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Archaeological sites in Lima and their inheritors: community engagement in the management of huacas in Lima

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INTER-SECTION

Innovative approaches by Junior Archaeological Researchers

I



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and their inheritors
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management of *huacas* in Lima
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The Board of the Faculty of Archaeology congratulates the editors of INTER-SECTION: Innovative Approaches by Junior Archaeological Researchers on its strong first edition.

Because it is important that results of archaeological research, also that undertaken by students, are available to a larger scholarly and lay audience, and because it is important that students experience early on what it means to publish in a peer-reviewed journal, the Faculty Board applauds the establishment of this journal and has decided to subsidize it for the first three years.

We wish the journal, its editors and the student authors every success.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN LIMA AND THEIR INHERITORS: COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT IN THE MANAGEMENT OF HUACAS IN LIMA

Samuel Cárdenas Meijers

Abstract

This article takes a look into the current heritage management of archaeological sites in the Peruvian capital Lima while focusing on community engagement. Furthermore, it examines how these archaeological sites, which have no significant value for the community, can be transformed to cultural centres within the urban area in which they are situated. Archaeological sites can have three functions for the local community which can be benefited, namely cultural, educational, and of entertainment. The engagement of the local community can eventually result in the preservation of a site and the development of the community. In this view, they can take three roles in the management of archaeological sites, namely managers, users, and preservers. This article contributes to the understanding of how archaeological sites, which are situated in an urban area, can be valorised. Furthermore, it shows which efforts can be made to engage a local community with their archaeological heritage. And last, it gives an example of how local communities can participate in the management of archaeological sites.

Keywords

Civil initiatives, Community programs, Cultural centres, Social change, Preservation of sites

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Introuduktion

The metropolitan area of Lima in Peru has a population of approximately 9,8 million inhabitants, who are living in 49 districts that are spread over three river valleys, the Chillón, Rímac, and Lurín (Chirinos Cubillas 2013, 42; <http://proyectos.inei.gob.pe>). Around 447 archaeological sites are incorporated in this urban area which include structures of which their datings go back for over 4000 years (Lizarzaburu 2015). Nowadays, the Peruvian population refers to these archaeological sites as *huacas* (Chirinos Cubillas 2013, 42). The term *huaca* derives from the words *Waq* (in Quechua) and *Wak'a* (in Aymara)¹, and was used in pre-Columbian times to define sacredness (Rostworowski 1983 in Astvaldsson 2004, 3). The majority of the *huacas* that are situated in Lima were built, used, and/or reused by the pre-Columbian cultures, Lima (A.D. 200-700), Wari (A.D. 550-1000), and Ychsma (A.D. 900-1534) (Chirinos Cubillas 2013, 42;

Flores Espinoza 2012, 19-20). Additionally, there are examples of *huacas* from earlier periods, such as Huaca el Paraíso (4000 years old) and Garagay (3500 years old) (Ravines 1985, 24; Stanish 2001, 46).

Although the 447 monumental structures from the metropolitan area of Lima have an irreplaceable value for the history of this area, they are being used as latrines, waste dumps, smoking areas for drug addicts, and even as mountain bike tracks (García Bendejú 2014). According to a report of 2013, nearly 60 percent of the *huacas* was in danger of being invaded or destructed (Fernández Calvo 2013). In order to preserve them, a 'cultural centre approach' seems to have great potential. By applying it, the cultural, educational, and entertaining functions of a *huaca* are benefited. In addition, the surrounding community can take several roles in its management, including 'managers', 'users',

and ‘preservers’. This article looks at the possibilities that are offered by a cultural centre approach. First, it discusses the archaeological on-site museum Huaca Pucllana, an example of a *huaca* that fulfils the role of a ‘cultural centre’; then it takes a look into community programs that take place in other *huacas* in Lima and are aimed at engaging the community with its heritage; and last, it revises a management plan for all the *huacas* in Lima focusing on community engagement.

Methodology

This research aims at creating an overview of the cultural heritage management of archaeological sites in Lima since there have not been many publications concerning this topic. In addition, it examines the way in which the local community² is engaged with its archaeological heritage. Furthermore, it proposes to merge all the efforts that are being taken to preserve the archaeological sites into one model, keeping the engagement of the community in mind. In this model a ‘cultural centre approach’ is important. This term will be explained later on.

