

Heritage policies and social participation in Peru: The case of the Qhapaq Ñan Project

ペルーにおける文化遺産政策と社会参加：
カパック・ニャン・プロジェクトより

Uribe Chinen Claudia Hatsumi
ウリベ チネン クラウディア ハツミ

1. Introduction

This dissertation analyzes the participatory paradigm of the Qhapaq Ñan's policy in Peru as a practice embedded in heritage power relations. In the past decade, no novel approach to heritage management and governance favored the rethinking of Peru's heritage policies as the participatory practices adopted by the Qhapaq Ñan Project. During the critical turn of democratic and economic recovery of the early 2000s in Peru, policy makers and governmental authorities reimaged the precolonial Inca system of roads -referred to as '*Qhapaq Ñan*' (Quechua for 'royal road')- as a national cultural heritage. For the Peruvian state, it was not new to rely on the combined forces of national archaeology and the glorified precolonial past to maintain its sense of legitimacy and temporal transcendence. Premises on national identity and tourism-based development inspired the state policy's attempt to extensively 'recover' the Qhapaq Ñan, and its archaeological remains, which later led to an Andean transnational UNESCO World Heritage nomination together with the state parties of Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, and Ecuador. The nomination process, however, became a point of inflection for the involved national heritage regimes due to the awareness on the exclusionary nature of heritagization and its conventional practices, where local communities remained in the margins with no consultation, information, or access.

In the lead-up to the World Heritage listing of the Qhapaq Ñan Andean Road System in 2014, 'participation' and 'local communities' became central tenets of the heritagization of precolonial roads and sites. UNESCO World Heritage program's recommendations on local involvement directly influenced the construction of heritage participatory approaches, methods, and practices in the six countries. Such international mandates,

however, met limiting institutional frameworks, rationales, and capacities at national levels. In the specific case of Peru, the participatory mandate encountered, interacted with, and evidenced the historically rooted politics of archaeological heritage management.

(1) Research problem and questions

In recent years, global scholarship on the heritage participatory paradigm has advanced enough as to critically explore its embedded politics both conceptually and empirically (Adell et al., 2015; Coombe & Weiss, 2015; Sánchez-Carretero et al., 2019, among others). Anthropological and ethnographic research by European and North American scholars in global contexts especially shed light on the reconfiguration or persistence of power dynamics in heritage processes, in most cases elaborating on social theory. Over the past decade, Qhapaq Ñan's policy and politics -in Peru and neighboring countries- were at the center of a relevant and polarized corpus of critical studies, especially on the dominant and exclusionary dynamics at play in heritage-making and its consequences (Gnecco, 2019, among others). Its participatory approach was reflected in terms of practices and challenges in the Peruvian context (See Asensio, 2013; Marcone & Ruiz, 2016; Ruiz, 2018); however, it still lacks an analysis in the light of current debates. Therefore, this research aims at filling the gap of practical and theoretical knowledge on the Qhapaq Ñan as a state heritage policy in Peru harnessing a community participation approach.

At the heart of this dissertation are the questions: why the participatory approach of the Qhapaq Ñan Project differs from the conventional state-led heritage policy in Peru? How 'participation' has been conceived and conceptualized in the Peruvian heritage regime? How is 'participation' practiced? What are the effects of such

‘participation’ in local involvement? The study analyzes the construction of a participatory approach and its underlying power mechanisms from the background national heritage regime, and the making of the Qhapaq Ñan policy before, during and after the World Heritage listing.

(2) Theoretical framework

This dissertation explores power mechanisms in the Peruvian heritage regime and how these shape the participatory approach of the Qhapaq Ñan’s policy through the Foucauldian concept of ‘governmentality’, following debates from the anthropology of policy (Shore & Wright, 1997) and anthropological studies on heritage politics. Governmentality (Foucault, 1991, 2007) refers to how citizens’ conducts or behaviors are conditioned by mechanisms of control and regulation ingrained in state policies. This government through conducts is meant to achieve an ideal relationship between the state and society, or in this case, between heritage and society. Foucault (2007) defined three forms of power in governmentality: sovereign, disciplinary and neoliberal. Elaborating in the context of heritage management (see Cortés-Vásquez, 2019), sovereign form relates to how the state claims sovereignty over institutionalized heritage spaces, while the disciplinary is expressed by policy efforts to ‘sensitize’ citizens through educational programs. The neoliberal form decentralizes and govern through ‘empowered’ actors who undertake responsibilities related to the state and engage in market relations.

