ARCHAEOLOGY AND EDUCATION: LEARING ABOUT THE PAST IN CHAVIN DE HUANTAR, PERU

by

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A Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty of Purdue University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Anthropology

West Lafayette, Indiana

August 2019

THE PURDUE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Purdue University, as are all U.S. American Universities, is located on Indigenous land. Therefore, I would like to acknowledge the lands and waters of Indiana, and its Peoples. Peoples that fought for their lands, waters, and lives, and later were forcibly removed from this territory including the Shawnee, Miami, Wea, Piankashaw, Potowatomi, Pokagon, and Lenape, tribes and bands. I encourage all scholars to take a moment in their work to acknowledge whose land you are on and make the appropriate statement to show respect for those that have fallen and for those that are still fighting for their rights today. In addition, I also encourage you to take care, and appreciate lands and waters no matter where you are—as land and water make our lives possible and Indigenous Peoples globally have been taking care of them for millennia.

Second, I would like to thank the community of Chavín de Huántar for always welcoming me with open arms. I reached Chavín for my dissertation fieldwork in a very complicated moment of my life—one of my best friends had just died. Chavín saved my life. Being able to live along side with your community was a wonderful experience. Thank you to the children of Chavín for all their laughter, smiles, and everything that I learned from them. The time spent hanging out with you all was healing in more than one way. And I will never forget that. Thank you to all my participants and my collaborators without them this dissertation would not have been possible.

Third, I would like to thank Kory, my main advisor for taking me under his wing when I most needed support and mentorship; for believing in me and my work. I have learned so much from you Kory and I will be forever thankful for our time spent together and the work we have done. Without you none of this would have been possible. Second, and in no particular order I would like the thank Sheri Briller, Laura Zanotti, and Stephanie Zywicki. Each one of you have provided so much valuable feedback to my dissertation, providing insights into topics that I would

not have related to my dissertation. So, thank you as well for all the support and patience, and letting me knock on your door at random times with random questions. I am truly a better scholar thanks to all four of you. I would also like to thank Dr. Blackwood and Dr. Remis for allowing me to change subfields and believing in my work. I would like to give a special thanks to Michelle Buzon for all of her support and teachings throughout the years. You have been a wonderful mentor and I would not have been able to make it through grad school without your support. I would also like to thank Purdue University, The Anthropology department, Talin Lindsay, and the Purdue Global Synergy Research Grant that founded my fieldwork.

Next, I would like to thank my parents Helena Maruenda and Alfredo Poirier for all the support and push that they have provided me throughout my life. I know I not always took it the right way, but I now understand that it was always for my good. Thanks to you, your work, your inspiration, and love I am where I am today. I would like to thank my sister Zoe Poirier, for being such a great sister and for always letting me know how proud she is of me and how much she misses me, and of courses for all the laugher while we were growing up and we continue to have today. Without that shared laugher I would not be the person I am today; you have made me a better and kinder person – and for that I will forever be grateful. You will always be the Inti in my eyes. My grandma Estela Castillo has also been extremely influential in my life, thanks for pushing me to be the best I can be; and to my aunt Sonia, for all the love.

I would also like to thank my friends back home in Perú. All of you have pushed me and believed in me since day one, and your support has been one of the main pillars in my life. After my first year at Purdue I went back for the summer. I wasn't doing so good. I was depressed and sad about the state of the world. I felt hopeless and really didn't know what to do about the situation. I wanted to contribute to make the world a better place, but I felt that I couldn't do it with

archaeology. I remember a conversation I had with my best friend Bolsa and another friend Elena. After talking about our roles in creating change we reached the conclusion that education was the way to go; that if we wanted to help create change we had to work with younger generations. It is because of that conversation that my dissertation focuses on education, and that I today, will be using archaeology and education to contribute to make this world a better place.

