Jun**	**Jul**	**Aug**	**Sep**	**Oct**	**Nov**	**Dec**
Rice											Rice
Hard-yellow corn											
Sugar cane											
Corn											
	Beans										
			Sweet potato								
Yuca											
										Cotton	

Table 5: Types and quantity of livestock in Pitipo district (Municipalidad de Pítipo 2009)

Type of Livestock	Quantity (heads)
Cattle	7 100
Sheep	4 100
Goats	4 000
Pigs	1 800
Equine	400
Poultry	6 000

Table 6: Total of visitors per year at the museums in Lambayeque department for the period 2006-2008 (Unidad Ejecutora 111 website)

MUSEUM	YEAR			TOTAL
	2006	2007	2008	
Enrique Bruning Archaeological National Museum	24 669	37 321	19 787	81 777
Sican National Museum	39 845	38 048	23 517	101 410
Tucume Site Museum	36 090	40 631	26 520	103 241
Royal Tombs of Sipan	147 636	160 980	94 804	403 420
TOTAL	248 240	276 980	164 628	689 848

Table 7: Total of visitors per year in the SHBP for the period 2000-2008 (SERNANP et al.)

Year	No. Visitors
2000	7 067
2001	10 154
2002	13 005
2003	12 579
2004	12 123
2005	14 362
2006	12 927
2007	17 753
2008	17 607
TOTAL	117 577

Table 8: Total of visitors Sicán National Museum 2005-2013 (Ministerio de Turismo y Comercio Exterior 2014)

Year	Total	National	Foreign
2005	37,809	35,364	2,445
2006	39,845	35,610	4,235
2007	38,048	32,605	5,443
2008	36,709	31,308	5,401
2009	31,275	26,708	4,567
2010	30,835	26,508	4,327
2011	35,356	30,771	4,585
2012	35,204	31,144	4,060
2013	36,060	32,437	3,623

Table 9: Total of visitors to the Machu Picchu Sanctuary per year (Ministerio de Turismo y Comercio Exterior 2014)

Year	Total	National	Foreign
2005	679,953	204,638	475,315
2006	691,623	210,882	480,741
2007	800,158	251,990	548,168
2008	858,216	242,101	616,115
2009	815,268	233,388	581,880
2010	699,831	227,089	472,742
2011	971,642	300,683	670,959
2012	1,114,434	351,965	762,469
2013	1,177,308	372,960	804,348

Table 10: Nationality of visitors who signed the visitor's book

Nationality	Visitors
Foreigner	376
Peruvian	1432
Not Specified	24
TOTAL	1832

Table 11: Gender of visitors who signed the visitors' book

Gender	Visitors
Male	896
Female	936
TOTAL	1832

Table 12: Range of visitors who signed the visitors' book

Age	Visitors
0-11	115
12-18	176
18-25	288
26-50	807
50-59	161
60 or more	266
Not Specified	17
TOTAL	1813

Table 13: Peruvian visitors per region who signed the visitor's book

Region	Visitors
AMAZONAS	9
ANCASH	22
APURIMAC	4
AREQUIPA	30
AYACUCHO	0
CAJAMARCA	30
CALLAO	9
CUZCO	10
HUANCAVELICA	0
HUANUCO	15
ICA	9
JUNIN	17
LA LIBERTAD	70
LAMBAYEQUE	264
LIMA	615
LORETO	1
MADRE DE DIOS	0
MOQUEGUA	7
PASCO	4
PIURA	54
PUNO	3
SAN MARTIN	12
TACNA	6
TUMBES	13
UCAYALI	6
Not Specified	622
TOTAL	1210

Table 14: Suggestions or complains about the administration of the MNS (visitor's book)

Type	Visitors
Courtesy	18
Entrance Fee	8
Advertisement	149
Building	24
Equipments	19
Security	5
Signaling	16
Restroom	6
TOTAL	245

Table 15: Suggestions or complains about the museography of the MNS (visitor's book)

Type	Visitors
Audio	10
Equipment	19
Language	33
Illumination	209
Information	94
Legend	6
Exhibition	21
Arch. Artifacts	22
Rooms	16
Signaling	16
Video	21
TOTAL	467

Table 16: Suggestions or complains about other aspects of the MNS (visitor's book)

Type	Visitors
Coffee Shop	7
Tourist Guides	42
Lord of Sicán Representation	13
Souvenirs Shop	32
TOTAL	94

Table 17: Use and value of archaeological remains according to Archaeologists and Communities perspectives

	USE	VALUE	SPHERE
Archaeologists ↕ Communities	Research Object	Academic/Economic	private
	Heritage	Emotional/Economic	public
	Tourism	Economic	public
	Local beliefs	Emotional	public
	Symbol	Political/Economic	private
	Landscape	Emotional	private
	Construction	Economic	private
	Collection	Emotional	private

Table 18: List of informants

	Informant	Gender	Age	City	Occupation
1	Carlos Elera	M	50+	Trujillo	Archaeologist, MNS Director
2	MNS 1	M	41	Lima	Archaeologist
3	MNS 2	M	40	Lima	Archaeologist
4	MNS 3	F	35	Lima	Archaeologist
5	MNS 4	F	ND	Ferreñafe	Office worker
6	MNS 5	F	ND	Ferreñafe	Office worker
7	MNS 6	M	28	Lima	Curator
8	MNS 7	F	ND	Lima	Curator
9	MNS 8	F	ND	Chiclayo	Tourist Guide
10	MNS 9	F	ND	Chiclayo	Tourist Guide
11	Izumi Shimada	M	63	Kyoto(Japan)	Archeologist, PAS Director
12	SAP 1	M	40	La Zaranda	Labor/Farmer/Tourist Guide
13	SAP 2	M	ND	La Zaranda	Labor/Farmer
14	SAP 3	M	ND	La Zaranda	Labor/Farmer
15	SAP 4	M	ND	Pítipo	Labor/Farmer
16	FAR 1	M	ND	Tambo Real	Farmer
17	FAR 2	F	ND	Santa Clara	Farmer
18	ATG 1	M	46	La Zaranda	Labor/Farmer/Janitor/Tourist Guide
19	ATG 2	M	25	La Zaranda	Tourist Guide
20	ATG 3	M	22	Batan Grande	Tourist Guide
21	NGO 1	M	33	Trujillo	Engineer
22	NGO 2	M	50+	Brussels	Engineer
23	ST 1	M	ND	Ferreñafe	Primary School Teacher (Ferreñafe)
24	ST 2	F	ND	Ferreñafe	Primary School Teacher (Ferreñafe)
25	ST 3	M	ND	Ferreñafe	Secondary School Teacher (Batan Grande)
26	ST 4	F	ND	Ferreñafe	Primary School Teacher (Pitipo)
27	ST 5	F	ND	Ferreñafe	Primary School Teacher (La Zaranda)
28	ST 6	M	ND	Ferreñafe	Primary School Teacher (La Zaranda)
29	ST 7	M	ND	Ferreñafe	Primary School Teacher (La Zaranda)
30	ST 8	F	ND	Ferreñafe	Primary School Teacher (La Zaranda)
31	INT 1	M	60	Batan Grande	Engineer/Journalist
32	INT 2	F	ND	Chiclayo	Biologist
33	INT 3	M	70+	Chiclayo	School Teacher
34	SH1	M	ND	Buenos Aires	Farmer/Shaman

