Making the Past Relevant

Co-Creative Approaches to Heritage Preservation and Community Development at Hualcayán, Ancash, Peru

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INTRODUCTION

Archaeologists have recently begun to work closely with Andean communities to preserve and maintain the rich cultural heritage of Peru. Despite these archaeologists' best intentions, efforts to preserve archaeological sites often perpetuate colonial dynamics that disenfranchise indigenous communities from their economic resources or their cultural heritage (Herrera 2011a:69, 2014; Silverman 2006a, 2006b; see also Funari 2001:239; Scham 2001). The Proyecto de Investigación Arqueológico Regional Ancash (PIARA) has sought to mitigate this ongoing process of disenfranchisement through various forms of community engagement in Hualcayán, a Quechua- and Spanish-speaking rural community of approximately four hundred people located in the District of Santa Cruz in Huaylas, Ancash, Peru. The ruined temples and terraces of an extensive archaeological site (ancient Hualcayán) are situated within the community's lands, and have

been the focus of PIARA's archaeological research since 2009 (Figure 1). When PIARA initiated research, the community had partially destroyed the ancient Hualcayán site by expanding agricultural fields, bulldozing, building reservoirs, and dismantling walls. We attribute this process of destruction to social issues, including a lack of knowledge of preservation laws, poor education, and a sentiment that the ancient site had little relevance to the community.

To counter the social issues that contributed to site destruction in Hualcayán, PIARA archaeologists have worked with community members to co-create—or collaboratively conceive, execute, and manage—heritage-focused projects (Simon 2010:263–264). These co-created projects are distinct from traditional heritage outreach programs in that they are created *with*, rather than *for*, local stakeholders. In this paper, we discuss three particular co-created projects in Hualcayán: a cultural heritage festival, a women's textile enterprise, and a school oral history

ABSTRACT

This paper outlines several outreach initiatives that the Proyecto de Investigación Arqueológico Regional Ancash (PIARA) established to address the challenges of heritage preservation at the prehistoric archaeological site and rural community of Hualcayán, located in rural highland Ancash, Peru. We discuss three projects—a heritage festival, a textile enterprise, and an oral history project—that were designed and executed through a collaboration between PIARA and the Hualcayán community. We find that these "co-creative" projects encourage local stakeholders to discover and define for themselves the value of both their ancient and modern heritage. Reflecting on the outcomes from these projects, we discuss the co-creative approach as an effective strategy for improving the preservation of archaeological remains and enhancing the livelihood of the modern community.

Este artículo describe las iniciativas de divulgación que el Proyecto de Investigación Arqueológico Regional Ancash (PIARA) estableció para abordar los desafíos de la conservación del patrimonio cultural en el sitio arqueológico prehistórico y la comunidad rural de Hualcayán, ubicado en el ámbito rural de la sierra de Ancash, Perú. Discutimos tres proyectos—un festival patrimonial, una asociación de tejedoras y un proyecto de historia oral—que fueron diseñados y ejecutados a través de una colaboración entre PIARA y la comunidad de Hualcayán. Encontramos que los proyectos "creados en colaboración" animan a los actores locales a descubrir y definir por sí mismos el valor de su patrimonio, tanto antiguo como moderno. Al reflexionar sobre los resultados de estos proyectos, se discute el enfoque de creación en colaboración como una estrategia efectiva para mejorar la conservación de los restos arqueológicos, a la vez que mejorar las condiciones de vida de la comunidad en el presente.
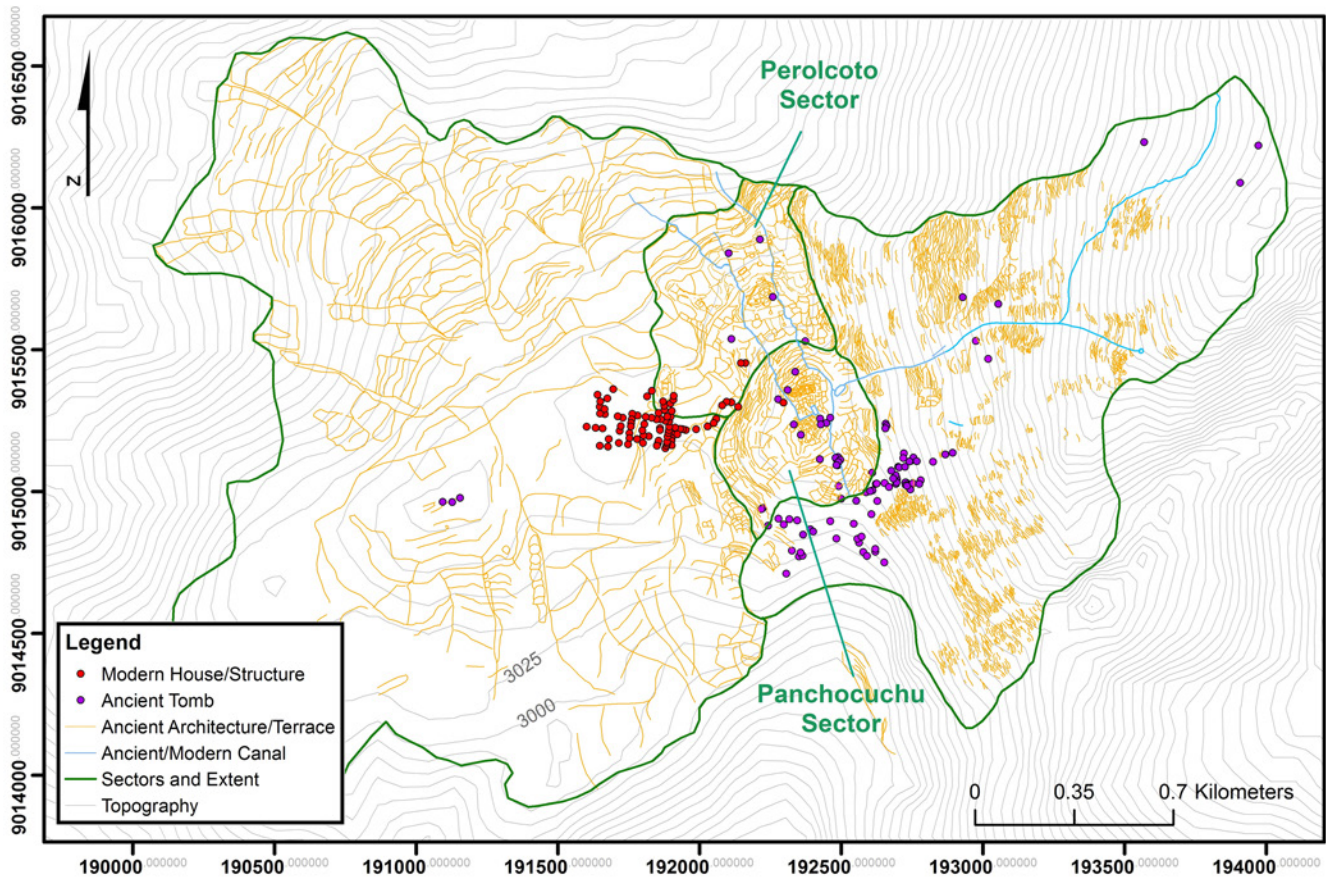
FIGURE 1. Map showing the extent of Hualcayán's ancient remains and the location of modern houses.