Bolsa, thank you for being there for me unconditionally. You are truly the best life partner that anyone could ever ask for. All your kind words, all our inside jokes, and all the time we have spent together have shaped me and my work in ways I didn't think possible. Andrea Patricia Llinás Vahos, even though we haven't talked in a couple of months, I want you to know what our friendship has shaped me. Since we started talking about the world's problems I realized that my efforts were not in vain and that there are many people out there who want to fight for change. Thank you for not letting me give up and always believing in me. Ana, thank you for all the long conversations and a truly wonderful friendship. Our conversations teach me something new every single day and being able to talk to you about my work and your feedback have been extremely valuable to me. Wakeham, thanks you for being such a great friend throughout the years. Your words and advise have always helped me look at things differently. I remember and hold close to my heart what you told me one day at the *rotonda*. Thanks to you I did in fact take my career where I really wanted it to be. Without you and our conversations I would not be a public archaeologists. So thank you from the bottom of my heart, because without you none of this would have been possible. Julieta, Angela, Teresa, Jodz, Daniel, and Enzo thank you all for all the great times and the interesting conversations about the world and life. They have helped me work through sad and lonely moments that the dissertations forced upon me. Without you these 7 years would have been unbearable.

I would also like to thank my archaeology friends from my undergraduate studies, Ricardo Guerrero de Luna, Claudia Chinen, Claudia Nuñez, Lucía Gonzalez, Mariel Gallardo, Katherine Román, Maria Luisa Vasquez, and Martin Polo y la Borda. I was truly lucky to have all of you as my cohort. All the late nights studying and all the beers we shared while talking about archaeology and archaeological praxis have shaped the archaeologist I am today. I am excited to start our work together and transform archaeology in Perú, like we always planed we would do. Patricia Chirinos, Stefanie Bautista, and Maria Fernanda Boza, thank you for being my mentors and friends since I was an undergraduate; you have taught me how to be an archaeologist and to believe in my work. Thank you for your unconditional support.

Valeria, love, thank you for all the patience and support in the past 8 months. I would not have been able to finish this dissertation without your unconditional support and love (and edits). Your kind words kept me going in the most struggling times. Thank you for believing in me and coming back into my life. I also need to thank Liz Hall and Jennifer Sdunzik for being my support system in these past years, for bouncing off ideas with me, and always taking care of me. You are my sisters and I will always carry you close to my heart. Beth, Shawna, Garett, Aiden, Andrew, Ingrid, Ale, and Betsy, thank you all for all the support in the early years of graduate school. You not only made it easier for me, but also made it fun.

Finally, I would like to thank Augusto Vasquez, to whom this dissertation is dedicated. Thank you for always believing in me and my work; thank you as well for one of the most beautiful friendships I could have ever dream of – I hope I have made you proud. I carry you with me and I miss you every single day, my friend.

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Degree Received: August 2019
Title: Archaeology and Education: Learning about The Past in Chavín de Huántar, Perú
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The objective of this dissertation is to highlight the way history is taught in Perú, more specifically in Chavín de Huántar. As well as bring to the light the complex dynamics that revolve around this teaching, including the education system and the archaeological, local, and national government policies. This study becomes important in a world where Indigenous Peoples and women continue to be excluded from historical narratives made for the public. The main motivation to conduct this work was the need to decolonize the way history is taught and transform it into an empowering topic that can potentially contribute to a more just world.

The aim of this research project was to answer the following research questions: (a) What do children in Chavín de Huántar, Perú know about their local past? (b) How do different institutions, organizations, and community members influence such teachings? and (c) How can archaeologists contribute to a more empowering and less oppressive teaching of the past? To accomplish this objective an ethnography of learning with a critical epistemology was conducted during August 2016 and August 2017. This ethnography included participant observation, semi-structured interviews, photo and drawing elicitation with children, and two outreach projects (a summer camp and a teacher workshop). This work also includes a large number of photographs to contextualize the reader and make her/him/they feel more present at Chavín during my research, while I describe the surroundings and circumstances in which learning occurred while I was there.

This dissertation is divided in seven chapters. Chapter one provides the reader with a literature and theoretical background, while in chapter two I provide a general discussion and context of Chavín de Huántar as a town and as the archaeological UNESCO world heritage site with the same name. Chapter three will be dedicated to describing the methods used throughout this ethnography and applied public archaeological outreach. In chapter four, I begin to answer the proposed research questions. While in Chapter seven I will provide final remarks and conclusions.