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Annex 1. Interviews (original text)

Chapter Page	Informant	Date	Interview content (Spanish)
Ch. 3 p. 56	SAP1	2010/11/28	"Los días antes del desalojo estuvimos varios apoyando. Estábamos los guardaparques y los guías junto con otros de La Zaranda, Batán Grande y Poma III. Nos encargamos de preparar el *rancho* y llevárselo a los policías. Don Vicente y el Dr. Elera estaban coordinando todo con la policía."
Ch. 3 p. 58	SAP1	2011/12/02	"Cuando construyeron el nuevo colegio, el viejo colegio pasó a manos de la comunidad y el terreno que está detrás, y gente de la misma comunidad tomó posesión. Inclusive uno de los salones del antiguo colegio se lo agarró una de las profesoras diciendo que como la cooperativa no le pagó por varios años, lo tomaba a cambio y ahora vive ahí."
Ch.3 p. 59	ATG1	2010/02/12	"Antes, cuando la familia de uno crecía, lo que se hacía era construir una nueva casa un poco más allá. Así poco a poco iba creciendo (el pueblo), un poco desordenado. Por eso algunas casas se llenan de agua cuando llueve. Yo construí acá en una parte más elevada y por eso no tengo problema de que se inunde."
Ch.3 p.59	MNS1	2009/08/18	"En principio no habría ningún problema (en que realices excavaciones), pero existe esta idea de ética profesional que implica que si alguien ha estado excavando durante un tiempo en un sitio, al menos hables con esa persona antes de presentar un proyecto."
Ch.3 p.60	SAP1	2012/01/13	"Esa *huaca* es de X. Cuando estábamos realizando el proyecto Y la recorrimos. X la tiene separada y seguro que se molesta si alguien la excava."
Ch.3 p.62	Izumi Shimada	2009/08/10	"Tenemos una relación íntima con la TBS por 20 años. Si bien hay una independencia científica del proyecto en cuanto a decir qué se hace y los objetivos que tiene el proyecto, la TBS tiene la exclusividad de las imágenes. Yo considero a la TBS como un canal serio, cuyas personas clave entienden de arqueología. Si bien no confiaba mucho al inicio por experiencias particulares, estas personas fueron las que me dieron facilidades y confianza por su profesionalismo."
Ch. 3 p. 65	SAP1	2011/12/03	"Todo el apoyo se va a Poma III. Nosotros en La Zaranda hemos estado apoyando el desalojo y siempre hemos

			trabajado con el Dr. Shimada y el Dr. Elera, pero no se realiza nada acá. Y todavía contratan a obreros que vienen de otros sitios o no se fijan si son obreros de la misma familia, en vez de apoyar a aquellos que están solos.”
Ch. 3 p. 65	ATG1	2010/02/10	“Yo no tengo ningún problema con los guías de turismo. Yo entiendo que ellos han hecho sus estudios y que tienen su título, pero me molesta que no cumplan las reglas cuando entran al bosque. Los turistas vienen en sus camionetas y adentro traen a los guías, pero ellos no les llaman la atención cuando dejan basura o hacen mucho ruido. Además, a veces no conocen bien los senderos y se meten por otro lado.”
Ch. 3 p. 66	SAP1	2011/10/29	“Aquí antes estaba el colegio, pero antes era una casa de la hacienda. El techo aún tiene tejas, que ya no se ven en otras casas. Al costado tenía una noria y un caño por donde la gente venía a sacar agua. Sería bonito si lo reconstruyeran y se hiciera un museo.”
Ch. 3 p. 67	ATG1	2010/02/02	“Yo estaba excavando un hoyo y salieron unos hornos. Vino el Dr. Shimada y los miró. No era lo único antiguo que había por acá. Esa pared de mi casa también estaba antes que yo la construyera, toda la base.”
Ch. 3 p.67	ATG1	2011/10/19	“Uy, yo antes tenía más vasijas pero con el tiempo las he ido regalando. Antes que iba a saber uno que eran de valor. Yo me las quedaba porque me gustaba como se veían. Esta de acá es la única que no he regalado porque me gustó mucho, es un *huaco* silbador. Ya antes han venido turistas por acá y me pidieron que se los venda, pero yo les he dicho que no.”
Ch. 3 p. 67	SAP1	2011/10/29	“Mira, esta olla está enterita. Me la voy a llevar para reconstruirla en la casa. La voy a tener ahí para que adorne. Afuera de mi casa también tengo otra, que la puse en una base de cemento.”
Ch.3 p.68	SH1	2008/08/05	“Son seres vivos. Hay buenos y malos, dependiendo de si alguien se ha muerto tratando de *huaquear*. Como son seres *calientes*, el *pago* debe ser *frio*, como el agua *florida*. Lo que se encuentra se relaciona con los *pagos* que se hacen a la *huaca*. Si el *pago* no es apropiado, o no complace a la *huaca*, entonces el proyecto no encontrara buenas cosas y puede