project. We find that, in comparison to our previous public outreach activities (discussed below), these co-created projects have encouraged local people to take a more active role in managing their heritage resources. We outline how these projects were developed in response to social and economic challenges that are specific to the Hualcayán community in particular, and life in modern rural Peru in general.

THE CHALLENGES TO SITE PRESERVATION IN RURAL PERU

Peruvian law dictates that archaeological sites are "intangible," or restricted from public and private use (Ministerio de Cultura del Perú 2014a). Yet these laws are rarely enforced in rural Peru, in part because the Peruvian government seldom educates rural communities about site protection laws or posts officials to watch over archaeological resources. Consequently, many archaeological sites in Peru have been subject to intentional or inadvertent processes of destruction. These destruction practices are often linked to poverty. To improve their economic condition, communities frequently expand their agricultural fields and herd animals into protected areas, or individuals illegally excavate archaeological sites and then sell recovered artifacts to tourists or the antiquities black market (Alva 2001;

El-Gendi 2012). Major site destruction occurs when rural municipalities carry out large projects, such as reservoir construction, that destroy ancient sites in an effort to provide economic infrastructure for poor agrarian communities. Site destruction is even more extensive when unethical businesses pay rural communities to look the other way while the company exploits community land, water, or minerals (e.g., Hostnig 2008; Keatinge 1982; Lane 2012:224).

Archaeologists often find themselves informally charged with enforcing the law or educating communities about site protection requirements. If site destruction is underway, archaeologists may see no option but to inform the Peruvian Ministry of Culture, who frequently responds by crippling the community with fines, project suspensions, forced resettlement, or even incarceration (Ministerio de Cultura del Perú 2014b). More commonly, archaeologists will attempt to independently forestall or stop the site damage by negotiating with community members and authorities. Tensions quickly rise when site preservation efforts clash with a community's concerns for economic development. In such cases, archaeologists must carefully explore all options, perspectives, and consequences before they make and execute a plan of action, particularly if site preservation will impinge on the economic livelihood of the community (Pacifico and Vogel 2012:1606; Pyburn 2006:264; Silverman 2011a:17).

The challenges of site preservation at Hualcayán are best understood when contextualized within its district, Santa Cruz. The District of Santa Cruz is a rural municipality—no cities, mostly farmsteads—comprising approximately 6,000 inhabitants dispersed in 45 small villages of the highland Andes (Municipalidad Distrital de Santa Cruz 2005). Like many rural areas across Peru, the origins of poverty in the district can be traced to the early Spanish Colonial program of forced resettlement, which required Andean peoples to leave behind ancestral fields and adapt to life within *reducciónes*, or Spanish-controlled towns. The resettlement project in Ancash produced the *reducción* of Caraz, which centralized economic and social activity in the valley floor while marginalizing the lands throughout the broader region (Saito et al. 2014). Over time, Andean people resettled the vertiginous slopes of Ancash, often founding communities such as Hualcayán on lands that had been occupied during prehistoric times. Because Caraz continues to be the economic and social center of the area, these newly founded rural communities lack basic social infrastructure, such as adequate roads, education, and healthcare.