European and North American heritage scholars coincide in the definition of the participatory paradigm in heritage management as a form of neoliberal governmentality. In the Peruvian heritage regime, governmentalities stem from the three forms of power defined by Foucault; however, the forms of power and modes of governance of a ‘participatory’ approach by the Qhapaq Ñan Project are to be discussed later: whether they behave as pointed out by previous scholarship or as a different phenomenon.

2. Methodology

The methodology was particularly inspired by the emerging field of archaeological ethnography to inquire on the contemporary actors, practices, and processes

around archaeological remains (Meskell, 2005; Hamilakis & Anagnostopoulos, 2009, among others). It therefore adopted a qualitative research design, taking an interdisciplinary approach from the fields of anthropology, archaeology, and history. The scope of the dissertation is limited to the Qhapaq Ñan Project’s national office in Lima, which oversees all regions except Cusco, and the projects that emerged to manage the World Heritage declared monuments and segments of roads. Especially the project in Huaycan de Cieneguilla helped to observe the Peruvian state policy’s aspirations on participatory heritage practices.

Data was gathered through three of the main instruments of ethnographic research: archival research, interviews, and observations, which flexibly adapted to the circumstances of the pandemic. Fieldwork consisted of a combination of multi-sited remote, virtual, and face-to-face research from April 2020 to August 2022. The ‘field’ involved both physical and digital spaces: the Qhapaq Ñan Project’s office, the Ministry of Culture, the neighborhood of Huaycan de Cieneguilla (in Cieneguilla district, Lima) during the Cultural Heritage Week in June 2022, as well as online platforms, events, and databases.

Two stages defined the form and essence of this research. First, policy documents, institutional reports and publications, internal reports, management plans and pamphlets were accessed via databases of the Peruvian Ministry of Culture and UNESCO. Some materials were directly requested to the Qhapaq Ñan Project. Newspaper articles and audiovisual sources available online were also thoroughly reviewed. These materials served to examine the Peruvian heritage regime and the Qhapaq Ñan’s policy through historical and discourse analysis.

Second, through the snowball technique, the author conducted thirteen in-depth interviews online and in person -with prior informed consent- to officers, researchers, and managers of the Qhapaq Ñan Project, and local representatives from Huaycan de Cieneguilla. Informal conversations took place in online settings since 2021 or during the author’s volunteering in the Cultural Heritage Week in Huaycan de Cieneguilla. Both interviews and conversations allowed to analyze testimonies, experiences, and perspectives of policy and local actors on the practices, procedures and processes that enable or constrain social participation within the

state policy. Observations were also conducted in online events organized by the Qhapaq Ñan Project and, more specifically, participant observation was possible in the Cultural Heritage Week in Cieneguilla.

3. Results

(1) Heritage regime and power mechanisms in the 'momentum' of the Qhapaq Ñan Project

The study shows, from a historical perspective, that the Peruvian heritage regime strongly sustains archaeological heritage preservation through sovereign and disciplinary forms of power, which are permeated by nation-building and development demands. Legislation and museums are the first mechanisms, sovereign and disciplinary respectively, oriented to regulate the conduct of citizens towards precolonial material remains; both tied to nation-building and statecraft since the first years of the Republican period in early 19th century. Their underlying authorized discourses on heritage values, representation, and preservation emerged from scholars and authorities, while remained unknown for most of the population in the country. Peruvian heritage legislation mostly omitted the social fabric in the long term, as it focused on the state ownership, legal conditions of monuments, and restrictions of access, interventions, and use. The consequent distance between 'archaeological heritage' and people -or the social fabric- became more evident as the state policy increasingly applied legal protective measures on delimited spaces with precolonial remains towards the late 20th century. The state uses its sovereign power to protect declared archaeological heritage sites through punitive reactions or forced evictions when illegal occupations or uses occur, in some cases even escalating into social conflict.

Two concepts ingrained in the Peruvian legislation and authorized discourses are crucial to understand this heritage-social fabric rupture: First, the institutionalized concept of 'monument' to categorize delimited spaces with precolonial remains. This 'monumentalization' creates a self-contained space belonging to the precolonial past, which increases the distance with present-day society. Second, the abstract notion of 'intangible' (untouchable) as the nature of spaces containing precolonial remains -or monuments-. Policy interventions create imaginary fences around archaeological remains

when they are identified, delimited, and declared as national cultural heritage. The protection of their 'intangibility' is an ultimate policy mandate with little attention to the dynamics of populations living in or around sites (Fig. 1). These premises lie at the core of the norms that regulate the relationship between the state, precolonial remains and society in present-day Peru.