			ocurrir un accidente.”
Ch.3 p.69	SAP1	2011/12/03	“Dicen que si vas caminando por el bosque de noche, y de repente ver una bola de luz clarita que baja del cielo, es que está marcando una tumba. Ya varios me han contado que la han visto, y luego cuando la han seguido los ha llevado a una *huaca*. Si excavas ahí, segurito que encuentras una tumba con oro.”
Ch.3 p.69	SAP1	2011/12/03	“Estábamos tomando un descanso en la excavación, y de repente uno de los trabajadores se levantó asustado. Dice que había visto una mujer con una ropa blanca que se le acercó y le tocó en su sueño. Ya van varios que han soñado igualito.”
Ch.3 p.69	SAP1	2010/11/28	“Aquí se habla mucho de los duendes. Antes se veían más, pero desde que hay luz ya no tanto. Ahí en la carretera antes había un árbol y siempre bajaban de ahí. Los duendes siempre buscan hacerte maldad. Los que los han visto dicen que son como niños rubios.”
Ch. 3 p. 69	ATG1	2010/11/28	“El *Árbol Milenario* nadie lo ha podido cortar. Una vez trataron con un hacha, y se le rompió y además salió una serpiente que casi lo muerde. Otra vez uno que vive en La Curva, que es evangelista, quiso agarrarse unas monedas que le dejan a la cruz que está al costado del árbol, en la gruta que está ahí. Él decía que cómo van a creer en esas cosas, que es superstición. Al poco tiempo se empezó a quedar ciego. Ese árbol se hace respetar, como las *huacas* en las que se mueren por derrumbes.”
Ch. 3 p. 73	FAR1	2009/08/19	“Este no es mi corral. El dueño es de Chiclayo y alquila este lugar para criar pollos. Él construyo el corral aquí (sobre el sitio arqueológico) porque corre más aire y así los pollos no se mueren de calor.”
Ch. 4 p. 82	MNS8	2009/08/10	“Cuando los visitantes me preguntan cosas que no salen en el museo, cosas de la vida diaria, usualmente yo les digo lo que me contaba mi abuelo de cómo eran las cosas antes. Por ejemplo, si me preguntan dónde iban antes al baño, yo les contesto con lo que me contaban mis abuelos de que iban cerquita por ahí, a un árbol. ”
Ch. 4 p. 89	ST23	2009/07/23	“No hay personal estable en el museo, como relaciones públicas. Debe haber personal capacitado, que no sean guías sino más bien alguien relacionado a educación. Si bien había

			muy buena intención por parte de Víctor, el problema es que a veces él no tenía tiempo y no podía reunirse con nosotros.”
Ch. 4 p. 95	SAP1	2011/12/02	“Ese profesor (que realiza actividades con los niños) es muy bueno, muy dedicado. Las otras profesoras son un poco flojas, no hacen bien su trabajo. Y lo peor de todo es que si uno se queja, después le ponen malas notas a mis hijos, así que no puedo decir nada.”
Ch. 4 p. 96	ST8	2010/11/29	“Yo nunca he ido al museo hasta ahora. Sería bueno si nos lleva esta vez, ¿no? Y de paso nos da una guía para conocer.”
Ch. 4 p. 103	MNS5	2011/01/17	“Me parece que el material está muy bueno y es muy informativo, pero creo que la forma como lo dice todo es muy “frio”. Debería ser un poco más cálida la manera de contarse la historia, un poco más humana.”
Ch. 4 p. 103	ST2	2012/08/01	“…se menciona sobre una a experiencia alternativa con respecto al Bosque en la cual se debería señalar la ventaja que surgiría si se realiza dicha visita después de la experiencia en el museo.”
Ch. 4 p. 103	ST2	2012/08/01	“…en la parte donde se trata el tema de la arqueología sería interesante dar a conocer por qué es necesaria la intervención de un arqueólogo en el equipo de trabajo y el fin último por el cual quiere estudiar y reconstruir lo que sucedió; es decir, enfocarse en la importancia de transportarse imaginariamente al pasado y comprender desde ese contexto a la sociedad estudiada y su rol dentro de la construcción de la identidad de la comunidad”
Ch. 4 p. 104	ST2	2012/08/01	“En mi opinión es interesante el uso de la comparación para describir el pasado con el presente en diferentes apartados eso hace mucho más dinámica la redacción y se logra mayor concentración en la imagen que se quiere transmitir.”
Ch. 4 p. 104	ST2	2012/08/01	“Además de brindar información general sobre la Cultura Sicán, debería mencionarse los testimonios en los que se basan estos aportes –las huacas exploradas y las que se están explorando– así se dejaría en claro que todos los conocimientos que se tienen hasta el momento no son los definitivos y por lo tanto se necesitará de futuros profesionales que se interesen en su estudio.”

Annex 2. Original text in Spanish for referenced news

Chapter & Page	Newspaper	Date	News content (Spanish)
Ch. 3 p. 56	El Ciclón	2009/01/24	«Juan Sandoval Valdivieso, gerente regional de Recursos Naturales, dijo que "el hecho de haber recuperado Pómac marca un hito en la historia conservacionista" y que en adelante corresponde la regeneración espontánea del bosque y la protección de restos arqueológicos.»
Ch. 3 p. 57	Correo Lambayeque	2009/01/25	"Bosques de Pomac ofrece despegue económico. Tras la recuperación de los sectores invadidos, el Santuario Histórico Bosque de Pómac-Batangrande ofrece una oportunidad de despegue económico para Lambayeque con el impulso del turismo especializado de observación de aves, sostuvo el presidente de la Cámara de comercio y Producción de Lambayeque, Otto Zoeger Navarro".
Ch. 3 p.57	El Comercio	2009/02/25	"Creara un notable precedente para la protección de las áreas naturales y culturales del Perú, país que se caracteriza por su megabiodiversidad y por ser uno de los focos de la alta cultura y donde se encuentran los orígenes de la civilización del planeta".
Ch. 3 p. 57	El Comercio	2009/01/25	"Desde hace un buen tiempo y debido a que permanentemente denunciaba la presencia de gente con armas de fuego, fui blanco de amenazas de muerte. Todo esto proviene de grupos de poder, traficantes de tierra y no de campesinos pobres como se pretende hacer creer. (…) Es gente de mucho poder económico, de origen chotano y opera en el mercado mayorista de Moshoqueque, en el distrito de Leonardo Ortíz."
Ch. 3 p. 62	Andina	2012/11/10	«Con una inversión de alrededor de cinco millones de nuevos soles se iniciarán los trabajos para mejorar los servicios en el santuario histórico Bosque de Pómac, de Lambayeque, a fin de convertirlo el 2013 en un producto turístico de la región. Carlos Elera Arévalo, director de la Unidad Ejecutora No.005 Naylamp-Lambayeque dijo que el Ministerio de Comercio Exterior y Turismo, a través del Plan Copesco, financia la ejecución de la iniciativa. (…) "Es muy importante la investigación, porque eso da

			originalidad al producto turístico lambayecano. No podemos hacer *Disneylandia* sino una revaloración, a través de los insumos de la investigación, de todo lo que atañe a una adecuada interpretación de lo que es la naturaleza y cómo la entendió la gente que habitó una zona determinada. De esa manera podremos hablar de un producto con identidad que pocas áreas tienen", sentenció»