Given their marginal position, many farmers in Santa Cruz augment their income by working for adventure tourism agencies that lead trekkers into the high, glaciated peaks of the *Cordillera Blanca* mountain range of the *Parque Nacional Huascarán*. These farmers, typically men, earn low daily wages ($6–8 per day) as burro drivers and cooks on grueling, high-altitude treks away from their farms and families. The financial benefit is limited and exclusive. Other villagers rarely benefit from the agencies because the tourists arrive by bus with necessary supplies and then begin their trek soon after their arrival.

Though economically poor, the District of Santa Cruz is archaeologically rich. Remarkable prehistoric archaeological sites are distributed throughout the district, but the majority of these sites are neglected and poorly preserved. Indeed, Santa Cruz had received little archaeological attention prior to the inception of the PIARA project (Zaki 1978, 1987). Because of the lack of archaeological intervention in the area, communities in Santa Cruz were often not aware that the Peruvian government had designated some areas as intangible archaeological resources. Furthermore, these community members did not know why archaeological areas were important to protect and exactly what kinds of activities were prohibited within their boundaries. Together, these factors bred confusion and contestation over heritage resources.

Although some individuals in Santa Cruz have expressed great interest in local ruins and have independently envisioned their potential for tourism, most local people think of ancient structures and artifacts as curious but insignificant vestiges of "*los Inka*"—a general and sometimes dismissive term for anything prehistoric. Local people come into contact with archaeological remains on a daily basis as they plow potsherds to the surface or herd their animals past the ruins of monuments, houses, and tombs. These ubiquitous reminders of an ancient civilization have mostly led to a sentiment of indifference, which is a problem more broadly attached to the exclusion of local voices from national and tourism-driven narratives of Peru's past (Silverman 2002:895). People in Santa Cruz will, however, classify archaeological resources in terms of their economic value: looted ceramics can be sold, ancient architecture can be stripped for

building materials, and ancient structures can provide fertile soil, windbreaks, and even agricultural microclimates. The challenge for archaeologists, then, has been to disseminate the perspective that archaeological sites and heritage resources hold cultural value—that their preservation is an equally viable and more desirable option than their destruction—while also carefully considering how these concepts of value are tied to economic struggles and cultural beliefs (Wylie 2005).

The sentiment of indifference regarding heritage (which is not universal in rural Ancash; see Herrera 2011a:69) is common among district officials, often resulting in the poor design of municipal projects and policies. District officials are from Santa Cruz communities and, as such, are concerned with improving the economic livelihood of their kin. In attempting to improve infrastructure, however, district officials have frequently approved public works that have destroyed archaeological remains on a large scale (Figure 2). Municipal projects will bulldoze, dismantle, or dynamite ancient structures to create space for the construction of reservoirs, roads, canals, and football fields. In Santa Cruz, such projects have replaced ancient stone canals with concrete ones to reduce water loss; removed ancient bench terraces that were once sowed with foot plows to make cattle and tractor plowing easier; and repurposed the stones of ancient house walls as construction fill for reservoirs. Though destructive to archaeological remains, these projects are important public works that symbolize "progress" to many local people.

This brings us to a fundamental question: is our vision of archaeological site preservation more important or valid than their vision of progress? We seek positive development in these communities, but we question whether economic progress must come at the expense of cultural heritage (Higueras 2008:1079). This question is especially pointed in cases in which poor planning, engineering, and investment have left mediocre (and thus, temporary) infrastructure in the wake of archaeological destruction, or where municipalities have not explored the advantages of indigenous technologies such as stone terraces and canals (Herrera 2011b; Lane 2013).

At the root of many preservation and development problems in Peru, and the indifference to heritage, lies an education system that has: (1) marginalized rural indigenous communities through unequal access to resources; and (2) disenfranchised these communities from their history by perpetuating a post-colonial, nationalistic narrative that all Peruvians are *mestizo*—mixed Spanish and indigenous race and culture (de la Cadena 2000). Peru's Ministry of Education has made attempts in recent years to valorize indigenous cultures and improve rural education with the implementation of the "Intercultural, Bilingual, and Rural Education" curriculum for Quechua-speaking areas like Santa Cruz, but the nationalistic agenda of the twentieth century largely continues (Ccahuana 2014). Indeed, Peru teaches a general curriculum that does not cultivate students' appreciation for their own cultural heritage because it does not include each region's prehistory. Instead, there is a concentration on the "highlights" of Peruvian prehistoric cultures. For example, the prehistoric Recuay culture of highland Ancash (ca. A.D. 1–700; Lau 2011) is completely unknown by name or character to school children in Santa Cruz, even though these children have grown up seeing the Recuay ruins, tombs, and artifacts. Without an

FIGURE 2. Photo of Hualcayán's Panchocuchu sector, showing an area that was bulldozed during a reservoir construction project (middle). Community members say there used to be many ruins in this area, which we verified using 1962 aerial photographs. This reservoir is now defunct after a major crack developed in the concrete.

understanding of their prehistory, these people do not forge a connection between the ancient remains that they encounter and the achievements of their ancestors. Moreover, the heritage of these communities has been displaced because these Recuay ruins are incorrectly attributed to the Inka, an elite group from Cuzco who conquered and ruled over indigenous non-Inka peoples in the Andes at the eve of Spanish contact.