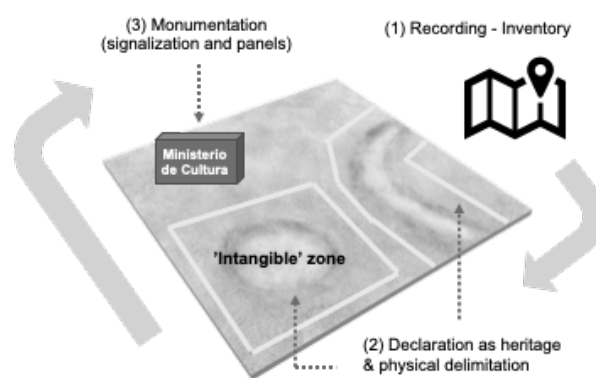


Figure 1. The delimitation of declared archaeological heritage spaces leading to the protection of its condition as 'intangible' and its 'monumentalization'.

The Qhapaq Ñan Project emerged from this regime of instruments and practices in the early 2000s, which are hardly changed because both the protection of archaeological monuments and their 'intangibility' remain at the center of the Peruvian state policy. From the National Institute of Culture (INC) since the 1970s to the Ministry of Culture (MINCUL) in the 2010s, the state notably invests in procedures to record and protect identified archaeological heritage sites. This dynamic came to be progressively entangled with more demands, like tourism-based economic development largely focusing on archaeological monuments as attractions. Therefore, the state policy is compelled to declare, delimit, and legalize archaeological monuments to approve and finance heritage 'enhancement' projects. Moreover, within this 'enhanced' spaces, disciplinary mechanisms also take place: musealized sites or site-museums serve to educate the public on how to respect, protect, or engage with cultural heritage as conceived by authorized discourses. The original conception and the pursuit of the declaration of the Qhapaq Ñan as national cultural heritage of Peru notably traces its roots in these logics and

practices.

(2) The 'participatory paradigm' crafted within the Qhapaq Ñan's heritage-making

The Qhapaq Ñan Project, emerging from national post-conflict recovery and neoliberal policy demands, initially built its practice upon conventional mandates: it began by assembling inventories of precolonial roads and sites, ethnographic data collection and heritage 'enhancement' projects oriented to local socioeconomic development. However, the transnational nomination invited UNESCO World Heritage Center's recommendation on the participatory approach. In the face of an absence of formal instruments allowing participatory processes, each technical secretariat of the states involved in the nomination interpreted the concept according to their existing legislation, approaches, and practices. In principle, the involvement of local communities was commonly understood in terms of consultative, informative, and capacity-building processes (Republic of Argentina et al., 2014)

The national technical secretariat of the Qhapaq Ñan Project in Peru worked intensively and extensively for a decade to define the potential nominated property. For all sites and roads to be nominated, they had to first be declared and delimited as national heritage. The Qhapaq Ñan's policy aligned this purpose with two main priorities: the sovereign mandate of heritage protection and benefits for local populations. The concept of participation thus adapted to them. The premise of respecting local voices prior heritagization became a rather informal norm, especially in the wake of historically persistent social conflicts around archaeological sites nationwide, and the contemporary uses of precolonial roads. However, 'communities' of heritage, as geographically clustered or historically bound to precolonial sites, did not preexist the arrival of the Qhapaq Ñan policy. The project addressed local populated centers around archaeological sites or in areas of influence, peasant communities owning lands around sites or using roads, municipalities, or social grassroots organizations in towns near heritage spaces, and therefore defined the Qhapaq Ñan's heritage communities.

In the lead-up to the nomination, participatory processes essentially took the form of informative and consultative actions with local communities as to validate

the declaration and delimitation of heritage spaces -namely sites and roads- with social consent and without conflict. In a complementary range of activities of social participation, workshops, events, and capacity-building aimed at raising awareness on heritage values with an immanent disciplinary purpose. These processes happened within the Qhapaq Ñan's system of heritage management based on publicly funded projects, where archaeological spaces are intervened through research, protection, conservation, and presentation. Between 2007 and 2012, the Qhapaq Ñan's policy created Comprehensive Projects to 'enhance' and manage selected archaeological monuments. Among those, the study observed the cases of Aypate (Piura region), Huánuco Pampa (Huánuco region) and Huaycan de Cieneguilla (Lima region). Segments defined by roads and associated sites were also addressed by the Qhapaq Ñan Project as territorial systems. Policy actions responded to the priority zoning of segments of roads in the regions of Ancash, Huánuco, Lima, Junín, and Puno.

