

Evaluating the development impacts of archaeology and heritage in Peru and Ecuador

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the ways in which archaeology and heritage can contribute to development, and how these impacts can be rigorously evaluated despite resource constraints, and while acknowledging local power dynamics. Evaluation can be a powerful tool to promote accountability to local communities, and to learn from past mistakes. My research compares evaluation methods in the regional context of the South American Andes, where archaeological sites abound and are an untapped resource for local development. Projects seeking to promote cultural heritage to improve the quality of life of neighbouring communities – ‘archaeology for development’ projects – often lack access to evaluation tools and do not systematically collect data that could be used for monitoring. This makes it harder for them to be accountable to local stakeholders, and achieve the reflexivity that would enable them to improve their activities. This thesis aims to address that gap by assessing what evaluation methods might be appropriate for projects aiming to utilise communities’ pasts to build better futures.

This PhD thesis makes significant contributions to the field of development, as it advocates for the recognition of cultural heritage’s untapped potential in terms of improving wellbeing. This is demonstrated by the evaluation of three projects, which share a concentration on archaeological heritage and a similar background, yet focus on different aspects of development. This thesis also engages with current debates within development evaluation, and gives practical considerations on how the heritage sector can better engage with evaluation, highlighting the trade-offs between feasibility and rigour in the context of small-scale projects where evaluation is not routinely conducted.

I focus on three villages where ‘archaeology for development’ projects take place in Peru and Ecuador. These case studies are an archaeology research project with an educational outreach component (Cabana, Pallasca, Peru), a project using ancient irrigation technology to mitigate climate change (Miraflores, Yauyos, Peru) and a community-based sustainable tourism project based on the local archaeological heritage (Agua Blanca, Manabí, Ecuador).

My methodology centres both on the assessment of the projects’ existing Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning (MEL) strategies and the comparison of methods

implemented during fieldwork. These include rapid ethnography (6 weeks for each site), small-scale surveys (between 50-130 participants per village) and participatory workshops. It shows that projects using archaeology for development in the specific context of the Andes share enough characteristics in terms of their aims and logistical challenges that they can use a similar strategy for evaluation.

The first empirical chapter examines the current monitoring, evaluation and learning (MEL) strategies employed by the three projects. Depending on the types of stakeholders involved (local governments, NGOs, indigenous communities, academics), these projects have differential access to MEL strategies, and mitigate this by employing other mechanisms for reflexivity, such as community assemblies.

The second empirical chapter showcases the result of my evaluation, highlighting the projects' complex and interrelated impacts, and their interplay with local politics. Despite their differences in focus and implementation, all three projects have impacts in the economic, social and environmental domains, and become an arena in which stakeholders express local power dynamics. Treating these projects, or dimensions of their work, as the analytical category of 'archaeology for development' enables greater consistency in approaching how to evaluate them.

The third empirical chapter focuses on the strengths and weaknesses of the tested methods, by analysing the extent to which they are robust, trustworthy, ethical and culturally appropriate, useable and feasible. No single method can tick all these boxes, but with methodological plurality, it is possible to rigorously evaluate a project despite time, personnel, and budget constraints.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AbE	Adaptación Basada en Ecosistemas. The ‘Escalando ABE Montaña’ project (2017-2020), or ‘Scaling up Mountain Ecosystem based Adaptation’ is the continuation of the original EbA Project (2011-2016), ‘Mountain Eco-System Based Adaptation’. These projects are carried out by the Instituto de Montaña in Peru.
AECID	The Spanish Development Agency (Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo).
AHRC	The UK’s Arts and Humanities Research Council
BMUD	Federal Ministry of the Environment, Nature Protection, Public Works and Nuclear Safety of the German Government
CONADIS	Ecuador’s Consejo Nacional para la Igualdad de Discapacidades (National Council on Disability Equality)
FEPTCE	Plurinational Ecuadorian Federation of Community Tourism (Federación Plurinacional de Turismo Comunitario de Ecuador)
IdM	Instituto de Montaña. Also known as TMI (The Mountain Institute)
HLF	The UK’s Heritage Lottery Fund
INEC	Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos. Ecuador’s National Institute of Statistics and Census.
INEI	Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática. Peru’s National Institute of Statistics and Computer Science
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature (UICN in Spanish)
MC	Ministerio de Cultura del Perú. Peru’s Ministry of Culture.
MEL	Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning
MINCETUR	Ministerio de Comercio Exterior y Turismo. Peru’s Ministry of External Trade and Tourism
MSC	Most Significant Change (Evaluation method)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NSF	The USA’s National Science Foundation
OAS	Organisation of American States
RCA	Reality Check Approach (Evaluation method)
RETAMA	Restauración de Tecnologías Ancestrales y Manejo del Agua (Restoring Ancestral Technologies and Water Management). A Network established by the Instituto de Montaña.
RPNYC	Reserva Paisajística Nor Yauyos-Cochas. The Nor Yauyos-Cochas Landscape Reserve, within which Miraflores is situated.
SERNANP	Servicio Nacional de Áreas Naturales Protegidas. National Service of Natural Protected Areas
SPI	Sustainable Preservation Initiative
UCLG	United Cities and Local Governments
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNDP	United Nations Development Program (PNUD in Spanish)
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme (PNUMA in Spanish)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WMF	World Monuments Fund

GLOSSARY

If I use the concept in a specific context in the thesis, this is signalled after the concept in parentheses.

Buen Vivir (Ecuador). ‘To Live Well’. A concept integrated in Ecuador’s Constitution since 2008, which involves recognising the diversity of its people, and creating sustainable livelihood alternatives to allow them to have a good quality of life in the present and the future (Endere and Zulaica 2015, 259).

Cabildo (Agua Blanca). “Local council”. The Governing committee of the Agua Blanca community, constituted of a President, a Vice-President, a Treasurer, a Secretary, a Director of Territory, a Director for Women, and a Director of Health, Children and Youth.

Cabanistas (Cabana). The inhabitants of Cabana.

Casa de la Cultura (Cabana). The “House of Culture” was a local organisation encouraging cultural initiatives in Cabana.

Casa de los Abuelos (Agua Blanca). A small museum presenting the lives of Agua Blanca residents in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Comité Arqueológico (Agua Blanca). The Archaeology committee is a Sub-Committee gathering the guides of Agua Blanca and focusing on the promotion of tourism.

Comité Impulsor Pashash (Cabana). “Pashash Promotion Committee” unites members of the Cabana intelligentsia in Lima, as well as several teachers in Cabana. They have advocated for the integration of Pashash within the wider Peruvian cultural sphere.

Comité Pro Turismo (Cabana). A local organisation (Pro-tourism Committee) encouraging tourist initiatives in Cabana.

Comuna (Agua Blanca). A legal status for communities in Ecuador, recognising communities’ ability to self-govern.

Comunero/Comunera (Miraflores). A person who is a member of the Comunidad Campesina (see below) and participates in its assemblies and communal work. There can be one *comunero*, or *comunera* per family in Miraflores.

Comunidad Campesina (Miraflores). A legal status for agrarian communities in Peru, recognising the community’s right to its land, and its ancestral social, economic and cultural roots.

Ethnogenesis (Agua Blanca). A process whereby identities emerge or are created, but in association with circumstances that condition them (Hernandez-Ramirez and Ruiz Ballesteros 2011, 162).

Faena (Peru). Regular communal work to conduct a task that benefits the whole community.

Festival de la Balsa Manteña. Festival of the Manteño raft. Taking place every year on October 12th, the Festival celebrates and showcases the cultural heritage of Agua Blanca, in particular the raft used by their Manteño ancestors.

Fiesta patronal. Yearly celebration dedicated to the patron saint of a community, parish, village or town.

Huaquis. Main archaeological site in the vicinity of Miraflores.

Inti Raymi. An Inca solstice festival, which was famously re-created in Cuzco in 1944, to foster pride in the past and attract tourists (Silverman 2013, 130-131).

Laguna. A lake or pool. In Agua Blanca, this refers to the sulphur pool where the community and the tourists bathe.

Manteño (Agua Blanca). The archaeological culture associated with Agua Blanca's archaeological site. The Manteños are considered to be the ancestors of the modern Pueblo Manta people.

Minga (Ecuador). Regular communal work to conduct a task that benefits the whole community.

Mestizo. A category on the Ecuadorian census designating a person of mixed European and indigenous ancestry.

Montubio. A category on the Ecuadorian census used in Ecuador to describe rural coastal people. It is seen as a pejorative term as it sets people apart from the urban elites and erases the indigenous identity of the coast (Smith 2005).

Mulato. A category on the Ecuadorian census describing people of mixed Afro-Ecuadorian and other ancestry.

Palo santo (Agua Blanca). A tree that grows in the vicinity of Agua Blanca. Palo santo oil is extracted; it is believed to have medicinal properties and is also sold to tourists.

Parque Nacional Machalilla (Ecuador). The Machalilla National Park, in which Agua Blanca is situated.

Pashash. Main archaeological site in the vicinity of Cabana.

Patrimonio Cultural de la Nación (Perú). National Cultural Heritage (Peru).

Patronato del Museo de Cabana (Cabana). "Steering Group of Cabana's Museum"/"Patrons of Cabana's Museum." A local organisation originally founded in 1976 aiming to promote and protect Pashash and the museum.

Pozo (Agua Blanca). A well where women wash clothes, and a focal point for socialising in the community.

Pueblo Manta (Agua Blanca). An indigenous people recognised by the Ecuadorian state in 2005, which comprises the inhabitants of the communities of Agua Blanca, Salango, El Pital and Las Tunas.

Puesta en Valor. This concept is defined in depth in Chapter 3. It refers to the enhancement of a site's usability and value through conservation and restoration to

“contribute to the economic development of the region” and to make it accessible “to the awareness and enjoyment of the masses” (OAS 1967).

Qhapaq Ñan. The Main Andean Road which was the backbone of the Inca empire. It is now protected by the UNESCO World Heritage Convention and covers a network of sites across Peru, Ecuador, Chile, Argentina, Bolivia and Colombia.

Recuay. A culture flourishing in the Ancash region of Peru between 200 and 600 CE. Pashash is a Recuay archaeological site.

Socio/Socia (Agua Blanca). “Members” of the Comuna, Agua Blanca’s community organisation.

Turismo Vivencial. Experience-based tourism, which usually consists of sharing the daily activities of the host community.

Unidad Ejecutora (Peru). A government-led Project Management Unit that has a budget allocated by the state to complete their mission. In Peru, Unidades Ejecutoras have overseen the *puesta en valor* of high-profile archaeological sites such as Caral.

Yanacancha. Ancient system of reservoirs and archaeological site that was rehabilitated by the Instituto de Montaña’s project in Miraflores.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION: RATIONALE, DEFINITIONS, CONCEPTS¹

This thesis examines the ways in which archaeology and heritage can contribute to development, and how these impacts can be rigorously and ethically evaluated despite resource constraints. It does so by implementing and comparing evaluation methods in the regional context of the Andes, with three case studies in Peru and Ecuador. Chapter 1 introduces the issues at stake, reviews the literature and highlights the research gap that the thesis addresses, presents the theoretical framework guiding the research design, and outlines the structure of the thesis.

1.1. Introduction

Archaeology is the study of the human past through material remains, but this definition understates the complex role that the past can play in the present. The discipline is rooted in its colonial legacy, and many of the world's best known archaeological sites are in the Global South. Increasingly, archaeologists are conscious that their work can help improve the quality of life of local communities. This objective is directly or implicitly stated by a large spectrum of projects that sit at the intersection of archaeology, environmental sciences, tourism studies and development. They include 'historical ecology' projects, evaluating the long-term changes affecting a given landscape to determine better strategies of human adaptation to their environment, including climate change mitigation strategies. One such example is the **Instituto de Montaña's flagship project in Miraflores (Yauyos)**, my first case study. Other projects are more development-oriented, looking at the social, economic and cultural benefits brought by archaeology and heritage tourism to a specific area. This is the case in **Agua Blanca, Ecuador**, my second case study: a community-based archaeological project that began in the 1980s, and which has propelled a whole village into indigenous, community-led

¹ Excerpts of this chapter are based on Dupeyron, A. (2020). Archaeological Heritage as a Resource for Development: Definitions, Issues, and Opportunities for Evaluation. *Public Archaeology*, 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14655187.2020.1808922>

tourism. My third case study is the **Rise of Divine Lordships in the Ancient Andes**, an academic project taking place in Cabana, Peru, which has recently encouraged the use of the Pashash archaeological site as a learning tool for local schools.

Despite such attempts to reconcile archaeology with development, archaeology as a resource is often untapped or exploited in an unsustainable way. Peru exemplifies these issues. The country is world-famous for its rich archaeological heritage, and tourism contributed to 3.9% of Peru's GDP, according to the latest data available (2018), in comparison to 1.9% for Ecuador at the same date (World Tourism Organization 2022b). In Peru, the use of archaeology as a resource for local development often takes place through a process known as *puesta en valor*² (enhancement of a site's usability and value), which has been closely entangled with cultural heritage management, tourism and conservation since the beginning of the 20th century (Asensio 2018). The situation in neighbouring Ecuador provides an interesting contrast, as archaeological sites can be managed in a more autonomous way by indigenous communities in the context of strengthened political independence (Ramírez and Ballesteros 2011). Yet the rapid economic development of the Andes is often perceived as a threat to archaeological sites, as seen in the emblematic site of Machu Picchu (Larson and Poudyal 2012). Unfortunately, many of the projects mentioned above do not accomplish their stated objectives, generating disappointment amongst local communities and thereby hindering later efforts:

“Archaeologists have littered the globe with failed site museums, handicrafts projects, and tourism ventures at every scale, leaving local populations disaffected by promises undelivered and local entrepreneurs carrying investments in heritage tourism that yield no returns.” (Gould 2018, 4).

Using evaluation methods in this context is paramount because they enable projects to understand where and how they fail and become more efficient or relevant to local needs. Thus, the key aim of this study is to explore the effectiveness of evaluation methods in a range of contexts, in which archaeology and development converge in the Andes, specifically Peru and Ecuador.

² The concept of *puesta en valor* will be further discussed in Chapter 3, which presents the context in which the three case studies operate.

This introduction chapter serves three purposes, developed in three sections. The first is a **literature review**, which explains the relationship between archaeology and development, why archaeological heritage plays such a key role in the Andes in particular, and the recent trend for projects aiming to use archaeology as a resource for economic, social and environmental development. This section also highlights the lack, or inadequacy of evaluation strategies, which means that these projects have little chance of learning from their mistakes, or understanding the reasons behind their successes to best inform future approaches. This constitutes a significant research gap.

The second part of this introduction serves as a **conceptual framework** for the thesis, and focuses on development evaluation and its implications in terms of power, ethics and rigour. These considerations tie in to a brief review of recent trends in development evaluation and, in particular, how practitioners have attempted to address practical and theoretical issues around rigour, participation, ethics and power.

The third part of this introduction describes the **structure of the whole thesis** and explain how the themes discussed in the literature review and conceptual framework are woven into the research questions and empirical chapters.

1.2. Literature Review: Archaeology, Development and Evaluation in the Andes

The intersection between archaeology and development and the need for evaluation is what frames this thesis thematically. I have previously discussed the relationship between archaeology and development, and the rationale behind considering the impacts that archaeology may have on local communities in terms of development (Dupeyron 2020). Here, I will draw out the main points from this review and focus on examples set in the Andes to show the salience of these themes in the region. I will also explain why these projects can be considered ‘complex’ interventions in the development sense, and why they warrant a careful understanding of the context and local politics. This will lead on to the discussion of a significant gap in the existing research: while being aware of their impacts on local communities, most heritage projects fail to evaluate these impacts rigorously, which impedes their accountability to local communities and their ability to learn from their mistakes. In this literature review

section, I provide a context for the thesis, and describe the knowledge gap that the thesis helps fill.

1.2.1. Archaeology and heritage projects as development interventions

Most archaeologists and heritage practitioners view the relationship between development and their activities as problematic. This is encapsulated in the title of Gould and Pyburn's volume (2017) *Collision or Collaboration*, which discusses this interplay in a range of case studies. Development often comes at a cost, especially when associated with infrastructural expansion and a surge in industrial activities. As early as the 1980s, Keatinge (1980) illustrates the threat posed to seventeen archaeological sites by the construction of a large dam and associated reservoir in Peru's Jequetepeque Valley. The creation of the World Heritage List was a response to the threat posed by the Aswan High Dam to the Abu Simbel temples (Labadi 2017, 47). The growth of urban areas frequently translate to a surge in encroachment, looting and other human activities that are detrimental to the archaeological record (Asensio 2018, 228; Gould and Burtenshaw 2014, 3). Thus, development is sometimes conceived as an unstoppable capitalist force, the consequences of which need to be mitigated (Herrera 2013, 77). Archaeologists are often reluctant to engage with ideas related to economics, regarding the entire field as diametrically opposed to the cultural values they uphold (for a summary of this attitude, see Burtenshaw 2014).

This conflict between preservation and development is driven by a reductive view of the latter, whereby development is only considered in terms of economic growth, urban expansion and infrastructural proliferation. Archaeologists and anthropologists have also criticized the neo-colonial undertones of the development sector (Hutchings 2013), a hypocritical position considering the intellectual history of their disciplines, though this fits perfectly with the post-development critiques, including within development evaluation itself (Cavino 2013). Nevertheless, more nuanced perspectives have emerged within the heritage sector, as exemplified by Basu and Modest's edited volume (2015), which recognises the complex layering of positive and negative consequences of development. This recognition has also driven governments and international bodies to enforce legal provisions to protect archaeological heritage (a historical perspective and examples can be found in Labadi 2017).

Meanwhile, in Global South countries, there is an emerging awareness that archaeology ought to collaborate with development efforts, especially in regard to enhancing quality of life (Bazán Pérez et al. 2008, 246). This concept is sometimes named ‘archaeology for development’³ (Bazán Pérez et al. 2008; Bonacchi and Burtenshaw 2011). The reconsideration of the aims and means of development described earlier, such as the focus on human development, quality of life and wellbeing, are more compatible with the objectives and temporalities of heritage work (Basu and Modest 2015, 14-15).

Another dimension of ‘development’ that has received substantial attention from archaeologists is the ‘sustainable development’ agenda, which is easier to accommodate to heritage preservation objectives. Sustainable development can be defined as ‘meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs’ (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987, 43). It has been articulated around three mutually reinforcing pillars: economic development, social development and environmental protection (United Nations General Assembly 2005, 12). Although culture was proposed as a fourth pillar by UNESCO in 2002 and backed by institutions such as United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG 2010), the change was ultimately rejected by the UN (Labadi and Gould 2015, 200). ‘Sustainable Development’ was broad enough at its inception to generate consensus, though it gave way to a range of diverging interpretations, ranging from neo-liberal approaches in which value was only ascribed in monetary terms, to concerns about environmental justice (Redclift 2005). Despite these debates, large-scale heritage organisations such as UNESCO have embraced the Sustainable Development approach to orientate their policies (UNESCO 2013). The 2015 ‘Sustainable Development Goals’ now inform much of the policy-making discourse in development and, although the role played by culture is not explicitly stated in any of the 17 Goals, it is woven through several (UNESCO 2018; explicit links are detailed in Labadi et al. 2021). The concept of sustainability has been incorporated and critiqued in the archaeology and heritage discourse (summaries of these debates can be found in Basu and Modest 2015; Howard 2013; Labadi 2019; Labadi and Gould 2015).

³ Other scholars use the term ‘archaeology for development’ to refer to the role played by archaeologists in the planning process, especially when they are contracted ahead of construction to enable the authorisation of infrastructural and urban developments (Londoño 2013).

The following section explores the main opportunities and challenges in using archaeology as a resource for development, and key ways in which archaeological projects have attempted to address them in relation to environmental, economic and social impacts. It is clear that these impacts are interrelated, a theme which will be examined at length throughout this thesis. However, for the sake of clarity, I have chosen to describe impacts based on these artificial divisions.

1.2.1.1. Environmental impacts

Archaeology can present solutions to global climate change both in terms of adaptation, by providing a long-term record of how humans have faced environmental challenges (Lane 2015), but also in terms of mitigation, by providing a long-term view of environmental changes at the scale of a site or region, which the public can understand (Lafrenz Samuels 2016). Archaeological projects have also sought to influence agricultural development through the study of past landscapes and adaptive indigenous techniques. The interdisciplinary endeavour of historical ecology focuses on the study of past ecosystems and the changes they experience over time. It considers humans as an integral part of this landscape, seeing them as mobile, communicative and adapted (Crumley 1994, 6). Applied archaeology, or the “application of archaeological research and its results to address contemporary human problems” (Neusius 2009, 19) often works in conjunction with the historical ecology framework. Together, they aim to promote local environmental sustainability through rehabilitating agricultural techniques that are more adapted to the local natural and human geography.

The longevity of historical ecology and applied archaeology is perhaps greatest in South America, where academics have partnered with local NGOs to implement such projects since the 1980s (Herrera 2013, 81). Examples include the Cusichaca project in Peru, which seeks to re-establish the Inca terracing system with bi-annual cropping of maize and potatoes (Kendall 2005; 2013) or efforts to develop community-managed raised-field agricultural systems in Bolivia (Isendahl et al. 2013; Swartley 2002).

In the long-term, these projects have only had limited success. CARE Peru encouraged the implementation of terraces in the 1980s, following methods devised by Erickson (1998), but abandoned the project due to lack of funding (Herrera 2013, 82). Fifty percent of the raised field projects were abandoned as of 2013 (Herrera 2013, 83).

How can the unsustainability of these projects be explained? Many of them were over-optimistic and riddled with technical mistakes, such as the lack of appropriate hydric management or lack of focus on local plants (Herrera 2013, 84). Yet, more importantly, Swartley (2002, 6) describes the raised field agriculture method as an ‘invented tradition’. The project’s foundations, imported from Western NGOs and academics, found no resonance in modern Bolivian communities, who resisted the notion of indigeneity attached to it. Management was conducted away from communities, in foreign languages, and without respecting their internal organisation (Herrera 2013, 84).

The record of applied archaeology in South America highlights the importance of considering the interplay of social, economic and political factors and how they affect the conduct of a project. Three decades later, perceptions of development and sustainability have changed; locally-led grassroots projects might be more successful than previous attempts managed by foreign academics. The popularity of participatory approaches might ensure that local communities are fully integrated in a project’s management and that it caters to their needs. Recent attempts at carrying out historical ecology projects follow a more holistic perspective, taking these past trajectories into account. The **Instituto de Montaña’s work in Peru** is one such example. Only time will reveal these projects’ long-term contribution to mitigating the practical challenges they have identified. Overall, there is a demand for practical and flexible evaluation methods, which could help these projects correct their course if necessary, and to better integrate their findings with local development needs and policies.

1.2.1.2. Economic impacts

Archaeological sites have also had an impact on livelihoods and sources of income from tourism, defined as a ‘social, cultural and economic phenomenon, which entails the movement of people to countries or places outside their usual environment for personal or business/professional purposes’ (World Tourism Organization 2022a). It can be an important asset for development: tourism-related targets are included in the Sustainable Development Goals, including SDG 8 (decent work and economic growth), and tourism currently contributes to one in eleven jobs worldwide (World Tourism Organization 2022c). Mass tourism is generally unsustainable, as it drives the degradation of sites themselves. Government efforts to regulate tourism, such as establishing a cap of 2,500

visitors per day at the Peruvian site of Machu Picchu, might not be sufficient to guarantee the preservation of archaeological monuments as a resource (Larson and Poudyal 2012, 925). The socio-economic repercussions of tourism on local populations are far ranging and not always positive. For example, overcrowding at the World Heritage Site of Pingyao (China) led to the government's decision to displace and relocate about 12,000 inhabitants (Wang and Gu 2020).

These challenges have encouraged new movements, such as ecotourism, community-based tourism, ethical or 'fair-trade' tourism or 'pro-poor tourism' (Ashley et al. 2000; Mitchell and Ashley 2010; Mowforth and Munt 2016, 103). The tenets of 'sustainable tourism', emerging from experience and best practice, include the participation of locals, support for conservation, and an increased focus on education (Mowforth and Munt 2016, 104). These fit with the principles of pro-poor tourism as defined by Ashley et al. (2000, 6), whose approach shows that 'pro-poor tourism' can have more positive impacts if employment opportunities are considered holistically and partnerships increased, and if interventions are taken at local, national and international levels.

Various NGOs have sought to promote sustainable economic development in communities living close to archaeological sites. These include the Global Heritage Fund (GHF 2010), the World Monuments Fund (Ackerman 2014) and the Sustainable Preservation Initiative (Coben 2014). The latter was a capacity-building programme aiming to foster local entrepreneurship by training members of the community as artisans, with several projects in Peru (a fuller description is available in Dupeyron 2021). Burtenshaw (2013, 115-116) refers to these projects as archaeological 'Integrated Conservation and Development projects' (ICDPs), harking back to similar initiatives in the ecological conservation sector.

Yet, there is a growing recognition that the longest-living, and thus most sustainable projects are the ones rooted in local systems of governance and less subject to foreign oversight. Gould's work on four heritage projects that operate as common pool resources, following the ideas of economist Ostrom, has mapped fieldwork data against Ostrom's framework to explain longevity, including transparency in management, democratic

institutions, and devolution to local forms of authority (Gould 2018, 141)⁴. Again, more analyses are necessary to evaluate these projects and their contribution to sustainability in the long term.

1.2.1.3. Social impacts

Archaeological sites can have a strong social and cultural impact on local populations through increasing their 'heritage awareness' (Apaydin 2016, 829), and strengthening local identities. Benefits include building 'strong, self-reliant communities' (UNESCO 2010, 14), which fit with development attempts to improve quality of life. Education and training are often key vectors through which projects seek to foster locals' identification to, and appropriation of, their heritage.

The preservation of cultural heritage for its own sake is only possible when the ties between communities and their past are reinforced. With a renewed sense of ownership and responsibility, local people will care more about the site and its associated materials. Leventhal's project in Tihosuco, Mexico, has highlighted the need for greater empowerment of communities (Leventhal et al. 2014). By talking to the local population, Leventhal and his team realised that they were not interested in their Classic Maya past, but in the more recent 'Caste War'⁵ of the 19th century, to which they could directly relate. This bond was used to generate a stronger community project: local villagers are immediately involved in its management. Due to their emotional attachment, the project is likely to carry on long after Leventhal's involvement.

The long-term effects of these community projects are hard to assess, however. In the past twenty years, the practice of community archaeology in the developing world has led to many debates (for a greater articulation of these, see Pyburn 2017). These centre around questions such as the extent to which they replicate neo-colonial power relations, or contribute to the commodification of heritage, or if they can be relevant to local needs. Pyburn is critical of the tourism development efforts at the site of Chau Hiix

⁴ Ostrom's framework itself was based on the aggregated study of several discrete small-scale case studies, which Gould describes as 'small-n' (Gould 2014, 146).

⁵ The Caste War was a conflict which took place between 1847 and 1901 in Mexico's Yucatan peninsula. The conflict saw various factions among the indigenous Maya populations rebel against the Spanish colonial powers and establish a semi-autonomous Maya state (more details can be found in Leventhal et al. 2014 and the works they cite).

in Belize, which were mainly driven by her own efforts (2017, 194), with limited local responsibility and no governmental support. After a few years without her involvement, the project waned. Local identification with the site was so low that villagers stopped protecting it, and the site's storage house was broken into and destroyed (Pyburn 2017, 194). However, some projects can successfully make the transition to sole management by local participants, such as in the village of **Agua Blanca in Ecuador**, a flagship example which will be further described throughout the thesis as it became one of my case studies (see Chapter 2 and 3). In the 1990s, McEwan and Silva spearheaded a community archaeology project which led to the villagers creating their own museum and community centre thanks to Hudson, an exhibit designer (Hudson and McEwan 1987). Beyond the mere economic benefits generated by a surge in tourist activity, the Agua Blanca project has fostered pride in the past through a process of 'cultural identity and confidence building' (Hudson et al. 2016, 84).

In this section, we have seen that archaeology directly contributes to achieving sustainable development. This thesis refers to projects that use archaeology as a resource for development, building on these impacts as 'archaeology for development' projects, therefore considering them as 'development interventions'. The examples above have shown that these projects involve several stakeholders making coordinated efforts towards similar goals, while involving multiple causal strands and alternative pathways. These are all the hallmarks of complexity, which is a key concern within development evaluation (Rogers 2008). I will explore the concept of complexity in the following section.

1.2.2. Complexity, power and politics

To examine the complexity of development interventions, I use Bamberger et al.'s framework (2016, 14), focusing on the causality and change dimension, as well as the embeddedness and nature of the system. This section offers a brief overview of complexity, though this is a central theme in Chapter 5, which explores the complexity of 'archaeology for development' interventions based on my own fieldwork.

Bamberger et al. define five dimensions of complexity (2016, 14): In the intervention and its articulation of the underpinning logic; in the types of institutions and stakeholders involved; in the mechanisms of causality and change; in the nature of the

system/context in which the intervention takes place; and in the design and use of evaluations. 'Archaeology for development' projects can be described as complex in all of these ways: i) they do not usually articulate the logic behind how they will achieve development impacts, ii) they include a vast stakeholder universe, iii) changes might be diffuse, long-term, and difficult to attribute to the project, iv) the wider socio-political context in which they are situated will influence the success of these cultural programmes and v) evaluation is not often routinely conducted. I detail each of these dimensions of complexity below.

In terms of causality and change, the brief overview of the preceding section has shown that the development impacts of archaeology are wide-ranging, overlapping and sometimes indirect. For example, the Sustainable Preservation Initiative projects in Peru improve communities' access to employment but also reinforce their identification with their local heritage (Dupeyron 2021).

Many of the 'archaeology for development' projects are managed by a network of stakeholders involving academics, NGOs and government institutions. They are not purposefully designed as development interventions with comprehensive evaluation strategies. Projects using archaeology for development span different areas of expertise and adapt along the way without having a planned trajectory, or an established 'best practice' approach; thus, some of these interventions may be defined as complex (Raimondo et al. 2016). The specific associated evaluation challenges are the absence of clearly articulated objectives, the difficulty of determining easily measurable and quantifiable data points, and the lack of resources. These will be described at length in the following section.

The political and historical context surrounding archaeology also contributes to the complexity of its interventions aimed at development. In its disciplinary trajectory, archaeology is moving away from its avowed quest for scientific objectivity (the New Archaeology, or processual archaeology movement of the 1960s) to acknowledge a plurality of perspectives to explain the past. Since the 1980s, archaeology has experienced a post-processual 'turn' towards recognising the biases affecting archaeologists and acknowledging the power dynamics within their work (Hegmon 2003, 218). The post-processual turn has also contributed to a decolonial critique, leading to a greater inclusion of indigenous narratives and concepts about the past within

archaeology, and a greater engagement with issues surrounding ownership of the past (Atalay 2006). Public archaeology and community-based archaeology are worth mentioning in this study; these fields take power dynamics into account and are acutely aware of the political context surrounding a project.

Public archaeology is 'both a disciplinary practice and a theoretical position' (Richardson and Almansa-Sanchez 2015, 194), focusing on the role of archaeology in the modern world. This framework is helpful in finding disciplinary resonance for ideas about development. In broader terms, public archaeology refers to 'any area of archaeological activity that interacted or had the potential to interact with the public' (Schadla-Hall 1999, 147). This is a controversial definition that has led some of its advocates to argue that all archaeological activity should be aware of its potential consequences on modern society (Grima 2016, 6). Proponents of this approach have studied topics as wide-ranging as ethics, identity and politics, indigenous issues and postcolonial critiques, relations with communities, political engagement, repatriation, economic impact, or the practice of public-oriented projects (Gould 2016, 10). 'Archaeology for development', which, as mentioned above, focuses on the role archaeology can play in improving quality of life, is viewed by some scholars as a parallel field to public archaeology (Saucedo Segami 2014, 14). I consider public archaeology to be a suitable home for the concept of 'archaeology for development', due to the broad remit of public archaeology as far as engagement with local communities is concerned.

Public archaeology focuses on the practical aspects in which archaeology affects, and is affected by, non-archaeologists. It cannot be divorced from archaeological research, and there are significant overlaps with debates in the field of critical heritage studies. Public archaeology is characterised by its reflexivity, notably regarding whether the justification of archaeological activity, in economic terms, is forcing the discipline to conform to neo-liberal standards (Matsuda 2016, 6). The critical lens provided by public archaeology is valuable when attempting to understand the political implications of archaeological work, and this echoes the tenets of complexity-aware evaluation.

As archaeology attempts to make amends for its colonial legacy and involve descendant communities⁶ both in the interpretation of the past and the management of its remains, discussions around Community-Based Archaeology are also rife. This can be defined as work “with, for and by” communities (Atalay 2019, 515). This type of work is rooted in the larger decolonial movement within social sciences, which is informed by indigenous knowledge. By embracing the fact that research is woven by many agents and differing perspectives, archaeological research can seek to address historical injustices and promote local, indigenous solutions to contemporary challenges (Montgomery Ramírez 2020).

Issues of power and participation are therefore at the forefront of current debates within archaeology and, as we will see below, these echo the debates within development evaluation. Heritage practitioners increasingly recognise the complexity of ways in which their work can affect neighbouring communities. To hold themselves accountable to these communities and their funders, the archaeologists and heritage practitioners involved are turning to evaluation methods, as seen in the development sector.

1.2.3. Defining Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning

Considering the political context in which ‘archaeology for development’ projects operate and their real potential to affect people’s lives, practitioners are increasingly aware of their need to demonstrate their contribution and correct course if needed (Pyburn 2017, 190). In parallel, the competitive funding market makes it necessary for projects to clearly establish pathways to impact.

In the development and international aid world, recent decades have seen the growing concern with evidence-based policy and accountability for public funds driving the demand for rigorous evaluation. Measuring the impact of development programmes provides feedback on which approaches are working, helps improve the implementation of future programmes and allocation of budgets, and informs policy decisions (Gertler et al. 2016, 4). Thus, evaluation and monitoring activities aim to render development projects more accountable and sustainable. Evaluation differs from other forms of

⁶ ‘Descendant communities’ usually refers to the descendants of the people who lived in the archaeological site(s) under investigation.

research because in its conventional form, it focuses on specific interventions and their effectiveness, and its main audiences are the policymakers and donors that commission evaluations of their programmes (Schwandt and Gates 2021, 72) usually performed by external technical experts (Schwandt and Gates 2021, 83).

Gertler et al. define evaluations as “periodic, objective assessments of a planned, ongoing or completed project, program or policy” (2016, 7). Later in this section, I will show that evaluations are rarely objective. Evaluations can take place at discrete points of a project’s implementation: for example, Process Evaluation seeks to test whether it is operating as planned through implementation (Schwandt and Gates 2021, 69) and Impact Evaluation seeks to determine the effect of a programme on an outcome of interest (Gertler et al. 2016, 8) after a programme’s implementation. Evaluation is often conducted alongside monitoring activities, which routinely collect data on indicators tracking a programme’s performance during implementation, to then analyse the processes affecting this performance (Gertler et al. 2016, 7). Evaluation can follow a wide range of approaches that situate themselves on a continuum whereby they are more or less utilisation-based, participatory, qualitative or quantitative (Schwandt and Gates 2021, 66), and focusing to varying extents on contribution or attribution (Schwandt and Gates 2021, 70) depending on who commissions them and who carries them out. In recent years, alternatives to the conventional frame of evaluation have emerged to recognise complexity and foster co-production with the communities that projects intend to serve, moving away from a ‘project mentality’ to encompass aspects of action research (Schwandt and Gates 2021, 114). In the last ten years, institutions such as the Overseas Development Institute⁷ or the UK network of NGOs BOND (British Overseas NGOs for Development) have pioneered the use of ‘Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning’ (MEL) instead of the more traditional ‘Monitoring and Evaluation’ couplet, to account for the importance of using the information generated during the evaluation process to improve future project activities. Learning therefore concerns the activities generated to discuss and reflect upon evaluation results among concerned stakeholders to influence policy (Young et al. 2014, 44).

⁷ A Development think tank based in London.

In this thesis, I use the term ‘evaluation’ to refer to activities or approaches aiming to measure or understand, with data, the changes happening in a community within the course of a project and their causes. Chapter 4 will specifically discuss current practices of Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning in the reflexive processes undertaken in the three selected case studies.

1.2.4. The MEL gap in ‘archaeology for development’ projects

Attempts to use archaeological heritage as a resource for development have been marked by many unconvincing results. Prime examples are the case of Andean raised field systems (Herrera 2013), or efforts to promote community-managed archaeological tourism in Belize (Pyburn 2017), which demonstrate that these projects tend to have low sustainability in the long term, highlighting the need for rigorous and usable evaluation. I will briefly review recent attempts at monitoring and evaluating such projects, and their main weaknesses.

1.2.4.1. Perceived importance of evaluation

Not only do funders such as the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF 2018) increasingly require projects to demonstrate impact – particularly economic – in order to justify the allocation of funds; stakeholders recognise evaluation as a tool for projects to improve and ensure they are meeting their goals (Gould and Burtenshaw 2014, 8). Furthermore, within archaeology’s recent disciplinary move towards reflexivity, evaluation would provide a much-needed critical eye to ensure that projects aiming to increase public engagement do not end up replicating pre-existing power structures (Ellenberger and Richardson 2018, 77). The complex entanglement of ethical issues and notions of human development also show that evaluation needs to be conducted in a reflective and critical manner. The alternative would be a box-ticking approach, whereby evaluation would only serve as a formality, enabling funders to wash their hands of other questionable practices on the part of the project, since they can prove a supposedly positive social impact through their sponsorship of heritage (Ellenberger and Richardson 2018, 81).

The aim of rigorous evaluation is to facilitate the design of better projects and encourage lasting bonds with communities to incorporate their needs in the policy-making process. The issue of evaluation use is another crucial topic within current

evaluation research (Dhaliwal and Tullock 2012): it focuses on the extent to which the reflexive information obtained from these projects can lead to tangible changes and improvements.

1.2.4.2. Attempts at evaluation

Many of the studies around impact in archaeology have centred on the idea of social or economic value and how it needs to be quantified in order for policymakers to understand the relevance of a given site or project (Boom 2018; Burtenshaw 2013). Few studies have focused on evaluation itself, which is more concerned with attributing specific impacts to a project (Ellenberger and Richardson 2018; Gould 2016). Carman et al. (1999, 146) have already pointed out the distinction between ‘valuing’ archaeology, or understanding the set of values assigned to the archaeological resource, and ‘evaluating’ institutions and their abilities to meet their objectives. Similarly, I argue that evaluating projects and their impacts is a different endeavour to quantifying their value; this endeavour has not received the attention it deserves considering the potentials of archaeology for local development, as highlighted above. In this section, I will detail the work that has been conducted in both areas of valuation and evaluation, which have informed each other.

Attempts to adapt Economic Impact Assessments to the heritage context, in order to elicit the economic value of archaeological assets, are a significant addition to the field. Burtenshaw has conducted a study measuring the economic capital of the site of Feynan in Jordan (2013; 2014), and that of the site and museum of Kilmartin Glen in Scotland (2008). Douglas (2010) tested a range of methods to ascribe an economic value to the impacts of the Çatalhöyük project in Turkey, including a travel-cost method, contingent valuation survey, and an expenditure multiplier method⁸. Such attempts are inspired from the fields of cultural economics, as pioneered by Throsby (2001), and ecological economics. They have both introduced methods to quantify the benefits and value of

⁸ The travel cost is estimated based on the distance visitors had to cover, as well as money spent on food, drinks, accommodation, and opportunity costs. It is used as a proxy for how much people are willing to spend to visit the site (Douglas 2014, 46). Contingent Valuation usually consists in assessing survey participants’ ‘willingness-to-pay’ (WTP) to prevent the destruction of an asset, in this case the site of Çatalhöyük (Douglas 2014, 46). In other cases, their ‘willingness-to-accept’ (WTA) a compensation for the destruction of an asset can also be measured (Burtenshaw 2014, 26). The expenditure multiplier method tracks how much extra income is generated from each dollar invested in the project (Douglas 2014, 47).

environmental and cultural assets; Burtenshaw (2014) provides an overview of such methods. While the ambition of Douglas's project is admirable, the sample sizes are small, and not statistically significant (Burtenshaw 2013, 200). More research is needed to adapt economics-rooted methods to small-scale archaeological endeavours. Some of that work on economic capital has informed research on evaluation. More recently, Burtenshaw has promoted the collection of rigorous economic monitoring and evaluation methods within the Sustainable Preservation Initiative (for more details on the SPI programme and how its impacts could be measured, see Dupeyron 2021). Glassup's work (2011) in San José de Moro, Peru, attempts to collect data on the economic, socio-cultural, and conservation impacts of the Sustainable Preservation Initiative project through questionnaires and surveys. However, the lack of a baseline against which to compare the results of the intervention was a significant obstacle in demonstrating that the impacts were caused by SPI.

Other methodological advances have come from attempts to measure non-economic values and impacts in the heritage sector. As early as 1996, Carnegie and Wolnizer (1996, 89) made significant inroads on accountability in museums focusing on non-financial outcomes, urging professionals to measure viability and vitality as seen in the levels of activity, participation, interaction, and representation. They advocated for the inclusion of non-financial performance indicators, such as uses of the collection, visitor numbers, and satisfaction (Carnegie and Wolnizer 1996, 90–92). Mason's typology of socio-cultural values attached to heritage disaggregates them into historical, cultural/symbolic, social, spiritual/religious, and aesthetic (2002, 10). This distinction is a starting point to help decision-makers take all dimensions into account, but also to think about indicators for impact. In this vein, the NEARCH project, funded by the European Union, has conducted research on values by conducting a broad survey on a sample of 4,516 Europeans to elicit how they relate to their archaeological heritage (Kajda et al. 2018). Research by van den Dries, Boom, and colleagues (Boom 2018; van den Dries et al. 2015) is channelling those insights into appropriate methods related to the measurement of social values. However, this system of values remains mostly limited to a European context. A notable exception is Ginzarly et al.'s (2019) analysis using social media (most photographed viewpoints, tags) in Tripoli, Lebanon, to understand how tourists and local people value heritage, and the changes in these perceptions over time. This study provides an interesting methodological foray into obtaining large-scale data.

Anthropological investigations remain a common method for elucidating the social impact of archaeological projects on local communities. One step in that direction is offered by Stauß's work with the women of Pachacamac, Peru, who have been trained as artisans by the Sustainable Preservation Initiative (Stauß 2016). More recently, Gürsu and the British Institute in Ankara have conducted research on the social and economic impacts of their 'Living Amid the Ruins' project, collecting qualitative data on the responses to heritage and community development in seven villages (Schadla-Hall 2019, pers. comm.). The same team has pioneered the use of a large-scale (n=3601) survey of public opinion on the value of archaeological heritage as part of the Safeguarding Archaeological Assets of Turkey project (Gürsu et al. 2020).

Another area in which significant methodological advances have been made is in measuring the outcomes of public archaeology projects for education. The Higher Education Field Academy is a programme inviting secondary school students to participate in archaeological excavations in the East of England. Over eight years, they have tracked the impact on educational aspirations through rigorous surveys administered to all students (Lewis 2014). Similar approaches have been tested in non-Western settings, such as in the site of Çatalhöyük in Turkey (Apaydin 2016). A questionnaire administered to a group of children who took part in the education programme and a control group revealed that their answers differed very little, and that most of their knowledge derived from the formal Turkish education system (Apaydin 2016, 838). Similar methods were used by Guilfoyle and Hogg, who have advocated for the use of a single framework comprising evaluation data based on surveys and bespoke indicators in their study of public outreach, or 'collaborative archaeology' projects in Canada and Australia (2015).

With a growing concern for accountability, several institutions are now actively promoting evaluation. The Heritage Lottery Fund has funded over 49,000 UK-based heritage projects since 1994 (HLF 2022), and its core requirement to evaluate funded projects has compelled stakeholders to consider impacts. The organisation issued a methodological guide explaining how to conduct evaluation, and promoting qualitative methods such as interviews and Focus Group discussions in combination with surveys and website analytics (HLF 2017). Three major outcomes are measured: outcomes for heritage, for people, and for communities. The evaluation is based on a logic model of a

type that is commonplace in the field of international development, articulating how activities (inputs) are translated into outputs and longer-term outcomes, as well as outlining the assumptions underlying the project's logic, and the external factors likely to influence it (HLF 2017, 4). The HLF encourages projects to monitor specific aspects related to the outcomes such as 'financial spend in the local economy' (HLF 2017, 16) but provides little guidance on what methods can be used to access this data.

It is only very recently that research within the heritage sector focuses on providing detailed evaluation guidelines, such as the Centre for Cultural Value's evaluation framework (2021) or the AHRC's review of evaluation methods for the arts and culture sector (Crossick and Kaszynska 2016). These resonate with a subset of the current discourse on development evaluation corresponding to small-n methods, which will be described in the theoretical framework below ([Section 1.3](#)). The Centre for Cultural Value (2021) identifies the importance of several principles underpinning evaluation, and gives practical tips to make it beneficial, robust, people-centred and transparent/shareable. The AHRC's guidelines (Crossick and Kaszynska 2016) review several examples of cultural actors such as museums using methods to evaluate their projects, including surveys, scorecards and ethnographic approaches, and highlight their strengths and weaknesses. These guidelines outline the importance of qualitative data and advocate for the combination of methodological approaches to triangulate information. However, both the AHRC and the Centre for Cultural Value guidelines fall short of combining detailed explanations with empirical evidence to show how to implement the methods they mention while balancing rigour, local relevance, feasibility and ethics. Furthermore, these guidelines are not yet routinely known or implemented, and they are not specific to the archaeology sub-sector of culture.

1.2.4.3. Challenges to evaluation within the archaeological heritage sector

Having briefly reviewed the evaluation landscape within the archaeology and heritage sectors, it is evident that these recent attempts show the great extent of interest in critically reviewing the impacts of projects on communities. However, as mentioned above, there are very few guidelines in the heritage sector and even fewer for archaeology-oriented projects.

Despite recent efforts to increase the scope and feasibility of impact measurement, possibilities within the public archaeology and archaeological heritage sector remain limited. One reason for this is that the impacts they are interested in evaluating, especially in terms of social or cultural development, might be beyond quantifiable outcomes. Additionally, these projects are usually small-scale, which means that quantitative data is not very enlightening. Integrating evaluation frameworks within heritage and public archaeology projects is a challenge; these are often conducted on a small-scale, and tend to experience severe budget and personnel limitations (Moshenska 2017, 13). Indeed, due to stretched resources, evaluation in that sector is often perceived as an unnecessary luxury (Moshenska 2017, 13), even though the results of an evaluation might offer solutions to make projects more financially self-sufficient. Most of these projects do not have a dedicated budget for evaluation; at best, they track monitoring and evaluation indicators (Burtenshaw 2017, pers. comm.). Some papers revisit projects a few years on to measure them against their stated objectives (Herrera 2013; Herrera 2015; Hudson et al. 2016; Tully 2009) but evaluation methodologies are scarce in the heritage sector. In addition, these types of projects rarely articulate their objectives in a way that would allow them to be evaluated (Gould 2016, 9).

Gould advocates a move beyond single case-study reports (the current norm within evaluation in the heritage sector) and towards practical guidelines for evaluation (2016, 7). He encourages the borrowing of methods from economics and political sciences, and mentions rigorous evaluation protocols: meta-analyses, randomised control trials, and systematic 'small-n' case study approaches (Gould 2016, 13). The first two appear practically impossible due to the lack of easily collectable quantitative data in a vast majority of heritage projects, and the small numbers of participants with which these projects usually operate. However, his suggestion to explore small-n evaluation methods has potential, fits with the guidelines issued by organisations such as the Centre for Cultural Value (2021) and the AHRC (Crossick and Kaszynska 2016) mentioned in [Section 1.2.4.2](#), and could potentially mitigate several of the core issues regarding rigour and power within evaluation, which I will detail in [Section 1.3](#).

This literature review has shown that recognising the development impacts of archaeology and heritage projects implies that these projects also deserve rigorous evaluation, to improve their relevance to local communities. In the next section, I will

consider the core conceptual problems underpinning development evaluation, as they will guide my approach throughout this thesis.

1.3. Conceptual framework: Evaluation, politics, power, and rigour

When reviewing the impacts that archaeology may have on local communities, we have seen that these impacts cannot be divorced from the local context and an acute understanding of power dynamics. Evaluation, as a tool for reflexivity, accountability and project improvement, encounters the same challenges and is not free of bias. Understanding how power and politics shape evaluation is essential in our quest for rigorous and relevant methods – that is, methods that enable evaluation to withstand scrutiny and say something meaningful about the context (Guijt and Roche 2014, 50). In this section, I will trace how evaluation practitioners have increasingly grown aware of its political dimensions, discuss the role of power, and question whether the turn towards participatory methods is enough to make evaluation processes more horizontal. Then, I will show how power, ethics and reflexivity play into the concept of rigour, and delve into the practical implications for evaluation.

1.3.1. Evaluation and politics

Monitoring and evaluation processes aiming to collect information on impact have become increasingly common since the 1950s, as a methodology to approve or reject proposed development programmes (Mayoux and Chambers 2005, 273). From the 1980s and 1990s, the growth of development institutes and academic departments sparked new areas of enquiry and practice such as the notion of ‘human development’, recognising the need to move beyond purely economic indicators (Haynes 2008, 12), and the importance of agency and the enlargement of one’s options in life (Sen 1983). The ‘post-development critique’ increasingly initiated conversations about how development as a field of practice replicates hegemonic power relations (Escobar 1999). These new discussions within development in the 1980s and 1990s fostered a more nuanced view of Monitoring and Evaluation, recognising that these practices are not apolitical.

Indeed, from their commissioning to execution and role in shaping policy, evaluations do not happen in a vacuum (Datta 2011; Karlsson 1996). Bamberger and Mabry discuss at length the different stages at which politics may affect evaluation (2019,

95): at the commissioning stage, they can determine who is selected and why. At the design stage, stakeholders may be excluded, and the decision to use a particular quantitative or qualitative approach, as well as the allocation of time and resources, is determined by political reasons as well as practical ones. While conducting an evaluation, tensions with stakeholders and clients may emerge if the results outline significant differences between what they wished for and what is actually happening. Reporting may also be fraught with politics, such as the time frame given for feedback, who is allowed to comment on the reports, certain language and translation barriers, and possible manipulation of the dissemination process by clients to further specific agendas. These considerations are at the core of how I view evaluation practice throughout this thesis. Any research into evaluation needs to take into account the stakeholders that participate in it, including commissioners, implementers and project beneficiaries, as well as the reasons why they evaluate, and how the data generated by an evaluation can play into their goals and positioning respective to other stakeholders. In the two following subsections, I will focus on the mechanisms by which power relations affect evaluation, and comment on how development practitioners have attempted to mitigate these effects through participatory methods.

1.3.1.1. Development, evaluation and power

As mentioned above, the recognition of the role played by politics in evaluation is tied to the post-development tendency to question the ways in which our practices can assert existing power relations. How do we define power in this context? Evaluation is a part of the wider forces at play within development: knowledge is an instrument in policy-making, but power is also exerted through the access granted to certain actors and not others in the arena where decisions are negotiated and taken, and through the critical awareness that actors may have of the issues affecting their own lives (Gaventa and Cornwall 2001, 70-71). It is also a diffuse force expressed in the rules and procedures of development (Eyben and Guijt 2015, 5). Through discourses, institutions and practices, evaluation is one of the elements that can uphold what Foucault would call 'regimes of truth' within development (Gaventa and Cornwall 2001, 73).

Indeed, evaluation often operates within the 'global knowledge economy': NGOs are influenced in their reporting by what they perceive donors will want to hear, which can

skew global narratives (Gaventa 2003, 16). In practice, this is facilitated by what Eyben (2015, 21) describes as ‘result artefacts’ – monitoring tools such as progress reviews and Theories of Change – and ‘evidence artefacts’ – concepts such as ‘social return on investment’ or ‘systematic reviews’, which are used to determine how projects will be implemented, and to assess their longer-term impact. These artefacts have a disciplining effect on development practitioners and institutions: they can provide perfunctory numbers to reassure funders, even when numbers cannot fully capture the reality of what is happening to a project and its participants (Eyben 2015, 22). As White puts it (2011, 132), ‘measurement is not evaluation’.

The tendency towards box-ticking, perfunctory evaluation that just serves to keep management happy and replicate the power status quo, has been critiqued by a growing body of development practitioners (Mayoux and Chambers 2005, 271) and evaluators (Eyben and Guijt 2015). The conventional frame for evaluating has expanded to incorporate criteria emerging from marginalised communities, recognising that evaluation may otherwise promote programmes reinforcing inequity, and strives to incorporate reflections on the relationship between evaluation, decision-making and politics (Schwandt and Gates 2021, 101). There is also a growing ‘alternative’ frame for evaluating which considers the fluid and complex environment in which evaluative activities take place, and involves stakeholders (and in particular, intended beneficiaries) in the definition of criteria of value and the elaboration of methodologies. The intention is that evaluation can promote social learning and facilitate societal change (Schwandt and Gates 2021, 113-137).

In heritage studies, the same critiques have emerged. Labadi (2019, 82) gives the example of UNESCO evaluating a project, which trained artisans in Mozambique. UNESCO focused on outputs such as the number of artisans receiving training but did not provide critical analysis as to whether artisans finished the training, how the knowledge they gained helped them improve their activities and whether it helped them earn a stable income. In this case, while monitoring data were collected, tracking specific indicators, they are not particularly useful in enacting change or understanding processes. They are, in fact, mostly perfunctory.

The need for criteria rooted in local perspectives as opposed to donor-mandated, perfunctory indicators has been acknowledged both within the development sector

(Eyben 2015, 34; Mayoux and Chambers 2005, 280; Schwandt and Gates 2021, 101), and in the archaeology/heritage world under the umbrella term 'multivocality' (McDavid 2014). Multivocality recognises the need for more horizontal decision-making within heritage projects, and has echoed calls for greater involvement of local stakeholders both at the management and interpretation stages. Within development, this translates to a push towards the greater use of participatory methods such as Participatory Rural Appraisal (workshops based on establishing group dynamics to elicit local understanding on a project and its context). Mayoux and Chambers (2005) trace the trajectory and benefits of using participatory processes to understand how projects impact local communities. The approach has also been co-opted by larger organisations, such as the World Bank, which saw a focus on 'local culture' and 'heritage' as a way to address critiques of their top-down approach to development and management (Lafrenz Samuels 2019, 59).

1.3.1.2. Are participatory methods enough to keep us accountable?

Participatory methods have been lauded as a tool towards flattening hierarchies and greater accountability in the development sector (Gaventa and Cornwall 2001, 74; Mayoux and Chambers 2005). However, various forms of cognitive and behavioural bias can undermine participatory approaches, due to the socio-political context in which projects operate and the agendas that shape participants' responses (Camfield et al. 2014, 54-55).

The mechanics of the participatory work can, in fact, replicate existing power structures (Kothari 2001, 142-143): by creating a space in which people are selected as 'participants', the organisers are still controlling the interaction. Drawing on a Foucauldian approach of power as diffuse and revealed through behaviour, Kothari explains that participatory workshops rarely go beyond the conventional unpacking of power relations in terms of gender, class and ethnicity. Few of them examine the expression of power in daily practices and the more nuanced ways in which people interact. Kothari warns us that participatory exercises such as Participatory Rural Appraisal tend to be one-sided, as their main aim is for the external 'observer' to gather data, and the role of the observer in collecting that data is not usually acknowledged (Kothari 2001, 145).

In 2001, Gaventa and Cornwall already recognised that participatory processes – which they did see as a way for development practitioners to be more aware of power dynamics – needed to be rigorously monitored for quality and accountability. The main questions to ask, according to them, focused on who participates and benefits from the research process, how the information can be used and by whom, and how the participatory process may transform or support power relations (Gaventa and Cornwall 2001, 78).

Although they are often seen as a paradigm shift within development (Mayoux and Chambers 2005) participatory approaches to evaluation need to be under reflexive scrutiny, or they run the risk of becoming one of the ‘result and evidence artefacts’ mentioned by Eyben (2015). They might replicate power imbalances, yet acknowledging and reflecting on this goes some way towards identifying and mitigating these imbalances. Reflexivity can also translate to a sustained effort to consider the context in which knowledge is constructed, which shapes our analysis (Camfield 2019). In fact, the process of evaluation itself can transform the evaluator (Johnson and Rasulova 2017, 270-271): being politically conscious is also a recognition that we cannot be neutral or objective, and that pretending to be so can sustain specific agendas. For example, the political agenda of austerity in the UK has driven aid agencies to demonstrate that they can deliver ‘value for money’ (Eyben 2015, 32). However, if we are all biased observers, how can we create rigorous knowledge that can be a credible enough base on which to enact change? The debate about what constitutes rigour in evaluation is ongoing; this concept is at the heart of epistemological and methodological choices (Camfield 2019, 605), and will be examined in more detail in the next section.

1.3.2. Debates around constructivism and rigour

1.3.2.1. Trade-offs between rigour, context-specificity, feasibility, processes and outcomes

Acknowledging the challenges of multivocality and reflexivity in our practice creates a further set of problems. Constructivism underpins most qualitative research and considers that there is no objective truth, but that the ‘truth’ derives from the interaction between a researcher and the researched, and is constructed in a specific context (Johnson and Rasulova 2017, 264). The constructivist debate has raged within evaluation circles (for a history of the main positions, see Johnson and Rasulova 2017,

264-266), but it condenses to one central question: How do we balance a context-specific understanding of impacts and locally relevant observations with the need to build analytical generalisability? This question is framed by broader debates regarding the politics inherent to determining what is happening, to whom, why, and what should be done (Mayoux and Chambers 2005, 274), and to the audience of evaluations (What works for whom? For whom are we evaluating? Apgar 2021, pers. comm.). Context specificity is key to understanding these power dynamics. However, excessive specificity can inhibit learning from one case and applying these lessons to another context.

This conundrum is also at the heart of this study, as we have acknowledged the diversity of projects using archaeology for development, and yet the lack of established, appropriate evaluation guidelines inhibits them from achieving the impacts local people want to see. The balance between explaining what is happening in a particular case by using locally relevant criteria and using over-arching criteria as part of systematising methodologies that are rigorous and broadly applicable needs to be carefully negotiated. This search for rigour, while acknowledging the context, underpins most forms of research in the social sciences (for a detailed discussion of the importance of context for analysis, see Camfield 2019). The emphasis on rigour is one of the reasons why qualitative evaluation is still deemed inferior to quantitative, experimental approaches such as Randomised Controlled Trials (Camfield and Duvendack 2014, 4). This is paradoxical since these experimental methods rarely explain how and why an intervention works (Cornwall and Aghajanian 2017, 173).

An important way to increase evaluation's potential to explain and help along the development of a project is to focus on processes rather than outcomes. Woodcock urges development and evaluation practitioners to consider trajectories of impact (Woodcock 2009 in Cornwall and Aghajanian 2017, 175). Thus, approaches such as participatory process evaluation ask stakeholders to map the processes of being involved in the project over time, to understand what has changed, how, and why, instead of solely measuring progress using standardised indicators (Cornwall and Aghajanian 2017, 175). Focusing on the processes also enables us to consider not only impact 'by design', but also 'by interaction' with other projects and 'by emergence', as unintended consequences surge due to the project's presence in a specific socio-economic and political context (Bhola 2000 in Cornwall and Aghajanian 2017, 173-174).

The quest for reliable data is also at the core of many public archaeology projects, as outlined in the literature review section above. In this context, this corresponds to data that can reliably explain the reasons for a programme's successes and failures (Moshenska 2017, 13). Beyond the lack of data itself, our challenge is to find ways of evaluating that go beyond a box ticking exercise and can provide tools that recognise the context and its power dynamics, while generating rigorous data that will be useable in the project's future trajectory and in other projects. Feasibility is also a core issue, as highlighted above: evaluating projects with severe time, data and budget constraints is beset with practical challenges. This dimension also features into the equation of rigour: how can methods respect the local context and generate useable and comparable observations, while dealing with significant practical restrictions?

The next section will explain how researchers in development evaluation have attempted to fulfil these requirements by incorporating reflexivity and ethics within rigour, and by focusing on processes rather than outcomes.

1.3.2.2. Redefining rigour: criteria for quality within evaluation practice

This section will theoretically frame discussions about rigour, and discuss what other considerations, such as feasibility, are necessary to assess the quality and appropriateness of evaluation methods.

Rigour in development evaluation⁹ can be defined as “cost-effectiveness in learning, with trade-offs between validity, timeliness, relevance and credibility, these set against cost which includes opportunity costs of peoples' time and other resources used” (Chambers 2015, 327). Therefore, a rigorous evaluation is holistic and encapsulates concerns about whether the evaluation method will be logical and coherent, appropriate, and relevant to what matters to people locally. It also needs to be easily implemented and feasible considering the practical constraints they face.

⁹ Other disciplines might define rigour differently, but debates on rigour in qualitative research have been ongoing throughout the social sciences (see Whittermore et al. 2001, who have been a significant voice in these debates with a background in qualitative health research).

Rigour is also dependent on the fit between the method employed and the problem that is assessed (Bamberger et al. 2015, 620), which leads us to consider the role played by reflexivity in ensuring relevance. Recent discussions on how to achieve rigour in qualitative evaluation acknowledge the importance of reflexivity (especially concerning power dynamics) and ethics. Recognising the subjectivity and biases within evaluation does not mean dismissing the whole practice as overly relativistic. Reflexivity does not undermine evaluation's value and potential to generate a useful understanding of a project's impacts, intended or unintended: in fact, it may strengthen the understanding. Guijt and Roche (2014, 51) argue that rigour and relevance should be considered as a package that needs to be negotiated in relation to the local context and specific research questions. This is a radical approach, as the mainstream view within development evaluation considers rigour to be a prerogative of large-scale, quasi-experimental approaches that strive for objectivity regardless of the context; however, this view has been increasingly challenged (Camfield and Duvendack 2014). Following Guijt and Roche, methods that can adapt to the needs of a given project, and question causality in a local context are more likely to be appropriate than methods conventionally seen as rigorous, such as large scale Randomised Controlled Trials.

These definitions of rigour and acknowledgement of reflexivity frame the criteria for quality evaluation that I describe below: whether an evaluation is reasoned (quality of thinking), trustworthy, ethical and appropriate, useable and feasible.

Evaluation needs to be able to engage in deep analysis, consider the broader systems that influence a project's progress, and acknowledge alternative interpretations and outliers. These criteria are encompassed by the notion of **quality of thinking** (Lynn and Preskill 2016).

Another important consideration is whether the evaluation results accurately reflect the reality and can be trusted. Qualitative researchers have critiqued the limitations of defining rigour solely through the concepts of validity, objectivity, reliability and generalisation, which are usually applied to quantitative research (Johnson and Rasulova 2017, 266). Indeed, these criteria fall short of reflecting the fact that the researcher's perceptions mediate their interpretation of data (Johnson and Rasulova 2017, 264). Several of the scholars working on what makes a good evaluation in a complex setting (Aston et al. 2022; Johnson and Rasulova 2017, Lynn and Preskill 2016)

therefore build upon the criteria for **trustworthiness** in qualitative research devised by Lincoln and Guba (1985). In this framework, four concepts are inherent to the concept of rigour. **Credibility** is concerned with how we can be confident about the truth of our findings. **Confirmability** focuses on ensuring that the findings stemmed from the subjects themselves and not from the researcher's own motivations and biases. **Dependability** questions whether the survey would have similar findings if repeated in a similar context, which can help with assessing the use of a method across several contexts. **Transferability** builds upon the notion of generalisation, but acknowledges the specificity of each context, and ponders whether the findings can apply to other projects or groups of people.

As noted in [Section 1.3.1](#) above, a particular challenge is ensuring that evaluation does not replicate existing power structures. To account for the impacts that development may have on power relations and politics, Johnson and Rasulova (2017, 266) add to the framework of trustworthiness the factor of **authenticity**. In their definition, authenticity dwells upon the changes occurring within the participants and observers, and whether the research prompted action and has been emancipatory. This overlaps with the evaluation standards of other organisations that are relevant to this thesis, such as the Centre for Cultural Value (2021), examining evaluation in the context of cultural heritage projects. According to their guidelines, an evaluation must not be exploitative and require participants to give up too much time or their own money to attend, and it must be delivered with integrity. The Latin American and Caribbean Network for Monitoring, Evaluation and Systematization guidelines define ethical evaluations in the Latin American context. This includes respect for people's rights, including fully informed consent, transparency, and revealing inequalities rather than minimising them (Guzmán et al. 2021, 36). In both documents, **ethics** and **cultural appropriateness** are primary concerns: this fits with authenticity's focus on incorporating different value systems and the possible consequences of participation. Acknowledging power dynamics and recognising the political dimension of evaluation (Aston et al. 2022, 40) go hand in hand with striving to conduct an ethical evaluation. Of course, this is compatible, and overlapping with confirmability (one of Lincoln and Guba's criteria of trustworthiness, or rigour), as this ensures that the findings are not the imposition of the researcher.

Due to its focus on prompting action, authenticity also overlaps with **usability**. Parkhurst (2017) encourages evaluators to consider for what purpose the data is gathered. Finding out ‘what works’ is not enough, if the process that is being evaluated is not a priority, or not a field on which actions can be taken. The results generated by a piece of evaluation research can empower communities and lead to action, but that requires the data to be shared in a transparent manner.

However, the obstacles faced in implementing evaluation will be distinct depending on the context. Therefore, important parameters to consider are **feasibility and accessibility**, which will also determine the extent to which evaluation can be undertaken in the first place.

In sum, this theoretical section has highlighted key issues affecting evaluation: the importance of acknowledging and mitigating power relations when evaluating (1.3.1) and the trade-offs between rigour and feasibility (1.3.2). This greater focus on causality and an in-depth examination of processes is also the domain of theory-based evaluation (White 2009) and small-n evaluations (White and Phillips 2012). The next section details how these approaches attempt to acknowledge reflexivity and promote ethical practice while building replicable and comparable datasets, and considering processes. Small-n and theory-based methods will be instrumental in adequately evaluating the complex impacts of archaeology and heritage projects, and therefore warrant careful consideration.

1.3.3. Practical ways to incorporate reflexivity and rigour: theory-based and small-n methods

1.3.3.1. Defining theory-based evaluation and small-n evaluation

To address the challenges of reflexivity and rigour, development evaluation researchers and practitioners have turned to methods that can offer a dynamic understanding of how the context influences the project, the iterative nature of projects, and the variety of pathways through which projects can operate (Aston et al. 2022, 48). **Theory-based methods** provide such an understanding: they are defined as evaluations that set out to investigate the causal links between an intervention and its outcomes (Funnel and Rogers 2011). These can include ‘**small-n methods**’: hailed as alternatives

to experimental and quasi-experimental studies when no large samples can be gathered, they tend to draw on qualitative and mixed methods. Small-n methods can also be useful when ethical and practical reasons prevent the separation of the population into treatment and control groups, and when baseline data is difficult to obtain (Westhorp 2014). Practitioners tend to divide them into two groups according to whether they are more focused on causal processes or participation; Group 1 methods go beyond establishing causality and focus on understanding the processes generating causal links, and are therefore 'theory-based'; while Group 2 methods are designed to involve stakeholders throughout data collection and analysis (White and Phillips 2012).

Small-n methods are a relatively new approach in the field of evaluation studies, although they build on older evaluation traditions. While there is a degree of overlap, they are not to be confused with 'small-scale evaluations', a term which designates evaluations completed by a small team within a few months (Robson 2017). The main strengths of the large array of small-n techniques lie in their capacity to deal with complex situations, recognising that the local context is integral to the good functioning of a project, and their ability to deal with time, budget and resource constraints (Westhorp 2014). Projects using archaeology for development span different areas of expertise and adapt along the way without having a traced trajectory, or an established 'best practice' approach. In that sense, some of these interventions may be defined as complex (Raimondo et al. 2016). The particular evaluation challenges associated with them are namely the absence of clearly articulated objectives, the difficulty of determining easily measurable and quantifiable data points, and the lack of resources, as outlined above. Thus, small-n methods may be more appropriate to overcome the challenges associated with the evaluation of archaeology-based development projects, but have not yet been routinely used in this field.

While I have used some of these methods, as outlined below, my main priority was to find methods that were practical and fit for purpose. Realist evaluation, for example, identifies Context/Mechanism/Outcome configurations within a project (Pawson and Tilley 1997). Since realist evaluation involves significant time resources, it may have been suitable at the scale of a PhD, but could not conceivably be used by small Andean heritage projects in future. Hence, I did not select this method for my study.

1.3.3.2. Small-n Approaches and compatibility with archaeology for development projects: Pilot Study

In 2018, I conducted an evaluability assessment, which aimed to figure out what evaluation methods fulfilled the requirements of archaeology for development projects. I used the case study of the Sustainable Preservation Initiative in Peru (Dupeyron 2021), which aimed to train and provide visibility to artisans living in the vicinity of archaeological sites. My study focused on the groups trained in Cajamarca and the Chachapoyas region. Through the interviews and site visits I conducted, I analysed the organisation's objectives and how they translated into activities and outputs, as well as whether impact could reasonably be expected (plausibility). I also looked at the purposes of conducting an evaluation, how it would help such an organisation and fit their ethos (utility). Lastly, I considered their current evaluation methods and the practical challenges they faced (feasibility).

The pilot study identified several methods as promising avenues, which I was keen to explore further in practice. While the SPI project only represents a subset of projects focusing on capacity building, it shares many of the time, budget and data constraints of its peers in the Andes. Therefore, this study guided the choice of evaluation methods I would use in my PhD.

The study showed that, while large-scale ethnographic approaches were unsuitable, it was possible to carry out **rapid ethnography** that involved participant observation and interviews over a few weeks. Proponents of the 'Reality Check Approach' (Jupp et al. 2010) claim that ethnographic approaches are less artificial, and therefore less biased, than participatory ones. **Short, bespoke surveys** were also identified as promising, although the indicators typically used in development projects such as the Poverty Probability Index (Grameen Foundation 2014) would not be suitable for the context in which heritage projects operate. As participants generally self-select based on their interest in heritage, the projects are not necessarily targeting the poorest members of a community. **Small-n participatory methods** were also particularly interesting: for instance, the Most Significant Change approach enables participants to describe impacts in their own words (Davies and Dart 2005), and the ranking and weighting exercises found in the Tiny Tools methods (Causeman et al. 2012) enable participants to quantify these impacts in a visual manner.

I therefore resolved to implement these methods in a range of contexts characteristic of 'archaeology for development' projects. While some of these are specifically small-n, such as the participatory methods I mentioned, the other methods (rapid ethnography and short, bespoke surveys) can also be used as part of small-n approaches. The following chapter, Methodology, will explain how these methods fit into my overall approach and how I implemented them. Before turning to the Methodology, however, I will summarise the contributions of this chapter to the overall thesis, and detail its research questions and structure.

1.3.3.3. Implications for this thesis

This thesis aims to fill the gap outlined in the literature review, namely how we can adapt evaluation methods to understand the impacts of archaeology and heritage projects on development in the Andes. This would be beneficial to the projects themselves, as they would become more accountable to local communities and able to learn from their mistakes. It would also benefit the whole field of development, considering the untapped potential of archaeology to contribute to the quality of life of communities.

The theoretical framework has highlighted that evaluation does not exist in a vacuum and, like all fields of research and practice, it is beset by biases. Impacts are never neutral; they are influenced by the context in which they take place and by each other. Power is a key issue, affecting the type of evaluation that can be carried out, by whom, with which resources, and how its results can be used. These theoretical considerations underpin this thesis and will be woven through the analysis.

My pilot study assessed what methods would be appropriate for evaluating 'archaeology for development' projects based on considerations of plausibility, utility, and feasibility. While the SPI project is unique, it shares the time, data and budget constraints of many of its peers in the Andes. The most promising methods for this project were rapid ethnographic approaches, short bespoke surveys and participatory small-n methods. This doctoral study will analyse the context in which evaluation can take place in three 'archaeology for development' projects in the Andes. It will test these techniques in practice to analyse the complex impacts that these projects have on local communities, firmly establishing the contributions of archaeology for development. Lastly, the thesis

will reflect on the appropriateness of these evaluation methods in terms of rigour, feasibility and ethics, and their entanglement with local power dynamics.

1.4. Research questions and structure of the thesis

1.4.1. Research questions

Based on the above, this thesis will focus on three main research questions:

1. What is the perceived need for evaluation in archaeology for development projects in the Andes, and what current strategies exist to provide the reflexivity needed to improve projects in the long term? What tensions do these evaluation strategies generate, between the practical difficulties in their implementation, and the power dynamics at play among the involved stakeholders?

This question will be the focus of the first empirical chapter, Chapter 4.

2. Through the development evaluation methods tested, what insights do we obtain on the complex socio-cultural, environmental and economic impacts archaeological projects may have on development? How comparable are the trajectories of development experienced by each village, and does the category of 'archaeology for development' make analytical sense to frame impacts?

This question will be the focus of the second empirical chapter, Chapter 5.

3. What trade-offs between rigour and feasibility are involved when evaluating small-scale 'archaeology for development' projects in the Andes? What are the practical limits of implementing evaluation methods, and how do they play out with local power dynamics? What evaluation methods work better in what contexts, and what factors influence their appropriateness?

This question will be the focus of the third empirical chapter, Chapter 6.

1.4.2. Structure of the thesis

This thesis is thus framed by the understanding that evaluation cannot yield rigorous results unless it acknowledges the context, focuses on processes and causality, and examines impact by interaction and emergence rather than solely by design. It needs

to ascertain the power structures within which knowledge is created, or runs the risk of replicating those.

These concerns will be explored throughout the text.

Chapter 2 details the methodology used for data collection and analysis, and the ethical concerns that underpin the study. It also includes a self-reflective discussion as I consider how my own positioning and biases in relation to the social context of the research – or positionality – affected the study.

Chapter 3 describes the context of the study, comparing three Andean villages and the projects that took place there.

Based on interviews, **Chapter 4** examines how local stakeholders in the Andes have attempted to evaluate the processes affecting their projects, discusses the methods they have used and places those within the wider context of ‘archaeology for development’ projects in the Andes.

Chapter 5 presents my data evaluating the complex range of impacts that three different projects may have on social, economic and environmental development in the Andes. It considers the questions examined at length through the conceptual framework, such as ‘what works for whom’, and looks at impacts not only as outcomes but as entangled processes such as ‘tourism’ that can influence villages very differently.

Chapter 6 focuses on the practical insights of using several small-scale evaluation methods in the field, and discusses their entanglements with local power dynamics. What are the risks associated with using certain types of methods instead of others, in terms of who gets represented and whose voices are heard? How do these methods compare, not only in terms of feasibility and applicability, but also in terms of reliability and comparability?

Finally, **Chapter 7** will bring together the strands examined in the three empirical chapters to propose some key principles on how to evaluate projects using archaeology for development in the Andes. After summarising the content and outlining the contributions of this thesis, Chapter 7 will also reflect on limitations and provide suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2. METHODOLOGY

I have discussed the main literature underpinning my research questions in Chapter 1 (Introduction, Literature Review and Conceptual Framework). In this chapter, I first outline the conceptual links between my research questions and the data needed to answer them. I explain my choice to use a comparative case study approach and the analytical strategy that underpins my research. Then, I explain the limits and biases inherent to my positionality as a woman and researcher from the Global North, and the ethical issues surrounding my research as well as how I attempted to mitigate them. Finally, I explain the methodological steps undertaken in the field, and how these were determined by my analytical strategy and my reflexions on positionality and ethics.

2.1. Methodology: An evaluation of evaluation?

This section explains what data is needed to answer the research questions and how it can be collected. It also explains what analytical lens I use and my overall approach. As explained in the introduction, the research questions underpinning this thesis are the following:

1. What is the perceived need for evaluation in archaeology for development projects in the Andes, and what current strategies exist to provide the reflexivity needed to improve projects in the long term? What tensions do these evaluation strategies generate, between the practical difficulties in their implementation, and the power dynamics at play among the involved stakeholders?

2. Through the development evaluation methods tested, what insights do we obtain on the complex socio-cultural, environmental and economic impacts archaeological projects may have on development? How comparable are the trajectories of development experienced by each village, and does the category of 'archaeology for development' make analytical sense to frame impacts?

3. What trade-offs between rigour and feasibility are involved when evaluating small-scale 'archaeology for development' projects in the Andes? What are the practical limits of implementing evaluation methods, and how do they play out with local power dynamics? What evaluation methods work better in what contexts, and what factors influence their appropriateness?

These questions correspond to a gap in the literature that was outlined in the Literature Review (Chapter 1). I decided to use a comparative case study research design to explore the interplay of these questions in three different contexts. This involves examining the similarities and differences between case studies, and the reasons for those differences (Patton 2014, 277). I saw the use of a single case study to be limiting, considering the breadth of issues underpinning the use of archaeology for development (see Chapter 1). The core of this thesis attempts to chart the feasibility of using development evaluation methods in archaeology and heritage projects. It was therefore important to test methods in a range of contexts, and I will explain how I chose the case studies in [Section 2.2.3](#).

These research questions **relate to the entire evaluation process**, which is one of the key difficulties in answering them. Indeed, I needed to **evaluate** to gain insights on the role, uses, feasibility and challenges of evaluation in this context. The methods used to evaluate are a smaller subset of my PhD data collection methodology – and, indeed, the data I collected on the efficacy of these methods is just as significant as the evaluation results yielded by these methods. Effectively, I conducted a small-scale evaluation (Robson 2017) of three projects at different stages of advancement and in three different villages, that I then used to answer broader questions about the context and feasibility of evaluation for this type of project. These evaluations were not typical, however, as they were not commissioned by a third-party; although the intention was to produce useable data for the communities, they were an integral part of my research. Figure 1 shows how evaluation is a component of my broader research, which is a **qualitative analysis** based on the **comparison of case studies**.

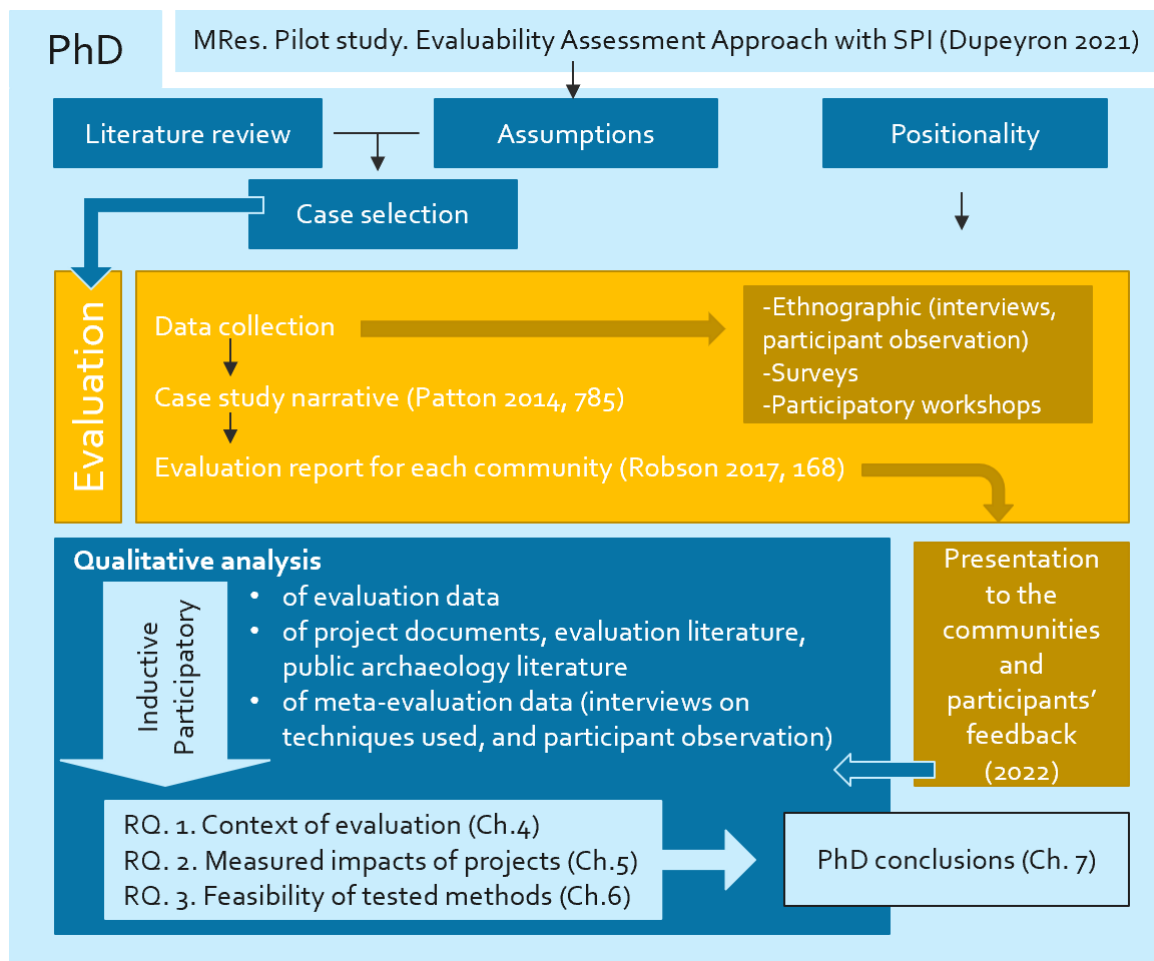


Figure 1. Research methodology

I will not discuss the strengths and weaknesses of my evaluation methods (surveys, ethnographic approaches and participatory workshops) in this chapter. This is the focus of Chapter 6, which specifically looks at the ability of these methods to provide credible evaluation results. Instead, this chapter will focus on my analytical strategy, choice of case studies and evaluation methods to test, and discuss my positionality and the ethical concerns tied to this research. The link between research questions, methodology and data collection methods is made explicit in Table 1. While all three research questions are answered through fieldwork, they correspond to different parts of the enquiry. The first assesses how stakeholders perceive the importance and current use of evaluation, the second focuses on the types of impacts that can be measured from evaluation in the three villages, and the third examines the strengths and weaknesses of the evaluation methods that I implemented.

Table 1. Outline of thesis methodology

Key question (What am I interested in?)	Methodology (What do I need to answer it?)	Information (What information do I need for this?)	Methods (How will I get this evidence?)
<p>RESEARCH QUESTION 1. What is the perceived need for evaluation in archaeology for development projects in the Andes, and what current strategies exist to provide the reflexivity needed to improve projects in the long term?</p> <p>What tensions do these evaluation strategies generate, between the practical difficulties in their implementation, and the power dynamics at play among the involved stakeholders?</p>	<p>Stakeholders' views on the importance and use of Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Comments from interviewees - Detailed review of existing evaluation frameworks for the three projects under consideration - Feedback from participants in 2022 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Literature review - Interviews with project participants and other stakeholders involved in past and present projects
<p>RESEARCH QUESTION 2. Through the development evaluation methods tested, what insights do we obtain on the complex socio-cultural, environmental and economic impacts archaeological projects may have on development?</p> <p>How comparable are the trajectories of development experienced by each village, and does the category of 'archaeology for development' make analytical sense to frame impacts?</p>	<p>Three evaluations, each highlighting the impacts of projects in different but representative contexts.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Observations from using evaluation techniques in the field - Comments from interviewees - Feedback from participants in 2022 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participant observation - Informal and semi-structured interviews -surveys
<p>RESEARCH QUESTION 3. What trade-offs between rigour and feasibility are involved when evaluating small-scale 'archaeology for development' projects in the Andes?</p> <p>What are the practical limits of implementing evaluation methods, and how do they play out with local power dynamics?</p> <p>What evaluation methods work better in what contexts, and what factors influence their appropriateness?</p>	<p>A critical comparison of three types of evaluation methods and the challenges surrounding their use in three different contexts.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Observations from using evaluation techniques in the field - Comments from interviewees - Feedback from participants in 2022 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participant observation - Informal and semi-structured interviews

2.2. Research design and analytical strategy

2.2.1. Main characteristics of the research design

To answer these research questions, I conducted both desk-based and field-based research following a design that can be described as both inductive and deductive, and profoundly iterative and participatory. These characteristics will be explained in this section.