Given the social issues surrounding rural development and education, when archaeologists or government officials enforce laws that take land and resources away from already marginalized communities in the name of heritage preservation, these communities often, and understandably, object (Pacifico and Vogel 2012). To mitigate these objections, archaeologists have both an opportunity and a responsibility to work with Andean communities in order to discuss and define the value of cultural heritage. To do so, some investigators present their research to local communities and others establish site museums (e.g., Silverman 2006c). Archaeologists have recently shown, however, that heritage preservation efforts are most successful when communities are contributors and stakeholders, not just observers to and students of these efforts (e.g., Little and Shackel 2014:83–85; McAnany and Parks 2012). They also show how initiatives to preserve archaeological sites are more sustainable when they are grounded in economic development (e.g., Coben 2014).

Recognizing this, we turn to the cultural context and social challenge of heritage preservation in Hualcayán.

THE HUALCAYÁN COMMUNITY: PAST AND PRESENT

Contemporary Hualcayán sits within the ruins of a religious center, town, and agricultural complex—a vast archaeological site (80 hectares) that had been occupied for four millennia (ca. 2500 B.C.–A.D. 1450; Figure 1). The archaeological site includes two sectors with impressive architecture: Panchocuchu, a walled hilltop sector containing primarily ancient houses and tombs; and Perolcoto, a ceremonial sector containing a large mound, plazas, and terraces (Figure 3). Stretching for four kilometers around these sectors is an extensively terraced mountainside dotted with tombs (Bria et al. 2012, 2013; Cruzado and Bria 2014).

Modern Hualcayán is a new community. Founded in 1982, modern Hualcayán is inscribed as a *comunidad campesina*—a peasant community that the Peruvian government officially recognizes and gives rights to collectively own land and other resources (República de Perú 1987). In contrast with many other *comunidades campesinas* in Peru, which emerged from a deep

FIGURE 3. The ceremonial mound in the Perolcoto sector of Hualcayán.

history of land-sharing and kin networks, Hualcayán was created when families from nearby rural communities moved into the area and claimed land. Beforehand, people in the region used the Hualcayán site only as a place to graze animals. Community members have told us that, because the majority of Hualcayán's founding families were not related to one another, the founding of the community was a business-like transaction between families who competed for available land. These families continue to make claims to land and authority based on their seniority as founders.

The *comunidad campesina* of Hualcayán currently includes approximately 60 officially inscribed members called *socios*, most of whom are men. Thus, not everyone who lives in Hualcayán has full rights as a community member. The *socios* must approve of and vote for the people who want to gain this official status and decision-making power within the community. Once inscribed, *socios* are entitled to a plot in town for their residence, as well as discrete lands for agricultural and pastoral activities. *Socios* must then divide their parcel of land among their relatives and children. The process of land parceling leads to diminishing returns over time, putting great pressure on the community's second generation, who must share their parents' land(s) and who are themselves beginning to have children. Also, land is a consistent source of tension in Hualcayán because some people must cultivate land that is deficient in terms of soil

quality, slope, sun exposure, wind, or distance from irrigation canals. Children from families who moved to the community late or who came with fewer family members are at the greatest disadvantage when inheriting lands and water rights.

Social conflicts and negotiations among these community members reveal the causes of site destruction. For instance, on several occasions throughout our research we have witnessed how community members and authorities will look the other way when archaeological site destruction is connected to a family's claimed need for land. Some community members told us that they disapprove of the destruction or feel that it is unfair that others have increased their land holdings by expanding into the archaeological site. Despite their critical insights, these community members often do not publically express their dissatisfaction because they do not want to incite conflict.

In the past five years, additional site preservation issues arose when businesses sought to develop land, water, and mineral resources in Hualcayán. In 2011, a Peruvian energy company purchased land from the community to build a hydroelectric canal and generator. This land contained ancient structures. The project did not come to fruition because of the efforts of the *Parque Nacional Huascaran*, which intervened in order to protect the natural resources of the park. Before this intervention, however, the project sparked debates between PIARA and the com-

munity. Although some community members were concerned that the project might deter tourists by destroying the ruins and the beauty of a prominent waterfall, most community members favored the project, citing economic benefits and "progress." The promise of jobs to build the canal, the money offered to purchase community land, and the water the canal would bring were more important to people than the ancient landscape.

A year later, a European agricultural company rented community land and contracted local people to grow non-native snow peas for export. These agricultural practices were more intensive than preexisting ones because the snow peas required trellises to grow. To construct these trellises, the company installed thousands of wooden stakes that were driven deep into the ground, which disturbed buried contexts of archaeological value—a value that was difficult to convey to the farmers. These intrusive techniques also put already fragile ancient terrace walls at a greater risk of collapse. In addition, the desire to participate in this new enterprise led some community members to expand their fields even further into the core of the archaeological site. Finally, the recent discovery of geological gold deposits within community lands led to efforts to create a mining business, and these efforts have renewed tensions over land and collective resources.

Like most community decisions, negotiations over land and resources occur via the male-dominated committee of *socios*. Women and children have almost no decision-making power, and, not surprisingly, they experience the most hardship because their needs are often neglected. Several women have voiced concern that there is not enough focus on development issues that do not relate to business ventures and public works, namely healthcare and education. Although these gender dynamics do not directly affect site destruction, we recognize that any approach towards community development and site preservation must take care not to continue or deepen the hardships of people who are already disadvantaged in the current community system. That is, we focus on the community as a whole, though we are aware that this focus introduces power struggles between those who have a voice (men) and those who do not (women and children).