The method of research contained an internship at the on-site museum Huaca Pucllana in which participation, observation, and interviews with employees were essential to obtain the information that was needed. Regarding the current

management of archaeological sites in Lima, other sources rather than academic publications were consulted due to their absence. These include written law, reports, and publications from the Ministry of Peru and the Metropolitan Municipality of Lima, as well as news articles, social media, and an interview with Mr Jose Contreras Velez, the founder of the initiative *Salvemos Las Huacas* (Let us save the *Huacas*). This is one of the civil initiatives concerned with the management of archaeological sites in Lima.

Cultural centre approach

This approach encourages for an archaeological site to be a cultural centre. In this case, the collaboration between central and local authorities and the local community is very important. This type of cultural centre can have three functions for the community: cultural (organising cultural events), educational (organising programs that influence the development of the participants), and of entertainment (organising activities or events). The main goal of the activities, events, and programs is to valorise the archaeological sites in order to preserve them. By participating, the local community can take three roles in the management of the sites, namely manager, user, and preserver. This approach is based on the idea of valorising an archaeological site to be a cultural centre within an urban area (Flores Espinoza



Figure 1. Archaeological Summer Workshop for kids (District Municipality of Miraflores).

2002, 373) combined with the essence of a management plan for all the *huacas* in Lima (Municipalidad Metropolitana de Lima 2014) and a research on civil initiatives that are concerned with the preservation of archaeological sites in Lima. The potential of the cultural centre approach lies in that it could be applied to urban areas with archaeological sites that need to be valorised, keeping in mind the engagement of local communities.

The cultural centre Huaca Pucllana

The archaeological site Huaca Pucllana is one of the many huacas in Lima, and is located in the District Municipality of Miraflores. The complex was built around 500 B.C. and served as a ceremonial centre within Lima society (Silvera La Torre 2012, 313). Through time, the site has been reused for almost 1000 years (Flores Espinoza 2005, 87 and 91). Eventually in 1981, after years of being in danger of destruction, a valorisation project for Huaca Pucllana was authorised by the INC and, as part of the project, an on-site museum was opened in 1984 (Flores Espinoza 2002, 370).

Since the creation of the museum, one of its aims has been to function as a cultural centre within the urban area (Flores Espinoza 2002, 373). The research carried out by the author has shown that it is achieving this aim while engaging the local community in an active way (Cárdenas Meijers 2015, 96-97). The cultural, educational, and entertaining functions of Huaca Pucllana as a cultural centre are visible through the programs and activities that it offers. The cultural function is realised through the events that take place at the plaza of the complex, such as concerts, opera and theatre (Cárdenas Meijers 2015, 73). While the educational function is achieved through the archaeological summer workshops for kids (since 1988) (fig. 1), internship possibilities for students (since 1982), and a former excavation program for neighbours in which they assisted the archaeologists (Cárdenas Meijers 2015, 56; Flores Espinoza 2012, 371). Last, the entertain-

<i>Function</i>	Cultural	Educational	Entertaining
<i>Actor</i>			
Ministry of Culture	<i>The Huaca narrates to us</i> (Storytelling, guided tour, workshop)	- <i>Clean Huaca, Lively Huaca</i> (Cleaning of sites and guided tours) - <i>Transforming my past, transforming my city</i> (Conservation program for youngsters of rehabilitation centers)	<i>(The Huaca narrates to us)</i>
Metropolitan Municipality of Lima (MML)	<i>Cinema at your huaca*</i>	Workshops and guided tours for schools*	<i>(Cinema at your huaca*)</i>
Civil Initiatives	Cultural festivities and artistic demonstrations	Cooperation with schools (Workshops, organizing activities such as cleaning of sites)	- Guided cycling tours - <i>Huacas, Bubbles, and Rock 'n Roll*</i> (Concerts at huacas)

Table 1. Community programs and activities in Lima vs. the functions of a huaca (* Programs that have ceased).

ning function by a current event, *Cinema under the stars at Huaca Pucllana*⁴, by which popular movies are screened (Diario Correo 22 April 2015).

Focusing on Huaca Pucllana, a cultural centre approach seems to be beneficial on two

levels: the social change and/or development of the community and the preservation of the site. Programs that aim at involving the community with museums have to operate *for* the community rather than *for* the museum itself (Dierking 2013, 206-207). Programs that follow this view have proved to benefit the com-



Figure 2. The 'hug' for the huaca (Peruvian Ministry of Culture)

munity in several ways. This includes identity building by affiliation and membership through active involvement and volunteering, role development (obtaining a social role, which helps to foster self-esteem and empowerment), and social role valorisation (obtaining a social role that is respected by society) (Silverman 2010, 55-56). Furthermore, community programs aimed at adolescents have contributed to the self-development of the participants: their self-confidence strengthened, their interest and attitude toward science improved, as well as improvement of communication, career preparation and other life skills, tolerance of other people and cultures, and their cultivation of a sense of civic responsibility (Dierking 2013, 208). Another goal of the museum is to raise awareness within the community about the importance of their archaeological heritage. When a local community is aware of this importance, it can contribute to the preservation of the sites in an active way. The first step is to know, but also understand, the value of their heritage. When they do have the *knowledge* of the importance of their cultural heritage, they will have the *power*, through active participation, to influence the management of their cultural heritage (Nordenflycht Concha 2004).