My research and analysis has brought to light that children in Chavín de Huántar have a basic understanding of Chavín as a "Golden-Age". This time period is promoted by the local and national government to incentivize tourism as well as what most archaeological work is concentrated on. In addition, local and national institutions mostly concentrate on this time period ignoring over 3000 years of local history, with some exceptions, especially the National Museum of Chavín. In addition, the political and communication problems between the town and the archaeological project "Research and Conservation project in Chavín de Huántar" influence strongly the lack of knowledge children and other community members have about the archaeological site.

Although there is a constant blaming among the institutions of whose fault it is that children do not now too much about their history, my research provided evidence that in each one of these institutions there are people willing to work in collaboration in order to benefit children. In chapter six, I will provide details about two projects created and implemented in collaboration: a summer camp and a teachers' workshop. These projects seemed to be well received in the community but more like them need to continue in order to have sustainable results. However, these projects proved that collaboration is possible and necessary. I conclude this dissertation providing recommendations for numerous stakeholders in Chavín de Huántar and in Perú, including the

archaeological project, the municipality of Chavín, the Ministry of Culture, and the Ministry of Education.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

History is not written by the victors, but rather from by the settlers. In this dissertation I explore the reasons why the teaching of The Past needs to be decolonized. I focus specifically in a small town in Perú, Chavín de Huántar (with an UNESCO world heritage archaeological site), but the implications presented here reflect a global problem. This problem needs to be addressed in our hopes to obtain social justice for and with Indigenous Peoples. As an archaeologists I have turned to ethnography to understand what children in Chavín de Huántar know about their past, what national and international institutions in Chavín and Perú, more generally, do to participate in such teaching, and attempt to understand what archaeologists can do to contribute to the teaching of The Past. I mainly explore the role national institutions and archaeological projects play in shaping a historical landscape. This historical landscape, as we will discover, is limited to information in favor of specific interests that do not benefit Indigenous Peoples. Let us begin the journey.

I was in the main plaza of Chavín de Huántar on a cold and clear night, with what seemed to be a million visible stars in the sky in 2009. A group of Peruvian archaeologists and I were enjoying a break after a long week of excavations with some "room" temperature beers. Hanging out was something we enjoyed doing as we talked about what we had dug up that week or what the political scenario looked like in Perú at the moment: Alan García was president and the confrontation between the national government and Indigenous communities in Bagua (Amazonas) fighting against big oil companies—commonly known as *baguazo*—had just occurred. This confrontation lead to the death of twenty three police officers and ten Indigenous Peoples and over a hundred injured. Our conversations that night centered on how the government ignored The People and what we could do as a generation to change the direction of our country. After a couple of hours

of group conversation, we started to drift away in pairs and it seemed that conversations became more intense. I remember talking with Juliana—an archaeologist five years older than me—about what we could do as archaeologists to contribute to a better world. That night she told me something that changed my perspective and motivation. I was arguing that archaeology had the potential to be extremely beneficial for society, that we just need to work together as a community to find ways to contribute towards creating a better world. She stopped me as I was trying to make a point and told me that I would one day realize that it was not worth it, that I would realize that no matter what I did the world would not change. I promised myself that night that no matter what happened I would not give up on my goals and dreams, that I would find a way to make archaeology useful. Here I am 10 years later, writing a dissertation that attempts to do just that.

As mentioned previously, this dissertation focuses on the need to decolonize how the past is taught to children. My research is located at the intersection of emancipatory praxis archaeology and anthropology of education. Emancipatory praxis refers to archaeologists using their knowledge towards political action to transform and create positive change in the world (McGuire 2008). Through the official national schooling system, children internalize and naturalize prehistorical and historical narratives (Gero and Root 1990; Bénéli 2005). This internalization becomes integral to their identity formation and understanding of the world (Pai and Adler 2001; Dommasness, Liv Helga. Galanidou 2007). History is produced by dominant groups and then reproduced, and often carries many silences, exclusions, and manipulations (Trouillot 1995). Archaeologist not only have a responsibility towards the past but can contribute to the present by becoming involved in education (Tilley 1989; Loewen 2007).