The research design is both **inductive** and **deductive**. It is **deductive** because I had a set of assumptions before working in the field based on my previous experience and background research. As Lund (2014, 231) explains, deduction starts from broader theoretical questions to deduce areas of enquiry. Before fieldwork I had an idea of what strategies were likely to work; my positionality and preconceptions shaped this research. The pilot study I conducted in 2018 (Dupeyron, 2021) gave me a roadmap for my PhD approach: I knew it would help to conduct evaluability research before starting to collect evaluation data, to ensure that the methods would be adequate. I also thought that participatory approaches, ethnographic approaches and short surveys were likely to be more appropriate for evaluating heritage projects (see my reasoning, based on field research conducted with the Sustainable Preservation Initiative, in Dupeyron 2021).

However, the nature of small-scale quantitative evaluation is very **inductive**. As Patton (1987, 15) highlights, this research builds on observations before aggregating them into a more unified theory. Field research is also profoundly inductive, as it is determined by the opportunities and insights gleaned through immersion into concrete human and social dynamics (Lund 2014, 231). In practice, this was my approach here, as I spent the first part of each fieldwork period trying to understand the project's context and how it affected people, before selecting specific informants for interviews.

The research design and analysis process were also **iterative**: they evolved and grew according to the realities encountered on each case study. For example, in Cabana and Miraflores, where I went first, I did not probe on indigeneity at all. However, when I arrived in Agua Blanca, I asked more questions about the links between indigenous identity and archaeological heritage because respondents often brought up this dimension of their identity in interviews. The research was by no means a linear process,

and analysis was interwoven throughout fieldwork. As I obtained more empirical insights, I perused theoretical and methodological evaluation literature to refine my approach. My field notes and constant reflexive journey helped to facilitate this ebb and flow between induction and deduction.

Alongside this, I asked key informants for their opinion on evaluation, the appropriateness of the methods I had envisioned, the suitability of the indicators that I set out to measure, and practical tips on how to apply these methods in the community. Thanks to their input, the research process evolved significantly, and therefore had a key **participatory** element.

The research design is also **action oriented**, as it is focused on finding practical solutions that can be implemented by stakeholders. That is why the first step of the analysis consisted in creating evaluation reports for each community (see Figure 1). The original idea was to return to the three villages in 2020 to obtain a more longitudinal understanding of the projects, strengthen rapport with the communities and, more crucially, to enable a participatory feedback process on this research. This was intended to ensure that the findings reflected the situation accurately, and I had not distorted the participants' contributions – therefore acknowledging their role in shaping this research. More importantly, I intended to return to the field to share the results in a more direct manner and ensure that the participants could utilise the results of this research as they saw fit. Due to the restrictions linked to the Covid-19 pandemic, this was only possible in 2022 as I was nearing the end of my PhD. I therefore transformed this plan into a set of participatory workshops to disseminate my preliminary results with key stakeholders and obtain their feedback – practical details will be discussed in the methods section (2.6).

2.2.2. Design: aims and limitations?

Conducting qualitative evaluations of three case studies in two different countries and over the reduced timeframe of a PhD – further limited due to the onset of a global pandemic – was no small feat. The scope of the research was constrained by the inability to rely on a team, and the breadth of material covered over a short period of time.

A major caveat was that, while most evaluations are carried out by a team composed of data collectors and analysts with a complementary set of skills (Bamberger and Mabry

2020, 436-437), I was limited to data collection methods that I could conduct on my own, mainly due to the lack of funds to recruit research assistants and evaluation team members. This is characteristic of ‘small-scale evaluations’ (Robson 2017, 5): they focus on a local context, are completed in months, and involve a small team, sometimes only one individual. Robson describes them as “applied social science research projects” (2017, 5), which is precisely what this thesis attempts to do. This also fits with the constraints experienced by most heritage and archaeology projects (see Chapter 1, Literature Review), which means that operating large-scale evaluations typical of the development field is impractical. My resource limitations forced me to only consider methods that could be implemented by one person working alone. While I am aware that doing so introduced a degree of bias (especially considering my positionality, discussed below), it is more representative of the type of evaluation that any heritage or archaeological project would be able to implement. I have attempted to mitigate this bias by coordinating the implementation of all methods with villagers and project gatekeepers (such as the *patronato* or heritage steering group, the municipal authorities, the Instituto de Montaña, the Comunidad Campesina, the Comité Arqueológico or the Comuna¹⁰), triangulating my evaluation findings to compare them and take their strengths and weaknesses into account. I discussed results with members of the three communities both while I was collecting data, obtaining their impressions, and when I returned to the field in 2022 to conduct workshops to disseminate my results and incorporate their feedback.

The case studies took place in a variety of contexts and within a limited timeframe. I only spent six to seven weeks in each project, which prevented me from engaging in a fully ethnographic endeavour. The time was cut short by political difficulties, such as the October 2019 crisis in Ecuador, which led to a closure of borders for a few weeks just as I was due to travel to Agua Blanca. Without knowing how long it would take for the situation to resolve, I decided to go to Miraflores first, but had to wait until November 2019 to be able to gain access through the Instituto de Montaña field staff in Huancayo. Further disruptions to fieldwork occurred due to the COVID-19 pandemic. A second field season was planned in Summer 2020 to obtain a longitudinal understanding of the

¹⁰ See the definitions for these main stakeholders for each village in Chapter 3, which describes the context.

projects, repeat some of the survey and participation exercises and to feedback preliminary results to participants and strengthen the rapport with the members of all three villages. Notwithstanding the fact that I could not travel, all three projects were interrupted due to the lockdowns and health concerns in Peru and Ecuador. I opted instead to complement my findings with a remote data collection methodology, described in the [Section 2.6](#) below. While these caveats shortened my time in each village, a time frame of under two months is reasonable for a small-scale evaluation (Robson 2017, 5). Paradoxically, my constraints made it easier to draw authentic conclusions that reflect the situations experienced by evaluators.

These time and resource challenges were mitigated mainly through the explicitly **exploratory** nature of this research. It aimed to assess what was feasible in a range of contexts without being prescriptive, and I acknowledge that it is a preliminary endeavour.

2.2.3. Case study selection

Although I will give more details on Cabana, Miraflores and Agua Blanca in Chapter 3, here, I explain the selection process of these villages for my PhD methodology, which involved theoretical and practical reasons.

I selected the case studies to reflect a broad range of uses of archaeological resources in different sectors of development and socio-political contexts. Case studies are only as interesting as the extent to which they help us generalise, abstract and theorise (Lund 2014, 228). I opted for a range of case studies that would be comparable enough to enable meaningful analysis and see the emergence of broader shared themes (such as the perception of tourism, or concerns about the preservation of the built and natural environment), but different enough so that they could be representative of the diverse landscape in which archaeology and development interact. As such, my approach corresponds to intensity sampling: the cases are information-rich and manifest the phenomenon of interest intensely (Patton 2014, 279).

I settled on three projects as that number enabled me to find examples more focused on each of the three 'pillars' of development (Dupeyron 2020, and see Chapter 1):

- **ICDP** (Integrated Conservation and Development Project, as discussed by Burtenshaw 2013): one project focused on economic development through tourism, tied to a specific archaeological site. This corresponds to the Agua Blanca archaeology and community tourism project in Ecuador.

- **Applied archaeology/ historical ecology**: one project reviving ancient agricultural techniques through the knowledge acquired from archaeological research to promote locally adapted strategies of climate change adaptation. The project I chose was the Instituto de Montaña's 'Scaling up Mountain Ecosystem-Based Adaptation' project in Miraflores, Peru.

- **Public Archaeology/ outreach**: one project which aims to create links with a local community museum to promote education and foster a sense of community around a shared past. The *Rise of Divine Lordships in the Ancient Andes* research project in Cabana, Peru was my selected case study to represent this trend.

Copestake (2020, 7) explains how case study selection within small-n evaluation is often driven by the need to find a project that will be typical, or one that is particularly influential, or well established, as those will help understand causal pathways over a longer time frame. However, case studies within small-n evaluation are also often exploratory, and having a portfolio of cases helps confirm hypotheses and test new ones (Copestake 2020, 7). My case studies are therefore a blend of well-established projects (Agua Blanca), projects that represent an institutional approach characteristic of a Development NGO (Miraflores) or typical in the archaeology field, but relatively new (Cabana).

As the projects had to be similar enough to be comparable, and be suitable for testing the same evaluation methods, I sought the following combination of characteristics:

- an explicit aim to have an effect on local development, either economically, environmentally, socially or culturally, or a combination of the above.

- an attachment to a specific local community, who are the intended beneficiaries. This resulted in choosing three rural villages, which also helped in drawing comparisons as the unit of analysis was on the same scale.

- a willingness to collaborate and test evaluation methods.

I envisioned the axes of comparison to be focusing on the feasibility of implementing rigorous evaluation methods in each village, but also the types of impact (economic, social, or environmental) that would result from the evaluation process.

Practical concerns added to these theoretical considerations. While SPI seemed very representative of ICDPs and was the case study of my pilot (Dupeyron 2021), in January 2019, I learned that the organisation was moving away from heritage and further into providing training programmes for women entrepreneurs (<https://www.theescala.org/>). Agua Blanca, as a well-established project, with a legacy of four decades, was a great alternative. Moreover, the comparison between Peru and Ecuador was an opportunity to explore the role of the state and country-specific context in fomenting and promoting these projects. Chris Hudson, whom I had met at several Andean archaeology conferences in London, was the designer of the original community museum in Agua Blanca in 1995, and remained on friendly terms with the community. He provided practical assistance with contacting the community. After getting in touch with the president of the *Comuna* over email and Whatsapp, I presented a formal letter that was read out to the community in an assembly. They voted to give their free, prior and informed consent to authorise my research and presence in the community for two months.

The decision to work with the Instituto de Montaña (IDM) was the outcome of a British Council workshop on Paleoclimate, Water Use and Environmental Phenomena in Ancient Peru and Their Contemporary Impacts (Trujillo, Peru, January 2019). There, I met Alexander Herrera who introduced me to the work of the Instituto de Montaña, and, after several meetings with its director Jorge Recharte, it was confirmed that my research aligned well with the objectives of the institution. I signed an agreement with the IDM and obtained permission to visit Miraflores from the *Servicio Nacional de Areas Naturales Protegidas* (SERNANP) and the president of the *Comunidad Campesina*.

Lastly, the PIARP project in Cabana is a prime example of what can be accomplished in terms of development within the context of academic research. It is worth mentioning that the PIARP project only represents a specific type of research project (multi-year, international and funded by UK and US research grants). As such, it is situated within a

large archaeological research landscape in Peru that includes, for example, projects that can be student-led, funded by private organisations such as Fundación Wiese, or organised by municipalities. However, it is characteristic of broader trends within archaeological research projects in 21st century Peru (Asensio 2018): it works with local partners (museums, Peruvian archaeologists and local governments) and comprises built-in local development and public archaeology objectives. Some of these objectives included building partnerships with local museums and facilitating learning from the archaeological site with a public of local school children. Access to this project was facilitated through the Principal Investigator, George Lau, who is my PhD supervisor, and invited me to stay with the group of archaeologists.

In the next section, I will explain the various ethical and positional reflections emerging from the choice of these case studies and my stay in these three villages. These are an important frame to understand my choice and use of methods to collect data for this research.

2.3. Positionality and ethics

This section reflects on how my positionality and experience in the field affected the type of data I was able to collect. Positionality can be defined as “the stance or positioning of the researcher in relation to the social and political context of the study – the community, the organisation or the participant group” (Rowe 2014, 628). It relates to the identities that researcher and participants share, and those that set them apart. Positionality shapes the biases under which the researcher operates.

As a foreigner to the communities where I studied, my presence – on my own or alongside the projects – affected social dynamics. While the role of the anthropologist is to observe, it would be naïve to pretend that we can follow a “Prime Directive” whereby we interact with people with no interference (Peltz 2003, 654). Even though my stay in each village was relatively short (six or seven weeks in each, over a period of six months), it was still a disruption to these communities.

By using a field diary, I intended to engage in a reflexive critique of my own research. I kept a record of daily interactions (spoken and unspoken), observations about the context, and my own evolving impressions about my project’s direction. This included

interrogations about the role my positionality played in the research process, how I used my positionality in different spaces, and how it could influence the interactions I had with research participants (Bourke 2014, 2). The following sections summarise these reflections.

2.3.1. A matter of identity

My position as a white, French woman affiliated with a British university, from a middle-class background, and with a high level of education, no doubt affected my interactions with participants, who could interpret my intentions differently from what I intended. I also carried a camera, which could be in some instances another visible indicator of my position – although most white people in the three villages were either tourists or researchers, and had cameras. It is worth mentioning that I had previously spent several years in Peru, with sporadic stays from 2013 to 2019, which means that I am familiar with Peruvian culture and society and speak Spanish fluently. This certainly helped me understand and relate to people, but did not erase my background as an outsider. My audience for this research was varied and diverse within each village. Unlike a project such as SPI (Dupeyron 2021), in all three communities the beneficiaries extended to the whole village¹¹. I only worked with adults, mostly based in the villages (although many had work and family ties to bigger cities such as Chimbote, Huancayo, Cañete, Lima, Jipijapa or Guayaquil), and from diverse socio-economic backgrounds (retired, working in agriculture, education, local governments, or at home)¹².

I initially thought that being a woman would help me gain access to spaces restricted to women. Smith (2015, 134) commented on the importance of women-only spaces in Agua Blanca, such as the *pozo* (well) where women wash clothes. Ruiz Ballesteros (2008) commented on the impossibility of gaining access to these places as a man. However, my experience in all three villages was that women were a lot more reluctant to participate than men. They were more prone to refuse to take part in a survey, while men usually welcomed the chance for a chat. Women who were engaged in

¹¹ An explanation of why this is the case can be found in the description of evaluation results (Chapter 5, [Section 5.3](#)). The projects do not work with everyone in the village, but most stakeholders I interviewed saw them as having measurable effects that went far beyond people directly involved in project activities.

¹² Wider considerations on the demographic backgrounds of all three villages can be found in Chapter 3.

education or commerce were more likely to accept. In Miraflores in particular, I struggled to get detailed responses from women, and many of them seemed intimidated. My identity as a foreigner might have been a significant source of distrust. However, the fact that I stayed in each village for several weeks and got to know the women who were hosting me was a tremendous help. In each village, they introduced me to other women, and these talked to me more freely when I was just sharing food with them or staying in their house; on these occasions we could engage in casual conversations about our lives. I believe this familiarity was facilitated by the fact I was a woman too. These friendships made my stay in each village more pleasant and safe, but also improved my research. In some cases, these women helped me by introducing me to possible workshop or survey participants, inviting me to village events and activities, or being familiar enough with me to conduct a more formal interview that they probably would have declined, had I only met them in public spaces.

2.3.2. Relationship to the projects and pressure to participate

The main issue with conducting evaluations that had not been commissioned by local stakeholders is that there was a lack of clarity concerning my role in the villages. I was not perceived as an evaluator in the traditional sense, although my aim was still to provide data that could help the local authorities, project managers and associated NGOs in their efforts to adapt the project. I was also a student collecting data for my PhD thesis, and it is in that capacity that I explained my work to participants when asking for their consent, while making it clear that I would share the results and hoped the work would benefit them.

One of my main worries prior to fieldwork was that people would feel compelled to participate, or tell me what they thought I wanted to hear, due to my presence under the 'patronage' of the projects and because of my identity as a wealthy, highly educated white foreigner. As Hoechner describes (2018, 313), researchers often get co-opted with the local elite, which makes it harder for them to reach other groups. This may have played a role, especially in Cabana, where I was visibly associated with the archaeological team and the *patronato* (this local group protecting and advocating for the archaeological site and museum is further described in Chapter 3). Most Cabanistas were aware of the team's presence, and it was difficult to establish my own research as separate. Many of the

informants asked me questions related to the excavations, which I had to redirect to the archaeological team, as what little I knew of the daily scientific findings of the project was not mine to divulge. In Miraflores and Agua Blanca, I was the only foreigner present during my stay. In Miraflores I was introduced by members of the Instituto de Montaña to members of the *Comunidad Campesina* (see description in Chapter 3) but had very little subsequent oversight and was not introduced to the rest of the community. In Agua Blanca, I was welcomed by the *comité arqueológico* (see description in Chapter 3), but they only managed to introduce me to the community at large during an assembly, three weeks after my arrival. Thus, in both Miraflores and Agua Blanca, I was relatively unknown and had to introduce myself and my project before each interview, survey and workshop; while in Cabana, I had to clarify preconceptions that I was an archaeologist associated with the project, to avoid deception.

It is hard to assess the extent to which villagers felt compelled to answer me due to these associations with the projects. I usually approached people by introducing myself, explaining what my project was about, and telling them how long the interview, survey or workshop would take. In all three villages, I found that community members did not hesitate when rejecting my offer to participate. In Miraflores, it took a few weeks for anyone at all to accept an interview. This was only once I had become a more familiar face in the village. Even towards the end, about half of the people I approached were not willing to do a survey with me. In Agua Blanca, a village that receives tourists every day and has been extensively studied by researchers (Brock 2019; Ruiz Ballesteros 2008; Smith 2015;), community members were more likely to accept but also to spontaneously initiate conversation with me and offer an interview. However, a few women I approached to conduct a survey decided not to participate. In Cabana, attitudes were more varied depending on the socio-economic status of the respondents: the highly educated members of the *patronato*, for example, quickly volunteered to be interviewed. Yet, in all three villages, I never insisted, making sure to explain to people that their participation was not compulsory. In a few cases, this turned a *yes* into a *no*. While this made data gathering more difficult, and I sometimes pondered if I should be more assertive, I did not feel it would be ethical to conduct my research in any other way. After almost two months in Agua Blanca, another PhD researcher came to visit the village with a project similar to mine, but the bulk of their data collection consisted in lengthy surveys. Each one took about an hour to complete, and they came bearing stationery gifts for the

participants. They wanted to interview one person per household, and presented their project so confidently and assertively to each potential respondent that I did not see anyone turning them down. While I had spent weeks in the village, staying with five different families, getting to know most villagers individually and painstakingly collecting data, they also had a team of research assistants to be able to finalise the survey collection process in a few days. This comforted me in my stance to allow people to reject the interview process, and to get to know them more organically in an ethnographic manner. I would always be an intruder, whose presence would affect the group dynamics, but I tried to mitigate and account for that effect to the best of my abilities. The villagers did not share with me their reflections on participating in this other research project. This confrontation with another style of research was a good opportunity, at the close of my period of fieldwork, to reflect on ethics.

2.3.3. Ethics in theory, ethics in practice

This research obtained ethical clearance from the University of East Anglia's School of International Development Ethics committee (see Appendix I). It complied with the 'procedural ethics' (Guillemin and Gillam 2004, 263) that are inherent to any immersive fieldwork experience: interviews and workshops were not conducted without the participants' full informed consent. They either gave this through a form, or orally, which was recorded in my field journal or directly in the audio recording. However, there is a significant difference when it comes to "ethics in practice" (Guillemin and Gillam 2004, 264) or "microethics" (Guillemin and Gillam 2004, 266). This came down to daily interactions and small dilemmas. When should I turn off the recording device? How do I avoid being intrusive when people are just living their lives? Some participants were happy to talk, but not happy to be recorded. Some conversations took place more informally and were not recorded at all, but I took down field notes later. I told everyone that they could withdraw their consent and retract their data, but only one person came to talk to me later during my stay to let me know that some of the more sensitive content they mentioned should be left out of the recording. To comply with procedural ethics, I gave all participants a consent form to sign, but during my first participatory workshop in Cabana, a couple of participants had not ticked the box saying they understood that this project would lead to scientific publications. When I approached them later to discuss this, they told me that they had no problem at all with the use of their information, but

were confused by my form. In later workshops, I therefore decided to obtain consent orally and make sure that people had a space to ask questions about my project rather than give them the form, which was a bit intimidating.

Another negotiation between theory and practice came with the use of pseudonyms. Prior to fieldwork, I considered anonymising participants, especially because I wanted to be explicit about my intentions to share my findings in Spanish in each village without exposing any personal information. However, the recent literature on Agua Blanca uses participants' real names (Brock 2019; Hudson et al. 2016; Ruiz Ballesteros 2008; Smith 2015), as do the reports written and published on Miraflores by the Instituto de Montaña. Considering the small size of these villages, making any reference to personal data (gender, occupation or age) even under a fake name would not be enough to prevent anyone from recognising the person. Moreover, some participants were eager to declare their name and profession at the beginning of an interview, even though I told them I treated all data anonymously. However, one participant in Agua Blanca mentioned experiencing repercussions at a community assembly as a result of an anthropological account mentioning him by name. This solidified my view to avoid identifying participants as much as I could. I decided to make no specific reference to individuals, instead calling them by generic role/job names such as 'a villager', or 'a teacher' – provided that these roles do not allow their identity to be traced, respecting confidentiality. Broader statements about subgroups can be made through the survey results, but survey participants are only identified by numbers.

Another risk was that of creating expectations. I explained to participants that I was a student affiliated with the UEA and not a project member or someone who had the power to change the dynamics regarding tourism development in the region, but they sometimes drew their own interpretations. The only way to mitigate this risk was to repeat abundantly the reasons I came to the villages, and to make sure I had a way of communicating my results to them.

These ethical concerns have shaped my data collection methods, which I describe in the following section.

2.4. Collecting data

2.4.1. A bricolage approach to data collection

My pilot study (Dupeyron 2021) gave me an idea of what evaluation methods I might want to test in the field: short surveys, participatory workshops, and rapid ethnography. Combining several evaluation methods could help mitigate some of the biases inherent in each of them, and triangulate some of the data obtained (Patton 2014, 161). This approach, known as methodological pluralism, has been considered a key part of rigorous evaluation (Chambers 2015, 328). Prior to testing the methods, I also conducted preliminary document analysis, both on the use of evaluation methods and the context of each village. It consisted of a thorough review of existing academic and grey literature on the proposed case studies (referenced in the bibliography) and discussions about struggles in similar contexts in relation to development evaluation. This process continued in the field and beyond, as the iterative approach generated more ideas and questions.

Thus, my approach can be defined as *bricolage*: it is exploratory, participatory, operates a back and forth between established methodologies through deduction and lets new insights arise inductively from a confrontation with empirical data. Yet, a *bricolage* approach is flexible and can adapt to resource and time constraints. The term '*bricolage*' was originally coined by Lévi-Strauss, but its use in development evaluation refers specifically to the creative combination of the best parts of methods in order to increase rigour (Aston and Apgar 2022, 1), and pragmatically adapting to the realities of fieldwork (Patton 2014, 245-246).

I use an approach that is both ideational and material *bricolage* (Molecke and Pinkse 2017, 553): the flexibility is present both in the design of my data collection approach, to choose evaluation methods that might be more used by participants and organisations, and the adaptation process of implementing them in the field. Indeed, in the field of development evaluation, *bricolage* goes one step further than methodological pluralism, as parts of the methods themselves can be creatively recombined (Aston et al. 2022, 49). This is also what I did in my own fieldwork: the participatory workshops I conducted borrowed from Tiny Tools (Causeman et al. 2012) and Most Significant Change (Davies and Dart 2005), while my rapid ethnographic approach was inspired by Jupp (2021).

Bricolage is characteristic of the combination of social impact assessment or evaluation methods used by small-scale development projects (Molecke and Pinkse 2017), so methodologically, it fits well with the intended beneficiaries of this research.

My PhD data collection methods are intrinsically linked to the collection and analysis of evaluation data for each project. Figure 1 shows the interconnectedness of these two elements. The evaluation data, and its critique both by participants and by my own observations of what works and what doesn't, constitutes the bulk of my PhD data. Thus, methods rely both on the evaluation techniques tested in the field and an ethnographic approach, composed of participant observation and in-depth interviews focusing on evaluation.

Using the *bricolage* lens, I developed an approach, initially in Cabana, that relied on two weeks of participant observation and informal conversation to build an exploratory matrix of possible impacts mentioned by stakeholders in these preliminary scoping interviews. Assessing the situation at hand, I used this short period to decide if the methods I had preselected would be appropriate in the context. I ended up adapting them slightly to each context, but for the sake of comparative analysis I tried to keep them as similar as possible in Miraflores and Agua Blanca so that I could judge their applicability in different contexts. The result of this initial consultation phase gave me a 'table of impacts' for each village (see Appendices VI, VII and XVIII, which contain this table in the report for each village). Figure 2 provides a brief summary of the process through which I carried out data collection in each village, which is detailed in the following section.

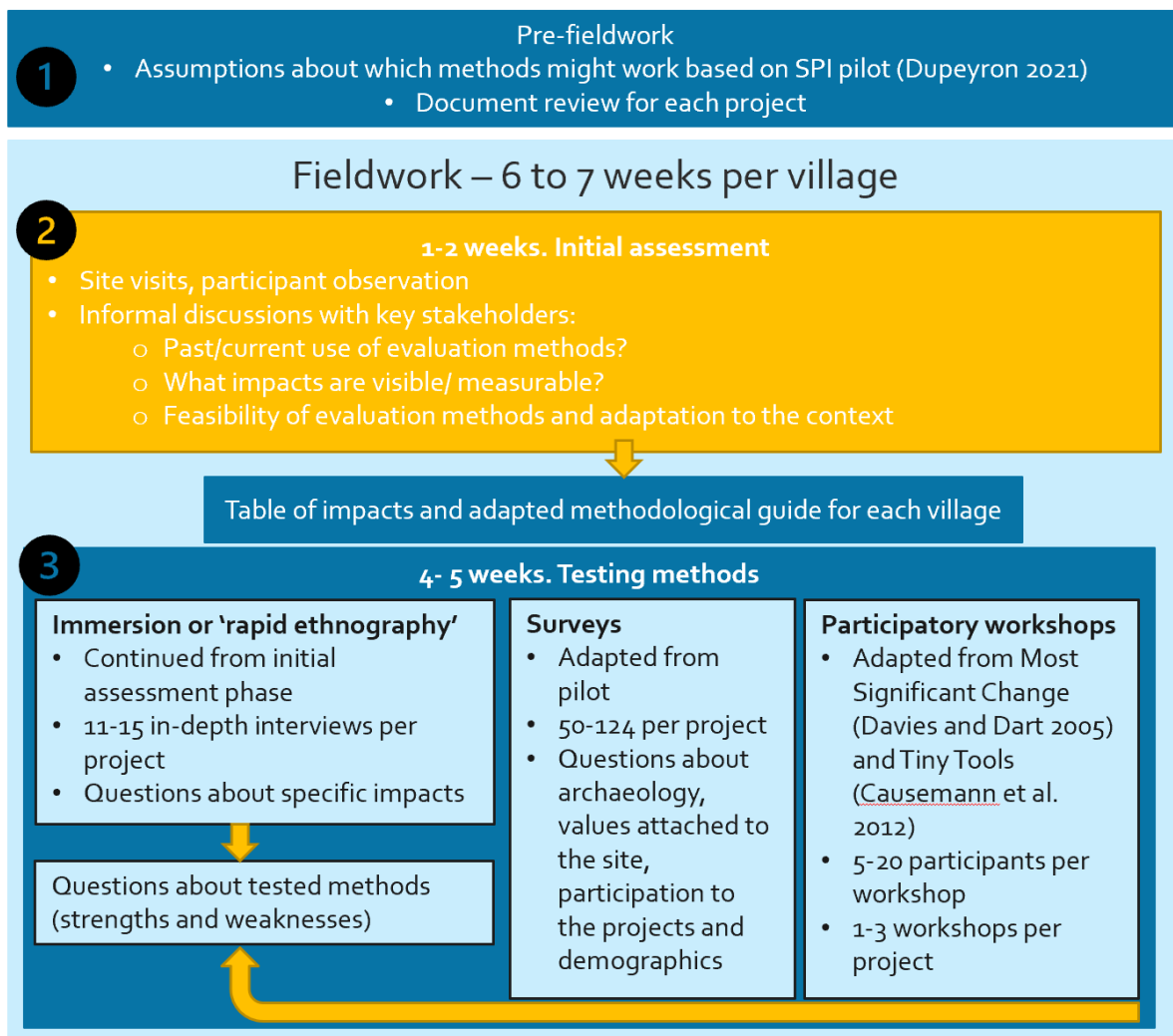


Figure 2. Visual summary of the data collection method in each village.

While I will describe the order in which I tested evaluation methods and with whom, it is worth noting that the limits and uses of these techniques for the purpose of evaluation will be discussed in Chapter 6, which focuses on rating the appropriateness of these methods in all three contexts.

2.4.2. Conducting small-scale evaluation in the field

After the initial scoping phase, I implemented an evaluation data collection methodology based on the combination of rapid ethnography (participant observation and in-depth interviews), participatory workshops, and surveys.

2.4.2.1. Rapid ethnography

In my observation of the SPI project (Dupeyron 2021), I realised that in-depth ethnographic data was ideal for the understanding of how projects impact the local community, due to the breadth and comprehensiveness of insights gained. However, this approach is not suitable to small-scale, rapid and practical evaluation due to time and resource constraints. Alternatives have been developed in the development evaluation community, such as Dee Jupp's Reality Check Approach (Jupp 2021), which consists of a team of researchers spending at least five days in a community, to observe the material impacts of projects and informally conversing with community members, obtaining insights on their perspective on the project. The researchers do not record or take notes during the interviews, but they are supposed to write extensively afterwards and share their findings with other team members to discuss the implications. While I found this reflexive method of immersion promising, the modifications suggested by Shah (2018) seemed more applicable to my situation as the positionality of the researcher is fully acknowledged. Practical modifications suggest that the research can take place over a longer period of time and with specific research questions, to ensure greater relevance and accuracy (Shah 2018, 15). The insights yielded by this method for evaluation will be discussed in Chapter 6. Here, I want to explain how I use this method to obtain data.

Rapid ethnography was a significant focus of my research both at the initial scoping stage (week 1 and 2) and throughout (week 3 to 6-7), to generate evaluation insights. Indeed, in each village I stayed with community members and the informal conversations that I took part in gave me significant insights in the impacts generated by each project. I made detailed notes on these informal conversations every day. I complemented this approach with in-depth semi-structured interviews, based on a loose script (see Appendices VI, VII and VIII for the scripts for each village). The questions were equally on the archaeological project and its repercussions in the community, opportunities for tourism and the associated changes in education and social dynamics, and environmental and conservation concerns. Broader questions also focused on the general trajectory of the village, and participants' perception of its past and vision for its future.

My focus was on interviewing a sample of stakeholders that were directly affected by the projects: these included project participants, of course, but also teachers, shopkeepers, people involved in the tourism industry, archaeologists and local

authorities. However, due to the small size of each village, source selection was mainly opportunistic, based on the participant's willingness to be involved in my research and ability to give between half an hour to two hours of their time for an interview. In total, I interviewed about 15 people per case study. Participant observation and less structured immersion were therefore vital, as these methods of engagement enabled me to obtain a basic understanding of the contexts in which projects operated, and their wider repercussions in the community.

In each community, my housing arrangements shaped these more informal interactions. In Cabana, I was hosted in the same *hospedaje* (lodging) as the members of the Pashash archaeological project (PIARP). While this was very practical and helped create a sense of safety, it was also a source of confusion as the people of Cabana associated me with the archaeological project by default. However, thanks to this association, I was easily put in touch with the *patronato* and local intelligentsia, the municipality and local authorities. I also gained access to Pashash, which means that I could witness school visits. My hosts introduced me to many of their friends and colleagues, several of whom came to the workshop I organised. I was even invited to a *fiesta patronal*¹³ in the outskirts of Cabana, where I managed to talk informally to people who had never heard of the project. This helped me understand their priorities and values.

Members of the *Instituto De Montaña* welcomed me in Huancayo and took me to the village during the course of their own project-related activities. I had access to IdM headquarters in Huancayo and was invited numerous times to see their work in other villages situated in the same landscape reserve¹⁴. I had many informal conversations and activities with the government agency in charge of the protected area¹⁵ and IdM employees. In Miraflores itself, the IdM introduced me to my hostess, a woman who would help me find my bearings in the village over the next two months. I also met her friends and family and, through a snowball effect, gradually managed to have more interactions in Miraflores. One of her friends introduced me to a Lima-based

¹³ Yearly celebration dedicated to the patron saint of a community, parish, village or town.

¹⁴ Miraflores is situated in the Reserva Paisajística Nor Yauyos Cochas. (Nor Yauyos-Cochas Landscape Reserve).

¹⁵ Servicio Nacional de Áreas Naturales Protegidas por el Estado, or National Service of Natural Protected Areas (SERNANP).

archaeologist who worked on the nearby site of Huaquis. This same friend later invited me to Miraflores diaspora Christmas brunches in Lima, where I met even more members of the community.

In Agua Blanca, the committee decided that I would rotate between several households during my stay to distribute the accommodation and food fee more equally. This enabled me to spend between one week and ten days with five different families, and increased my opportunities for meeting community members by an almost exponential factor. Of all the three communities, this is where I managed to become familiar with the greatest proportion of people.

The rapport gained with members of each community helped me to conduct further evaluation activities: participatory workshops and surveys.

2.4.2.2. Participatory workshops

These activity-based approaches consist in conducting brief workshops and games with community members and project participants to understand their own perspective on the changes wrought in their lives by the archaeology-based initiative in their area. Based on my pilot study (Dupeyron, 2021), I expected these methods to be the most appropriate due to their bottom-up ethos, and perhaps less intimidating. However, the genuineness of the participatory element in these methods has been the subject of much debate in development studies (Cooke and Kothari 2001; Irvine et al. 2004; Jupp et al. 2010) – their specific limitations for evaluation as experienced in this research will be discussed in Chapter 6.

A UEA colleague, whose field of expertise is the implementation of participatory methods in development research, recommended that I conduct the workshops prior to any ethnographic enquiries, in order to break the ice (Armijos Burneo 2019, pers. comm.). However, considering my position as an outsider (see [Section 2.3](#) on positionality above), I found it difficult to invite people to workshops before I knew them better. The more people I approached for informal and then more formal interviews, the more people offered help in inviting other participants, and expressed interest in participating in future workshops. After a few weeks of immersion, I had a better understanding of group composition dynamics, which I hope helped me minimise any potential strains on existing relationships.

However, the line between workshops and focus group discussions ended up thinner than I anticipated. In several instances, I had to turn workshops into small group interviews, as I did not have the required number of participants for a group dynamic. This happened in Cabana, where my attempts to conduct a Most Significant Change workshop with site workers turned into a group interview. In Miraflores, the first participatory workshop was cancelled due to a lack of participants, and the second attempt only gathered five participants. Villagers explained to me that after a long day of work in the fields, it was hard to gather for an event, and staff from the Instituto de Montaña told me that they often encountered similar issues with attendance.

I managed to organise a workshop on the values associated with the archaeological site and its relationship with long-term trends observed in the villages as well as the projects (see full script in Appendices VI and VII). This was adapted from the exercises commonly found in participatory workshops, such as the Participatory Impact Assessment simple scoring and ranking exercises (Catley et al. 2013, 26). It started with a brainstorming session on the values associated with the archaeological site, and a brief discussion of their entanglements within the context of the community. As a group, we ended up identifying key themes and voting on the relevance and importance for the community. A similar workshop took place in Miraflores. The results and what they imply for the role of archaeology in development will be discussed in Chapter 6, and their relevance for evaluation methods in Chapter 7. I intended to conduct a similar workshop in Agua Blanca with younger adults. My preliminary scoping had shown that while the value of the project had been established amongst the older generation of adults who had worked with the initial archaeological project in the 1980s, very little was known about the impacts on the following generations. However, only two participants showed up, so I conducted a more focused interview with them.

In Agua Blanca, the evolution of gender roles over time was considered a significant impact of the archaeological project over the last 40 years in my preliminary scoping, and representatives from the archaeological committee asked me if I could include this aspect in my evaluation for them. Therefore, I conducted a gender role transformation workshop, based on the Tiny Tools framework (Causemann et al. 2012, 7). Gender was not a theme I had planned on exploring; in the previous two villages it was only mentioned on an ad-hoc basis. The people of Agua Blanca perhaps mentioned it more

because of the longevity of their project (four decades). In Agua Blanca, I also managed to gather about 20 community members for a Most Significant Change workshop (Davies and Dart 2005). The scripts for both these workshops, as well as the results, are detailed in Appendix VIII.

I recorded all workshops with my audio recorder with the participants' consent. In Cabana, a member of the audience filmed the whole workshop without my noticing and put it on his Facebook page aimed at promoting Cabana and its local culture. When I realised, I asked him to take it down based on a breach of confidentiality, explaining that participants had not agreed to this, and he removed it from the website. I also took photos with the participants' consent and notes critiquing each workshop in my field book.

2.4.2.3. Surveys

While I carried on with interviews and participatory workshops, I also adapted my survey templates to each context (see Appendices VI, VII and VIII for the final survey templates as delivered in all three villages).

Bespoke indicator-based surveys are currently the main approach that has been tested in the context of public archaeology initiatives (Apaydin 2016; Boom 2018; Guilfoyle and Hogg 2015; Gürsu et al. 2020; Lewis 2014). The indicators can include whether a person has visited an archaeological site or not, their familiarity with archaeology, and their educational outcomes. Yet, they can also measure more abstract concepts such as whether the project helped people's problem-solving and leadership skills. I wanted to rate the efficiency of tailored indicator approaches in comparison to immersive and participative techniques. There is, of course, a degree of overlap between the themes that were covered by the survey and points mentioned by participants in the workshops or in individual interviews. The table of impacts (see Appendices VI, VII and VIII) shows that certain impacts could be covered by various techniques. This enables me to compare the methods and their appropriateness to cover the same topic, but also to triangulate and ensure that the findings are more accurate.

Questions were selected based on the survey I had previously drafted for the SPI projects as part of my pilot study. I adapted this to each local context while retaining the same general areas of enquiry. They focused on obtaining demographic data that might help refine my insights depending on the groups involved, as well as measuring interest

in the local and regional archaeological sites, exploring engagements with these sites and for what purposes, and collecting views on tourism in the region. The full scripts can be found in Appendices VI, VII and VIII.

Participants were selected on a voluntary basis. Where possible, I also tried to enlist the help of local institutions in order to reach more people. Thus, in Cabana, one of my key informants in the municipality helped me distribute the survey among most teachers of the village and municipality workers. The rest of the surveys were distributed on an ad hoc basis in the streets of Cabana and to people who showed an interest in my research. In Cabana, I obtained 123 survey results for a population of about 4000 – while these results are not representative of the whole population, they give us an idea of how people more closely associated with the archaeological project, or those likely to engage with it (as members of the teaching profession), are approaching the site and relating to it. Due to this engagement through key stakeholders, the surveys were distributed by the institutions themselves. I managed to distribute a further 20 or so surveys in the city. People answered them in their own time by reading through them, and gave them back to me when completed. Some of the benefits of giving people more time is that they could sit with the questions and reflect before giving their answers, and that they had the option to not return them in case they decided not to participate. I distributed about 200 surveys and received 123 complete answers, so I obtained a response rate of about 60% for the surveys.

My approach was different in Agua Blanca and Miraflores, however, as these are smaller villages of about 200 to 300 inhabitants. Since I was wary of making participants feel undue pressure in my quest to obtain survey results, I only conducted surveys with motivated participants who did not mind answering a few questions for five to 15 minutes. Due to the smaller number of people I could reach through institutions, I conducted most of the surveys as one-on-one interviews that I filled out myself. I realised then that this was a much more accessible format for participants who are not used to spending as much time reading and writing; I regretted not employing a similar approach in Cabana, even though this approach was more time-consuming. While the people who completed the survey in Cabana had high literacy because they worked in institutional settings, I might have been able to approach a wider range of stakeholders had I asked the survey questions orally. Due to the smaller size of the villages and the lack of

institutional distribution, my sample numbers were lower in Agua Blanca and Miraflores. In both cases, my local contacts helped me reach more participants. In Miraflores, I only managed to get 31 results, but one of my key informants helped me reach community members who lived in Lima. Thanks to her help, I managed to get 17 more survey results. In Agua Blanca, my host took me to the nearby satellite communities of Vueltas Largas and El Carmen to ensure I could represent the views of people not directly involved in the archaeological tourism project.

When I returned from fieldwork, I typed all survey results into Excel spreadsheets to apply pivot tables in data analysis. Each line corresponded to a respondent and was given a specific numeric code.

With the surveys, participatory workshops and immersive approach, I managed to build a picture of the impacts archaeological projects could have in three different villages. These impacts are discussed in Chapter 5. However, the main contribution of my work was to rate the efficiency of methods – for that, I also needed data.

2.4.3. Rating evaluation methods

My original plan was to critique and review the use of methods in each context after testing them, from my own observations and based on semi-structured interviews with evaluation participants. I was hoping to obtain at least 10 interviews per village to rate the effectiveness of evaluation methods.

However, in practice, this happened alongside the collection of evaluation data. I tried to conduct specific, evaluation-focused interviews to obtain participants' insights on the surveys, workshops and in-depth interviews, but it was difficult to adhere to a strict script. When prompted to talk about the workshops, for example, participants also told me of the impacts the projects had on their lives. Discussions on what evaluation was, and the challenges involved, emerged as soon as I tried to explain what my research was about. As explained earlier in this chapter, the evaluations, data collection and analysis process happened almost simultaneously and iteratively. I do have interviews that were more heavily focused on evaluation, and detailed field notes rating the practical challenges and insights obtained with each method, but the participant observation I conducted throughout the evaluation process constitutes the bulk of this 'rating evaluation methods' data. It consisted in observing how people reacted to the evaluation

activities and having informal conversations with them about the process, as well as the informal comments made by the people who helped me arrange the survey and workshops, gave me access, or agreed to an interview. My experience of life in each community informed my reflexive observations regarding these experiences.

When arranging interviews, I quickly realised that participants' busy schedules would rarely allow for more than one recorded interview, and I wanted to show respect for the time they had already given me. I sometimes seized the opportunity to ask both evaluation questions about impacts and questions about the use of methods and the participant's view on those. Some interviews, however, focused solely on evaluation methods, and they often took place with project managers or with intended beneficiaries who had taken part in at least two evaluation activities (survey and interview, survey and workshop, or interview and workshop). For the latter, I had to rely on particularly keen beneficiaries, who were eager to talk to me and find out more about my project. These were often people in positions of authority within the community, who could envision applying some of these techniques in the future, but they could also be members of the community with whom I had developed a stronger bond thanks to the weeks spent in each village. I am thankful to all the respondents who helped me with the data collection process.

2.4.4. Data package

At the end of fieldwork, my data package consisted of evaluation data based on three types of methods and on three different projects, intertwined with interviews rating these methods, as well as my field notes.

In total, my data package consists of 39 in-depth individual interviews, three group interviews, five participatory workshops and 221 survey responses across all three villages, as well as field notes. Table 2 shows the distribution of the data per village.

Table 2: Data collected in each village in 2019-2020.

	Cabana	Miraflores	Agua Blanca	TOTAL
Individual interviews	13	15	11	39
Groups interviews	1	0	2	3
Survey responses	123	48	50	221
Participatory workshops	1	1	3	5

In addition, I took a significant amount of field notes in each village, undertook site visits, and witnessed two participatory workshops organised by the Instituto de Montaña. I also obtained additional feedback from participants when I returned to the field after COVID-19 pandemic measures had been lifted in 2022, as I will explain later in the chapter.

2.5. Data analysis

I performed a thematic analysis of this data following the research characteristics outlined above: deductive and inductive, iterative and participatory.

I transcribed and coded all recorded interviews using NVivo 12. I typed the survey results into Excel spreadsheets and produced descriptive statistics on key evaluation questions answered by the respondents. My field notes were too lengthy to digitise (118 pages), but I coded them manually using a colour scheme per village and a system of page number referencing per theme. The field reports that I wrote for each community in Spanish (see Appendices VI, VII and VIII) contain a summary of the evaluation results obtained through interviews, workshops and surveys for each village – these are especially fundamental for Chapter 5, which compares evaluation results across all three villages.

To answer my PhD research questions, I performed a thematic analysis of all interviews, considering that most of them contained observations on the evaluation process. The coding scheme can be found in Appendix III. It covers both the evaluation analysis used to produce evaluation results that I could share with the three communities, and the second level of analysis that took place to answer the thesis research questions (see Figure 1 to understand how they relate). I also performed a thematic analysis of my field notes, which describe in-depth the challenges and difficulties of using all evaluation methods in the field, and the challenges inherent to interpretation.

I coded the information on two levels: by project and by evaluation method. This enabled me to compare the usefulness of methods in each context, but also to compare the effectiveness of a given method in several contexts. More thematic patterns emerged during fieldwork (Patton 2014, 764), confirming or modifying the analytical categories

that I set out to study. These were the following (the full coding framework can be found in Appendix III):

- Project context and how it affects evaluation
- Identified impacts by project
- Entanglement of the identified impacts (complexity)
- Identified strengths of the evaluation method
- Identified weaknesses of the evaluation method
- Feasibility in this particular context

2.6. Returning to the field after the pandemic: obtaining participatory feedback on the research

The Covid-19 pandemic wrought deep structural changes to our way of life worldwide, and the communities of Cabana, Agua Blanca and Miraflores were not spared. In fact, Peru had the highest Covid-19 mortality rate in the world (John Hopkins Coronavirus Resource Center 2022).

The pandemic forced many researchers to interrupt their fieldwork or drastically alter their plans. In my case, I had planned a second field season starting in 2020 to collect longitudinal data, but this season was postponed twice. I could finally return to the three villages in 2022, with my PhD chapters already drafted.

My second field visit fits within the patchwork ethnography approach (Günel et al. 2020): occurring at the end of my PhD, it was by necessity short and oriented around practical issues and ethical concerns. My objective was to maintain the relationship with project participants, which had been sporadic and only based in the world of social media since I left in March 2020, and to be able to show them the research results. I was also keen to incorporate their insights and make sure that my thesis had not strayed too far from their original contributions during the data analysis process. The importance of presenting research results collectively and incorporating communities' feedback has been underlined by decolonial researchers (Datta 2018, 18): as a white woman working with indigenous communities, it seemed to me an ethical imperative.

I started approaching gatekeepers at the end of 2021, and beginning of 2022 to raise the possibility of a return to the villages, Covid-19 permitting. My messages were met with enthusiasm, and I planned a visit for May and June 2022. This coincided with Instituto de Montaña activities in Miraflores and the beginning of a new field season for the archaeologists in Cabana.

In advance of my visit, I coordinated with gatekeepers in all three villagers to ensure I could speak in front of a large audience. In Miraflores, this was the Instituto de Montaña's field officer, who had recently taken up fieldwork in the community again. In Agua Blanca, I liaised directly with the president of the community. In Cabana, I organised the event with the director of the local museum, who was able to quickly mobilise her network.

My first workshop took place with the Instituto de Montaña in Miraflores. I was hoping to present the results as written in the evaluation report (see Appendix VII) to the community assembly, that had been summoned by the president of the *comunidad campesina*. After a 15-20 minute-long presentation, I had prepared a list of five questions to organise the feedback. I followed the IdM facilitator's advice, who recommended creating five groups to answer the questions and stimulate a more participatory discussion. I implemented a similar approach in Agua Blanca, and in Cabana. Some of the groups received two questions, depending on how many groups were created. For example, Cabana only did three (Figure 3).



Figure 3. Groups in Cabana discuss to prepare feedback on my five questions after the presentation (15th June 2022). Photo: A. Dupeyron.

The questions were as follows:

- What results surprised you? Did you learn something new?
- What do you agree with, and disagree with?
- How has the situation changed since 2019/2020?
- What are your priorities for the next few years? What role do the archaeological remains play in your plans?
- How could you use the results of my research to help your current and future projects?

The three communities gave me a warm welcome after several years away, and were pleased to hear the results of my research. The feedback I obtained from them helped me edit my empirical chapters.

The results of my analysis are outlined in the three empirical chapters; these follow Chapter 3 which establishes the environmental, political and social particularities of the three villages where I conducted fieldwork, and incorporate the feedback I received from research participants in 2022.

In Chapter 4, I will present results and insights related to the current use of evaluation methods by these projects, placing them within the Andean context and discussing the practical needs and current challenges inherent to evaluation as presented by stakeholders.

Chapter 5 will focus on the results of evaluation in all three villages and compare the insights emerging from the comparison of these three projects' impacts on local communities. Thus, it will explore the narratives of archaeology for development, and tests those against the collected data.

Chapter 6 will unpack the implementation, suitability and accessibility of the chosen evaluation methods by highlighting their strengths and limitations in these three contexts.

CHAPTER 3. A TALE OF THREE PROJECTS

3.1. Introduction

The last chapter has detailed the aims of this study, as well as the theoretical framework and research questions underpinning it.

In this chapter, I contextualise the three villages under study and outline the broader historical and social trajectories in which the projects take place. I first discuss the concept of 'Andean' and use it to frame the geographical and historical context of the three villages. Then, I turn to some of the key issues that have underpinned the relationship between archaeology and development in the Andes. These include the process of utilising archaeological sites for nationalist purposes and tourism, taking place alongside the growing recognition of indigenous rights; but also the importance of environmental issues framing politics in the region and the rise of historical ecology approaches.

Lastly, I turn to the three projects at hand, and explain how they were chosen for their ability to represent the range of core issues (tourism, national and indigenous identity, and environmental preservation) that frame archaeological practice in the region. Each village is given a dedicated section that briefly details its history and the context in which each project operates.

3.2. Archaeology and development in Peru and Ecuador: main trajectories and differences

3.2.1. Andean identity/-ies in historical context

One evening in Agua Blanca, just before sunset, I was presenting my PhD ideas and preliminary surveys to my host while sharing some food. While I was telling him about the other two villages, he corrected, "You need to change this in the text of this survey – you described us as an Andean village. We are a coastal community!". This remark prompted reflections about the concept of 'Andean', which I had until then used to explain

the context of the three villages and now seemed to be an etic imposition from a clueless researcher. Smith also mentions the contradictions of describing oneself as an Andeanist when working on the coast (2015, 12), as this word conjures the image of mountainous terrains and is perceived differently by the inhabitants of Peru and Ecuador. The Ecuadorian coast has, until recently, been rendered invisible in discussions about indigeneity (Smith 2015): these tend to be framed in terms of Andean or Amazonian identities.

Yet, the concept of 'Andean' is helpful in describing the broader context in which the three projects operate, as it can illuminate some of the shared assumptions that underpin their reality. As a region, the Andes is connected by its history and geography, and usually refers to the countries of Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Chile, sometimes including Colombia and Argentina. A cursory glance at the map below (Figure 4) outlines what unites Peru and Ecuador and what sets them apart. The vast expanse of the Amazon, the coastal desert and the high peaks and plateaus of the Cordillera, dividing rainforest and coast like a continuous line running along most of the continent, seem to care little for political boundaries. These countries are part of the same region, and yet some key differences are visible: to the north, Ecuador is a much smaller country, its mountainous region is less extensive, and its coast is more tropical.



The three villages in their environmental context

Figure 4. The three villages in the South American and Andean context. Map drawn by the author on QGIS with publicly available data from Google Maps.

Historically, the Andean mountains and coast acted as a north-south axis of human, political, cultural, religious and migratory exchanges. The *Spondylus* shells found in the beaches of Puerto López, just a few kilometres from Agua Blanca, were exported in boats sailing south, traded across the whole Andean area and prized for their symbolic value (Marcos 1980, 126). Later, the Inca Empire (14th century CE – 1532) spread from the Cuzco region in modern-day Peru and stretched from Northern Ecuador to central Chile. It was connected by a network of roads known as the Qhapaq Ñan, allowing the fast transport of goods, troops and information alongside the north-south axis and from the coast to the mountains in the east (D’Altroy 2015). After the demise of the Incas, Peru and Ecuador were under the yoke of the Spanish Empire until the 19th century, and obtained

independence a year apart, in 1821 and 1822 respectively (Doyle and Pamplona 2006, xv).

These historical trajectories have led archaeologists and anthropologists to define themselves as Andeanists, focusing on a region that seemed to have internal cohesion and shared historical, social and cultural characteristics while experiencing the vast range of geographical variety inherent to this part of the world. For instance, Colin McEwan, who led the excavations at Agua Blanca, was keen to place the insights gleaned there in an Andean context, going so far as to use 'Andean' in the title of the thesis describing his results (McEwan 2003). Yet, others have criticised the packaging of assumptions about the archaeology and anthropology of Andean countries into a neat category denominated "*lo Andino*", which essentialises the people living in these areas and erases their particularities and individual trajectories (Jamieson 2005, 353).

The term 'Andean' can hide the diversity of these populations, although this very diversity is a defining characteristic of the region. It would be outside the scope of this thesis to describe these issues in depth. However, a brief overview is necessary to understand the context in which identities are negotiated in Andean countries, which affects both the organisation of communities and how they relate to their past. Historically, colonial institutions have imposed many categories on the populations of the Andean region, usually based on divisions between the capital and the highlands, as in Peru, or divisions between the environmental region of costa (coast), sierra (highlands) and selva (jungle): more details can be found in Weismantel (2001, 87-90).

Modern censuses also draw distinctions rooted in this legacy: although they allow for a self-identification process, the categories offered are based on the way the state perceives its inhabitants. These perceptions can be reductive and politically loaded, such as in the 2010 Ecuadorian census), which created the new category of 'Montubio' specifically to avoid coastal groups self-identifying as indigenous (Smith 2015, 80-87).

In the Peruvian census, 'Andean' refers specifically to the indigenous people of the highlands: 24.7% of the population identify as a member of the two main Andean indigenous groups (22.3% as Quechua and 2.4% as Aymara), while 0.9% identify as Amazonian indigenous. Most of the population identifies as Mestizo (60.2%) which is a combined European and indigenous ancestry, and the coast is also home to many self-

identified afrodescendants; other groups, such as those of Chinese and Japanese descent, are even more of a minority (INEI 2017c: 51). In the Ecuadorian census, only 7% of the population identified as indigenous (including Amazonian and Andean), 6% as afrodescendants, black or mixed (mulato¹⁶), 72% as Mestizo, and 7% as Montubio (INEC 2010). As I hinted above, Montubio is a loaded category corresponding to rural coastal communities (Smith 2015) which I will discuss further when presenting Agua Blanca.

In addition to the bias of the state-defined categories described above, there is also a self-representation bias. Censuses usually understate the indigenous population, which is estimated at 25 to 35% of the population of Ecuador (Smith 2015, 81). This can be explained by the fact that although being indigenous can be a source of pride, helping to achieve political aims and the construction of a shared history (Benavides 2008, 153), it is also a source of marginalisation due to widespread institutionalised racism deriving from three centuries of Spanish colonialism (Weismantel 2001, xxx). In the highlands and the eastern lowlands of Ecuador, the label of indigenous can confer political legitimacy, which somehow outweighs the stigma attached to it; but in the coast, indigeneity is less visible, and the term carries too much baggage to be seen as an advantageous way to self-identify (Smith 2015, 69).

The complexity of this shared culture and history, coupled with vast internal diversities and a conflicted post-colonial legacy, has implications for the ways in which Andean countries deal with their heritage. The next section will briefly connect the points mentioned above with the current strategies used by Peru and Ecuador to make their past contribute to their future.

3.2.2. Andean cultural heritage, tourism and the process of *Puesta en Valor*

In the two centralised countries of Peru and Ecuador, archaeology plays a fundamental role in identity building. In Ecuador, the main nationalist discourse asserts the mythical indigenous origin of the nation, taken over by a European onslaught during the conquest, and finally reconfigured in the postmodern nation (Benavides 2008, 1063). In Peru, which possesses more monumental archaeological sites to receive significant international attention, the approach is slightly different and the prehispanic past is an

¹⁶The category *mulato* refers to people of mixed Afro-Ecuadorian and any other ancestry (Smith 2015, 80).

important source of self-definition for the nation. Archaeologist Julio C. Tello, a founding figure of the discipline in Peru, has emphasised the spread and influence of indigenous cultures, such as Chavín, throughout the Andean region (Tantaleán 2008, 40). It is worth noting that there is no such comparable figure in Ecuador. Part of his legacy is the role of archaeologists as professionals serving the state as stewards safeguarding its heritage (Asensio 2018, 116). The strong attachment between archaeology and the Peruvian state is also seen in the work of archaeologist Luis G. Lumbreras, who fought against the influence of US and European academia in Peruvian archaeology. He created a theoretical current known as Latin American social archaeology, which spread through other Latin American countries (Herrera 2011, 77). Inspired by a Marxist view of material relations, this current aimed to develop an anticolonial critique, but lacked clear methodological implications (Tantaleán 2014, 114). Due to the discovery of the Royal Tombs of Sipán¹⁷ in 1987, Peruvian archaeology took a turn towards the promotion of local tourism and development, in which local site museums became key actors (Asensio 2018, 341) as well as public universities (Lane 2012, 221).

The role played by archaeology in tourism and development became a key factor in its promotion in the later decades of the 20th century. In 1967, the Organization of American States convened a meeting to discuss the preservation and utilisation of monuments and sites in Latin America (Conti 2014) and outlined the concept of *Puesta en Valor*. This refers to the enhancement of a site's usability and value through conservation and restoration to "contribute to the economic development of the region" and make it accessible "to the awareness and enjoyment of the masses" (OAS 1967). The implications are that a site's value is maximised through its enhancement for touristic purposes. However, archaeologists are advocating for policy makers to go beyond this merely economic approach and consider the social value of archaeological sites for local populations (Lumbreras 2013, 2; Saucedo Segami 2014, 19).

In Peru, the *Puesta en Valor* of high-profile archaeological sites has been mainly carried out by *Unidades Ejecutoras* (Executive Units), established by the government as financially and administratively autonomous taskforces (Tantaleán 2014, 142). They are

¹⁷ A set of burials found at Huaca Rajada, Sipán, Peru, which are impressive due to the amount of elite artefacts they contain, and the fact they had never been looted.

budgetary units relying on government institutes, and the Ministry of Culture currently has seven Executive Units. This is the case for the major sites of Caral, Marcahuamachuco, Sipán and Túcume. Private companies have also invested in the *puesta en valor* process, such as in the case of sites such as Sipán, Túcume and El Brujo (Shimada and Vega Centeno 2011, 596). By contrast, in Ecuador, the process of *puesta en valor* was not yet articulated by a competent state authority as of 2013, and the establishment of clear guidelines to facilitate this process was still under discussion (Colectivo Ciudadano de Profesionales Arqueólogos del Ecuador 2013, 378, 389-394). This might be linked to the fact that the Ecuadorian nation-building process is less reliant on the presence of monumental archaeological sites than in Peru, but instead places a greater emphasis on the articulation of identities in a post-colonial context (Benavides 2008, 1063).

The role of the state in managing heritage sites is influenced by the relative strength of other actors. In Ecuador, this process takes place in a context marked by the growing political recognition and integration of indigenous actors and viewpoints, such as organised coalitions. An important stakeholder in the rendering of narratives about the past is the CONAIE or Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador, which challenges the hegemonic state discourse that routinely bypasses indigenous experience (Benavides 2004, 139). Indigenous movements can fight against the state for the control of archaeological monuments and the fulfilment of their touristic potential (Asensio 2018, 530). Meanwhile, in Peru, these movements are limited, and heritage is firmly under state control, although initiatives fostering community participation abound (Asensio 2018, 531). Formally and legally, communities can interact with archaeological sites, but under the tutelage of the state and with very little decision-making power (Asensio 2018, 532). In practice, however, there is often greater scope for community and municipality influence (Lau 2021, pers. comm.).

3.2.3. Archaeological heritage, environment, and adaptation

The Andes are also characteristic in the longevity of the engagement between archaeology, rural development and agriculture; unlike other regions of the world this trend started in the 1970s (Herrera 2013, 82). As mentioned in the literature review (Chapter 1), the Andes have pioneered projects in the field of historical ecology and applied archaeology. This has translated to projects focusing on indigenous knowledge

and their contribution to rehabilitating raised field systems, such as in the Guayas region of Ecuador or Bolivia's Lake Titicaca, or reservoirs such as the detention ponds¹⁸ of the Santa Elena Peninsula of Ecuador, as well as agricultural terraces, such as in the Cusichaca Valley project in Peru (Herrera 2019).

Recently, this concern for the relationship between humans and their environment over the long-term has also led to new approaches in Disaster Risk Reduction. In Ecuador, the Tomorrow's Cities project bridges insights from public history and archaeology with earth sciences, and collaborates with museums and schools in Quito to communicate about risks in the region and how people have adapted to them over time (Sevilla et al., *in press*). In Peru, the government agency SERNANP (Servicio Nacional de Áreas Naturales Protegidas, National Service of Natural Protected Areas) has identified Disaster Risk Reduction as an area for future expansion, as mentioned in an interview conducted during fieldwork.

With the ongoing disruptions caused by climate change in the Andes, the impetus to focus on preserving the environment for future generations is part of Peruvian and Ecuadorian government policy. Many of the efforts of SERNANP go towards the conservation of natural and cultural resources, including in the promotion of tourism in the Natural Reserves they manage. Since 2008, Ecuador's Constitution integrates the concept of *Buen Vivir* (to Live Well), which involves recognising the diversity of its people and creating sustainable livelihood alternatives to allow them to have a good quality of life in the present and the future (Endere and Zulaica 2015, 259).

For this work, I sought to identify case studies that would explore the trends outlined above, such as the recognition of indigenous rights, the process of *puesta en valor*, and the importance of archaeology to enlighten our understanding of human adaptation to the environment.

¹⁸ In the Santa Elena Peninsula, pre-Columbian ponds collected freshwater from rainfall and helped renew the water table (Alvarez Litben 2021, 102).

3.3. Finding the right case studies

Out of the trends outlined above, relative to archaeology and development in the Andean region, various project types have emerged (Table 3). To encapsulate these trends, I have selected three projects that are characteristic of the types defined below.

Table 3: Author's simplified categorisation of several types of projects that use archaeology for development, adapted from Dupeyron 2021, 162.

Archaeology for Development: Non-exhaustive typology of projects in Peru and Ecuador			
Project type	Description	Examples in Peru and Ecuador	Main types of development impacts
Archaeological Integrated Conservation and Development projects (Burtenshaw 2013)	These initiatives are often run by heritage NGOs but can also be part of traditional research projects or run by local interest groups. They focus on generating economic benefits through locally managed tourism. This can involve training artisans, or marketing archaeological sites to attract more visitors.	Sustainable Preservation Initiative Global Heritage Fund El Brujo – Fundación Wiese Agua Blanca	Economic, social
Historical ecology/ Applied archaeology	Often conducted by local NGOs in partnership with specialised researchers (archaeologists, environmental engineers), these projects focus on the rehabilitation of ancient technologies to improve water management and/ or agriculture.	Cusichaca Trust The Mountain Institute – Ecosystem Based Adaptation Guayas raised-field systems	Environmental, social
Public outreach projects	These projects are often conducted as part of research projects, funded by the state or academic institutions. They focus on educating and/or including locals in the production of knowledge, recognising that fostering the link between locals and their heritage will stimulate their pride in the past and their identity, as well as making them stewards of their heritage. Activities include school visits, tours, consultations with stakeholders on how to manage the archaeological resource, and creative workshops.	Proyecto de Investigación Arqueológico Regional Ancash (PIARA) in Hualcayán (Bria and Cruzado Carranza 2015) Culture and Community in Casma, Peru Qhapaq Ñan project (UNESCO) Rise of Divine Lordships	Cultural, educational, social

The last chapter, Methodology, outlined the practical and theoretical reasons underpinning my choice of case study. Here, however, I want to place the three villages in their broader context and briefly describe how each selected case was characteristic of the specific Andean trajectories in the use of archaeology for development.

The Rise of the Divine Lordships project in Cabana is characteristic of the contemporary drive for academic research projects to engage with local communities in a more lasting way. The project focuses primarily on archaeological research, but it certainly provides pathways for development through its cooperation with local stakeholders. This project collaborates closely with the local authorities and museum, sharing information, knowledge and resources to ensure that the community of Cabana can advance towards their goals concerning their archaeological site of Pashash. This project represents several of the themes described above, such as the importance of the past for identity-building in Peru, the process of *Puesta en Valor* and the difficulties it presents, as well as the opportunities surrounding community participation in the process of archaeological research.

The Escalando Abe Montaña initiative in Miraflores is an ambitious project in the vein of historical ecology and applied archaeology of the 1970s and 1980s (as discussed in Chapter 1), through two main aspects. It is a transdisciplinary blending of social anthropology, environmental sciences, archaeology, and participatory development. It also operates through the cooperation of NGOs, international institutions, state institutions such as SERNANP, local governments and communities. It encapsulates several of the trends mentioned above, such as the role of communities in caring for heritage, the importance of governance for rural indigenous communities, and the link between heritage and the environment to live sustainably.

Agua Blanca is a pioneering example of an Integrated Conservation and Development Project. In the last four decades, its main focus has been to improve the quality of life of its inhabitants through archaeology-based tourism. It is interesting to note that the community's initiative sprouted from what was at first a socially engaged research project with a strong public outreach component. It exemplifies several themes broached above, such as the process of *puesta en valor*, tourism, community participation in archaeology, the role of indigenous stakeholders, and the concept of creating sustainable livelihood alternatives.

I will now turn to each village in turn to present their history, and to introduce each project and the key stakeholders and groups involved. This will enable me to highlight what these villages have in common in this chapter's conclusion, making the case for their comparability.

3.4. Cabana and the *Rise of Divine Lordships* project



Figure 5. City of Cabana as seen from the archaeological site of Pashash. Photo: A. Dupeyron.

3.4.1. Brief history of the Land of the Pashash

Cabana is the capital of the Pallasca province in the northern Ancash region of Peru, and home to 2,445 inhabitants (INEI 2017a, 509). It is situated in Andean highlands at 3,224 m above sea level (Garcia Lopez 2003, 43).

The town is surrounded by a landscape evidencing a rich prehispanic past (Figure 6). Prominent among the neighbouring sites is Pashash, a ridgetop site situated a short walking distance from the centre of Cabana, which was once the thriving centre of a Recuay polity, dominating the valley politically and culturally between 200 and 600 CE

(Lau 2016, 113). Material evidence shows that the Recuay flourished in the thousand years before the Incas, from the early 3rd to the late 7th century CE (Lau 2011, 128), and lived in polities spread across most of what is now the Ancash region. From their urban centres, the Recuay culture radiated across neighbouring settlements. This is visible in their typical masonry, such as large slab blocks constituting the foundations of monumental buildings (Lau 2011, 106), as seen in the defensive Caserón structure at Pashash (Lau 2016, 114), and their elaborate artefacts: religious stone sculptures, clay building effigies, fine ceramics, and crafted metalwork.

The Recuay lived at a time of political instability known in Peruvian archaeology as the Early Intermediate Period, and this culture is also known for its depiction of warfare in imagery (Lau 2011) and its manifestation of military power through defensive settlements, including Pashash (Lau 2011, 47). The site of Pashash was likely the centre of a wide sphere of influence protecting its hinterland, which explains the spread of smaller archaeological sites from the Recuay period in close vicinity, such as Suraca (Figure 6), Pocsha and Malape. Archaeologists consider Pashash of great scientific value as its impressive material culture exhibits new political processes such as the establishment of local regional elites (Lau et al. 2022). It is also an example of recovery after collapse, showing the rise of new art styles and worldviews after the fall of nearby Chavín (Grieder 1978).

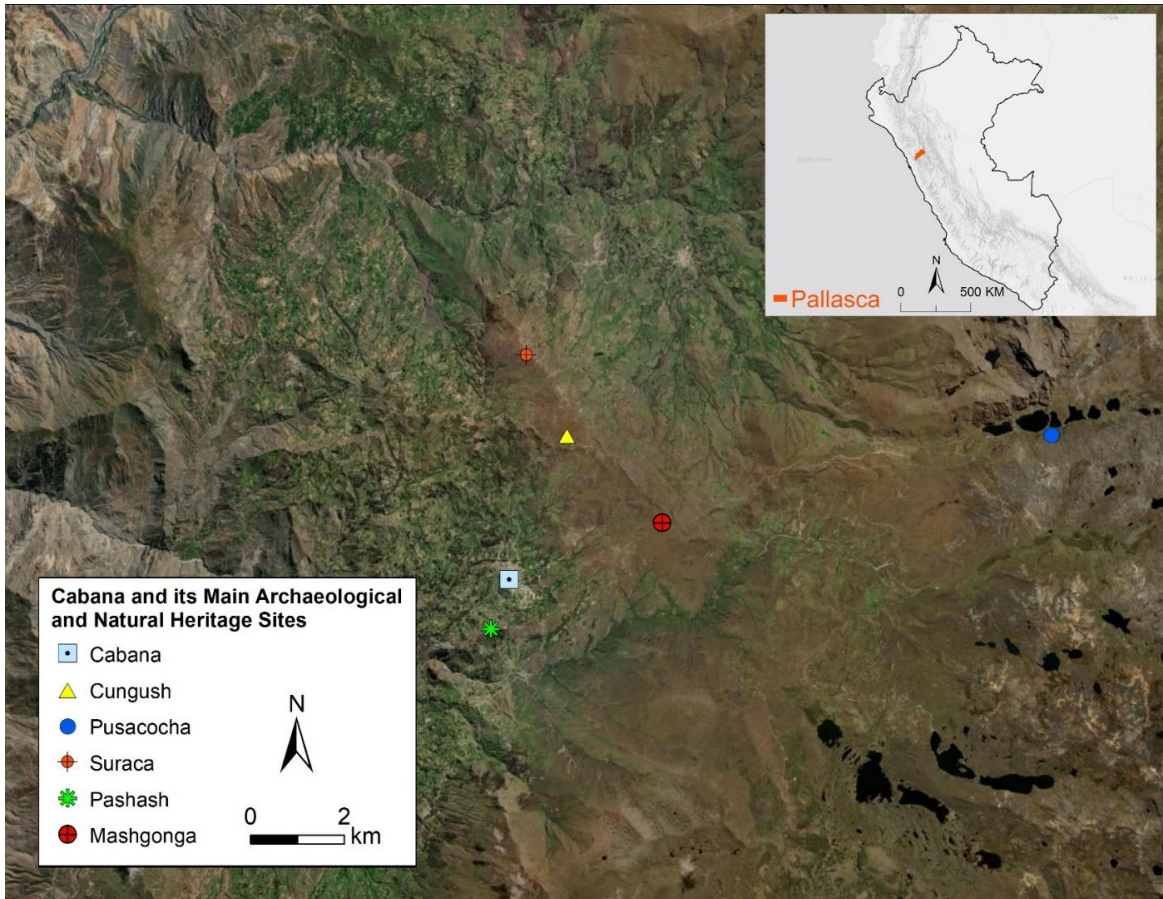


Figure 6. Map of Cabana and its main points of interest. Drawn by Jacob Bongers and reproduced with his permission.

Nearby, the hilltop site of Mashgonga dates from another turbulent period of Peruvian archaeology, the Late Intermediate Period (1000-1400 CE), immediately preceding the Inca expansion and Spanish Conquest.

The town of Cabana was founded shortly after the Spanish conquest and was named provincial capital in 1901 (Garcia Lopez 2003, 36). Meanwhile, Pashash was the private property of elite Cabana families, until it was declared as an Archaeological Zone in 1979 and placed under protection of the state (Resolución Ministerial n° 1011).

Today, Cabana's inhabitants have described their livelihood as deriving from the service industry, centralising the administrative duties of the Pallasca region and acting as a hub connecting the broader rural region to the major coastal city of Chimbote. It is also a centre for education, comprising a kindergarten, primary and secondary school, as well as two technical institutes for adults, one focusing on agronomy and the other on creative skills, such as sewing (known locally as the CETPRO). In 2009, 61.7% of Cabana's population was considered poor, and 23.4% in a situation of extreme poverty (INEI 2010,

63). The most recent census (INEI 2017b, 1342) gives us an idea of the main sectors of occupation: of 2,445 people, 638 answered that they had worked for money in the week prior to the survey, and another question shows that about 23% of this economically active population worked in agriculture, 14% in shops or markets, 28% in odd jobs, 5% in construction and infrastructure, 9% in administration, and 11% in intellectual professions (including teachers). Its reliance on agriculture has declined in recent decades, as mentioned by several interview participants, and a large proportion of Cabana's young people leave to pursue employment in the coastal cities of Chimbote or Lima.

Although it has not preserved its original prehispanic language, Culle, Cabana still prides itself on its vibrant culture and folklore, such as the yearly celebration of the patronal feast¹⁹ of Saint James (Fiesta Patronal del Apostol Santiago Mayor), which lasts up to a week in July (Garcia Lopez 2003, 168) and features a unique dance known as the Blanquillos. This celebration, and the other events of the yearly calendar, is an occasion for members of the emigrated diaspora to return.

3.4.2. Cultural heritage management in Cabana: history and main stakeholders

The 1970s were a turning point in the development of Cabana's cultural heritage: from 1969 to 1973, North American archaeologist Terence Grieder and Peruvian archaeologist Alberto Bueno conducted excavations in Pashash, discovering the tomb of an elite person in the Capilla sector (Grieder 1978, 51). However, the material uncovered was kept in the Artisanal Centre of Cabana, and it was stolen by a drunken group of villagers who took it to the Colegio Nacional Mixto Pallasca-Cabana, where it was eventually recovered by the police. This soured relations between the community and the archaeologists, however, as Bueno, Grieder and his wife were taken into custody during the incident (Acosta Robles 2012, 70). The excavations and this unfortunate event can help explain both the interest in archaeology and the population's willingness to protect the artefacts associated with Pashash.

¹⁹ Patronal feasts are a yearly festival in Peru, taking place in rural communities and in diaspora communities in Lima, where the Saint protecting the community is celebrated.

The renewed interest in Pashash gave the impetus for local champions' attempts to preserve and promote their heritage, although, as of 2022, there were no funds available to the community specifically for the *puesta en valor* of Pashash. The following information, regarding the creation of local associations promoting heritage, was given by several informants in Cabana during the interviews I conducted for my fieldwork.

In 1976, a local teacher started this process by creating the *Comité Pro Turismo* (Committee encouraging touristic initiatives). In the first four years of existence, its activities consisted of photographic exhibitions displaying ancient photographs of the area and local archaeological sites, and exhibitions of local crafts. The three men leading the committee also organised 'day of Cabana' festivities with a competition showcasing local musical instruments and bands. They were trying to gather funds to create a museum, which was ultimately created in 1984 alongside the museum's *patronato* or steering group. *Patronatos* can be important local interest groups in cultural heritage management, as described by Saucedo Segami in the case of the Sicán National Museum (2011, 255). For both Sicán as well as Pashash, these steering committees operate for the promotion and protection of the archaeological site.

The *Casa de la Cultura* (House of Culture) was another local group founded in the early 2000s (my informants could not give me the exact date) promoting the arts, heritage and culture of Cabana, which became dormant after 2 or 3 years of activity after members could no longer find the time or resources for it. It focused on rescuing local folklore by promoting dances such as the Blanquillos and Quillallas, which were declared as National Heritage (Patrimonio Cultural de la Nación) in Huaraz. Together with the *patronato*, they advocated for the creation of a permanent archaeology position in Cabana, which was granted and has seen two successive full-time archaeologists taking employment in the museum and supervising external excavation projects.

The *Comité Impulsor Pashash* (Pashash Promotion Committee) unites members of the Cabana intelligentsia in Lima, such as a linguist at the University of San Marcos, an architect, a staff member of the National Museum of History, Archaeology and Anthropology in Pueblo Libre, and a sociologist from the University Villareal, as well as several teachers. These have advocated for the integration of Pashash within the wider Peruvian cultural sphere, such as by signing an agreement enabling archaeology students from the University of San Marcos to undertake internships in Pashash. Nevertheless, this

agreement has not yet been honoured, mainly due to political resistance within Cabana and administrative delays in Lima. The committee's main aim is to drive the *puesta en valor* of Pashash, and it has recently collaborated with the *patronato* to that end, as I will explain in Chapter 5 where I discuss the social and cultural impacts of the project.

3.4.3. *The Rise of Divine Lordships in the Ancient Andes* project (2019-ongoing)

It is in this context that 2019 saw the first field season of the 'Rise of Divine Lordships in the Ancient Andes', an academic research project spearheaded by George Lau and David Chicoine, and funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) and the US's National Science Foundation (NSF). The project aims to explore the archaeological record of the early societies of the Ancash region (1-200 CE), both in the coastal district of Moro and the highland province of Pallasca. Efforts in the highlands have concentrated on Pashash, leading to significant discoveries on this important political centre's social organisation and relationship to the neighbouring sites.

While the main objective of the project was research oriented, its planned impacts ranged beyond the production and dissemination of knowledge in academic circles (Sibley 2019). The project actively sought to reinforce local archaeological capacities, by cooperating with the Cabana Zonal Museum, enriching its collections and providing study and training opportunities for Peruvian archaeologists and students. The project also aimed to share knowledge regarding the conservation of Pashash to help with its upkeep and the improvement of its infrastructure. This process goes hand in hand with the townspeople's desire to promote tourism in the region. More importantly, one of the project's stated objectives is to share the findings of the excavations with the inhabitants of Cabana by providing site tours and talks, temporary museum exhibits, as well as prepare posters and other educational materials that can be used in Cabana (Sibley 2019).

The archaeologists were present in Cabana from June to September 2019. Two more field seasons were planned, but postponed due to the pandemic. However, the project has already had impacts on the processes at play in Cabana, as will be discussed in Chapter 5.

3.4.4. Main challenges in Cabana, as described by its inhabitants

While conducting casual conversations and interviews with the inhabitants of Cabana, many issues came up. These reflect the main contemporary challenges facing the development of the town.

In a context where money is scarce, and agricultural fields are abandoned due to rural exodus, the people of Cabana see tourism as a strategy to thrive economically. They know of *puestas en valor* in sites such as Chavín and Marcahuamachuco, which they want for Pashash, but they feel somewhat isolated from the wider Peruvian cultural sphere. In parallel, they have been frustrated with the lack of funding and the local authorities, whom they feel have not engaged properly with their efforts to promote and conserve Pashash. Within the municipality, a subgroup is interested in placing Cabana on the tourist map, and to this end developed an inventory of touristic resources in 2017, which includes archaeological sites as well as natural resources such as Pusacocha, the Seven Lakes, and cultural sites such as the colonial church of Tauca. However, as of 2019 the uptake has been very slow.

I will now turn to the next project, also situated in the Peruvian highlands.

3.5. Miraflores and the *Escalando Abe Montaña* Project



Figure 7. Miraflores, as seen from the path leading to Yanacancha. Photo: A. Dupeyron.



Figure 8. The archaeological site of Huaquis, a village gradually abandoned since the 1910s. Photo: A. Dupeyron.

3.5.1. The complex archaeological landscape of Miraflores

Miraflores is a village of 229 inhabitants (INEI 2017d, 445) situated in the Nor Yauyos-Cochas Landscape reserve, in the highlands of the Lima region of Peru. Nowadays, the population of Miraflores is dwindling due to the pressures of trying to make a living in a context of rapid climate change. This leads many young people to emigrate to the nearby cities of Huancayo or Cañete, or to try their luck in Lima. The community is mainly engaged in the cultivation of potatoes and rearing of livestock, activities which they conduct in several ecological zones around the village between 3,000 and 5,400m above sea level (Zapata and Gleeson 2020, 747).

The village is relatively new, having been founded after the inhabitants of the nearby village of Huaquis gradually left the settlement between 1909 and 1919 due to poor access to water (Schmitt 2018). However, some people never got used to the new settlement of Miraflores, and, up until the 1960s, isolated individuals were still living in Huaquis, as mentioned by the villagers.

None of the sites of the Miraflores district have been excavated, but archaeologist Rafael Schmitt has conducted archaeological surveys and ethnohistorical research on Huaquis. The site of Huaquis was built between the 10th and 15th century by the Yauyos, one of many polities competing militarily in the region in this period of Peruvian archaeology known as the Late Intermediate Period (Schmitt 2018). Other archaeological

sites, such as Huamanchurco, Curiuna or Pukuria, date from the same period, according to the inhabitants, and are scattered around Miraflores (Figure 9).

Archaeologists Alexander Herrera and Favio Ramírez have also carried out archaeological surveys, focusing on water use and irrigation features for the project spearheaded by the Instituto de Montaña (Ramírez and Herrera 2013). This project is the focus of my study and will be described in the section below. In particular, their study identified Yanacancha, a system of six pre-Inca dams built about 700 years ago, which can retain and filter water (Zapata and Gleeson 2020, 749).

Huaquis was incorporated into the Inca Empire, and then the Spanish empire, when it became a colonial reduction²⁰. Many of its characteristic buildings, such as the church and the tower, date from that era (Schmitt 2018). It was continuously inhabited until its abandonment and was declared *Patrimonio Cultural de la Nación* (National Heritage Site, a protected status) in 1999 (Schmitt 2020). From an archaeological and historical standpoint, Huaquis is significant not only because it is a rare and well-preserved example of continuous occupation until the Republican era (Schmitt 2020), but also because it features prominently in Miraflores's intangible cultural heritage through oral history, traditions and rites (Schmitt 2018). However, none of the other sites of the vicinity have been managed as cultural heritage resources, and Miraflores gets very limited tourist attention. It is only recently that the archaeological sites of Miraflores have come into play to contribute to its development, thanks to the initiative led by the Instituto de Montaña.

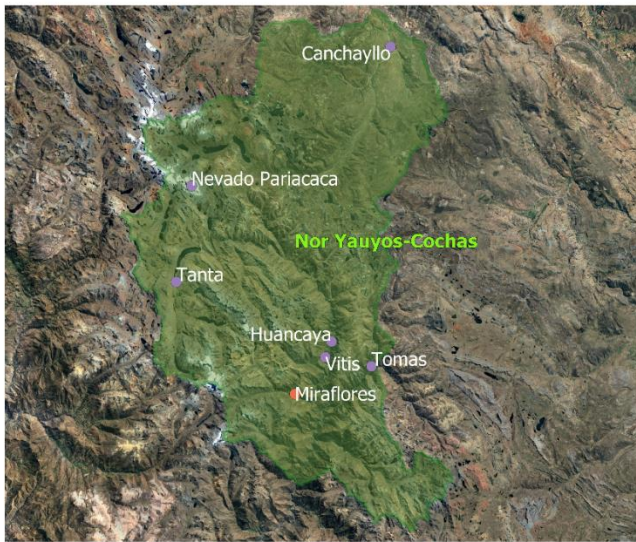
3.5.2. The *Instituto de Montaña* and *Escalando Abe Montaña*

The Mountain Institute was an international non-profit organisation headquartered in the US since 1972, with projects in the Appalachians, and expanded to the Himalayas in the mid-1980s and the Andes in 1996 (Instituto de Montaña 2020). In 2020, the Peruvian branch separated and officially became *el Instituto de Montaña*, keeping the same staff and headquarters. Therefore, the Institute is referred to as Instituto de Montaña (IdM) throughout this thesis. The work of IdM in the Andes started in the vicinity

²⁰ Colonial reductions were Spanish-style settlements where the Spanish forcibly relocated indigenous people.

of Huaraz, in Ancash, and has focused on understanding mountain ecosystems and the needs of communities with a participatory ethos. Institutionally, the IdM also have a strong tradition of focusing on the cultural heritage of the Andean highlands. For instance, they have recorded oral traditions along the Qhapaq Ñan²¹ (Zapata et al. 2012), and produced methodological guidance on how to safeguard intangible cultural values through social memory (Zapata 2012). This participatory process consists of communities recording interviews, photos and videos detailing their traditions with the help of a facilitator (Zapata 2012). The IdM have also focused on eco-tourism and sustainable tourism in the Ancash department (Rondán Ramírez 2019, pers. comm.). More recently, in 2018, the IdM launched the RETAMA initiative, a Spanish acronym for Restoring Ancestral Technologies and Water Management. This network gathers Andean communities working on the restoration of ancient water management systems so that they can share their experiences (Chapman-Bruschini 2022). The RETAMA network is closely associated to the Escalando Abe Montaña project, which I will now describe.

²¹ The Main Andean Road which was the backbone of the Inca empire.



Miraflores and its surrounding region (bottom left), within the Nor Yauyos-Cochas Landscape Reserve (top left).