In both types of projects, specialists focused on building long-term trust with local representatives. Informative and consultative processes adapted to the local social structures and decision-making systems, such as the Communal Assembly of peasant communities. These became venues for dialogue and negotiations as to address local interests and concerns. Local interests did not necessarily coincide with national heritage, but with its affordances in terms of defense of collectively owned lands against extractive industries, visibility and connection to the state, the recognition of ancestral values, or more importantly, development. Coordinators and specialists of projects ultimately defined in their own terms the lines of action to increase the needed mutual trust and social engagement.

Interventions in monuments in line with development aims, especially sought for the creation of seasonal jobs for local people to assist in archaeological interventions. In heritage interventions based on segments of roads, such as the Huánuco Pampa – Huamachuco Segment Project, specialists tested 'participatory delimitations' for the first time, where the project established the boundaries of archaeological 'intangible' zones in consultation and with the participation of local members. Moreover, in different settings of precolonial roads, it also negotiated

the coexistence of heritage protective measures with immaterial culture, local practices, and land uses.

Participatory procedures were implemented largely because of the knowledge and self-driven initiatives of certain specialists of the Qhapaq Ñan Project. Bureaucratic constraints quite often prevented changes in the orthodox practices and instruments of the state policy. Only in 2011, the Qhapaq Ñan Project's Community Participation Unit was created to condense the methodological and conceptual guidelines of participation and consolidate the state policy perspective of 'heritage social use'.

(3) Governmentalities of participation

The state policy's governmentalities inevitably permeated the forms and nature of participatory practices. The old sovereign and disciplinary forms of power came to include mechanisms of consultation, information, negotiation, and dialogue, in ways that ideally would avoid impositions to local communities and prevent conflicts. While the Qhapaq Ñan's policy developed protocols, procedures, and initiatives in the name of a participatory approach, legal instruments did not materialize as to strengthen, scale-up or further explore practices of participation. As noted in interviews, state bureaucracy and mentalities of experts and authorities notably retain the conventional policy mechanisms to govern through heritage.

In the post-inscription context, the Qhapaq Ñan's policy tried to sustain the participatory practices implemented in previous years and notably directs efforts to the growth and reinforcement of heritage education, promotion, and dissemination. These approaches relate to the disciplinary form of power, which merges with local interests on education, collective identity, or community development. In Comprehensive Projects, expert-led capacity building activities on heritage values, archaeological narratives and heritage management intensified between 2017 and 2019, addressing school students, schoolteachers and social or grassroots organizations. Heritage projects in both monuments and segments also worked with locals on collaborative initiatives for festivals, cultural events, educational programs, and business opportunities.

Neoliberal forms of power, in the sense of

empowering local actors to delegate some state responsibilities, are only partially identified. Since 2018, two collaborative decision-making spaces were tested in the Xauxa-Pachacamac Segment Project: in the province of Sausa (Junin region), and the districts of Cieneguilla-Antioquía (Lima region). Both were meant to become spaces where local representatives jointly decide the vision, objectives, and concerns of heritage management; however, this falls within the state policy and yet the supervision of heritage authorities.

(4) Visibilizing a participatory governance? A view from Huaycan de Cieneguilla

A close-up to the context of Huaycan de Cieneguilla in Lima region allowed to understand the Peruvian state policy's aspirational vision of 'effective' community engagement and participatory governance. This case is especially made visible by the state policy as a reference of the participatory approach of the Qhapaq Ñan Project. The trajectory of heritage interventions over ten years and three emblematic activities -training programs for tour guides, a cultural festival, and the renovation of the interpretation center- born out from participatory processes were studied. It was observed that the state policy hardly decentralizes and mostly allows participation in forms of collaborative design and organization of heritage education, interpretation and dissemination activities, or more recently management plans. It therefore articulates sovereign, disciplinary and some shades of neoliberal governmentalities. The long-term presence of the Comprehensive Project's interventions influenced in the sustained engagement of local communities. The effects of disciplinary mechanisms are reflected by local members and authorities' consistent engagement in the protection and promotion of local heritage. A sense of neoliberal governmentality is noticed in some policy-community initiatives to empower local actors and create market relations. This is especially evident in the tour guides training program to generate additional incomes, local entrepreneurship on food or crafts, and the sponsorship of local businesses in heritage-related events.

In fact, this is a type of governance that incorporates participation, but is mostly based on the fulfillment of state policy mandates, supervision by experts and the

convergence of interests of heritage experts, local authorities and local members around economic development, social cohesion, and recognition of local values.