This dissertation focuses on the complexities of teaching history in Perú, how it relates to archaeology and archaeological work, education, and overall governmental attitudes towards the

past. I also focus on ways in which archaeologists can contribute to a more inclusive teaching of the past. I believe that through education—especially the teaching of (pre)history—we can begin to transform in positive ways the world that we live in; but to do so, we need to decolonize both archaeology and education.

The homogenization of the teaching of history, especially in the K-12 classroom, is extremely problematic as it has the potential to silence and exclude multiple peoples. This is because nation-states wish to fabricate a collective memory for their benefit and in order to do so they capitalize on *important* (in their eyes) historical moments while ignoring many other stories. Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (1999) explanation of the importance of history and of *coming to know the past* are central to this work and my identity as an activist scholar. The colonization of history, she argues, is directly related to the colonization of Indigenous Peoples and their knowledge. "We have often allowed our histories to be told and have then become outsiders as we heard them being retold. **Schooling is directly implicated in this process**. Through the curriculum and its underlying theory of knowledge, early [1600s – 1800s] schools redefined the world and where Indigenous peoples were positioned within the world" (1999: 33, emphasis added). This collective memory of imperialism can still be seen within institutionalized educational systems and settings around the world (Rockwell and Gomes 2009). The school system today reshapes time, space, knowledge and power, and continues to have a negative impact on Indigenous Peoples (Rockwell and Gomes 2009) .

I expand on Tuhiwai Smith's notion of collective memory of imperialism in this work. Trouillot (1995) argues, for example, that "facts" are not created equal; when one history is created as a fact, other histories are silenced. Mackenzie and Stone (1990) argue that public presentations of the past often exclude many stories and histories, especially those of Indigenous Peoples. In

addition, many scholars have recognized that representations of The Past for children do not include the work of archaeologists and historians (e.g. Dommasnes and Galanidou 2007; Loewen 2007). These recognitions are essential to my dissertation work, because if we are to decolonize education and archaeology, we need to critique these silences, exclusions, or misrepresentations. We can see many of these silences and exclusions in representations of The Past outside of academia and include gender with the exclusion of women (Gifford-Gonzalez 1993; Padgett 2015) and other non-male genders, ethnicity with the exclusion of Indigenous Peoples (Loewen 2007; Piñón and Funari 2007; Padgett 2015), and race with the exclusion of Afro-Americans (Paynter 1990; Belgrave 1990). While these already have a number of scholars researching the subject, topics such as sexuality, and ability still lack research. Nevertheless, based on my experience and research I believe that they too are excluded from what is taught to children about The Past. For the purpose of my dissertation I will particularly focus on gender representations and local histories, which often exclude Indigenous Peoples. By presenting these exclusions I seek recognition justice for individuals systematically excluded from historical narratives. These exclusions, as part of recognition justice, jeopardize not only their dignity as individuals (Fraser 2001) but their livelihood and social memory.

Trouillot (1995) also argues that citizens normally experience historical narratives for the first time through site and museum visits, national holidays, celebrations, media, and primary textbooks, and that people usually take such narratives as facts and truths. Yet, historical narratives are always a product of specific social and historical contexts, influenced by dominant ideologies. Trouillot (1995) argues that these facts are indeed never meaningless—on the contrary, they are facts because those who create them gave them a meaning. By prioritizing one meaning over another many histories can become silenced (Trouillot 1995). These facts and silences are produced in four

important moments: "the moment of fact creation (the making of sources); the moment of fact assembly (the making of archives); the moment of fact retrieval (the making of narratives); and the moment of retrospective significance (the making of history in the final instance)" (Trouillot 1995: 26). Whoever gets to control the production of historical narratives (and historical silences) has political and moral power in the present (Kobrin 1996). The recognition of historical narratives and silences is essential if we are to decolonize education and archaeology.