Main archaeological sites surrounding Miraflores (right).



Figure 9. Miraflores in context. Map prepared by the author on QGIS using publicly available data from OpenStreetMap and Google Maps.

In 2011, the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) collaborated to pilot the implementation of the Ecosystem Based Adaptation approach in Peru, Nepal and Uganda (Zapata and Gleeson 2020, 745). This consists of “the use of biodiversity and ecosystem services as part of a larger strategy to help people adapt to the adverse effects of climate change” (CDB 2009 in Zapata and Gleeson 2020, 742). As it is people-centred, it acknowledges local knowledge and the strong links between social, economic, cultural and environmental benefits for communities (Zapata and Gleeson 2020, 742).

The Peruvian Ministry of the Environment sought to identify a suitable region for this project, which would be funded by an international donor, the Federal Ministry of the Environment, Nature Protection, Public Works and Nuclear Safety of the German Government (BMUD). The IdM was commissioned to implement this project in Peru. The requirements were to have a variety of human uses of natural resources, an ecosystem in relatively good condition and a good state of biodiversity conservation, and stakeholders that were motivated, trained and willing to help manage the ecosystems (PNUD et al. 2016, 41). The Nor Yauyos-Cochas Landscape Reserve, created in 2001 by SERNANP, was chosen as a testing ground for this approach (PNUD et al. 2016, 42). After a Participatory Rural appraisal process, the IdM selected the villages of Miraflores and Canchayllo (see Figure 9) to launch the ‘Ecosystem Based Adaptation in Mountain Ecosystems’ project, or Abe Montaña (PNUD et al. 2016, 38). The project lasted from 2013 to 2015 and became ‘Scaling up Mountain Ecosystem-Based Adaptation’, or *Escalando Abe Montaña*, in 2017 (Zapata and Gleeson 2020, 745). This involves consolidating existing measures and expanding to the villages of Tomas and Tanta (Figure 9). The project was supposed to end in 2020, but was extended due to the Covid-19 pandemic (Gallardo 2021, pers. Comm.) In this thesis I will refer to the project by its Spanish name, *Escalando Abe Montaña*.

For this study, I have focused on Miraflores due to the importance of archaeology for the villagers and their collective identity as explained above, and the recommendation of the IdM staff, who emphasised the strength of this community’s organisation, and the relative success of Ecosystem-Based Adaptations.

In Miraflores, *Abe Montaña* and its successor, the current *Escalando Abe Montaña* project, had the mutually reinforcing aims of strengthening community organisation,

strengthening local capacities and knowledge regarding the management of native grasslands, water and livestock, and improving infrastructure relating to the communal management of native grasslands, water and livestock (Zapata and Gleeson 2020, 751). This consisted of three main activities: training people to find better ways to manage grasslands as a community; expanding and conserving wetlands based on community needs; and restoring ancestral and modern technologies for water management (Zapata and Gleeson 2020, 751). In particular, the archaeological site of Yanacancha was the focus of restoration efforts, to provide a clean supply of water to the people of Miraflores and their livestock and improve the quality of surrounding pastureland. This perspective makes the IdM's EbA projects close in spirit to the historical ecology tradition in the Andes, as these projects focus on the relationship between societies and their environment over the long-term, with a focus on sustainable practices.

3.5.3. Miraflores: main stakeholders

In Miraflores, the main point of contact for the Escalando Abe Montaña project is the *Comunidad Campesina*: my interview with the municipal authorities indicated that they were somehow distanced from IdM activities and processes. The *comunidad campesina* is a strong representation of Miraflores and their interests, with about 80 members – one per family. The importance of this institution can be explained by the district's reliance on agro-pastoral activities, which are the main livelihood strategy for 70% of its inhabitants (Zapata and Gleeson 2020, 747).

The *comunidad campesina* makes decisions regarding Miraflores's use of its lands: it regulates the distribution of pastureland and the rotation of grazing activities to ensure a fair access to communal resources, as well as appropriate land conservation. Indeed, Peruvian law describes *comunidades campesinas* as fundamental institutions which recognise a rural community's right to its land, and its ancestral, social, economic and cultural roots (Congreso de la República 1987, 59). Assemblies held by the *comunidad campesina* take place several times a year, and provide an arena to discuss projects and initiatives, as well as to plan *faenas*, collective tasks undertaken to benefit the whole community. In this village with little internet access, the community-elected officials make announcements on the microphone most evenings when people have returned

from the fields, to let people know about training workshops, village events and other news.

This system runs in parallel to the state institutions, such as the provincial or municipal authorities, but there is a degree of overlap as most families have a representative in the *comunidad campesina* with the status of *comunero/comunera*. Concerning the projects of interest in this thesis, the *comunidad campesina* is well connected to the IdM, SERNANP and several state projects concerning the management of land. The municipal authorities, in turn, are more connected to Rafael Schmitt's Huaquis historical research project and any initiatives to foster heritage and cultural tourism in the region.

Although they take place in such a small village, as of 2019, there was almost no connection between Escalando Abe Montaña and the Huaquis project. Huaquis has a very strong resonance in collective memory, and everyone has anecdotes about it (see field diary). All *comuneros* have participated in the Escalando Abe project, at least through communal work, and sometimes even through workshops. It is worth noting that, in 2022, two years after I had collected the bulk of my PhD data, Miraflores was awarded funding by the World Monuments Fund for the Yanacancha-Huaquis Cultural Landscape (World Monuments Fund 2022). When I returned to Peru in May 2022, archaeologist Rafael Schmitt and the IdM had already started collaborating on that new project, bridging the divide that had previously existed between Escalando Abe Montaña and the Huaquis project.

SERNANP is another major stakeholder that is very interested in the use of archaeology, both for climate change adaptation but also to propel community-based tourism. Several of them have mentioned to me the possibility to replicate Escalando EbA Montaña elsewhere in the Landscape Reserve and restore ancient terraces. They mentioned that the reserve is full of unmapped, untapped archaeological heritage that they are keen to integrate.

I will now describe the third project, which is also situated in a protected natural area.

3.6. Agua Blanca and its community tourism project

The third case study is the ongoing community tourism project taking place in the village of Agua Blanca, Ecuador, since the 1980s. Agua Blanca is situated in a drastically different tropical dry forest ecosystem, but the insights from this project are comparable to the two previous ones, as it has also developed from a research project to a community initiative (like in Cabana) and is negotiating livelihood strategies in the context of a protected area (like in Miraflores). Besides, the Agua Blanca project has become a reference in Latin America concerning community involvement in the management of their archaeological resources (Endere and Zulaica 2015, 259).

3.6.1. Manteños, Montubios and Aguablanquenses

Agua Blanca is situated within a region evidencing a rich prehispanic past. The Buenavista Valley was occupied continuously from the early formative Valdivia period (3000-2000 BCE) to the Manteño period (800-1530 CE): across the river from the village of Agua Blanca sits a major Manteño settlement (McEwan 2003, xxxviii). Known as Salangome, that settlement was the centre of a polity, which included modern day Puerto López (then Seracapez), Salango, and Machalilla (then Tuzco)²².

Archaeologically, the Manteño culture is renowned for its stone seats, large ceremonial halls and funerary urns. The site of Agua Blanca holds significant scientific value for archaeologists because it displays well-preserved structures and enables the study of a Manteño settlement pattern as well as insights into the social organisation of the Manteño polity (McEwan and Delgado-Espinoza 2008, 516). It provides a rare view into this culture, which is still largely unknown and understudied. This Manteño settlement forms the basis of Agua Blanca's *puesta en valor* and identity formation process.

²² Further details on how the settlements were identified based on the Spanish chronicles can be found in McEwan (2003, 132-133).



Agua Blanca, its region and main points of interest



- Archaeological museum
- Artisanal centre
- Community restaurant
- Sulfur pool
- ▴ Archaeological site

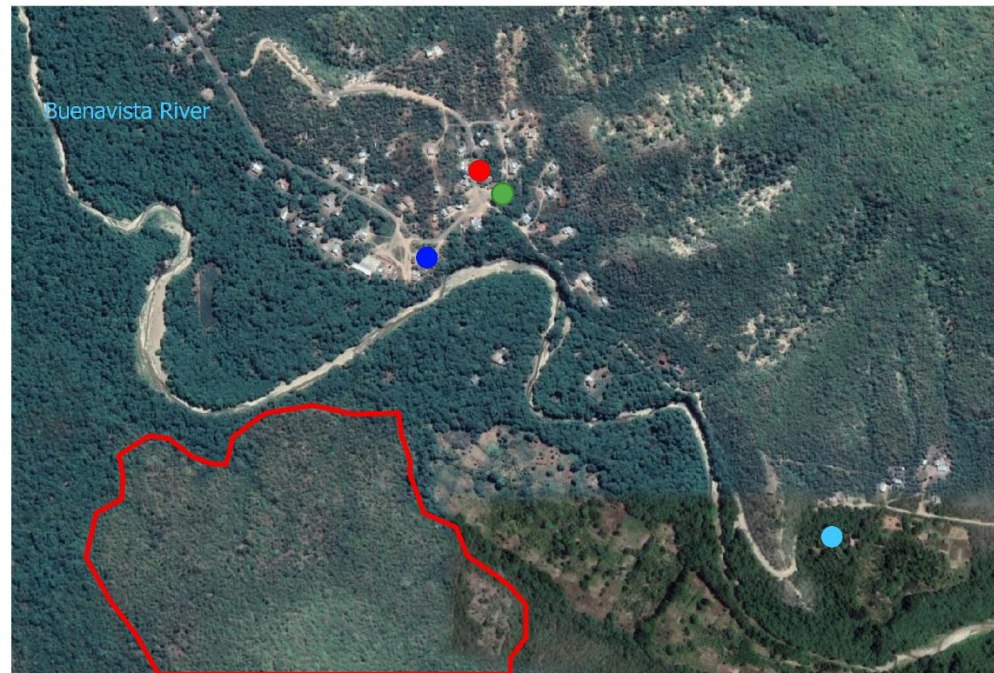


Figure 10. Agua Blanca in context. Map prepared by the author on QGIS using publicly available data from OpenStreetMap and Google Maps.

There is very little information about what happened to Agua Blanca and its people after the Spanish conquest (Ruiz Ballesteros 2008, 456). Under Spanish rule, the entire region underwent a process of erasure of its precolonial legacy. This resulted in the invisibility of indigenous coastal groups in 20th century national coalitions (Smith 2015, 66). Furthermore, the word *montubio* was coined to describe coastal agriculturalists: this served the purpose of setting them apart from the educated urban *mestizos*, while denying their indigeneity (Smith 2015, 69). This explains the prejudiced context that the people of Agua Blanca had to deal with when asserting their identity as an indigenous coastal group of Manteño heritage.

Agua Blanca reappears in written documents at the end of the 18th century. The area was then sparsely populated and part of the territory of the Jipijapa indigenous group (Ruiz Ballesteros 2008, 460). This land was then turned into a private estate or hacienda, employing several families to help with cattle rearing and cutting wood for charcoal production. Some inhabitants of the Agua Blanca community have oral family histories about the hacienda and their ancestors who lived there at the beginning of the 20th century (Ruiz Ballesteros 2008, 89). The hacienda became public property in 1979, but had been practically abandoned for a few years prior (Ruiz Ballesteros 2008, 93). Until that time, the inhabitants of Agua Blanca depended on the employment opportunities tied to the hacienda, coupled with subsistence work.

In the meantime, the inhabitants of Agua Blanca, or Aguablanquenses, had coalesced as a community, and obtained the status of *comuna* in 1964. Since 1937 this status enabled indigenous communities to obtain legal recognition of their ability to self-govern (Smith 2015, 67). Therefore, the community became a legal entity and the government recognised that it had been founded in 1930 (Ruiz Ballesteros 2008, 98).

3.6.2. Silva and McEwan's archaeological project

The 1970s brought many changes to Agua Blanca, including a drought that reinforced the process of migration to Guayaquil or other major Ecuadorian cities. However, that decade also saw the arrival of Scottish archaeologist Colin McEwan in 1978, who surveyed the Buenavista river, and returned in 1981 to conduct topographic mapping work. In 1985, together with his colleague Maria Isabel Silva, McEwan started an archaeological excavation project which continued until 1990. The legacy of this

project is best assessed in the chapter focusing specifically on impacts (Chapter 5), but I will paint the broad strokes here to place the archaeological project in its context.

According to Maria Isabel Silva, the project was revolutionary in its ethos. Staff members of the Ministry of Culture and Heritage (Subdivision of Heritage) told me that Agua Blanca was influenced by Lumbreras' social archaeology, the Marxist theoretical current I mentioned above, popularised in Peru in the 1970s (Herrera 2011, 77). The two archaeologists created many opportunities for sharing knowledge with the villagers, training them in archaeological techniques and teaching them about the Manteño past. The educational and social impacts of this work will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5 of this thesis ([Section 5.3.3](#)).

McEwan's initial arrival coincided with the creation of the Machalilla National Park (1979). Combined with the drought, this had implications for the livelihood strategies of the Agua Blanca villagers. They were officially prohibited from felling trees to make charcoal, and hunting, which were two of their main sources of subsistence (Hudson et al. 2016, 82). Agriculture provided an alternative, but so did Silva and McEwan's project, which had sixteen employees by its conclusion in 1990 (Hudson et al. 2016, 69). The economic impacts of archaeological work will also be discussed in Chapter 5 ([Section 5.3.1](#)).

3.6.3. The Agua Blanca Community Tourism project

Silva and McEwan's archaeological project, with a strong focus on training villagers and project workers, was the seed of a touristic initiative. In 1990, villagers constructed the museum or Casa Cultural of Agua Blanca, aided by British designer Chris Hudson (Hudson et al. 2016, 67) and the support of the state administration and the British Embassy (Ruiz-Ballesteros 2008, 140). Silva and McEwan returned frequently to Agua Blanca, alongside other archaeologists such as Kimbra Smith, who helped villagers launch the artisan initiative in 2000. Silva and McEwan's project propelled Agua Blanca into community tourism, as a few of the employees decided to present the site to tourists, first for free and then for donations, until the site gained enough clout to charge visitors fully.

The current goals of the Agua Blanca project are articulated in its Mission and Vision statement, publicly exhibited at the museum, and which I translate below:

“Mission: The Ancestral Agua Blanca Community works following tools of strategic planning, integrating the community’s territorial legislation, and puts into practice the sustained and sustainable use of its natural and cultural resources to benefit its inhabitants and the canton.

Vision: In 2025, the Agua Blanca community has consolidated community tourism through the generation of employment opportunities, which will guarantee a sustainable management in the development and touristic operation of its cultural and natural riches; articulating the key values of tourism, security and quality of destinations, innovation in knowledge and applied technology, with connectivity, infrastructure, adequate facilities and qualified human talent.

Furthermore, it has positioned itself as a sustainable touristic destination, highly diverse, leading, competitive, safe and of local, national and internationally recognised quality, which allows for the improvement of its people’s quality of life under a legal and institutional framework that is innovative, effective and environmentally friendly.”

As this text indicates, the community tourism project has evolved beyond a source of employment to become an aspiration for sustainable livelihood practices focusing on quality of life (Ruiz-Ballesteros 2010, 664). A study conducted in 2015 ranked Agua Blanca according to the ‘Buen Vivir’ indicators²³ and concluded that it achieved a degree of socio-cultural sustainability between high and medium (Endere and Zulaica 2015, 278).

The aims of the Agua Blanca community project translate to several activities, which are offered to visitors as part of a tour entitled ‘Conociendo el camino Manteño’ (Getting to know the Manteño path), which has changed very little since Ruiz Ballesteros’s depiction (2008, 157), and is also described by Hudson et al. (2016). These activities include a presentation of the museum and main archaeological remains of Agua Blanca, a walk showcasing the local flora and fauna, and an opportunity to engage with the dedicated tourist attractions of the artisanal centre, the sulphur lagoon and the spa.

The Museum, or Casa Cultural, is where the tour begins. It was built using traditional construction techniques, using a very limited budget (Hudson 2013, pers. comm.) and contains many significant finds from the Silva and McEwan excavations. It was

²³ Endere and Zulaica (2015) adapted the Buen Vivir (Good Living) National Plan of the Ecuadorian state into qualitative indicators, focusing on the following areas: features and state of the site, management, perception, transmission of knowledge and experiences, economic support, and environmental protection.

modernised in 2005 (Endere and Zulaica 2015, 267). The guides provide most of the interpretation and explain the historical context of Agua Blanca.



Figure 11. The Casa Cultural (left) and Elisa Alban Handcraft centre (right). Photo: A. Dupeyron.

The Elisa Alban Community Handicraft Centre²⁴ is situated next to the museum, a strategic location as tourists visit it on their way between the museum and the guided tour. Since 2000, the artisans (mainly women) produce and sell jewellery made of spondylus or ivory nut, as well as *palo santo* oil and carved figurines.

The tourists then go on a walk that takes them to the main recreational activity, the sulphur lagoon. On their way, the guides talk about the local flora and fauna, show the subsistence agriculture fields, the bend in the river where women do their laundry, the local camp site, and if the tourists are not too exhausted from the heat, they take them up to one of the sectors of the archaeological site.

The lagoon is the place that most tourists come to visit, and where they have the opportunity to bathe. Nearby, the villagers have opened a spa in 2014, where they offer massages with *palo santo* oil. On their return from the lagoon, the tourists can have a meal at the Community Restaurant, or another private restaurant opened in 2018. In 2019, few tourists were aware that they could also spend a night in Agua Blanca, and that many of the families have prepared cabins or rooms for receiving guests. This has allegedly changed after the Covid-19 pandemic, as a deterioration of security on the north coast of

²⁴ Named after a prominent community member and retired midwife, Elisa Alban.

Ecuador has driven more tourists to Manabí, and the Agua Blancans reported more overnight stays.

The tour exemplifies some of the main touristic activities developed by the Agua Blanca community over the years.

3.6.3. Agua Blanca: main stakeholders

Agua Blanca is situated in the *parroquia* (parish) of Machalilla, and the canton of Puerto López. Although the local state authorities make an appearance at official events such as the 2020 anniversary of the *comuna* (where I was present), the participation of state agencies in the management of Agua Blanca and its resources was deemed weak by external evaluators (Endere and Zulaica 2015, 279), and villagers assert their autonomy. The Machalilla National Park was an important stakeholder at its inception, since it constituted a threat to the long-term survival of Agua Blanca, and its inhabitants were worried about being expelled (Ruiz-Ballesteros 2008, 110). However, relationships are now more peaceful: the Park is a source of employment for some of Agua Blanca's guides, and has helped build infrastructure in the community (Hudson et al. 2016).

External researchers have also played a role through increasing knowledge about Agua Blanca's past, society and environment, but also by offering new projects. Notable among those is Kimbra Smith, who helped the villagers create the handicraft centre. She is also one of several anthropologists examining the trajectory of this community, her main focus being the negotiation of indigenous identity. Esteban Ruiz-Ballesteros wrote a significant ethnographical report of life in Agua Blanca (2008), gathering a large number of testimonies from most villagers, and tracing the economic and social conditions of life in the community. The research outputs written by Smith and Ruiz-Ballesteros were fundamental resources to help me understand the community's long-term trajectory.

Unsurprisingly, the *comuna* is the main stakeholder, as they take most decisions concerning the life of the community and the management of its museum and archaeological remains. While the *comuna's* limited core funding is raised from membership fees, Agua Blanca obtain funding for specific construction or restoration

projects through applications to donors such as the Spanish Development Agency²⁵, the Ecuadorian Fundación Crisfe, or the US Embassy. All incoming projects (infrastructure as well as research) are debated in the monthly Assembly, and they cannot go ahead without the *comuna*'s full informed consent. All adults who reside in the community can become members (*socios/socias*): this requires paying a regular fee to the *comuna* and being actively involved in the community's ongoing projects and discussions. While all members of the *comuna* can attend the assembly, only *socios* can vote, and only a *socio* can hold a community job, such as museum tour guide (Brock 2019, 26). The *socios* vote for the *Cabildo*, the governing committee of the community, constituted of a President, a Vice-President, a Treasurer, a Secretary, a Director of Territory, a Director for Women, and Director of Health, Children and Youth (Brock 2019, 29). The *Comité Arqueológico* (archaeology committee), a Sub-Committee gathering the guides of Agua Blanca and focusing on the promotion of tourism, plays a major role in the decision-making process since so much of the village's economic activity depends on tourism (Hudson et al. 2016, 69).

After this brief presentation of Agua Blanca, I will now conclude by making the case for comparing the three villages.

3.7. Conclusion: the case for comparability

I have shown the contextual particularities of each village and project. Each of them **reflects distinct models** of archaeological heritage management and development in the Andes, whether this takes the form of Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (Agua Blanca), historical ecology projects (Escalando Abe Montaña/Miraflores) or community outreach projects (Pashash and the Rise of Divine Lordships project/Cabana).

One of the major differences is the type of stakeholders conducting the bulk of the planning process. In Cabana, particular interest groups, such as the *patronato*, are liaising between the state authorities and the archaeological team. In Miraflores, the *comunidad campesina* is at the centre of the process, but the project is facilitated by the IdM and

²⁵ Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo (AECID).

SERNANP, which have access to funding specifically to carry out the EbA Montaña project and evaluate it. In Agua Blanca, what started as an external research project is now a fully autonomous community-led project. As we will see in the following chapter, this has significant consequences for the evaluation strategies put in place by these stakeholders in each village. Chapter 4 will therefore reflect on the differential access to Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning strategies in each village, and what this means for the three projects' abilities to learn from past experiences and be accountable at the local level.

Yet, these villages are **comparable**: they share a common background, as they are all rural settlements situated in the Andean region, interested in using their past to look to their future. They also share specific issues such as rural migration, indigenous community governance and land ownership, identity building through archaeological heritage, interrogations around the process of *puesta en valor*, and the willingness to use their heritage to create sustainable livelihood alternatives. As explained in Chapter 2, I carried out evaluation methods in each context with limited means, which reflects the position of many development evaluations in the Global South, and is applicable to all three projects despite their differences.

In sum, the three villages were chosen for their representativity of different types of 'archaeology for development' projects, but this does not take away from their comparability. This is the foundation on which the following three chapters are based: they will examine the empirical evidence emerging from the comparison of the three villages to answer the research questions of this thesis. Chapter 4 will compare existing Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning strategies in the three villages, and explore the involvement of stakeholders, as well as what they identify as gaps and needs for evaluation. Chapter 5 will showcase the three projects' complex and interrelated social, economic and environmental impacts, based on my own evaluation. Finally, Chapter 6 will analyse the extent to which the methods I implemented were suitable and able to produce rigorous data in these three villages, which are comparable and yet provide different responses to the same methods.

CHAPTER 4. CURRENT EVALUATION STRATEGIES IN THREE ANDEAN VILLAGES: NEEDS, CHALLENGES, AND PERSPECTIVES FOR IMPROVEMENT.

4.1. Introduction

4.1.1. Chapter outline

The literature review has highlighted the lack of established approaches towards Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning in the context of archaeological and heritage projects, which is the research gap this thesis fills. The preceding chapter has presented the context in which projects are situated, showing that, although they are characteristic of the Archaeology for Development trend in the Andes, they are implemented by very different stakeholders.

The research questions covered in this chapter are the following: What is the perceived need for evaluation in archaeology for development projects in the Andes, and what current strategies exist to provide the reflexivity needed to improve projects in the long term? What tensions do these evaluation strategies generate, between the practical difficulties in their implementation, and the power dynamics at play among the involved stakeholders?

Here, I will present and discuss stakeholders' views on Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning in all three villages, relating to the projects and their intended impacts. First, I will discuss the perceived importance of evaluation among stakeholders and how MEL data has helped stakeholders through the course of the project. Then, I will present the current MEL strategies, and the roles of stakeholders involved. Lastly, I will discuss the stakeholders' critiques of their own current MEL activities, their needs and plans for the future. I will contextualise this in the wider landscape of South American archaeology and development, as well as the recommendations for conducting evaluations in this context in general.

This chapter will mainly be of interest to evaluation specialists and heritage professionals who are interested in monitoring and evaluation methods, as it highlights the particularities of evaluation in the context of archaeology for development projects in the Andes. However, this chapter may have other applications for public policy and community development projects.

4.1.2. Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning: key concepts and links to power and politics

4.1.2.1. Monitoring, Evaluation, Learning (MEL) and Sistematización

In order to make sense of the strategies stakeholders use to evaluate the projects taking place in all three villages, I will briefly summarise the definitions for the processes of Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning (MEL) which were introduced in Chapter 1 ([Section 1.2.3](#)).

While monitoring regularly collects data on a project's activities, using specific indicators, evaluation provides a periodic assessment of whether the project is on the path to attaining its objectives (Gertler et al. 2016). Evaluation takes place within the broader context of evidence-based policy, which I described in the introduction. As established, evaluation is not objective or neutral; instead, it is dependent on the circumstances in which the data is collected and analysed, as well as the methods used and what the evaluators and commissioners consider as rigorous. Evaluation is also subject to local political pressure, as stakeholders may not be open to criticism and be reluctant to change, or may rely on evaluation results to obtain further funding, or may be in disagreement with other stakeholders about key aspects of the project. The purposes of evaluation are hotly debated, but include accountability to the donors and communities, as well as providing a space for reflecting on data and past practices to stimulate change within a project. This latter purpose overlaps with Learning, which builds on the lessons learnt from the evaluation process to reflect on how they can be implemented in practice in the next phase of a project (Young et al. 2014).

In Spanish-speaking countries, there is also a complementary process to MEL referred to as 'Sistematización', which incorporates elements of learning (Aprendizaje).

In the specific context of this thesis and its case studies, the Instituto de Montaña (henceforth IdM) defines ‘Sistematización’ as the following:

“Systematization is an organised collective process, which implies remembering what we did, reflecting and analyseing; we organise information, we structure and order related elements, we think and we learn together, we document the process and the analysis, and we share it” (Instituto de Montaña 2014 in Zapata et al. 2016, 110 [translation by A. Dupeyron])

In this chapter, I will use the term MEL to cover Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning activities as conducted in the three villages. The next section will provide a brief review of the influence of power and politics on the practice of MEL and the current guidelines (or lack thereof) that frame MEL in the Latin American cultural heritage sector.

4.1.2.2. MEL, Power and Politics

In the introduction (Chapter 1, [Section 1.3.1](#)), I set out a theoretical framework to interrogate how institutions and their power structures frame what is perceived as relevant and is evaluated.

Aston et al. (2022, 40) summarise some of the main reasons why the process of evaluating, and the circumstances in which it is undertaken, is inherently political. Different stakeholders have different views on what deserves to be counted as credible knowledge, and worthy of data collection and monitoring. These stakeholders have differential access to resources, which also shapes what kind of MEL can be funded and conducted. The findings can affect the reputations and relationships amongst evaluators, donors, programme staff, communities and local governments; the use of any of these findings is also inscribed in a specific socio-political context, underpinned by ethical considerations (Aston et al. 2022, 40). In this chapter, these issues will be manifest as we examine what gets to be evaluated, how, and how the findings may be used in the context of our three Andean villages.

Eyben refers to “results and evidence artefacts” to designate the established tools that have framed mainstream evaluation practices and are perceived as credible (Eyben 2015, 21). These artefacts include ‘theories of change’ or ‘performance measurement indicators’, for example, and have entered the discourse of development policymakers,

usually as a performative way to demonstrate that they are on track to donors and beneficiaries (Eyben 2015, 31). In sum, the stakeholders who are involved in a project will have different institutional trajectories, which also shape the evaluation framing and methods used (if any). This theory underpins the chapter, as an archaeological or a community-based project, will not have integrated these ‘results and evidence artefacts’ and will not evaluate in the same way that an NGO would. A participatory focused NGO, like the IdM, will also push back on the mainstream, expected evaluation methods to try to implement methods that are more in line with their ethos.

This chapter shows that the types of projects under study (described in the last chapter) are underpinned by very different conceptions of evaluation, because of the difference in actors involved. Cabana has local authorities, local interest groups, and academic researchers as well as the local community involved in their relationships to the excavation and – ultimately, in their explicit aims – to the *puesta en valor* of Pashash. Meanwhile, the main stakeholders in Miraflores are the Instituto de Montaña (IdM), a then (2019) international NGO, now (2022) Peruvian organisation with a strong participatory ethos²⁶, the national SERNANP authorities, the municipality and *comunidad campesina*. The stakeholders in Agua Blanca are primarily its indigenous community, who collaborate with external researchers, NGOs, Park authorities and local, regional and national authorities. In these three contexts, organisational practices have shaped priorities in terms of their Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning practices. While I did not have access to the projects’ financial data and could not compare their budgets dedicated to evaluation in my analysis, it is worth mentioning that the projects also had differential access to these resources. Indeed, the IdM could employ trained staff thanks to the international funding it received for its development oriented EbA project in Miraflores, whereas neither Cabana nor Agua Blanca raised funds specifically for evaluation²⁷. This chapter also highlights how different forms of knowledge are valued differently

²⁶ Chapter 3 details the history of the IdM and its restructuring ([Section 3.5.2](#)): in 2020, the Peruvian branch became independent from the international organisation.

²⁷ The IdM obtained funding for the EbA Montaña project from BMUD, the Federal Ministry of the Environment, Nature Protection, Public Works and Nuclear Safety of the German Government (Zapata and Gleeson 2020, 745). Agua Blanca obtains funding from national and international donors for specific projects such as the renovation of the handicraft centre, but only raises core funding from a portion of the income generated by guides and other tourism workers, who pay a membership fee to the *comuna*. The PIARP project in Peru was funded by the AHRC (UK) and the NSF (USA), but did not allocate funds specifically for evaluation, and the Cabana stakeholders do not hold specific funds devoted to Pashash.

depending on the context (as framed in Aston et al. 2022, 41) and the critiques that this generates both internally and from other stakeholders.

This leads us to consider whether there are any standard approaches contextualising the process of evaluation in this field, which I examine in the next section.

4.1.3. Evaluation in the South American context

The Latin American context in which our three projects operate was discussed at length in the previous chapter ([Section 3.2](#)). The coexistence and intersection of vastly different socioeconomic and racial identities, often instrumentalised by the post-colonial states of Ecuador and Peru, require ethical guidelines that are adapted to the situation. The Latin American and Caribbean Network for Monitoring, Evaluation and Systematization or ReLAC (abbreviation from Spanish initials for Red de Seguimiento, Evaluación y Sistematización de Latinoamérica y el Caribe) integrated the dimensions of Cultural Understanding and Ethics and Legal Principles as priority areas in their 2021 standards (Guzmán et al. 2021, 25). The dimension of ‘Ethics and Legal Principles’ includes respect for people’s rights, transparency, ethics and professional integrity, legality and autonomy. The dimension of ‘Cultural Understanding’ involves respecting cultural rights, equality and equity, as well as reciprocity and interculturality. These guidelines also acknowledge the importance of contextualisation and in-depth understanding of the intervention as criteria for rigour, which have become increasingly important considerations in development evaluation (see Chapter 1, [Section 1.3.2.2](#)).

However, to what extent are these standards commonplace, especially in small-scale heritage projects? Evaluation in the heritage context is piecemeal, if it takes place at all, as discussed in the literature review, and this is even more true of a region where funding can be so scarce. Recently, the Peruvian National Cultural Policy plan, which defines the objectives for 2030, highlighted the importance of evidencing the impact of culture in improving its population’s quality of life through more rigorous evaluation, which can then communicate the results of the cultural initiatives they have offered (Ministerio de Cultura 2020, 153). However, for most projects this has not been implemented yet, even for the ones that have a strong development focus. For example, the PIARA project in Ancash has a strong community engagement and development focus,

but still identifies the lack of measurable data as one of its weaknesses (Bria and Cruz Carranza 2015, 217).

This does not mean that projects are entirely devoid of MEL: the three cases under consideration deal with the issue of obtaining feedback on how they are doing and using these results to change course in three different ways. In this chapter, I will analyse these differences and the way in which they are defined by the type of stakeholder involved, as well as what they perceive as necessary from an evaluation.

4.2. Methods

Twenty-two of the forty-two interviews I conducted in the field mentioned evaluation. I spoke more in depth about current evaluation methods and approaches to four stakeholders associated with the Cabana project, four with Miraflores/Instituto de Montaña (IdM), and two associated with Agua Blanca. These interviewees were or had been more involved with the management and/or data collection processes corresponding to these projects.

For these evaluation specific interviews, my questions also focused on the processes and use of evaluation (see Appendix IV). Evaluation-specific questions focused on whether a project has changed course following the review of monitoring or evaluation data, and the feasibility of evaluation methods, as well as their implementation in practice. I also probed to find out if interview participants had any critiques of current MEL methods, or whether more data was to be gathered in the future.

Additionally, I conducted desk-based research and document analysis of the information that was available to me. The Mountain Institute shared with me many of their evaluation resources and reports. I also did participant observation in several of their activities across the Nor-Yauyos-Cochas Landscape in Tanta, Tomas, Miraflores, and Carania, which gave me a better understanding of their participatory methods. In Cabana, the municipality shared with me their Tourism Development Plan, and the museum director shared visitor numbers. In Agua Blanca, much of the research that has been conducted by external researchers evaluating the project's impacts over time is publicly available and has informed my research: examples include Hudson et al. (2016), Smith (2015) and Ruiz-Ballesteros (2008).

I analysed the results based on the following themes: the stakeholders' views on the importance of evaluation, and how any monitoring or evaluation they have undertaken has enabled them to correct course during the project; their description of current evaluation methods employed by the project they are associated with as well as their critiques, and the strategies they would like to implement in the future. The results are presented and discussed below.

4.3. Results and Discussion

The three villages under study exhibit remarkable differences in terms of how they handle MEL. We will see here in detail that, although all three regard evaluation as a priority, only the project spearheaded by the IdM NGO has a cohesive MEL strategy. Even then, the IdM's evaluative strategy exhibits some of the main debates within development evaluation, such as the tensions between practicality, ethical concerns with participation and what is deemed rigorous by the donors. Due to its longevity, Agua Blanca has come up with alternative mechanisms to provide a space for reflexivity and project improvement. The last section will highlight the gaps identified by stakeholders in all three projects and their plans for moving forward.

4.3.1. Importance of evaluation in the three villages

This section will examine the importance of monitoring and evaluating the changes brought about by the three projects, as perceived by project participants and managers.

4.3.1.1. Importance of measuring and understanding impacts

When asked about what evaluation is, what it does and why it matters, stakeholders highlight its role in helping track progress. One of the Agua Blanca guides described evaluation as "seeing the importance of what we have here, and what to do in the future". Several other respondents saw it as a way to improve their activities and to avoid stagnation. A community member who works as a guide in the Machalilla National Park feels that more data collection should take place and brought up the surveys they have undertaken in the park. Those enabled the park guides to realise how necessary it is to learn English to provide a better service to their customers. According to some of them, such an evaluation would also help Agua Blanca community members to realise what is

lacking. As a member of the community steering committee (*Cabildo*) explained, with data highlighting their needs the community would be able to apply for funds and training. This person gave the example of English as a Foreign Language, echoing the National Park guides, but also better infrastructure for people with disabilities, which would require significant funding and an application to the state agency CONADIS²⁸.

The Cabana Museum director lamented the lack of a cohesive MEL strategy: “as an institution, we should produce data, statistics, especially to see trends and phenomena. But we don’t do it. We should do workshops and surveys. But we don’t do it.” In her previous role, such data helped strengthen the activities she set out to undertake. As an institution, the museum is interested in implementing surveys and workshops in the future. From the point of view of Cabana’s municipality, evaluation data would help to evidence and sustain the need for more partnerships to enable to conduct development projects with Pashash.

As far as the IdM is concerned, MEL is a set of tools that serve its broader institutional aim to conduct projects with and for the community. Any MEL activities are underpinned by the following questions: Who is the information for? How do we evidence it? And how can it help local communities?

“The main point for the group to see how they are advancing with the project... (whether it’s Abe [Montaña], tourism, or water management... What good things they are doing, whether we are on the desired path, what other things could we implement to keep going?” IdM MEL expert, November 2019 [translation by A. Dupeyron].

These ethical considerations have been the driving factor for the creation of a participatory monitoring strategy, which will be detailed below in the description of current MEL activities. Interviewed community members also feel the workshops organised by the IdM have been important, as they don’t think they would have reached similar levels of success without the workshops as periodic reminders of the work achieved and the objectives to aim for.

²⁸ CONADIS is the Consejo Nacional para la Igualdad de Discapacidades (National Council on Disability Equality).

4.3.1.2. Use of evaluation in the three villages

MEL activities have also helped stakeholders learn from past mistakes and correct course in the handling of the project, especially in Miraflores and Agua Blanca where projects have greater longevity. Much of the data collected has been used internally by those collecting it to inform the evolution of project activities.

In Agua Blanca, visitor surveys conducted over the years have helped improve the infrastructure available to tourists. In 2006, the community organised a survey on accommodation, and found out that visitors thought the beds were too small, the bathrooms not up to standard and that a few visitors did not enjoy staying with families who had children due to the noise. This led to improvements in several houses for them to be accredited as hosts again. Thanks to external researchers from universities, similar surveys have also been conducted to gauge interest prior to funding bids, investment, construction and staff training, such as in the case of the spa. Surveys have also helped the managers of the lagoon and spa realise the need for lockers for visitors' bags.

Similar surveys tailored towards market research have taken place in Cabana. When the archaeologist arrived in the museum, she conducted a survey to determine what to exhibit in the third room. Popular interest led her to focus on metallurgy and the mummy excavated in the nearby fortified site of Mashgonga.

The use of evaluation goes a step further in the case of Miraflores and the IdM's project: MEL activities were implemented from the outset, starting with a participatory appraisal, which defined the project's trajectory and implemented activities. Much of the data collected has been used internally by those collecting it to inform the evolution of project activities. To some extent, the project activities were co-designed, which led to the implemented Pasture and Water Management Plan (Instituto de Montaña et al. 2015). MEL and consultations with the community are also what enabled the IdM to tailor the project outputs, and design products such as a participatory video and a theatre play.

4.3.1.3. *Unexpected outcomes from evaluation*

MEL activities have also helped the projects become aware of unexpected outcomes. For example, in Miraflores, the project implemented changes in the rotation of grazing activities to ensure more sustainable land use. These changes in the pastureland rotation system had an effect on the community's organisation, and people increasingly started respecting the new rules. However, as an IdM staff member explained, this led to a decrease in sanctions, and fines, and thus had a knock-on effect on the funds available to the *comunidad campesina*.

Another unexpected outcome was the realisation of Miraflores's potential in terms of *siembra y cosecha de agua*, the use of ancient Andean hydrological methods for water retention and equitable distribution. As part of the IdM's capacity-building activities, the Miraflores community was invited to visit restored ancient terraces in the Jauja province. This led to an increased awareness of Miraflores's own potential and pride in their own resources, which IdM staff told me had been reported to them by community members.

This section has highlighted the importance of MEL, as all three villages view it as a fundamental way to grow, improve and change course if needed. However, as mentioned in the introduction, there are key differences in the implementation of MEL activities depending on the stakeholders involved, which influences the availability of quality evaluation data. This will be the focus of the next section.

4.3.2. Evaluation in practice: current methods

This section focuses on the MEL methods at play in all three villages, concerning the use of archaeological resources for development.

4.3.2.1. *Who evaluates what and for whom?*

As highlighted in the introduction to this chapter, the type of stakeholders involved in collecting and analysing data will define the general approach underpinning any attempt at evaluation. Table 4 briefly summarises who collects any type of MEL data in each project.

Table 4. Simplified table showing what is evaluated by whom.

	Cabana	Miraflores	Agua Blanca
Community stakeholders	No. The <i>patronato</i> and other community groups do not have a MEL strategy or participate in other groups' evaluations.	Yes. Local investigators nominated by the <i>comunidad campesina</i> community accompany the IdM in monitoring activities and report on the changes they observed.	Yes. Informal monitoring of the community tourism project through time conducted in monthly community assemblies, which is shared with all comuneros/as. Guides collect a daily tally of visitors and where they come from.
NGOs and other associations	No. There were no NGOs operating in the field of cultural heritage in Cabana in 2019.	Yes. Comprehensive Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning activities regarding the Escalando Abe Montaña project, coordinated by the IdM. This data focuses on environmental and conservation impacts, as well as social impacts. External consultants are also recruited for the Cost Benefit Analysis. The evaluation data is shared with donors and used to inform programming.	Unknown. NGOs helping with ad hoc projects might have had their own MEL strategies, but nobody among my interviewees could tell me.
Local authorities	Limited. The Municipality of Cabana has inventoried cultural and natural heritage resources in the Cabana region (2017) but does not yet gather MEL data. The Oficina de Desarrollo Empresarial y Turismo de la Municipalidad Provincial de Pallasca has conducted a visitor survey (n=81) to identify the profile of tourists. All this data is for internal use.	No. The Municipal authorities are not involved in the IdM's projects: these are directly run by the <i>comunidad campesina</i> . However, MEL data collection is primarily coordinated by the IdM. As of 2019, there was no data collected on the impacts of culture and heritage.	No. Local authorities (Puerto López) are not involved in Agua Blanca's administration.
Regional and national authorities	Yes, Monitoring. Cabana's appointed archaeologist gathers daily data on the number of visitors to the museum, reported monthly to the Ministry of Culture.	Yes, Monitoring. As of 2022, SERNANP collects data on visitor numbers to specific locations in the Reserve, the carrying capacity of attractions, and visitor satisfaction scores to inform their own activities.	Limited. The Machalilla National Park collects MEL data on biodiversity and park management for their own use, but it doesn't focus on Agua Blanca.
External researchers	No. The archaeological team does not collect MEL data.	Limited. Most researchers are affiliated with the IdM. The Huaquis project has not collected MEL data.	Yes. Surveys on visitor needs and suggestion for improvement (Tourism researchers). Surveys and anthropological work on the socio-economic impacts of archaeological tourism in Agua Blanca (Ruiz Ballesteros 2010).

			<p>Evaluation of AB's performance against socio-cultural sustainability indicators (Endere and Zulaica 2015)</p> <p>Anthropological account of impacts of the archaeological project (Hudson et al. 2016).</p> <p>All these reports are shared with the Comuna, as per the free and informed consent protocol.</p>
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The MEL activities that take place in the three villages involve many stakeholders at different levels, and the type of data they produce (internal use vs publicly communicated finding) determines the audience's access, therefore framing stakeholder power relationships.

Community stakeholders include local interest groups, committees and associations, *comunidades campesinas*, as well as elected indigenous governance officials in the case of Agua Blanca. Considering the variety of interests at play here, it makes sense that there would not be a unified response to the issue of MEL in either case study. Committees usually track their budget and how it responds to funding from external organisations and incoming projects, as in the case of Miraflores's *comunidad campesina* and Agua Blanca's *comuna*. Agua Blanca's archaeological committee keeps a record of each visitor and where they come from. Assemblies and reunions are a space where members can be informed about evaluative activities and their results, discuss arising issues and correct the course of a project, but not in a structured way. The community of Miraflores also conducts their own informal monitoring by observing changes in the ecosystem when they go to the fields or pastureland, which they then report and discuss. This informality will be further discussed in the next section.

In all three contexts, local, regional and governmental authorities mainly focus on monitoring specific indicators such as the number of tourists, number of natural and cultural heritage sites, or the presence of natural protected species. This data is usually for internal use, to track changes and inform programming. Considering their position, these stakeholders can provide a good baseline of the economic, social, and environmental situation in all three villages. However, even when they collaborate closely for the project's implementation, they are not the team implementing the project,

which means they do not track project-specific indicators. The Municipality of Cabana, for instance, has a vested interest in Cabana's touristic development and has conducted background research on its assets, but does not track changes. SERNANP is an example of a government stakeholder which collaborates closely with the IdM, and members of this institution will routinely accompany IdM staff on monitoring activities – they also share data related to environmental conservation and participate in the Action Learning workshops. However, SERNANP is not monitoring or evaluating the changes in the social, economic or environmental conditions underpinning life in Miraflores as a result of the project.



Figure 12. Community meeting to appraise interest in an IdM project. Carania, Peru. The circle involves community representatives, SERNANP park rangers, the IdM MEL specialist and the IdM communication specialist. Photo: A. Dupeyron.

In the case of Miraflores, the presence of an established development NGO with decades of experience in collecting and analysing MEL data, as well as project-specific funds that include evaluation, means that this data is abundant and structured. The data is collected to inform programming, but is also co-produced and shared with the intended beneficiaries of the project, the *comunidad campesina* of Miraflores. The IdM has a staff member who oversees its overall evaluation strategy. In the field, an IdM member of staff specialising in conservation and one with a sociology or anthropology background will often conduct monitoring activities together with a SERNANP park rangers and one of the

elected Miraflores local researchers (Figure 12). Local researchers are voluntary coordinators who help the IdM with periodic observations and data collection. The IdM staff described the process leading to their election: at the beginning of the IdM's involvement with the community, they organised a workshop in which community members described the qualities of a good researcher, and could nominate people in the community with these qualities. If a nominated person was enthusiastic and interested in contributing, they would then become a local researcher, and help as their time allowed. Due to the significant time involved, local researchers are periodically dropping out, with new members joining in. The use of local researchers and other collaborators from the community (especially the *comunidad campesina*) means that information pertaining to the evaluations is co-produced. Therefore, some of the residents of Miraflores may be aware of the findings even before they are shared to the whole *comunidad campesina* during an IdM workshop.

The fact that there is no development stakeholder involved in the implementation of either of the other two projects explains why MEL, which has certainly entered the mainstream development vocabulary, is not the object of an established strategy in either of them.

External researchers may play a role in the collection of MEL data. They are the closest to an external evaluation that can be achieved: considering the financial, temporal and staff constraints these projects face, contracting external professional evaluators and MEL consultants is not a priority. However, it is worth mentioning that the IdM sometimes has funds to employ external consultants, whose reports are mainly used internally to inform programming. In the case of Agua Blanca, the longevity of the project and its reputation as a pioneer of community heritage tourism in Latin America has attracted attention from several academic researchers, who commit to sharing their findings with the community when the *comuna* gives them authorisation to conduct research. In Cabana, however, the focus on Pashash as a potential driver of local development is too recent to have garnered attention from academia. In Miraflores, because the project was mainly structured by the IdM and the community with the help of SERNANP and the Reserve's administrators, researchers have collaborated with the IdM and published jointly. This means that Agua Blanca and Miraflores both have access to detailed MEL literature, while Cabana does not. However, one should take into

consideration the fact that heritage-related projects in Cabana are still at the incipient stage.

4.3.2.2. *Formal vs informal evaluation*

The three projects I am comparing here range alongside a continuum in terms of how formally they engage with MEL, if at all. The access to evaluation techniques and data is conditioned by the type of structure implementing the project. On one end of the spectrum, the IdM is an international NGO with a strong participatory ethos and decades of experience in MEL. On the other end of the spectrum, Agua Blanca is a community where no formal data collection process is carried out by the community, though there is a space for reflexivity at the monthly assembly, which could be considered a form of 'proto-evaluation'. However, despite the *comuna's* interest in discussing the changes and challenges within the project, several community respondents (young people, or men not directly involved in the archaeological committee) explained that negative feedback is not always welcome or encouraged, as we will see in the section about critiques (Section 4.3.3).

Different degrees of formality also exist within the methods employed by a single stakeholder. For an institution steeped in the development world, such as the IdM, debates around the "hierarchies of evidence" (Aston et al. 2022, 50) and the credibility of evaluation when generated with less conventional methods abound. Since 2019, the IdM is elaborating a complementary method for participatory monitoring, despite institutional reluctance to accept less traditional methods of evaluation²⁹. The staff have wondered if any state institutions, such as the Ministry of Ecology and SERNANP, would accept these indicators. Indeed, the institutional resistance to participatory methods among state apparatuses and the conservative attitude of donors are common issues (Chambers 2015, 333). In the interviews, IdM staff discussed the trade-off between obtaining statistically useable data that fulfils the institutionally perceived standards of rigour, and gathering data in a participatory way, which is easier for the community to implement. In 2022, when I presented my preliminary results to SERNANP from using surveys, interviews and participatory workshops, they confirmed that the survey results

²⁹ As of 2022, the IdM's efforts had been halted by the pandemic and they had not yet been able to continue their work on designing and using participatory indicators.

would be more directly useable to them as they would be considered as more credible evidence by their partners.

IdM staff also explained that this reluctance on behalf of donors and state institutions is not only due to a lack of familiarity with these newer methods, but also rooted in the pervasive bias against highland rural populations in Peru. Structural racism reinforces the bias that views highland communities as uneducated and unable to collect and assess data. Here too, power dynamics affect the credibility of evaluation data, even when the IdM as an implementing agency is working with a participatory ethos. However, in the IdM's experience, local perceptions concerning changes in the environment and community organisation will always be more detailed and refined than external observations. For example, an IdM field facilitator told me that community members alerted him to the fact that potatoes no longer grew at a certain altitude due to climate change, or that mosquitoes were an issue for the animals grazing in the Anta sector. These observations generated from the community's continuous observation of the landscape had practical implications for the project.

However, the IdM hopes that these participatory approaches will soon enter mainstream discourse in Peru. The Ministry of Agriculture has recently commissioned them to draft a guide on how to conduct participatory work, as they are currently undertaking a paradigm shift. They now realise that their policies are based in colonialist thinking whereby rural areas need a 'transfer' of technology (*extensión rural*). As part of this project, the IdM is conducting workshops to deconstruct what underpins resistance to more bottom-up initiatives from government policymakers. IdM staff also mentioned that collaborating with other NGOs or organisations that do not hold the same participatory ethos can be challenging.

This brief summary of who is involved in MEL activities informs the type of MEL activities that will be conducted in each project. This will be the topic of the next section.

4.3.2.3. Overview of Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning strategies across the three villages

Considering the abundance of MEL data available for the Miraflores case study, and the breadth of information provided by experienced evaluators reflecting on their experiences, I will present mainly the methods being used in Miraflores and compare them with what is available in the other two villages where relevant.

4.3.2.3.1. Monitoring

Monitoring is perhaps the component of MEL that is easiest to implement, since its focus lies on specific indicators that can be measured on an ad hoc basis. Reflections on monitoring form the bulk of this chapter, as it is the MEL activity that is most accessible and provides some degree of feedback.

In the case of Cabana, as of 2019, there was only a limited form of Monitoring, which was the only type of MEL data collection that took place. The museum collects data on visitors at the entrance desk, which they disaggregate into how many adults, students and school-level children come to the museum. These data are collected daily, and the reports are sent to the Ministry of Culture monthly. Were Pashash to be inscribed in a more formalised visitor experience, with an entry booth, a similar data collection method might occur. As of 2022, this process had not changed. This limited form of Monitoring is similar to the daily tally of visitors collected at the Casa de la Cultura, Agua Blanca's museum. In Miraflores, no such count of visitors is gathered, as visits to any of the sites take place informally.

Cabana stakeholders do not currently monitor any other data that might help understand the impacts of Pashash on the development of the community. However, the Municipality wrote an Appraisal of the Tourism Development Plan (2017), which provides a good baseline on the state of conservation of natural and cultural resources and the touristic infrastructures available in the town.

In Agua Blanca, monitoring mainly takes place thanks to researchers in tourism studies and their students, who frequently conduct surveys on visitor needs and suggestion for improvement. The University of Cuenca drives many of these surveys, but others that have conducted research are the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador, the Universidad Central de Quito, the Universidad del Azuay, the Universidad Tecnológica, the Escuela Superior Politécnica Agropecuaria de Manabí, and the Universidad Laica Eloy Alfaro de Manabi. In addition, community members said that when external organisations are interested in conducting projects in Agua Blanca, they usually conduct their own market research. Typically, surveys in Agua Blanca are carried out by researchers and volunteers at the end of the tour when visitors arrive at the lagoon. The sample sizes vary: the University of Cuenca managed to interview 40 tourists, the Universidad Estatal del Sur de Manabí (UNESUM) got a sample of 200, and the

community of Agua Blanca itself conducted a survey on 100 people. In 2020, another survey was carried out by Cuenca on foreign visitors: from what participants told me, it seemed similar to the Willingness-to-Pay method, which establishes how much visitors are willing to spend to protect a resource, and help value it economically (Burtenshaw 2013, 26). Interviewees also said that the researchers from the University of Cuenca conducted a SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats) analysis for Agua Blanca, to identify training needs.

As a community, Agua Blanca is also accountable to its *socios*, and reports on the use of the budget in its monthly assemblies. With the help of an accountant the community keeps track of its income to declare it to the state and the funders. Every two years, the *socios* or voting members of the community elects its *Cabildo*, a seven-person committee (President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, and Directors for Women, Health, Family and Youth, and Territory). At the end of each term, a short economic report is produced to help with the transparency of funds management, both in terms of the use of core funding generated from member's fees, as well as project funding obtained from external donors.

As mentioned above, Agua Blanca also monitors other indicators on a more informal or ad hoc basis. For instance, the rate of participation in the yearly Festival of the Balsa Manteña help the community leaders gauge the reputation of their village locally and the interest in Agua Blanca's heritage. When an external NGO comes to deliver a workshop, attendance is also registered, which gives an idea of participation in the community.

In the case of the IdM, Monitoring is used within a wider evaluation strategy. Formal monitoring focuses on social indicators, biodiversity and ecosystem indicators, which have been measured twice a year since 2013 in the dry and rainy season. These latter indicators are pastureland condition, surface of available land for herding in the dry season, and the flow of water in Yanacancha (Instituto de Montaña 2019). The staff measures these using the Parker three-step method (Parker 1951), which consists of measuring the vegetation cover and the quality of pastureland. These technical monitoring methods are complemented by the field observations of accompanying community members, who can comment on changes in the condition of pasture or the social impacts of climatic changes.

The social monitoring methods are of particular interest here because they apply to indicators that could also be measured in the other projects, such as self-assessed technical knowledge on the management of pastureland and water, the practical applications of this knowledge, communal initiatives, and the elaboration of a management plan. Data is collected using surveys and interviews, workshops and focus group discussions, as well as informal conversations and observations. IdM staff have noted a tension between the academic partners, who ask them for surveys which are more rapid to implement, and their own interest in participatory methodologies. The first survey was collected in 2015, and asked participants to think back to 2013 to establish a baseline, as no monitoring data was collected in 2013. In 2018, these indicators were measured again, but with a focus on the community initiatives and management plan, as self-assessed technical knowledge and its application had been measured in other ways.

After each site visit, the staff write technical reports where they describe the methods used and procedures, and a more descriptive report which details what events took place, who took part, and the main components of the event and testimonies. This can include useful anecdotes and observations made by the community, for instance on how people go to higher altitudes to farm potatoes, or the changes in the rotation system. IdM staff can use these observations to compare them with the data obtained from hydrological and archaeological reports. For instance, if the technical reports see an increase in the level of fodder, the community observation notes can explain that this is because the community learnt a new technique.

This comprehensive monitoring strategy is very time consuming: when staff initially collected data, it took them about a week with two groups of staff (biophysical and social) who met in the evenings to discuss results. The whole process of measuring social data indicators is spread over about a month, and the sample size consists of almost every adult in the village. The social monitoring process was supposed to take place twice over a three-year period to avoid the fatigue associated with frequently answering surveys. In 2020, it was supposed to be complemented by economic monitoring, which was delayed due to the Covid-19 pandemic and the changes it brought in the organisation's fieldwork plans.



Figure 13. An IdM anthropologist facilitating a Participatory Rural Appraisal meeting in the community hall of Tanta, Peru. Photo: A. Dupeyron.

Aside from these more conventional monitoring techniques, the IdM has implemented a parallel monitoring strategy, which derives from the institution's strong bottom-up ethos and feeds into the final evaluation reports. As explained by the IdM's MEL specialist, the aim of participatory monitoring is for the involved communities to check that they are on the desired track, and to provide a space for them to analyse and reflect on their activities. The participatory monitoring process takes place with the recipients, who are the community members, and complements the institutional monitoring process, which is more geared towards the donors. The MEL specialist highlights the fact that while the more quantitative MEL strategy can answer whether the pastureland quality has improved, the qualitative and participatory monitoring process can help them understand why, and what respondents mean when they talk about pastureland quality. The participatory monitoring process is also easier for the community to implement. Based on workshops, participants themselves define the areas they want to monitor and how – this derives mainly from Participatory Rural Appraisal methods, which the IdM also carries out (Figure 13). The participatory monitoring strategy aims to help ensure that the community carries on with the evaluation for their

own benefit after the project officially ends³⁰ (Rondán Ramírez 2019). The selected areas of monitoring are community organisation, pastureland management, water management, and cattle improvement. The community decided on methods to document these, including photos or observations of pastureland, visits to the fields and grazing lands, informal conversations with farmers and herders, and measuring water levels in the troughs (Rondán Ramírez 2019). Once defined, the indicators are accessible and easy to monitor as part of daily activities, but the whole process of designing them participatively is quite lengthy, and took three months to complete. This would be a major challenge for organisations that do not have the time, staff, or budget of the IdM to design MEL activities.

SERNANP is also monitoring data but, as of 2019, they were only collecting data on a few indicators: visitor numbers to specific points of the Reserve (such as the cataracts of Huancaya), the number of associations present in the Reserve, and inventory of hydraulic resources. In 2022, SERNANP are starting to implement eight additional indicators that focus on tourism at the national level, but in the Nor Yauyos-Cochas Landscape Reserve, the SERNANP staff only have the time and resources to monitor three indicators: the number of tourists in the Reserve, the carrying capacity of tourist attractions, and visitor satisfaction scores (Segura 2022, pers. comm.). Other indicators, such as the solid waste generated by tourists in specific sites, is measured on an ad hoc basis.

4.3.2.3.2. Evaluation

Evaluations are rarer, as they imply a longer-term view of the project and reflexivity on the specific causes that may have led to the changes witnessed in the villages. Understandably, Cabana does not yet have any such mechanism in place to reflect on the use of their archaeological resources.

In the case of Agua Blanca, longitudinal evaluation data has mainly been conducted by external researchers. Unlike Miraflores, the evaluation is therefore more piecemeal and less coordinated, with researchers focusing on specific aspects of the project, with their own funding and institutional agency. For instance, Ruiz Ballesteros has conducted

³⁰ As of 2022 this assumption had not been tested yet, as the project was prolonged until September 2022 due to the pandemic.

surveys and anthropological work on the socio-economic impacts of archaeological tourism in Agua Blanca. Endere and Zulaica (2015) have evaluated Agua Blanca's performance against socio-cultural sustainability indicators. Hudson et al. (2016) published an anthropological account of impacts observed 30 years after the archaeological project. Tourist guides from Agua Blanca also mentioned tools such as SWOT analyses (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats), which were conducted by NGO partners over time to help provide reflexivity on the project.

However, this is very different from an institutional policy geared towards evaluation. Agua Blanca's activities and their changes are guided by what the President described as an "oral life plan", which is only recorded in the monthly assembly proceedings, depending on the topics under debate. They do not have an organised document laying out future projects; instead, these are discussed when debated communally. Discussing projects in the communal assembly is perceived as an old tradition in Agua Blanca, which I had the opportunity to observe in January 2020. In Miraflores, a similar tradition takes place when the community holds assembly, and this was described to me by several interviewees from the community and the IdM. In Miraflores, this traditional process can take up to three days, and all projects and works undertaken by the community are debated. In both cases, all registered members of the community (*comuneros/comuneras*³¹ and *socios*³²) are expected to attend, and the assembly gives them an opportunity to share their views. Minutes of these meetings are kept as the institutional memory of these communities. The communities' elected committees organise the meetings and ensure their smooth running: although the process aims to be democratic and relies on consensus votes for decision-making, these elected representatives hold significant power in how they present issues to the assembly. Charisma, the capacity to convince others, and alliances at the local level may affect the process. For instance, in Agua Blanca, interviewees observed that the elected committee (*Cabildo*) tends to significantly overlap with the most prominent tour guides from the 'archaeological committee', who hold a substantial level of influence within the community. A subset of young women who participated in a gender workshop I organised

³¹ As explained in Chapter 3, Miraflores is a *comunidad campesina*, and families have representatives (*comunero*, or *comunera*) who participate in its assemblies.

³² In Agua Blanca, *socios* are members of the *comuna* who can vote in assemblies, as discussed in Chapter 3.

also said that, although they are allowed to speak in the Assembly, they felt that discussions were often dominated by the men. As the assembly is one of the main mechanisms for reflecting upon Agua Blanca's achievements and deciding its trajectory, this 'informal evaluation' process is therefore heavily shaped by the archaeological committee, who are also the ones most involved in bringing new projects related to tourism to Agua Blanca.

In Miraflores, a longitudinal view reflecting on causality and how specific impacts are achieved within a project is more easily accessible thanks to the breadth of monitoring data, which is then analysed and discussed both within the institution and with community members. The MEL specialist explained that impact evaluation also takes place, but more rarely. In 2019, the MEL expert was assessing what impacts were still visible from the first phase of project, which concluded in 2015. In late 2022, after interruptions wrought by the pandemic and as the project came to a close, the IdM was finally able to commission an evaluation of their project's efficiency and impact, conducted by external consultants. As another involved stakeholder, SERNANP is also interested in understanding why certain projects fail while others are successful. While their experience and observations have enabled them to develop hypotheses, such as the importance of a participatory management of resources, SERNANP did not, as of 2019, have a structured evaluation strategy providing causal explanations.

In parallel, the IdM has also commissioned two Cost-Benefit Analyses (CBA) to investigate the impact of activities during the implementation phase: one followed conventional methods and the other was participatory (Alvarado et al. 2015). They were realised in 2015 at the close of the project's first phase (as explained in the context chapter, [Section 3.5.2](#), Escalando Abe Montaña started in 2017). The conventional CBA (which compared the ratio of costs to benefits in two scenarios, with and without the project intervening) shows significant economic benefits as the project will increase animal husbandry and access to water in the medium-term (10 years) and long-term (20 years). The participative CBA shows that the cost/benefit ratio is higher for environmental and climate impacts; the community has identified high social and economic costs as the project implementation involves a lot of time and buying high amounts of material. Still, the investment was worth it considering the benefits.

Most of the IdM's evaluation activities and longitudinal analyses are incorporated in the learning phase, which is a major component of their MEL strategy.

4.3.2.3.3. Learning

"Learning is more about the lessons learnt: what would I not do again? How could I build on successes?" IdM MEL specialist, 2019 [translation by A. Dupeyron]

Miraflores, unlike the other two projects, has a space specifically dedicated to learning from past mistakes for a project's improvement, through the IdM's Learning activities. These take place both periodically and at the end of a project, in a phase known as Systematization (as mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, [Section 4.1.2.1](#)).

The periodic learning activities are imbued with the IdM's participatory and bottom-up ethos. Every six months, the IdM conducts an Action Learning process which takes place at three different stages, with the community, the Nor Yauyos-Cochas Landscape Reserve (with SERNANP agents) and internally. Action Learning consists of workshops where stakeholders discuss what went well, what did not, and why, and what they want to expand upon or modify for the next phases of the project. The staff gave me some examples: after they saw that the land rotation system worked well in Miraflores, they realised that this regulation is important for future projects, such as the planned expansions in Tomas and Tanta. They also realised that it would be important not to use pipes in water rehabilitation projects as those could threaten canals.

For these Action Learning workshops, the IdM use methodological grids and proceed activity by activity. The columns of the grid interrogate who is responsible for the activity, when it was supposed to happen, what progress has been made towards the activity, what were the challenges and opportunities, what was learnt, and what future actions can be planned on this basis (Zapata and Rondán Ramírez 2016, 49). IdM staff have stated that these Action Learning workshops are particularly interesting with members of SERNANP as this state institution usually operates in a top-down fashion, and the workshops provide a space to discuss issues more horizontally. After the three workshops have concluded, the IdM integrate results and use them for the systematization process.

In the systematization phase (Zapata et al. 2016), the IdM review all of their MEL outputs (participatory and environmental monitoring, CBA, evaluations, etc.) and reflect

on what can be scaled up and applied elsewhere. This also involves additional interviews, focus group discussions and workshops. It takes place at the end of a project, and the 2016 report informed the project priorities and activities developed from 2017 to 2020.

This learning phase seems crucial for the project to be able to learn from experience and to improve, as well as to make sure that their work is relevant to the communities they strive to benefit. Yet, it involves significant work and requires the involvement of an overarching structure to coordinate activities, like the IdM. This type of work does not yet take place in Cabana, or even in Agua Blanca, although community meetings provide opportunities for discussion and informal evaluation and learning. It would be possible to introduce elements of structured 'Learning' activities within communities' informal reflexive processes, but these processes are traditional and long-standing, and therefore perhaps more resistant to change. The difference between formal and informal learning highlights the importance of understanding how MEL takes place and by whom, as this appears to be a driving factor in the ability to coordinate a cohesive MEL strategy from which projects can learn. In Agua Blanca in particular, many of the survey respondents criticized what they view as inertia and reluctance to change on behalf of the *Cabildo*, the steering committee of the *comuna*. Similar criticism was uttered in Cabana, where people feel the political authorities sometimes lack the foresight and long-term planning required to bring about change. This is the main criticism I heard aimed at MEL data collection, and brings me to the next section, which considers the challenges in evaluation.

4.3.3. Critiques, needs, and future MEL plans

Despite the perceived relevance and need for evaluation, several factors can prevent MEL activities from taking place, or serving their intended purpose. In this section, I present the difficulties and challenges with MEL as identified by various stakeholders, as well as their suggestions to overcome them. The obstacles can be both practical, and result from wider political dynamics at play within the communities.

4.3.3.1. Practical constraints: personnel, budget and time

As exemplified by the IdM, MEL requires significant investment in terms of time, staff and associated costs. The field staff of the IdM would usually collect monitoring data

twice a year, which involves driving to the communities of the Reserve, which are all about four hours' journey from Huancayo. The processing of information takes a few weeks, so that amounts to at least six weeks a year devoted to Monitoring. The local researchers who were voted in by the community precisely to help with data collection and observation are not always available: they are enthusiastic volunteers, but they usually have to prioritise their own professional activities.

The difficulty in finding time to conduct MEL activities has also been voiced in Agua Blanca and Cabana. Implementing a survey in Agua Blanca would require significant investment on behalf of the archaeological committee; and any initiatives in Cabana would struggle to recruit participants as most people are involved in time-consuming agro-pastoral activities. Workshops are difficult to organise as they require finding a time that is convenient for a large group, whereas interviews or Focus Group Discussions are more flexible.

The financial constraints can also be an important factor in the lack of evaluative strategies. The staff of Cabana's Municipality stated that the lack of budget is often cited as the main reason why many of their plans do not come to fruition. They implied that this can be a deterrent from taking new initiatives. Conducting workshops or collecting additional survey data would be possible but would lead to staff members investing time and resources in this process, when they are already operating under a tight budget.

Access to trained staff is also an issue, especially in Cabana and Agua Blanca where professional MEL specialists are not routinely involved. For example, the IdM staff mentioned the importance of facilitators to find definitions that generate consensus. Informal monitoring of the quality of fodder cannot be conclusive if there is no agreement on what constitutes good fodder.

Beyond these constraints, power dynamics also determine the uptake of any MEL practices, as I describe below.

4.3.3.2. Political and social constraints: Institutional inertia, resistance to evaluation, and power dynamics

Although there is demand for evaluation and data, the Agua Blanca community also expresses resistance towards MEL. They can be wary of using external MEL tools: control

and autonomy have been two key themes in the development of this community, especially in their power struggle against the Parque Nacional Machalilla, and external efforts can be suspected of trying to take advantage of the community's resources. On the other hand, participants also stated that reports conducted by external researchers were given more credence and taken more seriously by the community leaders than any informal comments uttered in the assembly. This results in a situation where institutional inertia is strong. An Agua Blanca resident who works in Puerto López mentioned that he tried to motivate others to conduct more regular surveys or another form of data gathering to find out what tourists think about the available accommodation. He was deterred, as he thought this would get him in trouble for pointing out flaws in the hosting skills and accommodation offered by other community members. Several community members suggested training the guides in the use of Excel to improve the profiling of visitors, but they worried that even if such training were available, inertia would mean that there could be resistance to such a change. They felt that the guides would lack the motivation to add another task to their workload, despite understanding the long-term benefits.

Some younger residents of Agua Blanca have criticized the lack of a tourism development plan, or any formal document against which presidents might be evaluated on their achievements. Most of the discussions about the long-term strategy and future of Agua Blanca take place orally, which makes accountability difficult. The assembly where issues might be raised, discussed and recorded more formally, has been criticised as a space where participants reflect on urgent problem-solving, but lack the long-term perspective to reflect on whether their plans are on the right track. The need to preserve and maintain their culture is a strong focus in Agua Blanca, which may explain their reluctance to incorporate strategies that might justify or enforce change.

In Cabana, even if MEL took place, members of the *patronato* are sceptical of the local authorities and their ability to use evaluation results and implement projects in favour of safeguarding cultural heritage. They believe that corruption and financial interests may hamper any other project that would benefit a greater number, as they perceive the local authorities as short-sighted and favouring their own immediate gains.

Another significant challenge to evaluation is ensuring that it does not just amplify the voices of those who hold power in the community. In Cabana, this would be

particularly difficult: even in the workshops and surveys I conducted, the self-selected participants usually belonged to the political and cultural elite of the town, a phenomenon I describe in more detail in [Section 6.4.3](#) of Chapter 6 (which examines the suitability and rigour of the three evaluation methods I tested in the field). The staff of the IdM also considered the inescapable fact that, as with all social sciences enquiries, political motivations may be behind a willingness to participate.

Recruiting participants and making them feel comfortable is a difficulty that was voiced in all three villages. In Agua Blanca, the survey conducted in 2006 to improve the quality of guest rooms focused on about 20 participants, who were nervous about taking part and felt very exposed. Since most community members are not used to reading surveys, these are usually conducted like mini-interviews. Ultimately the survey helped steer the development of infrastructure, but it also generated discomfort in those people who felt subjected to external appraisal. The staff of the IdM have mentioned the reluctance of people to answer when they are told it's a formal interview, as they become more self-conscious, whereas informal conversations are more natural. Several interviewees explained that in Peru and Ecuador, surveys are associated with government officials, and there is a risk that answering might have consequences for whether one is eligible for state benefits. Some questions can also be awkward, especially those focusing on economic benefits, as people might be reluctant to share private details on how they spend their money.

The IdM has opted for a more participatory approach to make participants more comfortable: they use visual methods to encourage a greater number of participants to speak, as people can be intimidated by the exercise, and it would be easy to hear solely from the most vocal members of the community, or the ones that exert greater influence locally (Figure 13). Workshops have become easier to organise as participants came to know the IdM and grew familiar with the staff. The organisation also attempts to be very clear on how the data will benefit the community, and share it in a publication or an output that will stay with them. For example, the IdM has prepared posters for the communities and plan to share a map of Carania's ancient canals. They have also created a song writing contest which enabled communities to sing about the changes of the project using traditional *huayno* music. This willingness to adapt and create MEL methods that are tailored to the project and its context are the focus of the next section.

4.3.3.3. Change in evaluation to adapt to the project's changing strategies

Critical feedback given on MEL strategies enable projects to grow and improve, not only in their implementation but also through adapting their MEL strategies to better reflect the changes that matter to local communities.

Over time, Agua Blanca added more categories to their register, and this enabled them to profile visitors' profession, age or whether they had any disability. However, this information is not necessarily analysed.

In Miraflores, the IdM has gradually adapted their MEL strategy to adapt to the changes they were more interested in representing. The first phase of the project, Abe Montaña (2013-2015), had rudimentary MEL methods, but the IdM decided to build on those for the following phase of the project, Escalando AbE-Montaña, to enable a more refined data analysis process. For this second phase, the IdM added indicators (Instituto de Montaña 2019) that were both aimed at measuring the effectivity of the EbA adaptation measures (climate and adaptation indicators) and the impact on community life (results of the adaptation). This new monitoring system enables the IdM to trace changes while acknowledging the connection between pastureland, water and the wider ecosystem. The proportion of MEL devoted to analysis and attribution has also increased: for example, instead of just taking samples of water levels, or assigning a 'good, poor or medium' label to the observed grazeland, they now obtain more details and strive to understand what was behind the observed changes. The new monitoring system considers both formal indicators as well as participatory ones. The IdM increased the weight of visual data collection methods, to enable villagers to comment on the absence or presence of seeds, the colour, vigour of the pastureland and other attributes. The IdM also carried out participatory videos with the community of Miraflores, focusing on presenting the community and the project, and the community expressed interest in creating another video that would highlight the changes wrought by the project.

Stakeholders are also adapting their strategy in line with broader national and international MEL trends. In 2019, the IDM adapted their monitoring indicators to align more closely with the Ministry of the Environment's focus on ecosystems and conservation rather than pasture and cattle rearing productivity. Through SERNANP, the

Nor Yauyos-Cochas Landscape Reserve is also changing their monitoring system, with a view to integrate participatory indicators.

4.3.3.4. Identified gaps in MEL data and future plans

In their critiques of current MEL strategies, stakeholders have also pointed out gaps in their approaches.

Cabana stakeholders lack a formal MEL system but expressed interest in collecting data to aid their site conservation, promotion and diffusion efforts. The museum director is interested in implementing surveys and workshops in the future, as well as coordinating with other institutions to facilitate this data collection process.

Perhaps because they have such an articulated MEL strategy, the Instituto de Montaña (IdM) is well aware of the areas they are not able to cover. In particular, economic, social and cultural impacts are an area where they feel improvements are needed.

Economic impacts are notoriously difficult to attribute to the project, as any improvements can be due to a change in market prices, or climatic factors affecting the harvest (Instituto de Montaña 2019, 39). However, the IdM set out to investigate how people's economic position is improving; whether through better quality fodder, herding, water, or all three. SERNANP is also eager to understand the economic impact of their conservation activities on local communities. The economic monitoring strategy was meant to be implemented in early 2020, but due to the administrative separation of the Peruvian branch of the IdM from its North American counterpart, followed by the Covid-19 pandemic, fieldwork was postponed.

Social impacts have been measured, in particular regarding community organisation, but the IdM is eager to find methods to monitor more changes, such as those observed in people's self-realisation, self-reflection, self-esteem, ability to communicate, to manage conflicts, and to start relationships with other institutions. The internal changes that take place within the community's culture are notoriously hard to measure: project participants have stated they feel more integrated as a community, as an organisation, but there are no indicators beyond testimonies. Participation would have

been easy to measure, both in communal assemblies and *faenas*³³, but the IdM has not previously collected data on these. The gender dimension is also one they are eager to monitor, particularly concerning the role of women in the projects, and they have collaborated with a Masters student to investigate this area. SERNANP also specified that they would like to analyse whether social conflicts arise within communities due to the projects taking place in the Reserve, and communities' knowledge of local weak points that are vulnerable in the case of floods and earthquakes. Such knowledge about local resilience to hardship would help strengthen SERNANP's disaster risk reduction approach and integrate it with their Management plan.

The IdM also mentioned that they do not know how to measure the cultural impact of their work, although they collect data and information on myths, tales and other cultural aspects of the communities in which they work. In that, and in other data collection plans, they would like to collaborate more with SERNANP. Were all projects to align with a unified Management Plan for the Reserve, this would help render the data gathering process more systematic. In 2022, SERNANP has taken steps towards further integration of the management tools available within the Reserve. SERNANP provides an overall Management Plan for the Reserve, which is articulated with four local Site Plans corresponding to sub sectors of the Reserve. In 2022, SERNANP told me they are planning to fuse their own Site Plans with the Local Tourism Development Plans³⁴ established by the Municipal authorities. While this fusion will help in planning and accountability, it is worth nothing that, as of 2022, only a few villages in the Reserve, such as Laraos and Huancaya, had an up-to-date Tourism Development Plan.

Agua Blanca's *Cabildo*, the committee members who are in charge of representing the community and spearheading its projects, said that they are interested in a visitor survey that would measure what parts of the tour they had preferred (archaeological site, lagoon, or traditional *seco de chivo* dish?), and the quality of the information given by their guide. Other areas in which they feel additional data would be helpful include the tourists' perception of cleanliness and safety, whether any of the tourist areas reach capacity on a

³³ Regular communal work to conduct a task that benefits the whole community.

³⁴ A Local Tourism Development Plan (Plan de Desarrollo Turístico Local) is a tool for planning and management used by a local government to promote touristic, social and economic development (MINCETUR 2021). Established by the Peruvian state, the tool also helps local authorities to align with the national and regional tourism agenda.

regular basis, and whether the knowledge gained during a training event was applied well. However, there is resistance to this, due to the factors outlined above. An Agua Blanca who works in tourism also suggested that it would be helpful to have a mechanism whereby visitors can leave comments about the tour, like they do in the community restaurant in the visitors' book.

The committee members are also interested in understanding the perceptions of the younger generation when it comes to heritage valuation and preservation. To them, the long-term success of the Agua Blanca project will depend on how the newer generations take up the reins of the project. The involvement of women and their role in governance was suggested as a possible area of enquiry (and informed my choice to conduct a gender workshop, as described in Chapter 2, [Section 2.4.2.2](#)).

These testimonies reinforce the fact that participants view MEL as an important feedback mechanism, which they would like to see strengthened in the future.

4.4. Conclusion

This chapter has provided a snapshot view on the state of evaluation in the cultural heritage sector in Peru and Ecuador across three projects. It shows a major difference between a project that has access to a cohesive MEL strategy, such as the Escalando Abe Montaña project implemented by the IdM, and the more ad hoc strategies characteristic of projects in the heritage sector, such as the use of Pashash as a resource for development in Cabana, and the community tourism project in Agua Blanca.

Although the previous chapter underlined what these projects have in common, and made the case for their comparability, the disciplinary lineage to which they belong plays a significant role in determining their access to evaluation. MEL has been a fundamental part of development discourse in the last 20 years (see Literature Review), but although the heritage sector has now integrated the need to evaluate, it has not yet implemented such methods for its own benefit. The next chapter will again highlight the commensurability and comparability of impacts across the three projects. Using data available from the stakeholders as explained in the chapter, and data gathered in my own fieldwork (see Methodology), Chapter 5 will show the extent to which all three projects contribute to development impacts in complex and interrelated ways. As we will see in

Chapter 6, this also means that more comprehensive evaluation strategies could be applied across these contexts: Chapter 6 will discuss these methods in depth, and examine their suitability and quality against criteria of rigour.

CHAPTER 5. THE COMPLEX IMPACTS OF ‘ARCHAEOLOGY FOR DEVELOPMENT’ PROJECTS

5.1. Introduction

5.1.1. Signposting and chapter aim

The previous chapters have outlined the various ways in which archaeology influences local development in the Andean region, and the current challenges in understanding these impacts, as discussed by stakeholders in the three villages of Cabana, Miraflores and Agua Blanca.

In this chapter, I discuss the results of the evaluation I conducted across all three villages, and what these results teach us about the social, economic and environmental impacts of archaeology on development in the Andean region. I will show that these impacts are complex, both through the causal processes that are involved, and through their interaction with local power dynamics. I consider the questions examined at length through the conceptual framework, such as ‘what works for whom’, and look at impacts not only as outcomes but as interrelated processes such as ‘tourism’, ‘identity’ or ‘environmental sustainability’. These can affect villages very differently and are concerns within the field of public archaeology.

This chapter will be of interest specifically to archaeologists and heritage professionals, as it focuses directly on the types of impacts that archaeological projects can have on development with three examples. As discussed in Chapter 1 ([Section 1.2.4](#)), this question is of great interest to archaeologists at a time when many feel the need to justify their importance and relevance to local communities³⁵ with rigorous data.

³⁵ The communities themselves are not homogeneous when it comes to what they perceive as the data they need, as explained in Chapter 4 ([Section 4.3.1](#)): some stakeholders, especially those working with local government or in partnership with external organisations, see evaluation as paramount.

5.1.2. Link with literature review and conceptual framework

Here, I examine impacts as complex processes. To reiterate the literature review, complexity operates on various dimensions: the nature of the intervention, the institutions and stakeholders involved, the causal processes directly and indirectly impacted by the intervention, the economic, social and political context in which the project operates, and the evaluation process itself (Bamberger, Vaessen and Raimondo 2016, 14). Chapter 3 has shown the context of each project and has outlined how the three projects operate. Chapter 4 has highlighted the evaluation strategies put into place by stakeholders as well as their limits, and what these stakeholders perceive needs to be established in relation to the evaluation needs. It has also highlighted, using Bamberger, Vaessen and Raimondo's framework (2016, 14), why I consider that all three projects are complex to evaluate.

In this chapter, I want to focus specifically on two aspects of complexity: the **process of causality** in each project, which is how these projects achieve specific impacts, and the **embeddedness of the system** (Bamberger, Vaessen and Raimondo 2016, 16-17).

The **processes of causality** and change which can be seen in all three villages are not straightforward. Multiple causes can explain specific outcomes (such as the rise of tourism), and they operate on different time frames even within each project. In a recent seminar, Raimondo (2021) highlighted how the 'blind spots of evaluation' can further complicate the understanding of the causality process. These blind spots include unintended outcomes and indirect effects, but also structural changes that happen independently of the intervention and can heighten its reach. In the case of Agua Blanca, this could be globalisation, and in the case of Miraflores climate change.

The **embeddedness of the system** refers to the fact that these projects do not exist in a vacuum: the local power relations, as well as broader socio-economical processes, affect who benefits and under what conditions. This means that each project can have heterogeneous effects, which further complicate the evaluation process. Projects can also have impacts by interaction, as other initiatives happening in the same place at the same time may enhance or inhibit their impacts (Bhola 2000: 163-164). An example is the role

of SERNANP³⁶, which works alongside the Instituto de Montaña in Miraflores; both agencies mutually reinforce each other's work.

To depict and analyse these aspects of complexity, this chapter describes social, economic and environmental impacts as observed using a set of evaluative techniques (see Chapter 3, Methodology, and Chapter 6 for a comparison of the methods and test of their appropriateness). This chapter focuses more specifically on evidencing the breadth of impacts and compares them across these three villages. It therefore substantiates the category 'archaeology for development' that I contextualised in the Literature review (Chapter 1) and Dupeyron (2020). The research questions this chapter answers are the following: Through the development evaluation methods tested, what insights do we obtain on the complex socio-cultural, environmental and economic impacts archaeological projects may have on development? How comparable are the trajectories of development experienced by each village, and does the category of 'archaeology for development' make analytical sense to frame impacts?

5.2. Methods

To answer these questions, I focused on a subset of data obtained in the process detailed in the methodology chapter. The impacts were coded in four main categories: economic, social and cultural, and environmental. These results were obtained from the analysis of two months of fieldwork in each village. The projects and villages are presented in Chapter 3. Several activities were conducted: in-depth semi-structured interviews, surveys, focus group discussions, and participatory workshops.

In the first two weeks in each village, I produced a 'table of impacts' aiming to delineate how each project could affect its village, based on conversations with its inhabitants and participant observation. This table was based on a pilot study I conducted in 2018 (Dupeyron, 2021), literature research and the first few weeks of empirical observations in each village.

³⁶ SERNANP (Servicio Nacional de Áreas Naturales Protegidas por el Estado), or National Service of Protected Natural Areas, is a public service of the Peruvian state based in the Ministry of Environment.

It guided me to design the interview schedule (Appendix V), the survey and participatory activities, and I collected evaluation data on the current situation of a variety of indicators. Using these tables of impacts, I prepared a report in Spanish to share with each village (the full reports can be found in Appendices VI, VII and VIII). The analytical strategy is detailed in Chapter 2 ([Section 2.2](#)). I processed the results from these three reports and translated the main points into English. While I use translated quotes in this chapter, I have not linked them to the table of interview participants in Appendix V to safeguard the respondents' anonymity. I used these evaluation reports, which I shared with participants and on which I obtained their feedback, as the main material for the analysis in this chapter. The results described below outline the main impacts of projects using archaeological heritage in each village, as extracted from the reports, and I compare them across the three villages to facilitate discussion.

Through these results and the integrated discussion, I also want to point out the limits of what can be evaluated: the impacts I discuss below stem from the villagers' points of view, and I attempt to present those within my own frame of understanding, coupled with my own empirical observations. In the discussion sections below, I will attempt to distinguish between what respondents perceive as impacts and processes, and my own findings, when there is a discrepancy.