Annex 3. Original text in Spanish for textual references

Chapter Page	Reference	Original text
Ch. 3 p. 63	Law No. 28296, 2nd Article	"Se entiende por bien integrante del Patrimonio Cultural de la Nación toda manifestación del quehacer humano -material o inmaterial- que por su importancia, valor y significado paleontológico, arqueológico, arquitectónico, histórico, artístico, militar, social, antropológico, tradicional, religioso, etnológico, científico, tecnológico o intelectual, sea expresamente declarado como tal o sobre el que exista la presunción legal de serlo. Dichos bienes tienen la condición de propiedad pública o privada con las limitaciones que establece la presente Ley."
Ch. 63	Ministerio de Cultura website accessed in 14/08/2012 http://www.mcultura.gob.pe/	"Objetivo final: Puesta en valor Las zonas arqueológicas se recuperan con el fin de ponerlas en valor. Es decir, darles un uso social, que puedan ser apreciadas y disfrutadas por todos. Cercadas, señalizadas, iluminadas, declaradas y delimitadas. Al proteger estas fuentes de orgullo y conocimiento ancestral estamos convirtiendo los monumentos arqueológicos en atractivos arqueológicos."

Annex 4. Draft of the Material for School Teachers

II. Introducción

El Museo Nacional Sicán es una institución educativa que funciona tanto como centro de investigación como de difusión. Dentro de su política de proyección a la sociedad, nuestra institución ha elaborado el presente material para educadores con el objetivo de hacer llegar a un público más amplio la información que los investigadores manejan sobre la sociedad Sicán.

Actualmente, las publicaciones sobre la sociedad Sicán están orientadas a un público más especializado, y en muchos casos en idiomas diferentes al castellano, siendo escasas aquellas publicaciones cuyo lenguaje sea menos técnico y más asequible al público general. Considerando que para proteger los vestigios del pasado es necesario integrar la participación de la población local y regional, esta problemática toma mayor importancia dado que no se puede proteger lo que no se conoce.

Es así que hemos decidido enfocar el presente material a los educadores, dada la importancia de su rol como facilitadores de la información que manejan los investigadores para con la población. Esto no quiere decir que este material no pueda ser utilizado por otros grupos. Muy por el contrario, esperamos que los diversos grupos que conforman el público general utilicen y adapten la información de este material en actividades que vayan más allá del salón de clases.

Hemos dividido el material en tres secciones. La primera sección se refiere a los servicios que ofrece el Museo Nacional Sicán, incluyendo nuestra propuesta de trabajo tanto con este material y las salas del museo. La segunda sección presenta información referencial sobre la sociedad Sicán organizadas en preguntas y respuestas, de tal manera que el lector pueda tener un conocimiento básico de las características de ésta sociedad, y posteriormente ahondar en el tema que más le interese. La tercera sección contiene ejemplos de actividades que los docentes pueden realizar con sus alumnos antes, durante y después de la visita al museo, las cuales pueden servir de base para diseñar aun más actividades.

Esperamos que este material sirva tanto a educadores como al público general para incentivar el interés en el estudio del pasado, así como fomentar la protección de nuestro patrimonio cultural y arqueológico.

Museo Nacional Sicán

III. Servicios del Museo Nacional Sicán

3.1 ¿Qué servicios ofrece el museo?

Coordinación y orientación antes, durante y después de la visita, utilizando como referencia el contenido del presente material, de tal manera que el museo pueda servir como herramienta educativa no sólo durante la visita, sino también en el aula. Las coordinaciones pueden ser realizadas por vía telefónica o correo electrónico. Esta coordinación incluye la capacitación de los profesores antes de la visita para el uso del presente material, la separación de salas y jardines del museo para el desarrollo de actividades con los alumnos, y la coordinación de actividades a realizarse después de la visita.

Uso de los espacios del museo para actividades contempladas en este material, buscando que dichas actividades sean mejor aprovechadas por los alumnos. El museo pone a disposición el uso de jardines exteriores, salas de conferencias y salas de exhibición para los colegios que coordinen su uso previamente con la administración.

Orientación para la visita al Santuario Histórico Bosque de Pómac, capital de la sociedad Sicán y uno de los bosques secos más importantes de nuestro país. El personal del museo puede orientar cómo llegar al Santuario y a quien contactar para realizar una visita guiada según el tiempo disponible.

3.2 ¿Cuál es nuestra propuesta de trabajo?

El Museo Nacional Sicán busca que sus salas de exposición sean utilizadas como herramientas educativas por los profesores, de tal manera que la visita resulte en un aprendizaje significativo por parte de los alumnos.

Por esta razón, el Museo Nacional Sicán realiza coordinaciones directamente con los profesores. El trabajo que proponemos tiene tres etapas: la primera es la reunión previa con los docentes a fin de preparar la visita de los alumnos al museo; la segunda es el desarrollo de actividades con los niños y profesores durante la visita; y la última es el seguimiento de las actividades sugeridas al profesor para desarrollar en el aula y para complementar lo aprendido durante la visita, además de proporcionar información adicional de ser necesario.

Etapa 1: Actividades antes de la visita

Coordinación obligatoria entre el profesor y la administración del Museo Nacional Sicán (teléfono 074-286469, correo electrónico museosican@hotmail.com).

Entrega del material didáctico al profesor y visita de los ambientes del museo para familiarizarlo con los espacios y planificar la visita (determinar el número de alumnos por grupo (máximo 25 alumnos), seleccionar los espacios para organizar las actividades complementarias, así como fijar la fecha y horas de la visita). Se recomienda también que los profesores realicen actividades introductorias a sus alumnos en esta etapa.

Etapa 2: Actividades durante la visita

Recorrido por el museo.