CO-CREATING A FUTURE IN HUALCAYÁN

In attending to issues of heritage preservation and community development in Hualcayán, PIARA has increasingly moved towards a model of public outreach driven by the co-creative approach. At the project's outset, we designed public outreach projects to establish a relationship of mutual trust with the Hualcayán community. To do this, we conducted presentations on our research; we sponsored hands-on archaeology-based workshops in the local school; we trained villagers in archaeological methods and interpretation (e.g., Figure 4); we built toilets and showers; we funded road repair projects; we donated school supplies, uniforms, and toys for children; we organized a school recycling program; we sponsored graduation ceremonies; we established a community library with over 350 books, digital resources, and media equipment; and we transformed the community building into a museum featuring an interactive digital touchscreen exhibit and wall posters (for more details on our

FIGURE 4. Young women from Hualcayán doing technical drawings of excavation profiles.

museum project, see Connolly et al. 2015). Through this work, we recognized that the more these projects were co-created *with* the community (e.g., school projects implemented with local teachers) rather than *for* the community (e.g., the donation of books), the more they fostered a positive perception of local heritage and identity (Nicholas et al. 2008; Simon 2010).

We define co-creation in public archaeology as a collaborative approach in which archaeologists and community members equally contribute to the direction, planning, and implementation of heritage preservation and development projects (Connolly 2015; Marshall 2002:211; Mitchell 2001; Silverman 2006a:68; 2011b:155; Simon 2010:263–264). By ensuring the co-creation of heritage-focused projects, we have sought to cultivate an ongoing dialogue that allows for multiple and sometimes contradictory voices and opinions to be heard (and contested), rather than a unitary program reflecting what *we* perceive to be the community's best interest. We have organized discussions to define the community's interests and heritage preservation objectives. This inclusive and dialogical approach is essential to empowering marginalized communities (Little and Shackel 2014; McDavid 2002; Nicholas and Hollowell 2007).

While there are several examples of similar archaeological outreach approaches in Peru and elsewhere (Castañeda and Matthews 2008; Chirikure and Pwiti 2008; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2007; Derry and Malloy 2003; Erickson 1998; Klarich 2014; Little and Shackel 2014; McAnany and Parks 2012; Nielsen et al. 2003; Onuki 1999; Pacifico and Vogel 2012), co-cre-

FIGURE 5. Secondary school students from Hualcayán perform a public dance at the Hualcayán Cultural Heritage Festival, August 3, 2013.

ation is an approach within community archaeology that has yet to be fully articulated (for an excellent overview of approaches in community archaeology, see Silverman 2011b). That is, whereas many archaeologists work with communities to incorporate their input into project planning, a co-creation approach places explicit emphasis on *ensuring that both professionals and stakeholders have vested interests, shared responsibilities, and control over projects throughout their design and execution.* Three projects in particular illustrate how we have implemented a co-creative approach at Hualcayán: the Hualcayán Cultural Heritage Festival, the Women of Hualcayán textile enterprise, and the Hualcayán Oral History Project.

The Hualcayán Cultural Heritage Festival

Since PIARA began conducting research in Hualcayán, we have heard many local people lament that the community had never organized a festival. They also expressed frustration that there were few traditions that they could identify as "*Hualcayino,*" that is, cultural practices that uniquely represent a Hualcayán identity. In the Andes, people within agrarian communities often define their identity through festivals and rites that express their cultural attachments to the land, commemorate the founding of their community, celebrate the harvest, or honor a patron saint (e.g., Allen 2002; Millones 1999). This longing for a cultural tradition, and this desire to "invent" a festival, suggests that the community members of Hualcayán perceived that a celebration marking an affective attachment to cultural heritage might fill a void in their social lives and identities. During a meeting, many community members suggested that a community "*aniversario*" or anniversary festival would make Hualcayán a "true" community. We supported the community festival, but we suggested that it celebrate the community's ancient heritage as well as its more recent past. In offering this suggestion, we sought to develop an appreciation for the deep archaeological prehistory

of Hualcayán and thus develop local roots for cultural identity that complement the general nationalist narratives of *mestizo* identity. We discussed and planned the festival with community members to realize the community's interest in a festival tradition and PIARA's interest in archaeological heritage. Working together, we planned the first Hualcayán Cultural Heritage Festival for August 3, 2013.

The festival grew into a collaboration between PIARA and several local and regional patrons and participants: PIARA's staff and students, the Hualcayán community, the Hualcayán school, the Provincial Municipality of Huaylas (in the provincial capital of Caraz), and the School of Archaeology at the *Universidad Nacional de Ancash-Santiago de Antúnez de Mayolo* (UNASAM; in the regional capital of Huaraz). Each collaborator provided support in terms of financial or material resources, planning and logistics, and the execution of specific festival activities. Those who could not provide funds contributed their time and labor.

To organize festival events, the community drew on their collective knowledge of the things and practices that constitute a "tradition," reaching a sort of consensus—however tentative—about how one performs village identity through song, dance, and food. Men from the village organized a drum and flute musical group accompanied by patriotic flag dancers and a horseback brigade; women prepared and served goat stew and guinea pig; secondary school students learned and performed festival dances (Figure 5). Government officials from the Municipality of Huaylas and professors and students from UNASAM sponsored the event with keynote addresses that praised Hualcayán for investing in its heritage and spoke to the importance of preserving archaeological sites. Huaylas and UNASAM also brought people who performed regional dances. Through the integration of these activities and participants, we shaped a

FIGURE 6. PIARA project member Bryan Nuñez Aparcana, at the time an undergraduate student studying archaeology at the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, provides an explanation of the Recuay ceramics excavated from Hualcayán during the Cultural Heritage Festival.

new tradition at Hualcayán that became at once linked to and legitimized by the regional identity of highland Ancash.