Another limitation in this evaluation process is the lack of contextual quantitative data, as I explain in the previous empirical chapter outlining the current capacity for evaluation and needs of the stakeholders. This makes it difficult to provide a longitudinal view on visitor number figures in Cabana, for instance. However, the data obtained from my qualitative approach has enabled me to obtain insights into the complex processes at hand, including their more negative aspects, which are often excluded from evaluation reports in the heritage sector (Ellenberger and Richardson 2018, 68). The data I have collected may be considered 'anecdotal' when each datapoint is examined in isolation, but together as a dataset they weave a complex picture of what is happening in each village.

The table of impacts I have used for the analysis and in the results section was based around the four main domains of impact I had observed, but is flexible enough to account for local specificities. I acknowledge that there are significant overlaps within these categories due to the interconnectedness of impacts. Using this framework based on

economic, socio-cultural and environmental impacts is helpful for evaluation: although the projects are very different, it enables me to analyse impacts in a way that is consistent across case studies. In this chapter, I compare the trajectories of each village to obtain insights about the phenomenon of archaeology for development.

Table 5. Reminder of the project and site names.

Village/community	Cabana	Miraflores	Agua Blanca
Archaeological site(s)	Pashash	Huaquis, Yanacancha, ancient canals and terraces	Agua Blanca
Project	Rise of Divine Lordships project: UK AHRC funded archaeological excavations	Ecosystem based adaptation (The Mountain Institute)	Community tourism project deriving from McEwan and Silva's excavations
Duration of project	2019-ongoing (hiatus in 2020 and 2021)	2012-2022 (hiatus in 2020 and 2021)	Archaeological dig: 1985-1990 Community tourism: 1990-ongoing

5.3. Results and Discussion: Complexity and the specificities of archaeology for development

I have previously argued in favour of considering certain types of projects utilising archaeology as development projects (Dupeyron 2020). This point has been reiterated in the literature review (Chapter 1, [Section 1.2.1](#)) and in the description of the context of the three villages and the projects taking place there (Chapter 3). I selected each of the case studies because it was representative of a different type of project using archaeology with wider development impacts (see Chapter 2, [Section 2.2.3](#)), but was situated in the comparable context of a relatively small rural Andean community.

However, it is really in the comparison of impacts emerging from the projects outlined above (see table 5) that the category 'archaeology for development' starts to make analytical sense. While the three projects occur in different contexts, they have impacts on similar domains of economic, social, cultural and environmental development. The degree of intensity of these impacts in each domain vary in each project, due to the different local trajectories and stakeholders involved. In this section, I will focus on

several of these domains, showcasing the complex impacts that these projects have in common, and how they differ.

In particular, I examine economic, environmental, social, and cultural impacts. Separating impacts in these categories following the three pillars of sustainable development (Dupeyron 2020) and adding culture enable us to examine the causal pathways in more detail, while acknowledging that these impacts are interrelated. In each of these four domains, I will frame the results by discussing how these impacts interact with broader themes within public archaeology and development. These are tourism, conservation of the natural and cultural heritage, education, and local identity formation.

5.3.1. Economic impacts

5.3.1.1. Tourism

In all three projects, I examined the economic impacts linked to tourism and those resulting from the presence of archaeologists in the village.

Of the three villages, Agua Blanca is the only one where tourism was a primary livelihood strategy at the time of my fieldwork. Tourism grew to an average of c.20,000 visitors per year between 2014-2019. In 2020, of its 313 inhabitants, 63 people had employment within community-led tourism (guides, artisans, restaurant, and working in the spa by the lagoon). Other people benefitted indirectly from the increased touristic activity (guides in the National Park, taxi drivers, or working in private shops and restaurants). Tourism was viewed positively by 84% of the survey respondents, and negative opinions stem from the fact that as a livelihood strategy, tourism is not available to everyone.



Figure 14. Group of guides in uniform in front of the Agua Blanca museum. February 2020. Photo: A. Dupeyron.

In both Miraflores and Cabana, tourism was still reduced as of 2019, and due to the pandemic, the situation had not changed much by 2022. However, as part of my research I investigated the potentials as viewed by their inhabitants. In both cases, the archaeological sites play a major role in any future touristic ventures. In Miraflores, the expectation is that some tourist flows from Vitis and Huancaya could be captured once the archaeological sites (Huaquis, Yanacancha) obtain the resources they need to become tourism destinations (*'puesta en valor'*). In 2019, villagers were hoping to develop community tourism and ecotourism. Some 77% of survey respondents (Appendix VII) care about archaeology because of its potential for tourism. When I met him in 2019, archaeologist Rafael Schmitt was also working on a project to market Huaquis for visitors.

In Cabana, tourism is mostly associated with the July festivities (as described in Chapter 3, [Section 3.4.1](#)), which is when the town receives about 50% of its annual visitors. Tourism is one of the main reasons (65%) that people value the site of Pashash

(Appendix VI). Inhabitants view it as a promising venture, especially as there is a local circuit of archaeological sites (Mashgonga, Cungush, Málape, Suraca, Puca). As of 2019, there was limited capacity for artisans to produce and sell Pashash inspired crafts: as mentioned in an interview with a stonemason, there is not enough local demand for the activity to be more than a hobby.

5.3.1.2. Direct impact of archaeological projects

Other economic impacts stem from the presence of archaeologists injecting foreign money into the local economy by generating employment opportunities, consuming food, renting accommodation, and obtaining supplies. As noted by Douglas (2014, 51), the value generated is less than the initial expenditure, as people do not necessarily spend all of that money. In Peru, similarly as in Turkey where Douglas conducted her work, most people operate within the informal economy. These elements make it hard to calculate the direct economic impact and multiplier effect of the 2019 excavations in Cabana. However, it is worth noting that employment was given to 10 field assistants and three laboratory assistants for three months in 2019.

In Agua Blanca, three decades of hindsight enable us to see these benefits more qualitatively in people's testimonies. Since the 1980s, various archaeologists have launched projects in Agua Blanca, and employed locals. Obtaining an accurate estimate of workers is complicated as there is no register, but at one point, 18 worked with McEwan and Silva. A rotation system is in place to ensure that opportunities are shared amongst the villagers. These skills have also led them to archaeological employment in other parts of Ecuador.

This has not happened to Miraflores, as there has been no excavation yet. The Mountain Institute has conducted research projects but do not routinely give money to participants. They focus on offering training and helping villagers build infrastructure aiming to adapt to climate change and improve access to water.

The direct economic benefits of archaeological digs are limited, as highlighted by Douglas (2014, 52): the work is usually seasonal, and only a few workers can be employed every year. In Agua Blanca, direct employment in archaeology has segued into more sustained tourism-related employment. Many of the villagers involved in archaeology ended up training as tour guides in the community or the national park. At the time, they

were mostly young men: one woman was involved in the original archaeological work, but had since left the village (Brock 2019, 41). Most of the former Agua Blanca archaeologists who excavated alongside McEwan and Silva are now a generation of middle-aged/senior leaders in the community, many of whom are *socios* and have acceded to positions of power within the *cabildo* more than once. While archaeology did not make them rich, it certainly helped them gain confidence within a community where archaeology was seen as a catalyst towards improving the community's quality of life.

In the next section, I will discuss and analyse the role played by tourism in economic development.

5.3.1.3. Discussion about tourism and economic development.

This section details the trajectory of Agua Blanca, where community tourism has grown in the wake of an archaeological research project, and the aspirations of Cabana, a small town that would welcome such attention and pushes for a greater recognition of its archaeological and natural resources in the national tourism circuit, which normally focuses on the South (Cuzco, Lake Titicaca, Arequipa) and the North (Trujillo region). I will also highlight how the paths of these two communities differ considering the stakeholders involved, and the context in which they operate.

5.3.1.3.1. Direct, indirect and dynamic impacts of tourism

Heritage tourism is one of the most visible ways in which archaeology can contribute to development, as explained in the literature review. The economic impacts of heritage tourism play a role in reducing poverty and improving quality of life through three main pathways, which are interrelated and can be difficult to disentangle (Mitchell and Ashley 2010, 130). I will show this through the example of Agua Blanca, the village that has benefited from archaeological tourism in the last three decades. The first pathway comprises the direct effects, which includes earnings obtained from the tourist sector. These are visible in Agua Blanca through the wages obtained by tour guides, artisans and spa workers and the subsequent effects on their purchasing power.

The secondary effects are the flows reaching Agua Blanca from the indirect impacts in the economy (Mitchell and Ashley 2010, 65). These are particularly difficult to assess, but are visible in the increased employment opportunities in the construction sector in the nearby town of Puerto Lopez, due to its presence in a regional touristic circuit

including ecological and archaeological attractions. In terms of procurement, tourism has not necessarily led to an increase in food production in Agua Blanca or its region, as many villagers complained to me that most tourists do not stay for more than a few hours and do not consume food in the village. However, it could be argued that tourism in Agua Blanca contributes to increased consumption and activity in Puerto Lopez. The indirect benefits of tourism are a prime example of the complex causal pathways when examining the impacts of heritage in the region.

The third pathway is also complex to trace from an impact evaluation perspective as the longer-term impacts of tourism on local, regional and national dynamics (Mitchell and Ashley 200, 87) are by interaction or by emergence (Bhola 2000) and not by design. Thanks to the longevity of anthropological research in Agua Blanca, we have a good understanding of the changes in quality of life in Agua Blanca. These include human resource development impacts, such as the training that guides, artisans and spa workers have obtained. Infrastructural changes are also visible: tourism led to improvements of Agua Blanca's sulphur lagoon, which is also used by locals and provides significant recreational benefits (Hudson et al. 2016, 73). With time, Agua Blancans built cement houses for themselves, and cabins made of traditional materials are increasingly reserved for tourist use (Ruiz-Ballesteros 2008, 246). Here again, we see how the impacts deriving from tourism and the social impacts of the archaeological project itself are difficult to disentangle from broader socio-cultural changes such as globalisation.

5.3.1.3.2. Limits of touristic development and local dynamics

In the complexity of these impacts, we also need to acknowledge that power dynamics also operate at the community level, and that benefits are heterogenous even in the case of a participatory community tourism project (Mowforth and Munt 2016, 228). This is particularly visible in Agua Blanca, where four decades of touristic development have created inequalities in the community. The dominant narrative as presented by the Archaeological committee and the testimonies of villagers is that up to 70% of villagers obtain an income from tourism. However, certain interviewees and survey respondents have expressed their concerns with this narrative. Adding up all members in the village employed either as community guides, artisans or spa workers in 2020 results in 63 people directly involved in tourism, out of 313 inhabitants (under 20%). Even when discounting the children and elderly, the figure of 70% appears to be wrong. Some survey

participants have expressed a sense of injustice at the fact that the rotation system, whereby villagers are offered employment on external projects coming into the village, seems to favour families involved with the archaeological committee. Other participants have mentioned the fact that the *Cabildo* of the *Comuna* (elected committee of the village), who preside over most important decisions, are also usually members of the archaeological committee. Other voices struggle to get their concerns heard.

Tourism is also affected by broader national and international dynamics, which can highlight its fragility as a village's main livelihood strategy. The spa workers told me about the difficulties they experienced in October 2019 when Ecuador went through a political crisis. A series of protests against austerity measures led to violent government retaliation³⁷. The country's transport network was affected for several weeks; at the most intense stage, the roads and borders were closed. The effect for Agua Blanca was drastic, as no new tourists came into the village that month. Similarly, the Covid-19 pandemic paused many of Agua Blanca's touristic activities for 10 months, and villagers had to return to subsistence farming and land use, and odd jobs in Puerto López. As explained to me in 2022, Agua Blanca bounced back mainly because donors such as private foundations and the Municipality of Puerto López gave support for training and infrastructural improvements to continue in the background. For example, the Fundación Crisfe provided training in the making of shampoo and soap with barbasco, a bursary for a villager to be trained as a chef, and distillation stills to help with palo santo oil production. Agua Blanca used the pandemic years to strengthen their touristic infrastructure: they established new signs through the village pointing towards the main attractions, remodelled the roof of the artisan centre, dug a new pool near the ancestral *laguna*, and trained 10 new beekeepers and several new *palo santo* artisans. In 2022, the villagers of Miraflores reflected on the risks of relying on tourism as the main source of income, as they saw the neighbouring touristic community of Huancaya having to return to agropastoralism during the pandemic. However, with the growing threat of climate change, the inhabitants of Miraflores are aware that they cannot rely solely on agropastoralism either. A member of the diaspora who returned to live in Miraflores during the pandemic told me that in 2021, a devastating frost damaged many of

³⁷ More details on the 2019 political crisis can be found in Ponce et al. 2020.

Miraflores's crops, and he sees it as paramount to add new sources of revenue like tourism. In early 2022, a new Committee for Tourism was established in Miraflores.

Even before the Covid-19 pandemic, Agua Blancans were acutely aware of the need to establish parallel sources of income. As a restaurant owner told me, "people are always involved but we don't all trust tourism. You always have to rear an animal on the side because sometimes the project is not enough." When we talked about the 2019 protests, that same person said "We are all affected. If tourism doesn't reach here, there is no consumption and no sales. (...) Here, there is not enough to get rich, just to survive".

In Cabana, tourism is also widely perceived as an aim to strive towards, with little acknowledgement of its possible negative aspects. Some 46% of the survey respondents view it as very positive, and 42% as positive, but only a handful of these people have jobs that would be directly impacted by tourism, such as shop owners or service providers on the central plaza. When nuance was expressed, people were worried about the risks tied to the conservation of the site and the natural resources. The inhabitants of Cabana desire tourism, but they want it to be sustainable and manageable, and for tourists to behave well and not degrade their town. Perhaps contrasting slightly with this environmental concern, several interview respondents mentioned the possibility of applying for funding from mining companies in Ancash, such as the Conchucos mine, presumably as part of the companies' corporate social responsibility. None of the respondents in Cabana expressed concerns about the *puesta en valor* process opening them to the world, which is perhaps an issue that becomes of greater concern when tourism is a tangible reality. In Agua Blanca, for instance, the community clearly establishes a process whereby projects originating from outside the village need to apply for permission, granting the community more control. Comparing themselves with the neighbouring tourist resort of Montaña, Agua Blancans are aware that they could lose their identity by letting external investors take the reins of touristic endeavours.

5.3.1.3.3. Archaeological tourism and economic growth: between aspirations and reality

Yet, despite these difficulties, tourism remains attractive to Agua Blancans, and 84% of the survey respondents saw it as positive (including 58% as "very positive"). For many other villages in the Andes, the examples of the Sacred Valley of the Incas, or the north coast of Peru are considered as models to emulate (both in Cabana and Miraflores,

interviewees mentioned Machu Picchu, and people mentioned Cusco in Agua Blanca and Cabana). Can Cabana follow a similar trajectory to Agua Blanca? It is certainly the hope of its inhabitants, with 88% of survey respondents stating that making Pashash more visible to generate more tourism in Cabana was very important (Appendix VI). The realisation of these expectations, however, will depend on a range of factors, including a favourable political and economic context allowing for the investment of funds to initiate a process of *puesta en valor*³⁸. My interview with an archaeologist involved in many projects throughout Peru highlighted some of his reasons to hope that Cabana might be able to attract greater flows of tourism in the long-term. Every village is different, of course, and follows its own trajectory. However, several factors may aid Cabana: the fact that Pashash is one of many significant archaeological and natural sites in the area, that the local *patronato*³⁹ is strongly committed to protecting and stewarding the interests of Pashash, the presence of a few restaurants and hotels and its location in the Ancash region, where several mining companies might be able to sponsor excavations. However, many interviewees who spoke enthusiastically about tourism did not seem to realise how long this process would take.

Agua Blanca provides a useful comparison here since tourism developed gradually over the last three decades. In the Most Significant Change workshop, participants highlighted the factors that made the project a success. In the 1980s, their struggles with the managers of the National Park to be able to remain and use their land turned them into a more organised and cohesive community. It granted them a protectiveness that is visible in how they deal with external offers: the community has to agree as a whole during an assembly, or the project cannot take place. Their determination complemented that of archaeologists Silva and McEwan, who were championing this project at the national and international stage, and wanted to integrate social and economic development objectives from the outset. After the prolonged drought of the 1970s and 1980s, this project led to a resurgence of activity in Agua Blanca. These human and social factors were consistently invoked in discussions about the success of Agua Blanca, but they are not the only factors. The economic context is also important: McEwan managed

³⁸ The *puesta en valor* process refers to the enhancement of a cultural or natural resource through research and conservation to preserve it and habilitate it for tourism, as described in Chapter 3, [Section 3.2.2](#).

³⁹ As explained in Chapter 3 ([Section 3.4.2](#)), the *patronato* is the local association founded in 1976 that aims to safeguard the archaeological site and museum.

to secure funds to employ archaeological assistants during the field seasons, but also obtained enough to pay for three salaries (divided between eight workers) for them to protect and be guides on site after the archaeologists left. As one of these early project workers told me, these initial eight guides kept working out of sheer dedication, and started accepting donations, and then charging for site entrance – the support of McEwan and Silva propelled their activity. The broader economic context was also that of regional touristic growth, and Smith (2005, 151-153) recounts the transformation of the Machalilla National Park between 1998 and 2015, which has transformed from an area with little touristic infrastructure to a well-known destination, within which Agua Blanca is a key attraction.

In Cabana, various voices have spoken in favour of tourism over the years, and the Pashash archaeological project has spurred their interest. Local interest groups such as the Centro de Apoyo al Desarrollo Provincia de Pallasca and the Municipality have collaborated to produce a document diagnosing the touristic assets of Cabana and its region, which was drafted in 2019 while the excavations were under way. However, the recent context has not favoured Cabana. Respondents have complained about the apathy of local political authorities, and have been appealing to national authorities since 2014, when they first asked them to draft a bill for the conservation, restoration and ‘puesta of valor’ of Pashash. During my fieldwork in 2019, they were placing hopes in a congressperson in Lima, who could vouch for the importance of Pashash at the governmental level. Weeks later, President Vizcarra dissolved the Congress, and was himself impeached in 2020. The Covid-19 pandemic, of course, brought domestic and international tourism to a halt. In 2021, the efforts of the local heritage organisations of the *patronato* and the *Comité Impulsor Pashash* saw the organisation of a roundtable with congresswoman Lady Mercedes Camones Soriano to authorise the creation of an *Unidad Ejecutora*⁴⁰ overseeing the enhancement of Pashash for touristic development. In June 2022, the project was approved by the Peruvian Congress. Whether Cabana ultimately takes a similar trajectory to Agua Blanca can only be appreciated in the long term.

⁴⁰ A government-led Project Management Unit that has a budget allocated by the state to complete their mission.

Miraflores follows a different trajectory altogether, as it is part of the Nor-Yauyos-Cochas Landscape reserve which received about 25,000 tourists in 2018 (Instituto de Montaña 2018, 25) – especially the nearby villages of Vitis and Huancaya – but does not attract these flows. However, both the Instituto de Montaña and SERNANP have long-standing expertise in touristic development, and are committed to sustainable tourism, and community-based tourism. The Instituto de Montaña used to collaborate with the Qhapaq Ñan project⁴¹ in the Piura and Ancash regions for the enhancement of sections of the Great Inca Road, training local communities in the tourism service industry. It has conducted several projects to document the oral history of people in the Andes, as explained by a staff member who has worked on these projects since the 1980s. The funding operates on a project basis, which means that the IdM cannot work on tourism within the context of the Escalando Abe Montaña Project. Meanwhile, SERNANP has given support to tourism in the RPNYC, mainly around the natural resources such as the cataracts of Huancaya, or what they call ‘turismo vivencial’ (experience-based tourism) which focuses on sharing the lives and activities of local people. Archaeological based tourism is yet to be promoted in the area, as highlighted by the SERNANP staff I interviewed. Their plan is to develop local tourism through partnerships between local communities, the Ministry of Tourism, the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Environment (to which SERNANP belongs). In 2022, the joint efforts of the Instituto de Montaña and archaeologist Rafael Schmitt led to the inscription of the Huaquis-Yanacancha landscape to the World Heritage Fund’s Monument Watch, which will hopefully lead to a touristic *puesta en valor* process implemented by the IdM. This is one more example showcasing the complex interrelation of impacts: while the IdM was not initially focusing on tourism in their Abe Montaña work, it became a possibility through their long-standing environmental engagement with Miraflores’ cultural heritage, and their ongoing dialogue with the archaeologist. When I returned to the village after the pandemic, tourism suddenly seemed a more tangible reality, although villagers were aware of the obstacles, such as the lack of dedicated hotels and restaurants to support future flows of tourists.

⁴¹ The Main Andean Road, inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage List, is the focus of a pan-Andean research and conservation project.

This section on economic impacts has shown that tourism is often an aspiration for Andean communities that live in the vicinity of archaeological sites, as they see it as an opportunity for regular income and other indirect benefits. Between 2019 and 2022, all three villages have taken further steps towards this industry, and further impacts were visible in my second visit. Cabana now has legal support to undertake a more comprehensive *puesta en valor* approach, Miraflores has obtained support from the World Monuments Fund, which might culminate in a new project, and Agua Blanca consolidated its touristic infrastructure through external funding to face the challenges of the pandemic. Marked by Covid-19, the last two years have indeed exemplified the fragility of tourism, yet all three communities saw it as an avenue in which they deemed worth investing time and money. Parallel processes took place, utilising these communities' archaeological resources, and I will now turn to conservation and environmental impacts.

5.3.2. Environmental and conservation impacts

5.3.2.1. Environmental impacts

The 'Abe Montaña' and 'Escalando Abe Montaña'⁴² initiatives by the Instituto de Montaña in Miraflores are a great example of a project utilising archaeological resources for climate change adaptation, as explained in the project description in Chapter 3 ([Section 3.5.2](#)). The main impacts of the project are an increase in the amount of quality pastureland that cattle can graze upon, and the availability of drinking water for human and animal consumption. These impacts were made possible by the protection of the site of Yanacancha, which operates a filtration system providing clean water to the village, and the construction of modern pipes following the trajectory of an ancient canal linking Yanacancha and Coriuna. The protection and improvement of Yanacancha and the canals was not an easy process to implement. It required the planting of a natural barrier to prevent animals from entering the site, and a restriction to two horses and 20 cows per person. The approach had considerable resistance, particularly from people who owned more cattle and were unwilling to adhere to community enforced limits on ownership

⁴² Escalando Abe Montaña, as explained in Chapter 3, [Section 3.5.2](#), is the scaling up and consolidation of Abe Montaña activities.

and grazing. However, Miraflores has been described as a very organised community, and the staff of the Instituto de Montaña noted that the transition occurred more successfully than in the other villages where they work. The rehabilitation and protection of Yanacancha, coupled with the canal work improved the quality of drinking water for animals in the grazing site of Coriuna, and directly affected the village's finances as they can now rear and sell better quality cattle. The Abe Montaña project, and its continuation, Escalando Abe Montaña, is one more example showing the complex pathways whereby environmental and economic impacts are closely intertwined.



Figure 15. The pre-Inca reservoirs of Yanacancha. Photo:A. Dupeyron.

These changes were also accompanied by a greater awareness of the interaction between humans and their environment. Many respondents have mentioned their concerns about climate change, and their commitment to preserving their way of life. Another direct impact is that they have learned about past land use and Ecosystem Based Adaptation, and expressed a commitment to maintaining and regularly revisiting the new environmental rules of the community.



Figure 16: The site of Coriuna (left) received water from Yanacancha via an ancient pre-Inca canal. A modern canal has been built following that same route to provide safe drinking water to cattle in the grazing site (right). Photos: A. Dupeyron.

Through the life of the Agua Blanca project, environmental changes are visible, although it is difficult to disentangle environmental changes due to the creation of the Machalilla National Park and those due to the focus on sustainable tourism as a way of life, as both processes are linked. Tourism offered an alternative to the exploitation of carbon from trees, and made Agua Blancans more self-conscious, for example, of littering in the village. They also want to learn from the past how to live in a more environmentally sustainable way, which was a popular answer when surveyed about the areas of archaeology that interest them the most. Through the increased visibility of the Agua Blanca project, they have been able to collaborate with several environmental conservation research projects: in 2020, ornithologists planned to seek and record bird nests, and another one investigating insects that are harmful to local birds.

In Cabana, the archaeological project has not focused on environmental outcomes, but a member of the *patronato* told me that they perceived tourism as an alternative means of livelihood once climate change rendered agriculture more difficult, highlighting the concerns of the population. Tourism might have a similar effect to what happened in Agua Blanca, provided that sustainability is at the core of the populations' concerns. There is scope for further research and knowledge sharing with the community, as long-term climate change adaptations and resilience are the focus of a proposed research project in the nearby site of Mashgonga (Bongers 2022, pers. comm.).

5.3.2.2. Conservation impacts

Conservation efforts in Pashash have been slow, and it is still too early for the archaeological project to have had visible impacts. In 2012, the site archaeologist applied for a geomembrane to protect the walls of the site from erosion. However, due to inertia and conflict with the local authorities, it was left in storage indefinitely. Previous roofing measures were erected and then destroyed, and the structural materials were incorporated into other buildings of the village. In 2019, the walls of the Caserón, a prominent structure within the Pashash archaeological perimeter, were graffitied. Irrigation canals ran through the protected area, threatening the site, which need to be deviated. However, the presence of the archaeologists in 2019 did prompt a cleaning of Pashash ahead of the excavation season, which several townspeople have said improved the appearance of the site. The *patronato*, reinstated during the field season, had plans to implement proper paths, fences and access routes within the site, but this was halted by the pandemic.

In Miraflores, SERNANP is pioneering the conservation of agricultural heritage. In 2019, they distributed 51 native potato breeds to the villagers of Miraflores to re-establish traditional crops and diversify production. However, the interest of state institutions in cultural heritage does not translate to site conservation, as the most emblematic archaeological site in the area, Huaquis, is in disarray. It is cleared out of weeds and overgrown vegetation every year before the Water Festival on the 29th June, but villagers say they are not authorised to undertake any consolidation of the collapsing structures, as the site is declared Patrimonio Cultural de la Nación (National Cultural heritage). Any attempt to maintain the integrity of the site would have to be conducted under the supervision of two archaeologists, which is a prohibitive cost for the inhabitants of Miraflores. While they respect the law, some villagers have mentioned they perceive this as a loss of agency: they see Huaquis as their direct heritage, where some of them remember their parents and grandparents living.

In Agua Blanca, conservation work was carried out by the community itself in the form of *mingas* (regular community work to conduct a task that benefits the whole community, equivalent of Peruvian *faenas*) under the supervision of successive generations of archaeologists. Agua Blancans clean the site of weeds and ensure the good state of the mapping and interpretation infrastructure (such as signs for visitors) put in

place by Silva and McEwan several times a year, especially after the rainy season. The sectors of the site included in the tour are regularly rotated, to reduce the impact of tourism on site conservation: when I visited, only Sector 5 (the ceremonial house) was part of the guided tour.

5.3.2.3. Discussion about environmental and archaeological conservation

In all three projects, development is perceived by the community members as integral to the maintenance and protection of natural and cultural resources. These elements are considered integral to the improvement of the communities' quality of life. Here again, the economic, social and environmental domains are interrelated, linked by complex causal pathways.

Agua Blanca shows once again the interrelatedness of impacts: tourism has been described as a "catalyst for socio-ecological resilience" (Ruiz-Ballesteros 2010, 660). As the president explained to me, the environmental changes visible in the region are linked to the rise of tourism, which led to the community establishing their own informal environmental norms, dividing the territory into agricultural, residential, animal rearing zone, conservation and community tourism zones. Environmental protection and conservation are a way to protect the archaeological site, viewed as a resource for employment. The community's autonomous governance system, which was strengthened by the touristic development process, made this possible. This is also visible in their reliance on goats, which several scientists have warned them would deplete the tree cover: Agua Blancans, by contrast, think that their animals help reforest the area by spreading seeds through their fertilising manure. Again, the causal relation between environmental and economic factors is complex, as goats are mainly kept to provide an alternative means of income as insurance for the shortcomings of tourism.

Environmental and conservation impacts also highlight the embeddedness of impacts, as the political context and stakeholders involved determine the trajectories that a project may take: to illustrate this, I will compare the situation of Miraflores and Agua Blanca. The *Reserva Paisajística Nor Yauyos-Cochas* (RPNYC) is a Landscape Reserve (created in 2001), which means it is a protected area where direct use and extraction of resources is permitted as defined by the management plan. It comprises 19 peasant communities that manage the territory and its resources (Zapata and Gleeson 2020, 746).

By contrast, the Parque Nacional Machalilla was an antagonist to the community of Agua Blanca's goals, in the runup of the park's creation in 1979 and in its first few years of existence. The inhabitants of Agua Blanca were worried about being expelled from the park, due to rumours and the lack of information communicated by the authorities (Ruiz-Ballesteros 2008, 110). The park also threatened traditional livelihood activities such as wood cutting, charcoal production, and hunting. This antagonism led to fights, park officials destroying the property of Agua Blancans and arresting them, to which they retaliated with political action (Ruiz-Ballesteros 2008, 113), until they finally managed to establish a dialogue in 1986 (Ruiz-Ballesteros 2008, 115). These examples show the importance of consulting with and integrating communities in the management of resources, whether natural or cultural. In the case of Agua Blanca, the political actions against the park were essential in the construction of a more organised community (Ruiz-Ballesteros 2008, 114), and happened alongside the first archaeological excavations: these elements all interacted in the process of switching to a tourism-based economy and focusing on the safeguarding and dissemination of their archaeological and natural heritage.

The way stakeholders interact can also define whether a project will have lasting impacts or not. The Instituto de Montaña's projects in the Nor Yauyos-Cochas landscape reserve can be seen as the successors of many historical ecology projects in the Andes discussed in the literature review. However, they differ in some key ways: Swartley criticised the raised field rehabilitation project in the Titicaca basin as an 'invented tradition' (2002, 6), as it did not fulfil the needs of present communities. By contrast, the Miraflores project was rooted in comprehensive participatory research about the current challenges experienced by the community and what they identified as solutions. While the project uses and protects archaeological resources, it does not sacrifice convenience and adapted technology on the altar of invented traditions. This is why, for example, the canal linking Yanacancha to Coriuna was made with modern pipes. This more flexible and holistic approach, that takes the broader context into consideration, enables the project to respond more effectively to the community's needs. Within the RETAMA network, Miraflores can debate with and learn from other communities experimenting with the recuperation of ancient agricultural and irrigation techniques.

Here again, the examples of Miraflores and Agua Blanca have shown the interrelation of economic (tourism, or cattle prices), environmental (protection of natural resources) and social impacts (community cohesion). Some of the concrete outcomes of these projects display the interconnectedness of impact: *puesta en valor* is a way to help preserve a site, provide economic benefits through increased tourist flows, and foster local pride. Some of these impacts, such as community cohesion, or the strengthening of a community's governance system, are also a condition facilitating other positive impacts.

5.3.3. Social and cultural impacts

In my interviews, I asked questions specifically about cultural impacts (resources for museums, research and educational opportunities) but also about social ones (use of archaeological imagery, annual festivals celebrating heritage, identification with the site and the heritage, frequency of visits to the site, presence of local organisations championing the site, willingness to protect heritage). However, I have decided to aggregate social and cultural impacts for this analysis, as the distinction between these two domains seemed even less clear cut than with environmental or economic impacts.

5.3.3.1. Archaeological capacity building

The projects in Agua Blanca and Cabana have focused heavily on archaeological capacity building, whereas the Miraflores project has not, since the village has yet to host an archaeological project.

Several archaeologists have conducted projects in Agua Blanca: Maria Isabel Silva, Colin McEwan, Florencio Delgado, Kimbra Smith, Stefan Bohórquez, Gerardo Castro, and Luke Dalla Bona, to name a few. Although the focus has been on the employment of locals rather than external archaeology students, several have written their MA or BA theses on Agua Blanca. The villagers also report a number of tourism studies, ecology and conservation research in Agua Blanca, as well as the frequent stays of tourism students who spend several weeks in the village to do internships. The initial project has led to the creation of a community museum, and its collection has grown through subsequent excavations. Many artefacts remain in storage in the former community house.

Similarly, significant artefacts excavated in Pashash in 2019 are enriching the collections of the site museum (Lau 2021; Lau et al. 2022), and were used in a temporary

exhibition for the *fiestas patronales* in 2022. Three early career archaeologists were trained in the 2019 field season, gaining valuable field research skills.

In Miraflores, the Instituto de Montaña has collaborated with archaeologists Herrera and Ramírez Muñoz to map the ancient irrigation features and discuss possibilities for their modern rehabilitation, leading to the Yanacancha project. However, there has been little engagement with archaeology in Miraflores in general, which may change with Schmitt's planned projects. Research and training have nevertheless been enhanced in the community, and villagers have learnt valuable skills. In particular, the community has elected a group of local researchers, who act as the liaison with the Instituto de Montaña and external research projects. They also monitor the environmental conditions in the area through regular observational walks. The villagers' experience with Eba and Escalando Abe Montaña taught them how to apply for state-funded conservation projects such as MERESE FIDA or Sierra Azul, which they have successfully obtained.

5.3.3.2. Education and outreach



Figure 17. Archaeologist Milton Luján, fifth standing from right, explains the team's discoveries to a group of students. Photo: A. Dupeyron.

Educational outputs are usually part of the initial objectives of archaeological projects as they are often part of a concerted outreach strategy. In Cabana, they came out

of a collaboration between the archaeological team, the local archaeologist, the UGEL (local government education office, overseeing the province), the directors of the schools and the teachers. 455 primary and secondary school students visited Pashash in August and September 2019 and were given a tour by the archaeologists. For many of them, it was their first visit, as a teacher confirmed. The visits were an opportunity to conduct classroom-based activities as well, such as a photo panel exhibited in the school grounds. According to the teacher I interviewed, the children enjoyed the opportunity to ask questions, see the excavation process and have a better understanding of the structures. There are contradictory reports about the situation pre-2019: according to the parents and *patronato*, many of the teachers are not local and up to 2019 there had only been a few limited opportunities to conduct school workshops about Pashash organised by the local archaeologist. However, one interviewed schoolteacher told me that they would visit twice a year, but as this person is local to Cabana and has sustained contact with the archaeologist, she may be an exception. More indirect impacts occur when the population at large learns about the archaeological heritage through interaction and exposure to the archaeologists' work. An outreach event also took place on 12th September 2019 to share preliminary results and finds with the secondary school and the local population, but most of the attendees were from the school and the *patronato*. Several people mentioned that they would have enjoyed having more opportunities to hear about the research being conducted. The majority of the surveyed population (84%) feels they don't know Pashash well but are interested in learning more about it (98%).

In Miraflores, educational outreach on cultural heritage issues is not yet widespread, and 46 of the 48 respondents said they would want to learn more about the history of Miraflores (2 did not answer that question). There is an appendix to the curriculum focused on Huaquis but the school students tend to visit the site with their family rather than with school. However, the IdM organised a Cultural Night to explore young people's artistic skills: they participated in a play showcasing the local myth of Mamá Culi, a local deity who emerges from lakes and peaks to protect herders and their animals (Instituto de Montaña 2010), and the importance of preserving ancient water systems. It is also worth noting that the project, and its affiliation with SERNANP, has increased educational opportunities regarding environmental conservation and climate change adaptation. SERNANP has conducted outreach in Miraflores's schools to teach students about local lakes, mountains, fauna and flora.

In Agua Blanca, educational opportunities for children have been limited. Interview respondents have told me that children do not visit the site with their teachers, due to local restrictions in the school. Despite these limitations, 94% of the survey respondents stated that they would like young people to know about the history of Agua Blanca. Adults, however, have learnt a lot, especially compared to the ones that have not been involved in the project. During their stay, Silva and McEwan gave nightly classes on archaeological methods and Ecuadorian archaeology. They also organised cultural encounters in which they invited other community and archaeological project members. Through these opportunities, the Agua Blancans have learnt how to present and share the results of the excavation and the changes their participation in this endeavour brought to their community. These skills have served them well as they have subsequently taken part in indigenous community tourism conferences in Ecuador and elsewhere in Latin America (Bolivia, Peru). In general, the population is curious about their past, and 47 of 50 respondents said they would like to learn more about archaeology (Appendix VIII). Agua Blancans now also have opportunities to showcase their heritage through films and documentaries: in 2020, the University of San Gregorio was filming about the Spanish conquest in situ (Figure 18). Although the example of Agua Blanca shows us that educational benefits create further opportunities, such as conferences and networking, it came from a very conscious effort from the archaeologists to involve the community from the outset and train them to be able to make informed decisions about their heritage and future dissemination plans.



Figure 18. The University of San Gregorio shooting a film about the Conquest of Agua Blanca, February 2020.
Photo: A. Dupeyron.

5.3.3.3. *Pride in the past and local identity*

In all three villages, archaeology and heritage are powerful ways in which people connect with the territory, and this connection has been strengthened by the projects. Pashash is a source of local pride and identity building, and a reference for the inhabitants of Cabana, who call their area ‘the land of the Pashash’ (la tierra de los Pashash). Shortly before the excavations in 2019, the local archaeologist took advantage of the impetus generated by the upcoming field season and organised a festival of local culture called ‘Pashash Raymi’ (modelled after Inti Raymi, the Inca festival bringing tourists to Cuzco). Of the 126 survey respondents (Appendix VI), most go to Pashash for recreational walks and to enjoy the scenery (44%), or as self-defined tourists, to show the archaeological sites to their family and visitors (48%). Smaller percentages have said they go to Pashash for festivals and events (6%) or ritual use (1%).

This stands in contrast to the site of Agua Blanca, where a longer engagement with archaeology means that the site has a variety of uses. 72% of the 50 respondents visit the site recreationally, but 58% consider it as sacred, and 50% go for festivals or events (Appendix VIII). Due to the longevity of the project, more respondents have also gone for

work, either excavating (32%) or giving tours (44%).⁴³ Archaeology has also played an important role in the self-definition of the Agua Blanca community. It is hard to separate processes related to the creation of the Machalilla National Park, the archaeological investigations and subsequent tourism, and the struggle to obtain recognition as indigenous. The projects played an important role in Agua Blanca joining the FEPTCE (Plurinational Ecuadorian Federation of Community Tourism) in 1987. Agua Blanca, together with Salango, el Pital and Las Tunas, formed the 'Manta People' indigenous group, officially recognised in 2005. Every year on 12 October, the community takes part in the festival of the Balsa Manteña, which is an opportunity to celebrate indigenous culture and represent it to the public (discussed in Smith 2015).



Figure 19. The museum of Agua Blanca, where the faces of community members have been juxtaposed with Manteño figurines to highlight their resemblance. Photo: A. Dupeyron

In Miraflores, people strongly identify with the site of Huaquis, which their ancestors gradually abandoned from 1909 to 1919 due to the lack of water (Schmitt 2018). Nowadays, the site is mainly used for recreation (46% of respondents), learning (40%), grazing livestock and other pastoral activities (40%); ritual activities (29%) and regular cleaning (6%). 60% of the survey participants (Appendix VII) indicated they care about archaeology because it is the history of their ancestors. People involved with the

⁴³ It is worth noting that the majority of Cabana respondents took the survey themselves, and might not have realised that they could tick multiple boxes. In Agua Blanca, I conducted the surveys myself as mini-interviews, which may have made this choice more explicit.

IdM have highlighted the importance of working in a way that incorporates ancient sites, even when they are combined with newer infrastructure such as pipes reinforcing canals. As a local researcher told me, “it’s working with what you have, not with cement...”. Other archaeological sites, such as the ancient canals of Molino, Maytalla and Patishuinca and the ancient terraces, are still in use and deemed very important. In 2022, a group of *comuneros* in Miraflores told the IdM facilitator about their upcoming plans to rehabilitate the ancient terraces below Huaquis (the Maizal) as well as the Huanin reservoir which, like Yanacancha, could improve the water supply.

A side effect of finding greater attachment to one’s village, heritage and community, combined with improved economic opportunities, is the reduction in the need to migrate to the city. This is visible mainly in Agua Blanca, which experiences lower levels of migration than it did in the 1980s. An 18-year-old told me that many of his generation saw the possibility of becoming a community guide as an opportunity to stay and make a living in Agua Blanca. While the average monthly salary of guides is allegedly less than Ecuadorian minimal wage, the advantages are to be able to find stability in the village, and a sense of mutual aid in the community. For example, the guides contribute to a ‘mutual pot’ of cash that can help any of them in case an illness or accident befalls them. In Miraflores, rural migration is still an issue, but several interview respondents told me they had moved to Lima and decided to come back recently to pursue an agro-pastoralist lifestyle, which they complement with jobs in the service industry (such as in the Municipality or Subprefecture). Cabana is a much bigger settlement, but is also subject to the pressures of migration, which have not yet been affected by the recent project. While the three projects under consideration are not able to provide enough opportunities to attract migrants from neighbouring communities, a phenomenon of immigration has occurred during the pandemic. Disenchanted with the high unemployment rates in the city and the better quality of life in villages during extremely strict lockdowns, many diaspora members returned to live in Miraflores, Agua Blanca and Cabana, whom I met in 2022.

5.3.3.4. Willingness to protect heritage

Archaeological projects are also an opportunity to explore people’s relationship to the protection of their local heritage through their attitudes to looting, the presence of

local associations advocating for heritage, and the measures people have put in place to protect this heritage.

Both in Cabana and Agua Blanca, the pride in the past and local identity is associated with a fear of losing their heritage. In Cabana, one of the main fears expressed by c.20% of survey respondents was that archaeologists could take away the artefacts they encountered. This was an unanticipated outcome, but it highlights a protectiveness of their heritage. This misunderstanding of how archaeological projects operate in the present stems from the colonial legacy of the discipline, and could be improved with better communication between the archaeologists and the local community. On the other hand, a direct impact of the 2019 field season was the reconstitution of the *patronato*, which had originally been founded in 1976 to promote and protect Pashash. Other local organisations have existed through the decades, such as the Casa de la Cultura, the Comité Pro Turismo and the Comité Impulsor Pashash, but the *patronato* is by far the most active. To avoid looting, especially after the significant finds of the 2019 season came to light, the *patronato* decided to post one of the two guards from the museum at Pashash itself.

In Agua Blanca, people care equally about protecting their heritage, but seem less worried about members of their own community damaging or looting the site – this could be due to the project’s length and the importance of archaeological tourism in the local economy, the smaller size of the community, the fact that there is only one road to get to the village, or the fact that, until recently, Agua Blanca was a private estate (*hacienda*), which means that access was restricted. The people of Agua Blanca see the site as a purveyor of economic opportunities (88% of respondents see this as very important) and as such they want to protect it for future generations. The archaeological committee was specifically created in 1988 to help with the excavations and conservation of the site, but its main activities are now to plan activities centred around the site and museum, as well as the associated touristic endeavours. Interviewees mentioned that looting has been eradicated since the 1980s: one of my respondents, who was working in McEwan and Silva’s original project, told me that looters used to come when archaeological artefacts were unearthed by the dramatic rains. Another respondent said that now, the villagers themselves are custodians of their heritage.

In Miraflores, people care about their heritage, but this has not translated to the same degree of protectiveness. As mentioned above, the site of Huaquis is regularly

cleaned during faenas (communal work), and they would further restore the site if they could. Villagers are very sensitive to the protection of their way of life, and the community is part of the RETAMA network which gathers communities that have experimented with recovering ancient infrastructure and techniques. However, as there is no museum, people have not received the same degree of exposure to the importance of protecting archaeological heritage as a common resource. Several villagers showed me ceramic artefacts that members of their family had taken from Huaquis. Neighbouring sites such as the prehispanic cemetery of Huamanchurco have been heavily looted in recent years, as observed by the person who came with me and compared it with her previous visit.

5.3.3.5. Discussion about archaeology and indigenous identity

The use of the archaeological past to support claims about indigenous identity is a good example of impact by emergence (Bhola 2000, 161): “unimagined outcomes emerging from the original intervention through its interaction with other interventions and its interfaces with historical and cultural processes in place but not easily discernible”. Although archaeological projects do not set out with such goals, they can end up promoting a stronger sense of local identity, as they have done in two of the case studies.

In Cabana, the archaeological project has contributed to reinforcing local narratives about the Recuay past and Pashash identity. Lau (2016) discusses the reuse and recontextualization of stones coming from Pashash and associated imagery in the town of Cabana and its region. Stones from the neighbouring sites are often displayed in the streets, integrated into the fabric of the modern town, and Pashash imagery is displayed on official buildings like the municipality or the town stadium (Figure 20).



Figure 20: Anthropomorphic head from Pashash, held at the Museum of Cabana (left) and its reuse on the façade of the Municipality of Cabana and on the gate of the stadium (right). Photos: A. Dupeyron.

Throughout the region, archaeology is deeply embedded into people’s remembrance of the past and sense of place (Lau 2016, 186). Certain local cultural elites go a step further and see in Pashash the expression of a unique culture, distinctive from the Recuay cultural phenomenon⁴⁴: they take pride in being from what they told me is the ‘Tierra de los Pashash’ (land of the Pashash people). While there is no archaeological evidence to suggest that Pashash was more than a regional facet of the Recuay culture (Lau 2019, pers. comm.) we can see in this insistence an expression of community pride.

The 2019 archaeological field season has bolstered the attachment that the people of Cabana have for their site. Interview respondents stated that the archaeological dig played a major role in reactivating the *patronato*, which was founded in 1976 but had

⁴⁴ The Recuay cultural phenomenon is introduced in Chapter 3, [Section 3.4.1](#).

been dormant for decades. Some of its members had indeed left Cabana to seek education and work opportunities in Chimbote and Lima, and return to Cabana mainly to invest in construction projects and cultural opportunities such as *fiestas patronales*. The archaeological project provided momentum for the *patronato* members to gather again and decide to take action. While it is not surprising that the novelty of this project is bringing to light impressive artefacts from Pashash (Lau et al. 2022), and creating a buzz in Cabana, this would contribute to reviving interest in the past. Yet, the trickle effects of the archaeological excavations on the *patronato* participate in a much longer social trajectory. Many of the people I interviewed in Cabana have felt isolated, their heritage neglected by their local authorities, and are aware of successful *puestas en valor* in sites such as Marcahuamachuco and Chavín de Huantar, which they desire for Pashash. The Cabanistas want their heritage to be recognised at the national and international level, and the recent archaeological project has reinforced this desire.

This process is even more evident in Agua Blanca. Beyond the mere economic benefits generated by a surge in touristic activity, the archaeological project has fostered pride in the past through a process of “cultural identity and confidence building” (Hudson et al. 2016, 84). Much research has been conducted on the contribution of Silva and McEwan’s excavations to the process of ethnogenesis⁴⁵ (Bauer 2011; Ramírez and Ruiz-Ballesteros 2011; Ruiz Ballesteros 2008; Smith 2015) whereby Agua Blancans, alongside the people of Las Tunas, Salango and El Pital, were recognised as the indigenous Pueblo Manta in 2005. An interview respondent who was involved in the negotiations told me that “with the archaeological remains, who would negate it?”, highlighting the contribution of the project. In both villages, there is an annual celebration of local cultural heritage: the local archaeologist of Cabana showed me video footage of the ‘Pashash Raymi’⁴⁶, which started in 2019 just before the start of the excavations and was the occasion to attract performers from Cuzco and celebrate heritage. The *Festival de la Balsa Manteña* in Agua Blanca is a much more established festival, which underlines the link between the past Manteños and the present indigenous Pueblo Manta (analysed in Smith 2015) and has been celebrated since 1992 (Hernández Ramírez and Ruiz-Ballesteros

⁴⁵ Ethnogenesis is a process whereby identities emerge or are created, but in association with circumstances that condition them (Hernandez-Ramirez and Ruiz Ballesteros 2011, 162).

⁴⁶ A play on words on the Inti Raymi, originally an Inca solstice festival, which was famously re-created in Cuzco in 1944, to foster pride in the past and attract tourists (Silverman 2013, 130-131).

2011, 167). The strong community ties of Agua Blanca come to the forefront when it comes to land claims: as archaeologist Maria Isabel Silva recounts, the community and archaeologists came together to go to Quito and defend the villagers' right to stay to the authorities of the Machalilla national park. As the archaeologist explains, through their identity as Manteños, the people of Agua Blanca see themselves as the protectors of local ecology and culture – the president of the community called them 'custodians' of this heritage. There again, a strong interrelation is seen between social and environmental impacts of the project.

In Miraflores, this interrelation also exists, but the process of using archaeology to reinforce local identity is reduced. While local identity is strong, the project driven by the Instituto de Montaña did not focus specifically on producing new evidence about the community's ancestors. A more traditional archaeological project focusing on Yanacancha or Huaquis might have been associated with outreach activities with adults and school children such as in Agua Blanca or Cabana, but the Escalando Abe Montaña project comes from a very different mode of operation. It did contribute to strengthening the links with local heritage, as shown in the report (see Appendix VII), but in a more nuanced and indirect way. For example, half of the surveyed project participants felt they understood the uses and history of the Yanacancha site, whereas the majority of non-project participants (16 of 20) said they did not. People are identifying archaeological sites as a source of pride but do not always recognise them as 'archaeological heritage' per se. A SERNANP park ranger who used to live in Miraflores told me: "They used to see [Yanacancha] as a site made by the ancestors, but when the Valle Grande and Abe Montaña projects came, they became more aware of it". A *comunero* said: "we saw it as a site of interest, but we did not give it the value we do now". A local researcher said she now viewed Yanacancha as "a site providing water for the animals and us". People show an appreciation of ancestral technologies which stem from the direct impacts of the project, providing them with clean water and better-quality pasture lands. While the local identity of the people of Miraflores as 'descendants of Huaquis' is strong, it has not been particularly affected by the project. This shows that the type of project, as well as the type of professionals involved as stakeholders, play an important role in the discourse and activities employed, and how people will integrate these concepts in their own self-definition. The focus may not be on reinforcing the link between present communities and their past, but several interviewees highlighted how through the project they came

together as a more organised community, and have a better awareness of the vulnerabilities of their village and how to mitigate them. This is a strong indication that archaeological projects with excavations, such as the ones in Cabana and Agua Blanca and more development-oriented projects such as the IdM's Abe Montaña can both have profound impacts on the social life of a community, but do so in distinctive ways.

The pandemic was an ordeal that put community cohesion to the test, and showed the importance of the social networks established through these projects. This is especially true in the smaller communities of Agua Blanca and Miraflores, as the pandemic had devastating effects in the bigger town of Cabana, which only saw an increase in activity when a road construction project began in 2021. In the feedback workshop I conducted in Agua Blanca, community members told me of the strategies they had put in place during these trying times. In the first lockdown, the entrance to the village was guarded and monitored to keep the population isolated and safe; but they also established systems of barter with neighbouring settlements, such as exchanging fruits for fish. As tourism stopped, more people started making palo santo oil, a commodity that they could easily sell. In the second year of the pandemic, Agua Blanca collaborated with the municipality of Puerto López to deliver a training programme in neighbouring communities to teach them about community organisation and resilience, as well as the use of medicinal plants. Similarly, in Miraflores the community remained isolated to keep its population safe, and continued with its organisation of agropastoral activities. Some diaspora members returned, bringing fresh ideas and enthusiasm about the possibility of developing tourism, as mentioned above. They told me of their determination to foster tourism, diversify their activities and provide opportunities to reverse migration, despite what they described as the apathy of the (municipal) local authorities. Thus, five *comuneros* and *comuneras* have created a Committee for Tourism in 2022, and are planning to coordinate with the IdM and the authorities to establish a Development Plan for Miraflores.

5.4. Conclusion

5.4.1. Research questions

These discussions have highlighted the various dynamics and processes at work in three Andean communities endowed with archaeological resources, analysed through the lens of complexity, as I explain below.

Through the development evaluation methods tested, what insights do we obtain on the complex socio-cultural, environmental and economic impacts archaeological projects may have on development?

In this chapter I have shown that the methods I have used enable us to obtain insights on the main impacts of the Cabana, Miraflores and Agua Blanca projects, and compare and analyse these impacts. The trajectories of development highlighted here encapsulates some of the major issues in the field of archaeology and heritage, such as the possibility of using archaeological sites as resources for pro-poor tourism, the role of heritage for education and people's self-definition, and the lessons we may learn from the past regarding appropriate forms of agriculture and irrigation.

Complexity is seen at two main levels. We have seen that the **processes** of causality, whereby projects achieve certain impacts, cannot easily be traced and disentangled (Bamberger, Vaessen and Raimondo 2016, 16). For instance, in Agua Blanca, interview respondents have mentioned the rise of tourism as a possible explanation for the reduction in migration, but many other structural changes are at play in the socio-economic context of Ecuador. In Cabana, the enthusiasm of local cultural elites and re-emergence of the *patronato* after decades of inactivity was not an objective of the archaeological excavation. It was an unintended outcome, or impact by emergence (Bhola 2000, 163-164). The encounter between the *patronato* and the archaeological project also led to their collaboration for a temporary exhibition in 2022, which was a further outcome three years after the *patronato* formed again.

How comparable are the trajectories of development experienced by each village, and does the category of 'archaeology for development' make analytical sense to frame impacts?

We have also seen that projects are **embedded within a complex system** (Bamberger, Vaessen and Raimondo 2016, 17), which will determine the extent to which

they are successful. The strong organisational structure of Agua Blanca and Miraflores enabled these two communities to carry out tasks that would be beneficial to the whole village, and they have been more successful in reaching their objectives than their neighbours (Salango in the case of Agua Blanca, or Canchayllo in the case of Miraflores), mainly due to these contextual factors. Cabana, on the other hand, was faced with a political crisis and a global pandemic, which halted the archaeological project and many of its plans regarding *puesta en valor*.

Although these three projects are situated within their own local context, and have different objectives, the category 'archaeology for development' enables us to examine their impacts along a continuum and provides some pathways for comparison. All three of them have complex impacts that affect the three main 'pillars' of development (economic, socio-cultural and environmental) because these aspects are so interconnected. However, the projects focus on specific pillars to different extents, as represented in the simplified infographic below (Figure 21), where the relative progress of each project is plotted along an economic, social and environmental axis. Figure 21 shows how the projects contribute to all three pillars but to different degrees because of their focus so far. This infographic is not linked to numerical data but aims to visually represent the concept of the interrelatedness of impacts in the three domains of impact, with differing degrees of intensity.

When I showed Figure 21 to the IdM staff in 2022, their main criticism of it echoed my own comments that recognised the interconnected nature of these impacts. To them, Figure 21 is merely a representation of the projects' main focus, but the truth is more complex. In Miraflores, for example, the recovery of 7000 ha of land for agropastoral activities also had profound economic impacts. Assessing the direct contribution of the project can be challenging, and using methods that are capable of reflecting nuance is paramount.

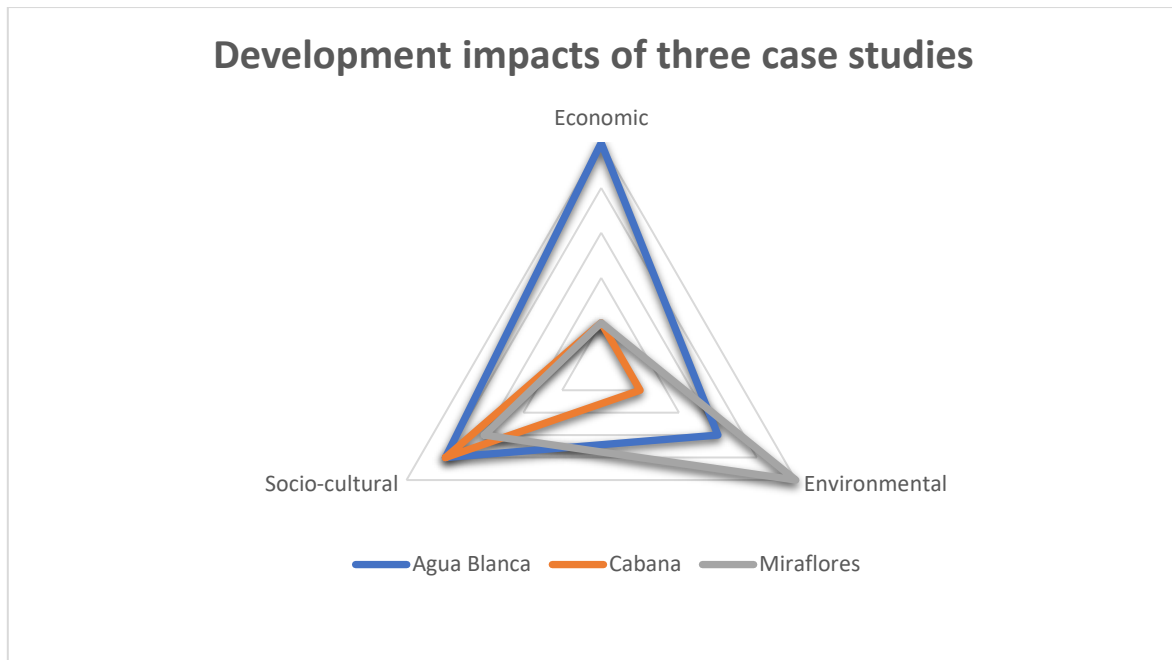


Figure 21. Visual representation of the three projects impacting all three interrelated domains, but at different degrees depending on their specialisation and aims. A. Dupeyron.

The category ‘archaeology for development’, and the associated framework of impacts organised alongside the economic, socio-cultural and environmental axes, is therefore helpful for analysis. However, its strength lies in recognising the complexity of processes of causality, and their embeddedness within the local context. Hopefully, this framework may also be used to generate further comparisons in the region, and yet make observations that are locally relevant.

5.4.2. Link with theoretical framework and the rest of the thesis

Considering the complexity of these impacts, are the chosen small-n evaluation methods appropriate for understanding their interrelatedness, capture power relations, and accurately represent the situation? The following chapter (Chapter 6) will compare the tested evaluation methods, their suitability, feasibility, as well as their ability to produce valid evaluation results.

CHAPTER 6. TESTING EVALUATION TECHNIQUES IN 'ARCHAEOLOGY FOR DEVELOPMENT' PROJECTS IN PERU AND ECUADOR: TRADE-OFFS BETWEEN RIGOUR AND FEASIBILITY

6.1. Introduction

The previous empirical chapters have established the range of monitoring, evaluation and learning methods in use by 'archaeology for development' projects in Ecuador (Chapter 4), and have shown how these projects have generated complex, and yet comparable, impacts (Chapter 5). While Chapter 4 focused on the concept of evaluation and Chapter 5 on the complexity of impacts, Chapter 6 focuses on the trade-offs between rigour and feasibility.

As noted in the literature review, and in the pilot study (Dupeyron 2021), there needs to be a methodological balance between achieving rigorous and ethical evaluation, and negotiating the constraints inherent with small-scale 'archaeology for development' projects in the Andean region. The challenges derive from practical considerations about feasibility, but also local power dynamics: what are the risks associated with using certain types of methods instead of others, in terms of who gets represented and whose voices are heard? This chapter will explore these trade-offs by assessing the extent to which rigour can be achieved while bearing these constraints in mind. It is based on the insights generated by testing several small-scale evaluation methods in the field: rapid ethnographic methods, tailored surveys, and participatory workshops. The chapter discusses their strengths and weaknesses and how these play out in the contexts of Cabana, Miraflores and Agua Blanca.

Therefore, the research questions covered in this chapter are the following: What trade-offs between rigour and feasibility are involved when evaluating small-scale 'archaeology for development' projects in the Andes? What are the practical limitations of implementing evaluation methods, and how do they play out with local power dynamics? What evaluation methods work better in what contexts, and what factors influence their appropriateness?

This chapter will mainly be of interest to development evaluation specialists, as it integrates theoretical discussions regarding the rigour that can be achieved by small-scale evaluation with empirical observations. It will also be of use to project managers in the archaeology and heritage fields, as it details the strengths and weaknesses of three evaluation methods and discusses the circumstances in which they may be appropriate to use.

6.2. Criteria for assessing rigour in evaluation methods

The theoretical framework of this thesis introduced and discussed several criteria used within social sciences, and in particular qualitative evaluation, to assess rigour ([Section 1.3.2.2](#)). I briefly summarise them here, as this chapter will assess them against empirical evidence collected when testing evaluation methods in Cabana, Miraflores and Agua Blanca.

Rigour in development evaluation was defined in Chapter 1 as “cost-effectiveness in learning, with trade-offs between validity, timeliness, relevance and credibility, these set against cost which includes opportunity costs of peoples’ time and other resources used” (Chambers 2015, 327). Rigour is also dependent on the fit between the method employed and the problem that is assessed (Bamberger et al. 2015, 620). We need to acknowledge that true rigour is not solely a property of quantitative methods and can only be achieved through methodological pluralism and innovation, adaptation, and flexibility (Chambers 2015). The three sets of methods discussed here are part of a pluralist approach based on *bricolage* (See Chapter 2, [Section 2.4.1](#)), which evaluators increasingly consider as suited to complexity-aware qualitative evaluation (Aston and Apgar 2022). Even though I recommend using them in combination, it is worth comparing their strengths and weaknesses and assessing the extent to which these approaches can achieve, or at least approximate, rigour.

Considering the complex processes at play in Miraflores, Agua Blanca and Cabana (see Chapter 5 discussing the complex impacts of the projects), evaluation needs to be able to engage in deep analysis, consider the broader systems that influence a project’s progress, and acknowledge alternative interpretations and outliers. These criteria are encompassed by the notion of **quality of thinking** (Lynn and Preskill 2016).

The concept of ‘trustworthiness’ is often used in qualitative research to assess whether the research reflects reality and can be trusted (Lincoln and Guba 1985). Trustworthiness includes **credibility** (how confident can we be about the truth of our findings?), **confirmability** (do the findings stem from the subjects themselves as opposed to from the researcher?), **dependability** (would the results be the same in a similar context?) and **transferability** (can the findings apply to other groups of people?).

To these, Johnson and Rasulova (2017) add the dimension of **authenticity**, which examines the extent to which the participants and researchers themselves changed, and whether the research prompted action. Authenticity is aligned with the concern for **ethics** and **cultural appropriateness** advocated by guidelines such as the ones emitted by the Centre for Cultural Value (2021) and RELAC (2021).

As it seeks to prompt action, authenticity also overlaps with **usability**: for what purpose is the data gathered. (Parkhurst 2017)? Finding out ‘what works’ is not enough, if the process that is being evaluated is not a priority, or not a field on which actions can be taken. As we saw in Chapter 4, evaluation in itself can participate in the power dynamics of communities, and the extent to which data is made accessible and useable is an important factor. The data needs to be shared in a transparent and actionable manner to empower communities and lead to action.

However, as we have seen in the Literature Review (Chapter 1) and the description of the three projects under study (Chapter 3), they take place in three different contexts, and the obstacles faced in implementing evaluation will be distinct. This phenomenon has already been observed in the discussion of existing monitoring, evaluation and learning strategy used in the three villages (Chapter 4). Therefore, important parameters to consider are **feasibility and accessibility**, which will also determine the extent to which evaluation can be undertaken in the first place.

To summarise and encompass these discussions, I have gathered some of these considerations into five key points, as seen in Table 6, which then guide my analysis in this chapter. The five criteria will enable me to assess whether the methods I have tested are fit for use across the three projects under study: are they reasoned, trustworthy, ethical and appropriate, useable, and feasible?

Table 6. Criteria for appropriate evaluation as used in this thesis, and their correspondence to cited academic discussions and professional standards. Source: Author's Synthesis.

Criteria for a 'good' evaluation	Lynn and Preskill (2016)	Johnson and Rasulova (2017)	Centre for Cultural Value Evaluation Principles (2021)	RELAC guidelines (Guzmán et al. 2021)
Reasoned	Quality of Thinking Engaging in deep analysis, focusing on patterns, seeking alternative explanations and interpretations, look for outliers.		Robust evaluation: open-minded, includes failures, reflexive and open to alternatives Robust evaluation: rigorous (research led, replicable methods)	Rigour. Approaches and methods fully explained and justified. In-depth understanding of the intervention. Relevant and agreed research questions.
Trustworthy	Credible and Legitimate Claims (trustworthiness): Credibility How can we be confident about the truth of our findings? Dependability: Would the study have similar results if repeated in a similar context? Transferability: Can the findings apply to other projects or groups of people? Confirmability: Findings stem from subjects and not from researchers and their biases (Lincoln and Guba 1985, criteria for rigour)			Rigour. Contextualised evaluation.
Ethical and appropriate	Cultural context and responsiveness - Questions reflect the stakeholders' values and context - Outcomes reflect their vision of success - Culturally appropriate data collection methods - Diverse stakeholders help interpret data	Authenticity: Changes generated within the participants and observers	People-centred evaluation: empathetic, focuses on what matters to people, incorporates different perspectives Connected evaluation: transparent, aware of the context, and shared	Ethics and legal principles Respect for people's rights, transparency, ethics and professional integrity, legality and autonomy Cultural understanding Cultural rights, equality and equity, reciprocity and interculturality

Useable	Quality and Value of the Learning Process - Engaging the people who need the information - In a way that allows reflection and dialogue - Contributes to decision making to improve processes and outcomes	Authenticity: Did the research prompt action?	Beneficial evaluation: Committed to learning and change, ethical	Relevance and usefulness Effective participation, mutually agreed purposes, relevant, appropriate and timely information, useful results, timely reporting, interest in consequences and impact
Feasible			Robust evaluation: proportionate. Tailored circumstances, open about limitations	Rigour: evaluability of the intervention

6.3. Methods

As the methodology chapter explains, a key aim of my fieldwork was to compare the efficacy and feasibility of several evaluation methods that my pilot study (Dupeyron 2021) had recommended as possible fits for evaluating the development impacts of archaeology and heritage projects in Peru and Ecuador.

To recapitulate, the techniques I tested operated as three strands. Rapid ethnographic methods included in-depth semi-structured interviews and participant observation rooted in immersion. They were inspired by the Reality Check method in Evaluation, pioneered by Dee Jupp (see Jupp et al. 2010). Short surveys were also conducted, which have been used in the context of archaeology and heritage projects to obtain rapid insights on participants' values and the benefits they have derived from heritage outreach projects (Boom 2018, Gürsu et al. 2020). I also carried out participatory workshops, which correspond to a response within development evaluation to address concerns about representativity and access, as highlighted in the Literature Review (Mayoux et al. 2005).

A subset of the interviews I conducted (17 of a total of 39 interviews) included questions gathering opinions rating the various data collection methods that I trialled. Participants mainly reflected on what they saw as the negative and positive aspects of the part of my methods in which they directly participated, which were interviews, focus

group discussions and workshops⁴⁷, and commented on these activities. Some of these conversations were informed by discussions on the nature of evaluation as performed (or not) in each of the case studies, as discussed in Chapter 4. The previous chapter (5) discusses the impacts outlined by these three data collection methods, which derive from the analysis of the results I have conducted and builds upon the analytical reports written about the impacts in each village (see Appendices VI, VII and VIII). In this chapter, I will go a step further and outline how different methods shine light on different aspects of these results, which feeds into the discussion about their appropriateness and rigour.

This is complemented by my own field notes regarding the process of collecting data using the three methods outlined above. These 118 manuscript pages outline my reflexive journey as I tested these methods in the field and discussed their constraints and applicability.

I use an analytical framework derived from Table 6 above and will describe how the methods I trialled fulfilled the five main criteria of rigour in the following section.

6.4. Results

In this section, I will assess the extent to which my experience of applying the three methods of rapid ethnography, surveys and participatory workshops in Miraflores, Agua Blanca and Cabana could fulfil the criteria of what makes a satisfactory evaluation, as outlined above. While there is overlap between the categories I have defined, I will focus on aspects of what makes an evaluation reasoned, trustworthy, ethical, usable, and accessible.

⁴⁷ Participants could not comment on the utility of the more ethnographic elements of my approach, such as participant observation and immersion as described in the Reality Check Approach. These techniques are indeed mainly reflexive.

6.4.1. Reasoned Evaluation

'Reasoned evaluation' refers to the methods' ability to investigate outliers, to make the logic behind how each project works explicit, to contextualise the findings, and to accurately reflect the complexity of the impacts measured and their entanglements.

The previous chapter highlighted the complexity of the impacts measured, as the causal processes that led to them depend on the interaction of the projects and their components with long-term structural causes such as national touristic trends, or environmental protection policies. There are many moving parts involved in each project, and those are more visible and understandable using rapid ethnographic methods: observation and casual conversations with villagers usually indicated the diverse areas of a community's life that were connected to heritage. In Agua Blanca, a man who had been involved in the archaeological project in the 1980s but had since left the community mentioned that it was important to be able to go through the steps of his life and work with the project, which was granted by the longer and more detailed interview process. When it comes to exploring the complexity of impacts and their entanglements, workshops can be illuminating, as they provide an opportunity for participants to explain how different aspects of the project are connected and make these connections explicit. This took place in Cabana, in which the participants' brainstorming led to the identification of themes such as cultural identity, economic development, culture, learning and education (Figure 22). A similar process happened in Agua Blanca, where the Most Significant Change workshop shed light on various impacts that participants considered particularly important over the last three decades, such as being able to return home, obtaining better education and opportunities, and reinforcing local identity (Figure 23). This exercise was particularly suited to Agua Blanca due to the longevity of the project and participants' ability to reflect on long-term changes. In Miraflores, the discussion taking place in the participatory workshop I organised was less rich, as only five people took part. Nevertheless, the workshop served to establish a connection between the preservation of cultural and natural heritage, work opportunities and livelihood, and quality of life in the village, similarly to what occurred in the other two communities.

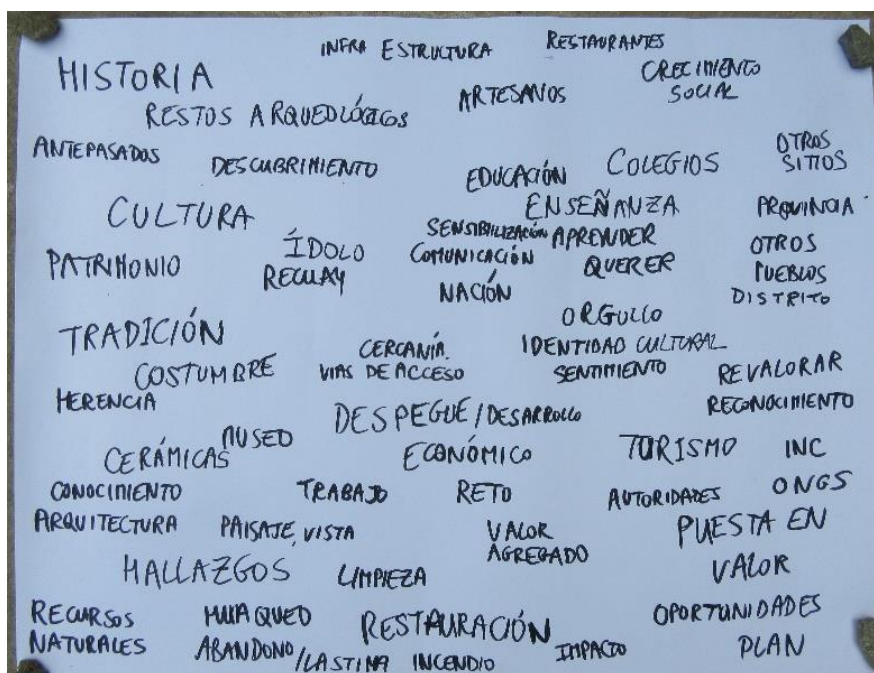


Figure 22. Exploring the different areas⁴⁸ of Cabana's life that are affected by the archaeological research conducted at Pashash, as mentioned by participants. Participatory workshop conducted on 11/09/2019. Photo: A. Dupeyron.

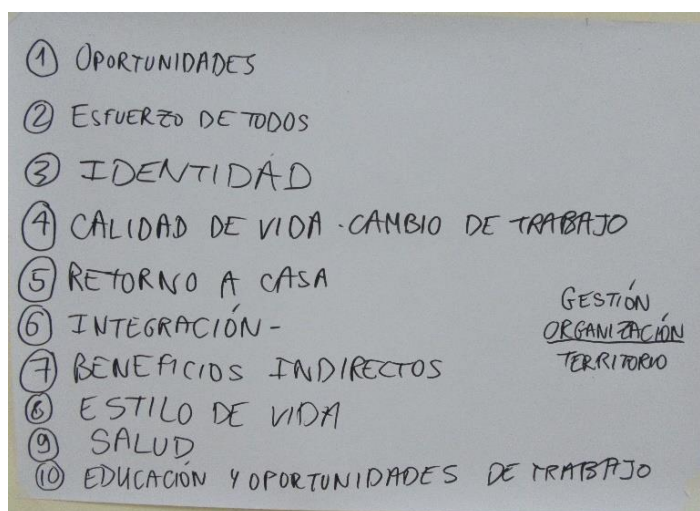


Figure 23. Summary of the 'stories'⁴⁹ narrated by participants in Agua Blanca's Most Significant Change Workshop, conducted on 10/02/2020. Photo: A. Dupeyron.

⁴⁸ These areas translate to the main following themes: history, ancestors, archaeological remains, discovery, heritage, Recuay idol, traditions, customs. Inheritance, museum. Knowledge, architecture, landscape, view, natural resources, looting, abandonment, restauration, economic development, added value, access roads, tourism, authorities, *puesta en valor*, opportunities, plan, recognition, other villages, pride, cultural identity, feeling nation, awareness. Education, teaching, love, communication, awareness.

⁴⁹ The participants told 10 stories focusing on the following "changes" identified as most significant: 1) Opportunities 2) Common effort 3) Identity 4) Quality of life/change of job 5) Returning home 6) Integration 7) Indirect benefits 8) Lifestyle 9) Health 10) Education and work opportunities. Overall, organisation, community management, and the territory itself were viewed as key aspects of success.

In my experience of conducting surveys in the three villages, as a method they did not provide a refined understanding of the causal processes underpinning change. However, they can provide a 'snapshot' insight into the point of view of the community at large, and the broader phenomena that characterise a community. In all three villages, I included a ranking exercise where people could express how important several aspects of the use of archaeology were to them. Unsurprisingly, in Agua Blanca, 88% of respondents prioritised its contribution towards tourism and their livelihood, but 66% also saw it as representing the history of their ancestors and 16% felt proud of it. Interestingly, tourism ranked quite high in Miraflores (77%), considering that it was not the focus of the projects that had taken place there thus far; 60% felt it was the history of their ancestors, and 23% felt pride. In Cabana 65% of the respondents valued Pashash mainly because of its potential for tourism, but 17% felt it represented the history of their ancestors, and 15% felt proud of it. Considering that in Cabana, many respondents were teachers with little attachment to the town, whereas most of the Miraflores grew up with the stories of their grandparents living in Huaquis, and the Agua Blancans grew up hearing guides narrating the tale of their Manteño ancestors to tourists, this is unsurprising. However, it was interesting to find out that only 44% of the Miraflores associated 'learning from ancient water, pastureland and agricultural techniques' as one of the core reasons they were interested in archaeology. This highlighted a causal 'gap' in the logic, which would assume a connection was made between the Escalando Abe Montaña project and cultural heritage. In fact, while this project was of paramount importance to them, people did not necessarily associate it with archaeology, until I probed them about the antiquity of sites like Yanacancha and Coriuna. While the survey only highlighted this phenomenon, and its prevalence in the population, the interviews enabled me to get a more nuanced understanding of what was happening.

Due to their propensity for gathering differing points of views into the unified framework of a spreadsheet, surveys were good at quickly revealing outliers. For example, in Cabana, 12 of the 123 survey respondents wrote about their fears of archaeologists taking away the artefacts uncovered at Pashash: under the cover of anonymity, they felt safer expressing that view than they would have in a personal interview. Several of the survey respondents who had this view came from the CETPRO (an institute where young women learn technical skills such as sewing), and because I distributed the survey around a table and explained the questions, we managed to have

a dialogue about the archaeological project, which most of them knew nothing about, and I encouraged them to visit the site and talk to the team working there. These women were not connected to the *patronato* and group of intellectuals backing the conservation and *puesta en valor* of Pashash, and their interest in the archaeological site was more casual. Yet, their fears about archaeology, and their lack of knowledge about what would happen to the artefacts highlighted a gap in the communication with the project. I had previously heard about these rumours that archaeologists would take the artefacts away⁵⁰, as they were mentioned by several interview respondents from the *patronato*; but the surveys shed light on what was more than a minority view in Cabana. In contrast, outlier opinions expressed during the interview process would not be as readily visible but would slowly be expressed when coding and analysing what was said in each interview. In workshops, dissenting opinions may also be expressed; however, this was not my experience in the three villages. I will explain this phenomenon further in the section about Trustworthy Evaluation, when discussing methods' abilities to represent multiple realities, and in the section about Ethical Evaluation, when considering power dynamics in the community.

Another significant criterion for assessing the robustness and quality of thinking of an evaluation method is its ability to capture the impacts that are less tangible, such as the identification stakeholders may feel with the archaeological site. With the surveys, I tried to assess areas of interest that could be associated with the site: tourism, education, entertainment, connection to history and identity. However, these categories were necessarily emic: even though they were informed by weeks of participant observation and informal conversations, they corresponded to my own understanding of these themes. The participatory workshop that took place encouraged participants to share their own priorities and values regarding Pashash, and the importance of building a dedicated site museum emerged as a priority for the process of enhancing the site for tourism. Notions that I had previously used in my own understanding of impacts, such as 'identity', were explicitly mentioned by participants at the workshop. A similar phenomenon happened in Agua Blanca's Most Significant Change workshop, where the

⁵⁰ To respect the protectionism of Cabanistas towards their artefacts, some of the remains that should have been studied and analysed in Lima, such as the metals, were analysed in situ.

stories participants shared highlighted themes that can be harder to quantify or describe, using the participants' own words.

In sum, the immersive, 'rapid ethnographic' methods and participatory methods rank highly in terms of making connections between the complex impacts of archaeological projects, contextualising these impacts, and enabling one to establish the logical connections underpinning them. Surveys are not as good at making these causal processes explicit, but due to their more standardised nature they can provide a rapid oversight of the diversity of participants and opinions within a project and across projects.

6.4.2. Trustworthy Evaluation

This section looks specifically at the criteria for trustworthiness as defined by Lincoln and Guba (1985), which assesses the extent to which the claims are legitimate and can be trusted (Lynn and Preskill 2016). As explained above, these criteria are credibility, dependability, transferability, and confirmability.

Credibility is the qualitative equivalent of focusing on the internal validity of the results (Johnson and Rasulova 2017, 266), which means having confidence in a method's ability to provide an accurate interpretation of the data (Whittemore et al. 2001, 530). The methods showed consistency, as they did not contradict each other across the villages, highlighting the strength of triangulation. However, they shed light on different aspects of each project. For instance, the changes in site conservation (especially in Agua Blanca) and environmental protection (especially in Miraflores) were a greater focus of specific interviews with stakeholders who could attest to this process, such as people who had worked in archaeology or participated in the IdM projects. The surveys enabled me to quantify the relative importance of certain activities conducted in each site, such as entertainment or ritual use.

The notion of credibility also stems from the ability to confidently represent different lived realities, and the points of views of a variety of groups. Workshops can have a homogenising aspect: in Miraflores, the workshop was open to all, but only five participants managed to attend. They were all men from the *comunidad campesina*, who usually spent time together. Unsurprisingly, they agreed with each other. There was a self-selection bias in this situation, as the people more likely to join are those already

familiar and comfortable with workshops. The nuance of differing point of views was drowned in the exercise. On the other hand, workshops can also enable villagers to confront each other's visions and priorities, as mentioned by an archaeologist associated with the Pashash project. The *puesta en valor* of the site, understood as a priority by shopkeepers and local authorities due to their repercussions for local tourism, was the main concern of the majority of attendees. However, after the explanations of the archaeologists and *patronato*, the creation of a new site museum and consolidation and dissemination of the existing collections emerged as the logical first step to reach that objective. Rapid ethnographic methods and surveys, in contrast, provided a safer space for participants to express their differing opinions. For instance, it is through the survey data collection process that I talked to people who were discontented with Agua Blanca's tourism project, as they felt that the initiative had left several groups behind (women, people from the outlying settlements), and they had strong views on how the project could be improved.

To assess the dependability of the methods, or their comparability, one has to consider whether they would have similar results if repeated in a similar context. For each of the methods I tried to stay within the parameters of a broad template, which I adapted slightly in each context (see Appendices VI, VII and VIII for the detailed description of interview schedules, workshop contents and surveys). For example, I discussed the questions of the survey with several key informants in each village, which led me to a few adaptations. In Agua Blanca, they asked me to add a question on what employment people would have, if not for their involvement with tourism. Nevertheless, the broad domains of investigation were the same, as covered by the coding table (see Appendix III). This enabled me to compare results across villages, and what this comparison tells us about the trajectories of 'archaeology for development' (as summarised in Chapter 5). Results can also hopefully be compared over time, although my plans to conduct a second field season and measure a shift in priorities and impacts over time were thwarted by the pandemic. The outcomes from the participatory workshop in Cabana were easily quantified thanks to the ranking exercise, which means they could be conducted again a few years from now.

Another important consideration is transferability, which is akin to the concept of generalisability: to what extent do the insights generated by one method in one village

enlighten what is happening in another context? Chapter 5 also attests to this, as it highlights the differences in the observed impacts, which stem from the difference between the projects themselves ([Section 5.3](#)). However, the lessons that we can learn from the evaluation can certainly be applied across projects. For example, the importance of the local community's strong involvement has been manifest in Agua Blanca⁵¹, and is certainly what is needed in Cabana for the *puesta en valor* to take place and to follow a touristic development strategy. The importance of local political support is something that the Cabana interviewees have mentioned, as they decried the lack of involvement of their own local authorities.

Confirmability focuses on the biases inherent in the research process, and the extent to which the findings have been mediated by the researcher. All three methods have a propensity to bias to some extent, and since all the activities were entirely voluntary there was a degree of self-selection. The people most likely to take part in surveys, workshops and interviews are the ones who will have interacted with me enough to trust me, and already have an interest in heritage or archaeology. In Cabana, my key informant from the Municipality and myself distributed the survey in the town's institutions to obtain more answers, but this also skewed the data in favour of more literate and educated participants, such as teachers. This is also one of the reasons why I opted for going door to door in Miraflores and Agua Blanca. Beyond these concerns tied to who gets to participate in the methods, they can themselves be influenced by the researcher's vantage point. The participant observation component of rapid ethnography can be limited: although it could shed light on aspects of people's lives, my observations were mediated by my experience. In Miraflores, particularly, it took longer to establish rapport with the community members as someone external to this region and foreign to Peru, and women in particular were shy in my presence. The interviews complemented the observations well, however, as they enabled participants to explain the processes underpinning the projects in their own words and following their logic.

This brief analysis of criteria for rigour has shown that beyond their own strengths and weaknesses, methods also interact with the specific contexts in which they are

⁵¹ See Chapter 3 ([Section 3.6](#)) for more details on Agua Blanca's context and Chapter 5 ([Section 5.3.3](#)) for the impacts of the project on social cohesion.

applied. For instance, I could not apply the surveys in the same manner in Cabana (distributed for self-completion) as in the other two villages (filling them in with people). This means that the survey I conducted in Cabana had more confirmability (respondents were less influenced by my reaction) but less credibility (there was a bias in favour of more literate villagers). The context in which the methods are applied also matters when it comes to devising ethical and contextually appropriate evaluation methods.

6.4.3. Ethical Evaluation

In this section, I will show the extent to which methods can reflect the stakeholders' values and what matters to them, and the extent to which they can be culturally sensitive. I will also reflect upon whether any of these methods are more sensitive to differences in power, or more or less vulnerable to co-option.

Although I attempted to adapt the questions of the surveys, interviews and workshops in consultation with key stakeholders prior to using these methods, they are not all as easily adapted to what matters to people locally. To achieve greater continuity between the three villages, the surveys comprised a majority of closed-ended questions, which are constricting. By design, rapid ethnographic techniques and semi-structured interviews lend themselves more to improvisation and responding to what informants are willing to discuss. Although I tried to steer the interviews towards the questions that helped me evaluate the projects, I did not interrupt participants who wanted to talk about archaeology more broadly, or the changes in the village they had witnessed in their lifetime. These rapid ethnographic methods are least invasive, as they naturally adapt to participants' time constraints, and are individually tailored. Workshops can also incorporate a degree of flexibility, but since they involve several participants and their schedules, they involve much greater negotiation in terms of the topics discussed and the time allocated to each participant.