Community programs and the other *huacas* within Lima

The heritage management of Huaca Pucllana is sometimes seen as a model that can be applied to

other *huacas* (González-Olaechea 2014). However, the conditions in other districts are different than that of this *huaca*, which is located in one of the wealthiest districts of Lima. Nevertheless, there are being made efforts at other *huacas* to engage the community with its archaeological heritage.

Although only three percent of the *huacas* in Lima is in social use (Municipalidad Metropolitana de Lima 2014, 4), there has been an increase of community engagement in the management of *huacas* over the past two decades (Cárdenas Meijers 2015, 76). This engagement is achieved through programs and activities that are offered by three actors: 1) The Ministry of Culture, 2) The Metropolitan Municipality of Lima (MML), and 3) Civil initiatives. The emergence of civil initiatives is a remarkable trend, which demonstrates the concern of the society of Lima for the preservation of the *huacas* (pers. comm. with Contreras Velez). By organising programs and activities at the *huacas*, their different functions (cultural, educational, and entertaining) are exploited.

As table 1 shows, the authorities (local and central) have been exploiting the three functions of a *huaca*. It must be noted that some events can fulfil several roles at the same time. An example is the event *The huaca narrates to us*: a cultural and entertaining event that is aimed at children between four and eight years old which consists of storytelling (based on pre-Columbian stories) in combination with songs and workshops (such as pottery-making), as well as guided tours, and which ends with 'a hug for the *huaca*' by which children form a circle around a *huaca* symbolizing their promise to preserve it (fig. 2) (Guzmán *et al.* 2014, 7-9). Other



Figure 3. Cyclist Club Defender of the Huacas (*Círculo Ciclista Protector de las Huacas*)

activities include the cleaning of sites, guided tours, workshops for schools, and a 'cinema event' similar to the one at Huaca Pucllana. The difference is that *Cinema at your huaca* consists of a combination between theatre and cultural movies (Municipalidad Metropolitana de Lima 2014, 31). The engagement of schools through workshops and guided tours encourage the development of the children in an active way and, at the same time it raises awareness of the importance of their heritage. The event *Transforming my past, transforming my city* encourages the development of 'troubled' youngsters and provides them a new chance in society (Guzmán *et al.* 2014, 9).

The civil initiatives organise programs and activities similar to those of the authorities, including guided tours, cleaning of sites, cultural events, and workshops, among other things. The use of social media like Facebook and blogs is characteristic for these initiatives, which helps the initiatives to reach a large audience and diffuse news and information about activities and other initiatives. These initiatives can be divided into 'local' and 'general' initiatives. Local initiatives put an emphasis on local heritage and usually cooperate with local schools. Together with the local community they organise guided tours around heritage sites, artistic demonstrations, and the cleaning of heritage sites (Chirinos Cubillas 2013, 48). General initiatives put an emphasis on heritage in general and organise programs or activities that incorporate several *huacas*. To illustrate, every month the initiative *Cyclist Club Defender of the Huacas* organises guided cycling tours around huacas in Lima (fig. 3), and aims at raising awareness for the valorisation of archaeological sites (www.facebook.com/Circulo). The initiative *Let us save the Huacas* promotes the idea of the guardianship of archaeological heritage in which educational centres play an important role: teachers should take their role as leaders (pers. comm. with Contreras Velez). This initiative tries to create partnerships with similar initiatives and offers them technical and pedagogic support, which includes the mapping of archaeological sites and workshops for teachers at educational centres. *Let us save the Huacas* also supports activities from other initiatives like guided tours, cleaning of sites, and cultural activities, among others. The collaboration between civil initiatives in general is becoming more common (pers. comm. with Contreras Velez).

The discussed programs and activities, in combination with a cultural centre approach, show three roles that the community can take in the management of *huacas*, namely: managers, users, and

preservers. The emergence of a civil movement that is concerned with the preservation of archaeological sites shows that the community is willing and capable of being involved in the management of sites. Furthermore, the community can 'use' the archaeological sites by taking advantage of their different roles (cultural, educational, and entertaining). An important element of this usage is that it can contribute to the development of the community on several levels. Lastly, the community can contribute to the preservation of the sites by getting involved in the community programs, activities, and civil initiatives.