While community members organized and executed the presentation of Hualcayán's modern heritage, PIARA orchestrated a series of activities that celebrated Hualcayán's ancient past. During the festival, we gave visitors—which included local people, individuals from neighboring communities and cities, and a group of European travelers—a tour of the ongoing excavations in the archaeological site. The tour ended at the PIARA laboratory, which we converted into an archaeological museum for the event. Students from UNASAM and San Marcos University (Lima) who had worked with PIARA for several years led visitors through the temporary museum, affording visitors an unparalleled opportunity to view artifacts from the excavations, appreciate the value of archaeological labor, and see an archaeological analysis in progress (Figure 6). Although many community members had excavated, washed, and sorted the artifacts on display, it was the first time they had seen the artifacts restored and presented as a collection. The museum stayed open throughout the day and the following week, which gave us ample opportunity to discuss the materials with community members. By display-

ing the artifacts in a way that accorded with perceived standards of valuable objects, and by discussing and interpreting these displayed artifacts with community members, PIARA helped to shift local people's perceptions of these archaeological remains: artifacts that had once been familiar, everyday objects now constituted a different semiotic register as *valued* pieces of *local* heritage.

Although most community members were extremely pleased by the festival, it was not without its critics. In particular, evangelical Christians who live in the community (and who constitute an estimated quarter to half of the local population) strongly opposed how many community members excessively consumed alcohol during the festival. After a subsequent shift in the community's leadership—which changes every two years—the community decided to not continue the "*fiesta*" (the drinking and dancing) component of the festival based on moral grounds. PIARA has worked with the community to design a new cultural event that will feature heritage-based activities and games for children, a soccer and volleyball tournament, and exhibit upgrades to the community museum.

The festival was our first co-created project, and it involved many local and regional stakeholders. The experience forced us to recognize that community collaborations should be approached, from the outset, as projects open to revision. That is, co-creation is an iterative process in which community collaborations should emerge as moments within an ongoing process of revision in order to engage and serve stakeholders. These revisions increase stakeholder engagement by ensuring that the collaborations integrate, rather than exclude, all local groups and factions. While the festival will not continue in its original form, by bringing together the multiple stakeholders, government bodies, and the public, the event successfully raised awareness of Hualcayán's modern and ancient heritage on the local and regional scale, and it continues to generate productive dialogues about the meaning(s) of this heritage.

The Women of Hualcayán Handcraft Enterprise

PIARA is also applying the co-creation approach to develop heritage-focused projects that directly contribute to economic development. Our primary economic project is the Women of Hualcayán handcraft workshop, which grew out of our desire to increase local people's appreciation for indigenous arts, as well as the community's expressed need for economic development. Like many indigenous Andean communities, modern Hualcayán has a tradition of textile production that is linked to prehistoric techniques, though these practices are quickly fading with the widespread availability of inexpensive textiles from coastal factories and Asia. Nonetheless, people still use sheep's wool to spin yarn, weave, and embroider. Textiles were thus the natural choice for the economic development enterprise. Since women have been the most engaged participants in our heritage-focused activities, we were not surprised that they in particular voiced an interest in beginning a handcraft enterprise, even though many men were skilled weavers. They named the enterprise "Women of Hualcayán," although we have remained open to rebranding or starting an additional enterprise should men wish to participate.

FIGURE 7. A meeting of the Women of Hualcayán handcraft workshop and examples of their embroidery work, showing the range of themes and motifs chosen by the women in the first months of their production.

In collaboration with the C.H. Nash Museum at Chucalissa in Memphis, Tennessee, and with a $1,500 start-up fund provided by the Saint John's Episcopal Church in Memphis, Tennessee, we began the enterprise, which operates as a tri-weekly workshop for making and embroidering textile handcrafts such as shoulder bags and accessories (Figure 7). Currently, these crafts are sold locally and in the United States. Although approximately 20 women participate, 12 constitute a core group. We pay each woman an agreed upon price according to the size and type of object she produces. This payment constitutes 25 percent of profit from the final sale, with the remaining revenue from each sale going towards the purchase of crafting materials and overhead (50 percent) and a collective savings fund (25 percent). Locally, the crafts are sold to visitors in the *Museo Comunitario de Hualcayán* and in the *Museo Municipal de Caraz*. In the United States, they are sold by the C.H. Nash Museum and the Uptown Needle & Craftworks store in New Orleans, Louisiana. We are planning to establish a website, which PIARA members will manage, to sell at higher volumes. As sales increase, we

will use the collective savings to fund training, as well as a health and wellness event that will benefit local women and children.

We launched the workshop during a two-month period of PIARA fieldwork in 2014. During that period we worked with the women to organize the administration of production. The group voted one woman to organize the enterprise locally. This woman was chosen for her business experience, and her ability to read and write. Her current responsibilities include managing money, distributing payments to artisans, keeping a log of activities and textiles, hosting the workshop in her house, and transferring materials and finished products to and from PIARA collaborators in Caraz and Lima. These collaborators then send back needed materials and money for payments to Hualcayán and ship finished products to the United States. We use overhead revenues to pay this woman for her time, travel, and electricity costs.