I was also wary of the fact that surveys might not be culturally appropriate data collection methods: a staff member from the IdM mentioned that people in Miraflores mistrusted them as they are usually associated with government officials, who use demographic surveys to assess who might be eligible for state benefits. I struggled to collect enough responses in that village, and obtained 18 of the 48 surveys in Lima thanks to members of the Miraflores diaspora, who were in the city for the Christmas holidays.

One shopkeeper from Cabana mentioned that the survey was a dry exercise, and that some of the questions were redundant as they covered similar themes. That person found the workshop more entertaining as it generated dynamic discussions amongst the participants and was more creative. In this specific context, interviews were also more natural and informal: two women from Miraflores confirmed that they had enjoyed them more than the survey as they felt like they were having a conversation. The interviews can also follow naturally from casual conversations undertaken as part of immersion, which are a key component of the Reality Check method. As mentioned in the methodology, the mere fact that I stayed several weeks in each village enabled me to approach participants that I might not otherwise have met, like an older woman who had never been involved in the community tourism project in Agua Blanca. I also became closer friends with my host in Miraflores, and she took me to the site of Huamanchurco, an ancient burial ground near Huaquis, while telling me of her experiences of Huaquis throughout her life. The immersive methodology also made me more sensitive to the practical implications these projects had for people's livelihoods: discussing an artisan's work is very different from watching her prepare the next batch of jewellery around the kitchen table at night, with the help of her daughters.

Methods can also be a source of further marginalisation in terms of how evidence gets created and then has the potential of being used. Participatory methods have been lauded as an avenue towards more inclusive evaluation, and a way to democratise the creation and interpretation of data (Mayoux and Chambers 2005). In practice, I have found that due to their focus on group dynamics, they may be more affected by differences in power (related to age, education, gender, income and other parameters) and more vulnerable to co-option. For example, gender has long been identified as a key arena of inequality in the realm of participatory workshops (Mayoux 1995), and the ones I organised were no different, with women being a less vocal minority (See Appendix V for the description of workshop participants). Given who comes to the participatory workshops, and who feels able to speak, these exercises run the risk of replicating power imbalances in the community. A member of the Pashash project observing the workshop in Cabana told me that people with less access to education might have been too intimidated by the interventions of the Cabana intelligentsia to really express their views. Many of the *patronato* members are indeed wealthier diaspora members who live in Lima or Chimbote part of the year. This echoes the criticisms of participation (Cooke and

Kothari 2001) that are upheld by the proponents of more “immersive” evaluation techniques (Jupp et al. 2010).

These power disparities are also expressed in who is invited and who feels confident to attend such a participatory workshop. For the one held in Cabana, I personally distributed invitations to over 50 people. This involved going from house to house, enlisting the help of the woman I was staying with. She knew most people in the village from her position as a mother who was involved in the school community, local sports teams, but also through family relations in the agricultural community. However, despite her help, most of the people who came to the workshop were ‘the usual suspects’: teachers, members of the *patronato* and Municipality, and only two with an agricultural background. In Agua Blanca, the workshop participants were invited through the Agua Blanca community board, which means that all of them had been closely involved with the tourism project. The Most Significant Change (MSC) workshop was an interesting collection of stories over the four decades of work on the project, but it was only attended by participants who had been selected by the Agua Blanca board of directors, so the insights it generated were not necessarily richer than in other methods. This is a known limitation of MSC and other similar participatory methods, which are also influenced by political hierarchies within communities and differences in access to power (Aston et al. 2022, 50). I only found out about dissenting opinions regarding the project as I went from house to house for the surveys, and because I stayed for weeks and could engage in casual conversations with other members of the community.

Interview respondents have suggested ways to broaden participation. In Cabana, a member of the *patronato* mentioned that some activity could take place in the central plaza, attracting passers-by and encouraging them to fill in a survey. An archaeologist also recommended organising workshops in smaller groups gathering people from the same socio-economic background, so that people would feel safer and more comfortable expressing their opinion. I tried to invite people from a range of backgrounds, but unfortunately the attendees were mostly from the Cabana elite. This contact mentioned that I should have visited neighbourhoods further afield from the centre of Cabana and instigated some casual conversations instead of using a snowballing strategy starting with the people I already knew. In practice, this would not have been easy, as people might be wary of a complete stranger approaching them. However, both in Miraflores and

Cabana, one could take advantage of the local authorities to organise events. In Cabana, one of my key informants at the Municipality mentioned at the end of my stay that he should have invited members of the *comunidad campesina* for specialised workshops. In Miraflores, people told me that if I had been luckier with the timing of my stay, I might have been able to take advantage of a community assembly to invite and talk to a significant number of participants. In Agua Blanca, however, the workshops were entirely mediated by the local authorities, and the only way to obtain a more comprehensive understanding on how the project has affected people's lives was by triangulating the information obtained in the workshops with surveys, interviews and participant observation.

My presence as an external researcher interacting with the participants was also a disruption to the local community dynamics and affected the extent to which I could conduct an 'ethical' evaluation. I had the opportunity to discuss my thesis results with the IdM staff in 2022, and they were surprised by my views on participatory workshops as expressed above. They highlighted that their experience of using workshops had been overall fruitful and had allowed different segments of the community to be represented (see Chapter 4 for a greater discussion of the IdM's evaluation methods, [Section 4.3.2.3](#)). This confirms that the positionality of the researcher – in my case, a white, foreign woman, and still new to the communities in 2019 and 2020 – was also a significant component of the power relations at play, and affected the success of the methods I employed.

Another key aspect of this interaction between the researcher and the participants is *authenticity*, which Johnson and Rasulova (2017) describe as the changes prompted in people due to the research process. When asked what surprised them the most from my 2022 presentation, a *comunero* from Miraflores told me it was the fact that I came back, and he explained that when someone external to the village values it, it prompts reflection. Another person said that my evaluation had demonstrated how much people actually valued the ancient sites, and that surprised them, as well as the breadth of opinions expressed in the 2022 workshop. The fact that my evaluation helped some members of the community realise the importance of their heritage was also mentioned during the 2019-2020 interviews and workshops. These methods provided a space for discussing and reflecting on the process, unlike the surveys, and are more prone to establishing

communication, which goes some way towards mitigating the power imbalances I mentioned above.

Based on my experience, transparency and appropriate use of communication are an integral facet of ethical evaluation, but depend largely on how the results are disseminated and shared. In the 'feedback' field season that I undertook in 2022 (described in Chapter 2, [Section 2.6](#)), I focused on a brief presentation of my results in each community (10-15 minutes), followed by a much longer opportunity for people to share their opinions. In all three communities, attendance was high (20 in Miraflores, and about 30 in Agua Blanca and Cabana), and people expressed their eagerness at seeing the results: in Miraflores I even carried out additional presentations for a family who missed the initial one.

After the imbalances witnessed in 2019 and 2020, I resolved to ensure that participatory workshops in 2022 would be more representative of the diversity of voices within the community. Following the advice of an IdM facilitator who was present with me for the first 2022 workshop in Miraflores, I divided the participants of each community into three to five smaller and randomly selected groups. Each group had a specific question to focus on, rooted in my presentation, and I asked them to discuss amongst themselves before reporting back to the assembly. This had the effect of encouraging more people to talk, and the spokesperson of each group was not representing solely the views of the powerful members of the community. My purpose was also to disseminate results in a more horizontal manner, and comments from the attendants seemed to confirm that the format worked.

In summary, in the contexts that I experienced in 2019 and 2020, rapid ethnographic methods (participation, observation, conversation) are better fits for the ethical criteria. They fit around the constraints of each participant and enabled them to explain the impacts of a project in their own words and talking about the values with which they feel most aligned. Surveys were more constrained, and participatory methods took place in a public space where participants' views might not be as comfortably shared. However, this can be partially mitigated depending on the experience of the facilitator, as outlined by my 2022 experience.

6.4.4. Useable Evaluation

This section focuses on useability as the methods' ability to generate actionable evidence. Considering that the projects were slowed for several years due to the pandemic, it is informed mainly by participants' perceptions, as expressed through interviews. Here I will focus on the factors and specificities that will affect how people may respond to evaluation and implement changes in their community. I focus mostly on Agua Blanca and Cabana, as the IdM conducted many MEL (Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning) activities in Miraflores and their usability has already been discussed in Chapter 4.

One factor that affects whether results of an evaluation will be used is the degree of confidence that stakeholders place in the findings. Stakeholders have mentioned that surveys seemed more useable, but that is due to a bias in favour of quantitative methods, which appear more rigorous (Aston et al. 2022). The source of the data is also part of credibility, and external researchers are perceived as 'experts' in all three communities, which lends more credence to their reports. A member of the Agua Blanca board of directors mentioned that external researchers can perceive weaknesses in a more objective way, and over time Agua Blanca has placed significant trust in externally commissioned evaluations (more details about the current use of external evaluations in Agua Blanca can be found in Chapter 4, [Section 4.3.1.2](#)). A member of the *patronato* in Cabana expressed similar views, explaining that an external report would be taken more seriously. While the researcher is also not devoid of biases, this perception might be an obstacle to communities embracing internally led forms of evaluation and using the information they would generate themselves. Even though the projects already self-monitor informally (see Chapter 4, [Section 4.3.2.2](#)), this wariness could be an obstacle to them implementing more formal evaluation methods and believing in the results those would generate.

Evaluation is also useable if it can prompt participants to action (authenticity criterion). The museum director in Cabana and an archaeologist associated with the Pashash project suggested that the participatory workshops had another function beyond data collection: it enabled several members of the community to learn more about the project, and each other's priorities. Therefore, it promoted reflexivity both at the individual and group levels, and prompted community members to action, especially

members of the *patronato*. Indeed, the workshop captured data on the notion of local identity, and support for the creation of a new museum and efforts towards the *puesta en valor* process. This data reinforced the commitment of the *patronato*. A staff member from the Municipality of Cabana mentioned that he was also inspired and interested in conducting similar participatory workshops in the future where the views of the community could be directly expressed and compared. Interviews can also foster action, as they provide a reflexive space to articulate one's ideas about the project. The spa workers in Agua Blanca, and members of the *patronato* in Cabana mentioned that they enjoyed the questions about their vision for the future, as it prompted them to think about the steps they might need to achieve their objectives, as well as the expectations they have regarding the *puesta en valor* process. Surveys might appear less prone to generate changes within the participants, as their opinions are guided by the closed-ended questions.

The 2022 field season was also an opportunity to assess the useability of evaluation results, as I could directly ask participants how my analysis would help them in the future. This applied to my analysis as a whole and was not disaggregated by method, but it is worth mentioning that SERNANP thought the results from surveys would be easier to act upon as there an institutional bias in favour of numbers. The 2022 workshops provided a space to reflect on the future uses of my evaluation. In Miraflores and Cabana, the respondents expressed the importance of having written data they could share with the local authorities to prompt change. In Agua Blanca, the results were viewed as the basis to recommend a greater focus on heritage education for local children and highlighted the need for a concrete development plan.

To summarise, rapid ethnographic methods and participatory workshops ranked highly in terms of authenticity, as they promote reflexion and encouraged participants to think about their next steps towards heritage protection and touristic enhancement. However, surveys are perceived to be more rigorous, which means that their results are more likely to lead to practical changes.

6.4.5. Feasible Evaluation

Feasibility hinges on the accessibility and technical ease of use of the methods, the time they require to prepare, implement, and analyse, and the additional resources they

involve in terms of staff or budget. In this section, I will focus on how accessible the methods I tested were, as well as the main practical and analytical obstacles to their use. Due to my focus on methods that only required physical presence in the village and paper, budget was not a concern, although it is of course connected to time when staff are hired specifically to carry out evaluation exercises.

In all three villages, time was a scarce resource. The people of Miraflores were engaged in the sowing season during my stay, which involved walking to the potato fields at dawn and monitoring their herds in the afternoon. Finding time for workshops and interviews was understandably low on their list of priorities. However, they were eager to allow me into their daily activities, and the 'rapid ethnography' or 'immersion' method did not require them to give me additional time (Figure 24). Even though I explained that I was doing '*observación participante*' (participant observation) many of the people I interacted with thought it was similar to '*turismo vivencial*' (community-based, experiential tourism). This form of tourism is one of their aspirations for Miraflores's touristic development and involves taking part in the daily activities of community members. This analogy was not made in Cabana or Agua Blanca, but in all three villages the method was easily implemented, and participants welcomed me into their day-to-day lives. This was facilitated by the families I stayed with, and in Agua Blanca in particular, the fact that the community board made me go through the rotation system and change host families every week enabled me to gain insight into a greater variety of families and ways of life.



Figure 24. Participant observation: participating in a potato planting activity organised by SERNANP in Miraflores. Photo: A. Dupeyron.

Cabana's museum director perceived surveys as the most practical method, as people can fill them in and answer in their own time, whenever is convenient. However, a member of the municipality who assisted me with the distribution of surveys across several institutions in town thought that surveys entailed a lot of preparation. He acted as a gatekeeper helping me get into several institutions to distribute the surveys and handed them out in the Municipality. Since respondents needed to be periodically reminded to fill them in, and could forget, he felt he had to chase to get the filled forms. Due to his feedback, and the fact that Agua Blanca and Miraflores were much smaller villages with fewer institutions, I opted for a different approach there and went door to door. The direct result of this was that it became faster and more efficient to read out the questions to participants and record their answers, instead of having them fill out their own sheets. Several participants appreciated how short my survey was, and most of the time it took less than 10 minutes to fill a survey. A negative of this was that more time was required, and in Miraflores, in particular, I struggled to find survey participants as people were rarely at home. In 2022, a workshop participant told me that he felt I had not taken the time to interview him in 2019, and that my survey was not representative. However, I then found out he lived primarily in Lima and had been absent during the

whole period of my fieldwork. Representativity and time scarcity, as well as people's availability, are intrinsically linked.

However, time scarcity is also directly related to the perceived importance of these evaluation methods to help implement the project and is not necessarily an obstacle when considering whether a method is appropriate. Chambers (2015, 330) has highlighted the difference between consultants for a Bangladesh social movement, who thought that the criteria for assessing empowerment should be limited to half a dozen whereas the local member groups came up with 132. He defended the length of the exercise because of how beneficial it was to the participants' thinking and actions. A similar dichotomy can be observed in Miraflores, where people routinely find time to engage with the participatory workshops offered by the Instituto de Montaña, but struggled to find time to engage in the activities I offered. The IdM has spent years building trust and showing the benefits of participation. As a newcomer and foreigner, it was much harder for me to convince them of the importance of joining in activities, and I also wanted to be honest about the fact that they would not have immediate benefits for them.

Feasibility also depends on the stage the project finds itself: while the Agua Blanca community tourism project has decades of experience, the projects implemented by the IdM in Miraflores are less than 10 years old, and the efforts towards the *puesta en valor* of Pashash are at an incipient stage. Here I want to contrast the practicalities of organising a workshop in villages with a history of doing project-related activities together, and two in which these happen on a more ad hoc basis. As explained above, a gatekeeper and I issued over 50 invitations to the people of Cabana, but only 18 could come, and those who attended were slightly frustrated by the fact that over half of the participants arrived late. Anthropologists from the IdM told me about their initial struggles in gathering participants for workshops in Miraflores. This echoed my frustrations as nobody attended the first workshop I tried to organise, despite having been advertised by the president of the community on speakerphone, and the staff of the IdM, and my own efforts to mention it to the people whose paths I crossed in the few days preceding the workshop. A few days later, I had another opportunity, but only five men came, and mainly because they happened to visit the community office to talk to the president, which is where the meeting took place. This is not always characteristic of workshops carried out by the IdM

in Miraflores, however, as they are normally better attended. Although workshop fatigue may have played a part in the poor attendance, it cannot be the main explanation. Indeed, the IdM reported that attendance went up as they grew more familiar with the community, which prides itself on its organisation and ability to gather people. The villagers told me afterwards that December is a busy time for them, and they are less eager to take on extra commitments. Compared to Cabana and Miraflores, in Agua Blanca, workshops were far easier to convene, due to the strong internal organisation of the community. A project with decades of experience in liaising with researchers, NGOs and other institutions to obtain funding, will be more used to organising workshops and rapidly gathering sub sections of the community. Upon my arrival, the steering committee were a clear contact point, and when I mentioned my interest in organising workshops they immediately explained how to proceed. I arranged times and dates with the secretary of the Agua Blanca committee, who issued invitations to members of community who belonged to a variety of WhatsApp groups. They also expressed interest in a workshop focusing on the evolution of gender dynamics through time, which I carried out. The workshops were well attended, except for the one which was supposed to investigate the values associated with the archaeological site from the point of view of younger members of the community. This was because it took place on a Sunday morning, and drilling work took place outside the community hall, which might have deterred participants. All other workshops in Agua Blanca, Cabana and Miraflores took place in the evenings, after people could return home from work.

The interpretation and presentation of the results is also an important factor to consider when weighing up accessibility and feasibility. Interviews may be easier to carry out, but their analysis requires transcription, and careful sifting. While the detail of information obtained is much greater, such a technique does not afford the ease of use required in most cases (although as we have seen in Chapter 4, [Section 4.3.2.3.1](#), it is a technique used sometimes by the IdM when they establish a baseline). In contrast, surveys are relatively easy to turn into analysable data, but require Excel skills to turn into meaningful analysis. These technical skills might be an obstacle to using survey methods regularly in the villages. One respondent in Agua Blanca, who had previously left the village and obtained a degree, mentioned that surveys collected through phones (using digital forms such as Kobo Toolbox) would facilitate their interpretation, but that there would be significant resistance to the uptake of digital technologies because of the

community's reluctance to train and learn how to use their existing computer equipment to analyse the results. Training would be a way around this issue, but only if the users themselves are convinced of the benefits of collecting and analysing data in such a systematic way. This would be a significant departure from the more ad hoc informal evaluation methods currently in use in the villages (see Chapter 4, [Section 4.3.2.2](#)) and would require a paradigm shift.

In sum, several steps would need to be taken to make the evaluation methods I trialled more accessible to small-scale community-based organisations. While immersive techniques are time-efficient for the participants, they are not from the point of view of the researcher, as they require one to spend several weeks in a village or city to really understand the context. However, that doesn't make them entirely inaccessible: the IdM already has a system of monitoring based on informal observations and reports (see Chapter 4, [Section 4.3.2.3.1](#) for a full description). As far as projects self-reporting and monitoring, surveys are perhaps the technique most suited to the time constraints of rural Andean life; but they would require technical training and would need to be carried out as anonymously as possible.

6.5. Summary by method and by context

These methods are of course complementary, and together they provided the 'eclectic methodological pluralism' and triangulation that Chambers advocated for when discussing rigorous ways of representing complexity (Chambers 2015, 328). To follow a *bricolage* approach and combine the strongest parts of different methods, it is fundamental to understand how these methods add value to the evaluation process. This chapter has highlighted a range of trade-offs involved when attempting to implement evaluation methods in the context of small-scale 'archaeology for development' in the Andes. The results have shown trade-offs between rigour, relevance and resource constraints, which I will summarise here.

The following table (Table 7) summarises some of the results that enable us to discuss the extent to which each method is suited to each context. However, I want to emphasize that this is not necessarily a reflection of the methods themselves, but how I

used them in the specific cases of these three projects, and the lessons I have learned from this use.

Table 7. Simplified summary of the results discussed in this chapter. Have the methods tested proved adequate in the three villages according to the criteria highlighted above. CAB= Cabana, MIR = Miraflores, AB= Agua Blanca. The colour scheme I use is the following: dark green, mostly fit for purpose; and light green, fit for purpose but with significant limits.

	Rapid ethnography			Participatory workshops			Tailored surveys		
	CAB	MIR	AB	CAB	MIR	AB	CAB	MIR	AB
Reasoned	Dark Green	Dark Green	Dark Green	Dark Green	Dark Green	Dark Green	Dark Green	Dark Green	Dark Green
Trustworthy	Dark Green	Dark Green	Dark Green	Dark Green	Light Green	Light Green	Dark Green	Dark Green	Dark Green
Ethical	Dark Green	Dark Green	Dark Green	Light Green	Light Green	Light Green	Light Green	Light Green	Dark Green
Useable	Dark Green	Dark Green	Dark Green	Dark Green	Light Green	Light Green	Dark Green	Dark Green	Dark Green
Feasible	Light Green	Light Green	Light Green	Dark Green	Light Green	Dark Green	Light Green	Light Green	Dark Green

6.5.1. Strengths and weaknesses of each method, across all three villages

Table 7 summarises the results described above and enables us to look at each method and how it worked overall. This section answers the following research question by focusing on the contexts in which methods were used: **What are the practical limits of implementing evaluation methods, and how do they play out with local power dynamics?**

Rapid ethnographic methods (in-depth, semi-structured interviews and immersion) worked similarly well in all three villages, as they were an intuitive way to interact with people. For that reason, I rated them well in terms of ethics, as they enabled me to approach people naturally and understand the projects' impacts on their own terms. While their implementation was easy and can be compared to the informal 'observations' that local investigators collect in Miraflores in association with the IdM, rapid ethnographic methods require a significant amount of time to analyse, which is why they ranked lower in feasibility. These methods also enabled me to cover a variety of points of views and understand the logic behind each project, even though the results are

also less easily comparable than those granted by surveys, which are more standardised and do not require lengthy transcription and analysis.

Surveys can provide useful snapshots of what subgroups within the community think at a particular moment in time: they ranked high in reasoning and trustworthiness. However, in Cabana and Miraflores the samples were biased: in Cabana, it was heavily geared towards members of educational institutions, and in Miraflores I had to recruit participants from the diaspora in Lima. For that reason, I deemed them limited in terms of feasibility and ethics. Cabana was the first village in which I stayed: were I to conduct this research again, I would attempt to capture a more representative sample by going door to door and writing down people's answers as I did in Miraflores and Agua Blanca. Surveys are perceived as rigorous by participants in all three villages, which is why they rank highly in usability.

Participatory workshops are easier to implement and analyse, as they can take place as a one-off event, but they do require significant planning. We have seen that communities with established structures are more likely to have the capacity to organise workshops. They were much feasible in Agua Blanca, where the board of directors of the community helped recruit participants. The Miraflores workshop did not work as well as I had hoped, due to the low level of participation: it was biased to reflect only the views of men who had previously worked with the IdM, who mainly agreed with each other. To increase feasibility and attendance, participatory workshops can also be integrated into the regular assemblies that communities such as Miraflores or Agua Blanca hold. In a bigger settlement such as Cabana, the local authorities (Municipality) can take on the responsibility to organise such workshops, but they will need to reach out to a variety of different groups (agricultural communities, teachers, shopkeepers, among other stakeholders) to ensure the adequate representation of diversified voices and points of view. Besides, the mistrust in the authorities, seen in Cabana, can play a part against the easy implementation of such workshops. Perhaps they can be a way to foster this trust by giving more agency to the various groups making up the community. Overall, workshops seemed to run the risk of amplifying the voices of those who already hold power, which is why they scored as limited in ethics and trustworthiness. However, in Cabana the workshop seemed to foster a dynamic discussion and encourage the participants to take action in favour of preserving Pashash, so I rated them more highly in this village.

6.5.2. Most suited method or combination of methods in each context

This section builds upon the analysis above, based on my observations in the field, to discuss what methods worked best in each context. This summary answers the following research question: **What evaluation methods work better in what contexts, and what factors influence their appropriateness?** Here, I will show what elements of different methods complement each other well, following the *bricolage* approach.

In **Cabana**, a town with high hopes regarding *puesta en valor* and an incipient research project, the workshop seemed to me the most fruitful evaluation exercise, even though inviting participants was challenging. This turned into the workshop's main limitation, as it was not as representative of Cabana's variety of views. However, it was a rapid and efficient way to encapsulate several groups' concerns at this early stage of the project's development, provided a space for discussion and prompted participants into action. Despite their biases as noted earlier, surveys were easily implemented, and together with the rapid ethnographic methods they complemented the workshop well.

In **Miraflores**, a village in which participants are mainly engaged with agropastoral activities and have very little time, the more informal nature of rapid ethnographic methods made them more adequate. These methods also enabled me to break the ice in a context in which participants were wary of surveys, and where participation to my workshop was limited due to time constraints. However, it is important to note that my experience differed considerably from that of the IdM's staff, who have successfully implemented surveys and workshops in the past. Their experience, positionality, and availability over several years doubtlessly helped them create a strong rapport with the community, that I could not reach in seven weeks. Some of my activities might also have appeared redundant to a village which had already undertaken several similar ones with the IdM and could have suffered from evaluation fatigue.

In **Agua Blanca**, a community with decades' worth of protecting and enhancing the site for tourism, workshops were easy to organise but only seemed to replicate the mainstream views without much nuance. In this village, surveys worked very well as people were used to tourists and therefore comfortable answering questions from a relative stranger. The surveys enabled me to get a better understanding of diverse opinions within the village, which were complemented by the fact I stayed with several

families and got to know people that were not as involved with the community tourism project. Agua Blanca was a village in which evaluation methods were easier to implement, due to people's ease with those after decades of welcoming external researchers. Triangulation was a necessity however, to obtain information that went beyond the established narrative as told by the main power holders in the community.

6.6. Conclusion

As mentioned previously, methodological plurality is what yields the 'best' evidence, but depending on the situation, some methods will be more adapted than others. No method will single-handedly fulfil all criteria and be completely reasoned, trustworthy, ethical, usable and feasible. However, with the right combination of methods and following a *bricolage* approach, it is possible to obtain evaluation results (see Chapter 5) while following principles of rigour and within a participatory ethos that recognises multiple voices and points of view (Chapter 6). The fact that the most appropriate combination of methods differed in each context also highlights the importance of flexibility in the selection and use of methods. The chapter has also highlighted the limits to the inclusivity of methods usually regarded as the most bottom-up and participatory. This reinforces the importance of considering the ways in which evaluation plays into power dynamics, as explained in this thesis's conceptual framework.

The next chapter will conclude this thesis by pulling together the insights about rigour and practical implementation as derived from this chapter, and the insights about complexity and evaluation from the preceding two, to make recommendations for policy and further research.

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION

The previous three chapters have gathered and analysed empirical data to answer this thesis's three research questions. This concluding chapter brings together the strands examined in the empirical chapters to propose some key principles on how to evaluate projects using archaeology for development in the Andes. After summarising the content and outlining the contributions of this thesis, this chapter will also reflect on the limitations I experienced, and make recommendations for future research.

The aim of this study was to explore the effectiveness of evaluation methods in a range of contexts in which archaeology and development converge in the Andes, specifically using examples from Peru and Ecuador.

In summary, this PhD has shown that by using a *bricolage* approach combining several evaluation methods (rapid ethnography, bespoke surveys and participatory workshops), it is feasible to evaluate the complex, and significant impacts that archaeological projects have on the development of communities. These evaluations can highlight key trajectories and areas for reflexivity and improvement, and are sorely needed in the heritage sector, where few guidelines exist and evaluative activities are not routinely conducted. As highlighted in the literature review, culture is a growing vector of development, and millions are being spent on projects with poor MEL, and inadequate mechanisms to ensure they respond to the needs of their beneficiaries. This PhD is one of the few existing attempts (as of 2022) to test the feasibility and rigour of evaluation methods to understand the development impacts of archaeology.

My thesis has addressed three complementary and interconnected components articulated in the research questions. The first component is the monitoring, evaluation and learning mechanisms available to the three communities; the second is the types of development impacts that can occur through these projects; and the third is the strengths and weaknesses of evaluation methods in capturing these. In the following section, I will summarise the contribution of each chapter in sequential order and outline how the thesis has answered each of the research questions.

7.1. Summary of findings by chapter and research questions

Chapter 1 operated as an introduction to the thesis, a literature review, and a conceptual framework before explaining the structure of the thesis. Chapter 1 opened by examining the untapped potential of archaeology and heritage in providing significant benefits to local communities in terms of development impacts (social, economic and environmental). It illustrated these concepts with examples from public archaeology, historical ecology and heritage research in South America and beyond ([Section 1.2.1](#)). These examples have in common the ability to show the variety of tangible ways in which the past could contribute to lives in the present, and I characterised them as ‘archaeology for development’ projects. The chapter also highlighted the limits of accountability mechanisms, or evaluation processes in the heritage and archaeology sector, which are usually not carried out, or only in a superficial way ([Section 1.2.4](#)). Evaluation would enable projects to learn from mistakes and improve, but also demonstrate their impacts to communities, donors and other stakeholders. The chapter then turned to a different strand of academic literature from development evaluation to develop a conceptual framework focusing on the political nature of evaluation, and the role it plays in the negotiation of relations at the scale of a community and beyond ([Section 1.3](#)). In particular, I focused on small-n evaluation methods as a potential fit for small scale heritage projects with significant time, data and budget constraints.

The combination of insights from the public archaeology, heritage, historical ecology, and development evaluation literature set the stage for the work carried out throughout the thesis. It enabled me to articulate a gap: **if archaeology and heritage projects can contribute to development, but lack mechanisms that enable to reflect upon their achievements and shortcomings, how can development evaluation help them rigorously assess their work while recognising their place in the local (political) context?** Based on that gap, Chapter 1 proceeded to describe the research questions, addressed in each of the empirical chapters (4, 5 and 6) and outlined the structure of the thesis ([Section 1.4](#)). For the sake of clarity, I will reiterate the research questions when summarising the relevant chapters.

Following the research gap outlined by Chapter 1, **Chapter 2** proceeded to explain my strategy to explore and address this gap ([Section 2.1](#)). My methodology was based on

a qualitative case study approach, and relied heavily on in-person fieldwork conducted in three villages where projects representative of ‘archaeology for development’ took place. The three projects are described in the summary of Chapter 3 below. I needed to understand the context in which archaeology for development projects operated, the range of Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning (MEL) strategies they had access to, the range of impacts that could conceivably be evaluated, as well as the feasibility of various evaluation methods. Therefore, my methodology was based on collecting data on existing evaluation methods, as well as on testing evaluation methods in the field to evaluate impacts and reflect on the suitability and rigour of these methods. This process was iterative, as my exposure to the realities of the villages made me adapt in my data collection methods. The process was also participatory and action-oriented, as collaborating with local stakeholders helped me refine my data collection methods and ensure they would look specifically at areas of interest to the local community. The chapter also discussed the challenges inherent to my fieldwork, both practical (trying to conduct evaluation as a team of one in a global pandemic) and ethical (my positionality and how it affected access, as well as specific issues that emerged during fieldwork) in [Section 2.3](#).

Chapter 2 also described the evaluation methods I tested ([Section 2.4](#)). During a pilot study I conducted in 2018 with the Sustainable Preservation Initiative project in Peru (Dupeyron 2021), I identified methods that seemed particularly promising for evaluating ‘archaeology for development’ projects. These included rapid ethnography inspired by the Reality Check Approach (Jupp 2021), participatory workshops inspired by the Tiny Tools (Causemann et al. 2012) and bespoke surveys which are one of the most common type of evaluation in the heritage sector (Apaydin 2016, Boom 2018, Guilfoyle and Hogg 2015, Lewis 2014, Gürsu et al. 2020). Using a *bricolage* approach (Quinn Patton 2014), I tested and combined these methods. The combination of evaluation methods is becoming increasingly common in the evaluation field (Aston and Apgar 2022) as a way of better grasping the real complexity of the assessed reality. The interviews I conducted as part of the rapid ethnography taking part over 6-7 weeks in each village also gave me information on current MEL approaches, and provided participants with the opportunity to reflect and rate the different methods they had witnessed.

To answer the research questions based on data from the interviews, survey results and participatory workshop results, I performed a thematic analysis of these sources ([Section 2.5](#)). My analysis enabled me to draft an evaluation report in Spanish for each village (see Appendices). In 2022, I had the opportunity to share these results with the three communities and obtain their feedback, a process I also describe in Chapter 2.

Once I had established the methodology employed to collect and analyse data for this thesis, **Chapter 3** provided the context necessary to understand the analysis focused on describing the historical and social trajectories that underpinned the use of archaeological remains from the past to improve the lives of communities in the Andes ([Section 3.2](#)). It highlighted three types of characteristic projects, and described one example in each category, which are the case studies of the thesis. Thus, the **Rise of Divine Lordships project in Cabana**, Peru, represents an academic archaeological research project which collaborated with the local steering committee (*patronato*) to deliver a community outreach programme to the schools, and bolstered the town's appetite for the conservation and touristic enhancement (*puesta en valor*) of the site of Pashash ([Section 3.4](#)). It is representative of a modern research project with a community outreach component.

The village of **Miraflores**, situated in the Nor Yauyos-Cochas Landscape Reserve of Peru, was the venue of an attempt to learn from the past to rehabilitate ancient water management systems ([Section 3.5](#)). The project, known as 'Eba Montaña' as well as its expansion 'Escalando Abe Montaña', was spearheaded by the NGO Instituto de Montaña and implemented in partnership with the state service in charge of protected natural areas, SERNANP and the local community, formally recognised as a *comunidad campesina*. The project has contributed to improving the condition of pasture as well as the availability of drinking water, with ramifications for the quality of life of the village's inhabitants, and is representative of a modern historical ecology project.

In the village of **Agua Blanca (Manabí, Ecuador)**, a **community tourism project** emerged in the 1990s after an excavation project spearheaded by Colin McEwan and Maria Isabel Silva ([Section 3.6](#)). The village is example of an Integrated Conservation and Development project (Burtenshaw 2013) where archaeology became the impetus for locally managed, sustainable tourism, which provided this village with alternative livelihood strategies.

These three examples represent the scope of ‘archaeology for development,’ and while they focus on different priorities of the development pillars (social, environmental or economic), they share enough commonalities that I could compare them through the PhD. All three villages face the challenges besetting small rural communities in the Andes: resisting migration to the city, implementing forms of autonomous governance, building a shared (indigenous) identity through archaeology, and the willingness to use their heritage to create sustainable livelihood alternatives.

Chapters 1, 2 and 3 therefore set the stage for the following three chapters to carry out the analysis of empirical evidence emerging from the comparison of the three case studies, and answer the research questions.

Building on the comparability of these three villages and the description of their contexts and major stakeholders, **Chapter 4** then turned to the empirical analysis of their current monitoring, evaluation and learning strategies. It focused on answering Research Questions 1 and 2, a cluster of questions focusing on existing strategies for evaluation, and the role they play in communities’ power dynamics:

What is the perceived need for evaluation in archaeology for development projects in the Andes, and what current strategies exist to provide the reflexivity needed to improve projects in the long term? What tensions do these evaluation strategies generate, between the practical difficulties in their implementation, and the power dynamics at play among the involved stakeholders?

Research Question 1. *What is the perceived need for evaluation in archaeology for development projects in the Andes?*

[Section 4.3.1](#) of Chapter 4 outlined participants’ perception of the importance of evaluation according to their need, its use in the three villages, and gives examples of unexpected outcomes that were highlighted thanks to evaluative activities. It showed that in all three villages, stakeholders recognised the importance of collecting information in a more systematic way, and expressed a need for such information, primarily to be able to improve their project activities.

Research Question 2. *What current strategies exist to provide the reflexivity needed to improve projects in the long term?*

[Section 4.3.2](#) gave an overview of existing evaluative strategies in the three contexts: monitoring, evaluation and learning/*sistematización* activities, and how they promote reflexivity. The main insight of Chapter 4 was that these strategies, and the difference in quality and availability of MEL data across projects was directly linked to the types of stakeholders involved and their disciplinary lineage. Due to the involvement of the Instituto de Montaña (IdM), a development NGO, the Abe Montaña and Escalando Abe Montaña projects were accompanied with thorough monitoring over time, as well as periodic evaluation and learning mechanisms. These were integrated to the community's ad hoc monitoring of changes, and reflexivity took place in the IdM's regular participatory workshops and action learning processes. In contrast to that, the other two projects emerged from involvement with archaeological research, where MEL is not usually commonplace, and was not instigated in the projects from the beginning. With the exception of limited monitoring, no comprehensive data collection was taking place in Cabana. The use of Pashash to foster initiatives in the community happened in a more ad hoc and informal manner and coordinated by the heritage steering group (*patronato*) which does not have MEL training. Finally, in Agua Blanca, several external researchers have carried out evaluations, however, reflexivity within the project is mostly happening on an informal basis at the scale of the Community Assembly.

Research Question 3. *What tensions do these evaluation strategies generate, between the practical difficulties in their implementation, and the power dynamics at play among the involved stakeholders?*

[Section 4.3.3](#) highlighted practical constraints ([4.3.3.1](#)), as well as political and social ones tied to local power dynamics ([4.3.3.2](#)). The MEL processes at play in Miraflores are time-consuming and require trained facilitators: they might not be feasible in the context of Agua Blanca and Cabana. The strategies used for MEL data collection and analysis were also linked to the use of this information based on local power dynamics. For information to be useable, it also needs to be accepted by the relevant authorities, and participatory monitoring tools are not always seen as credible by state institutions, as mentioned by the IdM. The informality of the learning process in Agua Blanca, coupled with the lack of a formal development plan, means that the agenda of future planning can be steered depending on the composition of the *cabildo* and their current interests. In Cabana, research participants have decried the apathy of local authorities, who are

perceived as having failed to encourage a rigorous process of heritage protection and touristic use. The lack of MEL data and planning is a direct reflection of the fact that only passionate individuals, but no specific institutions, advocate for the *puesta en valor* process to take place in Pashash.

In summary, Chapter 4 focused on the concept of evaluation itself and how it was understood and carried out in the three villages under study. The chapter showed the differential access to MEL, and its consequences for learning and participation. It supported the initial premise of Chapter 1, which sought to establish that there was a gap in evaluation in the cultural heritage sector, and that much could be learned from development evaluation of the type carried out, for example, by the IdM in Miraflores.

Chapter 5 turned to the impacts of ‘archaeology for development’ that could be measured in the three villages, and its main theoretical concept was that of complexity. It showcased the three projects’ complex and interrelated social, economic and environmental impacts. The complex nature of these impacts had implications for the type of methods that could be suitable for evaluating them, which was addressed in detail in Chapter 6. Chapter 5 focused on the second group of research questions focusing on the impacts observed in all three contexts, and comparing their trajectories:

Through the development evaluation methods tested, what insights do we obtain on the complex socio-cultural, environmental and economic impacts archaeological projects may have on development? How comparable are the trajectories of development experienced by each village, and does the category of ‘archaeology for development’ make sense analytically to frame impacts?

To answer this group of questions, the chapter highlighted the various dynamics and processes at work in three Andean communities endowed with archaeological resources. Chapter 5 also established the comparability and commensurability of these impacts, which was an important prelude to Chapter 6 testing the same methods in three different contexts.

Research Question 4. *Through the development evaluation methods tested, what insights do we obtain on the complex socio-cultural, environmental and economic impacts archaeological projects may have on development?*

By analysing impacts through the lens of complexity ([Section 5.3](#)), Chapter 5 obtained two insights on the impacts that archaeological projects may have on development ([Section 5.4.1](#)): they are following complex causal pathways where attribution is difficult to establish, and the context was paramount in explaining successes and failures. Firstly, the processes of causality explaining why a certain impact has been achieved cannot be easily disentangled (Bamberger, Vaessen and Raimondo 2016, 16). For instance, the recognition of Agua Blanca's indigenous status as *Pueblo Manta* was facilitated by the archaeological research of their Manteño past and the strengthening of community ties through their establishment community-based tourism. However, these processes cannot be disentangled from Agua Blanca's initial struggle against the Machalilla National Park, as well as wider socio-political processes at play in Ecuador at the time. Secondly, complexity was manifest in the fact that the impacts were embedded within a system (Bamberger, Vaessen and Raimondo 2016, 17), which determined their relative success. Take into consideration, for example, the fact that the IdM carried out similar AbE projects in Miraflores and the neighbouring community of Canchayllo, but the former had more far-ranging impacts due to Miraflores' s strong internal cohesion and organisation. Similarly, the process of *puesta en valor* in Pashash was stalled several times due to the Covid-19 pandemic and the political crisis in Peru, regardless of the appetite and efforts of the Cabana *patronato*.

Research Question 5. *How comparable are the trajectories of development experienced by each village?*

Chapter 5 has also shown that the trajectories of development experienced by each village are comparable. While the projects have a stronger focus on outreach, climate change adaptation or tourism enhancement, all three villages underwent changes in the social, economic and environmental sphere. The witnessed impacts encapsulated some of the major issues in the field of archaeology and heritage, such as the possibility of using archaeological sites as resources for pro-poor tourism, the role of heritage for education and people's self-definition, and the lessons we may learn from the past regarding appropriate forms of agriculture and irrigation.

Research Question 6. *Does the category of ‘archaeology for development’ make sense analytically to frame impacts?*

Based on the answer to Question 5 above, Chapter 5 lends credence to the use of the category ‘archaeology for development’, which is broader than concepts such as public archaeology, archaeological outreach, community archaeology, archaeological tourism or historical ecology, as it incorporates elements of all of those. The category ‘archaeology for development’ is helpful in conceptualising impacts alongside a continuum, and thinking more broadly about the role played by the past in the lives of communities. In this thesis, the category ‘archaeology for development’ provided pathways for my analysis and project comparison, which enabled the following chapter to test evaluation methods across three different contexts.

Finally, **Chapter 6** answered the third set of research questions of this thesis. Its main conceptual focus was the trade-offs between two main features of any valid and reliable evaluation: feasibility and rigour. In this chapter, I analysed the extent to which the methods I implemented were suitable and able to produce rigorous data in these three villages, which are comparable and yet provide different responses to the same methods. It focused on answering the following research questions:

What trade-offs between rigour and feasibility are involved when evaluating small-scale ‘archaeology for development’ projects in the Andes? What are the practical limits of implementing evaluation methods, and how do they play out with local power dynamics? What evaluation methods work better in what contexts, and what factors influence their appropriateness?

Research Question 7. *What trade-offs between rigour and feasibility are involved when evaluating small-scale ‘archaeology for development’ projects in the Andes?*

Chapter 6 discussed in detail the ability of the tested methods to fulfil a set of relevant criteria for evaluations: reasoning, trustworthiness, ethics and cultural appropriateness, useability, and feasibility. These criteria were more or less respected depending on the method used and the context, which highlights the existence of key trade-offs between all of these criteria ([Section 6.4](#)). For example, rapid ethnographic methods yielded information that was better able to articulate the processes of causality as explained by participants (reasoning), but were deemed less useable than surveys by

my research participants (useability), Thus, chapter 6 reinforced the view of Chambers (2015) and Aston et al. (2022) that methodological plurality is what yields the 'best' evidence in development evaluation. The answers to the second and third part of the research question highlight some of these trade-offs, as discussed below.

Research Question 8. *What are the practical limits of implementing evaluation methods, and how do they play out with local power dynamics?*

The methods I tested came with practical limits to implementation, and could be co-opted in local power dynamics: while a detailed summary can be found at the end of Chapter 6 ([Section 6.5.1](#)), I give a brief overview of some trade-offs here, which define their limits. Rapid ethnographic methods were easy to carry out as they easily fit around the schedule of participants, but they were very time-consuming to analyse (feasibility). However, they were the set of methods that mitigated power dynamics the most: unlike surveys, they provided more room for detailed explanations, and unlike workshops, they did not create an arena for participants to perform their role in a group setting. Surveys could provide a good overview of the variety of points of view in each village (reasoning), and enabled easy comparison across villages (trustworthiness). However, the samples were not necessarily representative, especially in Cabana where most respondents came from the education sector, which means that they amplified the voices of those who were already part of the community's socio-cultural elite. However, this is a practical trade-off due to survey implementation in this particular context. Participatory workshops were easier to organise in communities which had strong organisational mechanisms (feasibility), but they also highlighted the views of dominant members of the community who already held significant power (ethics and cultural appropriateness). Overall, the fact that methods could easily reinforce local power dynamics in isolation highlights the importance of triangulation in analysis, and flexibility in selecting them and ensuring their appropriateness to the context.

Research Question 9. *What evaluation methods work better in what contexts, and what factors influence their appropriateness?*

Chapter 6 also highlighted which evaluation methods worked better in the contexts of Miraflores, Agua Blanca and Cabana, as well as factors influencing their appropriateness. This was summarised in [Section 6.5.2](#). In Cabana, the participatory

workshop seemed particularly suitable as it fostered a productive dialogue enabling stakeholders to recognise each other's points of view at an early stage of the project. Surveys were difficult to implement, but did convey the concerns of a group of women who had not attended the workshop or participated in interviews. Rapid ethnographic methods enabled an in-depth analysis of the context and the challenges besetting the *puesta en valor* attempts in Cabana. In Miraflores, rapid ethnographic methods were more practical and less intimidating, in a context where the population was initially wary of me and my surveys, and had little time to attend workshops. However, in 2022 the participatory workshop was well attended and provided a fruitful discussion, highlighting the importance of having returned to the community. Finally, in Agua Blanca, while workshops were easy to organise thanks to the support of the *cabildo*, they were attended by the most vocal portion of the community. To understand alternative points of view, surveys were fundamental, as well as the more informal conversations granted by rapid ethnographic methods. The trade-offs I just summarised can be mitigated through the combination of methods and their triangulation, to obtain complex evaluation results.

In summary, this thesis has provided detailed evidence of the state of evaluation in the context of rural Andean communities working with their heritage (Chapter 4). It also highlighted the array of impacts warranted by 'archaeology for development' projects, and their complexity (Chapter 5). Last but not least, the thesis tested three evaluation approaches in each of these communities to underline the trade-offs they represented in terms of rigour and practical implementation (Chapter 6). Therefore, it advocated for the creative combination of methods through a *bricolage* approach, in attempting to evaluate the complex impacts of 'archaeology for development' projects in the Andes.

7.2. Contribution to existing literature and debates

This section describes the various contributions of my thesis in the empirical, theoretical, methodological and policy spheres.

The audience of this research is composed of a variety of stakeholders, who might draw different benefits from it. While some of the research's insights are of a theoretical nature and might contribute to the academic discourse, others are situated in the

empirical or methodological sphere and might be of relevance both to evaluators and heritage project implementers, as well as villagers. Finally, this research also has policy implications that I had the opportunity to discuss directly with the three communities themselves when I returned in 2022 (local authorities, community assemblies, individual villagers, and NGOs).

7.2.1. Empirical contributions

The thesis, and Chapter 5, in particular, provides tangible data on the impacts of archaeological and heritage projects in three different villages of Peru and Ecuador, and compares the different trajectories for this process to take place. Therefore, the thesis contributes to the growing field of public archaeology, which focuses on the implications of archaeology in the modern world, and how non-archaeologists may benefit, learn, access, or be harmed by this discipline. While I have not highlighted a 'one size-fits-all' approach for archaeology to contribute to development, the three case studies showcase lessons learned and can lead others in this field to reflect upon their own practice.

Chapter 1 also highlighted the paucity of evaluation in the archaeology and heritage sector, and Chapter 4 contributed more empirical data manifesting the difficulties encountered in attempts to evaluate at project level, especially in the global South. Together, they made the case for the importance of evaluation if projects aim to be accountable to local communities and build on past mistakes. Chapter 6, in particular, steered the discussion towards possible solutions, while recognising the limits of individual methods and the difficulties in implementing them. By testing these methods and providing empirical data on their successes and shortcomings, my work can help practitioners in the field of public archaeology and heritage decide on what types of evaluation methods they might want to, or be able to implement. This is particularly important in the Andes, where few archaeology and heritage projects incorporate reflections on how to evaluate their impact (an exception can be found in Bria and Cruz Carranza 2015).

In this region and elsewhere, well-endowed projects, such as the ones funded by private donors, might even be convinced of the importance of investing in the services of professional evaluators. The Peruvian *Fundación Wiese*, which works in the region neighbouring the archaeological site of El Brujo, has recently launched a project

evaluating the contribution of archaeological heritage to wellbeing and education in local schools.

The empirical data provided by my work is also of benefit to the local communities in which it took place. In Miraflores and Cabana, the community mentioned that the collected evidence made a strong case for the importance of their archaeological asset and the need to protect it. This data can contribute to requests for funding or assistance, or help the communities identify areas of work in which they need to engage more, such as heritage outreach in younger generations in Agua Blanca.

7.2.2. Theoretical contributions

The role of culture in promoting sustainable development is gaining recognition both in the academic and policy spheres (Labadi et al. 2021). My work is situated at this crucial junction, and highlights the untapped potential of the cultural heritage sector for development. By defining the analytical category of 'archaeology for development' and examining the tangible impacts of projects situated in that sphere, I am contributing to the growing body of theoretical and policy-oriented literature aiming to recognise the role of cultural heritage in development. The use of this category creates a bridge between archaeology and development, enabling heritage practitioners to directly borrow from development evaluation methods.

The thesis also contributes to theoretical debates within development evaluation. Chapter 1 showed that the search for rigour is a key area of current research and practice, especially when utilising qualitative methods for data collection and analysis. My research contributes to the debate by specifically analysing the trade-offs between rigour and feasibility in complex settings. Finding methods that will provide quality information and will be appropriate for the context is a key challenge in evaluation, and researchers and practitioners such as Befani (2016) are constructing guidelines addressing this trade-off. Chapter 6 illustrates how the criteria of reasoning, trustworthiness, ethics and cultural appropriateness, useability, and feasibility are manifested and compose with each other in practice. I have shown that reaching a balance is delicate and context-dependent, and that one method that provides meaningful evaluation data and a space for participation in Cabana might not have the same effect in Agua Blanca, for example. I therefore side with Guijt and Roche (2014) who view relevance to the local context as a

key aspect of rigour. In addition, while the decolonisation of evaluation practices was not a primary focus of my work, Chapter 4 of this thesis is also contributing to the body of research documenting alternatives to 'Western' evaluation (Cavino 2013) through the documentation of indigenous mechanisms for reflexivity and learning, such as community assemblies.

This thesis lends credence to the use of *bricolage* for evaluating complex projects and situations (Aston and Apgar 2022, Chambers 2015). Creatively combining a range of methods is what enabled me to peer inside the 'black box' of processes of causality in each community, for example. It is a critical way to improve rigour in evaluation, and my thesis directly comes to that conclusion. Considering contextual complexity, employing 'one size fits all' guidelines will fail, and I have found that using a combination of methods in a flexible manner will yield more rigorous and contextually appropriate data. This brings me to methodological contributions.

7.2.3. Methodological contributions

The novel methodological contribution of this thesis to the fields of heritage and archaeology lies in borrowing and testing evaluation methods from another discipline, international development, and bringing these to a field that it has traditionally refrained from using MEL. While ethnographic approaches, surveys and participatory methods had been trialled in the archaeological context before (see Chapter 1), few works have attempted to compare the suitability and rigour of methods to establish methodological guidelines for the sector, as mentioned by Gould (2016). In the last decade, the sector has grown, with guidelines emerging from the AHRC (Crossick and Kaszynska 2016) as well as academic networks (Centre for Cultural Value 2021). However, as pointed out in [Section 1.2.4.2](#), these guidelines fall short of combining detailed explanations of how to implement methods and empirical evidence highlighting these methods' strengths and limitations when gathering and analysing data. My thesis builds up from the existing literature, and contributes to conversations on how to evaluate the role of culture and heritage, and how the heritage sector as a whole can better engage with evaluation methodologies from other disciplines. I have shown that it is indeed feasible to evaluate the wider impacts of archaeological projects by using a *bricolage* approach. My thesis recognises that using standardised and uniform approaches will fall short of fulfilling

rigour criteria alongside context sensitivity, and makes the case for the creative combination of aspects of methods.

In the field of development evaluation, this research has made a significant contribution by testing the *bricolage* approach and documenting the process. The *bricolage* approach reflects current trends in development evaluation as highlighted by a paper published very recently, coinciding with the last months of my PhD (Aston and Apgar 2022). My thesis contributes to their arguments, casting light on how such a process can take place in practice, with three detailed examples. Furthermore, it does so in a challenging context for evaluation, as the projects are small-scale, complex, and few evaluations are routinely executed.

This thesis was also realised during the Covid-19 pandemic era. While I was fortunate to be able to return to the three locations in person, I had prepared a remote data dissemination alternative (see Appendix I, Ethical approval form). Ultimately, the challenges that presented themselves throughout my research due to the pandemic made it more flexible and iterative, and my 2022 return was motivated by the desire to feed back research data to the participants. The data sharing and feedback process is also a component of rigorous and useable evaluation, concepts that were discussed at length in Chapter 6, and which I hope will become more commonplace in research. My initial aim was to return only after the thesis was complete, but due to the pandemic the second field season planned in 2020 never happened, and I was eager to be able to reflect some changes over time in my analysis of the projects. I also obtained participants' insights on my work thus far, which was fundamental to editing my thesis in a way that more accurately represented their views. The editing process was therefore a semi-collaborative approach, partly as a result of adapting from the pandemic: I hope this will also inspire other researchers in designing their dissemination methods.

7.2.4. Policy contributions

This thesis has also generated practical insights that may be used by government agencies and local authorities. Indeed, they were shared with SERNANP (Miraflores) and some staff from Cabana's municipality, who commented on how they might be able to use my results. The use of empirical data was already highlighted above, but here I want to reflect briefly on possible changes in policy.

Because my work bridged the gap between ‘socio-cultural’ impacts, economic impacts such as tourism, and environmental impacts, it may help stakeholders such as SERNANP implement projects that take more of these dimensions of archaeology into account. With the World Monument’s Fund announced project in Yanacancha-Huaquis, there may be scope to integrate the archaeological research (cultural), touristic (economic) and the climate change adaptation dimensions soon.

By underlining the importance of monitoring, evaluation and learning, this research may also encourage policy makers to make more of an effort towards integrating MEL in their project designs. In Agua Blanca, I relayed the view of some community members in favour of a dedicated ‘tourism development plan’ which, as a five-year agreement, would be less dependent on whoever is voted in the *Cabildo*. Such a dedicated plan would steer the direction of Agua Blanca in terms of strategic alignment, and help them decide on which projects to accept or reject.

Beyond the participating villages, this research can also help others with similar ‘archaeology for development’ projects. I hope that my thesis will also convince policy makers of the importance of investing in heritage to promote sustainable livelihoods and improve quality of life, in the Andes and beyond.

7.3. Limitations of the research

Throughout the thesis, I have reflected on the limitations of my work, particularly in Chapter 2 (Methodology) and Chapter 6, where I discussed the factors affecting evaluation methods and their use. Some of these limits were contextual. My experience was mediated by the fact I carried out this research primarily as an academic researcher, and not as a professional evaluator and practitioner. One of the main limitations of this research was carrying out three evaluations in contexts where they are not necessarily commonplace (except for Miraflores) as a sole evaluator, and with no dedicated budget. There were also some severe data limitations, as I had no access to financial information pertaining to the projects. In Agua Blanca and Cabana in particular, there was very little monitoring data available, as described in Chapter 4. Within the time frame available to me, there were only so many methods I could envision testing. In the context of Cabana and Agua Blanca, there was also very little Monitoring, Evaluation and

Learning data available to integrate to my analysis. With more means, I might have been able to test other suitable methods: these might be an avenue for future research, as discussed below.

My positionality also affected the spaces I could reach, as mentioned in Chapter 2. As someone external to the communities, people might have told me what they thought I wanted to hear. Being a foreigner and a woman made it harder for people to open up to me in Miraflores in particular. Furthermore, the fact that I was conducting evaluations while being a student and a researcher made my status ambiguous. This is unlikely to be the case with externally commissioned evaluations, or internal evaluative mechanisms adopted by local stakeholders.

The pandemic was also a significant hurdle in my plans. At the inception of my project, I had envisioned a longitudinal approach with two field seasons. The truncated field season of 2022 was not a replacement, but rather an adaptation and an opportunity to disseminate the research and integrate participants' feedback in my final draft.

7.4. Future research agenda

This thesis has contributed to current debates in the growing field investigating the interaction between heritage and development, and possible avenues for its evaluation. In this capacity, my thesis also raised new questions.

As discussed above, the methodological contributions of this thesis have several implications for research and practice. I have shown the limitations and potential of three methods, as well as practical examples of the types of impact they might be able to capture. As noted above, several other small-n methods might be appropriate, and perhaps yield greater rigour. Were more funding and time available, it would be interesting to test methods such as the Qualitative Impact Assessment Protocol (Copestake et al. 2019), or Contribution Analysis (Mayne 2001). I have also tested methods against criteria including authenticity (Johnson and Rasulova 2017). Due to the importance of acknowledging power, reflexivity and useability within definitions of rigour in qualitative research, the use of the authenticity criterion merits more systematic research. The indicators and areas that I used were based on the three pillars of sustainable development to allow me to cover a broad range of impacts across three

villages in a limited time frame, but one could also envision aligning indicators with the Sustainable Development Goals to further refine analysis. It would also be fundamental to examine change over time using the same indicators more than once to test their robustness and their ability to contribute to a diachronic approach.

I envision a future research project that would further bridge the gap between theory and practice and further bring evaluation in the field of heritage, and test alternative evaluation methods. As Chapter 1 highlighted, the cultural heritage sector is aware of its need to develop rigorous evaluation methods, and has started to develop theories about what they would look like, but has not yet produced much data about their use in practice. The heritage sector lacks empirical evidence and the expertise that derives from a lengthy trial and error process. To build this evidence base, it is necessary to publish and synthesise data about the evaluation of further 'archaeology for development' initiatives, in South America and beyond. This can expand to other types of projects at different scales, including but not limited to: small-scale archaeological projects led by students and operating on a shoestring, projects mobilising culture for post-conflict recovery in the context of international diplomacy, highly localised projects funded by private donors... Externally commissioned evaluations, which will not sit at the intersection of evaluation and PhD research like my project and will lack the ambiguity in positionality that I experienced, can also provide a base from which to conduct action research.

Beyond the possible expansion in methods and scope, this thesis has also highlighted new research questions. As the 2022 field season highlighted, the three projects are continuously evolving and adapting to the new reality, including during and in the aftermath of a global pandemic. The extent to which the pandemic provided a 'litmus test' for community cohesion and resilience would be an interesting project. Are these communities, who have built an identity and learnt forms of organisation based on their heritage, better equipped to deal with disasters?

Another research question derives from the use and purpose of 'Western' evaluation in indigenous contexts. As pointed out above, this was not a priority in my research project, but my thesis touched upon the suitability of formal evaluation in contexts where there are indigenous mechanisms for reflexivity. While critical perspectives on the colonial underpinnings of evaluation exist (Cavino 2013), it would be

fundamental to further document and learn from these alternatives. This implies reflecting on how to incorporate these worldviews, taking a more bottom-up, participatory approach to evaluation design, and further reflect on the political context that evaluation perpetuates.

The three projects that were my case studies throughout this thesis also continue to grow and evolve. It would be important to follow up on the future achievements of these projects and the directions they take in the future, and conduct further feedback workshops. Miraflores is now more firmly entering the Integrated Conservation and Development space thanks to a new project starting with the World Monuments Fund (2022). Meanwhile, the community of Agua Blanca keeps involving its inhabitants in projects seeking to improve their quality of life as well as the touristic offer. Cabana, for its part, has recently obtained legal authorisation to begin a process of *puesta en valor* in earnest. As my thesis draws to a close, I am looking forward to seeing the three communities thrive in the future.

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**Evaluating the development impacts
of archaeology and heritage
in Peru and Ecuador**

Agathe Dupeyron

Appendices

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I. Ethical approval for the Research, provided by UEA's School of International Development

Ethics ETH2122-1562 (Significant amendments): Ms Agathe Dupeyron

Date Created	19 Mar 2022
Date Submitted	19 Mar 2022
Date forwarded to committee	21 Mar 2022
Researcher	Ms Agathe Dupeyron
Category	PGR
Supervisor	Prof Laura Camfield
Faculty	Faculty of Social Sciences
Current status	Approved

Ethics application

Applicant and research team

Principal Applicant

Name of Principal Applicant Ms Agathe Dupeyron

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School/Department

School of International Development

Category

PGR

Primary Supervisor

Name of Primary Supervisor [Prof Laura Camfield](#)

Primary Supervisor's school/department

School of International Development

Project details

Project title

Evaluating the development impacts of archaeology and heritage in Peru and Ecuador

Project start date.

01 Oct 2018

Project end date.

31 Mar 2023

Is the project?: none of the options listed

Original application and ethics approval

Original UEA ethics review body.

[DEV S-REC \(School of International Development Research Ethics Subcommittee\)](#)

Original UEA ethics application reference number. ETH2122-0010

Original approved ethics application.

Original ethics approval letter/email.

Amendment type

Type of amendment

Change to research protocol

Is this amendment related to Covid-19? Yes

Change research protocol

Fully describe any changes and upload revised documentation if there are wording changes to the original application.

See attached letter.

Attach any documentation which relates to the changes described.

Attached files

Ethics-ETH2122-0010-Ms-Agathe-Dupeyron-.pdf

Ethics_application_ETH2122-0010_(Amendment_prior_to_EM)_Decision.pdf

Ethics application addendum Dupeyron 19032022.docx

Ethics ETH2122-0010: Ms Agathe Dupeyron

Date Created	24 Aug 2021
Date Submitted	29 Sep 2021
Date forwarded to committee	30 Sep 2021
Researcher	Ms Agathe Dupeyron
Category	PGR
Supervisor	Prof Laura Camfield
Faculty	Faculty of Social Sciences
Current status	Approved

Ethics application

Applicant and research team

Principal Applicant

Name of Principal Applicant Ms Agathe

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School/Department

School of International Development

Category

PGR

Primary Supervisor

Name of Primary Supervisor [Prof Laura](#)

[Camfield](#)

Primary Supervisor's school/department

School of International Development

Project details

Project title

How can we evaluate the development impacts of archaeology and heritage in the Andes?

Project start date. 01 Oct 2018

Project end date.

31 Aug 2022

Is the project?: none of the options

listed

Original application and ethics approval

Original UEA ethics review body.

[DEV S-REC \(School of International Development Research Ethics Subcommittee\)](#) Original UEA ethics

application reference number.

Original approved ethics application.

Original ethics approval letter/email.

Amendment type

Type of amendment

Change to research protocol

Is this amendment related to Covid-19? Yes

Change research protocol

Fully describe any changes and upload revised documentation if there are wording changes to the original application.

See attached letter.

Attach any documentation which relates to the changes described.

Attached files

DEV Ethics Application Form DUPEYRON 10-06-2019 resubmission.docx

BLANK Ethics Form 2018.docx

DEV Ethics Application Form DUPEYRON ONLINE FIELDWORK 2021.docx

Ethics application addendum.docx

UNIVERSITY OF EAST ANGLIA INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE
UNIVERSITY OF EAST ANGLIA
INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE



Guidance on ethics is available in the International Development Ethics Handbook and on the UEA website <http://www.uea.ac.uk/dev/ethics> Please consult these sources of information before filling this form.

HOW TO COMPLETE THIS FORM

- Your application **MUST** include a **separate** Consent Form
- **COMPLETE** all sections of the form (including the top section of PART B)
- Submit the documents as **WORD** files (PDFs are NOT accepted)
- You **MUST** have your **SURNAME** in the electronic name of any documents you submit
- Your **supervisor must have approved** your two forms (ethical clearance application + consent form)
- **BEFORE** submitting your ethics form you must have submitted a Risk Assessment form, signed off by you and your Supervisor, to the Learning and Teaching Hub in Arts 1.

SUPERVISOR APPROVAL

Your ethics application **MUST** be reviewed, commented on and **APPROVED** by your Supervisor **BEFORE** submitting. How to confirm approval?

- The Supervisor attaches an electronic signature to your ethics form
- OR**
- The Supervisor emails dev.ethics@uea.ac.uk to confirm approval of your application **OR**
 - Your Supervisor confirms approval to you (via email) you include it in the application materials emailed to dev.ethics@uea.ac.uk

WHEN TO SUBMIT?

Deadline: for each month is **10th**.

Please be aware that it usually takes 1 to 2 months to be granted ethical approval.

WHO TO SUBMIT TO?

Email: dev.ethics@uea.ac.uk

PLEASE BE AWARE THAT FORMS THAT ARE NOT COMPLETED CORRECTLY OR ARRIVE WITHOUT AUTHORISATION FROM YOUR SUPERVISOR WILL BE REJECTED.

After review, if you are asked to **resubmit your application** follow the guidance in Part B

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

PERSON(S) SUBMITTING RESEARCH PROPOSAL

Name(s) of all person(s) submitting research proposal. <u>Including main applicant</u>	Status (BA/BSc/MA/MSc/MRes/ MPhil/PhD/research associate/faculty) <u>Students: specify your course</u>	Department/Group/ Institute/Centre
Agathe Dupeyron	PhD	DEV

APPLICANT INFORMATION

Forename	Agathe
Surname	Dupeyron
Gender	Female
Student ID number (<i>if applicable</i>)	100217981
Contact email address	A.dupeyron@uea.ac.uk
Date application form submitted	10/06/2019
1st application or resubmission?	Resubmission

PROJECT INFORMATION

Project or Dissertation Title	How can we evaluate the development impacts of archaeology and heritage in the Andes?
-------------------------------	--

** DEV/DEVco faculty or DEVco research associate applications only:*

* Project Funder	
* Submitted by SSF or DEVco?	
If yes – Project Code:	PLEASE ADD PROJECT CODE

Postgraduate research students only:

Date of your PP presentation	07/06/2019
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1. OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

Describe the purposes of the research/project proposed. Detail the methods to be used and the research questions. Provide any other relevant background which will allow the reviewers to contextualise your research or project activities. **Include questionnaires/checklists as attachments, if appropriate.**

This PhD project sits at the intersection of public archaeology and development studies. Archaeology is increasingly conscious of its role in promoting sustainable development “which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (World Bank, 1999: 8). In the Andes, this objective is directly or implicitly stated by a large spectrum of projects that sit at the intersection of archaeology, environmental sciences, tourism and development. They include ‘historical ecology’ projects, evaluating the long-term changes affecting a given landscape to determine better strategies of human adaptation, including environmental and infrastructural policies. Other projects are more directly development-oriented, looking at the social, economic and cultural benefits brought by archaeology and heritage tourism to a specific area.

However, many of these projects do not accomplish their stated objectives and generate disappointment amongst local communities, which hinders later efforts. The aim of my PhD is to explore the effectiveness of evaluation methods in a range of contexts in Peru, and use these findings to devise an integrated framework that can be used by heritage and development practitioners, local NGOs, local government stakeholders, and local community projects. Using evaluation methods more consistently and appropriately is paramount because they enable projects to understand where and how they fail and become more efficient or relevant to local needs.

Currently, impact evaluation methods are extremely limited within heritage organisations, due to the lack of dialogue between heritage practitioners and development specialists, and to time, budget and data constraints (Moshenska, 2017: 13). Any evaluations tend to focus on a reduced subset of impacts such as educational outcomes, fails to establish a connection with development, struggles to respond to stated project objectives, or is characterised by a lack of rigour (Dupeyron, 2018b). Within development, organisations have struggled with similar concerns and new methods are being tested to address those.

The main research question is: **How can we evaluate the impacts of archaeology and heritage in terms of development in the Andes?**

Firstly, this research needs to **establish the importance of evaluation** when using archaeological projects as a resource for development. Then, it will **explore the means and methods** to achieve this by testing a range of methods in the field. A third question **is the extent to which these methods can be appropriate in a range of different contexts**. The Andes of South America are a particularly interesting arena to explore these questions. This region has known an impressive and rapid surge of heritage tourism-based economic development (Herrera 2013). The desire to preserve the material remains of the cultures that precede the foundation of South American states and use them as a building block for nation-building purposes has underpinned the inclusion of archaeological heritage in development policies (Herrera 2013; Asensio, 2018). In Peru, for example, archaeologists often see an engagement with development issues within the promotion and management of sites as one of their duties (Asensio 2018, 341).

The study proposes to conduct the evaluation of three projects in the rural Andes:
 -Proyecto Agua Blanca (Machalilla, Ecuador) – a locally conducted project focusing on economic development through tourism

1. OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

- Rise of Divine Lordships in the Ancient Andes (Ancash, Peru) – an archaeology research project which hopes to foster links with the local community museum and improve education an access to heritage
- Ancestral technologies and climate change (Highlands of Lima, Peru) – a development project reviving ancient agricultural techniques through the knowledge acquired from archaeological research to promote locally adapted strategies of climate change adaptation.

The research methods will consist in three phases:

-The first phase will consist in a **thorough review** of existing academic and grey literature on the proposed case studies. This will also involve reading about struggles in similar contexts in relation to development evaluation.

- The second phase will consist in **testing evaluation methods in each case study**. Before testing the methods themselves, I will talk with involved stakeholders to understand what kinds of impacts can realistically be expected from each project and ensure that the following methods will be appropriate and can be tested in the field. I aim to test immersive techniques (ethnography), participatory techniques and indicator/survey-based approaches.

- After I have tested these methods, I plan to **critique and review their use in each context**, from my own observations and **on the basis of informal/semi-structured interviews with evaluation participants**. This last step aims to assess whether the methods are fit for purpose; it is almost an “evaluation of evaluation”.

Considering the small scale of projects (all working with fewer than 50 participants), I will aim to formally interview about 10 people from each project to rate the effectiveness of evaluation methods. The sample will consist mainly of project managers, to test the feasibility of methods, and the participants to elicit their relevance and appropriateness. I will aim for this sample to be as representative as possible of the context in which each project operates.

This fieldwork will take place over a period of 12 months over two consecutive years. The bulk of data collection will take place in the first period (7-8 months). Returning to the field after a period in Norwich will enable me to gain perspective, obtain a longitudinal understanding of the projects, and fill any gaps in the data collection process.

2. SOURCES OF FUNDING

The organisation, individual or group providing finance for the study/project. If you do not require funding or are self-funded, please put ‘not applicable’

Up to £700 per year from the Social Sciences Faculty as part of my Research Training Support grant.

3. RISKS OR COSTS TO PARTICIPANTS

What risks or costs to the participants are entailed in involvement in the study/project? Are there any potential physical, psychological or disclosure dangers that can be anticipated? What is the possible benefit or harm to the subject or society from their participation or from the study/project as a whole? What procedures have been established for the care and protection of participants (e.g. insurance, medical cover) and the control of any information gained from them or about them?

There is no expected physical or psychological harm to the participants or the researcher, as my questions will focus on the projects and their impacts. The study will only incur a cost insofar as participants will offer some of their time to be interviewed or participate in the evaluation activities. However, the risk of creating expectations exists, especially when interviewing community members and project participants; I will seek

3. RISKS OR COSTS TO PARTICIPANTS

advice from project managers and community gatekeepers to mitigate this risk. People instigating and managing the projects might also feel that their disclosures negatively affect the evaluation of their project and might be reluctant to share the most negative or challenging parts of the project. I will need to clearly explain to them that any evaluation will be shared with them for management purposes but won't be divulged to funders, so sharing their experiences can only benefit them. I hope to be able to convey to these officials over the long term that my interest is purely academic but also that I intend the results of these evaluations to be actively helpful for them. If they are offended or mistrust develops I can take some distance and positively reinforce my neutrality and ensure that my tone remains friendly, professional and helpful. Similarly, project workers and participants will be reassured that their insights will not be divulged to managers. There is no possible benefit to subjects if they participate, as they will be anonymised in the process and will not obtain any favours from project members for participating. Equally, benefits are very limited considering the anonymization of data. I will make sure to emphasize this when I approach them. No specific procedures (insurance, medical cover) are needed to mitigate the lack of physical, psychological or disclosure dangers.
(Please note this box will expand as much as you need to complete this section).

4. RECRUITMENT/SELECTION PROCEDURES

How will study/project participants be selected? For example will participants be selected randomly, deliberately/purposively, or using lists of people provided by other organisations (see section 11 on Third Party Data)?

Participants will be selected purposively, with the agreement of each project under study. The aim is to interview people associated with managing the projects to understand their expectations regarding the project's aims and elicit its Theory of Change, and with several local partners who are expected to benefit, or have benefitted from these projects, to analyse what kind of results they have seen from the project and how these could be measured. These may include project participants, artisans, local restaurant or hotel managers, shop managers, tour guides, teachers, and local archaeologists or representatives from the Peruvian and Ecuadorian Ministry of Culture. Many of these participants will be involved in the evaluation activities, either through surveys, through participative activities (which will take place in small groups of 5-10 participants at a time) or through informal conversations during the ethnographic phase. In the third phase, I hope to interview about 10 people per project to rate the evaluation methods.

Local gatekeepers to each project will introduce me to some of the participants and I hope to get in touch with more through snowballing. I am already in contact with Jorge Recharte, who runs the Mountain Institute, George Lau and Milton Lujan who will organise the Ancash project, and Chris Hudson who worked in Agua Blanca for decades and offered to introduce me to the Agua Blanca community and its leaders. Once potential participants have been identified by these gatekeepers, I will obtain their consent myself. I will have to approach other participants independently, in particular local people working in the tourism industry.

5. PARTICIPANTS IN DEPENDENT RELATIONSHIPS

Is there any sense in which participants might be ‘obliged’, to participate – for example in the case of project beneficiaries, students, prisoners or patients – or are volunteers being recruited? If participants in dependent relationships will be included, what will you do to ensure that their participation is voluntary?

Participants will not be obliged to participate, they will be recruited on a voluntary basis. Some of them will be associated with the projects under investigation or with funders, and may see the researcher as a powerful individual. However, considering the small number of interviews required for this study, I am confident that they will not feel under any obligation to participate as the pool of potential participants is quite large; if they show unease, I can ask someone else who

5. PARTICIPANTS IN DEPENDENT RELATIONSHIPS

is doing a similar job or occupying a similar position. The conditions will be very clear before we start the interview process. In case they do feel pressure to participate to show their good will regarding the project, I will make sure to present myself as an independent student and explain that participating in an interview will not affect their position within the project either positively or negatively. They may not entirely believe this, and if project participants are critical of the project, they will probably withhold their true opinions. I hope that the guarantee of anonymity will encourage them to speak their mind, but recognise that results may be affected by this issue. I will emphasize the importance of being truthful as any other answer would just bias the results, and would be less helpful than telling me what they think I want to hear. Hence, I will need to reinforce my position as a student and explain that project leaders will not be able to read individual results but rather a more global write-up of how the project has performed so far and could improve.

(Please note this box will expand as much as you need to complete this section).

6. VULNERABLE INDIVIDUALS

Specify whether the research will include children, people with mental illness or other potentially vulnerable groups. If so, please explain the necessity of involving these individuals as research participants and what will be done to facilitate their participation.

Children, people with mental illness and other potentially vulnerable groups will not be purposefully targeted. They may accidentally end up being part of the interview sample, if their condition is undisclosed (especially in the case of mental illness). This research involves a relatively small number of participants, hence, this situation can be easily avoided. The participants will however be affiliated with the projects under study. To avoid feelings of obligation to participate, I will ensure they are aware that an interview with me will have no negative or positive impacts on their future relationship with the project. Indeed, the organisations will not receive the specific interview data, I will only share with them my general conclusions.

(Please note this box will expand as much as you need to complete this section).

7. PAYMENTS AND INCENTIVES

Will payment or any other incentive, such as a gift or free services, be made to any participant? If so, please specify and state the level of payment to be made and/or the source of the funds/gift/free service to be used. Please explain the justification for offering payment or other incentives.

There will be no specific incentive provided to the participants. I anticipate that the interviews will be quite short and specific. Considering that Andean culture is based on reciprocity, I may offer food or beverages to my participants to thank them for their help, if the interviews take place in a context where this is appropriate. I will use my own funds for this. I will pay for expenses incurred through participation, for example if we need to use taxis to get to a more suitable interview location.

8. CONSENT

Please give details of how consent is to be obtained. Participants must be aware of their entitlement to withdraw consent and at what point in the study/project that entitlement lapses. A

8. CONSENT

copy of the proposed consent form, along with a separate information sheet, written in simple, non-technical language **MUST** accompany this proposal form as an **ATTACHMENT**.

Interviews will not be conducted without the participants' full informed consent, which they will give through a form, if they feel comfortable with the process (see Appendix B). Alternatively, consent can be recorded in my fieldwork notebook. Participants will be able to retract their data up to a month after the interview. I have a Peruvian phone number and will obtain an Ecuadorian SIM. I will also give participants the contact details of a local colleague whom they may contact when I'm out of the country, or if they don't feel comfortable talking to me directly.

I will carefully explain my research before each activity or interview, and hand to all participants an information sheet explaining what my research is about, so that they can refer to it later at their convenience. I also acknowledge that participants can withdraw consent during the course of an activity or interview if they do not appear to be comfortable about sharing information, either verbally or through their body language.

9. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, GENDER-BASED CHARACTERISTICS

What consideration have you given to the cultural context and sensitivities? How have cultural, social and/or gender-based characteristics influenced the research design, and how might these influence the way you carry out the research and how the research is experienced by participants? For example, might your gender affect your ability to do interviews with or ask certain questions from a person of a different gender; might it affect the responses you get or compromise an interviewee? How might your position /status as a UK university based researcher affect such interactions?

The research design has been influenced by the fact that this research project operates in Peru and Ecuador, as I am investigating how this context can affect evaluation methods. However, my research questions focus on the projects and their evaluation rather than on characteristics of their participants. Nevertheless, I am aware of my own position as a Western woman from a UKbased university, and how it may affect the conduct of interviews. In my experience working as a foreign archaeologist in Peru, Peruvians are generally willing to help a young, Western woman, who speaks their language and does not need a translator. However, the responses might be affected by the desire to provide information that sounds more positive than the reality. A culture of machismo may also be found, which would challenge my ability to interview Peruvian men; this might bias my sample in favour of women. As my study does not focus on gender, I don't think this would negatively affect my results.

I will work closely with local gatekeepers, who may be project organisers or community leaders. They will hopefully help me interpret certain comments, and reduce the cultural boundaries that participants may feel when talking to me.

10. CONFIDENTIALITY

Please state who will have access to the data and what measures which will be adopted to maintain the confidentiality of the research subject and to comply with data protection requirements e.g. will the data be anonymised?

Fake names will be used to anonymise participants, so that they can talk freely about what they expect from the projects and the impacts they have perceived, and express their thoughts about the projects. The redacted research will be passed on to the project organisations, but not the specific interview data or individual evaluation results to avoid tracing personal information to a specific individual. This is particularly important in the case of community members who are expected to benefit from the project, and might be worried about losing access if they say anything negative.

11. THIRD PARTY DATA

Will you require access to data on participants held by a third party? In cases where participants will be identified from information held by another party (for example, a doctor or school) describe the arrangements you intend to make to gain access to this information.

I won't require access to data held by a third party, as I will interview and conduct activities with participants myself. Some of the participants are associated with the projects, and I hope to obtain their contact details through the project organisers and community leaders.

12. PROTECTION OF RESEARCHER (THE APPLICANT)

Please state briefly any precautions being taken to protect your health and safety. Have you taken out travel and health insurance for the full period of the research? If not, why not. Have you read and acted upon FCO travel advice (website)? If acted upon, how?

I will subscribe to UEA Travel Insurance for the duration of my fieldwork, which covers my health and safety abroad.

Peru and Ecuador are countries where several risks have been identified (<https://www.gov.uk/foreign-travel-advice/peru> and <https://www.gov.uk/foreign-traveladvice/ecuador>) including the following: natural disasters (heavy rains, floods, earthquakes), security risks (thefts and petty crime), political risks (demonstrations), travel risks (poor road infrastructure), health risks (Zika virus). To mitigate these risks I will exert caution at all times and follow the advice of relevant authorities.

13. PROTECTION OF OTHER RESEARCHERS

Please state briefly any precautions being taken to protect the health and safety of other researchers and others associated with the project (as distinct from the participants or the applicant). If there are no other researchers, please put 'not applicable'

I will closely cooperate with the community and project leaders to help navigate cultural differences during the evaluation and interview process. I acknowledge that they will face similar risks and will talk to them about how to mitigate those.

14. RESEARCH PERMISSIONS (INCLUDING ETHICAL CLEARANCE) IN HOST COUNTRY AND/OR ORGANISATION

The UEA's staff and students will seek to comply with travel and research guidance provided by the British Government and the Governments (and Embassies) of host countries. This pertains to research permission, in-country ethical clearance, visas, health and safety information, and other travel advisory notices where applicable. If this research project is being undertaken outside the UK, has formal permission/a research permit been sought to conduct this research? Please describe the action you have taken and if a formal permit has not been sought please explain why this is not necessary/appropriate (for example, for very short studies it is not always appropriate to apply for formal clearance).

No special permit is needed to undertake research in Peru and Ecuador. I can enter Peru and Ecuador with a normal tourist visa granted at the airport. This covers 6 months in the case of Peru and 3 in the case of Ecuador.

15. MONITORING OF RESEARCH

What procedures are in place for monitoring the research/project (by funding agency, supervisor, community, self, etc.).

I will be in touch with my supervisors Laura Camfield and George Lau throughout the duration of fieldwork. They will monitor my research and its results, and provide ethical guidance if needed. Laura Camfield has experience working with development projects and George Lau is highly familiar with the culture and society of Peru.

16. ANTICIPATED USE OF RESEARCH DATA ETC

What is the anticipated use of the data, forms of publication and dissemination of findings etc.?

The data will constitute the basis of my PhD thesis. There is a possibility that it will be disseminated as a series of articles, if accepted for publication. It might also be used by the projects to improve their monitoring and evaluation strategy.

17. FEEDBACK TO PARTICIPANTS

Will the data or findings of this research/project be made available to participants? If so, specify the form and timescale for feedback. What commitments will be made to participants regarding feedback? How will these obligations be verified?

The data and findings of this research project will be made available to participants through each project. I also hope to be able to give a series of informal presentations in each project at the end of my stay in each location. Another field season is planned in 2020, in which I could share preliminary results and work on those with former participants, if willing.

18. DURATION OF PROJECT

The start date should not be within the 2 months after the submission of this application, to allow for clearance to be processed.

Start date	End date
20 July 2019	20 February 2020 (including Christmas annual leave)

19. PROJECT LOCATION(S)

Please state location(s) where the research will be carried out.

Pashash, Ancash, Peru
 Agua Blanca, Manabi, Ecuador
 Reserva Paisajística Nor-Yauyos Cochas , Lima, Peru

APPLICANT INFORMATION

To be completed by the applicant

Forename	Agathe
Surname	Dupeyron
Student ID number (if applicable)	100217981
UG, PGT or PGR (if applicable)	PGR
Supervisor (if applicable)	Professor Laura Camfield (DEV), Dr George Lau (SRU)
Project Title	How can we evaluate the development impacts of archaeology and heritage in the Andes?

For staff:

REN / DEVco Project code	
Project Funder	PLEASE ADD PROJECT CODE

RESUBMISSIONS – IF YOU ARE ASKED TO RESUBMIT YOUR APPLICATION FOLLOWING REVIEW BY THE COMMITTEE PLEASE ALSO ATTACH A **LETTER** WITH YOUR REVISED APPLICATION DETAILING HOW YOU HAVE RESPONDED TO THE COMMITTEE’S COMMENTS. **Students please ensure your supervisor has approved your revisions before resubmission.**

REVIEWERS’ RECOMMENDATION (A)

To be completed by the Ethics Committee

Accept	
Request modifications	A
Reject	

REVIEWERS’ CHECKLIST

Delete as appropriate

Risks and inconvenience to participants are minimised and not unreasonable given the research question/ project purpose.		A
All relevant ethical issues are acknowledged and understood by the researcher.		
Procedures for informed consent are sufficient and appropriate		A

REVIEWERS’ COMMENTS

A solid application. We would like her to reflect on one set of issues indicated as follows:


As this project seeks to be an ‘evaluation of evaluation’, the research will interview ‘project managers’ who may be anxious that their disclosures might affect their own performance scores (if this is the case). There will be a strong inclination, I imagine, for participants to exaggerate their successes, or to be anxious about the results of this project. Although the researcher indicates that she will do her best to present herself as an independent entity, it would be good to provide some more detail of how she will reassure them of her objectivity and not cause them any undue distress (she has already explained that she is aware that what they tell her may be affected by this dimension, and will thus ‘deal’ with the data accordingly). But how will she actually interact with these same officials over a period of time? What will she do if distrust develops, and things become unpleasant, or unmanageable? Some reflection on these aspects may be helpful in advance.