Para no saturar a los alumnos con información, se debe tratar de llegar a ellos con conceptos precisos y tener en cuenta la edad de los niños. Para explicar la vida en el pasado, el profesor puede acudir a ejemplos actuales, dejando ver al niño que el hombre en todo tiempo y lugar, ha tenido que enfrentar retos similares (como alimentación, vivienda y vestido), aunque los ha resuelto de manera distinta de acuerdo a los recursos que tenía a la mano.

Para fijar los conceptos, se puede dar mayor tiempo a ciertas salas y objetos del museo, y darle al niño el tiempo suficiente para observar y sacar sus conclusiones. Tampoco es necesario visitar todas las salas, sino que se puede escoger aquellas que resulten más adecuadas para el objetivo de los temas que se quieren desarrollar.

Las actividades complementarias están divididas según el ciclo escolar, por lo que se debe coordinar con el personal del museo para separar los ambientes respectivos y los materiales necesarios según sea el caso.

Etapa 3: Actividades después de la visita

El profesor debe responder a una encuesta, calificando cómo fue la visita y proponiendo sugerencias para mejorarla. Estas encuentras nos ayudarán a mejorar el presente material y producir otros más en el futuro para ustedes. Además, el profesor puede realizar algunas actividades en el aula para repasar los conocimientos adquiridos durante la visita al museo.

IV. ¿Qué sabemos de la cultura Sicán?

LA ARQUEOLOGÍA

4.1 Las investigaciones de los arqueólogos

¿Qué es la arqueología?

La arqueología es una ciencia social que, a diferencia de la historia que estudia textos y la antropología que estudia sociedades vivas, se encarga de estudiar las sociedades del pasado a través de las evidencias (objetos y monumentos) que quedan de ellas.

¿Qué hacen los arqueólogos?

Los arqueólogos realizan lentas y cuidadosas excavaciones para encontrar las evidencias de antiguas sociedades, con el fin de poder observar y estudiar el "contexto arqueológico". El "contexto arqueológico" es como la escena de un crimen, y el arqueólogo es como el detective que debe estudiarla y reconstruir qué pasó en el lugar. Entonces, es importante, que se fije en la posición de los diversos objetos y restos que encuentra, analizar cada uno de los objetos para ver si quedaron restos de cómo fue usado o de cómo fueron fabricados. Es decir, el arqueólogo se encarga de reconstruir qué sucedió en el lugar.

¿Por qué es importante el contexto arqueológico?

El contexto arqueológico contiene pistas acerca de cómo fue la vida de las sociedades en el pasado. Los objetos que aparecen dentro y la manera como están relacionados (como las ofrendas en una tumba, la vajilla en las viviendas, las herramientas en los talleres de manufactura, etc.) son una fuente de información que los arqueólogos aprenden a observar con atención. Si se destruye un sitio arqueológico que no ha sido investigado (ya sea por ampliar terrenos de cultivo, edificar construcciones modernas, o saquear para encontrar objetos valiosos), se pierde el contexto arqueológico y todas las pistas que éste nos puede dar.

¿Qué preguntas podemos plantearnos sobre el contexto arqueológico?

Los investigadores siempre se hacen una serie de preguntas sobre las sociedades del pasado. La única manera de resolverlas es mediante el estudio del contexto arqueológico y sus objetos relacionados, ya que estas sociedades no tenían escritura. Para estudiar el contexto arqueológico, las preguntas que se hacen con frecuencia son:

¿Dónde están colocados los objetos dentro del contexto arqueológico?

¿De qué están hechos estos objetos? ¿Qué técnicas emplearon para fabricarlos? ¿Para que pudieron servir? ¿Quiénes hicieron los objetos y por qué?

¿Cuándo fue usado el contexto arqueológico? ¿Cuándo fueron hechos los objetos que aparecen en él?

LOS MUSEOS

¿Por qué el museo guarda los objetos encontrados en el contexto arqueológico?

Todo museo es un lugar donde trabaja gente dedicada a conservar, investigar y cuidar los objetos antiguos. La razón por la que los objetos están en el museo es porque no solo son simples objetos decorativos, sino porque contienen mucha información sobre el pasado, la que sólo en los museos puede ser estudiada, explicada y presentada adecuadamente a los visitantes.

¿Por qué existe el Museo Nacional Sicán?

El Museo Nacional Sicán es una institución que está dedicada al estudio de las sociedades que habitaron la región de Lambayeque, especialmente en el Santuario Histórico Bosque de Pómac y la provincia de Ferreñafe. Su principal interés es la sociedad Sicán, que habitó esta región hace mil años. Sin embargo, también estudia las sociedades que se desarrollaron antes y después de ellos. Esto se debe a que, para comprender a cabalidad la sociedad Sicán y su aporte al Perú actual, es necesario entender los procesos sociales que ocurrieron antes, durante y después de su desarrollo.

4.2 La Cultura Sicán: Tiempo y continuidad

DEFINICIÓN

¿Qué fue la sociedad Sicán?

La sociedad Sicán tuvo una creencia religiosa común manejada por sus gobernantes. Esta sociedad ocupó el territorio costeño comprendido entre el valle de Motupe, por el Norte, y el valle de Chicama (La Libertad), por el Sur. Su centro principal estuvo ubicado en el actual Santuario Histórico Bosque de Pómac, donde aún hoy se pueden observar los restos de sus templos o “huacas”.

¿Por qué se llama Sicán?

Debido a que no hay textos escritos de la época, no sabemos cómo se reconocía a sí misma esta sociedad. Los arqueólogos utilizaron el nombre de Sicán, que significa en la lengua Muchik “Casa de la Luna”, para definir las características comunes (objetos, imágenes, costumbres, modo de vida, etc.) que encontraron en la gente que habitó esta zona en una determinada época.

¿Qué diferencia tienen los términos Sicán y Sipán?

Sipán es el nombre de un sitio arqueológico que pertenece a la cultura Mochica, la cual existió en esta región antes de que se desarrollara la sociedad Sicán. En este sitio se han encontrado un grupo de tumbas de nobles, entre las que destaca la del Señor de Sipán.

¿Sicán y Lambayeque significan lo mismo?

“Cultura Lambayeque” es el nombre que los investigadores le pusieron a un estilo de decorar vasijas de cerámica, características de la región de Lambayque, así como a todos los elementos relacionados con ella (casas, templos, tumbas). Sin embargo, esta cerámica es una de las que usó la sociedad Sicán, por lo que en la actualidad se utilizan los nombres de Lambayeque y Sicán como sinónimos.