The women who participate in the handcraft enterprise have told us that their lives have been enriched by the workshop

activities, pointing to the value of having supplemental income to care for their families, as well as having a sanctioned space to gather as women and talk about local issues in an otherwise socially reserved community environment. For example, one woman mentioned that, for the first time, she was able to purchase school materials for her children. In addition, the project empowers women and encourages them to be creative. PIARA members provided ancient motifs from locally excavated textiles and ceramics and suggested that the women incorporate them into their designs. By using these motifs, the textile production process created a unique opportunity to explore, interpret, and redefine ancient symbols and art forms. The women have also freely discovered their own aesthetic and artistry. In the course of the project's first year, they have drawn noticeably more from objects and scenes in their everyday lives, such as plants and animals, than from ancient iconography. While continuing to encourage this creativity, this year we will collectively reevaluate our objectives, improve textile quality for the market, and move the project forward according to our mutual goals. As part of this reevaluation, we will also present to the women the details of similar handcraft projects from across Latin America (e.g., Awamaki 2014; Centro de Textiles Tradicionales del Cusco 2007; Manzanares 1994:98; SPI 2015; Weaving for Justice 2012) in order to generate a reflective discussion among the women about their approach to crafting. After discussing how other successful handcraft enterprises operate, particularly those that meet needs similar to our own, we will revise the Women of Hualcayán business model and plan the following year's activities. Although we continue to revise and improve the enterprise, we have already seen that these crafting activities have become essential to a new identity in which women are empowered to provide for their families and produce objects valued by an international audience.

The Hualcayán Oral History Project

The Hualcayán Oral History Project works to establish and formalize the community's past. This project has emerged through our ongoing educational outreach with the village's public school, which serves approximately 120 children. In school classrooms, we have presented the local prehistory of Hualcayán to students, teaching the cultural achievements and technological accomplishments of their ancient forebears. We have also directed various hands-on workshops, covering themes such as archaeological material analysis, iconographic drawing and interpretation, and ancient craft production, which encourage the students to explore the social practices, arts, and technologies of ancient Hualcayán. Our discussions with teachers revealed that they felt that their students were beginning to understand their deeper history through these activities and that they had the resources to learn about their national history through the standard school curriculum. However, the teachers were concerned that the students seemed to have little knowledge about the more recent history of their community. Together we decided that a student-led oral history project was the best way to engage the students in discovering this history.

Secondary students used "Flip" video cameras that we provided to record interviews with their parents, grandparents, and other family members. In these interviews, the students asked a variety of questions that were developed in dialogue with the teachers, the students, and us. Questions included: When

did you move to Hualcayán? Why? Where did you move from? What challenges did you face starting a new life in Hualcayán? What stories exist about the ancient people who once lived in the ruins here? What do you hope for the future of Hualcayán? After practicing the interview process with the students so that they would feel comfortable using the video equipment (Figure 8), the students and their teachers directed the project largely in our absence between August and December 2014. We maintained communication with the teachers during the project's progress via monthly phone conversations.

In December, the students completed their interviews, producing a series of videos. The teachers and the students asked us for help editing the videos so they could present them to the community. Together, we decided to use the videos to structure two projects: (1) a printed book with transcriptions of the interviews for the community archives, and (2) a video presentation incorporated into an already installed digital heritage exhibit in the community museum. These two formats ensure that all community members can access the oral histories, regardless of their language or literacy level. We are also exploring the idea of constructing a video-audio booth for the community museum in order to collect and present additional oral histories from community members and regional visitors. We are interested to see how these products will transform the archaeological site museum into a cultural center that serves as a space for the preservation and exploration of both ancient and modern heritage (Connolly et al. 2012; Klarich 2014).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Our co-created heritage projects are specific to the historical, social, and economic circumstances of the Hualcayán community, but our approach to the co-creative process can be rendered in general terms. By its definition, a co-creative project must address the specific needs and goals both of institutions external to the community and of stakeholders within the community (Simon 2010:263–264). In the context of archaeological outreach, this means that *both* archaeologists and communities control the input and the outcome of heritage preservation, education, and development. Because of this, co-created projects may have firm and clear goals, but the products of these collaborations are neither predetermined nor fixed. For example, given our combined goals of heritage preservation and community development at Hualcayán, we created programs that: (1) encouraged reflection on and representation of what constitutes community identity (the festival); (2) actively engaged community members in the production of objects that evoke their past and bring financial benefit (the textile enterprise); and (3) collected and disseminated knowledge about local history through a dialogue that integrates perspectives from teachers, community members, and children (the oral history project).

As Robert Connolly (2015) suggests, a current weakness of the co-creation approach is that there are no long-term data to measure the success of co-created projects (see also Worts 2006). Because the implementation of the co-creation approach is new to PIARA, the present state of our programs is only a tentative measure of their longevity and their impact on heritage preservation. Each year, we will be collecting several metrics, utilizing surveys, inventories, and interviews to record

FIGURE 8. Secondary students from the Hualcayán school practice their oral history project's questionaire on fellow students using donated Flip video cameras.

the number of participants in community heritage events; the number of women participating in the handcraft enterprise; the quality, quantity, and price of their handcrafts; the number of school collaborations that result in heritage products and projects; and the community's curation or continuation of these products and projects (Coben 2014; McAnany and Parks 2012). We will also monitor the community's destructive activities or independent preservation efforts (Coben 2014:283). Moreover, through discussions with local people and observations on their domestic condition, we will also consider how our projects, such as our handcraft enterprise, have broadly impacted the cultural needs and social wellbeing of community members (Ander et al. 2013; Connolly 2015; Worts 2006). Finally, we will work to lessen any gender or political tensions that these projects might amplify (Swain 1993).