This understanding of production of history is relevant to this work, which centers on colonized knowledge and teaching as it relates to the making of sources and archives, the first two stages of official narrative making (Trouillot 1995). The archaeological material excavated and interpreted of course is not always in written archives or sources, but they provide the raw material for the creation of such documents. Historically, Indigenous Peoples and marginalized groups have been excluded from the process of creating such documents because Western males —and sometimes females—with their own priorities and ideologies (re)create and interpret what children (as well as other individuals) in the Americas learn. Some archaeologists, nevertheless, do include Indigenous Peoples interpretation in site reports or publications, but fail to recognize those contributions (see Duin et al. 2015 for a discussion on the topic).

Children are the most vulnerable to the internalization of historical narratives, as they undergo different periods of learning and apprenticeship than those of adults (Fivush 2007). During childhood, children begin to make sense of themselves and the norms of their culture; it is when they begin to understand who they are and how they fit into history (Kobrin 1996; Dommasness, Liv Helga. Galanidou 2007). Identities begin to develop from the narratives presented to children in their community and various institutions, including schools. The problem

with the historical narratives presented to children as collective past and memory is that they ignore and silence certain stories, such as those of Indigenous Peoples and females.

Many historical narratives worldwide present the Indigenous past to Indigenous (and non-Indigenous) children as primitive and backwards. This negative presentation has a tremendous and harmful effect on living descendant communities (MacKenzie and Stone 1990). It also serves as a justification for Western subjugation of such peoples, regardless of the suffering and human misery that comes along with such teachings (Tuhiwai Smith 1999). Archaeology is a key player in this dynamic.

Archaeology and Education

Archaeology is relevant in the world today and can create significant and positive changes in society. Since 2004 there has been an increase in activist archaeologists work and presentation in conferences (Stottman 2010). Archaeologists have influenced our world in numerous ways. For example, some have worked in mass grave recovery with different human right organizations to help bring closure and justice to families victims of genocide (e.g. Blau and Skinner 2005; Juhl and Olsen 2006; Bernardi and Fondebrider 2007). Jason de Leon (2015) combines archaeological methods and sensibility with ethnography and biological anthropology to understand the life and death on the migrant trail between Central America and the United States. Through the "Hostile Terrain 94" exhibit he tries to shed light on this humanitarian migration crises.

Archaeologists can also advocate and collaborate with communities, working with them through the whole research process; attempting to answer questions from the community rather than those from the archaeologists (e.g. Zimmerman 2008); and advocating for and with communities as they become agents of change in order to face contemporary problems related to capitalism, neoliberalism, racism, and gender discrimination (Stottman 2010).

In a similar way, archaeology is extremely important in education. Some archaeologists have realized that there is a strong relationship between power and the access to The Past; and a connection between education about The Past and the continued struggles for cultural and political freedom of marginalized groups (MacKenzie and Stone 1990)—many related to settler colonialism and internal colonialism as I will discuss below. Archaeologists have not only presented silences and manipulations of The Past related to women, Indigenous Peoples, and African descendants worldwide, but have also worked in collaboration with educators and within education in general to influence and create change for future generations (Stottman 2010).

In this dissertation, I demonstrate how archaeology plays a role in our contemporary society in the Americas and how its presence in education is fundamental in our hopes for a better and more just world. I believe that archaeology can benefit education about The Past—and society at large—in substantial ways. For example, I believe that the way history is taught to children with the exclusion of women influences patriarchal attitudes in the present. If children are only learning about ***Man***kind and women are excluded from the story, it is no surprise that we are still fighting against physical, sexual, emotional, psychological, and economical oppression and exploitation. In a similar manner, with the exclusion of Indigenous Peoples and African descendant groups' stories it is no surprise that settler colonialism and racism continue to saturate our world. This discursive violence connects to physical, psychological, and other types of violence.

Archaeology has the potential to contribute to change in these (and other) arenas by transforming the way The Past is taught to younger generations. If children recognize that history is much more complex and richer than current teachings it can influence their lives and our world in tremendous ways. bell hooks (1996) argues that the denial of access to the truth in education, limits the capacity of action of people. In this way, I follow, her argument, and add that essential

to this discussion should be the teaching of The Past. By decolonizing the way that history is taught, archaeologist and educators can help transform the world and our future into a safer and more sustainable place for everybody. This can be done by empowering students to create change, not only through critical thinking, but with lessons from The Past.