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COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATION

Request modifications as indicated

SIGNATURE (CHAIR OF THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ETHICS COMMITTEE)

Signature	Date
	31.5.19

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APPLICANT INFORMATION

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REVIEWERS' RECOMMENDATION (A)

To be completed by the Ethics Committee

Accept	A
Request modifications	
Reject	

REVIEWERS' CHECKLIST

Delete as appropriate

Risks and inconvenience to participants are minimised and not unreasonable given the research question/ project purpose.		A
All relevant ethical issues are acknowledged and understood by the researcher.		A
Procedures for informed consent are sufficient and appropriate		A

REVIEWERS' COMMENTS


A solid application. Modifications requested have been addressed satisfactorily.

COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATION

Ethics clearance approved

SIGNATURE (CHAIR OF THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ETHICS COMMITTEE)

Signature	Date
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	13.6.19
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Guidance on ethics is available in the International Development Ethics Handbook and on the UEA website <http://www.uea.ac.uk/dev/ethics> Please consult these sources of information before filling this form.

HOW TO COMPLETE THIS FORM

- Your application **MUST** include a **separate** Consent Form
- **COMPLETE** all sections of the form (including the top section of PART B)
- Submit the documents as **WORD** files (PDFs are NOT accepted)
- You **MUST** have your **SURNAME** in the electronic name of any documents you submit
- Your **supervisor must have approved** your two forms (ethical clearance application + consent form)
- **BEFORE** submitting your ethics form you must have submitted a Risk Assessment form, signed off by you and your Supervisor, to the Learning and Teaching Hub in Arts 1.

SUPERVISOR APPROVAL

Your ethics application **MUST** be reviewed, commented on and **APPROVED** by your Supervisor **BEFORE** submitting. How to confirm approval?

- The Supervisor attaches an electronic signature to your ethics form
- OR**
- The Supervisor emails dev.ethics@uea.ac.uk to confirm approval of your application **OR**
 - Your Supervisor confirms approval to you (via email) you include it in the application materials emailed to dev.ethics@uea.ac.uk

WHEN TO SUBMIT?

Deadline: for each month is **10th**.

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WHO TO SUBMIT TO?

Email: dev.ethics@uea.ac.uk

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PERSON(S) SUBMITTING RESEARCH PROPOSAL

Name(s) of all person(s) submitting research proposal. <u>Including main applicant</u>	Status (BA/BSc/MA/MSc/MRes/ MPhil/PhD/research associate/faculty) <u>Students: specify your course</u>	Department/Group/ Institute/Centre
Agathe Dupeyron	PhD	DEV

APPLICANT INFORMATION

Forename	Agathe
Surname	Dupeyron
Gender	Female
Student ID number (if applicable)	100217981
Contact email address	A.dupeyron@uea.ac.uk
Date application form submitted	10/06/2019
1st application or resubmission?	Resubmission

PROJECT INFORMATION

Project or Dissertation Title	How can we evaluate the development impacts of archaeology and heritage in the Andes?
-------------------------------	--

* DEV/DEVco faculty or DEVco research associate applications only:

Date of your PP presentation	07/06/2019
* Project Funder	
* Submitted by SSF or DEVco?	
If yes – Project Code:	PLEASE ADD PROJECT CODE

Postgraduate research students only:

1. OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

Describe the purposes of the research/project proposed. Detail the methods to be used and the research questions. Provide any other relevant background which will allow the reviewers to contextualise your research or project activities. **Include questionnaires/checklists as attachments, if appropriate.**

This PhD project sits at the intersection of public archaeology and development studies. Archaeology is increasingly conscious of its role in promoting sustainable development “which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (World Bank, 1999: 8). In the Andes, this objective is directly or implicitly stated by a large spectrum of projects that sit at the intersection of archaeology, environmental sciences, tourism and development. They include ‘historical ecology’ projects, evaluating the long-term changes affecting a given landscape to determine better strategies of human adaptation, including environmental and infrastructural policies. Other projects are more directly development-oriented, looking at the social, economic and cultural benefits brought by archaeology and heritage tourism to a specific area.

However, many of these projects do not accomplish their stated objectives and generate disappointment amongst local communities, which hinders later efforts. The aim of my PhD is to explore the effectiveness of evaluation methods in a range of contexts in Peru, and use these findings to devise an integrated framework that can be used by heritage and development practitioners, local NGOs, local government stakeholders, and local community projects. Using evaluation methods more consistently and appropriately is paramount because they enable projects to understand where and how they fail and become more efficient or relevant to local needs.

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Firstly, this research needs to **establish the importance of evaluation** when using archaeological projects as a resource for development. Then, it will **explore the means and methods** to achieve this by testing a range of methods in the field. A third question **is the extent to which these methods can be appropriate in a range of different contexts**. The Andes of South America are a particularly interesting arena to explore these questions. This region has known an impressive and rapid surge of heritage tourism-based economic development (Herrera 2013). The desire to preserve the material remains of the cultures that precede the foundation of South American states and use them as a building block for nation-building purposes has underpinned the inclusion of archaeological heritage in development policies (Herrera 2013; Asensio, 2018). In Peru, for example, archaeologists often see an engagement with development issues within the promotion and management of sites as one of their duties (Asensio 2018, 341).

The study proposes to conduct the evaluation of three projects in the rural Andes:
 -Proyecto Agua Blanca (Machalilla, Ecuador) – a locally conducted project focusing on economic development through tourism

1. OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

- Rise of Divine Lordships in the Ancient Andes (Ancash, Peru) – an archaeology research project which hopes to foster links with the local community museum and improve education an access to heritage
- Ancestral technologies and climate change (Highlands of Lima, Peru) – a development project reviving ancient agricultural techniques through the knowledge acquired from archaeological research to promote locally adapted strategies of climate change adaptation.

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- After I have tested these methods, I plan to **critique and review their use in each context**, from my own observations and **on the basis of informal/semi-structured interviews with evaluation participants**. This last step aims to assess whether the methods are fit for purpose; it is almost an “evaluation of evaluation”.

Considering the small scale of projects (all working with fewer than 50 participants), I will aim to formally interview about 10 people from each project to rate the effectiveness of evaluation methods. The sample will consist mainly of project managers, to test the feasibility of methods, and the participants to elicit their relevance and appropriateness. I will aim for this sample to be as representative as possible of the context in which each project operates.

This fieldwork was supposed to take place over a period of 12 months over two consecutive years. The bulk of data collection took place in the first period (7 months). I was supposed to return to the field after a period in Norwich to obtain a longitudinal understanding of the projects, and fill any gaps in the data collection process.

Due to the ongoing Covid crisis, the second period of fieldwork has been replaced by online workshops which will take place remotely. I will contract local research assistants who will help me carry out these workshops. (see attached letter for details). I will buy medical insurance to cover them, and purchase personal protective equipment for all workshop participants, which will be limited to a small number. The workshops will take place outdoors and respect social distancing

2. SOURCES OF FUNDING

The organisation, individual or group providing finance for the study/project. If you do not require funding or are self-funded, please put ‘not applicable’

Up to £700 per year from the Social Sciences Faculty as part of my Research Training Support grant.

I also obtained a further £738 from the DEV research adaptation fund to help with the organisation of safe remote data collection workshops with research assistants.

3. RISKS OR COSTS TO PARTICIPANTS

What risks or costs to the participants are entailed in involvement in the study/project? Are there any potential physical, psychological or disclosure dangers that can be anticipated? What is the

3. RISKS OR COSTS TO PARTICIPANTS

possible benefit or harm to the subject or society from their participation or from the study/project as a whole? What procedures have been established for the care and protection of participants (e.g. insurance, medical cover) and the control of any information gained from them or about them?

There is no expected physical or psychological harm to the participants or the researcher originating from the research design, as my questions will focus on the projects and their impacts. I will be careful not to ask questions that can trigger difficult memories after 18 months of living in a pandemic. The study will only incur a cost insofar as participants will offer some of their time to be interviewed or evaluation activities. However, the risk of creating expectations exists, especially with community members and project participants; I will seek advice from project managers and gatekeepers to mitigate this risk. People instigating and managing the projects might all disclosures negatively affect the evaluation of their project, and might be reluctant to share with them for management purposes but won't be divulged to funders, so sharing it can only benefit them. I hope to be able to convey to these officials over the long term that purely academic but also that I intend the results of these evaluations to be actively helpful. If I am offended or mistrust develops I can take some distance and positively reinforce. I will ensure that my tone remains friendly, professional and helpful. Similarly, project workers will be reassured that their insights will not be divulged to managers. There is no possible benefit if they participate, as they will be anonymised throughout the process and will not obtain any project members for participating. Equally, disclosure dangers are very limited. I will ensure the anonymization of data. I will make sure to emphasize this aspect when I approach them. During the ongoing covid pandemic, the second part of this fieldwork will be conducted online. Medical cover the research assistants. The workshops will take place outdoors, with a limited number (maximum 10) sat at a reasonable distance from each other, and wearing personal protective equipment (N95 face masks, or surgical masks if N95 are unavailable).

(Please note this box will expand as much as you need to complete this section)

4. RECRUITMENT/SELECTION PROCEDURES

How will study/project participants be selected? For example will participants be selected randomly, deliberately/purposively, or using lists of people provided by other organisations (see section 11 on Third Party Data)?

Participants will be selected purposively, with the agreement of each project under study. The aim is to interview people associated with managing the projects to understand their expectations regarding the project's aims and elicit its Theory of Change, and with several local partners who are expected to benefit, or have benefitted from these projects, to analyse what kind of results they have seen from the project and how these could be measured. These may include project participants, artisans, local restaurant or hotel managers, shop managers, tour guides, teachers, and local archaeologists or representatives from the Peruvian and Ecuadorian Ministry of Culture. Many of these participants will be involved in the evaluation activities, either through surveys, through participative activities (which will take place in small groups of 5-10 participants at a time) or through informal conversations during the ethnographic phase. In the third phase, I hope to interview about 10 people per project to rate the evaluation methods.

Local gatekeepers to each project will introduce me to some of the participants and I hope to get in touch with more through snowballing. I am already in contact with Jorge Recharte, who runs the Mountain Institute, George Lau and Milton Lujan who will organise the Ancash project, and Chris Hudson who worked in Agua Blanca for decades and offered to introduce me to the Agua Blanca community and its leaders. Once potential participants have been identified by these gatekeepers, I will obtain their consent myself. I will have to approach other participants independently, in particular local people working in the tourism industry.

4. RECRUITMENT/SELECTION PROCEDURES

The research assistants will be recruited based on their willingness to help in the first field season of the project and their interest in my work. They will be offered a salary of £150 for their help with running the workshop. In the online workshops, participants will also be recruited on a voluntary basis. I will contact the people that I did interviews with first, and ask people to sign up if interested. If not enough people sign up I will expand my call for volunteers to recruit about 10 participants per workshop.

5. PARTICIPANTS IN DEPENDENT RELATIONSHIPS

Is there any sense in which participants might be 'obliged', to participate – for example in the case of project beneficiaries, students, prisoners or patients – or are volunteers being recruited? If participants in dependent relationships will be included, what will you do to ensure that their participation is voluntary?

Participants will not be obliged to participate, they will be recruited on a voluntary basis. Some of them will be associated with the projects under investigation or with funders, and may see the researcher as a powerful individual. However, considering the small number of interviews required for this study, I am confident that they will not feel under any obligation to participate as the pool of potential participants is quite large; if they show unease, I can ask someone else who is doing a similar job or occupying a similar position. The conditions will be very clear before we start the interview process. In case they do feel pressure to participate to show their good will regarding the project, I will make sure to present myself as an independent student and explain that participating in an interview will not affect their position within the project either positively or negatively. They may not entirely believe this, and if project participants are critical of the project, they will probably withhold their true opinions. I hope that the guarantee of anonymity will encourage them to speak their mind, but recognise that results may be affected by this issue. I will emphasize the importance of being truthful as any other answer would just bias the results, and would be less helpful than telling me what they think I want to hear. Hence, I will need to reinforce my position as a student and explain that project leaders will not be able to read individual results but rather a more global write-up of how the project has performed so far and could improve.

In the online workshops, participants will also be recruited on a voluntary basis. I will contact the people that I did interviews with first, and ask people to sign up if interested. If not enough people sign up I will expand my call for volunteers to recruit about 10 participants per workshop.

(Please note this box will expand as much as you need to complete this section).

6. VULNERABLE INDIVIDUALS

Specify whether the research will include children, people with mental illness or other potentially vulnerable groups. If so, please explain the necessity of involving these individuals as research participants and what will be done to facilitate their participation.

Children, people with mental illness and other potentially vulnerable groups will not be purposefully targeted. They may accidentally end up being part of the interview sample, if their condition is undisclosed (especially in the case of mental illness). This research involves a relatively small number of participants, hence, this situation can be easily avoided. The participants will however be affiliated with the projects under study. To avoid feelings of

6. VULNERABLE INDIVIDUALS

obligation to participate, I will ensure they are aware that an interview with me will have no negative or positive impacts on their future relationship with the project. Indeed, the organisations will not receive the specific interview data, I will only share with them my general conclusions.

(Please note this box will expand as much as you need to complete this section).

7. PAYMENTS AND INCENTIVES

Will payment or any other incentive, such as a gift or free services, be made to any participant? If so, please specify and state the level of payment to be made and/or the source of the funds/gift/free service to be used. Please explain the justification for offering payment or other incentives.

There will be no specific incentive provided to the participants. I anticipate that the interviews will be quite short and specific. Considering that Andean culture is based on reciprocity, I may offer food or beverages to my participants to thank them for their help, if the interviews take place in a context where this is appropriate. I will use my own funds for this. I will pay for expenses incurred through participation, for example if we need to use taxis to get to a more suitable interview location.

For the online activities, the research assistants will be paid 150 GBP each for their assistance, and provided with medical insurance and internet credit to run the session. The participants will be invited on a voluntary basis. Due to covid, I am not planning to distribute any food or drinks at the event, unlike what I did in person in 2019 and early 2020.

8. CONSENT

Please give details of how consent is to be obtained. Participants must be aware of their entitlement to withdraw consent and at what point in the study/project that entitlement lapses. A copy of the proposed consent form, along with a separate information sheet, written in simple, non-technical language MUST accompany this proposal form as an **ATTACHMENT**.

Interviews will not be conducted without the participants' full informed consent, which they will give through a form, if they feel comfortable with the process (see Appendix B). Alternatively, consent can be recorded in my fieldwork notebook. Participants will be able to retract their data up to a month after the interview. I have a Peruvian phone number and will obtain an Ecuadorian SIM. I will also give participants the contact details of a local colleague whom they may contact when I'm out of the country, or if they don't feel comfortable talking to me directly. I will carefully explain my research before each activity or interview, and hand to all participants an information sheet explaining what my research is about, so that they can refer to it later at their convenience. I also acknowledge that participants can withdraw consent during the course of an activity or interview if they do not appear to be comfortable about sharing information, either verbally or through their body language.

For the online activities, the convenor (a paid research assistant) will remind everyone that the activity will be recorded, ensure they don't record it themselves and post it online, remind them that they can withdraw at this point, and will circulate a sign-up sheet where participants will confirm that they understand the conditions and want to take part

9. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, GENDER-BASED CHARACTERISTICS

What consideration have you given to the cultural context and sensitivities? How have cultural, social and/or gender-based characteristics influenced the research design, and how might these influence the way you carry out the research and how the research is experienced by participants? For example, might your gender affect your ability to do interviews with or ask certain questions from a person of a different gender; might it affect the responses you get or compromise an interviewee? How might your position /status as a UK university based researcher affect such interactions?

The research design has been influenced by the fact that this research project operates in Peru and Ecuador, as I am investigating how this context can affect evaluation methods. However, my research questions focus on the projects and their evaluation rather than on characteristics of their participants. Nevertheless, I am aware of my own position as a Western woman from a UKbased university, and how it may affect the conduct of interviews. In my experience working as a foreign archaeologist in Peru, Peruvians are generally willing to help a young, Western woman, who speaks their language and does not need a translator. However, the responses might be affected by the desire to provide information that sounds more positive than the reality. A culture of machismo may also be found, which would challenge my ability to interview Peruvian men; this might bias my sample in favour of women. As my study does not focus on gender, I don't think this would negatively affect my results.

I will work closely with local gatekeepers, who may be project organisers or community leaders. They will hopefully help me interpret certain comments, and reduce the cultural boundaries that participants may feel when talking to me.

For the online activities, I will work with research assistants with whom I made contact during the first field season, whom I know are interested in my project and eager to help out. Participation will be entirely voluntary

10. CONFIDENTIALITY

Please state who will have access to the data and what measures which will be adopted to maintain the confidentiality of the research subject and to comply with data protection requirements e.g. will the data be anonymised?

Fake names will be used to anonymise participants, so that they can talk freely about what they expect from the projects and the impacts they have perceived, and express their thoughts about the projects. The redacted research will be passed on to the project organisations, but not the specific interview data or individual evaluation results to avoid tracing personal information to a specific individual. This is particularly important in the case of community members who are expected to benefit from the project, and might be worried about losing access if they say anything negative.

11. THIRD PARTY DATA

Will you require access to data on participants held by a third party? In cases where participants will be identified from information held by another party (for example, a doctor or school) describe the arrangements you intend to make to gain access to this information.

I won't require access to data held by a third party, as I will interview and conduct activities with participants myself. Some of the participants are associated with the projects, and I hope to obtain their contact details through the project organisers and community leaders.

12. PROTECTION OF RESEARCHER (THE APPLICANT)

Please state briefly any precautions being taken to protect your health and safety. Have you taken out travel and health insurance for the full period of the research? If not, why not. Have you read and acted upon FCO travel advice (website)? If acted upon, how?

I will subscribe to UEA Travel Insurance for the duration of my fieldwork, which covers my health and safety abroad.

Peru and Ecuador are countries where several risks have been identified (<https://www.gov.uk/foreign-travel-advice/peru> and <https://www.gov.uk/foreign-traveladvice/ecuador>) including the following: natural disasters (heavy rains, floods, earthquakes), security risks (thefts and petty crime), political risks (demonstrations), travel risks (poor road infrastructure), health risks (Zika virus). To mitigate these risks I will exert caution at all times and follow the advice of relevant authorities.

I will not be exposed to any particular risks while conducting online workshops, since the participants are people I know, and every interaction I will have with them will be mediated by the research assistants due to the lack of internet coverage.

13. PROTECTION OF OTHER RESEARCHERS

Please state briefly any precautions being taken to protect the health and safety of other researchers and others associated with the project (as distinct from the participants or the applicant). If there are no other researchers, please put 'not applicable'

I will closely cooperate with the community and project leaders to help navigate cultural differences during the evaluation and interview process. I acknowledge that they will face similar risks and will talk to them about how to mitigate those.

The research assistants will be briefed prior to the online workshops and will receive health insurance for the duration of the workshops

14. RESEARCH PERMISSIONS (INCLUDING ETHICAL CLEARANCE) IN HOST COUNTRY AND/OR ORGANISATION

The UEA's staff and students will seek to comply with travel and research guidance provided by the British Government and the Governments (and Embassies) of host countries. This pertains to research permission, in-country ethical clearance, visas, health and safety information, and other travel advisory notices where applicable. If this research project is being undertaken outside the UK, has formal permission/a research permit been sought to conduct this research? Please describe the action you have taken and if a formal permit has not been sought please explain why this is not necessary/appropriate (for example, for very short studies it is not always appropriate to apply for formal clearance).

No special permit is needed to undertake research in Peru and Ecuador. I can enter Peru and Ecuador with a normal tourist visa granted at the airport. This covers 6 months in the case of Peru and 3 in the case of Ecuador.

To conduct online workshops, I will seek permission with the local authorities and institutions that I was collaborating with during the first field season (Museo de Cabana, Comunidad Campesina de Miraflores, Comuna Agua Blanca).

15. MONITORING OF RESEARCH

What procedures are in place for monitoring the research/project (by funding agency, supervisor, community, self, etc.).

I will be in touch with my supervisors Laura Camfield and George Lau throughout the duration of fieldwork. They will monitor my research and its results, and provide ethical guidance if needed. Laura Camfield has experience working with development projects and George Lau is highly familiar with the culture and society of Peru.

Before conducting the online workshops, I will consult my supervisors and the research assistants to make sure the planned data collection process is fit for purpose.

16. ANTICIPATED USE OF RESEARCH DATA ETC

What is the anticipated use of the data, forms of publication and dissemination of findings etc.?

The data will constitute the basis of my PhD thesis. There is a possibility that it will be disseminated as a series of articles, if accepted for publication. It might also be used by the projects to improve their monitoring and evaluation strategy.

17. FEEDBACK TO PARTICIPANTS

Will the data or findings of this research/project be made available to participants? If so, specify the form and timescale for feedback. What commitments will be made to participants regarding feedback? How will these obligations be verified?

The data and findings of this research project will be made available to participants through each project. I also hope to be able to give a series of informal presentations in each project at the end of my stay in each location.

As the second planned field season never took place, I am going to circulate a video presenting the main insights from the first season in each community, prior to inviting participants for the online workshops. I have drafted a report in Spanish for each village which I will also circulate after writing up a few updates once the online workshops are complete. I hope that when my PhD is submitted, I will be able to travel to the communities again to give a talk, as well as leave with them a hard copy of my reports and thesis.

18. DURATION OF PROJECT

The start date should not be within the 2 months after the submission of this application, to allow for clearance to be processed.

Start date	End date
20 July 2019	20 February 2020 (including Christmas annual leave)
Second, online field season: October 2021	October 2021

19. PROJECT LOCATION(S)

Please state location(s) where the research will be carried out.

Pashash, Ancash, Peru

19. PROJECT LOCATION(S)

Agua Blanca, Manabi, Ecuador
Reserva Paisajística Nor-Yauyos Cochas , Lima, Peru

REVIEW REPORT AND DECISION - PART B

UNIVERSITY OF EAST ANGLIA
INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

APPLICANT INFORMATION

To be completed by the applicant

Forename	Agathe
Surname	Dupeyron
Student ID number (if applicable)	100217981
UG, PGT or PGR (if applicable)	PGR
Supervisor (if applicable)	Professor Laura Camfield (DEV), Dr George Lau (SRU)
Project Title	How can we evaluate the development impacts of archaeology and heritage in the Andes?

For staff:

REN / DEVco Project code	
Project Funder	PLEASE ADD PROJECT CODE

RESUBMISSIONS – IF YOU ARE ASKED TO RESUBMIT YOUR APPLICATION FOLLOWING REVIEW BY THE COMMITTEE PLEASE ALSO ATTACH **A LETTER** WITH YOUR REVISED APPLICATION DETAILING HOW YOU HAVE RESPONDED TO THE COMMITTEE'S COMMENTS. **Students please ensure your supervisor has approved your revisions before resubmission.**

REVIEWERS' RECOMMENDATION (A)

To be completed by the Ethics Committee

Accept	
Request modifications	A
Reject	

REVIEWERS' CHECKLIST

Delete as appropriate

Risks and inconvenience to participants are minimised and not unreasonable given the research question/ project purpose.		A
All relevant ethical issues are acknowledged and understood by the researcher.		
Procedures for informed consent are sufficient and appropriate		A

REVIEWERS' COMMENTS

A solid application. We would like her to reflect on one set of issues indicated as follows:

As this project seeks to be an 'evaluation of evaluation', the research will interview 'project managers' who may be anxious that their disclosures might affect their own performance scores (if this is the case). There will be a strong inclination, I imagine, for participants to exaggerate their successes, or to be anxious about the results of this project. Although the researcher indicates that she will do her best to present herself as an independent entity, it would be good

to provide some more detail of how she will reassure them of her objectivity and not cause them any undue distress (she has already explained that she is aware that what they tell her may be affected by this dimension, and will thus 'deal' with the data accordingly). But how will she actually interact with these same officials over a period of time? What will she do if distrust develops, and things become unpleasant, or unmanageable? Some reflection on these aspects may be helpful in advance.


REVIEW REPORT AND DECISION - PART B

UNIVERSITY OF EAST ANGLIA
INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATION

Request modifications as indicated

SIGNATURE (CHAIR OF THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ETHICS COMMITTEE)

Signature	Date
	31.5.19

To whom it may concern:

Ethics application addendum

My PhD project aimed to test evaluation methods in three sites in Peru and Ecuador to understand the longitudinal impacts of projects connected to archaeological heritage and their effects on people's lives. A second field season was planned in 2020 to complete data collection and witness changes through time, for example, the conclusion of one of the projects. Going back to Peru and Ecuador before the end of my third year proved impossible. All three villages are remote, with limited internet connections. The pandemic has also had a direct impact on these villages and people's livelihoods, in some cases suspending the touristic activity on which they rely, or their plans to increase such activities. Although the research questions around evaluation that I set out to answer are still valid and can be explored through the data I collected in 2019, I would like my work to reflect the changed trajectories of these villages and outline how archaeological projects might figure in their strategies for recovery. It also reflects my ethical stance to update people on the work and analysis I have been doing and make sure that they agree with how I have represented them and the project before the final thesis write-up . Preliminary data analysis

conducted on the first case study (Cabana) highlighted some gaps that are a result of collecting data only relating to a single point in time (the project began in 2019); the additional research I'm proposing would address this and capture some of the impacts of the pandemic on people's lives.

I would like to enrich my dataset by conducting remote Focus Group discussions with various stakeholders from each village (agricultural community, teachers, tourism/archaeological committee) to feed back on my findings. These will ask participants to comment on the changes they witnessed and reflect on the place of archaeological heritage in their future trajectories. This data will ensure that the findings of the thesis are relevant to the villages and the academic community considering the changed circumstances, and will be integrated to all three empirical chapters as a way to reflect on changes and update the results, as well as a reflective postscript explaining on how the results of the thesis can still be relevant in a post Covid world.

Ethically, the participants will be similar to those of my original ethics application. However, there are a few additional concerns considering the ongoing pandemic, mainly regarding the safety of participants and the guarantees regarding anonymity and data protection when the work is outsourced to research assistants. I will prepare a form for participants to sign explaining that they will be anonymous in this exercise. I will also explain to the research assistant that there will be very careful to admonish against filming and recording of this.

I would like to recruit community-based research assistants, who will be able to carry out a recorded participative workshop on my behalf. If possible, I will attend through a Whatsapp audio chat, although I am aware this might be difficult in most settings I have obtained funds from UEA to cover the research assistants' employment fee, health insurance, PPE for all workshop participants, and internet credits (4G data card) so that the research assistants can send me any resulting materials. In Cabana, I can hopefully recruit Flor Valderrama, the local archaeologist and

representative of the Ministry of Culture. In Miraflores, I hope to recruit Luz Fernandez, who was instrumental in helping me reach the Miraflores diaspora in Lima but has been living in Miraflores since the beginning of the pandemic. Another possibility is Doris Chavez from the Mountain Institute, who knows the community very well and has resumed fieldwork there. In Agua Blanca, I would like to work with Humberto Martinez, who owns the community restaurant, and was very interested in assisting my research efforts as a former student of Tourism Studies. These research assistants would be credited and acknowledged in my thesis and all subsequent publications.

Run through of activities.

1. Circulate in the communities (mainly through WhatsApp) a video of myself, an informal recorded presentation (5min) in which I walk them through the main insights of my analysis for each village. Tell them that I can send the full report to whomever is interested by email, and that I will give paper copies of this and my thesis when I next visit them.
2. Invite them, in small numbers (invite all those who took part in interviews and open call for more), to a workshop that will be convened by a research assistant. The research assistant will be paid for their time (£150 per person, and health insurance of £50 per person, plus reimbursed against the costs of PPE for the workshops) and for taking this responsibility, and will be credited accordingly in all upcoming publications. They have to agree with their name being cited in this research.
3. Train the convenors/ RAs. A WhatsApp call, sharing with them the objectives of the workshop, the main ethical considerations (consent, anonymity, data protection) and the exercises that will take place. Make sure they agree with the exercises and ask them for feedback, whether they think other questions are needed, etc. (cocreated workshop).
4. Send the convenors a detailed Guia Metodologica explaining how the Focus Group Discussion will take place.
5. Upon arriving at the workshop, participants will be given personal protective equipment purchased in advance by the RAs (face masks, hand gel), will be explained that everything they say will be anonymised in the final results of the research and will be asked to give their consent orally. The convenor will write the names of participants on the register to minimise the risk of passing the sheet around. Any writing that takes place will be done by the convenor to minimise the risks.
6. The convenor will be asked to record the meeting on their phone using the voice recorder app, and will check with participants that they are comfortable to do so.

7. After the Focus Group Discussion, the RAs will call me to tell me how the process went (debrief) and will share their audio with me.

Guiding questions for the workshop/ Focus Group Discussion.

Acknowledging that the pandemic has been a hard time for many, I need to be cautious in the type of questions I can ask and make sure that I don't make people uncomfortable or force them to confront painful memories. The questions will be more focused toward adaptation and looking to the future.

- Can you tell me about one way in which your community adapted to the pandemic? (ask a few participants to tell the RA about their activity and what they have been up to in the last 18 months, anecdotes showing adaptation)
- What are your priorities for the next five years? How does the archaeological site/ the Ecosystem Based Adaptation project / the community tourism project feature in those?
- After seeing the video I sent you, what result surprised you the most?
- Did you learn anything new?
- What do you disagree with?
- What do you agree with?

Formulario de Consentimiento: Taller

Título del Proyecto: **Cómo evaluar los impactos de la arqueología en términos de desarrollo en Perú y Ecuador?**

Agathe Dupeyron - University of East Anglia, Reino Unido.

Entiendo de que trata este proyecto de investigación, y he tenido la oportunidad de hacer preguntas.
Sé que puedo retractar mi información en cualquier momento si no me siento cómodo/cómoda. Puedo negarme en contestar cualquier pregunta.
Sé que este taller será grabado, y estoy de acuerdo.
Sé que los datos serán utilizados para redactar publicaciones científicas, y mejorar las actividades del proyecto. Estoy de acuerdo con este uso de mi información.
Estoy de acuerdo en participar en este proyecto de investigación.

Nombre	Firma	Fecha
---------------	--------------	--------------



University of East Anglia
Norwich Research Park
Norwich. NR4 7TJ

University of East Anglia Email: ethicsapproval@uea.ac.uk

Web: www.uea.ac.uk

Study title: How can we evaluate the development impacts of archaeology and heritage in the Andes?

Application ID: ETH2122-0010 (Amendment prior to EM)

Dear Agathe,

Your application was considered on 3rd November 2021 by the DEV S-REC (School of International Development Research Ethics Subcommittee).

The decision is: **approved**.

You are therefore able to start your project subject to any other necessary approvals being given.

This approval will expire on **31st August 2022**.

Please note that your project is granted ethics approval only for the length of time identified above. Any extension to a project must obtain ethics approval by the DEV S-REC (School of International Development Research Ethics Subcommittee) before continuing.

It is a requirement of this ethics approval that you should report any adverse events which occur during your project to the DEV S-REC (School of International Development Research Ethics Subcommittee) as soon as possible. An adverse event is one which was not anticipated in the research design, and which could potentially cause risk or harm to the participants or the researcher, or which reveals potential risks in the treatment under evaluation. For research involving animals, it may be the unintended death of an animal after trapping or carrying out a procedure.

Any amendments to your submitted project in terms of design, sample, data collection, focus etc. should be notified to the DEV SREC (School of International Development Research Ethics Subcommittee) in advance to ensure ethical compliance. If the amendments are substantial a new application may be required.

Approval by the DEV S-REC (School of International Development Research Ethics Subcommittee) should not be taken as evidence that your study is compliant with the UK General Data Protection Regulation (UK GDPR) and the Data Protection Act 2018. If you need guidance on how to make your study UK GDPR compliant, please contact the UEA Data Protection Officer (dataprotection@uea.ac.uk).

I would like to wish you every success with your project.

On behalf of the DEV S-REC (School of International Development Research Ethics Subcommittee)

Yours sincerely,

Addendum (19/03/2022)

To whom it may concern:

Due to the wider availability of vaccines in Peru and Ecuador the Covid-19 situation has improved in Peru and Ecuador. After careful consultation with members of the three villages, I have come to the conclusion that it is now possible to conduct the fieldwork in person. I therefore apply for an amendment of my original ethics application.

The main difference to the planned workshops is that instead of being conducted by a research assistant trained over Whatsapp, I will now personally conduct them. This reduces the responsibility placed on the research assistants for ensuring the smooth delivery of the workshops, and enables consistency across the three villages as I will conduct them myself.

Furthermore, returning to the communities after two years away enables me to share the information in a more personal manner, that takes into account the importance of the bonds forged through fieldwork. I have always seen it as my ethical responsibility to return to the three communities and incorporate their insights in my research. These workshops will be a way to acknowledge their contributions, and ensure that my PhD reflects them as accurately as possible. All three organisations I work with have asked to be directly named and acknowledged in the thesis, which I will do. In a Focus Group setting, due to the power dynamics operating within the communities, participants may not be comfortable sharing certain details about the work they did, or their opinion on my results. However, conducting this fieldwork in person means that there will also be time for informal, unrecorded conversations, where participants may give me their feedback more anonymously. This would give more opportunities for their views to be reported in the thesis.

Planned dates of fieldwork: 16th May 2022 – 29th June 2022.

Field sites: Cabana and Miraflores, Peru. Agua Blanca, Ecuador. I plan to spend about 10 days in each site.

Run through of activities for the workshops/ Focus Group Discussions.

1. Talk to the main host institutions in each village (Cabana: steering committee for heritage and Municipality. Agua Blanca: community president and committee Miraflores: Instituto de Montaña and representatives of the *comunidad campesina* legal entity of the peasant community). The aim is to share with them the objectives of the workshop, the main ethical considerations (consent, anonymity, data protection) and the exercises that will take place. Make sure they agree with the exercises and ask them for

feedback, whether they think other questions are needed, etc. (cocreated workshop).

2. Conduct an informal presentation (15min) in an outdoors location in which I share with the communities the main insights of my analysis for each village. Upon arrival, participants will be given personal protective equipment purchased in advance (face masks, hand gel).
3. Give paper copies of the reports in Spanish to the institutions involved in this research for safekeeping, and offer to share a digital version with all the participants. The paper and digital versions of my thesis will be shared after it is approved by the examiners.
4. Invite all those who took part in interviews to stay longer for a workshop and open the call for more people.
5. I will check with participants if they are comfortable with me recording the meeting. I will also explain that everything they say will be anonymised in the final results of the research and will be asked to give their consent orally. I will write the names of participants on a register to minimise the risk of passing the sheet around.

Guiding questions for the workshops/ Focus Group Discussions.

Acknowledging that the pandemic has been a hard time for many, I need to be cautious in the type of questions I can ask and make sure that I don't make people uncomfortable or force them to confront painful memories. The questions will be more focused toward adaptation and looking to the future.

- What result surprised you the most in my presentation?
 - Did you learn anything new?
 - What do you disagree with?
 - What do you agree with?
 - Can you tell me about one way in which your community adapted to the pandemic? (ask a few participants to tell me about their activity and what they have been up to in the last 18 months, anecdotes showing adaptation)
 - What are your priorities for the next five years?
- How does the archaeological site/ the Ecosystem Based Adaptation project / the community tourism project feature in those?

The results of these workshops will aid the editing process of my PhD, especially the empirical chapters. It will help make the information more accurate by checking it with the people who are directly associated with the projects and the contexts in which they operate.

II. Consent form templates

Formulario de Consentimiento

Titulo del Proyecto: Cómo evaluar los impactos de la arqueología en términos de desarrollo en los Andes?

Nombre de la investigadora: Agathe Dupeyron

Afiliación de la investigadora: University of East Anglia, Reino Unido.

Marque todas las casillas que le apliquen:

Entiendo de que trata este proyecto de investigación, y he tenido la oportunidad de hacer preguntas.	
Sé que puedo retractar mi información en cualquier momento si no me siento cómodo/cómoda. Puedo negarme en contestar cualquier pregunta.	
Sé que esta entrevista será grabada, y estoy de acuerdo.	
Sé que los datos serán utilizados para redactar publicaciones científicas, y mejorar las actividades del proyecto. Estoy de acuerdo con este uso de mi información.	
Estoy de acuerdo en participar en este proyecto de investigación.	

Anonimato: Mi posición dentro de la organización/comunidad puede ser revelado en este proyecto de investigación. SI / NO

Nombre

Firma

Fecha

Nombre de la investigadora

Firma

Fecha

Hoja de información para el proyecto: Cómo evaluar los impactos de la arqueología en términos de desarrollo en los Andes?

Investigadora: Agathe Dupeyron

Mi nombre es Agathe Dupeyron y estoy trabajando para un proyecto de investigación enfocándose en los impactos que puede tener el patrimonio arqueológico sobre comunidades locales y como podrían ser evaluados. Quiero ofrecerle un poco más información sobre el proyecto, darle una oportunidad para hacer preguntas y saber si está dispuesto/a a participar. Su participación es completamente voluntaria y usted puede negarse ahora mismo, o después de obtener más información. No puedo prometer ningún beneficio directo a cambio de su participación.

De que trata este proyecto de investigación?

Este proyecto junta información sobre lo que el proyecto de investigación arqueológico ha brindado y puede brindar para su comunidad. Estoy particularmente interesada en saber como sus impactos pueden ser medidos. Esto es importante si queremos mejorar el proyecto en el futuro, para que sea más relevante para ustedes. Le estoy invitando a participar porque usted representa un punto de vista particular, y muy importante, dentro de la comunidad. Quiero asegurarme de que sus expectativas sean representadas en pensar en como los impactos del proyecto podrían ser evaluados.

Quien esta desarrollando este proyecto?

Soy una estudiante de la Universidad de East Anglia, Reino Unido, y aquí en Perú/Ecuador estudio el proyecto de investigación arqueológico, pero soy independiente de él. Mi investigación ha sido aprobado por la Comisión de Ética de la Escuela de Desarrollo Internacional de mi Universidad.

Como serán utilizados los resultados de la investigación?

Voy a usar los resultados de este estudio para mi tesis de doctorado. Espero que mis resultados apoyaran al proyecto para mejorar sus actividades, y volverlos más relevantes para la comunidad local. A pesar de eso, este proyecto es pequeño, y no puedo garantizar de que mis resultados sean aplicados en la práctica.

Cual será la protección de mi información?

La información extraída de su entrevista será utilizada en el contexto de otra información que coleccionaré. Usted no será nombrado/a. Toda la información dada será confidencial, y cualquier dato publicado será anónimo. Por ejemplo, cuando escribe acerca de esta entrevista, le nombraré usando un código. Su empleo solo será mencionado si la información no permite identificarle con precisión. Por supuesto, si usted es cómodo/a con la idea de ser nombrado/a e identificado/a, puedo referirme a usted directamente. Eso depende de usted, y puede cambiar de opinión en cualquier momento, aún después de la entrevista.

Estaré grabado/a?

Me gustaría grabar nuestra entrevista para acordarme de lo que usted explica, y usar la información de manera exacta. Si eso le genera cualquier incomodidad, me lo puede decir y solo tomaré notas manuscritas. Las grabaciones de nuestra entrevista serán borradas después de tres años.

Que pasa si decido participar?

Si usted quiere participar, está dando su acuerdo para una actividad en grupo, una encuesta o una breve entrevista. Si cambia de opinión, podemos parar esas actividades en cualquier momento y no usaré su información. Si usted se da cuenta de que no está cómodo/a con el uso de su información después de la actividad, me puede contactar hasta un mes después y destruiré esa información, tampoco la usaré en mi investigación.

Me puede contactar con los siguientes detalles:

Agathe Dupeyron. Número de celular: 957760646. Correo Electrónico: a.dupeyron@uea.ac.uk

Supervisores

George Lau – George.lau@uea.ac.uk

Laura Camfield – laura.camfield@uea.ac.uk

School of International Development

University of East Anglia

Norwich NR4 7TJ

Formulario de Consentimiento: Taller

Título del Proyecto: Cómo evaluar los impactos de la arqueología en términos de desarrollo en Perú y Ecuador?

Agathe Dupeyron - University of East Anglia, Reino Unido.

Entiendo de que trata este proyecto de investigación, y he tenido la oportunidad de hacer preguntas.
Sé que puedo retractar mi información en cualquier momento si no me siento cómodo/cómoda. Puedo negarme en contestar cualquier pregunta.
Sé que este taller será grabado, y estoy de acuerdo.
Sé que los datos serán utilizados para redactar publicaciones científicas, y mejorar las actividades del proyecto. Estoy de acuerdo con este uso de mi información.
Estoy de acuerdo en participar en este proyecto de investigación.

Nombre

Firma

III. Coding matrix

Coding scheme on NVivo 11

Name	Description
1. CONT. Context in which projects operates	Context given by respondents that affect the conduct of the three projects, and may limit or exacerbate their impacts.
1.1. CABANA	
1. 1. 1. CAB. CONT. SOC. Social context	Migration, demographic transition, access to education...
1. 1. 2. CAB. CONT. ECO. Economic context	Changes in work opportunities, structures of work, economic crises
1. 1. 3. CAB. CONT. CUL. Cultural factors	Aspects to do with respondents' cultural codes
1.1.4. CAB. CONT. ENV. Environmental factors	Environmental changes, climate change, changes in agricultural practices, linkages with national parks or landscape reserves and history of conservation.
1.1.5. CAB. CONT. POL. Political factors	Political crises, both acute and long-term, and how they have affected projects over time. Include local, national and international politics.
1.2. MIRAFLORES	
1. 2. 1. MIR. CONT. SOC. Social context	Migration, demographic transition, access to education...
1. 2. 2. MIR. CONT. ECO. Economic context	Changes in work opportunities, structures of work, economic crises
1. 2. 3. MIR. CONT. CUL. Cultural factors	Aspects to do with respondents' cultural codes
1.2.4. MIR. CONT. ENV. Environmental factors	Environmental changes, climate change, changes in agricultural practices, linkages with national parks or landscape reserves and history of conservation.
1.2.5. MIR. CONT. POL. Political factors	Political crises, both acute and long-term, and how they have affected projects over time. Include local, national and international politics.
1.3. AGUA BLANCA	
1. 3. 1. AB. CONT. SOC. Social context	Migration, demographic transition, access to education...
1. 3. 2. AB. CONT. ECO. Economic context	Changes in work opportunities, structures of work, economic crises
1. 3. 3. AB. CONT. CUL. Cultural factors	Aspects to do with respondents' cultural codes
1.3.4. AB. CONT. ENV. Environmental factors	Environmental changes, climate change, changes in agricultural practices, linkages with national parks or landscape reserves and history of conservation.
1.3.5. AB. CONT. POL. Political factors	Political crises, both acute and long-term, and how they have affected projects over time. Include local, national and international politics.
2. IMP. Identified impacts by project	Identified impacts. (and whether the way they are defined differ based on the stakeholders, and on the method chosen)

2.1. IMP. SOC. Social impacts	
2.1.1.IMP. SOC. ID. Pride in the past and local identity	Use of archaeological imagery, annual festivals celebrating heritage, identification with the site and the heritage, frequency of visits to the site, presence of local organisations championing the site
2.1.2.IMP.SOC.PROT. Willingness to protect heritage	Reduction of looting and physical damage, presence of (locally managed) security guards or cameras/ monitoring, perception of the importance of site protection.
2.2. IMP. CULT. Cultural impacts	
2. 2.1. IMP.CULT.ARCH. Archaeological capacity building	
2.2.1.1. Professional opportunities for Peruvian or Ecuadorian scholars and heritage specialists	Students trained by the project. Partnerships with national universities. Theses written in relation to the site. Archaeologists/anthropologists/heritage field job creation by season of work.
2.2.1.2. Resources for local museums	Finds added to local museums, visibility of local museums, temporary exhibitions.
2.2.2. IMP.CULT.EDU. Educational impacts	
2.2.2.1. School level education	Site visits, activities, number of school children engaged. Degree of engagement and identification.
2.2.2.2. Learning in villagers	Satisfaction with their knowledge of the local archaeological site and neighbouring ones.
2.2.2.3. Learning in project workers	Satisfaction with their knowledge of excavations (past and present) and archaeology
2.3. IMP. ENV. Environmental and conservation impacts	
2.3.1. IMP. ENV. ENV. Environmental impacts	Use of ‘new’ agricultural, pastoral and irrigation techniques that are more adapted to the local context as a direct output or indirect effect of the project.
2.3.1.1. Climate change adaptation	Use of ‘new’ agricultural, pastoral and irrigation techniques that are more adapted to the local context as a direct output or indirect effect of the project.
2.3.1.2. Knowledge and awareness about environmental impacts	Knowledge about ecosystem based adaptation, environmental changes, past land use.
2.3.2. IMP. ENV. CONS. Conservation impacts	
2.3.2.1. Heritage protection	Planning protection and upkeep. New signs, paths and fences protecting the site and its environment. Regular site cleaning. Site condition.
2.3.2.2. ‘Puesta en valor’	Long-term vision for the protection and maintenance of the site, legal status, infrastructure and planning, plan to open it to visitors.

2.4. IMP. ECO. Economic impacts	
2.4.1. IMP. ECO. TOURISM.	
2.4.1.1. Economic growth stimulated by tourism	
2.4.1.2. Number of tourists on site	
2.4.1.3. Number of touristic sites in the regional circuit	
2.4.1.4. Development of local crafts and souvenir outlets	
2.4.1.5. Tour guides and agencies	
2.4.1.6. Foreign languages	Foreign languages spoken to accommodate a flow of (international) visitors
2.4.1.7. External financial sources	Support from other sources (e.g. public/private partnerships with mining companies, governments, external linkages facilitated by the project)
2.4.1.8. Infrastructures	Better infrastructure that supports touristic activity. Roads, restaurants, hotels, souvenir and artisan shops.
2.4.2. IMP. ECO. DIRECT.	
2.4.2.1. Employment	Employment of locals for archaeological work
2.4.2.2. Increased activity	Income increase for local food, accommodation and incidental providers
2.5. IMP. COMP. Complexity	Links and connections between more than one types of impact
3. EVAL. –General evaluation context per project. (not linked to my own methods)	
3.1.EVAL. IMP. Importance of evaluation in the project context	Comments regarding the importance of evaluation and its possible uses in the past, present and future to improve project activities.
3.2. EVAL. PRES.	Presence/ absence of methods, type of methods used by local institutions. May be desaggregated later (eg. TMI is using several methods)
3.3.EVAL. FUT. Planned methods to be used by stakeholders in the future	
3.4.EVAL. CRIT. Critiques of current methods	
4. TEST. Tested methods (Agathe PhD)	
4.1.TEST. SURVEY. Survey	Discussion of survey results and implementation
4.1.1.TEST.SURVEY.POS. Strengths of the survey	Perceived strength of conducting the survey

4.1.2. TEST.SURVEY.NEG. Drawbacks of the survey	Perceived drawbacks of conducting the survey and limits/biases in the results
4.2.TEST.ETHN.Rapid ethnographic methods	Discussion of the interviews and participant observation
4.2.1. TEST.ETHN.POS. Strengths of rapid ethnography	Perceived strengths of rapid ethnographic methods
4.2.2. TEST.ETHN.NEG. Drawbacks of rapid ethnography	Perceived drawbacks of conducting rapid participant observation/interviews and limits/biases in the results
4.3. TEST.WORK. Participative workshops	
4.3.1. TEST.WORK.POS. Strengths of Participative workshops	Perceived strengths of participative workshops
4.3.2. TEST.WORK.NEG. Drawbacks of participative workshops	Perceived drawbacks of conducting participative workshops and limits/biases in the results
5. Suggestions for project improvement	

IV. Interview schedule for evaluators and project managers

English

(Sample example from Cabana)

This initial interview will help me understand the intended impacts of the project and tailor my methods to establish a baseline or collect evaluation data. I'd like to have another one towards the end of my stay here to assess how practical and feasible these various methods are, and discuss with you any further practical constraints that may have affected those.

Discussing the theory of change (plausibility of impact)

-Please take a look at this diagram I have designed based on the impact documents. Do you agree with it? If not, how would you describe the main objectives of the Agua Blanca project in terms of development?

-What are your targeted outcomes (practical results you expect to see)?

-How do you expect to achieve them?

-How do you expect these to be reflected on the ground?

-In your opinion, in what areas could this model be improved?

-What other aspects do you think could be monitored?

-To what extent were project participants consulted to refine this project?

Current or past data collection methods (feasibility)

-What do your funders ask for when they ask to demonstrate impact? Do they ask for any specific data points?

*-Do you currently collect any data on how the project is doing (monitoring and evaluation) in terms of its expected outcomes? (I understand this is perhaps what I'm supposed to do for my PhD, but would you do it otherwise, or **have you done it for any previous projects?**) Informal interviews with stakeholders (municipalidad, townspeople, Ministerio de Cultura, archaeologists, etc.) count. Any data on inputs (financial etc) and activities (meetings held) also count.*

IF YES:

-What methods do you use, if any, to monitor inputs, outputs, outcomes and impacts (if you visualize the project in such a way)?

-How often do/did you collect data? What kind of data do you collect and what methods do you use for that?

-Do you collect baseline data before starting a project, and if so, on what kind of aspects?

-Do you record information on the beneficiaries, such as the main stakeholders and what they got out of the project... who was involved, when and to what extent?

-Can you describe the main difficulties in collecting data?

-In your view, in what areas could the data collection be improved?

-(Looking at the TOC diagram again)

Indicators and methods (feasibility)

-What do you think are the key evaluation questions or indicators, among the possible ones I've marked here but also beyond those? Do you think other stakeholders (municipalidad, Ministerio de Cultura, funders) might have different priorities?

-How would you feel about working with statistical data (from INEI for instance, on levels of poverty in the region, or tourism)?

-Do you think economic data could realistically be collected from people who are set to benefit economically from the project?

-How would you feel about interviewing (brief, informal) some of the stakeholders after and before the project, to understand what changes in Cabana can be traced to the site and the project?

-Do you think it would be feasible to do workshops with the inhabitants of Cabana, for example to ask them to draw what the site represents to them and how they value it, focus group discussions to understand what they expect from the project, or to rank different impacts that archaeology/tourism might have on their lives?

-How easy would it be to administer a short survey to people who have been involved (directly or indirectly) with PIARP once a season?

-Do you think some of these methods would give more important information than others (to demonstrate impact or improve the project's activities)?

Possible challenges in data collection (feasibility)

- **Context**

-In your view, what are the institutional/economic/social/cultural/political challenges in data collection?

-Beyond those context-related problems, do you think it would be difficult to collect data, and if so, why? (data availability, sampling, data collection instruments, participants)?

- **Practicalities of data collection**

-If I wasn't going to collect this data for my PhD, do you think someone from the project could realistically collect data on these indicators? What skills would they need? Is this too specialized a role? What about the impact at the end of the project, when I will (hopefully) have finished my PhD? This is part of the reason why I want the data collection plan to be feasible and easily implemented by anyone in the team, and I'm also looking for a system that can be easily used by other archaeological projects too with similar time constraints.

-How much time could anyone from the team realistically devote to data collection during each season to see how the project is doing?

-Do you feel it's up to another stakeholder to collect data on how Agua Blanca can help develop Cabana in the ways outlined in the Theory of Change (eg. Museum, Ministerio de Cultura or municipalidad)?

Purpose of evaluation (utility)

-How do you rate the importance of collecting this evaluation data?

-Would evaluation results change the way in which you manage future projects?

-What do you expect from this evaluation (my PhD) for your project in the coming years?

-What data would you like to have access to in an ideal world, to improve the way you conduct projects?

-What would you need to be able to collect such data?

Spanish

(Sample example from Miraflores)

Discusión sobre el Proyecto – plausibilidad del impacto

Los objetivos del Proyecto son bien detallados en la Teoría del Cambio. ¿Cuáles serían los cambios más importantes para el Proyecto “Escalando AbE”?

Le parece que los resultados esperados se pudieron medir y entender como se lo habían planteado, o hubo algunos desafíos y/o dificultades? ¿Hay algunas cosas que les gustaría cambiar en la teoría del Cambio después de su experiencia y de la sistematización?

¿En el Proyecto AbE, hubo cambios fuera de las expectativas y que ustedes desean medir ahora para el proyecto Escalando AbE?

¿Como va cambiando su metodología de evaluación y monitoreo desde el proyecto AbE?

¿He visto que tienen un sistema de monitoreo participativo hecho por Vidal en 2019 – cada cuanto tiempo recolectan los datos correspondiendo a esos indicadores? ¿Existen informes preliminares con esos indicadores?

Que otros aspectos le parecen importantes, ¿que todavía no han podido monitorear?

Metodologías de recolección de datos actuales - factibilidad

El enfoque participativo que tienen, hasta para el monitoreo, evaluación y sistematización, ¿me parece muy interesante – me podría decir más sobre el origen de este enfoque? (institucional, donantes, etc.)

¿Ustedes harán otra sistematización para el Proyecto Escalando AbE?

¿He visto que tienen indicadores participativos y también los indicadores ambientales, sociales y climáticos – como se articulan esos ahora? ¿Con que frecuencia se usan? ¿Usan también otras metodologías?

¿En su opinión, en que área podría mejorarse la recolección de datos?

¿Podría describir las dificultades mayores en recolectar datos, y como se han superado?

Indicadores y metodologías - Factibilidad

¿Les parece que otros actores ven como más importantes a algunos indicadores?

Ustedes mencionan en su informe que no pueden recolectar datos económicos porque el vínculo con AbE Montaña es difícil de establecer. ¿Hay otras formas de establecer vínculos (entrevistas, etc.)?

¿Hay otras áreas en las cuales sienten que no pueden evidenciar el impacto?

¿De todas las metodologías que han utilizado para evidenciar cambios, cuales les parecían más relevantes? Y cuales fueron más practicas/factibles?

Desafíos mayores - Factibilidad

- **Contexto**

¿Cuáles son los mayores desafíos para recolectar datos de evaluación y monitoreo (institucionales, económicos, sociales, culturales o políticos)?

¿Además del contexto, hay también desafíos vinculados a la metodología? (instrumentos, participantes, disponibilidad de datos...)

¿Quiénes recolectan datos de monitoreo y evaluación? ¿Los investigadores locales (como lo dice el informe) o el equipo del IdM?

Cuanto tiempo le toma la parte dedicada a recolección de datos?

Utilidad

¿Me podría describir la importancia de esos datos de evaluación y monitoreo?

¿Como ha cambiado el Proyecto Escalando AbE a partir de los resultados de la sistematización?

¿Cuáles son sus expectativas con mi investigación, de qué forma piensan que les pueda servir?

Que más les gustaría conocer, ¿que por ahora es imposible documentar?

¿Qué les haría falta para recolectar este tipo de datos?

V. List of interview, Focus Group and Participatory Workshop participants

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

Code	Interviewee background (gender, age group, occupation)	Key themes	Date	Place
<i>Cabana</i>				
CAB1	Man, in his 50s, archaeologist	Feasibility of evaluation in the archaeological sector and in Cabana.	11/08/19	Cabana
CAB2	Man, in his 60-70s, Teacher, Member of the <i>patronato</i> .	Tourism, sites in the region, history of the Patronato, history of the other local organisations, Pashash as a resource for education, identification with Pashash, state of conservation of Pashash	22/08/19	Cabana
CAB3	Man, in his 60s, hotel owner, member of the <i>patronato</i>	Touristic resources in the area (historical and natural), yearly festivals, local politics, local crafts, impact of the archaeologists' presence, archaeology in local schools, identification, local heritage organisations, economic context, puesta en valor, survey questions	23/08/19	Cabana
CAB4	Man, in his 70s, former mayor, member of the patronato	Local politics, tourism (challenges and opportunities), local identity and culture, willingness to protect heritage, Pashash and education, local organisations safeguarding heritage, opportunities for Peruvian archaeologists, heritage protection, puesta en valor, expectations for the future, impressions of the interview and survey methodology, importance and use of evaluation	24/08/19	Cabana
CAB5	Woman, in her 50s, primary school teacher	Integration of site and museum visits within the school curriculum and activities, frequency of visits, absence of monitoring, challenges to tourism, childrens' impressions of archaeological heritage	28/08/19	Cabana
CAB6	Man, in his 40s, artisan and Municipality employee	Current state of tourism, current status of artisans; scope for integrating artisanal activities and handicrafts, local identity, state of conservation of Pashash	29/08/19	Cabana
CAB7	Man, in his 50s, archaeologist	Process of puesta en valor and logistical/political challenges, creation of a site museum, comparison with similar projects, state of the museum, possible involvement of the private sector (mining companies), raising	29/08/19	Cabana

		awareness of heritage protection, learning in site workers and school children, training of archaeologists		
CAB8	Man, in his 50s, secondary school support staff, member of the patronato	Situation of tourism, profile of tourists, lack of infrastructure, history of Pashash, state of conservation of Pashash, plans of the patronato, artisans, critiques of the community against the archaeologists, state of the museum and its visitors, challenges and hopes for the future, importance of evaluation	30/08/19	Cabana
CAB9	Man, in his 40-50s, local authority	Tourism and its place in the political agenda, lack of MEL data, outreach to adult population and children and possible communication strategies (especially on Facebook), importance of education for heritage protection, lack of interest in heritage in the general population, Pashash as a site for recreational walks and photos, plans to put up information panels, meaning of evaluation, use of evaluation	03/09/19	Cabana
CAB10	Group of men, from 20s to 70s, seasonal workers at Pashash	Experience working in an archaeological excavation, what they learnt, telling their families about the dig, abandonment of the agricultural work in Cabana and rural exodus, lack of employment opportunities.	04/09/19	Cabana
CAB11	Man, in his 50s, archaeologist	Opinions on the participatory workshop and suggestions for improvement, reasons for not attending, social differences within Cabana, options for accessibility, what archaeologists have learnt from the workshop, creating an environment in which people feel safe to speak their minds, use of ethnographic methods for evaluation.	16/09/19	Cabana
CAB12	Woman, in her 70s, retired lawyer and member of the patronato	Impressions on the workshop and critiques, suggestions on doing workshops with the Municipality, use of visual media to appeal to wider audiences, possible uses of evaluation, political obstacles and apathy, locally published books on heritage, delimitation of the archaeological perimeter around Pashash, ancient documents about the history of Pashash ownership.	17/09/19	Cabana
CAB13	Woman, in her 50s, shop keeper	Impressions on the workshop and critiques, impressions on the survey and critiques, photos of Pashash on social media and 'buzz' in Cabana, obstacles to tourism (lack of road access), what happens to the Pashash	17/09/19	Cabana

		artefacts after the excavation, surprising results from the workshop, reactions of children when they go to Pashash, improving communication with the village (talks).		
CAB14	Man, in his 30s, municipality employee	Impressions of the workshop and criticism, expected results, useability of the results, lack of MEL data in the municipality, importance of having a touristic development plan, difficulties in distributing the surveys, need to have more workshops for example with the comunidad campesina of Cabana, interest of the population in tourism, importance of evaluation for accountability and understanding, possibility of getting funding for puesta en valor from the private sector (e.g. mining), criticism of local politics and importance of getting local politicians on board	17/09/19	Cabana
CAB15	Woman, in her 40s, archaeologist	Impressions of the workshop, importance of Pashash for Cabana, workshop as a place where people could obtain more information, importance of school visits in the 2019 season, comparison between the feasibility of the survey vs the workshop, surveys conducted by the museum.	18/09/19	Cabana
<i>Miraflores</i>				
MIR1	Woman in her 40s, IdM project management staff	Most important changes seen since project inception, changes in evaluation methodology and indicators, difficulty of measuring economic and social impacts, unexpected outcomes, valuing the past, participatory monitoring, MEL expectations of donors and institutions, aspects that are missing in MEL strategy, institutional ethos, difficulties in collecting data, weight of MEL in IdM's activities, comparison of methods, Action Learning, rescuing heritage (tangible and intangible), RETAMA, working with cultural stakeholders, other archaeological sites in the area, Carania project, collaboration with archaeologists	28/11/19	Huancayo
MIR2	Man in his 60s, IdM evaluation staff	Participatory monitoring, ethos of the IdM, community involvement in the research, challenges, monitoring methods, evaluation methods, action learning, changes in the MEL strategy, missing areas,	28/11/19	Huancayo/ Skype

		communicating results, evaluation fatigue, cultural activities organised by the IdM in Miraflores, cultural impacts, role of local researchers, ancient infrastructure and IdM's integration of archaeology, digital mapping and citizen science, valuing archaeology		
MIR3	Man in his 60s, former local researcher for AbE Montana in Miraflores, now working with SERNANP	Situation of tourism in Miraflores and the RPNYC, natural and cultural heritage, apathy of the local authorities, lack of infrastructure, importance of community cohesion to carry out development projects, impact of Abe on community cohesion and change of perception over time, importance of working with ancient sites, role of local researchers, SERNANP's touristic activities, perception of Yanacancha, environmental awareness, conservation of Huaquis, what made the Abe project successful	30/11/19	Miraflores
MIR4	Man in his 50s, school director	Situation of tourism, interested stakeholders, migration of young people to the cities, role of the IdM in helping people stay, SERNANP interventions in the secondary school, students' learning and artistic ability development, student visits to Huaquis, intangible cultural heritage in the Reserve, valuing local heritage	03/12/19	Miraflores
MIR5	Man in his 30s, local authority	Situation of tourism, Rafael Schmitt's archaeological project, communicating heritage, possibilities of opening a museum, Infrastructure projects, committees for tourism, community projects, community organisation and cohesion, environmental awareness, identification with Huaquis, Abe project answering a local need, importance of ancestral land use, lack of time and practical difficulties with participatory workshops	03/12/19	Miraflores
MIR6	Man in his 40s, local authority and active member of the <i>comunidad campesina</i>	Untapped potential of tourism and general lack of interest in it in the village, adventure tourism, need to promote touristic sites, tourism and agro-pastoral activities as complementary livelihood strategies, importance of Abe to change villagers' attitude to climate change, need to respect commitments in the future, success in Merece FIDA bid thanks to Abe experience, future projects, state as an obstacle to	04/12/19	Miraflores

		intervention in Huaquis, role of local researchers, community monitoring, challenges with workshops (lack of time)		
MIR7	Woman in her 40s, high position within the <i>comunidad campesina</i>	Work carried out as part of the project, most important changes, factors of success, importance of community cohesion, plans after the end of the project, perception of Yanacancha and changes, opportunities for young people to obtain higher education and greater awareness of environmental issues, importance of Huaquis, need to conserve Huaquis, tourism as an untapped opportunity, need to make this opportunity more visible, ancient organisation of the community and tradition, feasibility of evaluation tools, good results of workshops	06/12/19	Miraflores
MIR8	Man in his 60s, former president of <i>the comunidad campesina</i> and advocate of IdM projects	Hopes regarding tourism, rehabilitation of canals, climate change, learning from the past, traditional crops, SERNANP potato rehabilitation project, beginnings of the Abe project, initial difficulties, changes in community organisation and cohesion, changes in cattle health, perception of Yanacancha, protection of Yanacancha, water management, environmental awareness, external researchers in Miraflores, state of conservation of Huaquis, IdM's MEL strategy and its feasibility,	06/12/19	Miraflores
MIR9	Group interview with two men working for SERNANP, a social anthropology/ community relations expert, and a tourism expert	Tourism (including archaeological) in the RPNYC, and its impacts (economic, social impacts, environmental), canals and Abe adaptations, ancient water management, visitor numbers monitoring in Huancaya, need for an inventory of touristic sites, lack of monitoring indicators, changes in community dynamics, terraces and their possible future use, groups managing water in the Cañete Basin, state projects like Sierra Azul and Merese FIDA, Disaster Risk Reduction, sustainability of the projects, importance of community cohesion and participatory management processes, need for capacity building in the RPNYC, cultural heritage and identity.	10/12/19	Huancayo
MIR10	Woman in her 40s, IdM data collection staff	Tools for MEL, rigour, giving back to the community, useability of the data, water quality monitoring and local people's observations, changes	10/12/19	Huancayo

		in pastureland and organisation, trust and rapport with the community, surveys, interviews, timeframes for evaluation data collection		
MIR11	Woman in her 20s, local researcher for AbE Montana, and student in Huancayo	Becoming a local researcher, the observation and monitoring process, importance of Huaquis and local traditions, lack of heritage outreach in school, work in Yanacancha and Coriuna, change in perception and importance of water, willingness to conserve biodiversity and ancient water management, tourism as a more distant concern, cooperatives and associations, poor state of conservation of Huaquis and inability to intervene, lack of work and importance of generating alternatives for the population.	11/12/19	Miraflores
MIR12	Man in his 40s, IdM data collection staff	Difficulties of collecting data, social monitoring and changes in the MEL strategy through time, evaluation tools used, experience of conducting interviews, participatory workshops, feasibility of methods, sample sizes, external study on women's participation, reporting strategies, role of local researchers, capacity building workshops, cultural event organised in Miraflores by the IdM, changes in participation over time.	17/12/19	Miraflores/ Phone
MIR13	Woman in her 40s, member of the comunidad campesina	Changing perspectives on Yanacancha, community members interested in tourism, respect for ancestors and their use of ancient technologies, environmental awareness, risks associated with tourism, external researchers, cultural activities with the IdM, local impacts of climate change, climate change anxiety, small-scale actions to mitigate it	17/12/19	Miraflores
MIR14	Man in his 70s, judicial officer and history aficionado	History of Huaquis and other archaeological sites in the vicinity, obstacles to puesta en valor, lack of heritage education in local schools, rural migration, environmental awareness, cultural initiatives with Abe and the school, strengthening of local identity	19/12/19	Miraflores
MIR15	Woman in her 50s, member of the comunidad campesina and owner of a hotel/restaurant	Rising number of people transforming rooms for visitors, rural exodus, apathy of local authorities regarding the conservation of Huaquis, previous school trips to Huaquis, regular cleaning of the site, importance of local myths and identification with heritage, changing perspectives on Yanacancha, external researchers and students,	19/12/19	Miraflores

		reasons for the project's success, comparison of surveys/interviews/workshops		
<i>Agua Blanca</i>				
AB1	Three women in their 20s and 30s working in the Spa.	Puesta en valor of the sulphur lagoon, fragility of tourism, 2019 political crisis, training to become a spa worker, number of clients, competition nearby, opportunities to stay and work in the village, need for more publicity, capacity building workshops	14/01/20	Agua Blanca
AB2	Man in his 40s, member of the Comuna board	Community vision and project objectives, history of the community and the tourism project, conflict with the park, need to find new partner organisations, future projects and expansion, surveys prior to new projects, awards earned by Agua Blanca, oral plans for the community, environmental changes in the landscape, sustainability of the community, activities conducted alongside tourism, need for a visitor survey, importance of evaluation data to obtain funding or help	17/01/20	Agua Blanca
AB3	Man in his 40s, member of the comuna board, and restaurant manager	Political situation of Ecuador, changes in AB over the last 3 decades, objectives of the community in the short and long term, donors, improvements after tourists' feedback, external researchers and data collection, capacity building, MEL needs, current indicators and MEL methods, gender roles in AB, international recognition of AB, indigenous rights and legal status of the community, community cohesion and organisation, integrating the youth into the project, importance of MEL, feedback on survey and MSC workshop	30/01/20	Agua Blanca
AB4	Man in his 40s, guide for the Machalilla National Park	Becoming a tour guide, importance of maintaining the conservation of the archaeological site and natural environment, sustainable tourism, other sites (including Salango), importance of investing in alternative livelihood strategies (e.g. horticulture), change of perception and identification with heritage, indigenous identity, economic shortfall, lack of outreach with school students, community organisation and solidarity as a factor of success	31/01/20	Agua Blanca

AB5	Man in his 70s, local guide, and member of the initial archaeological project	Involvement in the archaeological project and associated cultural events, the state as an obstacle, struggles of similar communities elsewhere in the Park, lack of a permanent archaeologist, interns and volunteers, difficulty of doing site visits with school students, creation and role of the archaeological committee, Manteño raft festival, looting before the Silva and McEwan project, Pueblo Manta indigenous identity and organisation over time, importance of indigenous status, use of evaluation	31/01/20	Agua Blanca
AB6	Man in his 60s, local guide and member of the initial archaeological project	Becoming involved in the archaeological project, recent work as an archaeologist in the rainforest, state of conservation of the site, environmental impacts of the project, vulnerability to political events (e.g. 2019 riots, 9/11), parallel subsistence activities in the village, learning about heritage in younger generations. intangible cultural heritage, creation of the archaeological committee, national and international conferences, FEPTCE, community tourism laws, museum refurbishment, need for more archaeological research, importance of having Colin McEwan as a champion	04/02/20	Agua Blanca
AB7	Woman in her 50s, archaeologist	History of the archaeological project, political aspect of archaeology, creation of the museum in respect of local traditions, protecting culture, indigenous identity, teaching archaeology to the villagers, outreach in Ecuador and beyond, development of a sense of community, archaeological tourism as a sustainable alternative to other streams of work, challenges throughout the project, new community tourism projects in Ecuador inspired by AB	05/02/20	Manta
AB8	Woman in her 40s, member of the comuna board and artisan	Becoming an artisan, training, economic difficulties, types of products crafted, types of fairs and clients, hopes for the future, changes of the activity over time, governance of AB, changes in the community over time	06/02/20	Agua Blanca

AB9	Man and woman in their early 20s, a student of tourism and a homemaker	Perception of archaeology by the younger generation, perspectives and opportunities for young people in AB, ideas for touristic development, touristic development plans, possible cultural events, capacity building and training, possibilities for further study, lack of forward thinking and planning in AB	09/02/20	Agua Blanca
AB10	Man in his 70s, local guide and member of the initial archaeological project	History of the coastal tourism network and involvement of AB, political context, role of archaeological project in gaining confidence, beginnings of the tourism project, learning about archaeology, growth of tourism, archaeology in the surrounding communities, uniqueness of AB, challenges with tourism, change of perception of archaeology between the old generation and the new generation, outreach with other communities (conferences etc.)	11/02/20	Agua Blanca
AB11	Man in his 70s, member of the initial archaeological project who left AB in the 90s	History of involvement in the archaeological project, changes it brought to him, learning, changes in the new generation, migration away from AB, changes in AB over the last 40 years, construction of the museum, factors of success of the project, status of artisans and crafts, looting before the project, comparison of survey and interview	16/02/20	Agua Blanca
AB12	Man in his 30s, restaurant owner	Business creation in AB and challenges, need for more advertisement of AB and its available facilities, learning from archaeologists in the village, participation in ad hoc research projects (e.g. ornithology), disinterest of the local youth for heritage, fragility of tourism and need to have a more stable parallel activity.	17/02/20	Agua Blanca
AB13	Man in his 40s, archaeologist	Situation of tourism in AB and challenges, recent archaeological projects in AB, lack of publicity, possible improvements of the project, political context within and outside of the community, community identity, control and cohesion, lack of MEL, power dynamics in the community, assemblies and planning, context of education in the community, indigenous identity, interns and volunteers in AB	21/02/20	Puerto Lopez

PARTICIPATORY WORKSHOPS

Workshop name and activities	Number of participants and their characteristics	Date	Place
<p><i>Valuing the archaeological site of Pashash.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • brainstorming on the values associated with the site • voting on the most valued aspects of Pashash in terms of what it brings to Cabana and priorities for its development 	<p>About 18 participants. Men and women aged between their early twenties and mid-seventies. Several of these were associated with the patronato, there were also a few members of the Municipality and the teaching body, as well as two from the peasant community.</p>	11/09/2019	Cabana
<p><i>Valuing the archaeological sites of Miraflores.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • brainstorming on the values associated with the site • voting on the most valued aspects of archaeological sites in Miraflores, in terms of what they bring to the community 	<p>5 participants, all men between their mid-twenties and late forties, from the comunidad campesina and associated with the IdM project.</p>	02/12/2019	Miraflores
<p><i>Gender workshop: women</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ranking the opportunities granted to men and women in the public and private sphere • comparing the past and the present. 	<p>3 women in their early and mid-twenties working in tourism-related activities in the community.</p>	06/02/2020	Agua Blanca
<p><i>Gender workshop: men</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ranking the opportunities granted to men and women in the public and private sphere • comparing the past and the present. 	<p>10 men aged between their early twenties and late seventies.</p>	07/02/2020	Agua Blanca
<p><i>Most Significant Change workshop</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sharing stories representing the most significant changes over the last 40 years of the project 	<p>10 people working in tourism and selected by the Cabildo: 9 men and one woman. Ages ranging between early twenties and late seventies</p>	10/02/2020	Agua Blanca

FEEDBACK WORKSHOPS

Workshop name and activities	Number of participants and their characteristics	Date	Place
<p>Feedback workshop comunidad campesina Miraflores</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presentation of evaluation results • Feedback questions (see Methodology) focusing on Chapter 5 and the Evaluation report 	About 20 people, 5 women and 15 men, all from the <i>comunidad campesina</i> , all aged between their 30s and 60s.	18/05/2022	Miraflores
<p>Feedback workshop SERNANP</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presentation of evaluation results • Presentation of the state of evaluation (Ch.5) • Feedback questions (see Methodology) focusing on Chapter 4 and 5 and the Evaluation report 	5 people, 3 men and 2 women, between the ages of 20 and 40. These participants were all working for SERNANP or the IdM.	24/05/2022	Huancayo
<p>Feedback workshop Instituto de Montaña</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presentation of evaluation results • Presentation of the state of evaluation (Ch.5) and methodological debates highlighted by the thesis (Ch. 6) • Feedback questions (see Methodology) focusing on Chapter 4, 5 and 6 and the Evaluation report 	7 people, 5 women and 2 men, between their late 20s and early 60s, either associated with the IdM or the World Monuments Fund, or knowledgeable about the archaeology of Miraflores.	27/05/2022	Lima
<p>Feedback workshop comuna de Agua Blanca</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presentation of evaluation results • Feedback questions (see Methodology) focusing on Chapter 5 and the Evaluation report 	About 26 participants with a few casual onlookers, mainly <i>socios</i> and <i>socias</i> of the community who have been involved in tourism. Ages ranging between early twenties and late seventies.	03/06/2022	Agua Blanca
<p>Feedback workshop Cabana</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presentation of evaluation results • Feedback questions (see Methodology) focusing on Chapter 5 and the Evaluation report 	At least 26 people, with several others coming and going, associated with the schools of Cabana, the <i>patronato</i> , the Municipality or the archaeological project. Children were present, as well as adults of all ages.	15/06/2022	Cabana

VI. Evaluation Report Cabana (including detailed survey, interview schedule and participatory workshop schedule)

El potencial del sitio arqueológico de Pashash para el desarrollo de Cabana

Evaluación de la situación actual
y expectativas de la población cabanista



Ilustración 1. Ciudad de Cabana vista desde el sitio arqueológico de Pashash. Agosto 2019. Foto: Agathe Dupeyron

Agathe Dupeyron

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Introducción

El presente informe documenta los potenciales que presenta, de acuerdo a los cabanistas, el sitio arqueológico Pashash para el desarrollo de Cabana. También describe las prioridades identificadas para la puesta en valor del monumento arqueológico Pashash. Inicialmente, quería realizar una comparación de esos diferentes elementos al inicio del Proyecto (2019) y más adelante (2020 y 2021) medir los cambios. Desafortunadamente, la pandemia de COVID 19 impidió volver a Cabana el 2020. Sin embargo, opino que es necesario medir los cambios puesto que esos elementos podrán apoyar a la posible puesta en valor de Pashash a futuro, ya que brinda información sobre posibles trayectorias de desarrollo en Cabana desde varios puntos de vista.

Los datos que componen el presente informe formarán parte de la tesis doctoral en Desarrollo Internacional escrita por Agathe Dupeyron de la Universidad de East Anglia en el Reino Unido.

Metodología

La presente información fue recopilada mediante 14 entrevistas, 123 encuestas dirigidas a la población de Cabana y un taller participativo en el cual participaron 18 personas. Esas actividades fueron realizadas en agosto y setiembre de 2019, durante la primera temporada de excavación del sitio arqueológico Pashash. Las investigaciones arqueológicas estuvieron dirigidas por el Dr. George Lau de la Universidad de East Anglia del Reino Unido y el Lic. Milton Luján de la Universidad Nacional Federico Villareal de Perú. Aunque mi proyecto se interesó en estas excavaciones, no está vinculado, porque mis intereses estuvieron enfocados sobre el papel que tuvo Pashash en el desarrollo pasado, presente y futuro, de la ciudad de Cabana.

Mi primer paso fue de conversar con varias personas involucradas en la gestión de bienes culturales a nivel de la Municipalidad, del Estado, del proyecto y cabanistas interesados en el sitio de Pashash. Esa fase duró aproximadamente dos semanas. Allí me di cuenta de las varias formas en las cuales Pashash participaba de la vida de Cabana, y las expectativas acerca de su desarrollo futuro. Identifiqué cuatro elementos para estudiar:

1. Turismo y economía.
2. Educación y cultura.
3. Sociedad y comunidad.
4. Conservación del sitio y puesta en valor.

Cada uno de esos elementos incluye muchos impactos (implicancias del proyecto arqueológico y del trabajo ejecutado en Pashash por los arqueólogos, así como las expectativas de los cabanistas alrededor de este proyecto), que ya se ven, o que fueron mencionados como posibles consecuencias de las actividades en Pashash a futuro. Los impactos están presentados en una tabla (ver anexo). Asimismo, la identificación de los impactos coadyuvó a definir las actividades a implementar para entenderlos, establecer su situación actual y como medir los cambios en el futuro. Gracias a esa primera fase de discusiones informales opté por tres métodos: entrevistas, encuestas y un taller.

Entrevistas.

Realicé 14 entrevistas con personas interesadas en participar (el guion de preguntas se puede encontrar en el anexo): 13 entrevistas personales y una entrevista grupal con trabajadores del proyecto arqueológico. En su mayoría, los participantes de mis entrevistas individuales fueron hombres, aunque también participaron 4 mujeres. Todas las personas eran adultos. Intenté capturar una variedad de puntos de vista: profesores, personas que trabajaron en Pashash, arqueólogos, empleados de la municipalidad, miembros del patronato de Pashash, artesanos, personas que trabajaban en tiendas, en el sector del turismo y autoridades locales. Las entrevistas duraron entre 30 minutos y dos horas y se enfocaron en los temas 1 a 4.

Encuesta

La encuesta fue aplicada con el apoyo de la Municipalidad de Cabana y las instituciones educativas en las últimas 3 semanas de mi estadía (ver texto de la encuesta en el anexo). Esas instituciones me ayudaron mucho porque fue difícil llegar a más personas sin contar con su colaboración.

En total recogí 123 encuestas:

- 11 encuestas de la escuela primaria I.E. 88154
- 10 encuestas del Instituto I.E.S.T.P “Cabana”
- 18 encuestas del colegio secundario Colegio Apóstol Santiago.
- 22 encuestas de la UGEL - PALLASCA.
- 20 encuestas del CETPRO “Cabana”
- 27 de la Municipalidad de Cabana.
- 15 paseando por las calles y pidiendo el apoyo de cabanistas en la ciudad.

Los resultados de esta encuesta van a ser discutidos más adelante con relación a los 4 temas propuestos.

Taller

El taller se dio el 11 de setiembre 2019 a las 6pm en el restaurante 'Copa Cabana'. Invité alrededor de 50 personas y asistieron cerca de 18. La organización de actividades del taller se puede encontrar en el anexo. Primero, nos enfocamos en una "lluvia de ideas" sobre lo que representa el sitio de Pashash, para ver cuales fueron temas resaltaron.

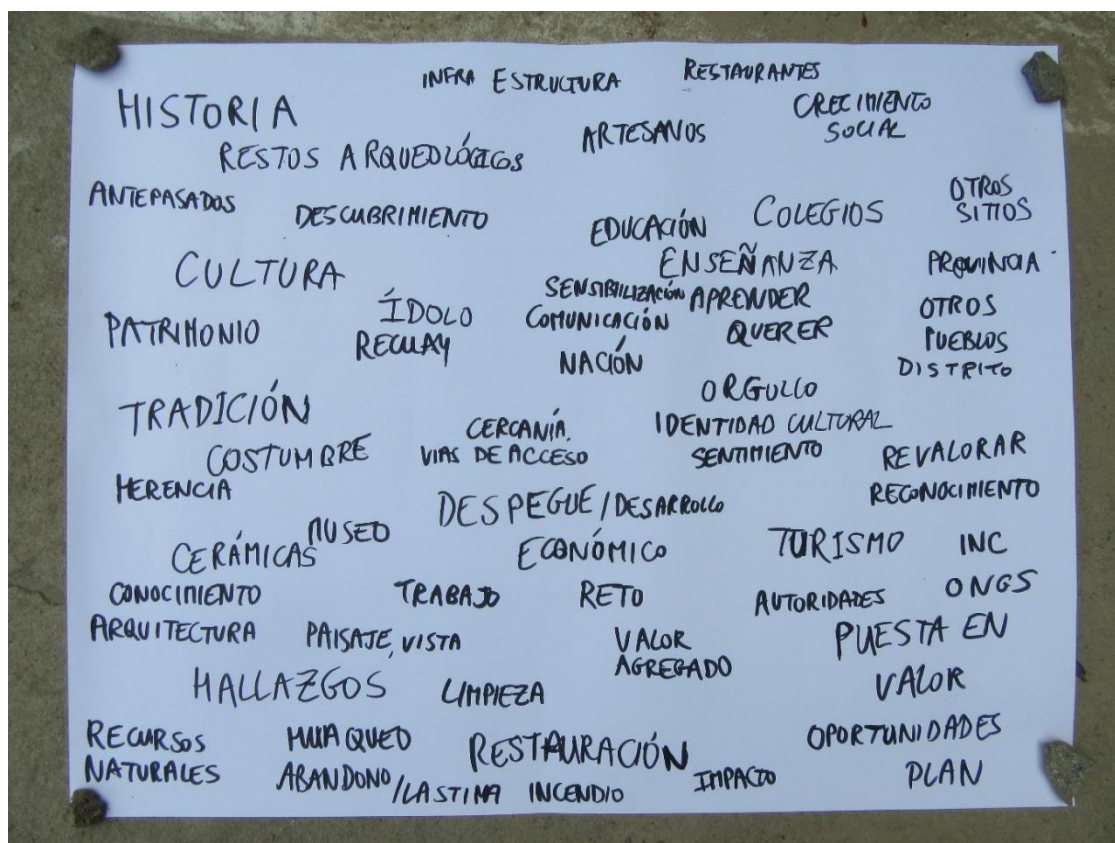
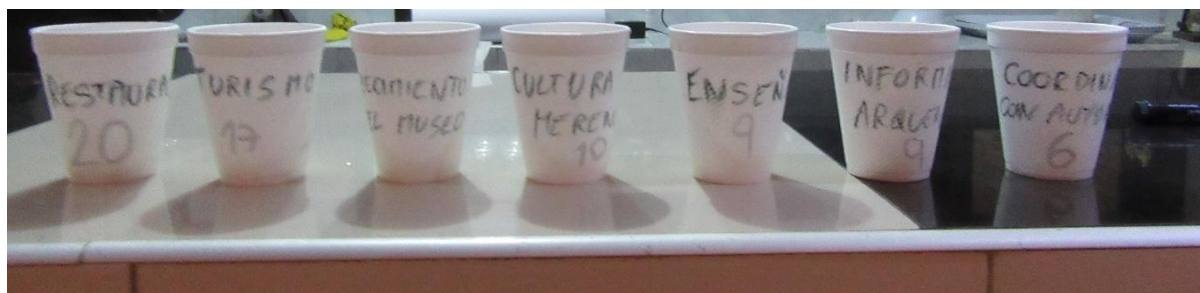


Ilustración 2. Lluvia de ideas asociadas a la palabra 'Pashash' – taller participativo, 11 de setiembre 2019

De allí, cada persona tuvo la oportunidad de compartir lo que le parecían los aspectos más importantes de Pashash y sus expectativas en el futuro. Identificamos 7 aspectos importantes, y cada participante recibió 5 granos de frijol que podían distribuir de la forma que les parecía más adecuada para votar para los temas que le parecieron los más importantes.