TIEMPO

¿A qué época pertenece la sociedad Sicán?

Para saber la época en que una sociedad determinada existió, se necesita combinar los datos provenientes de diferentes fuentes, entre ellas las provenientes de excavaciones arqueológicas, del estudio de la arquitectura y de las formas y decoraciones de los objetos que usaron. Los materiales recuperados por los arqueólogos nos hacen pensar que esta sociedad tuvo su máximo apogeo entre los años 900 y 1100 d. c., es decir, hace mil años.

¿Qué había antes de la sociedad Sicán?

A lo largo del tiempo, la gente que ha poblado la región de Lambayeque ha tenido varias creencias y formas de gobierno. Es así que antes de la formación de la sociedad Sicán, la cultura Mochica impuso sus creencias en la zona. Durante los años 100 a.C. y 800 d.C., los nobles de esta cultura (como el Señor de Sipán), controlaban los valles de la costa que están comprendidos entre los actuales departamentos de Piura y Ancash, construyendo varias pirámides de adobe como símbolos de su poder. Esta cultura creía en varios dioses, a los que representaba en su cerámica, metales y textiles.

La cultura Mochica tuvo su fin luego de fuertes Fenómenos del Niño, los cuales afectaron principalmente sus canales y campos de cultivo, comprometiendo directamente su subsistencia. Estas catástrofes naturales eran entendidas como castigos divinos, por lo cual sus gobernantes ya no cumplían su rol de protectores de la sociedad. Al ver que sus dioses y gobernantes no podían protegerlos, los pobladores cambiaron sus creencias por otras provenientes de regiones vecinas, abandonando los antiguos templos y costumbres. Construyeron así otras pirámides que iban de acuerdo a estas nuevas creencias.

EL PAISAJE

¿Cómo era el paisaje hace mil años?

Si tratamos de imaginar la región de Lambayeque, tendríamos que pensar en un paisaje sin calles, casas, autos ni carreteras. Veríamos un valle sin campos de maíz o caña de azúcar, con abundante flora silvestre, como el algarrobo y el zapote. Entre esta vegetación habrían campos cultivados con algodón, maíz, loche, ají y árboles frutales, rodeados por grandes acequias que llevaban el agua a todo el valle. Dispersos en el paisaje se encontraban las casas de los agricultores, y desde lejos se verían las imponentes pirámides Sicán, rodeadas de grandes plazas y otras construcciones más pequeñas. No existían las ciudades tal como las conocemos hoy.

Desde la llegada de los españoles hasta hoy, este medio ambiente ha sufrido muchas transformaciones. En la actualidad hay muchos más campos de cultivo, donde se ven productos traídos de otros continentes como el arroz y caña de azúcar, rodeados de carreteras asfaltadas y caminos. En los lugares en los que antes se escuchaban los ruidos de la naturaleza y de los hombres trabajando, ahora se escuchan los ruidos de los motores de autos y camiones. Sólo quedan las pirámides como mudos testigos de la vida hace mil años.

LA POBLACIÓN

¿Cuánta gente vivió en la región?

El valle de Lambayeque ha sido considerado muy importante por sus características muy particulares. Es un valle costeño muy fértil y amplio que permite una gran área de cultivo. Además, mediante el uso de canales, es posible aprovechar el agua de los ríos que lo conforman para ampliar esta área. Por esta razón, se pueden tener abundantes cosechas y comida suficiente para sostener un gran número de habitantes, con lo que los investigadores proponen un total de 1,5 millones de personas.

¿Cómo eran las casas?

Las casas de la gente que trabajaba la tierra eran muy sencillas. Estaban construidas con adobe y "quincha" Presentaban gruesos "horcones" en las columnas y vigas, los cuales sostenían techos hechos con paja y otras fibras vegetales. Las casas contenían pocas habitaciones, y en ellas se realizaban múltiples actividades. Eran cocinas, comedores, áreas de descanso, o áreas para el cuidado de los niños y otras labores domésticas. Muchas de estas casas poseían corrales de animales en la parte posterior, donde también se hacían labores de producción de cerámica, textiles, madera y metales.

¿Cómo se organizaban las casas en el territorio?

Las viviendas de los agricultores se encontraban dispersas en el paisaje, separadas unas de otras por los campos de cultivo y salpicadas sobre el territorio. Solamente los nobles y la gente que trabajaba para ellos vivían alrededor de las pirámides. Sería muy diferente a nuestras ciudades modernas, donde todas las viviendas están agrupadas y ordenadas por calles y avenidas.

¿Cuánta gente vivía en una casa?

Por el tamaño de las casas, es probable que fueran habitadas sólo por una familia formada por padres e hijos (familia nuclear), es decir, entre cinco a ocho personas promedio. En las sociedades del pasado, las familias dependían mucho del campo, por lo que necesitaban de mucha mano de obra. Los hijos se convertían en la fuerza de trabajo de las familias y los que permitían su subsistencia.

LA VIDA COTIDIANA

¿Qué actividades realizaban las mujeres?

Las mujeres fueron muy importantes en esta sociedad. No sólo se desempeñaban en quehaceres de la casa, como criar a los niños y preparar la comida, sino que también ayudaban en el campo y eran quienes se encargaban de preparar la chicha. Eran, además, las que se encargaban de confeccionar los textiles. Para poder realizar todo esto, debieron tener mucha energía y buena capacidad de organización.

¿Qué papel desempeñaban los niños? ¿Qué actividades realizaban?

Los niños trabajaban ayudando a sus padres, siendo un eslabón más de la cadena de producción. Ellos colaboraban ayudando a hilar el algodón, cuidando a los animales, cargar el agua para cocinar, etc. Sin embargo, también tenían tiempo para la diversión, como se puede observar en algunos de los juguetes que han sido encontrados en diversos sitios del Perú, como las muñecas.

¿Qué comían en esa época?

Los arqueólogos saben lo que se consumió en esta época porque han recuperado en sus excavaciones restos de huesos, vegetales, frutas y herramientas utilizadas para preparar los alimentos. Entre los hallazgos se encuentran restos de alimentos provenientes de otras zonas debido a que los pobladores intercambiaban sus productos por otros bienes de subsistencia. Así, tenían productos como pescado fresco o seco de la orilla del mar, camarones, ají, maíz y algodón cerca de los ríos, y tubérculos y lana de camélido de las partes medias y altas del valle.