My work is at the intersection of anthropology of education and public archaeology in order to understand and act upon the context in which children learn about their past. Education is the process of teaching and learning culture and all aspects of life. It is a mechanism communities and societies use to transmit and transform their culture's knowledge, values and fundamental beliefs about the nature of the world (Pai and Adler 2001). It is through education that humans acquire the cultural knowledge they need to interpret and act in the world (González 2010b). This process, both in content and outcome, is never free from influence and political power (Apple 2004). Formal or institutionalized education (state-sponsored schools) is not the only place where children learn, they also learn from the media, the community, and their family.

Archaeology is a sub-field of anthropology that studies past cultures and societies through the analysis and interpretation of material remains (Feder 2014; Guest 2016). Archaeology as a discipline has its roots in the early nineteenth century and since then has transformed significantly in both interests and methodologies (Trigger 1996). The Society of American Archaeologists (2018) encourage archaeologists and archaeological projects to conduct educational outreach within the communities they do their fieldwork (see chapter 6 for examples). Although educational outreach has become increasingly common in the discipline, it was not always the case. The work of scholars like Dommasnes and Galanidou in their edited of volume "Telling Children about the Past: An Interdisciplinary Perspective" (2007) are crucial to understanding the need for archaeologist to work in public and general education.

Over the past several years I have come to understand what children in Perú know about their past, how they obtained this knowledge, as well as ways in which we can decolonize (pre)history, or how I prefer to call it "The Past". I choose to use "The Past" as a way to include both prehistory and history, as well as detach myself from "his-story" a patriarchal term that automatically excludes women from the picture (see Mahmood 2011). During the process of my research, I have come to understand many problems the education system in Perú (and the world) face today at a structural and educational level. My focus will be on the problems surrounding how The Past is taught in Perú and how this relates to other problems, such as the monopolization of archaeological knowledge. This monopolization relates to the publication of archaeological research in a language difficult to understand without previous knowledge of archaeology, and a lack of outreach for many archaeological projects.

In what follows I use the Americas as an example, as the whole continent was invaded by European colonizers over 500 years ago. This process of colonization not only affected the Peoples of the Americas through genocide, violence, and theft; but continues today with settler and internal colonialism. I use both terms to explain the dynamics that occur as they are intertwined. In settler colonialism, settlers attempt to eliminate Indigenous Peoples in order to acquire and control land, and because the existence of Indigenous belief systems are a threat to Western political hegemony (Sturm 2017). This elimination is not only physical (through genocide) but can be political, social and/or cultural through assimilation (Sturm 2017). In the Americas, after winning independence from European monarchies, settler domination of Indigenous Peoples became an important component of state formation (Steinmetz 2014). This is where internal colonialism comes into play. Creoles, the descendants of the original conquerors, are those that created the new states and through the centuries have maintained control through an oligarchic structure of power over

Indigenous Peoples (Steinmetz 2014). What was once part of an Empire has now become a state (Steinmetz 2014).

This discussion of colonialism is particularly relevant in this dissertation. By silencing history, in state-sponsored schools, Indigenous children are strip from their collective memory and identity and enculturated under a national configuration. This process benefits the nation-state and settler colonialist and facilitates their control over the land and it's People. Settler colonialism, a concept that arose to explain the geopolitical tension between Israel and Palestine, is useful to contextualize the silencing and manipulation of history. When I asked Patricia, one of the participants in my project, about the consequences on society of the manipulation and silencing of history she told me:

October 28th, 2016

> *Patricia: uuuuuuuuuuuuf. The dehumanization Marcela, it's a very serious manner. The dehumanization, if they kill your truths, eliminate your identities, your past, they disguise it with another reality they are dehumanizing you, and that is dangerous, very dangerous.*
> *Marcela: Because there is a lot of manipulation right? A lot of control….*
> *Patricia: Excessively. It dehumanizes you and it controls you, like you mentioned, like if you were a robot, like if you were an object that can be manipulated.*
>
> *Patricia: uuuuuuuuuuuuf; la deshumanización Marcela, es una cosa muy seria. es la deshumanización realmente si matan tus verdades, eliminan tus identidades, tu pasado, te lo maquillan con otra verdad realmente te están deshumanizando, y eso es peligro, muy peligroso.*
> *Marcela: porque hay mucha manipulación no? y mucho control....*
> *Patricia: demasiado, te deshumaniza y un momento como tú dices llega a controlarte como si tu fueras un robot, como si tu fueras un artefacto que puede ser manipulado realmente.*

In what follows I will address some of the archaeological and anthropological critiques to silences such as gender representations, nationalism and colonialism in the Americas in order to have a continental context to my dissertation research.