Resultados del taller:

TEMA	NUMERO DE VOTOS
Coordinación con autoridades (Ministerio de Cultura, ONGs, Gobiernos, Provincias) para poder avanzar en la puesta en valor de Pashash	6
Obtener y difundir más información arqueológica sobre la historia de Pashash	9
Enseñar (Pashash como un recurso para la educación de los jóvenes)	9
Valorar Pashash como parte de la cultura, herencia e identidad de Cabana	10
Ayudar el museo a crecer/ Apoyar en la creación de un nuevo museo de sitio	14
Impulsar al turismo en Cabana y la provincia	17
Restaurar y limpiar el sitio arqueológico de Pashash	20

Gracias a este voto y a la conversación que siguió, este taller dejó claro que las personas presentes identificaron la restauración del sitio y su puesta en valor como pasos claves para el crecimiento del turismo en Cabana y su desarrollo. La creación de un nuevo museo de sitio dedicado a los hallazgos de Pashash fue discutida como una de las primeras etapas de este proceso, centralizando la llegada de turistas y enmarcando su visita a Cabana. Otros aspectos importantes, como la difusión de conocimientos tanto para adultos y jóvenes, van de la mano con este enfoque en la protección y puesta en valor de Pashash.

Este taller encapsulo muchas de las tendencias vistas en las entrevistas y encuestas. En la próxima sección, voy a detallar esas áreas de cambio (1 a 4) identificadas a través de mis investigaciones.



Ilustración 3. Participantes en el taller participativo del 11 de setiembre de 2019 sobre los valores de Pashash. Foto: Boris Orccosupa

I. Economía y turismo



Ilustración 4. Plaza de armas de Cabana. Setiembre 2019. Foto: Agathe Dupeyron

Turismo en Cabana

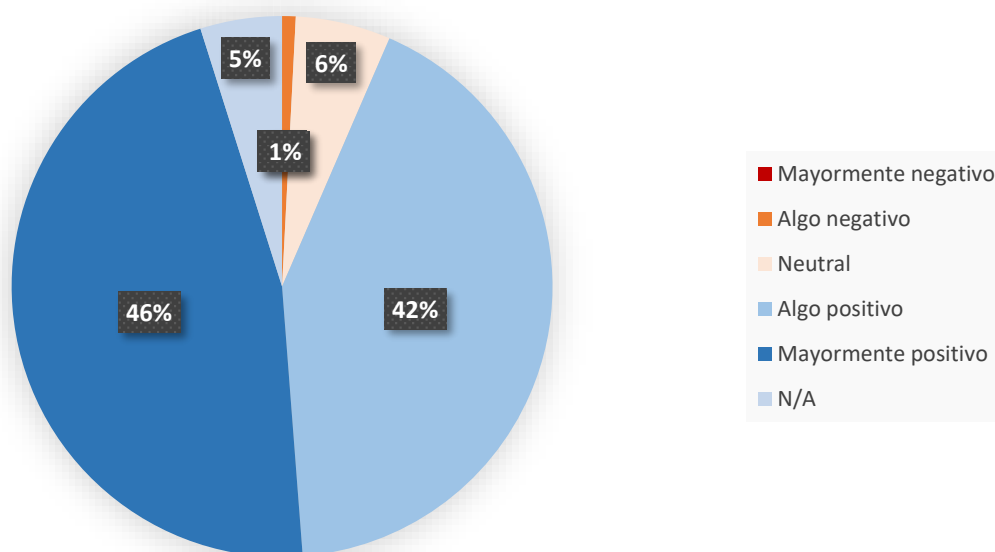
Esta área es donde existen un mayor número de expectativas, como indican los resultados de la encuesta: 65% de las personas que respondieron consideraban el potencial aporte económico como una de las razones principales por las cuales valoraban a Pashash.

Si le importa e interesa el patrimonio arqueológico y Pashash, ¿por qué?

Siento que es la historia de mis antepasados	21	17%
Me parece que es un lugar bonito para ver el paisaje	8	7%
Otras razones/ sin respuesta	8	7%
Siento orgullo	19	15%
Siento que el turismo puede ayudar la situación económica	80	65%

En su mayoría, la población tiene una imagen positiva del turismo (88%). Muy pocos mencionaron posibles efectos negativos del turismo.

El turismo en Cabana, lo ve como algo...



Por ahora, la situación del turismo en Cabana es incipiente. Durante el mes de julio, viene una mayor cantidad de gente para las fiestas. Una autoridad política indica que aunque no hay datos estadísticos al respecto, se puede estimar que los turistas que llegan durante el mes de julio para las fiestas representan el 50% del total anual. Para incrementar eso, habría que mejorar la oferta en Cabana: preparar los sitios para recibir visitas, y promocionar esos destinos en las agencias de viaje de las ciudades de Chimbote y Lima.

Otras consecuencias que tendría el turismo fueron mencionadas por los entrevistados:

-Despertaría el interés de los jóvenes para capacitarse en hostelería, restauración, idiomas y como operadores de turismo.

-Animaría a más cabanistas a seguir estudios en arqueología, turismo, administración turística, sociología o antropología.

-Daría más oportunidades de trabajo para los sectores de la hostelería y restauración, además de las tiendas de souvenirs, y en los lugares existentes mejorarían la oferta.

-Probablemente este proceso también impulsaría la mejora de las vías de acceso, incluso las carreteras para facilitar la llegada de turistas. Eso sería una consecuencia a largo plazo, pero también una necesidad para permitir este proceso.

-Los demás sitios en la provincia de Pallasca también podrán recibir más visitas y empezar un proceso de puesta en valor. Eso incluye a los sitios emblemáticos de Mashgonga, Kungush, Malape, Suraca, Puca, pero también a recursos naturales como cataratas y fuentes termales.

En el proceso de investigación también me interesaron mucho las opiniones que las personas tenían sobre la artesanía. En el Perú, la artesanía inspirada por el patrimonio arqueológico es una fuente de ingreso para muchas personas que viven en los alrededores de un sitio arqueológico.

En Cabana, la artesanía se organiza de forma independiente. El CETPRO era un centro artesanal, pero en los años 70 se convirtió en un lugar para capacitar, con mayor frecuencia, en técnicas modernas. Además, no se realizan artesanías vinculadas a Pashash o el patrimonio cultural de Cabana. Existen algunos artesanos independientes que aprendieron de sus ancestros a trabajar la madera, la piedra o tejer, pero todavía no hay mucha demanda. Un artesano entrevistado concluyó que por ahora es una actividad complementaria puesto que no existen los recursos y una demanda suficiente para vivir de la artesanía.

Aporte económico directo

La presencia del grupo de investigación también generó ingresos económicos en Cabana, ya que ellos pasaron casi 3 meses como clientes de un hospedaje y de un restaurant, y consumiendo bienes comprados en Cabana. Además, dieron trabajo a un promedio de 12 técnicos de campo por semana, durante 8 semanas, y 2-3 asistentes de gabinete durante tres semanas.

Sin embargo, no fue un aspecto mencionado con frecuencia por la población: cuando les pregunté mediante la encuesta, 40% no tenían opinión sobre el aporte económico de la presencia del grupo. Pero es importante notar que muchos veían las excavaciones en Pashash como una muy buena señal sobre el valor de su patrimonio, ya que investigadores podían venir de tan lejos para conocerlo.

II. Educación y cultura



*Ilustración 5. El arqueólogo Milton Luján explica los descubrimientos de su equipo a un grupo de jóvenes de la I.E. 88154.
Foto: Agathe Dupeyron*

Desarrollo de capacidades arqueológicas

El proyecto arqueológico ha sacado a la luz muchas de las riquezas culturales de Pashash: todavía es muy temprano para conocer exactamente los detalles de lo que se podrá realizar después de la pandemia de COVID-19, pero se espera que:

-Las piezas de Pashash, después de su conservación y estudio, integren el museo zonal de Cabana y podrán ser prestadas para exhibiciones a nivel nacional.

-Como se vio en el taller, muchas personas piensan que es necesario abrir un nuevo museo de sitio, para exponer las piezas encontradas y darles un mayor contexto cerca de Pashash. Eso es considerado como el primer paso para una futura puesta en valor de Pashash.

-Más investigaciones se realizarán en Pashash y otros sitios de la provincia de Pallasca. Eso ayudará a conocer más sobre el pasado de esta región. Se supone que investigadores peruanos e internacionales, incluso conservadores y estudiantes podrán trabajar sobre Pashash y el material recogido allí. En la temporada 2019, cuatro jóvenes arqueólogos peruanos y extranjeros tuvieron la oportunidad de trabajar en Pashash para desarrollar sus capacidades. Según el director peruano, se capacitaron en varios aspectos y se espera que en el futuro más jóvenes arqueólogos tengan la misma oportunidad.

Uno de los proyectos mencionados por los miembros del patronato sería un posible convenio con la Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos a fin de enviar grupos de estudiantes cada año, pero aún no está concretizado este convenio.

Oportunidades educativas para la gente de Cabana y su región

Durante la temporada 2019, alrededor de 270 alumnos del colegio de nivel primario (I.E. 88154) y alrededor de 185 alumnos del colegio de nivel secundario (Colegio Apóstol Santiago) vinieron a conocer a Pashash. En total, fueron entonces 455 alumnos. Además, se realizó una conferencia el 12 de septiembre de 2019 para un público mayormente estudiantil. Los testimonios recogidos indican que antes de esta temporada de investigación, había pocas oportunidades para visitar a Pashash dentro de un contexto escolar. Cuando el arqueólogo Samuel Castillo estaba en Pashash realizando excavaciones, se hicieron algunas visitas también. Pero mayormente, las actividades se hacían más con el museo, de forma puntual. Para muchos niños, el año 2019 marcó su primera visita a Pashash. Una profesora entrevistada notó que los jóvenes estaban muy emocionados. Algunas personas de una generación previa explicaron que antes se realizaban más visitas a Pashash, pero desde algunas décadas muchos profesores vienen de Lima y no conocen bien al patrimonio local. Por eso sería importante trabajar con la UGEL y los colegios, coordinar más talleres con la arqueóloga y aprovechar esta oportunidad.

En la población cabanista, el 84% de los encuestados sienten que no conocen bien la historia de Pashash, y el 92% no conocen bien la historia de los demás sitios arqueológicos de la zona. A pesar de eso, el 98% dice que le gustaría conocer más sobre esta historia.



Ilustración 6. Las palabras más comunes mencionadas por los cabanistas en relación con lo que les interesaría conocer de la historia de Pashash.

Como vemos, los temas sobresalientes que interesan a los cabanistas son como inicio y desapareció la cultura Pashash, su organización política y social, y sus avances en textilería, arquitectura, metalurgia y cerámica, y como manejaban el agua. Además, varios mencionaron también la importancia de saber cómo proteger las ruinas, su impacto sobre la ecología, y la importancia de transmitir esta historia a los estudiantes.

Se recomienda planificar más charlas informativas, ya que la población tiene mucho interés en conocer más sobre Pashash. Además, eso reforzaría su identificación con el sitio y su protección.

Es importante resaltar que los trabajadores del proyecto aprendieron mucho sobre Pashash y, de acuerdo al director peruano del proyecto, fueron capacitados para ese tipo de trabajo. Un entrevistado explicó que trabajó en un proyecto anterior con el arqueólogo Samuel Castillo y que recuerda este periodo con mucho cariño, que le enseñó a valorar también su patrimonio.

III. Sociedad y comunidad



Ilustración 7. Portada del estadio de Cabana, con un diseño característico de la iconografía Recuay encontrada en Pashash.

Valorar el sitio arqueológico

Es uno de los aspectos más difíciles de medir. Sin embargo, varios puntos fueron mencionados por los entrevistados y encuestados cuales nos permiten entender este aspecto. En la siguiente tabla, vemos la importancia del turismo, para tener un mejor ingreso económico, pero también el interés en aprender sobre el pasado de Cabana y transmitir esa historia a las nuevas generaciones.

Tabla 1. ¿Cuáles son los aspectos que más importan cuando uno piensa en el proyecto arqueológico y lo que permite?

	Tener un mejor ingreso económico	Aprender sobre el pasado de mi ciudad	Aprender cómo trabajan los arqueólogos	Que los jóvenes conozcan la historia de Pashash	Visibilizar a Pashash y Cabana para que lleguen más turistas	Tener más hallazgos para el museo	Continuar una actividad que me gusta
No es importante	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Poco importante	1%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Neutral	2%	2%	3%	0%	1%	2%	8%
Un poco importante	9%	5%	15%	4%	4%	10%	15%
Muy importante	77%	82%	67%	87%	88%	76%	54%
N/A	11%	11%	12%	9%	7%	11%	20%

El taller nos confirmó que Pashash tiene una significación muy importante para los cabanistas. Mas allá de su potencial valor económico, es una fuente de orgullo e identificación fuerte. Algunos entrevistados lo llamaron “nuestro querido Pashash”, califican a Cabana como “tierra de los Pashash”, y explican que van al museo a menudo: “Siempre voy por allí para no olvidarme de lo nuestro.”

Las razones principales para ir a Pashash son las visitas de turismo y estudio, y divertirse, pasear y jugar por el sitio.

Tabla 2. ¿Con qué propósito ha ido a Pashash? ¿Qué actividades ha realizado en el sitio? .

Visitas de turismo y/o estudio	65	53%
Divertirse, pasear, jugar	53	43%
Fiestas o eventos	7	6%
Trabajo	1	1%
Otras razones	2	2%
N/A	8	7%
No he ido	2	2%
Total de encuestas	123	100%

Sería importante volver a preguntar y analizar este tipo de identificación en algunos años, para ver en qué medida se puede reforzar esta identificación con más comunicación. Este aspecto se verá también en la protección del sitio.

Voluntad de proteger el sitio

Este cariño se expresa también como un tipo de temor a que los arqueólogos podrían “llevarse las piezas”. El 20% de los encuestados indico tener este tipo de miedo. Eso se podría corregir fácilmente con más actividades de comunicación sobre el futuro de las piezas.

Una de las consecuencias más visibles de la visita de los arqueólogos en julio 2019 fue la reconstitución del patronato. Esta asociación fue fundada en 1976 por un comité encabezado por el Profesor Atilio Mantilla. Ha tenido por objetivo la creación del museo y la protección de Pashash. Sin embargo, este patronato estaba “inactivo” desde algunas décadas, y la llegada de los arqueólogos lo reimpulso. Otros comités también existieron e indican el interés de parte de los cabanistas en su patrimonio: la Casa de la Cultura, el Comité pro-Turismo y el Comité impulsor Pashash. Por las dificultades encontradas, mayormente económicas y la falta de apoyo político, estas organizaciones locales no lograron mantenerse activas. Habrá que ver en algunos años las consecuencias de la reactivación del Patronato, pero por ahora sus planes se enfocan en la protección del sitio arqueológico y la impulsión de un movimiento para su puesta en valor turística. Por ahora, optaron por la nominación de dos guardianes y están trabajando en la demarcación y delimitación del sitio para que no entran huaqueros o destructores. También están coordinando actividades con la UGEL, la Municipalidad y los colegios.

IV. Conservación del sitio y puesta en valor



Ilustración 8. El equipo de arqueólogos y técnicos quienes trabajaron en Pashash en la temporada 2019.

Protección del patrimonio

A pesar de su identificación con el sitio de Pashash, no todos tienen la voluntad de cuidarlo. Se encuentran muchos grafitis en el caserón y basura botada en el sitio de Pashash. Aunque llegó una geomembrana, nunca se pudo colocar, como relata un miembro del Patronato:

“Años anteriores, también habían aportado ayudas en el gobierno de Toledo con una empresa telefónica para proteger a Pashash con calaminas. Existen algunos testimonios fotográficos de este hecho. Y lo protegieron. En el 2011-12, se solicitó al Ministro de Cultura y ante el Instituto Nacional de Cultura de Huaraz enviar una geomembrana. Esta geomembrana no se pudo colocar el 2013 ni en el 2014 porque la condición o requisito era de que se debe colocar bajo asesoramiento de un arqueólogo y no había arqueólogos. Cuando fuimos a Chimbote a solicitar la

En mayo de 2019, poco antes de la llegada de los arqueólogos, se llevó a cabo una limpieza del sitio para prepararlo para los trabajos programados. Muchos entrevistados indicaron que el sitio se veía muy bien y debería ser limpiado con más frecuencia. Otro plan del Patronato a mediano plazo es trabajar para mejorar los accesos, hitos y caminos dentro de la zona arqueológica, y colocar paneles de información.

Proceso de puesta en valor

La protección del sitio es muy vinculada a su posible puesta en valor. Algunos de los entrevistados explicaron bien lo que se requiere para poder empujar el proceso de puesta en valor. También identificaron unos retos mayores. Me contaron de varias etapas:

-Realizar un museo de sitio con el apoyo de la DDC de Ancash, Municipalidad, Subprefectura y la contratación de un equipo de arquitectos.

-Buscar el apoyo de una empresa privada (por ejemplo, una minería) para obtener fondos, explicando bien los impactos que tendría este trabajo para la ciudad de Cabana y la provincia de Pallasca

-Obtener el apoyo del Ministerio de Cultura para ratificar la creación de una Unidad Ejecutora, o la puesta en valor del sitio con apoyo administrativo del estado. En el 2021, la congresista Lady Mercedes Camones Soriano propuso el proyecto de Ley PL-808/2021-LR, el cual declara de interés nacional y necesidad pública la recuperación, restauración, conservación, promoción y puesta en valor del complejo arqueológico de Pashash en el distrito de Cabana, provincia de Pallasca, región Ancash.

-Concientizar a la población para asegurarse de su apoyo en la protección de Pashash.

Muchos de los entrevistados tienen una visión positiva del futuro de Cabana, pero eso pasa por un proceso de desarrollo turístico. Quisiera terminar este informe con algunas citas de los entrevistados sobre como ven a Cabana en unos 15 o 20 años.

“Bueno queremos que Cabana sea visto como una ciudad hospitalaria, una ciudad culta donde se le respete a todos los que están visitándonos y se lleve una buena impresión de lo que realmente es Cabana.”

“Mi visión de Cabana es con talleres de artesanía, con mejores restaurantes con platos típicos de la zona ...”

“Pashash desempeña un papel importante en el futuro de Cabana. Porque visitantes van a venir a Pashash pero no se contentan con eso. Los que estamos acá en la ciudad vamos a promocionar los productos. Entonces será, un ingreso sostenido para la población en restaurantes en hoteles y en esos ... su papel fundamental que va a desempeñar en Cabana va a ser en el aspecto económico.”

El proceso de evaluación

Otra parte importante de mi estudio fue un enfoque en la comparación de varios métodos (entrevistas, talleres y encuestas) para recolectar esta información. Una de mis metas de investigación es de entender la forma más practica de medir los impactos que un proyecto arqueológico puede tener sobre el desarrollo de un pueblo. Sin embargo, esos detalles más técnicos podrán ser encontrados en mi tesis doctoral, que presentaré al pueblo de Cabana una vez acabada. Aquí presento un breve resumen con sugerencias para recoger datos en el futuro.

Los problemas mayores en la recolección de datos para este proceso de 'evaluación' han sido los siguientes:

- Dificultad en convocar participantes para realizar talleres.
- Dificultad para distribuir y recoger encuestas.
- Dificultad para que una extranjera entienda bien el contexto de Cabana y como viven sus habitantes

Sería interesante repetir este tipo de recolección de datos una vez la puesta en valor del sitio iniciada, para ver:

- a. Si se han dado los resultados esperados en términos de turismo, educación y protección del sitio
- b. Cuales otros elementos han cambiado en Cabana? ¿Cuál es el papel de Pashash dentro de todo eso?

También sería importante repetir el mismo tipo de talleres con otros grupos. Por ejemplo, podríamos convocar a la comunidad campesina y otras organizaciones, tal como realizar un taller sólo con profesores, o con el personal de la municipalidad. Es muy probable que cada grupo tenga intereses y prioridades diferentes.

Conclusiones

Desafíos mayores

Los problemas mayores para que Pashash se vuelva la fuente de desarrollo que se esperaba en el 2019 son los siguientes:

- La pandemia mundial de COVID-19, cual ha debilitado los potenciales de inversión económica en Cabana y en el Perú generalmente.
- La crisis política en el Perú.
- La falta de recursos para poner en valor a Pashash.
- La falta de conocimiento que tienen los cabanistas sobre como proteger a Pashash de una forma adecuada. Aunque esta investigación ha demostrado que los cabanistas valoran y quieren mucho a Pashash, también nos da a ver que muchos de ellos desconocen el sitio, su historia, y no se dan cuenta de lo que les podría brindar.

Recomendaciones

A pesar de esos obstáculos, Pashash puede servir mucho más a Cabana. Los resultados de la temporada indican que tiene un alto potencial arqueológico. Dado los accesos para llegar a Cabana, la buena voluntad de su población identificada en esas encuestas y entrevistas, los potenciales para la educación, Pashash puede volverse un atractivo turístico y apoyar el crecimiento social, económico y cultural de Cabana. Para eso, faltaría que los actores principales se involucren más: Municipalidad, Gobierno Regional, Patronato, Ministerio de Cultura, investigadores, etc. Es importante también que la población conozca más el sitio arqueológico y como protegerlo. Entonces, si se da otra temporada de investigación arqueológica, sería muy bueno coordinar más visitas y más charlas informativas para el público. Eso podría realizarse en coordinación entre el Patronato, la UGEL y los arqueólogos.

Para el proceso de puesta en valor, el reto principal es la falta de fondos económicos y el contexto político. Según el arqueólogo Luján, es más fácil empezar por la creación de un museo de sitio, lo que daría más fuerza a una campaña política para obtener los fondos para una futura puesta en valor. Algunos entrevistados también sugieren buscar fondos vinculados a empresas privadas como minerías Ancashinas. En el contexto post-pandemia, habrá que ver cuales organismos podrán ofrecer este tipo de fondos, cuales ayudarían a revitalizar a Cabana mediante el turismo.

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Anexos

1. Tabla de impactos
2. Guion de entrevistas
3. Actividades realizadas durante el taller participativo del 11 de setiembre 2019
4. Encuesta aplicada a la población de Cabana (muestra de 150 personas)

Área de cambio	Impacto o resultado	Sub-impacto	Indicador	Método de recolección de datos (instrumento)
Impactos económicos	Turismo en Cabana	Aumento del potencial turístico a largo plazo	Crecimiento económico estimulado por el turismo	Estadísticas del INEI y MINCETUR
				Entrevistas con la municipalidad
			Cantidad de turistas en Pashash	Serán contabilizados cuando el sitio tenga un quiosco
			Cantidad de sitios turísticos en el circuito de la región	Entrevistas (para verificar que haya conexión con Pashash)
				Plan de desarrollo turístico de la Municipalidad, o inventario de los recursos turísticos
			Desarrollo de artesanía local y tiendas de recuerdos	Observación (presencia/ ausencia)
				Registro de artesanos
		Agencias turísticas y guías en Cabana	Entrevistas con artesanos	
		Idiomas hablados en Cabana para acomodar el turismo	Observación (presencia/ ausencia)	
		Vínculo con otros fondos (por ejemplo, minero)	Observación	
	Mejor infraestructura turística estimulada por la atractivita de Pashash	Nuevas carreteras para llegar a sitios turísticos	Entrevista con personal del museo	
		Nuevos restaurantes	Observación (presencia/ ausencia) Informes de la municipalidad	
		Nuevos hoteles		
	Aporte económico directo y efecto multiplicador	Contratación de cabanistas para trabajos arqueológicos	Nuevas tiendas de recuerdos y artesanales	Encuesta
Importancia de este empleo en términos económicos				
Ganancias de los proveedores de comida, hospedaje y dueños de tiendas		Importancia de la presencia de los arqueólogos en términos económicos		
Impactos culturales y educativos	Desarrollo de capacidades arqueológicas	Recursos para museos locales	Hallazgos agregados a colecciones locales	Inventario de las colecciones
			Visibilidad del museo local y cantidad de visitantes	Número de visitas al mes
				Entrevistas
		Exposiciones temporales	Observación (presencia/ ausencia)	
		Oportunidades profesionales para arqueólogos peruanos y especialistas del patrimonio	Cantidad de estudiantes que han hecho practica en el proyecto	Informes para el Ministerio de Cultura
			Convenios con universidades peruanas	Informes para el Ministerio de Cultura
	Numero de tesis escritas en relación a Pashash		Entrevistas con personal del Museo	
	Numero de arqueólogos y conservadores empleados por el proyecto por temporada		Entrevistas informales con estudiantes	
	Oportunidades educativas para la gente de Cabana y su región	Aprendizaje en las nuevas generaciones	Numero de escolares de nivel primario y secundario alcanzados con actividades realizadas por el museo en la escuela	Informes para el Ministerio de Cultura
				Número de visitas al sitio
			Numero de escolares de nivel primario y secundario alcanzados con visitas de sitio	Informes escritos por docentes o por el museo

			Nivel de motivación con el aprendizaje, entusiasmo e identificación con el patrimonio	Talleres participativos con los escolares
			Entrevistas con profesores	
		Aprendizaje en la comunidad	Satisfacción con su conocimiento de Pashash	Encuesta
			Satisfacción con su conocimiento de sitios arqueológicos en la región	Encuesta
		Aprendizaje en los obreros del sitio	Satisfacción con su conocimiento de técnicas de excavación y lo que han aprendido trabajando	Encuesta
Taller del cambio más significativo (CMS)				
Impactos sociales	Orgullo en el pasado e identidad local	Valorar el sitio arqueológico	Uso de iconografía vinculada a Pashash en Cabana y su región	Observación (¿aumento de un año para el otro?)
			Festival anual de "Pashash Raymi"	Estimación del número de participantes
			Valor asignado al patrimonio arqueológico, nivel de identificación con Pashash, vínculo entre Pashash y la comunidad	Encuesta
				Entrevistas
			Talleres participativos (por ejemplo, CMS)	
			Frecuencia de las visitas al sitio y con qué propósito (uso del sitio)	Encuesta
		Voluntad de proteger el sitio	Presencia de organizaciones locales abogando por el sitio (por ejemplo, casa cultural o patronato)	Entrevistas
			Reducción del huaqueo y daños físicos en el sitio	Informes para el Ministerio de Cultura
			Guardianes de seguridad asignados al sitio y presentes	Observación (presencia/ ausencia)
			Percepción de la importancia de proteger el sitio	Entrevistas
Conservación del sitio (sostenibilidad del recurso para generaciones futuras)	Protección del patrimonio	Planes para protección y mantenimiento	Nueva señalización, caminos, y vallas. Acercos polimétricos.	Observación (presencia/ ausencia)
			Informes de la Municipalidad y del Ministerio de Cultura	
		Entrevistas con personal de la Municipalidad		
	Limpieza regular del sitio	Observación (presencia/ ausencia)		
	Condición del sitio	Estado de conservación del sitio	Informes de la arqueóloga de Cabana y los arqueólogos del proyecto	
	Puesta en valor	Proyecto para la puesta en valor de Pashash	Visión a largo plazo por el sitio y su papel en la comunidad	Entrevistas
			Talleres participativos	
Entrevistas con personal de la Municipalidad para conocer el estado de avance				
Porción del sitio que ha sido excavada y permanece abierta para visitantes	Observación			

Guion de entrevistas: impacto del proyecto arqueológico de Pashash

Como el proyecto de Pashash está recién empezando, estoy interesada en establecer una línea de base para poder comparar la situación de ahora con lo que podría ocurrir en el futuro.

TURISMO y ECONOMIA

Crecimiento económico estimulado por el turismo	Entrevistas con la municipalidad
Cantidad de sitios turísticos en el circuito de la región	Entrevistas (para verificar que haya conexión con Pashash)
Desarrollo de artesanía local y tiendas de recuerdos	Entrevistas con artesanos
Importancia de la presencia de los arqueólogos en términos económicos	Entrevistas con pobladores

Crecimiento económico con el turismo

- ¿Cuál es la situación actual acerca del turismo? ¿Cuáles son sus esperanzas y metas acerca del crecimiento económico de Cabana y de su área?
- ¿Qué significa desarrollo para usted?
- ¿Hay otros elementos que están pasando en Cabana que podrían afectar el proyecto (por ejemplo, nueva infraestructura)?
- ¿Cuál es la situación de los otros sitios arqueológicos de la provincia? ¿Le parece que visibilizar a Pashash ayudara a que los otros sitios sean más visitados también?
- ¿Cómo quieren ser vistos por los turistas?

Artesanía

- ¿Me podría contar algo sobre la artesanía en Cabana y su situación actual?
- ¿Cuál sería el potencial para que aumente esa actividad con la visibilidad del sitio?

Presencia de los arqueólogos en Cabana

- ¿Cómo le parece que la ciudad está beneficiando de la presencia de los arqueólogos (de manera económica, o de otras formas)?
- ¿Ve algunos riesgos vinculados a su presencia en Cabana?

Para los que están involucrados de manera más directa (trabajando, o vendiendo)

- ¿Me podría explicar cuál es su actividad, y como está cambiando con el proyecto arqueológico?
- ¿Cómo se involucró en el proyecto?
- ¿Qué le parece el proyecto y sus metas?
- ¿De qué forma le parece que va a beneficiar de este proyecto?
- ¿Qué le gustaría mejorar de su participación en el proyecto?
- ¿Usted ve algún riesgo vinculado a este proyecto?

EDUCACION Y CULTURA

Visibilidad del museo local y cantidad de visitantes	Entrevistas
Convenios con universidades peruanas	Entrevistas con personal del Museo
Numero de tesis escritas en relación a Pashash	Entrevistas informales con estudiantes
Nivel de motivación con el aprendizaje, entusiasmo e identificación con el patrimonio	Entrevistas con profesores

Situación del museo

- ¿Cómo ve la situación actual en el museo en términos de visitas? ¿Cuál le parecen ser las posibilidades para el futuro?

Convenios con universidades y estudiantes peruanos

- ¿Cuáles son las oportunidades actuales para los estudiantes de arqueología?

Educación para los escolares de nivel primario y secundario

- ¿Cómo ve el potencial de usar a Pashash como un recurso para la educación? ¿Me podría comentar un poco sobre la situación actual, y en el pasado?
- ¿Cómo ve la identificación de los jóvenes de Cabana con el pasado prehispánico y el sitio de Pashash?

SOCIEDAD Y COMUNIDAD

Valor asignado al patrimonio arqueológico, nivel de identificación con Pashash, vínculo entre Pashash y la comunidad	Entrevistas
	Entrevistas
	Talleres participativos (por ejemplo, CMS)
Presencia de organizaciones locales abogando por el sitio (por ejemplo, casa cultural o patronato)	Entrevistas
Percepción de la importancia de proteger el sitio	Entrevistas

Valor asignado al patrimonio arqueológico y a Pashash

- ¿Cómo percibe la identificación de los cabanistas con Pashash?
- ¿Para usted, cuáles son las características más importantes de Pashash?
- ¿Cómo el sitio arqueológico puede ser útil para ustedes?
- ¿Qué piensa que podría cambiar con el proyecto arqueológico, en comparación de cómo las cosas están ahora?
- ¿Cuáles son los aspectos positivos y negativos del sitio de Pashash?

Presencia de organizaciones locales

- ¿Me puede contar como fue la situación del patronato en el pasado y ahora?
- ¿Han tenido los cabanistas otras organizaciones o asociaciones vinculadas al sitio?

Percepción de la importancia de proteger el sitio

CONSERVACION DEL SITIO y PUESTA EN VALOR

Nueva señalización, caminos, y vallas	Entrevistas con personal de la Municipalidad
Visión a largo plazo por el sitio y su papel en la comunidad	Entrevistas
Estatus legal del sitio e implicaciones para su uso en la infraestructura turística	Entrevistas con personal de la Municipalidad para conocer el estado de avance

Nueva señalización, caminos, vallas e hitos

- ¿Cuáles son los planes actuales en este aspecto?
- ¿Qué se ha realizado en los últimos años? ¿Como ha cambiado la situación?

Visión a largo plazo por el sitio y su papel en la comunidad

- ¿Cuáles son sus expectativas acerca del futuro de Cabana, como imagina a esta comunidad en el futuro? ¿Cuáles serían las diferencias con el presente?
- ¿Cuál sería el papel de Pashash en esta visión del futuro? ¿Qué significa el sitio para usted y para la comunidad de Cabana?

Estatus legal del sitio e implicaciones para su uso en la infraestructura turística

- ¿Cómo sería el proceso para poner en valor el sitio de Pashash?

PROCESO DE EVALUACION

- ¿Qué pensó de esas preguntas? ¿Hay algunas que le parecieron más interesantes? ¿Hay algunas que le parecieron incomodas?
- ¿Qué significa evaluación para ustedes? ¿Piensa que podría generar algunos datos útiles? ¿Al ser así, como piensa que los podrían usar?
- ¿Hay otra palabra que preferiría para describir este tipo de trabajo?

Taller participativo sobre Cabana y Pashash. 11/09/2019.

Invitados: cerca de 50. Trabajo con grupos de 20-25. Si vienen más de 25 podemos trabajar con 2 grupos.

1. Bienvenida a los participantes. Ellos pueden servirse té, café, y pan con queso.

2. Cuando varios han llegado (6.15pm?) presentación de quien soy y mi proyecto. Les voy a explicar que si han hecho entrevistas o encuestas conmigo, todo eso forma parte del mismo proyecto de investigación. Estoy ensayando varias técnicas para recoger información y esas técnicas se enfocan en aspectos distintos.

Explicar los ejercicios y pedir consentimiento. Explicar que si no se sienten cómodos, pueden salir en cualquier momento.

3. GRUPO 1.

Ejercicio: valorando a Pashash

Material: papel y lapiceros.

- a) "Lluvia de ideas"
- b) Aportar ideas sobre palabras que asocian con Pashash. Pueden pensar en la presencia de Pashash en Cabana, sus varios usos en el pasado, presente y en el futuro. También pueden dibujar si prefieren eso.
- c) En grupo, asociamos esas palabras en varias pilas que van a determinar temas (por ejemplo, temas de turismo/ identidad/ divertirse/ educación...)
- d) Cada persona va a recibir 5 votos/puntos (pallares) y puede decir cuales de esos significados son los más importantes. Puede repartir 5 puntos en un significado, o 1 en cada tema que le parece importante, etc.
- e) Al final del ejercicio vamos a ver cuales temas son sobresalientes.
- f) *Si hay tiempo, podemos repetir el ejercicio, pero esta vez con Cabana. ¿Cuáles son los cambios más importantes (negativos o positivos) en los últimos 20 años? (pueden ser en términos de agricultura, infraestructura, etc.)*
- g) Discusión. ¿Qué nos enseña ese ejercicio sobre el papel de Pashash en Cabana? ¿Cómo lo ven en el futuro?

4. Foto grupal, con el consentimiento de los participantes.

5. Conclusión.

Preguntar si hay voluntarios que han llenado la encuesta o han sido entrevistados que serían dispuestos a hablar conmigo para dar su opinión sobre los varios procesos de evaluación que han ensayado. Recordar a todos que los arqueólogos están dando una charla el jueves a las 4pm en el auditorio del colegio.

Encuesta sobre el proyecto arqueológico de Pashash

Buenos días. Soy Agathe, estoy realizando una investigación para mis estudios. Me interesaría conocer el vínculo entre los cabanistas y el sitio arqueológico de Pashash, y como les afecta la presencia de un grupo de arqueólogos aquí. Me encantaría conocer sus opiniones. Si le gustaría participar, puede llenar esta breve encuesta. Sus respuestas serán confidenciales y anónimas. Si tiene cualquier problema con esta encuesta, me puede contactar al 957.760.646.

Informaciones sobre usted:

1. Género: Hombre Mujer

2. Edad:

<18 18-25 25-40 40-60 >60

3. Ocupación:

Escolar Estudiante Sin empleo Jubilado/a Amo/a de casa
 Trabajo en comercio agricultura servicios de la municipalidad institución educativa
 otro (puede indicar aquí si desea): _____

4. Identificación con Cabana

Soy cabanista y vivo en Cabana
 Vivo en Cabana actualmente pero no me identifico como Cabanista
 No vivo en Cabana

Involucración con el proyecto arqueológico

5. ¿Tiene conocimiento del proyecto arqueológico?

Si No sabía que había arqueólogos en Cabana actualmente

6. Está involucrado/a con el proyecto arqueológico?

Trabajo para el proyecto
 Les he proporcionado comida/ hospedaje/ otros ítems que han comprado
 No estoy involucrado/a
 Otra respuesta _____

7. ¿Si trabaja para el proyecto, de que trabaja usted cuando no está trabajando con los arqueólogos?

8. ¿Si trabaja para el proyecto, cómo describiría su trabajo con él? Trabajar con el proyecto de Pashash es:

Mi trabajo y fuente de ingreso principal por esos días:	Si	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
Una ocupación temporal :	Si	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
Un pasatiempo cuando no estoy ocupado/a con los deberes de la casa:	Si	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
Una actividad en la cual recién me estoy involucrando:	Si	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>

9. Preguntas para todos:

¿Como ve al impacto económico de la presencia de los arqueólogos en la ciudad durante las temporadas de campo?

Reducido
 Significativo
 No opino

Opinión sobre la arqueología y Pashash

10. He visitado al museo zonal de Cabana antes:

Si No

11. ¿Cuál es su opinión acerca del patrimonio arqueológico de la región?

- Me importa y me interesa mucho
- Me importa y me interesa un poco
- Me siento neutral/ no opino
- No me importa mucho, y me interesa poco
- No me importa o interesa para nada

12. Si le importa y interesa, ¿por qué?

- Siento orgullo
 - Siento que el turismo puede ayudar la situación económica
 - Siento que es la historia de mis antepasados
 - Me parece que es un lugar bonito para ver el paisaje
 - Otras razones:
-
-

13. ¿Con qué frecuencia iba al sitio arqueológico de Pashash antes del proyecto arqueológico (julio 2019)?

- Todos los días
- Todas las semanas
- Unas veces al año
- He ido unas veces en mi vida
- Nunca había ido

14. ¿Con qué frecuencia va al sitio arqueológico durante o después del proyecto?

- Todos los días
- Unas veces al mes
- Unas veces al año
- Unas veces en mi vida
- Nunca

15. ¿Con que propósito ha ido a Pashash? ¿Cuáles actividades ha realizado en el sitio? (Puede marcar más de una casilla)

- Trabajo (por ejemplo, excavar)
- Huaqueo
- Para divertirse, pasear, jugar, tomar fotos
- Visitas de turismo (para conocer)
- Lo considero como huaca
- Fiestas o eventos
- Otras razones: _____

16. Pashash le parece:

- Muy importante
 - Bastante importante
 - No opino
 - Poco importante
 - No me importa
- ¿Por qué?
-

17. ¿Usted siente que conoce bien la historia de Pashash?

- Si No

18. ¿Le gustaría conocer más sobre esa historia?

Si No

¿Qué más le interesaría saber?

19. ¿Usted siente que conoce bien la historia de los sitios en la provincia de Pallasca?

Si No

¿Le gustaría conocer más sobre esa historia?

Si No

20. El turismo en su región, lo ve como algo:

Mayormente positivo Algo positivo Neutral Algo negativo Mayormente negativo

Si quiere dar más detalles sobre su opinión (problemas que brinda el turismo, u oportunidades), use este espacio:

21. ¿Cuáles aspectos del proyecto le parecen importantes?

	Muy importante	Un poco importante	Neutral	Poco importante	No es importante
Tener un mejor ingreso económico					
Aprender sobre el pasado de mi región/ciudad					
Aprender sobre como trabajan los arqueólogos					
Que los jóvenes conozcan la historia de Pashash					
Visibilizar a Pashash y Cabana para que lleguen más turistas					
Tener más hallazgos para el museo					
Continuar y desarrollar una actividad que me gusta					

Otros aspectos importantes que no han sido mencionados:

22. ¿Cuáles serían sus otras expectativas o esperanzas acerca del proyecto?

23. ¿Tiene algún temor acerca del proyecto arqueológico o de la posible puesta en valor de Pashash?

Sí

No

Si tiene temores o dudas, ¿cuáles serían?

Estoy muy agradecida por su aporte a esta investigación. Puede enviar sus respuestas a la persona que le ha hecho llegar la encuesta o llevar sus respuestas a Agathe en el hotel Aguila Blanca.

VII. Evaluation Report Miraflores (including detailed survey, interview schedule and participatory workshop schedule)

La cultura ancestral: sus manifestaciones e impactos en el Miraflores de hoy

Evaluación de la situación actual
y expectativas de la población Mirafloresina



Ilustración 9. Sitio arqueológico de Huaquis. Foto: A. Dupeyron.

Agathe Dupeyron

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Introducción

El presente informe documenta los potenciales que, de acuerdo a sus habitantes, presenta el patrimonio cultural arqueológico para el desarrollo de Miraflores.

También describe las prioridades identificadas para un mejor uso de esos recursos a futuro y los mayores desafíos en el camino. Inicialmente, quería comparar esos diferentes elementos el 2019 y, luego, volver el 2020 para asistir a la fiesta del pueblo en agosto, además de completar la información. Desafortunadamente, la pandemia de COVID 19 me impidió volver a Miraflores el 2020. Sin embargo, espero que la información recolectada el año 2019 pueda coadyuvar al uso de recursos arqueológicos en el futuro. Este informe se dirige principalmente a los mirafloresinos y mirafloresinas, pero también a las instituciones y autoridades que podrían estar involucradas en el manejo de estos recursos, tal como SERNANP, o el Instituto de Montaña.

La información que se presenta formará parte mi tesis doctoral en Desarrollo Internacional inscrita en la Universidad de East Anglia en el Reino Unido. Soy una arqueóloga y antropóloga francesa, y me interesan mucho los proyectos que recuperan tecnologías ancestrales, documentadas por la arqueología, para mejorar la vida de las comunidades. Cuando me enteré de los proyectos de “Adaptación Basada en Ecosistemas” (Abe) y “Escalando Abe Montaña” del Instituto de Montaña (IdM), los cuales se basan en la recuperación de tecnologías ancestrales (como la represa de Yanacancha) para mitigar los riesgos asociados al cambio climático, me interesó la posibilidad de conocer sus formas de usar el “pasado” para mejorar el “presente” y “futuro”.



Ilustración 10. El sistema de represas y bofedales de Yanacancha. Fotos: A. Dupeyron.

Las preguntas que me interesaron fueron las siguientes: ¿Qué significa la arqueología para los mirafloresinos? ¿Cómo ha cambiado la relación de los mirafloresinos con su cultura en los últimos años, y cuál fue la contribución de los proyectos del Instituto de Montaña? ¿Cuál es el papel de la arqueología y de la cultura para ayudar a mitigar las dificultades encontradas en Miraflores?

Aparte de eso, también estoy interesada en metodologías utilizadas para documentar esos cambios. Mi especialidad son las metodologías de evaluación y monitoreo, y pocos proyectos documentan realmente los impactos que pueden tener en una comunidad el uso de recursos arqueológicos para el desarrollo. Gracias al apoyo del Instituto de Montaña, pude observar su forma de trabajar en la Reserva Paisajística Nor Yauyos-Cochas (RPNYC). De especial interés fue para mí su enfoque

participativo y su forma de recolectar datos que pueden apoyar a los trabajos de las comunidades involucradas, el SERNANP y la comunidad científica.

Metodología.

La presente información fue recopilada mediante 15 entrevistas, 48 encuestas dirigidas a la población de Miraflores y los mirafloresinos en Lima, así como, un grupo focal en el cual participaron 5 personas. Esas actividades fueron realizadas en noviembre y diciembre del año 2019. Durante la recolección de información conté con el invaluable apoyo del equipo del Instituto de Montaña, de la Comunidad Campesina de Miraflores, de SERNANP (Servicio Nacional de Áreas Naturales Protegidas) y de la RPNYC (Reserva Paisajística Nor Yauyos-Cochas). Aunque mi proyecto se interesó mucho en el trabajo del Instituto de Montaña, mi enfoque no era en las medidas de Adaptación basada en Ecosistemas, sino en el papel del patrimonio arqueológico de Miraflores para su desarrollo pasado, presente y futuro. ¿En qué medida la identificación de los mirafloresinos con su patrimonio fue un factor para explicar el éxito del proyecto Abe Montaña?

Mi primer paso fue de conversar con varias personas involucradas en el proyecto Escalando Abe Montaña: comuneros y comuneras, investigadores locales, autoridades a nivel de la Comunidad Campesina y Municipalidad, trabajadores del SERNANP y del IdM. Esa fase duró aproximadamente dos semanas.

Esa primera fase me permitió conocer las varias formas en las cuales el complejo paisaje arqueológico de Miraflores se integraba con el manejo del medio ambiente, y con los proyectos para el desarrollo futuro del pueblo. Identifiqué cuatro temas principales para estudiar:

- La Protección, conservación y restauración de sitios arqueológicos
- Cultura, sociedad y educación
- Turismo y economía
- Cambios con el Proyecto “Escalando Abe Montaña” y metodologías de evaluación

Cada uno de los primeros tres ejes de estudio incluye muchos impactos (implicancias del proyecto Abe Montaña y del trabajo ejecutado por el Instituto de Montaña), que ya se ven, o que fueron mencionados como posibles consecuencias de esas actividades a futuro. Esos son presentados en la tabla de impactos (ver anexo). Me ayudaron a definir cuales actividades realizar para entender esos impactos, su situación actual y como medir los cambios en el futuro. Gracias a esa primera fase de discusiones informales, opté por tres métodos: entrevistas, encuestas y un taller.

El cuarto eje de estudio, basado en metodologías de evaluación, forma parte de mi tesis doctoral, pero no es el enfoque del presente informe.

Entrevistas.

Realicé 15 entrevistas con personas interesadas en participar (el guion de preguntas se puede encontrar en el anexo): 14 entrevistas personales y una entrevista grupal con el personal de SERNANP. Participaron 10 hombres y 6 mujeres. Todas las personas eran adultos. Intenté capturar una variedad de puntos de vista: comuneros y comuneras, personas que trabajaron con el proyecto Abe Montaña, mirafloresinos y mirafloresinas que emigraron a Lima, personas que trabajaban en tiendas y restaurantes

en Miraflores, profesores, autoridades locales, personal del Instituto de Montaña, y personal de SERNANP. Las entrevistas duraron entre 30 minutos y dos horas y se enfocaron en los temas 1 a 4.

Encuesta

La encuesta fue aplicada con el apoyo de los funcionarios del colegio, de la municipalidad y gracias a los consejos de los miembros de la Comunidad Campesina. Asimismo, opté por visitar varias personas en sus domicilios y recolectar más encuestas. También tuve la oportunidad de aplicar la encuesta a 18 personas que han crecido en Miraflores, pero que emigraron a Lima por razones de estudios o trabajo. La mayoría de las encuestas fueron realizadas durante las últimas 3 semanas de mi estadía (ver texto de la encuesta en el anexo).

En total recogí 48 encuestas:

- 3 encuestas durante el grupo focal con la comunidad campesina.
- 14 paseando por las calles y pidiendo el apoyo de los mirafloresinos y mirafloresinas.
- 7 encuestas en el colegio secundario.
- 18 encuestas corresponden a miembros de la comunidad mirafloresina en Lima.
- 6 de la Municipalidad.

Los resultados de esta encuesta van a ser discutidos más adelante con relación a los 4 temas propuestos.

Visitas de sitio

Gracias al apoyo de comuneros y comuneras, logré visitar a muchos sitios arqueológicos en Miraflores y alrededores. Algunos me llevaron con mucha amabilidad para apoyarme, pero también pude acompañar personas en sus labores y también en una faena. Así, llegué a visitar a Huaquis, Huamanchurco, Curiuna, y Yanacancha. Los comuneros también me llevaron a lugares y actividades importantes para el pueblo de Miraflores, como la piscigranja, las actividades de siembra de papas nativas con SERNANP, y la faena en Curiuna.

Gracias al Instituto de Montaña y a SERNANP, también pude conocer varios sitios de la reserva paisajística. Eso fue muy importante para contextualizar las oportunidades que tienen los mirafloresinos dentro de la reserva, no sólo en términos de recuperación de tecnologías ancestrales, pero también para conocer las oportunidades vinculadas al turismo. Así, me llevaron a Tomás, Huancaya, la puna de Tinco, Carania, y Tanta. Ahí, tuve la oportunidad de ver como trabajaba el Instituto de Montaña en otros proyectos. También pude participar de algunas de sus actividades, como un taller participativo realizado por Elmer Segura, una faena para realizar un cerco en Tinco, y una caminata en Carania que se enfocó en mapear un canal antiguo.



Ilustración 11. Taller participativo (diagnostico comunitario) realizado por Elmer Segura del Instituto de Montaña en Tanta.

Grupo focal

Gracias al apoyo del presidente de la comunidad campesina, quien llamó por micrófono a la población, y me dio acceso a la oficina, y gracias a los consejos del personal del Instituto de Montaña, pude organizar un pequeño taller en Miraflores que se dio el 2 de diciembre de 2019. La idea era de realizar un taller participativo a la manera del Instituto de Montaña, pero sólo pudieron llegar cinco personas, y entonces el taller se convirtió en una conversación de grupo. Sin embargo, pudimos realizar algunas de las actividades que había previsto (ver el guion en Anexo). El taller duró aproximadamente 30 minutos.

Mi propósito fue definir qué es la arqueología para los mirafloresinos, qué significa, cómo está valorada, y cuáles sitios son identificados como sitios arqueológicos. Eso era la base sobre cuál podríamos tener una conversación sobre el uso de la arqueología y sus potencialidades para el desarrollo de Miraflores. Empezamos con una lluvia de ideas, para hablar de temas relacionados a la arqueología. Conversamos durante unos 5 a 10 minutos para hablar sobre qué significa la palabra arqueología. Surgieron algunos temas claves, como Huaquis, el turismo, la identidad cultural de Miraflores y sus mitos (como el de Mama Culli), y por supuesto Yanacancha.

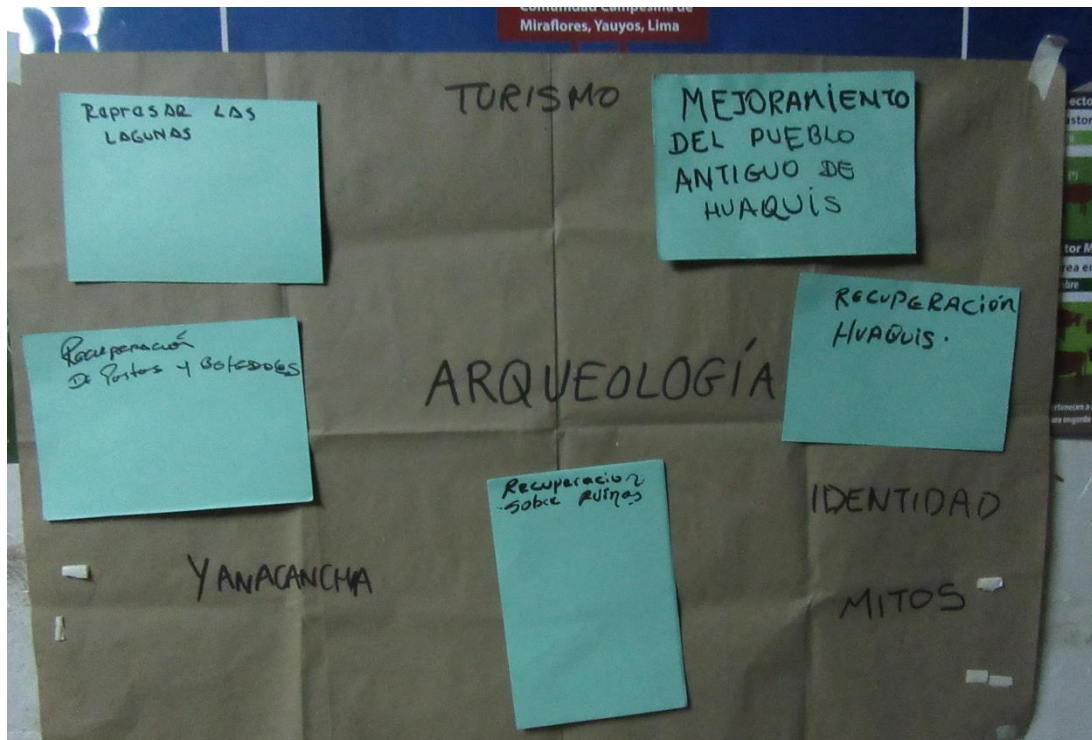


Ilustración 12. Lluvia de ideas y temas principales asociados a la palabra "arqueología". Grupo focal realizado en Miraflores, 2 de diciembre de 2019. Foto: Agathe Dupeyron

Luego, decidimos cuales eran los temas más importantes, y cada participante escogió un tema, cual escribió en un papelito verde. En realidad, todos los participantes escogieron Huaquis o la recuperación de pastos y bofedales en Yanacancha. Cada participante recibió 5 granos de frijol que podían distribuir de la forma que les parecía más adecuada para votar para los temas que le parecían los más importantes.

Fue interesante para los participantes notar que el sitio de Yanacancha era el ganador con 14 puntos, mientras que Huaquis se llevó 11 puntos. Me dijeron que hace algunos años atrás, Huaquis seguramente se hubiese llevado al puesto del sitio más importante de Miraflores. Pero ahora, gracias a la recuperación de pastos, la comunidad está valorando Yanacancha y su preservación con más alta prioridad. Cabe subrayar que todos los participantes de esta reunión eran asociados del proyecto Escalando Abe Montaña.

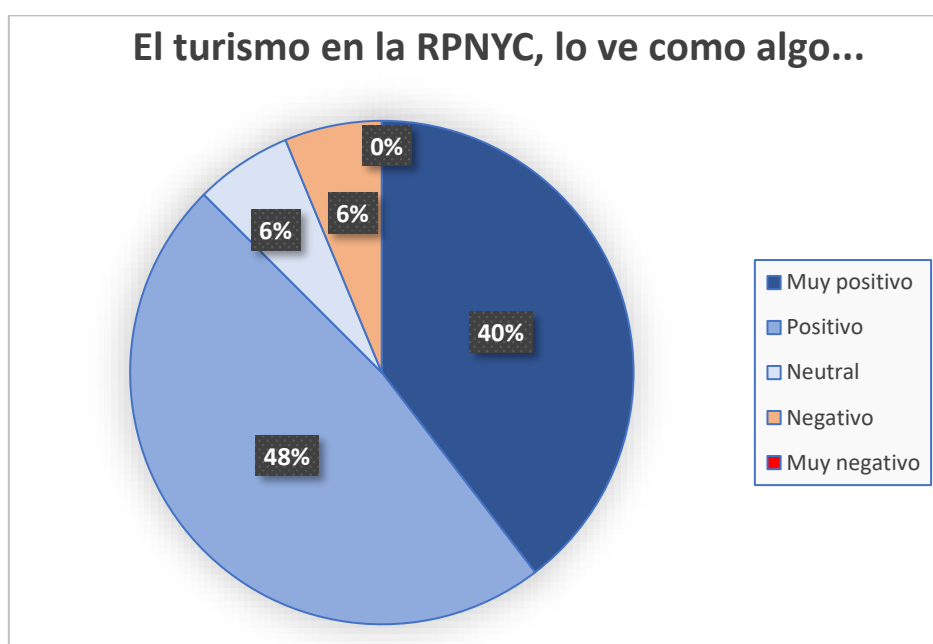
Aunque ganó Yanacancha, Huaquis sigue siendo el sitio emblemático que representa a Miraflores, y es lo que primero se le viene a la mente tan pronto cuando hablamos de arqueología.

Entonces, voy a presentar la importancia de la arqueología para los Mirafloresinos, en términos de potencial turístico, de valor cultural y social, y de estrategia para mitigar los riesgos asociados al cambio climático.

Turismo y economía

Hoy en día el turismo en Miraflores está reducido. Los turistas visitan Miraflores de vez en cuando. Las visitas son escasas y están centradas alrededor de las fiestas de fin de año o la fiesta de agosto. El propósito del turismo es visitar familiares y lo realizan mirafloresinos que emigraron fuera del pueblo.

Existen muchas expectativas acerca del turismo en Miraflores, y los mirafloresinos tienen una visión positiva del turismo. En la encuesta, indicaron que podría generar empleos, y dar más oportunidades a los pobladores para vender sus productos.



Los mirafloresinos tienen en mente los ejemplos de los pueblos vecinos de Huancayo y Vitis, que captan muchos flujos de visitantes de Huancayo. Sin embargo, están muy conscientes de los riesgos asociados al turismo de masa y una posible saturación, y les gustaría desarrollar un turismo vivencial y sostenible, o agroecoturismo. En la encuesta y entrevistas, varias personas mencionaron la importancia de proteger y conservar su patrimonio, y no dejar que los turistas contaminen a la zona.

En los resultados de la encuesta, noté que el turismo captaba una mayoría de las esperanzas de los mirafloresinos. Cuando les pregunté qué tan importante les parecían varios aspectos del uso de los sitios arqueológicos, eso es lo que me contestaron:

	Visibilizar a Huaquis y Miraflores para que lleguen más turistas	Aprender sobre el pasado de mi distrito/pueblo	Que los jóvenes conozcan la historia de Miraflores	Que los sitios arqueológicos nos ayuden a conocer el manejo de pastos y agua, y puedan ser reutilizados en el marco de medidas AbE
Muy importante	67%	52%	56%	52%
Importante	31%	35%	35%	44%
Neutral	0%	6%	2%	2%
Poco importante	0%	6%	0%	0%
No es importante	0%	0%	0%	0%
No contesto	2%	0%	6%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Con el Instituto de Montaña, no se ha trabajado el turismo en Miraflores, aunque esta institución tiene experiencia en realizar talleres de capacitación para facilitar el turismo comunitario en la región Ancash. Este tipo de experiencia podría quizá ser replicado a futuro, si se crea otro proyecto en Miraflores.

Una persona trabajando para el Instituto de Montaña me contó la reacción de los mirafloresinos al participar al proyecto RETAMA (Recuperación de tecnologías ancestrales para el Manejo del Agua), una red creada en el 2018 que permitió reunir comunidades que han experimentado en la recuperación de tecnologías e infraestructuras ancestrales (<https://tmi.exposure.co/backtothefuture-solutions>). Cuando visitaron los andenes de Laraos, se sorprendieron porque ellos tenían andenes en mejor estado de conservación. De allí se reforzó la idea de que Miraflores también podrían ofrecer turismo vivencial, una dimensión que los mirafloresinos están animados en fortalecer. Una comunera sugirió la creación de una cooperativa turística, ya que asociaciones de turismo podrían dividir a la comunidad, pero una cooperativa presentaría un frente unido en el cual se podrían involucrar todos los interesados.

También existe una iniciativa para difundir el patrimonio arqueológico de Miraflores y atraer turistas. El arqueólogo Rafael Schmitt, basado en Lima, está realizando un proyecto de diseminación llamado *el Proyecto Arqueológico San Agustín de Guaquis*, y su propósito es de investigar la arqueología e historia de Huaquis (incluso los documentos de la época colonial) y difundir esos conocimientos. En el 2019, no todos los mirafloresinos que entreviste conocían de este proyecto, pero quizá ha cambiado, y me gustaría realizar otro taller para actualizar mis percepciones de la situación en el 2021.

Dentro de este proyecto, el arqueólogo ha publicado un guía de visita, (ver enlace en la Bibliografía), del cual existe también un afiche expuesto frente a la oficina de la Comunidad Campesina en la plaza principal de Miraflores. Eso le permitió realizar un paquete de visita en Miraflores, y llevo algunos grupos a conocer a Huaquis durante Semana Santa del 2019. También obtuvo fondos para conservar y digitalizar los archivos republicanos de Miraflores, y cuando visite al pueblo en 2019, estaba postulando a fondos para crear un pequeño museo de Huaquis en la plaza principal de Miraflores.

En conclusión, las encuestas indican que hay una real voluntad de empujar el turismo vivencial en Miraflores, para dar a conocer la cultura del pueblo, y sus sitios arqueológicos emblemáticos. Sin embargo, la pandemia de COVID-19 ha retrasado esos planes, y faltaría conectarse con instituciones que puedan apoyar al desarrollo de más actividades turísticas en la zona.

Cultura, sociedad y educación

El Rincón Huaquisino

Un investigador local me dijo que Huaquis era el “corazoncito de Miraflores”. Como fue abandonado hace apenas 100 años, muchos participantes me contaron de su fuerte identificación con el sitio. Algunos nacieron allí, o sus padres seguían visitando y ellos también tienen como hábito de visitar a Huaquis a menudo. De los encuestados, el 29% va a Huaquis algunas veces al mes, y el 33% algunas veces al año. Los mayores propósitos para ir a Huaquis son los siguientes:

¿Con qué propósito ha ido a Huaquis? ¿Qué actividades ha realizado en el sitio?

Divertirse, pasear	22	46%
Para visitar y conocer (turismo)	19	40%
Pastoreo y agricultura	19	40%
Fiestas y rituales	14	29%
Limpieza y conservación	3	6%
Estudio	1	2%
Huaqueo	1	2%
Total de encuestados	48	

Se nota que el sitio emblemático de Miraflores tiene muchos usos, entre el recreo, el trabajo y el uso ritual.

Los Mirafloresinos son muy orgullosos de Huaquis, y hasta el grupo de Facebook que usan para comunicarse entre ellos y con los que salieron del pueblo (con 773 miembros en junio de 2021) se llama “el Rincón Huaquisino”. Uno de los dos equipos de fútbol del pueblo también se llama “Los Huaquisinos”.

Valorar el complejo paisaje arqueológico de Miraflores

Los mirafloresinos sienten curiosidad hacia los sitios arqueológicos que les rodean, pero también reconocen que saben todavía muy poco sobre arqueología y que se necesitaría investigar más y difundir esos conocimientos. Durante mi estadía, muchos de ellos me hablaron de huacos que habían encontrado en sus chacras, o durante trabajos de pastoreo. Contaron historias vinculadas a Huaquis y el cementerio de Huamanchurco, y de sus paseos en sitios más alejados en Pucuria. Una comunera también contó con emoción su visita a Carania y al sitio pre-incaico de Huamanmarca, y de sus ganas de conocer más sobre su historia.

Cuando les pregunté si les gustaría conocer más de la historia de Miraflores, la totalidad de los encuestados me dijeron que sí (46 de 48, y 2 sin respuesta). Los aspectos que más le interesaron eran los siguientes: como ha sido poblado el distrito, como se formó Huaquis, como se iniciaron sus tradiciones, como se realizaron las construcciones que se ven en Huaquis. También les interesaría investigar otros sitios más allá de Huaquis, como Curiuna, Pucuria, Quinchura, y saber si el cementerio de Huamanchurco era el de Huaquis.

También les pregunté por qué tenían un interés en este patrimonio arqueológico. Los resultados indican que su interés es motivado no solo por el potencial turístico y la posibilidad de aprender del

pasado y recuperar tecnologías ancestrales, pero también muchos de ellos (60%) explicaron que sentían una identificación con su historia.

¿Por qué le importa e interesa el patrimonio arqueológico?

Siento que es la historia de mis antepasados	29	60%
Me parece que podemos aprender de las técnicas de manejo del agua, pastos y agricultura que usaban en el pasado	21	44%
Siento que el turismo puede ayudar la situación económica	37	77%
Siento orgullo	11	23%
Total de encuestados	48	

Es importante mencionar que el proyecto AbE Montaña contribuyó a que más personas conozcan y conserven el sitio de Yanacancha y sus represas. Una mirafloresta con quién conversé me explicó que estudiaba Ingeniería Ambiental en Lima, y redactaba una tesis sobre la calidad del agua en Yanacancha. Cuando pregunté a los encuestados si sentían que conocían bien la historia y el uso de Yanacancha, se ve una neta diferencia entre los que estuvieron involucrados con los proyectos del IdM y los que no tuvieron esa oportunidad. Casi la mitad de los involucrados tiene un buen conocimiento, mientras que una mayoría de los no involucrados dicen desconocer la historia y el uso de Yanacancha.

¿Usted siente que conoce bien la historia y el uso de Yanacancha?

	Personas involucradas con Abe Montaña	Personas no involucradas con Abe Montaña	No dijeron si eran o no involucrados
Si	11 (23%)	4 (8%)	2 (4%)
No	12 (25%)	16 (33%)	2 (4%)
No contestaron	1 (2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Total	24 (50%)	20 (42%)	4 (8%)
Total de encuestas	48 (100%)		

Eso se pudo verificar también por entrevistas. Cuando pregunté a una comunera si era importante que el proyecto Abe Montaña trabajara con sitios antiguos, me contestó: “Yo pienso que sí. Es trabajar con lo que tú tienes, no trabajar con cemento...”

Más allá de Huaquis y Yanacancha, los miraflorestas valoran también mucho a sus canales ancestrales y andenes antiguos, como se vio en los resultados de la encuesta al momento de preguntar a los participantes cuál era la importancia de los siguientes sitios.

	Huaquis	Yanacancha	Huamanchurco (cementerio)	Curiuna	Los Canales antiguos (Molino, Maytalla, Patihuisinca)	Los andenes antiguos y el Maizal	El pueblo de Miraflores
Muy importante	71%	42%	15%	25%	50%	50%	58%
Importante	23%	44%	56%	44%	35%	35%	23%
Neutral	0%	6%	17%	13%	4%	8%	6%
Poco importante	2%	4%	0%	4%	0%	0%	0%
No importante	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
No contesto	4%	4%	13%	15%	10%	6%	13%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

En la encuesta, los comuneros y comuneras también mencionaron al camino Herradura (Escalera), el sitio arqueológico de Pucuria, y Querichura.

Como hemos visto, el patrimonio arqueológico lleva un papel importante en la identificación que los mirafloresinos sienten hacia su pueblo y tierra, y ayuda a reforzar su identificación con la necesidad de cuidar su ambiente, y entonces con el proyecto Escalando Abe Montaña.

Valorar la cultura tradicional y reforzar la cultura viva



Ilustración 13. Sembrando papas nativas con SERNANP. Foto: Agathe Dupeyron

La importancia del patrimonio arqueológico se une a otras iniciativas basadas en la cultura local y ancestral de Miraflores, que contribuyen a esa fuerte identificación que tienen los mirafloresinos.

El trabajo realizado con el Instituto de Montaña incluyó también una Noche de Cultura. Algunos de los entrevistados comentaron de este evento, lo cual permitió a varios de los jóvenes desarrollar sus capacidades artísticas y participar en una obra teatral enfocada en el mito de Mama Culli, y explicando la importancia de preservar el sistema de pastos y manejar el agua de una forma sostenible. Según el director del colegio, esa experiencia fue muy importante para los estudiantes, porque nunca habían tenido la oportunidad de explorar sus capacidades en actuación y expresión oral gracias a profesionales de las artes escénicas. Gracias a SERNANP, también han tenido talleres para aprender a identificar las lagunas, los nevados, los animales y las plantas típicos de la zona.

SERNANP sigue sus esfuerzos en este sentido, impulsando varios proyectos en la zona como la siembra de papas nativas en 2019, una iniciativa para tratar de recuperar 51 especies de papa típicas de la zona en Miraflores y Vitis. Sin embargo, uno de los comuneros involucrados lamentó que pocos se involucraron.

Muchos adultos temen que se pierda esta cultura. Con los desafíos del cambio climático y el desempleo, más y más jóvenes migran a Huancayo, Cañete o Lima. El colegio, cual tenía 100 estudiantes hace 20 años, tenía apenas 40 en el 2019. Además, todavía no existen muchas oportunidades para conocer el patrimonio arqueológico de Miraflores dentro del marco escolar. Aunque se realizó un currículo anexo de historia, los conocimientos sobre el pasado arqueológico no están muy difundidos, y los alumnos del colegio suelen visitar a Huaquis con sus familias y muy poco con sus profesores.

Sin embargo, una de las esperanzas con el proyecto es que sea una incentivo para quedarse. Varios comuneros jóvenes me comentaron de sus experiencias buscando trabajo en Lima, y como decidieron volver al pueblo para trabajar en sus chacras e involucrarse en proyectos de recuperación. Los éxitos de Abe y Escalando Abe Montaña, y las faenas que implicó este proyecto, les permitió acercarse como comunidad y hasta postular a proyectos nacionales como MERESE-FIDA y Sierra Azul gracias a esa experiencia, y tener éxito.

Protección, conservación y recuperación de los sitios antiguos

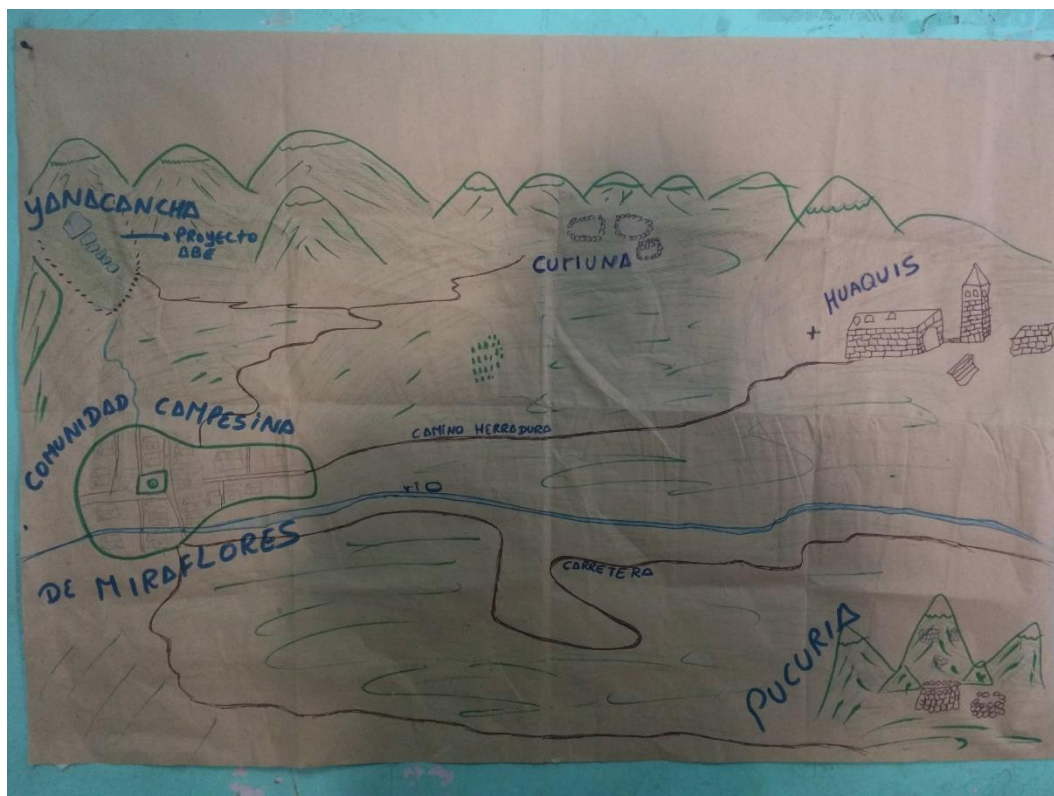


Ilustración 14. Mapa de los sitios principales alrededor de Miraflores, hecho por el Instituto de Montaña y la Comunidad Campesina de Miraflores durante un taller de presentación para los pasantes de Huaytapallana, Dic 2019. Foto: Agathe Dupeyron

Los sitios antiguos rodean a Miraflores, y forman parte de la vida cotidiana de sus habitantes. En 2013, los arqueólogos Alexander Herrera y Favio Ramírez Muñoz realizaron un diagnóstico arqueológico en el marco del diagnóstico participativo integrado para el diseño de medidas robustas en Canchayllo y Miraflores. Este informe presenta los restos arqueológicos de la zona y su potencial para ser recuperados. En base a eso, y a las necesidades de los mirafloresinos, se optó por cercar Yanacancha, un sistema de represas prehispánicas que permite la retención y filtración del agua. En cooperación con el proyecto de Valle Grande, la comunidad campesina y el Instituto de Montaña lograron recuperar a Yanacancha y reparar un canal (con tubería) llegando hasta Coriuna. Con esos éxitos, los pobladores tomaron conciencia del valor de esas ruinas para mejorar la actividad ganadera y su consumo de agua.

Los impactos en términos ambientales han sido documentados por varios informes del Instituto de Montaña (ver, por ejemplo: IdM 2016), pero varias personas mencionaron su importancia durante las entrevistas que conduje. Por ejemplo, informaron que ven diferencias muy significativas en la salud de sus ganados, ahora que el sistema de rotación les da acceso a pastos de mejor calidad. La escasez de agua para el consumo humano o animal tampoco es el problema que era antes, con la restauración de Yanacancha e instalación del canal que va hasta Coriuna. Entonces, esos cambios ambientales son vinculados a una mejoría de la economía y calidad de vida, cual el Instituto de Montaña también planificaba medir mediante una encuesta socioeconómica en el futuro cercano.

Sin embargo, los cambios ambientales y económicos documentados por el Instituto de Montaña no son el enfoque de este informe. Aquí, quisiera subrayar la importancia de los sitios e infraestructuras antiguas para los mirafloresinos, y como ayudaron al éxito del proyecto Escalando Abe Montaña.



Ilustración 15. El sitio de Coriuna, llegada del canal que lleva agua desde Yanacancha para los ganados. Fotos: A. Dupeyron

El enfoque en los cambios climáticos ha generado una alta conciencia ambiental en la población miraflorina. En mis entrevistas noté esa inquietud frente a los riesgos que amenazan su modo de vida. Eso se refleja también en las encuestas: al momento de preguntar si tienen algún temor o inquietud acerca de los restos arqueológicos, muchas personas mencionaron el temor de que se destruya Huaquis.



Ilustración 16. Portada de la iglesia colonial de Huaquis. Foto: A. Dupeyron.

Los miraflores suelen realizar una limpieza anual de Huaquis en preparación de la Fiesta del Agua que se lleva en el canal de Patihuisinca, cerca de Huaquis, cada año el 29 de junio. A pesar de eso, muchos lamentan el estado actual de conservación de Huaquis. Les gustaría poder reforzar algunas de las estructuras, pero existe un cierto nivel de incomodidad con las medidas oficiales que corresponden a un sitio declarado como Patrimonio Cultural de la Nación. Unos comuneros me explicaron que les prohibieron tocar “hasta una piedra”, y que un trabajo de conservación bajo la supervisión oficial de 2 arqueólogos, cual es requerido por el Ministerio de Cultura, les costaría alrededor de 5000 soles, una cantidad que no pueden invertir. A ellos les preocupa que se pierda este sitio emblemático de su identidad y tan importante para una posible apertura turística.

El proceso de evaluación

Otra parte importante de mi estudio fue un enfoque en la comparación de varios métodos (entrevistas, talleres y encuestas) para recolectar esta información. Una de mis metas de investigación es de entender la forma más práctica de medir los impactos que un proyecto enfocado en los recursos arqueológicos puede tener sobre el desarrollo de un pueblo. Me beneficié mucho de la observación de las metodologías de monitoreo y evaluación empleadas por el Instituto de Montaña, y también adquirí conocimiento y experiencia realizando mis propias encuestas y entrevistas en Miraflores.

Sin embargo, esos detalles más técnicos podrán ser encontrados en mi tesis doctoral, que presentaré al pueblo de Miraflores una vez acabada. Aquí presento un breve resumen con sugerencias para recoger datos en el futuro.

Los problemas mayores en la recolección de datos para este proceso de 'evaluación' han sido los siguientes:

- Dificultad en convocar participantes para realizar talleres, especialmente debido al hecho de que pocas personas están en el pueblo durante el día. Todos salen muy temprano al campo y llegan cansados de noche.
- Dificultad para distribuir y recoger encuestas. Aunque en otro pueblo, tuve la posibilidad de distribuir las encuestas a varias instituciones, en Miraflores opté mayormente por ir de casa en casa y aprovechar algunas reuniones.
- Dificultad para que una extranjera entienda bien el contexto de Miraflores y como viven sus habitantes. Por ejemplo, estuvo más difícil acercarme a grupos de mujeres para conversar. Los hombres estaban en su mayoría menos tímidos conmigo y con la idea de participar en mi investigación.

Sería interesante repetir este tipo de recolección de datos en el futuro a fin de verificar:

- a. Si se han mantenido los logros del proyecto "Escalando Abe Montaña" y si se lograron recuperar otros sitios antiguos para mejorar las condiciones de la agricultura, ganadería y las condiciones de vida en general en Miraflores.
- b. Si se ha podido dar pasos hacia una gestión turística de los recursos Mirafloresinos
- c. ¿Cuáles otros elementos han cambiado en Miraflores? ¿Cuál es el papel del patrimonio y la cultura ancestral dentro de todo eso?

También sería importante repetir el mismo tipo de talleres con otros grupos. Por ejemplo, podría convocar a la comunidad campesina y otras organizaciones, tal como realizar un taller sólo con profesores y jóvenes, o con el personal de la municipalidad. Es muy probable que cada grupo tenga intereses y prioridades diferentes.

Conclusiones

Desafíos mayores

Los problemas mayores para que los recursos arqueológicos contribuyan de manera importante en el desarrollo de Miraflores, tal como se esperaba en el 2019, son los siguientes:

-La pandemia mundial relacionado al COVID-19, el cual ha debilitado los potenciales de inversión económica en Miraflores y, en general, en todo el Perú.

-La crisis política en el Perú.

-La falta de recursos para conservar a Huaquis.

-La falta de conocimiento y recursos que tienen los mirafloresinos sobre cómo desarrollar una actividad de turismo sostenible y vivencial de una forma adecuada. Aunque esta investigación ha demostrado que los mirafloresinos valoran y quieren mucho a sus sitios arqueológicos, también nos permite ver que muchos de ellos desconocen la historia de los sitios, y no se dan cuenta de lo que les podría brindar. También hacen falta más investigaciones arqueológicas en esos sitios, para difundir su historia a nivel regional y nacional.

Recomendaciones

A pesar de esos obstáculos, el presente informe también subraya la estrecha relación entre las tecnologías, infraestructuras y sitios antiguos, la cultura viva de los mirafloresinos, y la adaptación basada en ecosistemas para enfrentarse al cambio climático. Todavía se puede hacer mucho más, pero eso implica unos esfuerzos de investigación sobre el pasado, para poder compartir esos conocimientos con la población y entender como para futuros turistas; difusión de los conocimientos; capacitaciones al turismo vivencial comunitario; y recuperación de más sitios, canales y andenes con el apoyo de SERNANP u otras instituciones. También sería importante fortalecer el rol de la educación, y permitir que mas estudiantes de Miraflores obtengan este tipo de conocimientos y se involucren en proyectos vinculados al manejo de sus recursos naturales o culturales.

En el contexto post-pandemia, esperemos que sea posible obtener fondos para realizar capacitaciones, conservar más sitios e impulsar el turismo vivencial.

Agradecimientos

Gracias a los mirafloresinos por su apoyo con mis encuestas, su participación en las entrevistas y en el grupo focal.

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Anexos

1. Tabla de impactos
2. Guion de entrevistas
3. Actividad realizada durante el grupo focal del 02 de diciembre 2019
4. Encuesta aplicada a la población de Miraflores y algunos Mirafloresinos viviendo en Lima (muestra de 48 personas)

POSIBLES Impactos asociados a la revaloración del complejo paisaje arqueológico de Miraflores, y como medirlos:

Amarillo: Medido por el Instituto de Montaña

Gris: Impactos que podrán ser vistos si Miraflores escoge la ruta del turismo, y podrán ayudar a sistemas de monitoreo y evaluación en ese entonces. (Fueron adaptados del cuadro de impactos que utilice para los otros dos casos de estudio de mi tesis doctoral)

Área de cambio	Impacto o resultado	Sub-impacto	Indicador	Método de recolección de datos (instrumento)	Desafíos encontrados al aplicar el método
Impactos económicos	Turismo en Miraflores (Huaquis, Yanacancha y otros sitios)	Aumento del potencial turístico a largo plazo (más de 10 años)	Crecimiento económico estimulado por el turismo	Estadísticas del INEI y MINCETUR	Difícil de atribuir a Huaquis. El turismo puede ser vivencial, o de aventuras, o de paisajes, no necesariamente arqueológico.
				Entrevistas con la municipalidad/ los guardaparques	
			Cantidad de turistas en Huaquis, Yanacancha y otros sitios	Serán contabilizados si/cuando el sitio tenga un quiosco. Por ahora solo se puede medir con observaciones de los lugareños.	
			Cantidad de sitios turísticos en el circuito de la región (RPNYC)	Entrevistas (para verificar que haya conexión con los sitios Mirafloresinos)	
				Plan de desarrollo turístico de la Municipalidad, o inventario de los recursos turísticos	
			Desarrollo de artesanía local y tiendas de recuerdos para turistas	Observación (presencia/ ausencia)	
				Registro de artesanos	
				Entrevistas con artesanos	
		Guías en Miraflores	Observación (presencia/ ausencia)		
		Idiomas hablados en Miraflores para acomodar el turismo	Observación		
		Mejor infraestructura turística estimulada por la atractividad de Miraflores a largo plazo (más de 10 años)	Nuevas carreteras para llegar a sitios turísticos	Observación (presencia/ ausencia) Informes de la municipalidad	
			Nuevos restaurantes		
			Nuevos hoteles		
			Nuevas tiendas de recuerdos y artesanales		

	Efecto económico del proyecto AbE Montaña y Escalando AbE	Mejores ingresos debidos a: Mejores pastos, mejor acceso al agua y mejor organización comunal	Ver informes del proyecto AbE Montaña y "Escalando AbE Montaña".	Analisis Costo Beneficio clásico y participativo, hecho en el transcurso del proyecto "AbE Montaña"		
Impactos ambientales	Efecto del proyecto AbE Montaña	Mejor adaptación al cambio climático	Ver los informes detallados del proyecto "AbE Montaña" y "Escalando AbE Montaña". Esa parte es la mas significativa, pero ya es tratada en profundidad por el IDM.	Indicadores ambientales y participativos del proyecto AbE Montaña y "Escalando AbE Montaña".		
Impactos culturales y educativos	Desarrollo de capacidades	Posible creación de un museo local	(Hallazgos agregados a colecciones locales) Para futuro	Inventario de las colecciones		
			(Visibilidad del museo local y cantidad de visitantes) Para futuro	Número de visitas al mes		
		Oportunidades profesionales para arqueólogos peruanos y especialistas del patrimonio	Cantidad de estudiantes que han hecho practica en los proyectos vinculados a los recursos arqueológicos mirafloresinos	Entrevistas	Informes de los proyectos	
			Convenios con universidades peruanas y otras instituciones	Entrevistas con Comunidad/Municipalidad		
			Numero de tesis escritas en relación a los proyectos	Entrevistas con los gerentes de los proyectos		
	Oportunidades educativas para la gente de Miraflores y su región	Aprendizaje en las nuevas generaciones	Numero de escolares de nivel primario y secundario alcanzados con actividades vinculadas a los proyectos en relación con las técnicas ancestrales, o el proyecto Huaquis (por ejemplo, actividad teatral de AbE Montaña)	Entrevista con profesores, o con organizadores de dichos proyectos	Medido por los indicadores del proyecto "Escalando AbE- Montaña"	
			Numero de escolares de nivel primario y secundario alcanzados con visitas de sitio (¿Eso tiene lugar o aún no?)	Número de visitas al sitio		
			Nivel de motivación con el aprendizaje, entusiasmo e identificación con el patrimonio	Entrevistas con profesores		
		Aprendizaje en la comunidad	Conocimiento sobre el manejo de pastos y las medidas AbE	Entrevistas con profesores	Medido por los indicadores del proyecto "Escalando AbE- Montaña"	
			Satisfacción con su conocimiento de sitios arqueológicos y su uso pasado en el distrito de Miraflores	Encuesta		
Impactos sociales	Fortalecimiento del orgullo en el pasado e identidad local	Valorar el patrimonio arqueológico	Uso de iconografía vinculada a Huaquis, Yanacancha y los demás sitios en Miraflores y su región	Observación (¿aumento de un año para el otro?), entrevistas		
			Ritual anual del agua en Huaquis	Entrevistas		
				Encuesta		

			Valor asignado al patrimonio arqueológico, nivel de identificación con los sitios, vínculo entre los sitios y la comunidad, importancia del vínculo con el patrimonio para mantener las medidas AbE a largo plazo	Entrevistas	
				Talleres participativos (por ejemplo, CMS)	
			Frecuencia de las visitas a los sitios y con qué propósito (uso de los sitios)	Encuesta	
		Voluntad de proteger el patrimonio	Presencia de comités locales apoyando al manejo de los sitios, incluso los sitios restaurados como Yanacancha	Medido por los indicadores del proyecto "Escalando AbE- Montaña"	
			Reducción del huaqueo y daños físicos en los sitios – mejor aprovechamiento de los sitios (por ejemplo, Yanacancha)	Observación (presencia/ ausencia)	
			Percepción de la importancia de proteger el sitio	Entrevistas	
Conservación de los sitios (sostenibilidad del recurso para generaciones futuras)	Protección del patrimonio	Planes para protección y mantenimiento	Mantenimiento de los pastos, canales diques y represas según el plan de Manejo de Pastos y Agua de Miraflores	Medido por los indicadores del proyecto "Escalando AbE- Montaña"	
			Limpieza regular del sitio Huaquis	Observación (presencia/ ausencia) Entrevista con miraflores	
		Condición del sitio	Estado de conservación del patrimonio	Medido por los indicadores del proyecto "Escalando AbE- Montaña"	
	Visión para el patrimonio	Expectativas acerca del patrimonio y protección legal	Visión a largo plazo por los recursos arqueológicos y su papel en el crecimiento y futuro de la comunidad	Entrevistas	
				Talleres participativos	
			Estatus legal de los sitios e implicaciones para su uso en la infraestructura turística	Entrevistas con personal de la Municipalidad y arqueólogo	

Guion de entrevistas: impacto del uso del patrimonio arqueológico en Miraflores

TURISMO Y ECONOMIA

Área de cambio	Impacto o resultado	Sub-impacto	Indicador	Método de recolección de datos (instrumento)
Impactos económicos	Turismo en Miraflores (Huaquis, Yanacancha y otros sitios)	Aumento del potencial turístico a largo plazo (más de 10 años)	Crecimiento económico estimulado por el turismo	Entrevistas con la municipalidad/ los guardaparques
			Cantidad de turistas en Huaquis, Yanacancha y otros sitios	Por ahora solo se puede medir con observaciones de los lugareños.
			Cantidad de sitios turísticos en el circuito de la región (RPNYC)	Entrevistas (para verificar que haya conexión con los sitios Mirafloresinos)
			Desarrollo de artesanía local y tiendas de recuerdos para turistas	Entrevistas

- ¿Cuál es la situación actual acerca del turismo? ¿Cuáles son sus esperanzas y metas acerca del crecimiento económico de Miraflores y de su área? **¿Cuáles son sus esperanzas acerca del futuro? ¿Cuál es el papel de Huaquis, o de otras infraestructuras antiguas (Coriuna, Yanacancha...)?** ¿O le parece que la gente llegaría más por sus paisajes? ¿O un conjunto de las dos cosas?
- ¿Qué significa desarrollo para usted?
- ¿Cómo ve al futuro de Miraflores en 10, 15 años?
- ¿Cómo quiere que los vea una persona foránea que llega aquí, por ejemplo, un turista?