De las frutas, de las cuales sólo se conservan las semillas, se encuentran la lúcuma, el pacae y el mamey. El maíz fue especialmente importante pues tiene muchos usos. No sólo se pueden comer los granos como choclo, mote o cancha, sino que también se puede hacer harina de él. Otro uso muy importante es para la preparación de chicha, la cual fue una bebida muy utilizada en fiestas y rituales. El algodón y la lana fueron productos muy importantes que sirvieron para hacer telas para vestimentas y fardos funerarios. Estas telas también fueron pintadas para adornar las tumbas de sus muertos.

¿Cómo se vestían?

La ropa era hecha de algodón y tenía la forma de una camisa larga. Los diseños de los trajes eran muy sencillos y la variedad estaba marcada por las distintas gamas de color que caracterizan al algodón nativo. Este algodón produce hasta una decena de gamas de color marrón. El uso de la lana no está confirmado, pero debido a que se han recuperado huesos de camélidos (llamas) en las excavaciones, es probable que también se usara la lana, aunque en menor escala que el algodón. La ropa era elaborada en telares de cintura.

La ropa de los nobles era diferente, pues no sólo debieron contar con una mayor decoración, sino también debió estar adornada con placas y ornamentos de oro y plata, los cuales estaban cosidos a su ropa, y en algunos casos poseían accesorios colgantes. Estos adornos les conferían a los nobles una apariencia especial debido a que brillaban con la luz del sol y producían sonido cuando ellos se desplazaban, ya sea cargados en andas o simplemente caminando. Llevaban también otros ornamentos de metal como orejeras, narigueras y coronas. Estos nobles tenían también acceso a bienes muy preciados y difíciles de conseguir, como plumas de colores de aves de la selva o conchas Spondylus de la costa ecuatoriana. Las conchas también eran utilizadas junto con piedras preciosas (como la sodalita, la crisocola y el ámbar) para fabricar collares y pectorales.

LAS ACTIVIDADES PRODUCTIVAS

¿Qué actividades realizaban los pobladores de esta región?

Gran parte de los antiguos habitantes de esta región se dedicaban a las labores agrícolas, cubriendo con productos de pan llevar (fréjol, maíz, etc.) la mayor parte del suelo fértil del valle. Durante la época en que la sociedad Sicán ocupó esta región, se expandió el terreno de cultivo gracias al mejoramiento y ampliación de los principales canales de irrigación. El descubrimiento del bronce también permitió elaborar herramientas más fuertes y resistentes, las cuales ayudaron a la transformación del paisaje natural.

La gran producción de los agricultores permitió no sólo satisfacer sus necesidades inmediatas, sino también acumular excedentes de alimentos que permitieran que una parte de la población se dedicara a labores especializadas. Entre estas labores destacan la manufactura de textiles (textilería), la elaboración de cerámica (alfarería) y la producción de objetos de metal (orfebrería).

¿Cómo hacían sus textiles?

Una actividad importante era la producción de textiles, no sólo para el uso diario, sino también como bienes de prestigio para los gobernantes y sus familias, así como para cubrir a sus muertos. Sin embargo, al ser tan frágiles, muchos de estos textiles no se encuentran en las excavaciones arqueológicas. A veces sólo se encuentran las huellas que estos dejan en la tierra o en otros objetos.

Estos textiles eran hechos de fibras de algodón o lana, las cuales eran primero hiladas en palillos llamados “husos”. Luego, usando telares que se amarraban a la cintura, estos hilos eran tejidos en grandes telas en las cuales podía añadírseles diseños mientras eran elaboradas, o simplemente se les aplicaba pintura después de terminados como si fueran lienzos. Algunos de los tejidos que han sido recuperados en las excavaciones arqueológicas muestran imágenes de la ideología religiosa de la sociedad Sicán.

¿En qué consistía la elaboración de cerámica?

Los artesanos elaboraban la cerámica con dos fines: para uso doméstico y para uso ceremonial. La cerámica doméstica servía para la preparación y cocción de los alimentos, así como para almacenar productos alimenticios (como granos) y líquidos, como el agua. También se usaban para contener y fermentar la chicha.

Esta cerámica se elaboraba mediante la técnica del paleteado, que consistía en darle forma a la vasija mediante el uso de una paleta de madera y un yunque de piedra. Con la paleta se golpeaba la parte externa de la vasija y con el yunque se daba la forma por dentro. Una vez terminada la vasija, y antes de la cocción, en algunas ocasiones se decoraba utilizando otra paleta de cerámica con diseños, los que eran aplicados como si fuera un sello.

La cerámica ceremonial era aquella decorada con imágenes de la religión Sicán. La más famosa de estas vasijas es el “huaco rey”, que es una botella que en su pico tiene representado al personaje de las máscaras Sicán. Muchas de estas vasijas se hacían usando moldes y eran de color negro, producto de la manera particular de cocerlas al fuego.

¿Cómo se trabajaban los metales?

El trabajo en metales empezaba desde la extracción de los minerales de oro, plata y cobre. Las minas de ese entonces no eran muy profundas, siendo solamente pequeños socavones en los cerros donde entraban una o dos personas. Una vez extraídos los minerales, estos eran molidos en grandes batanes de piedra y recalentados varias veces para purificarlos. De diferentes mezclas entre ellos se podía lograr metales con características apropiadas para trabajarlos. Por ejemplo, de la mezcla del cobre con arsénico se lograba el bronce arsenical, el cual es mucho más duro que el cobre. De la mezcla de oro y cobre se lograba la “tumbaga”, que tiene un brillo y color similar al oro, pero que lo lleva en menor cantidad.

Los metales eran usualmente trabajados en láminas de metal, facilitando su almacenaje, transporte y un posterior trabajo más fino. De estas láminas se fabricaban bellos objetos rituales, como las máscaras funerarias y los “tumi”. Para cada parte se utilizaban diversas técnicas como cortar, enrollar y unir partes a presión o soldadura. Sabemos que el metal no tenía el valor monetario que le damos hoy en día porque muchas veces estos se cubrían con pigmentos (como el cinabrio) o plumas, por lo que quizá los metales eran mas bien apreciados por su facilidad para ser trabajados, su durabilidad y su brillo.