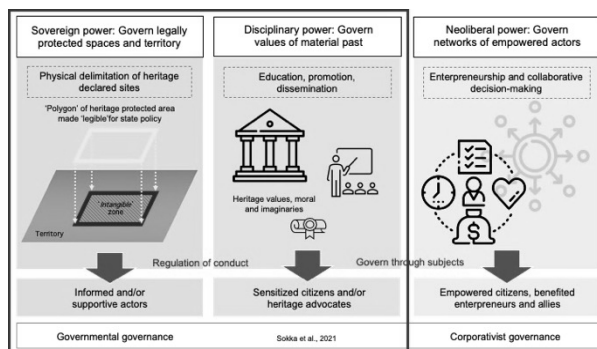


Figure 2. The Qhapaq Ñan's participatory-oriented policy remains as a centralized governance with mostly sovereign and disciplinary forms of power (Source: Author).

4. Conclusion

The Qhapaq Ñan Project's participatory approach falls within existing mechanisms of the state to govern through archaeological heritage, which are readjusted to fulfill policy mandates (Fig. 2). The visibility of participatory processes in specific times and contexts allowed the state policy to contend a different paradigm. However, in essence it relies on sovereign and disciplinary governmentalities. While studies on the heritage participatory paradigm in contexts like Europe point out the predominance of a neoliberal governmentality, in Peru this is not fully observed. Existing policy instruments, mentalities and the restrictive bureaucracy arguably limits the innovation of heritage institutional practices.

The regime of the Qhapaq Ñan Project, therefore, maintains a centralized governance but with mechanisms of participation to ideally prevent conflicts and benefit local populations. Its parameters do not escape at all the regulatory instruments and orthodox practices to protect heritage and to regulate people's relationship with national heritage. In practice, however, this participatory-oriented policy is sustained and essentially governs through the convergence of interests on economic benefits and development, heritage protection as a meeting ground for political interests, and the recognition of local values.

References

- 1) Adell, N., Bendi, R., Bortolotto, C. & Tauschek, M: "Between Imagined Communities and Communities of Practice: Participation, Territory and the Making of Heritage", Göttingen University Press, 2015.
- 2) Asensio, R. H.: "De qué hablamos cuando hablamos de participación comunitaria en la gestión del patrimonio cultural? ", *Revista Argumentos* 7(3), 25-33, 2013.
- 3) Chirinos, R. & Borba, L: "Qhapaq Ñan, Patrimonio Vivo", *Arqueología y Sociedad* 28, 159-176, 2015.
- 4) Coombe, R. J. & Weiss, L. M: "Neoliberalism, Heritage Regimes and Cultural Rights". In L. Meskell (Ed.), *Global Heritage: A Reader* (pp. 43-69), Wiley-Blackwell, 2015.
- 5) Foucault, M: "Governmentality". In G. Burchell, C. Gordon & P. Miller (Eds.), *The Foucault Effect. Studies in Governmentality with two lectures by and an interview with Michel Foucault*, The University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- 6) Gnecco, C. (Ed.): "Diálogos en Patrimonio Cultural, El señuelo patrimonial: Pensamientos post-arqueológicos en el camino de los incas", *Maestría en Patrimonio Cultural UPTC*, 2019.
- 7) Hamilakis, Y. & Anagnostopoulos, A.: "What is archaeological ethnography?", *Public Archaeology* (special issue) 8(2-3), 65-67, 2009.
- 8) Marcone, G. & Ruiz, R: "Qhapaq Ñan: El reto del uso social del patrimonio cultural", *Quehacer* 195, 114-121, 2015.
- 9) Meskell, L: "Archaeological Ethnography: Conversations around Kruger National Park", *Archaeologies* 1(1), 81-100, 2005.
- 10) Republic of Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru: "Nomination of Qhapaq Ñan Andean Road System for inclusion on the World Heritage List", 2014 <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1459/documents/>
- 11) Ruiz, R.: "La participación comunitaria para la puesta en uso social del patrimonio mundial: Una experiencia conceptual y práctica con las comunidades asociadas al Qhapaq Ñan". In A. Castillo (Ed.), *3rd International Conference on Best Practices in World Heritage, Integral Actions*, 142-159, 2018.
- 12) Sánchez-Carretero, C., Muñoz-Albaladejo, J., Ruiz-Blanch, A. & Roura-Expósito, R. (Eds.): "El imperativo de la participación en la gestión patrimonial", *Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas*, 2019.
- 13) Shore, C. & Wright, S. (Eds.): "Anthropology of Policy. Critical perspectives on governance and power", Routledge, 1997.
- 14) Sokka, S., Badia, F., Kangas, A. & Donato, F.: "Governance of cultural heritage: towards participatory approaches". *European Journal of Cultural Management & Policy* 11(1), 4-19. 2021.