Although we do not yet have long-term metrics, our projects highlight several strengths of the co-creation approach. One of these strengths is how it links ancient and modern traditions, links that are forged by combining tangible heritage (archaeological sites, artifacts, crafts) and intangible heritage (oral histories, music, dance) (Little and Shackel 2014; McAnany and Parks 2012:92; Moser et al. 2002; Ruggles and Silverman 2009). These links help local people to more concretely envision and experience how the past is relevant to their present and their future.

For example, as community members planned the heritage festival, they negotiated and defined what it meant "to be from Hualcayán" by exploring how their modern identity and regional status was linked to the value of their recent past, as well as the community's prehistory (Bauer 2010). The handcraft enterprise encourages women to reconsider the value of traditional arts while elevating their domestic position as wage-earners (Wherry 2006:140–147). The oral history project has shown highschool students—the next generation of community leaders—that everyone has a story to tell and that by recording, preserving, and disucssing those stories, the past illuminates the present and guides the future (Tully 2007:174).

We are also witnessing how co-creation's bottom-up approach is leading to more informed discussions and empowered decisions concerning the future of local cultural heritage resources. This is apparent in how the community has handled the latest threat to the archaeological site: the discovery of nearby gold deposits. We expected this to be a major setback to our preservation efforts given how, in the past, the community had quickly seized opportunities to work with capitalist enterprises. We were pleased to learn that the community voted against expanding the gold mine, citing long-term sustainability concerns. Specifically, they expressed that the destruction of farming lands and the archaeological site would essentially bring an end to

their community's way of life, which they wished to preserve for themselves and future generations. In another example, and without our intervention, the community threatened to expose a known and exprienced looter from the community to the police in Caraz, which has halted the individual's looting activities. Although we were not at the community meeting in which this decision was made, one individual later told us that the decision was made because the community believes that these resources must be protected from the selfish acts that take and destroy what belongs to everyone. Together, we see these developments as examples of how co-creation can lead to "community building," where positive notions of community identity and senses of place are drawn from local heritage (Silverman 2011b:155; Tully 2007:158).

Archaeologists with the Sustainable Preservation Initiative have recently shown how a comprehensive financial and strategic investment in tourism infrastructure, buisiness training, and artisanal craft production that are linked to an archaeological site ensures that the local economy "will be related to and conditioned upon continued site preservation" (Coben 2014:282). The success of this kind of community investment is clear, and we have used it to model our handcraft enterprise. As such, our co-creation approach complements this economic model, yet offers guidelines for archaeologists who do not have large-scale financial backing, yet wish to make a meaningful impact in their outreach efforts. Because the co-creation approach is flexible, archaeologists and their community partners can scale it to the level of available funding, meanwhile maximizing the impact of their time and resources. For instance, with minimal investment, archaeologists might collaborate with school children to design a temporary (i.e., "pop-up") museum with recently excavated materials in order to provide informed experiences with artifacts and encourage dialogues that build new ideas of the past and senses of cultural value within the community. We also believe that larger development projects can be enchanced by incorporating the co-creation approach into their mission, which has potential to open up additional, untapped avenues of engagement and sustainable development that are tailored to the community's particular vision.

Although we maintain our broad goals of heritage preservation and community wellness, we expect our collaborative projects to change as the Hualcayán community navigates its identity, as our archaeological research advances, as new threats to the archaeological site appear, and as new stakeholders emerge. This process of revision and reflection is an inherent and necessary component of the co-creation approach. At the time of writing this article, we are exploring ways to integrate our projects at Hualcayán into a regional outreach initiative with the Municipality of Huaylas, which in recent years has renewed its interest in the archaeological heritage of their province in an effort to increase tourism. As we move forward, we strive to thoughtfully and cautiously link these local and regional stakeholders, serving as mediators to help all those who are engaged and interested in the archaeological heritage of Huaylas find common ground and simultaneously prevent the regional appropriation, commodification, and trivialization of indigenous heritage (Herrera

2011a, 2014; Higueras 2008; Pacifico and Vogel 2012; Silverman 2002). As a starting point, we envision a regional model for heritage education that can be tailored to specific communities: flexible heritage curriculums for schools featuring the archaeology and traditions of the province and their particular district with structured activities, such as oral history projects, that engage school children and their families as producers and protectors of their local heritage (McAnany and Parks 2012). In addition, to continue increasing the social relevance of our work, we seek to apply the co-creative approach beyond our heritage and development initiatives to involve the community in the planning and execution of our archaeological research (e.g., Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2007; Marshall 2002; Moser et al. 2002; Rizvi 2006).

In sum, co-creative projects, such as those outlined in this paper, require a great deal of time, patience, and dialogue. Our experiences suggest that the co-creation approach enhances archaeological outreach and brings greater relevance to the past by redefining communities as *producers*—not consumers or conduits—of local knowledge and heritage.

Acknowledgments

Data Availability Statement

Information on the archaeological site of Hualcayán and its time periods is based on the authors' original data, which is already publically available through the project website: www.piaraperu.org.

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