Plan: My huaca, legacy that unites us

The management of Huaca Pucllana, including the engagement of the community, is the result of a well-planned and long-term valorisation project. This is not the case with the management of the majority of *huacas* in Lima, as only 17 *huacas* are involved in long-term valorisation projects (Municipalidad Metropolitana de Lima 2014, 4). However, the community programs and activities, which reinforce *huacas* as cultural centres, show a great potential for the management of *huacas* that simultaneously involves the community in an active way. The main problem at this moment is the fragmentation of the management of *huacas*: they are not managed as one group.

As the result of a convention for the cooperation between the Ministry of Culture and the MML in 2013, in July 2014, the Board of Culture (as part of the MML) presented a plan for the management of the *huacas* of Lima as a whole, including the study, preservation, and management of archaeological sites (Ministerio de Cultura y Municipalidad Metropolitana de Lima 2013; Municipalidad Metropolitana de Lima 2014, 31). This plan, *Plan: My Huaca, legacy that unites us*⁵, can be seen as the first long-term management plan in which community involvement plays an important role. It incorporates the programs and activities that are offered by the Ministry of Culture and the MML, creating a network of *huacas* in which they act as cultural centres. Moreover, one of the aims of the plan is to identify social actors that have an interest in archaeological sites, as well as the community, in order to find partners and resources (Municipalidad Metropolitana de Lima 2014, 2). This creates an opportunity to involve partners that are essential for the implementation of this plan: the civil initiatives that are concerned with the preservation of the archaeological sites in Lima. Another group of society that could be incorporated into the plan are universities, such as the National University Federi-

co Villareal, the National University of San Marcos, or the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru, and their students whom studies are related to archaeology and heritage management. By doing so, future archaeologists will gather experience in the ability of engaging the community into their heritage.

Sadly enough, because of the formation of a new metropolitan municipal government this January (2015), 40 percent of the employees of the Board of Culture have been discharged. Furthermore, all cultural programs are going to be revised (*El Comercio* 10 January 2015). Up until now, it is not clear which programs are going to be continued. For this reason it is uncertain if the plan *My Huaca, legacy that unites us* will be executed. By cancelling the plan, the opportunity to merge the efforts of different actors (Ministry of Culture, MML, Civil Initiatives) into one model will be lost. The loss will be big, given the fact that a cultural centre approach seems to be effective: the cultural, educational, and entertaining roles of the *huacas* are being exploited through programs and activities, giving the community the opportunity to fulfil several roles within the management of *huacas* (managers, users, preservers). The engagement of the community is essential in the management of *huacas* and needs to be encouraged, especially because of the growing willingness of the community to be involved with this management.

Conclusion

To conclude, a big part of the 447 archaeological sites in Lima is in danger of being destructed or invaded. In addition, they are used as waste dumps, public toilets, and mountain bike tracks, among other things. However, managing the *huacas* of Lima in the view of a cultural centre approach seems to have great potential. An example of this is the archaeological on-site museum Huaca Pucllana, which exploits the different roles that a *huaca* can fulfil (cultural, educational, and entertaining). This has two results: a) the preservation of the site, and b) the development of the community. Regarding the cultural heritage management of other *huacas* in Lima, three actors are involved: the Ministry of Culture, the Metropolitan Municipality of Lima (MML), and civil initiatives. This is done by engaging the local community with its cultural heritage in an active way through guided tours, cleaning of sites, workshops, and organising events, among other things. By organising activities and programs the three actors exploit the cultural, educational, and entertaining functions of *huacas*. The combination of a 'cultural centre' approach with the programs and activities that are offered reveal the several roles

that the community can take in the management of archaeological sites, namely: managers, users, and preservers. The only thing that is missing is a management model for *huacas* as a whole. Sadly enough, a management plan including all *huacas* is cancelled up until now. Hopefully the future will change this situation, because there is a great potential in the current management of *huacas*, and maybe more importantly, the community seems to be willing to be involved in this management.

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¹ Quechua and Aymara are, besides Spanish, both official languages in Peru (Fowks 2015).

² When discussing the term 'local community', this article refers to the group of people who lives near an archaeological site.

³ *Instituto Nacional de Cultura* (National Institute of Culture), nowadays the Ministry of Culture of Peru.

⁴ All Spanish-English translations by the author.

⁵ *Plan: Mi Huaca Herencia que nos une.*

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