¿Cómo transportaban sus productos?

Para los viajes a corta distancia, los productos debieron ser cargados por los mismos pobladores. Para distancias más largas, como cuando intercambiaban sus productos con pobladores de regiones vecinas, debieron utilizar camélidos -probablemente llamas-, los cuales pueden cargar hasta treinta kilos de peso y caminar largas jornadas. Para travesías más lejanas, utilizaron balsas hechas de totora, llegando a lugares tan apartados como las costas de Ecuador.

LA IDEOLOGÍA

¿Quiénes eran sus dioses?

La sociedad Sicán se formó en torno a una serie de creencias que tenían como deidad principal al "personaje de los ojos alados", una representación de un hombre con los ojos alargados. Los gobernantes de esta sociedad se asociaban con esta deidad y se enterraban con objetos que tenían su imagen, como son por ejemplo máscaras de metal, vasijas de cerámica, "tumis", vasos ceremoniales, etc. Esta deidad aparecía también en telas pintadas que se han encontrado en las paredes de tumbas importantes, a modo de tapiz.

Usualmente se le representa rodeado de felinos o llevado en una litera por otros personajes. También se le ve llevando un "tumi" en una mano y una cabeza trofeo en la otra. Dado que se le representa usualmente en el centro y mirando de frente, se considera que es un dios poderoso que controla todas las fuerzas del mundo, incluyendo el mar, el sol y la luna.

¿Cómo construyeron las pirámides Sicán?

Las pirámides Sicán fueron construidas de una forma especial. Se construían cuatro paredes de adobe a modo de caja, la cual era luego rellenada con tierra y basura. Luego, se colocaba un techo con vigas de algarrobo y adobe, construyendo otras cajas, una sobre otra. De esta manera, lograban conseguir una pirámide trunca, es decir, sin punta. Para acceder a estas pirámides construían en alguno de los lados rampas. En la parte superior de las pirámides se construían diferentes recintos decorados con frisos que representaban la ideología Sicán.

Si bien todas las pirámides eran similares en el tipo de construcción, cada una tiene forma distinta. Algunas tienen plataformas que las hacen ver más alargadas, otras están decoradas con elementos escalonados. Se ha encontrado también evidencia de sacrificios humanos en la construcción de algunas de estas pirámides.

¿Quiénes construyeron las pirámides?

Las pirámides fueron construidas por la población local bajo el mando de los nobles. Los adobes tenían algunas marcas, por lo que se cree que habrían servido también como una ofrenda a los nobles, donde cada marca representaría a un grupo de personas.

¿Qué se hacía en las pirámides?

Las pirámides eran templos dedicados a sus nobles y a su dios. Probablemente en ellas se realizaban ceremonias para obtener buenas lluvias para el riego, para tener una buena cosecha, o para detener los desastres naturales como los causados por el Fenómeno del Niño. Es probable que también se hayan realizado ceremonias parecidas a las fiestas modernas donde se congregaba mucha gente y se consumía chicha en grandes cantidades. Muchas pirámides fueron usadas también como mausoleos de sus nobles, a quienes se les enterraba alrededor de ellas.

¿Cómo disponían de sus muertos?

La sociedad Sicán creía que la muerte era un reflejo de la vida. Por eso, el estatus que tenía la persona en vida influía en cómo era enterrado al momento de morir. La gente más común era enterrada con sus herramientas de trabajo, como las agujas e hilos con los que fueron enterradas las mujeres que se dedicaban a la textilería.

Los nobles eran enterrados con mayor suntuosidad. Sus tumbas podían contener ricas ofrendas de oro y plata, textiles, cerámica y sacrificios de animales y humanos. Aquellos con mayor prestigio llevaban bienes muy elaborados y difíciles de conseguir, como mascaras de oro cubiertas con cinabrio, conchas de Spondylus y Conus de gran tamaño, cajas con coronas y diversos adornos de oro y plata, telas hermosamente decoradas y vasijas de cerámica finamente elaboradas.

DESPUÉS DE LA SOCIEDAD SICÁN

¿Qué pasó con la sociedad Sicán?

La sociedad Sicán tuvo su ocaso, entre otras razones, debido a factores climáticos. Fuertes Fenómenos del Niño afectaron esta zona, destruyendo con implacables lluvias los canales de regadío y campos de cultivo. Al no poder defender a su pueblo, la deidad principal fue considerada débil, y los gobernantes que la representaban perdieron poder. Se quemaron sus templos y se abandonó su centro en el Bosque de Pómac para moverlo a Túcume, donde fueron conquistados posteriormente por los Chimú, provenientes del Sur.

¿Qué hubo después?

Los Incas conquistaron luego a los Chimú, trasladando a varios de sus nobles con artesanos expertos en metal al Cuzco. Una vez más, diversas creencias se mezclaron, aunque por poco tiempo pues la conquista española llegó en el año 1535. Si bien la población seguía siendo la misma durante la colonia y el virreinato, esta disminuyó debido a las constantes epidemias y enfermedades que llegaron con los españoles la población. Se abandonaron centros poblados y templos, además de muchas áreas de cultivo pues no había suficiente gente para mantenerlas.

Durante el gobierno del virrey Toledo en 1570, los pobladores nativos fueron agrupados en "reducciones", que eran nuevos pueblos controlados por españoles con el objetivo de que fueran evangelizados. La corona española y la Iglesia trataron de que los pobladores nativos dejaran sus antiguas creencias a cambio de la religión católica. Si bien se llegaron a perder muchas de estas creencias, otras se mezclaron de manera escondida con la religión Católica, como se puede ver en las prácticas de los chamanes por ejemplo. Muchas de las tierras que no pertenecían a estas "reducciones" fueron convertidas en tierras privadas, dando origen a las haciendas.

Cuando se logra la Independencia del Perú, las "reducciones" se convirtieron en pueblos y ciudades que podemos ver hoy, como Ferreñafe, y Chiclayo. Las haciendas pasaron por diferentes dueños, hasta la Reforma Agraria de 1969, cuando fueron expropiadas por el gobierno y dadas a la gente que vivía y trabajaba en ellas, convirtiéndose en cooperativas agrícolas. Hoy estas tierras son aprovechadas y manejadas por pobladores locales y otros venidos de diferentes regiones, siendo evidencia de la diversidad cultural del Perú.