CULTURA, SOCIEDAD Y EDUCACIÓN

Impactos culturales y educativos	Desarrollo de capacidades	Posible creación de un museo local		Entrevistas
		Oportunidades profesionales para arqueólogos peruanos y especialistas del patrimonio	Cantidad de estudiantes que han hecho practica en los proyectos vinculados a los recursos arqueológicos mirafloresinos	Entrevistas
			Convenios con universidades peruanas y otras instituciones	Entrevistas con Comunidad/Municipalidad
			Numero de tesis escritas en relación a los proyectos	Entrevistas con los gerentes de los proyectos
	Oportunidades educativas para la gente de Miraflores y su región	Aprendizaje en las nuevas generaciones	Numero de escolares de nivel primario y secundario alcanzados con actividades vinculadas a los proyectos en relación con las técnicas ancestrales, o el proyecto Huaquis (por ejemplo, actividad teatral de AbE Montaña)	Entrevista con profesores, o con organizadores de dichos proyectos

			Numero de escolares de nivel primario y secundario alcanzados con visitas de sitio (¿Eso tiene lugar o aún no?)	Entrevistas con profesores
			Nivel de motivación con el aprendizaje, entusiasmo e identificación con el patrimonio	Entrevistas con profesores

Impactos sociales	Fortalecimiento del orgullo en el pasado e identidad local	Valorar el patrimonio arqueológico	Uso de iconografía vinculada a Huaquis, Yanacancha y los demás sitios en Miraflores y su región	Entrevistas
			Ritual anual del agua en Huaquis	Entrevistas
			Valor asignado al patrimonio arqueológico, nivel de identificación con los sitios, vínculo entre los sitios y la comunidad, importancia del vínculo con el patrimonio para mantener las medidas AbE a largo plazo	Entrevistas
		Voluntad de proteger el patrimonio	Reducción del huaqueo y daños físicos en los sitios – mejor aprovechamiento de los sitios (por ejemplo, Yanacancha)	Observación (presencia/ ausencia)
			Percepción de la importancia de proteger el sitio	Entrevistas

- **Para el alcalde/ el arqueólogo:** ¿Me puede comentar un poco más sobre la posibilidad de crear un museo en Miraflores y el trabajo que se ha hecho con Huaquis?
- **Para las autoridades, o el personal del IDM** ¿Como ha cambiado la investigación en Miraflores? ¿Me puede comentar un poco sobre los estudiantes peruanos que han venido a hacer pasantías?
Para los investigadores locales: ¿Que significa para usted ser investigador local? ¿Qué ha podido aprender?
- **¿Cuáles fueron las posibilidades que el proyecto AbE Montaña ha generado para los alumnos del colegio de Miraflores?** ¿A los niños les enseñan de esa infraestructura, de Huaquis o Yanacancha? ¿Hay visitas de sitio con los coles? ¿Ha cambiado su motivación e interés en su patrimonio, o en preservar y cuidar el ecosistema?
- ¿Me puede comentar un poco de la importancia de Huaquis en Miraflores?
- **¿Cuál fue el papel de la revaloración de lo suyo (su patrimonio, sus infraestructuras, valores, ¿hasta sus papas nativas) para ayudar a que el proyecto “Escalando AbE Montaña” sea más exitoso?**
- ¿O acaso ese enfoque en su patrimonio y ecosistema ayudó a acercarse como comunidad?
- ¿O más fue por la organización que implica el proyecto (talleres, faenas...)?
- **¿Les parece que su valoración de esos sitios antiguos (Yanacancha, Coriuna, etc.) ha cambiado con el proyecto “Escalando AbE Montaña”?**

PROTECCION Y CONSERVACION DE LOS SITIOS

Conservación de los sitios (sostenibilidad)	Protección del patrimonio	Planes para protección y mantenimiento	Limpieza regular del sitio Huaquis	Entrevista con mirafloresinos
---	---------------------------	--	------------------------------------	-------------------------------

del recurso para generaciones futuras)		Condición del sitio	Estado de conservación del patrimonio	Entrevista con el arqueólogo de Huaquis
	Visión para el patrimonio	Expectativas acerca del patrimonio y protección legal	Visión a largo plazo por los recursos arqueológicos y su papel en el crecimiento y futuro de la comunidad Estatus legal de los sitios e implicaciones para su uso en la infraestructura turística	Entrevistas Entrevistas con personal de la Municipalidad y arqueólogo

- ¿Cómo era Yanacancha antes del proyecto? ¿Y ahora? ¿Me podría describir el cambio?
- ¿A Yanacancha lo veían como ruina, o patrimonio arqueológico antes? ¿Y ahora, como lo ven?
- **¿Les parece que ha cambiado su voluntad de preservar y manejar esos sitios?** ¿Me puede contar un poco de esta parte del plan de manejo de pastos y agua de Miraflores?
- **¿Cómo piensan que va a ser el trabajo luego del fin de ‘¿Escalando AbE Montaña’,** me podría comentar un poco más de sus planes?
- Huaquis. ¿Cómo ha cambiado la situación de Huaquis en esos últimos años, y su percepción de este sitio?

CAMBIOS CON EL PROYECTO “Escalando AbE Montaña”

- ¿Qué le parece que han sido los cambios más importantes con el proyecto AbE Montaña?
- **¿Por qué, según usted, ha funcionado tan bien?** ¿Cuáles son **los factores que lo han hecho exitoso?**
- ¿Había algunos elementos quizá que podrían ser mejorados?

Encuesta sobre los restos arqueológicos en Miraflores

Buenos días. Soy Agathe, estoy realizando una investigación para mis estudios. Me interesaría conocer el vínculo entre los mirafloresinos y su patrimonio arqueológico, y como les afecta el proyecto Escalando AbE Montaña. Me encantaría conocer sus opiniones. Si le gustaría participar, puede llenar esta encuesta. Sus respuestas serán confidenciales y anónimas. Si tiene cualquier problema con esta encuesta, me puede contactar al 998.645.377.

Informaciones sobre usted:

1. Género: Hombre Mujer

2. Edad:

<18 18-25 25-40 40-60 >60

3. Ocupación principal (puede marcar más de una casilla):

Escolar Estudiante Sin empleo Jubilado/a Amo/a de casa

Trabajo en comercio agricultura servicios de la municipalidad institución educativa

otro (puede indicar aquí si desea):

4. Identificación con Miraflores (puede marcar más de una casilla):

Soy Mirafloresino/a

Soy comunero/a

No soy de Miraflores

Involucramiento con el proyecto

5. Está involucrado/a con el proyecto Escalando AbE Montaña?

Soy investigador/a local

Les he proporcionado comida/ hospedaje/ otros ítems que han comprado

He participado de las faenas, reuniones, y talleres del proyecto AbE

No me he involucrado

Otra respuesta

Opinión sobre la arqueología

6. ¿Cuál es su opinión acerca de los restos arqueológicos del distrito?

Me importan y me interesan mucho

Me importan y me interesan un poco

Me da igual

No me importan mucho, y me interesan poco

No me importan o interesan para nada

7. Si le importa y interesa, ¿por qué? Puede marcar una razón principal (1) y otras razones.

Siento orgullo

Siento que el turismo puede ayudar la situación económica

Siento que es la historia de mis antepasados

Me parece que podemos aprender de las técnicas de manejo del agua, pastos y agricultura que usaban en el pasado

Otras razones:

8. ¿Con qué frecuencia iba a los sitios arqueológicos de Miraflores (Huaquis, Yanacancha, Curiuna...)....

Antes del proyecto AbE Montaña (2013)?

Todas las semanas

Algunas veces al mes

Algunas veces al año

Algunas veces en mi vida

Nunca había ido

¿Y ahora?

Todas las semanas

Algunas veces al mes

Algunas veces al año

Algunas veces en mi vida

Nunca había ido

9. ¿Con que propósito ha ido a Huaquis? ¿Qué actividades ha realizado en el sitio? (Puede marcar más de una casilla)

Trabajo (por ejemplo, excavar)

Huaqueo

Para divertirse, pasear, jugar, tomar fotos

Visitas de turismo (para conocer)

Lo considero como sitio ritual, voy para fiestas o eventos

Pastoreo o agricultura

Otras razones: _____

10. Huaquis le parece:

Muy importante

Importante

No opino

Poco importante

Sin importancia

¿Por qué?

11. ¿Usted siente que conoce bien la historia de Huaquis?

Si No

12. Yanacancha le parece:

- Muy importante
 - importante
 - No opino
 - Poco importante
 - Sin importancia
- ¿Por qué?
-
-

13. ¿Usted siente que conoce bien la historia y el uso de Yanacancha?

Si No

14. ¿Le gustaría conocer más sobre esa historia?

Si No

¿Qué más le interesaría saber sobre la arqueología de Miraflores?

15. El turismo en la reserva RPNYC, lo ve como algo:

Muy positivo Positivo Neutral negativo Muy negativo

Si quiere dar más detalles sobre su opinión (problemas que brinda el turismo, u oportunidades), use este espacio:

16. ¿Cuáles aspectos de los restos arqueológicos le parecen importantes?

	Muy importante	importante	Neutral	Poco importante	No es importante
HUAQUIS					
YANACANCHA					
HUAMANCHURCO					
CURIUNA					

LOS CANALES (MOLINO, MAYTALLA, PATIHUISINCA)					
LOS ANDENES ANTIGUOS Y EL MAIZAL					
EL PUEBLO DE MIRAFLORES					
Visibilizar a Huaquis y Miraflores para que lleguen más turistas					
Aprender sobre el pasado de mi distrito/pueblo					
Que los jóvenes conozcan la historia de Miraflores					
Que los sitios arqueológicos nos ayuden a conocer el manejo de pastos y agua, y puedan ser reutilizados en el marco de medidas AbE					

Otros aspectos o sitios importantes que no han sido mencionados:

17. ¿Cuáles serían sus otras expectativas o esperanzas acerca de esos restos arqueológicos? ¿Que se podría hacer?

18. ¿Tiene algún miedo o duda acerca del patrimonio arqueológico?

- Si
 No

Si tiene miedos o dudas, ¿cuáles serían?

Estoy muy agradecida por su aporte a esta investigación. Puede enviar sus respuestas a la persona que le ha hecho llegar la encuesta o llevar sus respuestas a Agathe en la casa de la señora Rita.

Taller participativo sobre arqueología y patrimonio.

Participative workshop about archaeology and heritage.

Invitados: todos los que quieran. Trabajo con grupos de 10-20. Si vienen más de 25 (poco probable) podemos trabajar con 2 grupos.

1. Bienvenida a los participantes.

2. Cuando varios han llegado (6.15pm?) presentación de quien soy y mi proyecto. Les voy a explicar que si han hecho entrevistas o encuestas conmigo, todo eso forma parte del mismo proyecto de investigación. Estoy ensayando varias técnicas para recoger información y esas técnicas se enfocan en aspectos distintos.

Explicar los ejercicios y pedir consentimiento. Explicar que si no se sienten cómodos, pueden salir en cualquier momento.

Ejercicio: valorando a su patrimonio arqueológico.

Material: papel y lapiceros.

- a) "Lluvia de ideas"
- b) Aportar ideas sobre palabras que asocian con el patrimonio arqueológico. Pueden pensar en la recuperación de técnicas ancestrales, los sistemas de andenería y manejo del agua, el papel de Huaquis en la historia de la comunidad.... También pueden dibujar si prefieren eso.
- c) En grupo, asociamos esas palabras en varias pilas que van a determinar temas (por ejemplo, temas de turismo/ identidad/ divertirse/ educación/manejo de pastos/recuperación para el futuro...)
- d) Cada persona va a recibir 5 votos/puntos (pallares) y puede decir cuáles de esos significados son los más importantes. Puede repartir 5 puntos en un significado, o 1 en cada tema que le parece importante, etc.
- e) Al final del ejercicio vamos a ver cuáles temas son sobresalientes.
- f) *Si hay tiempo, podemos repetir el ejercicio, pero esta vez con Miraflores. ¿Cuáles son los cambios más importantes (negativos o positivos) en los últimos 20 años? (pueden ser en términos de agricultura, infraestructura, etc.)*
- g) Discusión. ¿Qué nos enseña ese ejercicio sobre el papel de la arqueología en Miraflores y su vínculo con el proyecto AbE Montaña? ¿Como lo ven en el futuro?

VIII. Evaluation Report Agua Blanca (including detailed survey, interview schedule and participatory workshop schedule)

Impactos del patrimonio arqueológico en el desarrollo económico, social y ambiental de Agua Blanca

Evaluación de la situación actual
y expectativas de la población aguablanquense

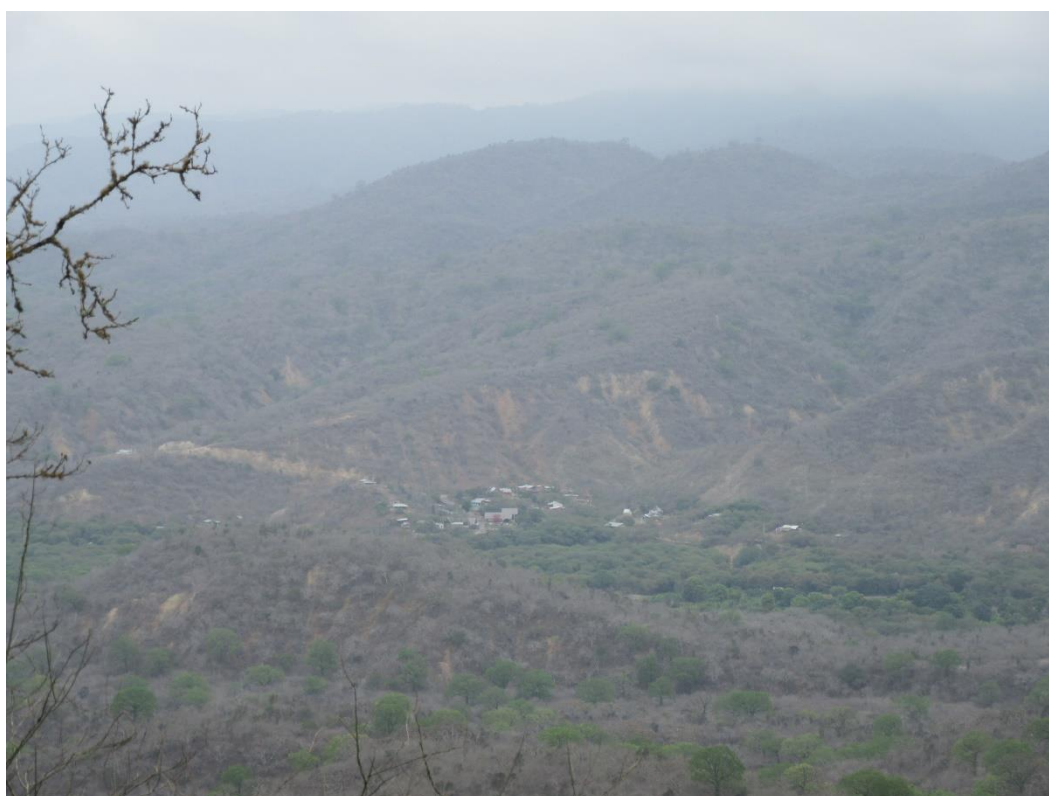


Ilustración 17. El pueblo de Agua Blanca visto desde el bosque húmedo. Foto: A. Dupeyron.

Agathe Dupeyron

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Introducción

El presente informe documenta los potenciales que, de acuerdo a sus habitantes, presenta el patrimonio cultural arqueológico para el desarrollo de Agua Blanca. La riqueza arqueológica de Agua Blanca se viene conociendo sistemáticamente desde finales de la década de 1970. En 1978 llegó el arqueólogo Colin McEwan para prospectar el valle del río Buenavista y en 1981, el mismo profesional realizó trabajos de topografía. En 1985 Colin y la arqueóloga María Isabel Silva empezaron excavaciones arqueológicas, las cuales desarrollaron de manera ininterrumpida hasta 1990. Ese mismo año se construyó el museo de la comunidad de forma participativa gracias al diseñador Chris Hudson. McEwan y Silva regresaron regularmente a Agua Blanca y también lo hicieron otros arqueólogos como Kimbra Smith, quien empezó el proyecto de artesanía con los aguablanquenses el año 2000. Desde la llegada de McEwan y Silva la arqueología ha formado parte integral del desarrollo social, económico, ambiental y cultural de Agua Blanca. El proyecto de McEwan y Silva propulsó la creación del turismo comunitario basado en su sitio arqueológico y sus recursos naturales.

Este informe también describe las prioridades identificadas para un mejor uso de esos recursos a futuro y los mayores desafíos en dicho propósito. Inicialmente, quería comparar esos diferentes elementos durante el año 2019 y, luego, volver el 2020 para asistir al festival de la balsa manteña en octubre y compilar más información. Desafortunadamente, la pandemia de COVID 19 me impidió volver a Agua Blanca el 2020. Sin embargo, espero que la información recolectada el año 2019 pueda ser de utilidad en la gestión que realiza la comuna y el comité arqueológico sobre el uso de los recursos arqueológicos en el futuro.

Soy arqueóloga y antropóloga francesa, y la información que se presenta formará parte de mi tesis doctoral en Desarrollo Internacional, la cual está inscrita en la Universidad de East Anglia en el Reino Unido.

Metodología

La presente información fue recopilada mediante 13 entrevistas, 50 encuestas dirigidas a la población de Agua Blanca, El Carmen y Vueltas Largas, así como tres talleres participativos a los cuales acudieron 23 personas en total. Esas actividades fueron realizadas en enero y febrero del año 2020. Durante la recolección de información conté con el invaluable apoyo de la comuna Agua Blanca y de sus dirigentes.

Mi primer paso fue conversar con varias personas involucradas en el proyecto de turismo comunitario de Agua Blanca, así como, con habitantes del pueblo que no están involucrados. Hable con guías del comité arqueológico, trabajadores del spa, artesanas, guías del parque nacional Machalilla, comuneros y comuneras, y habitantes de Agua Blanca no involucrados con el turismo comunitario. Esta primera fase duró aproximadamente dos semanas.

Esa primera fase me permitió conocer las varias formas en las cuales el sitio arqueológico de Agua Blanca impacta sobre sus habitantes. Identifiqué cuatro temas principales para estudiar:

- Turismo y economía
- Educación y cultura
- Sociedad y comunidad
- Conservación y puesta en valor del sitio

Cada uno de esos ejes de estudio incluye muchos impactos que ya se ven, o que fueron mencionados como posibles consecuencias de esas actividades en el futuro. Esos son presentados en la tabla de impactos (ver anexo). La identificación de temas, además, me ayudo a definir qué actividades realizar para entender esos impactos, su situación actual y cómo medir los cambios en el futuro. Gracias a esa primera fase de discusiones informales, opté por tres métodos: entrevistas, encuestas y talleres.

Entrevistas

Tuve muchas interacciones con los habitantes del pueblo durante las 7 semanas de mi estadia. Estuve hospedada por 5 familias diferentes, lo que me permitio entender varios puntos de vista en Agua Blanca. Ademas, realicé 13 entrevistas grabadas con personas interesadas en participar (el guión de preguntas se puede encontrar en el anexo): 11 entrevistas personales y dos entrevistas grupales con los trabajadores del spa, y con dos jovenes de la comuna. Todas las personas eran adultos mayores de 18 años. Intenté capturar la variedad de puntos de vista: comuneros y comuneras, miembros del comité arqueológico, guias del parque nacional, otros habitantes del pueblo, y arqueólogos. Las entrevistas duraron entre 15 minutos y 2 horas y se enfocaron en los temas 1 a 4.

Encuestas

La encuesta fue aplicada con el apoyo del comité arqueológico, quienes me prestaron su computadora e impresora y me ayudaron a contactar con comuneros y comuneras. Algunas personas llenaron la encuesta ellos mismos, pero en la mayoría de los casos visité a las personas en sus domicilios o en lugares públicos como el museo o el centro artesanal para recolectar sus opiniones. Entonces las encuestas tomaron la forma de pequeñas entrevistas y algunas personas proporcionaron más detalles a su respuesta. La mayoría de las encuestas fueron realizadas durante las últimas tres semanas de mi estadía (ver texto de la encuesta en el anexo).

En total recogí 50 encuestas:

-7 en el Carmen.

-5 en Vueltas Largas.

-38 en Agua Blanca.

Solo 15 de los encuestados me dijeron que no estaban involucrados con el proyecto de turismo comunitario. En su mayoría, contestaron hombres (37) y solo 13 mujeres participaron en la encuesta. Los resultados de esta encuesta van a ser discutidos más adelante con relación a los 4 temas propuestos.

Talleres

Gracias al apoyo del secretario de la comuna, quien convoco a varios participantes, pude organizar tres talleres en Agua Blanca. Dos se enfocaron sobre la evolución de los roles de género dentro de la familia como consecuencia de los cambios en Agua Blanca en los últimos 40 años, y se dieron los días 6 y 7 de febrero del 2020. Tres mujeres participaron en el taller del día 6, y 10 hombres en el taller del día 7. Cada taller duro entre 30 minutos y una hora. Pregunte a cada grupo como calificarían, del 1 al 10, las oportunidades que pueden tener las mujeres y los hombres en una serie de actividades como: el acceso a la educación, comparando el presente y el futuro, y los géneros entre ellos. Los resultados serán discutidos más abajo.

El tercer taller se enfocó en el ejercicio del Cambio Mas Significativo (*Ilustración 18*), el cual fue realizado el 10 de febrero del 2020. En el anexo pueden encontrar la guía metodológica que empleé para esta actividad. Mi propósito era proporcionar un espacio en el cual los participantes pueden compartir y reflexionar sobre historias que reflejan los cambios importantes que han vivido debido al proyecto arqueológico y su sucesor: el proyecto de turismo comunitario. Este taller duró aproximadamente una hora y participaron diez personas. Las historias fueron representativas de los mayores retos y éxitos en Agua Blanca en los últimos 40 años: la lucha para el reconocimiento del

Pueblo Manta y contra la administración del parque, el regreso de un joven a Agua Blanca después de años trabajando afuera y su emoción al poder instalarse en el pueblo.

También organice un taller sobre el valor de la arqueología para las generaciones jóvenes de Agua Blanca (18-25 años), y con ello comprender como cambiaron las actitudes entre la primera generación que trabajo con Colin McEwan y María Isabel Silva en la década de 1980 y 1990, y sus descendientes. Desafortunadamente, solo llegaron dos jóvenes a la reunión efectuada el 9 de febrero del 2020. Ante tal situación opté por realizar una entrevista con ellos.

Los resultados de estos talleres serán discutidos en las siguientes secciones.

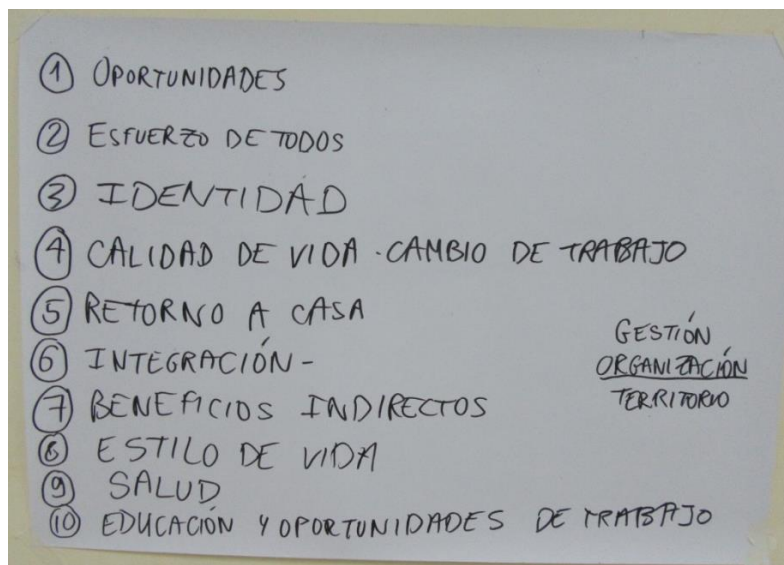


Ilustración 18. Diez participantes, y diez historias contadas durante el taller del Cambio más significativo. Foto: A. Dupeyron

Visitas de sitio

Gracias al apoyo del comité arqueológico y de las familias que me hospedaron logré visitar muchos sitios turísticos en Agua Blanca y alrededores. Llegué a visitar los sitios arqueológicos excavados por Colin McEwan, María Isabel Silva y su equipo: Sector 5, Sector 1 y Sector 2; así como Salango y su museo, el Museo Centro Cultural Manta en Manta, Puerto López, La Isla de la Plata, Los Frailes, y el Bosque Húmedo. De esa manera pude conocer la oferta turística en la zona y el contexto en cual Agua Blanca se desempeña y se presenta al público.

Turismo y economía

Crecimiento económico con el turismo comunitario

El turismo en Agua Blanca ha crecido progresivamente desde la puesta en valor de su sitio arqueológico y el museo para el turismo. De 1810 visitantes en el 2000 (Ballesteros 2008, 154), pasaron a ser 19,931 en el 2014 (Hudson et al 2016, 68) y un promedio de 20,000 cada año desde entonces, como me conto un joven aguablanquense quien ha llevado esta data basándose en el registro de visitantes del museo para sus estudios.

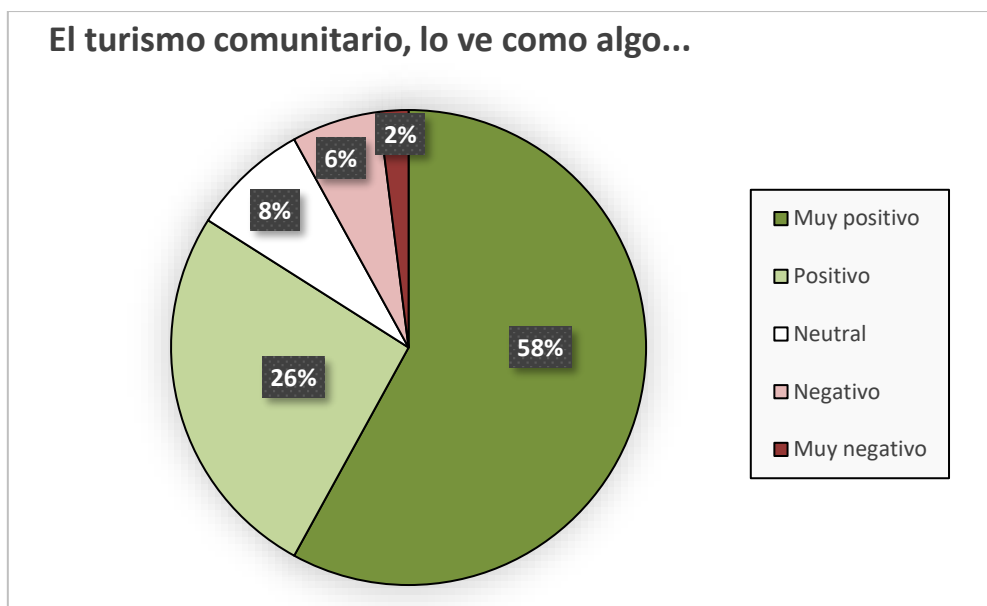
Muchos aguablanquenses se benefician de este turismo. A inicios del 2020, de sus 313 habitantes y 150 socios comuneros, 27 hombres trabajaban como guías (el “Comité arqueológico”), 14 mujeres como artesanas, 5 personas en la elaboración de productos con palo santo, 15 personas en el spa, y existe un restaurante comunitario en el cual trabaja una pareja. Además, unas 20 familias cuentan con una habitación que pueden alquilar a los turistas. Esas 63 personas participan del turismo de forma directa, como fuente de empleo gestionada por la comuna misma. Otras personas son guías del parque nacional, o trabajan como taxista para llevar a los turistas, o tienen un restaurante privado, o una tienda, o se benefician de forma indirecta por la actividad económica del pueblo.

A pesar de lo antes indicado los aportes del turismo tienen sus límites. Cabe resaltar que muchas de las familias involucradas en el turismo participan en más de una forma: es frecuente que el marido sea miembro del comité arqueológico (guía), la esposa artesana, y que la familia cuente con una habitación para alquilar. Por eso, algunos participantes me comentaron que la figura oficial de 70% de familias involucradas en el turismo no es exacta. Es difícil obtener cifras exactas para el pueblo porque no pude encuestar a todos, pero las 63 personas involucradas en el 2020 representan el 20% de la población total de Agua Blanca. Considerando que las personas mayores y los niños no pueden trabajar, pero que muchos de esos 63 provienen de la misma familia, parece poco probable que 70% del pueblo esté involucrado en el turismo.

El turismo no es una actividad a tiempo completo, ya que permite también trabajar en otros dominios. Por ejemplo, los guías y los trabajadores del spa forman 3 grupos y trabajan solo 10 días en un mes. Los ingresos recolectados por el comité son distribuidos de forma equitativa entre todos. Las artesanas trabajan mayormente de su casa y venden desde el centro artesanal cuando no interfiere con sus actividades en casa. Muchas personas también crían chivos y chanchos, los cuales pueden brindar fondos de emergencia: “criar un animal es como una ayuda para cada familia”.

Siguiendo la sugerencia de un dirigente, pregunte a los encuestados a que se dedicarían si no existiera el sitio arqueológico. Aquí es donde realmente nos podemos dar cuenta del cambio impulsado por el turismo comunitario. 8 me contaron que se dedicarían a la recolección de árboles para elaborar carbón (una actividad que el parque y la comuna están disuadiendo), 10 me explicaron que hubieran migrado, y 5 mujeres me dijeron que se hubieran quedado en casa con sus hijos. Como podemos ver con esos ejemplos, el turismo les ha ofrecido más oportunidades para trabajar desde su pueblo.

El turismo comunitario, lo ve como algo...



Sin embargo, es un logro que tantas personas se beneficien de la presencia del museo y de las capacitaciones que se han dado a lo largo de los años por arqueólogos y otros profesionales. La gran mayoría de los comuneros ve al turismo como positivo o muy positivo. Muchos que me comentaron sus negativas, criticaron las fallas del sistema de rotación y la dificultad que tienen las familias no involucradas con el comité arqueológico de insertarse en el turismo comunitario.

Cuando pregunté qué tan importante les parecían varios aspectos del uso del sitio arqueológico contestaron lo siguiente:

	Tener un mejor ingreso económico	Aprender sobre el pasado de mi región/comuna	Aprender sobre cómo trabajan los arqueólogos	Que los jóvenes conozcan la historia de Agua Blanca	Visibilizar a Agua Blanca para que lleguen más turistas	Tener más hallazgos para el museo o ampliar el museo	Continuar y desarrollar una actividad que me gusta*
Muy importante	80%	78%	76%	94%	86%	58%	56%
Importante	16%	20%	24%	6%	12%	34%	10%
Neutral	4%	0%	0%	0%	2%	6%	4%
Poco importante	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%
No es importante	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
No contesto	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	30%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*En esta última categoría solo contestaron los que están involucrados con el turismo comunitario, 35 de los 50 encuestados.

Como podemos ver, el turismo es uno de los aspectos más importantes para los aguablanquenses, especialmente la comunicación hacia el exterior para que lleguen más turistas. Este punto en particular fue mencionado por muchos como una inquietud y una posible estrategia de crecimiento: los pobladores sienten que Agua Blanca necesita visibilizarse con más publicidad y comunicación. También existe un alto interés por aprender más sobre el pasado y la arqueología. Se nota que muchos (94%) ven compartir el interés en el patrimonio con los jóvenes del pueblo como una alta

prioridad: vamos a discutir esta inquietud más adelante cuando hablaremos del cambio generacional.

Aporte económico directo de los arqueólogos en Agua Blanca

De los encuestados, 25 (el 50%) han trabajado con el proyecto de Colin McEwan y María Isabel Silva, o con alguno de los proyectos posteriores. Por ejemplo, con Kimbra Smith, Stefan Bohórquez, Luke Dalla Bona, y Florencio Delgado. Según me comentaron, el sistema de rotación intenta garantizar que las oportunidades laborales sean distribuidas de forma equitativa entre los comuneros. Sin embargo, mencionaron algunos encuestados que aquello no sucedía y que les parecía que el sistema favorece aquellos cuyas familias participan del turismo comunitario. Otros proyectos intentaron implementarse recientemente, como el proyecto 'Arqueólogo por un día' de Luke Dalla Bona, pero entro en un desacuerdo político y económico con la comuna y se fue. Los aguablanquenses quisieran encontrar un profesional en arqueología quien pueda instalarse por varios años, como lo hicieron Colin McEwan y María Isabel Silva, lo que ofrecería oportunidades laborales y aumentaría el conocimiento arqueológico. Sin embargo, en el modelo académico actual, es muy difícil que esto suceda; tal vez hace falta que se forme un joven aguablanquense a la arqueología.

Educación y cultura



Ilustración 19. Grabación de la película sobre la conquista de Agua Blanca, realizada por la Universidad San Gregorio. Febrero del 2020. Foto: A. Dupeyron.

Oportunidades culturales para los pobladores

La mitad de los encuestados han trabajado con el proyecto arqueológico de Colin McEwan o en alguno de los proyectos implementados después. En este proceso, han aprendido mucho sobre las metodologías de excavación, prospección, ilustración arqueológica y trabajo de gabinete. Este conocimiento ha sido reconocido, y como me comento un comunero, los llevo a otras oportunidades laborales. Un grupo de comuneros fue llevado al Oriente a trabajar en un proyecto de arqueología

de contrato con Florencio Delgado. Es difícil cuantificar exactamente cuantas personas han trabajado en arqueología en todo el pueblo, por el sistema de rotación, pero eran hasta 18 en la época de McEwan y Silva, y más en las generaciones sucesivas.

Me conto un comunero, quien participo de las excavaciones en la década de 1980, de los encuentros culturales que se realizaron durante la estadía de María Isabel Silva y Colin McEwan. Cada noche, los arqueólogos enseñaron practica y teoría a los trabajadores desde las 7.30pm hasta tarde (10pm o medianoche). Eso duro por años y solo se detuvo en los pocos días que Silva y McEwan tenían que salir del pueblo. Además, María Isabel Silva me contó en su entrevista que realizaron encuentros culturales en las cuales invitaron personas vinculadas a otras comunidades y proyectos arqueológicos. Esos eventos duraron días y fueron la oportunidad para que los trabajadores del proyecto pudieran presentar su trabajo en público y compartir resultados. En esa época también viajaron algunos de esos arqueólogos aguablanquenses a conferencias con Silva y McEwan, por ejemplo en Cuenca. Ahora, muchos de los miembros del comité arqueológico siguen participando en eventos nacionales e internacionales sobre turismo comunitario en comunidades indígenas.

Así, hasta ahora se nota una gran diferencia de conocimiento entre las personas que participan en el turismo comunitario de forma directa y los que no. Cuando les pregunte si sienten que conocen bien la historia del sitio arqueológico de Agua Blanca, eso es lo que me contestaron:

	Personas involucradas con el Turismo Comunitario	Personas no involucradas con el Turismo Comunitario
Si	20 (40%)	5 (10%)
No	15 (30%)	10 (20%)
No contestaron	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Total de este grupo	35 (70%)	15 (30%)
Total de encuestas	50 (100%)	

Aquí podemos ver que las personas que conocen bien el sitio arqueológico son en su mayoría los que trabajan en el turismo, siendo minoría los que no están involucrados. Quizás hace falta ofrecerles más oportunidades para conocer su patrimonio. Cuando les pregunté si les gustaría conocer más de la historia y arqueología de su pueblo, la gran mayoría me dijeron que si (47 de 50 encuestados). Los aspectos que más le interesaron eran los siguientes: el origen del sitio arqueológico y del pueblo Manteño, la salud de los antiguos manteños y su medicina ancestral, como trabajaron el Spondylus, como construyeron sus casas, su forma de trabajar (agricultura, alfarería, etc.), su lenguaje, costumbres y cosmovisión. Otros contestaron que eso depende de la arqueología que se practique: como los aguablanquenses están familiarizados con el proceso de investigación, saben que cada profesional tiene un ángulo de investigación específico.

También pregunte sobre las oportunidades de comunicar sobre el pasado a los jóvenes y niños, y muchos de los adultos que entreviste me comentaron la falta de un programa escolar. Según ellos, es debido a la dificultad que tienen los profesores de obtener la autorización oficial para organizar una salida de grupo. Esto porque en el currículo de Ecuador es muy difícil que los profesores tengan la autorización de llevar a los niños a conocer el sitio arqueológico.

Presentando su cultura hacia el exterior

Gracias a su fama Agua Blanca recibe solicitudes para realizar documentales o películas. Por ejemplo, durante mi estadía a inicios del 2020 vinieron personal de la Universidad San Gregorio de Portoviejo para grabar una película sobre la Conquista de los Españoles (ver Ilustración 3). Vinieron actores de

la zona para representar los españoles, mientras que los aguablanquenses actuaban como manteños.

El 12 de octubre (conocido en Ecuador como Día de la Raza) de cada año se realiza el Festival de la Balsa Manteña, al cual no tuve la suerte de asistir debido a la pandemia. Como lo comenta Kimbra Smith en su libro (2015, pág. 107), es una oportunidad para celebrar la cultura indígena del pueblo y representarla al público. En sus discursos los pobladores enfatizan el enlace entre su patrimonio ancestral y su cultura actual. Como no asistí, no puedo comentar más, pero me parece un buen ejemplo de la presencia cultural del patrimonio arqueológico en Agua Blanca.

Oportunidades para estudiantes e investigadores ecuatorianos

Desde el crecimiento del turismo comunitario muchos investigadores han llegado a Agua Blanca: desafortunadamente no existe un registro de estas personas, pero han llegado muchos arqueólogos, antropólogos, biólogos, estudiantes y profesionales de turismo, así como pasantes vinculados a proyectos de ONGs. Información al respecto puede encontrarse en los libros de Smith (2015) y Ruiz Ballesteros (2008). La investigación en Agua Blanca es muy fuerte y durante mi estadía (7 semanas) llegaron dos grupos de pasantes de turismo: una investigadora de doctorado de la Universidad de las Esmeraldas y un ornitólogo quien hacia un registro de las aves de Agua Blanca. Ese último dio empleo a los comuneros siguiendo el sistema de rotación. La asamblea de Agua Blanca ha decidido tener mucho cuidado con estas personas foráneas y así poder proteger sus intereses. Cada persona quien quiere realizar una investigación debe presentar su proyecto ante la asamblea y obtener el consentimiento previo de la comuna. El procedimiento descrito forma parte de las leyes de Ecuador.

Valorar el sitio arqueológico de Agua Blanca

El interés en el sitio arqueológico varía mucho entre generaciones. Eso lo pude conversar con personas de la antigua generación que trabajaron en el proyecto de Colin McEwan y María Isabel Silva, y las generaciones posteriores. Uno de los jóvenes me contestó que muchos de esta nueva generación solo ven al Comité arqueológico como una oportunidad de asegurarse un trabajo, al menos unos días al mes, pero no tienen una identificación con el sitio parecida a los que pudieron asistir a los encuentros culturales y otros eventos de educación arqueológica llevados a cabo en la década de 1980 y 1990. Además, otros comuneros me comentaron que los guías no suelen llevar los turistas más allá que las vasijas funerarias situadas cerca del museo y muchos turistas no llegan al sitio arqueológico para irse directamente a la laguna. Sin embargo, esta actitud refleja más bien una forma de facilitar el trabajo, especialmente cuando el calor es elevado y cuando los grupos muestran mayor interés por la parte recreativa del recorrido, pero no indica necesariamente una falta de interés por el sitio arqueológico.

Cuando les pregunte **por qué les importa e interesa el sitio arqueológico**, una pregunta en la cual podían escoger más de una opción, una gran mayoría (88%) me contestó que les importa porque es proveedor de trabajo:

Siente que el sitio arqueológico es la historia de sus antepasados	33	66%
Le parece que es un lugar bonito para ver el paisaje	6	12%
Siente que el turismo comuna puede ayudar la situación económica de la comuna	44	88%
Se siente orgulloso	8	16%
Otras razones	18	36%
Total de encuestados	50	

Como vemos, también existe una identificación fuerte con su pasado, pero se entiende que, con el enfoque en el turismo, este sitio es mayormente visto por su capacidad a mejorar la calidad de vida de su población. Eso se nota también en las otras razones que me mencionaron, que son las siguientes: entender las tecnologías del pasado porque ya hemos dañado el ecosistema, cuidar la naturaleza, aprender a valorar el sitio, vivir de manera sostenible, y mantener el patrimonio.

El sitio es también un espacio importante en la vida de la comunidad: vemos en la siguiente pregunta que muchas personas lo usan aún más frecuentemente para divertirse y pasear que para ir con los turistas. Además, para muchas personas el sitio tiene un carácter sagrado:

¿Con que propósito ha ido al sitio arqueológico? ¿Cuáles actividades ha realizado en el sitio?

Para divertirse, pasear, jugar, tomar fotos	36	72%
Excavaciones arqueológicas	16	32%
Visitas con turistas	22	44%
Fiestas o eventos	25	50%
Lo considero como sitio sagrado	29	58%
Mantenimiento, mingas y limpieza	8	6%
Total de encuestados	50	

Como podemos ver, el sitio arqueológico es valorado por haber impulsado el turismo, pero su papel en la comunidad va mucho más allá. Esto es algo que vamos a discutir más en la próxima sección.

Sociedad y comunidad

Es difícil separar los procesos que se llevaron durante la década de 1980 hasta ahora, pero es cierto que la creación del Parque Nacional Machalilla, las investigaciones arqueológicas, el desarrollo de turismo comunitario en Agua Blanca, y la lucha por formar parte de organizaciones dentro de las cuales el pueblo aguablanquense podría conseguir más representación, fueron procesos que caminaron de la mano. La comunidad de Agua Blanca es sumamente organizada, un aspecto que muchos me subrayaron cuando me hablaron del éxito de su proyecto a lo largo de los años, especialmente en el ejercicio del Cambio más Significativo. En mi conversación con el presidente de la red costeña de la Federación Plurinacional de Turismo Comunitario del Ecuador (FEPTCE), aprendí que el proyecto arqueológico jugó un papel importante en la afiliación de Agua Blanca en 1987 a esta red. El proyecto les dio la oportunidad de capacitarse para dictar conferencias y relacionarse con comunidades en todo el país, lo que les ayudó a “perder el miedo” y vincularse con la FEPTCE para realizar actividades en común.

El Pueblo Manta

En su libro publicado en el 2015, Kimbra Smith explica cómo los pobladores de Agua Blanca se han determinado como el pueblo Manta, un pueblo indígena reconocido por el Estado ecuatoriano en el 2005. Converse con unos de los impulsores del movimiento y comento que uno de los factores que les impulsó a empezar este proceso fue las amenazas de parte del parque nacional. Los restos arqueológicos y la investigación de Colin McEwan y María Isabel Silva ayudaron mucho, como me explicó esa misma persona: “no querían reconocer Manabí como organizaciones indígenas, pero con los restos arqueológicos como se va a negar?”. En este informe no quiero simplificar un proceso que fue muy largo y muy complejo, y cuál fue contado muchas veces por los aguablanquenses mismos y los antropólogos que han visitado. Sólo quería subrayar la importancia del patrimonio arqueológico para este proceso.



Ilustración 20. Interior del museo comunitario, donde los rostros de los aguablanquenses están presentados al costado de las figurillas de sus ancestros. Foto; A. Dupeyron.

Esta identificación como manteños es muy fuerte. Muchos de los dirigentes me lo repitieron, y así se presentan los habitantes a los turistas. En el museo, han decidido presentar fotos de los rostros de sus habitantes al costado de figurillas manteñas, para establecer un paralelo entre sus rasgos. Por ejemplo, durante la visita los guías subrayan el parecido entre la forma de sus narices.

Impactos sobre relaciones de género

En el año 2018, una estudiante estadounidense llamada Amanda Brock realizó un estudio sobre el papel de las mujeres en el turismo comunitario. Aunque mi taller no llegó a tanta profundidad, realicé un ejercicio a pedido de un dirigente de la comunidad, enfocado en la evolución de las relaciones de género en Agua Blanca.

El taller se enfocó en una comparación de las oportunidades para cada género, antes (en los años 80) y ahora. Los resultados deben ser tomados con cuidado porque sólo participaron tres mujeres y 10 hombres. Además, es muy difícil atribuir algo tan complejo como relaciones de género al desarrollo del turismo, aunque este último fue un cambio muy importante en la vida social de Agua Blanca y ha ofrecido oportunidades en el campo del trabajo. En el grupo de mujeres, solo participaron mujeres jóvenes de menos de 30 años, lo que rinde más difícil la comparación con el pasado. Sin embargo, fue el punto de partida de una discusión interesante sobre cómo los géneros en Agua Blanca se relacionan y podemos observar muchas diferencias.

Opiniones del grupo de Mujeres

	Mujer		Hombre	
	Antes	Ahora	Antes	Ahora
Actitud/Conocimiento/ Capacidades				
Toma de decisiones	4-5	10	10	8
Ámbito Económico				
Oportunidades para trabajar	1-2	10	10	10
Oportunidades para estudiar	1-2	8	1-2	10
Mejor ingreso	0	10	10	10
Ámbito Social				
Tratamiento igualitario para hijos e hijas	8	10	10	10
Político				
Participación en asambleas	10	7	10	10

Opiniones del grupo de Hombres

	Mujer		Hombre	
	Antes	Ahora	Antes	Ahora
Actitud/Conocimiento/ Capacidades				
Toma de decisiones	5	8	10	8
Ámbito Económico				
Oportunidades para trabajar	7	9	7	9
Oportunidades para estudiar	5	9	5	9
Mejor ingreso	3	8	7	10
Ámbito Social				
Tratamiento igualitario para hijos e hijas	5	10	4	10
Político				
Participación en asambleas	10	10	10	10
Participación en la vida política (como dirigentes, por ejemplo)	3	10	8	10

En algunos campos podemos ver los avances de las mujeres en los últimos 40 años. Ambos grupos estuvieron de acuerdo que las oportunidades para trabajar han avanzado y favorecen a ambos géneros ahora, aunque los hombres reconocen que suelen tener un mejor ingreso. Las mujeres tienen la opinión que ahora tienen más poder de decisión en casa que los hombres, mientras ellos piensan que ambos géneros están iguales. Los hombres subrayaron la dimensión política, en la cual

las mujeres se involucran mucho más ahora; y me pidieron agregar una categoría: participación en la vida política, por ejemplo como dirigentes. Pero ellas sienten aun que tienen menos alcance en las asambleas: aunque las reglas les permiten hablar, la conversación suele ser dominada por los hombres. También sienten que tienen aún menos oportunidades para estudiar.

Este breve ejercicio fue muy interesante, porque subrayo algunos cambios generacionales permitiendo a las mujeres concentrar más poder en varias áreas de la vida como trabajo y participación política. Sin embargo, no puede estar tomado fuera del contexto de la conversación que tuvimos, y para un estudio más profundizado sobre relaciones de género sería importante leer el estudio de Brock (2019).

Impactos sobre el proceso de migración

Quiero subrayar una historia en particular, contada durante el taller sobre el Cambio más Significativo. Esta historia habla de un joven quien había salido de Agua Blanca para trabajar, y regreso después de algunos años porque vio en su pueblo un lugar donde podría conseguir una mejor calidad de vida, y por fin establecerse, ya que habían llegado más oportunidades laborales. Varias otras personas me contaron historias semejantes en las entrevistas, o de manera informal, o contestándome en la encuesta que sin el proyecto de turismo comunitario hubieran migrado. Todavía migran muchos jóvenes, y casi todos los aguablanquenses tienen familia en la ciudad, por ejemplo, en Guayaquil, pero también existe la posibilidad de quedarse y establecer una familia en el pueblo.

Medio ambiente y conservación

Conciencia ambiental

Es difícil separar los efectos ambientales debido a la creación del Parque Nacional Machalilla, y aquellos debido al turismo y los cambios que generó en las formas de vivir en Agua Blanca. Sin embargo, se nota que al turismo ha ofrecido alternativas a la recolección y elaboración de carbón, las cuál eran las actividades más importantes antes de los años 80. La tala de árboles y caza de animales ya cesaron, lo que ayudo a reforestar el parque. El enlace con el turismo comunitario es muy estrecho. Como me dijo un habitante de la comuna, guía del parque nacional: “ya no se pudieron hacer las actividades tradicionales. Por Colin, tuvimos nuevas oportunidades”.

Los habitantes de Agua Blanca me comentaron de su afán por proteger y cuidar su medio ambiente, no sólo para mejorar su calidad de vida, pero también para presentar un sitio limpio a los turistas. Parece que la preservación del medio ambiente va de la mano con el turismo sostenible a lo cual se dirigen los habitantes de Agua Blanca. Cuando les pregunte por que les interesaba el patrimonio arqueológico, varias personas encuestadas me hablaron de la importancia de aprender del pasado como vivir de manera sostenible, aunque esta opción no existía en la encuesta. Un joven aguablanquense, quien estudia el turismo, me comento de su deseo de crear proyectos de agricultura sostenible en Agua Blanca para poder vender productos a los turistas.

Conservación del sitio y puesta en valor

Un comunero entrevistado me explico que se ejecuta una rotación de las partes del sitio arqueológico abiertas al público, justamente para reducir el impacto de estas visitas sobre la conservación del sitio. Al momento de mi visita el sector 5 era el que se visitaba. En términos de conservación, cabe resaltar que las infraestructuras establecidas por el proyecto de McEwan y Silva siguen de pie, y se realizan limpiezas regulares siguiendo el sistema de trabajo comunitario, o ‘minga’ muy común en comunidades ecuatorianas.

Nuevas zonas han sido agregadas al circuito arqueológico con el paso de los años, tal como las vasijas funerarias cuales están situadas a la entrada del recorrido.

Sin embargo, también existen proyectos turísticos que no se concretizaron. La antigua casa comunal fue convertida en “Casa de los Abuelos”, un espacio donde se presenta las herramientas, vestimenta tradicional de los aguablanquenses y otros artefactos típicos de los inicios del siglo XX. Este espacio fue puesto en valor el año 2014 por la fundación Ayo de España, y abierta al público en el 2016, pero en el 2020 no estaba utilizada para nada más que un almacén de material arqueológico de las excavaciones previas. Eso es uno de los problemas mencionado por los comuneros: les gustaría que los arqueólogos que visiten no dejen su material desorganizado.

Ahora, la prioridad de ampliación turística es la laguna: como es la zona donde llega la mayoría de los turistas, los encuestados y entrevistados me indicaron su deseo de excavar dos piscinas más, para poder recibir una mayor cantidad de turistas. Otros guías lamentaron la falta de inclusión del sitio arqueológico en el circuito rápido. También conversamos de la posibilidad de ofrecer 2 circuitos: uno más corto (el actual) enfocado en la laguna, y uno más largo (y más caro) en el cual harían un recorrido más completo del sitio arqueológico.

Conclusiones

El sitio arqueológico es el punto de partida de muchos de los logros de los últimos 40 años. Sin embargo, los aguablanquenses me hablaron de muchos desafíos que les parece importantes de solucionar.

Desafíos mayores

Los problemas mayores para que los recursos arqueológicos contribuyan de manera importante en el desarrollo de Agua Blanca, tal como se esperaba en el 2020, son los siguientes:

- La pandemia mundial relacionado al COVID-19, el cual ha debilitado los potenciales del turismo en Agua Blanca y, en general, en todo el Ecuador.
- La crisis política en el Ecuador.
- La falta de recursos para conservar e investigar al sitio arqueológico que tiene Agua Blanca, y ampliar la oferta turística.
- La falta de conocimiento y recursos que tienen los aguablanquenses sobre como promocionar su oferta turística. Ahora pocos hablan inglés, y faltaría también capacitar más personas en gestión y administración.

Recomendaciones

A pesar de esos obstáculos, el presente informe también subraya el camino recorrido gracias al sitio arqueológico, y su sucesor el proyecto de turismo comunitario. Todavía se puede hacer mucho más, pero eso implica unos esfuerzos de investigación sobre el pasado, de promoción para que los turistas sepan de la oferta (especialmente hospedajes); capacitaciones en idiomas y gestión para que se mejore la oferta. También sería importante fortalecer el rol de la educación, que los guías inviten a los niños del pueblo a conocer su sitio con la información adecuada.

La pandemia también ha subrayado la fragilidad de la dependencia en el turismo, y muchas familias han tenido que adaptarse y volver a las actividades que realizaron antes, como agricultura y cría de animales, o buscar trabajo afuera. En el contexto post-pandemia, esperemos que sea posible

obtener fondos para realizar capacitaciones, integrar más habitantes al proyecto de turismo comunitario, conservar más sitios e impulsar otras actividades en Agua Blanca.

Agradecimientos



Ilustración 21. El grupo de guías en mi último día en Agua Blanca, febrero 2020. Foto: A. Dupeyron

Gracias a los aguablanquenses por su apoyo con mis encuestas, su participación en las entrevistas y en el grupo focal.

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Anexos

1. Tabla de impactos
2. Guion de entrevistas
3. Actividades realizadas durante los talleres
4. Encuesta aplicada a la población de Agua Blanca, Vueltas Largas y el Carmen (muestra de 50 personas)

Área de cambio	Impacto o resultado	Sub-impacto	Indicador	Método de recolección de datos (instrumento)	Desafíos encontrados al aplicar el método
Impactos económicos	Turismo en Agua Blanca	Aumento del potencial turístico a largo plazo	Crecimiento económico estimulado por el turismo	Estadísticas del parque nacional	
				Entrevistas con la comunidad	
			Cantidad de turistas en Agua Blanca	Contabilizados en el museo	
			Cantidad de sitios turísticos en el circuito de la región (Puerto López, Machalilla)	Entrevistas (para verificar que haya conexión con Agua Blanca)	
				Plan de desarrollo turístico de la comunidad, o inventario de los recursos turísticos	
			Desarrollo de artesanía local y tiendas de recuerdos	Observación (presencia/ ausencia)	
				Registro de artesanos	
				Entrevistas con artesanos	
			Guías en la comunidad	Observación (presencia/ ausencia)	
			Idiomas hablados en Agua Blanca para acomodar el turismo	Observación	
	Vínculo con otros fondos (por ejemplo, Banco del Ecuador, ONGs)	Entrevista con personal del museo			
	Mejor infraestructura turística estimulada por la atractivita de Agua Blanca	Nuevas carreteras para llegar a sitios turísticos	Observación (presencia/ ausencia) Informes de la municipalidad		
		Nuevos restaurantes			
		Nuevos hoteles			
		Nuevas tiendas de recuerdos y artesanía			
Aporte económico directo y efecto multiplicador	Contratación de pobladores para trabajos arqueológicos	Importancia de este empleo en términos económicos (Mas que todo en aquella época que vinieron los arqueólogos).	Encuesta		
	Ganancias de los proveedores de comida, hospedaje y dueños de tiendas	Importancia de la presencia de los arqueólogos en términos económicos (Pbma: ya no hay proyecto arqueológico)	Entrevistas con pobladores Encuesta		
Impactos culturales y educativos	Desarrollo de capacidades arqueológicas	Recursos para museos locales	Hallazgos agregados a colecciones locales (Agua Blanca, Salango...)	Inventario de las colecciones	
			Visibilidad del museo local y cantidad de visitantes	Número de visitas al mes	
				Entrevistas	
			Exposiciones temporales	Observación (presencia/ ausencia)	
				Informes para el Ministerio de Cultura	
	Cantidad de estudiantes que han hecho practica en el proyecto	Actas de la asamblea			

		Oportunidades profesionales para arqueólogos ecuatorianos y especialistas del patrimonio	Convenios con universidades ecuatorianas e internacionales	Entrevistas con personal del Museo; archivos de Agua Blanca		
			Numero de tesis escritas en relación a Agua Blanca	Actas de la asamblea		
			Numero de arqueólogos y conservadores empleados por el proyecto por temporada	Informes que están en los archivos de Agua Blanca		
	Oportunidades educativas para la gente de Agua Blanca y su región	Aprendizaje en las nuevas generaciones	Numero de escolares de nivel primario y secundario alcanzados con actividades realizadas por el museo en la escuela	Informes escritos por docentes o por el museo		
			Numero de escolares de nivel primario y secundario alcanzados con visitas de sitio	Número de visitas al sitio		
			Nivel de motivación con el aprendizaje, entusiasmo e identificación con el patrimonio	Informes escritos por docentes o por el museo		
		Aprendizaje en la comunidad	Satisfacción con su conocimiento del sitio arqueológico Agua Blanca	Talleres participativos con los escolares		
			Satisfacción con su conocimiento de sitios arqueológicos en la región	Entrevistas con profesores		
		Aprendizaje en los obreros del sitio arqueológico	Satisfacción con su conocimiento de técnicas de excavación y lo que han aprendido trabajando (problema: muestra reducida)	Encuesta		
	Impactos sociales	Orgullo en el pasado e identidad local	Valorar el sitio arqueológico	Uso de iconografía vinculada a la arqueología en Agua Blanca	Observación	
				Festival anual de "La Balsa manteña"	Estimación del número de participantes	
				Valor asignado al patrimonio arqueológico, nivel de identificación con la arqueología, vínculo entre el sitio y la comunidad	Encuesta	
				Entrevistas		
				Talleres participativos (por ejemplo, CMS)		
Frecuencia de las visitas al sitio y con qué propósito (uso del sitio)			Encuesta			
		Presencia de organizaciones locales abogando por el sitio (por ejemplo, casa cultural o patronato)	Entrevistas			
Voluntad de proteger el sitio		Reducción del huaqueo y daños físicos en el sitio	Informes hechos por arqueólogos, observaciones			
		Guardianes de seguridad asignados al sitio y presentes	Observación (presencia/ ausencia)			
		Percepción de la importancia de proteger el sitio	Entrevistas			
Conservación del sitio (sostenibilidad del recurso para generaciones futuras)		Protección del patrimonio	Planes para protección y mantenimiento	Estado de la señalización, caminos, y vallas.	Observación (presencia/ ausencia)	
					Entrevistas con personal del comité arqueológico.	
	Limpieza regular del sitio		Observación (presencia/ ausencia)			
	Condición del sitio	Estado de conservación del sitio	Informes de los arqueólogos del proyecto			
	Puesta en valor		Entrevistas con arqueólogos			
		Visión a largo plazo por el sitio y su papel en la comunidad	Entrevistas			

		Puesta en valor de Agua Blanca		Talleres participativos	
			Estatus legal del sitio e implicaciones para su uso en la infraestructura turística	Entrevistas con personal de la Municipalidad para conocer el estado de avance	
			Porción del sitio que ha sido excavada y permanece abierta para visitantes	Observación	
Impactos ambientales	Concientización		No hay por si pero por la inscripción al parque. La tala y caza de animales ya ceso, lo que ayudo a reforestar el parque. Pero como dice Gonzalo "ya no se pudieron hacer las actividades tradicionales. Por Colin, tuvimos nuevas oportunidades".		

Guion de entrevistas: impacto del proyecto arqueológico de Agua Blanca

Soy una estudiante de doctorado en Inglaterra.

Busco entender los impactos a corto, mediano y largo plazo que puede tener el sitio, y su posible uso por el museo, y la comunidad. Esos impactos podrían verse a los niveles económico, social, cultural, educativo, ambiental...

Estoy viendo una manera de medir esos impactos que sea practica y no tome mucho tiempo. La idea de esa evaluación es de poder entender los potenciales del proyecto y del sitio y como va afectando a la población con el tiempo. Creo que eso podría ayudar a mejorar futuros proyectos en cuanto a sus actividades e impactos con las comunidades.

Como el proyecto de Agua Blanca está ya en camino desde hace 40 años, busco una forma que pueda ayudar a trazar esos cambios en el tiempo. Para eso estoy ensayando encuestas, entrevistas y talleres con la comunidad.

TURISMO y ECONOMIA

Impactos económicos	Turismo en Agua Blanca	Aumento del potencial turístico a largo plazo	Crecimiento económico estimulado por el turismo	Entrevistas con la comunidad
			Cantidad de sitios turísticos en el circuito de la región (Puerto López, Machalilla)	Entrevistas (para verificar que haya conexión con Agua Blanca)
			Desarrollo de artesanía local y tiendas de recuerdos	Entrevistas con artesanos
			Vínculo con otros fondos (por ejemplo, Banco del Ecuador, ONGs)	Entrevista con personal del museo
Aporte económico directo y efecto multiplicador	Ganancias de los proveedores de comida, hospedaje y dueños de tiendas	Importancia de la presencia de los arqueólogos en términos económicos (Pbma: ya no hay proyecto arqueológico)	Entrevistas con pobladores	

Crecimiento económico con el turismo comunitario

- ¿Cuál es la situación actual acerca del turismo comunitario? ¿Cuáles son sus esperanzas y metas acerca del crecimiento económico de Agua Blanca y de su área?
- ¿Qué significa desarrollo para usted?
- ¿Hay otros elementos que están pasando en Agua Blanca que podrían afectar el turismo (por ejemplo, nueva infraestructura)?
- ¿Cuál es la situación de los otros sitios arqueológicos de la región? ¿Le parece que visibilizar a Agua Blanca ayudara a que los otros sitios sean más visitados también?
- ¿Como quieren ser vistos por los turistas?

Artesanía

- ¿Me podría contar algo sobre la artesanía en Agua Blanca y su situación actual?

- ¿Cuál sería el potencial para que aumente esa actividad?

Presencia de los arqueólogos en Agua Blanca

- ¿Cómo le parece que la comuna ha beneficiado de la presencia de los arqueólogos (de manera económica, o de otras formas)?
- ¿Cuáles han sido las dificultades generadas por la presencia de arqueólogos en Agua Blanca?

Para los que están involucrados de manera más directa (artesanas, guías, spa, restaurantes)

- ¿Me podría explicar cuál es su actividad, y cómo está cambiando con el proyecto de turismo comunitario?
- ¿Cómo se involucró en el proyecto?
- ¿Qué le parece el proyecto de turismo comunitario y sus metas?
- ¿De qué forma le parece que beneficia o va a beneficiar de este proyecto?
- ¿Qué le gustaría mejorar de su participación en el proyecto?
- ¿Usted ve algún riesgo vinculado a este proyecto?
- ¿Cuáles han sido los retos mayores en el transcurso del proyecto?
- ¿Como los superaron?
- ¿Que le parece la arqueología?

EDUCACION Y CULTURA

Impactos culturales y educativos	Desarrollo de capacidades arqueológicas	Recursos para museos locales	Visibilidad del museo local y cantidad de visitantes	Entrevistas
		Oportunidades profesionales para arqueólogos ecuatorianos y especialistas del patrimonio	Convenios con universidades ecuatorianas e internacionales	Entrevistas con personal del Museo
	Oportunidades educativas para la gente de Agua Blanca y su región	Aprendizaje en las nuevas generaciones	Nivel de motivación con el aprendizaje, entusiasmo e identificación con el patrimonio	Entrevistas con profesores
		Aprendizaje en los obreros del sitio arqueológico	Satisfacción con su conocimiento de técnicas de excavación y lo que han aprendido trabajando (problema: muestra reducida)	Entrevista

Situación del museo

- ¿Cómo ve la situación actual del museo, y sus oportunidades a futuro?

Convenios con universidades y estudiantes ecuatorianos

- ¿Cuáles son las oportunidades actuales para los estudiantes de arqueología? ¿Hay muchas pasantías en Agua Blanca? ¿Suelen ser de arqueología o más de otras disciplinas?
- ¿Cómo ha cambiado la investigación en Agua Blanca? ¿Me puede comentar un poco sobre los estudiantes que han venido a hacer pasantías?

Educación para los escolares de nivel primario y secundario

- ¿Cómo ve el potencial de usar a Agua Blanca como un recurso para la educación? ¿Me podría comentar un poco sobre la situación actual, y en el pasado?
- ¿Cómo ve la identificación de los jóvenes de Agua Blanca con el pasado prehispánico y el sitio de Agua Blanca?
- **¿Cuáles fueron las posibilidades que el proyecto ha generado para los alumnos de la escuela?** ¿A los niños les enseñan del sitio? ¿Hay visitas de sitio con los coles? ¿Ha cambiado su motivación e interés en su patrimonio, o en preservar y cuidar el ecosistema?

SOCIEDAD Y COMUNIDAD

Impactos sociales	Orgullo en el pasado e identidad local	Valorar el sitio arqueológico	Valor asignado al patrimonio arqueológico, nivel de identificación con la arqueología, vínculo entre el sitio y la comunidad	Entrevistas
			Presencia de organizaciones locales abogando por el sitio (por ejemplo, casa cultural o patronato)	Entrevistas
		Voluntad de proteger el sitio	Reducción del huaqueo y daños físicos en el sitio	Entrevistas con arqueólogos
			Percepción de la importancia de proteger el sitio	Entrevistas

Valor asignado al patrimonio arqueológico y a Agua Blanca

- ¿Cómo percibe la identificación de los aguablanquenses con su sitio arqueológico?
- ¿Para usted, cuáles son las características más importantes del sitio de Agua Blanca?
- ¿Cómo el sitio arqueológico puede ser útil para ustedes (además de por el turismo)?
- ¿Qué piensa que podría cambiar en el futuro del proyecto de turismo comunitario, en comparación de cómo las cosas están ahora?
- ¿Cuáles son los aspectos positivos y negativos del sitio arqueológico?

Presencia de organizaciones locales

- ¿Me puede contar como fue la situación del comité arqueológico en el pasado y ahora?
- ¿Han tenido los aguablanquenses otras organizaciones o asociaciones vinculadas al sitio?

Percepción de la importancia de proteger el sitio

CONSERVACION DEL SITIO y PUESTA EN VALOR

Conservación del sitio (sostenibilidad del recurso para generaciones futuras)	Protección del patrimonio	Planes para protección y mantenimiento	Estado de la señalización, caminos, y vallas.	Entrevistas con personal del comité arqueológico.
		Condición del sitio	Estado de conservación del sitio	Entrevistas con personal del comité arqueológico.
	Puesta en valor	Puesta en valor de Agua Blanca	Visión a largo plazo por el sitio y su papel en la comunidad	Entrevistas
			Estatus legal del sitio e implicaciones para su uso en la infraestructura turística	Entrevistas con personal de la Municipalidad para conocer el estado de avance
Impactos ambientales	Concientización		No hay por si pero por la inscripción al parque. La tala y caza de animales ya ceso, lo	

			que ayudo a reforestar el parque. Pero como dice Gonzalo "ya no se pudieron hacer las actividades tradicionales. Por Colin, tuvimos nuevas oportunidades".	
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Conservación del sitio

- ¿Cómo era el sitio arqueológico antes del proyecto de Colin? ¿Y ahora? ¿Me podría describir el cambio?
- ¿Ustedes lo consideraban como sitio arqueológico antes, o no? ¿Como lo percibían?
- **¿Les parece que ha cambiado su voluntad de preservar y manejar esos sitios?**
- **¿Les parece que su valoración de esos sitios antiguos ha cambiado con el proyecto de Colin, y luego el proyecto de turismo?**
- ¿Cuáles son los planes actuales en este aspecto?
- ¿Que se ha realizado en los últimos años? ¿Como ha cambiado la situación?

Visión a largo plazo por el sitio y su papel en la comunidad

- ¿Cuáles son sus expectativas acerca del futuro de Agua Blanca, como imagina a esta comunidad en el futuro? ¿Cuáles serían las diferencias con el presente?
- ¿Cuál sería el papel del sitio arqueológico en esta visión del futuro? ¿Qué significa el sitio para usted y para la comunidad?

Estatus legal del sitio e implicaciones para su uso en la infraestructura turística

- ¿Cómo ha sido el proceso para poner en valor el sitio de Agua Blanca?

CAMBIOS CON EL PROYECTO DE TURISMO COMUNITARIO

- ¿Qué le parece que han sido los cambios más importantes con el proyecto desde la llegada de Colin McEwan?
- **Por qué, según usted, ¿ha funcionado tan bien? ¿Cuáles son los factores que lo han hecho exitoso?**
- **¿Cuál fue el papel de la revaloración de lo suyo (su patrimonio) para ayudar a que el proyecto de turismo comunitario sea más exitoso?**
- ¿Había algunos elementos quizá que podrían ser mejorados?

PROCESO DE EVALUACION

- ¿Qué pensó de esas preguntas? ¿Hay algunas que le parecieron más interesantes? ¿Hay algunas que le parecieron incómodas?
- ¿Qué significa evaluación para ustedes? ¿Piensa que podría generar algunos datos útiles? ¿Al ser así, como piensa que los podrían usar?
- ¿Hay otra palabra que preferiría para describir este tipo de trabajo?

Taller participativo sobre la arqueología en Agua Blanca. Participative workshop about Agua Blanca.

Invitados: cerca de 50. Trabajo con grupos de 20-25. Si vienen más de 25 podemos trabajar con 2 grupos.

3. Bienvenida a los participantes.

4. Cuando varios han llegado (6.15pm?) presentación de quien soy y mi proyecto. Les voy a explicar que si han hecho entrevistas o encuestas conmigo, todo eso forma parte del mismo proyecto de investigación. Estoy ensayando varias técnicas para recoger información y esas técnicas se enfocan en aspectos distintos.

Explicar los ejercicios y pedir consentimiento. Explicar que si no se sienten cómodos, pueden salir en cualquier momento.

5. GRUPO 1.

Ejercicio: valorando al sitio arqueológico

Material: papel y lapiceros.

- a) "Lluvia de ideas"
- b) Aportar ideas sobre palabras que asocian con el sitio arqueológico. Pueden pensar en la presencia del sitio en Agua Blanca, sus varios usos en el pasado, presente y en el futuro. También pueden dibujar si prefieren eso.
- c) En grupo, asociamos esas palabras en varias pilas que van a determinar temas (por ejemplo, temas de turismo/ identidad/ divertirse/ educación...)
- d) Cada persona va a recibir 5 votos/puntos (pallares) y puede decir cuáles de esos significados son los más importantes. Puede repartir 5 puntos en un significado, o 1 en cada tema que le parece importante, etc.
- e) Al final del ejercicio vamos a ver cuáles temas son sobresalientes.
- f) *Si hay tiempo, podemos repetir el ejercicio, pero esta vez con Agua Blanca la comuna misma. ¿Cuáles son los cambios más importantes (negativos o positivos) en los últimos 40 años? (pueden ser en términos de agricultura, infraestructura, etc.)*
- g) Discusión. ¿Qué nos enseña ese ejercicio sobre el papel del sitio arqueológico en Agua Blanca? ¿Cómo lo ven en el futuro?

GRUPO 2. Ejercicio: el camino recorrido.

Ese ejercicio busca visibilizar como las personas se han relacionado con el sitio arqueológico y proyecto en el pasado, presente y futuro, y como ven a los cambios asociados.

Los participantes dibujan un mapa imitando a un camino o carretera, que simboliza el cambio en el tiempo. Ese camino puede ser derecho o chueco, subir o bajar.... Edificios, puentes y otros símbolos representan acontecimientos, oportunidades, logros, retos, problemas, obstáculos, choques, o apoyos recibidos en el tiempo. Es probable que haya que volver a dibujar el mapa si las ideas cambian durante la discusión. Se pueden agregar varias hojas para detallar más.

Preguntas para orientar el trabajo:

- ¿Qué hemos logrado?
- ¿Qué ha cambiado en los últimos 40 años?
- ¿Cuáles fueron los logros y retos principales?
- ¿Cuáles son nuestros objetivos?
- ¿Cuáles son las implicaciones para el futuro?

Ese ejercicio acaba con una breve discusión.

6. Foto grupal, con el consentimiento de los participantes.

7. Conclusión.

Preguntar si hay voluntarios que han llenado la encuesta o han sido entrevistados que serían dispuestos a hablar conmigo para dar su opinión sobre los varios procesos de evaluación que han ensayado.

GENERO

¿Cómo cambiaron los papeles de la mujer y del hombre? Necesitamos preguntar a los dos por separado, y comparar sus asesoramientos. Qué tal fuerte es la posición de la esposa; ¿y del esposo en cada posición? Podemos calcular el cambio. Cada posición podemos calificarlo de 1 a 10, y adoptar esos criterios según el contexto.

	Mujer		Hombre	
	Antes	Ahora	Antes	Ahora
Actitud/Conocimiento/ Capacidades				
Toma de decisiones				
Resolución de conflictos				
Ámbito Económico				
Oportunidades para involucrarse en labores del turismo				
Mejor ingreso				
Ámbito Social				
Tratamiento igualitario para hijos e hijas				
Político				
Participación en asambleas				

Proyecto de encuesta para los turistas de Agua Blanca.

Humberto me explico que hicieron esto en el pasado.

Encuesta para los turistas.

¿De dónde son?

¿Qué tanto les ha gustado esos aspectos en su visita de Agua Blanca?

Calificar de 1 a 5, 1 siendo 'pesimo', 2, 'malo', 3, 'neutral', 4, 'bueno' y 5 'muy bueno'

-El Museo

-El recorrido Flora y Fauna

-los sitios arqueológicos

-la laguna

¿Cómo mejorarían su experiencia en Agua Blanca?

Encuesta sobre la arqueología en Agua Blanca

Buenos días. Soy Agathe, estoy realizando una investigación para mis estudios. Me interesaría conocer el vínculo entre los comuneros y el sitio arqueológico de Agua Blanca. Me encantaría conocer sus opiniones. Si le gustaría participar, puede llenar esta breve encuesta. Sus respuestas serán confidenciales y anónimas.

Informaciones sobre usted:

1. Género: Hombre Mujer
2. Edad:
 <18 18-25 25-40 40-60 >60
3. Ocupación (puede marcar más de una casilla):
 Escolar Estudiante Sin empleo Jubilado/a Ejecutivas del hogar
 Trabajo en comercio agricultura turismo institución educativa
 Apicultor Recolector de leña para elaborar carbón
 otro (puede indicar aquí si desea): _____

Involucración con la arqueología y el turismo

4. Está involucrado/a con el proyecto de turismo comunitario?
 Soy guía de la comuna
 Soy guía del Parque Nacional Machalilla
 Soy artesano/a
 Trabajo en el spa
 Recibo turistas para comer u hospedarse en mi casa
 No estoy involucrado/a
 Otra respuesta _____
5. ¿A qué se dedicaría si no existiera el sitio arqueológico?

6. ¿Ha trabajado con el proyecto arqueológico de Colin McEwan o proyectos sucesivos de excavación?
Si No

Opinión sobre la arqueología

7. ¿Cuál es su opinión acerca del sitio arqueológico que tiene Agua Blanca y de la historia arqueológica en su región (Salango, Puerto López, Isla de la Plata, Jaboncillo...)?
 Me importa y me interesa mucho
 Me importa y me interesa un poco
 Me siento neutral/ no opino
 No me importa mucho, y me interesa poco
 No me importa o interesa para nada

8. Si le importa, o si le interesa el sitio arqueológico que tiene Agua Blanca, ¿por qué?

- Se siente orgulloso
 - Siente que el turismo comunitario puede ayudar la situación económica de la comuna
 - Siente que el sitio arqueológico es la historia de sus antepasados
 - Le parece que es un lugar bonito para ver el paisaje
 - Otras razones:
-
-

9. ¿Con qué frecuencia va al sitio arqueológico que tiene Agua Blanca?

- Todos los días
- Todas las semanas
- Unas veces al año
- He ido unas veces en mi vida
- Nunca he ido

10. ¿Con qué propósito ha ido al sitio arqueológico? ¿Cuáles actividades ha realizado en el sitio?
(Puede marcar más de una casilla)

- Excavaciones arqueológicas
- Visitas con turistas
- Para divertirse, pasear, jugar, tomar fotos
- Lo considero como sitio sagrado
- Fiestas o eventos
- Otras razones: _____

11. ¿Usted siente que conoce bien la historia del sitio arqueológico de Agua Blanca?

Si No

12. ¿Le gustaría conocer más de la historia de Agua Blanca y su sitio arqueológico?

Si No

13. ¿Qué más le interesaría saber de esa historia?

14. ¿Usted siente que conoce bien el patrimonio arqueológico de la región (Salango, Puerto López, la Isla de la Plata, Jaboncillo, y otros sitios)?

Si No

15. ¿Le gustaría conocer más sobre esa historia?

Si No

16. El turismo comunitario, lo ve como algo:

Mayormente positivo	Algo positivo	Neutral	Algo negativo	Mayormente negativo
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

17. ¿Cuáles serían los posibles problemas vinculados al turismo?

18. ¿Cuáles aspectos de la arqueología le parecen importantes?

	Muy importante	Importante	Neutral	Poco importante	No es importante
Tener un mejor ingreso económico					
Aprender sobre el pasado de mi región/comuna					
Aprender sobre cómo trabajan los arqueólogos					
Que los jóvenes conozcan la historia de Agua Blanca					
Visibilizar a Agua Blanca para que lleguen más turistas					
Tener más hallazgos para el museo o ampliar el museo					
Continuar y desarrollar una actividad que me gusta					

Otros aspectos importantes que no han sido mencionados:

19. ¿Cuáles serían sus otras expectativas o esperanzas acerca del proyecto de turismo comunitario?

20. ¿Tiene algún temor, duda o preocupación acerca de las investigaciones arqueológicas pasadas y futuras, o del proyecto de turismo comunitario?

Sí

No

Si tiene temores o dudas, ¿cuáles serían?

Estoy muy agradecida por su aporte a esta investigación. Puede enviar sus respuestas a la persona que le ha hecho llegar la encuesta o llevar sus respuestas a Agathe (997-395-428).

El cambio más significativo (CMS)

Duración del taller: aproximadamente 2 horas.

Composición del grupo: entre 5 y 10 personas, y 1 o 2 facilitadores.

Primera hora. Recolección de historias.

1. Introducción del taller. Explicar que vamos a recolectar historias para entender como el Proyecto de turismo comunitario ha afectado sus vidas. Para calentar el grupo, pueden hablar de su experiencia e involucración con el Proyecto. ¿Cuáles fueron los logros y las dificultades?

- ¿Qué les motivó a participar en esta experiencia?
- ¿Qué fue lo que hicieron? ¿Cómo? ¿Qué cosa no hicieron?
- ¿Cómo les hubiera gustado que fuera la experiencia?

Pregunta a cada persona en el grupo si pueden contar una historia acerca de un cambio que ocurrió en su vida como resultado del Proyecto, y si lo puede grabar o escribir, o dibujar. El cambio no tiene que ser positivo.

- Cuénteme cómo se involucró con el proyecto, y cuál es su involucración actual.
- Desde su punto de vista, describa una historia que represente el cambio más significativo después de involucrarse con el proyecto. (Pueden ser cambios negativos o positivos)

Si no pueden escribir una historia, esas preguntas les podrían guiar:

- *¿Qué cambios ocurrieron en su vida, en su forma de ser o de pensar después del proyecto?*
- *¿Qué cosas cambiaron en su comunidad?*
- *¿Contribuyó el trabajo del proyecto a eso? De ser así, ¿cómo?*

Les preguntamos por qué ese cambio fue tan significativo.

- *¿Por qué fue tan significativa esta historia para usted? ¿Ha conocido otra situación parecida antes?*

Pausa/ Break

Segunda hora: Comparando las historias

1. Pedir a los participantes que seleccionen una de las historias contada por el grupo, la que sea la más representativa. Pueden escoger una historia negativa o positiva, dependiendo de los propósitos del ejercicio.
2. ¿Preguntarles por qué es tan significativa?
3. Preguntar al grupo cuáles son sus criterios para escoger si algo es significativo o no. Esas razones son tan importantes como las historias.

4. Preguntarle si piensan que esa historia es representativa de su experiencia, y por qué.
 - ¿Cuáles de esos testimonios le parecen más interesantes? ¿Por qué?
 - ¿Cuáles de esos testimonios le parecen más representativos? ¿Por qué?
5. Con la ayuda de los participantes, los facilitadores pueden ver si algunas áreas sobresalen desde las historias narradas (cambios de estilo de vida, motivación, aprendizaje, identidad...) Una forma de hacer eso es separando las historias en grupos y escoger un nombre representando cada grupo. Los facilitadores pueden también pedir a los participantes de escoger una historia por grupo, dependiendo de cuantas historias han sido recolectadas, y si este nivel de detalle ayuda.
6. Grabar las historias escogidas de una manera más formal (escribiéndolas, o con grabador), como le ha contado su autor/a.
7. Preguntar a los participantes cual fue su opinión sobre este taller.

Adapted from:

Davies, Rick and Dart, Jesse. 2005. The 'most significant change'(MSC) technique. A guide to its use. [Online]. Available at: <http://mande.co.uk/wpcontent/uploads/2018/01/MSCGuide.pdf> (a Spanish version exists here: <http://www.mande.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2005/MSC%20Guide/Spanish%20translation%20of%20MSC%20Guide.pdf>)

IBIS, 2005. *Monitoreo con el Cambio Más Significativo. La Experiencia de Ibis en Nicaragua*. Available at: https://issuu.com/cecastillod/docs/monitoreo_con_el_cambio_m_s_significativo

Sandino, María. 2005. Guía Metodológica sobre el método El Cambio Más Significativo.