Gender Representations

Historical narratives tend to represent women significantly less, and when they do, women are only represented in images, taking care of children, scrapping hides, and preparing food (Green 1992; Gifford-Gonzalez 1993). Men on the other hand are represented hunting, carrying game, creating art, and as warriors, chiefs, and spiritual leaders (Jaimes and Halsey 1992; Gifford-Gonzalez 1993; Almeida 1997). These representations reinforce power dynamics and colonialism. Historical narratives that silence the contributions of women in the past contribute to patriarchy.

A recent exploration of history school textbooks in U.S. America by Padgett (2015) suggests that the European historical narrative continues to focus on the activities of males, and depend on males to depict the lives and activities of women, completely disregarding the importance of Native American women in both the past and the present. He states that women are the backbone of American Indian groups and "to ignore their historical contributions and inherent importance is to sever a key component of American Indian life" (Padgett 2015: 163). Padgett (2015) conducted this textbook analysis was on five history textbooks that were selected in Florida; however, he believes that these misrepresentations can be found throughout North American textbooks and schools. He also advises us to look in other areas of the Americas outside of the U.S., as he believes we will also find these distortions. This dissertation project heeds this warning and includes the exploration of gender representations of The Past.

In my search for understanding gender representations of The Past in Perú I collected information on how males dominate prehistory and history textbooks. In my analysis of the history textbook: "The History of Perú" (Chirre Osario 2013) I counted over 200 representations and references to men, while only 15 of women. The book represented males as the most active in the Prehispanic era and depicted them as the leaders of important rebellions against the Spaniards. A careful review of historical documents of rebellions in colonial periods suggests that in fact

Indigenous women were the primary motivators of such rebellions (Taylor 1979). In addition, the textbook only included the research work of male archaeologists, leaving out all the relevant work female archaeologists conducted.

The representations of these gendered individuals reproduce specific gender ideals. Gilford-Gonzalez argues that by "putting prehistoric men and women into such culturally particular forms advances an argument for the eternal existence of Western gender archetypes, in the deep past as well as the present" (Gifford-Gonzalez 1993). This representation not only creates an ideal, normative role of females in history, but also creates those of men and masculinity (Alberti 2007). It is relevant because certain Western gender stereotypes and roles are reproduced constantly as if they were inherently part of our evolutionary process as a species. This argument not only contributes to gender inequality today, but also silences gender dynamics and importance in both the past and the present. Burtt (1987) warns us that

> The past is thus presented in such a way as to undermine the importance of non-male, non-white, non-western humans in the creation of society and culture. Such androcentric and ethnocentric bias will inevitably result in the firm belief in the status of the white male throughout time, whereas women and people of other ethnic origins are seen by children to be considerably less important (1987: 158).

Thus, children are wrongly learning that the gender roles they experience in their everyday life have a (pre)historical basis to them. I believe that more often than not (as resistance is always a possibility) children internalize such silences and gender dynamics, and eventually reproduce them and contribute to gender inequalities and violence today.

As a post-colonial feminist, I see a direct correlation between how females (and other non-male genders) are represented in The Past with how they are treated in the present and its relationship to the effects of colonialism (see Godreau et al. 2008 for a similar relationship between

silences of the history of slavery and the distance of Black identity in Puerto Rico) In both cases, non-white and non-male individuals are represented as unimportant and treated with disrespect.

This discursive violence is paired with other types of violence, such as physical, sexual, psychological and economical. For example, between January and June of 2018 there were a total of 5191 reports of rapes and/or other sexual aggression/violence (See Table 1 for a distinction between ages). In 2016 there were 124 femicides; 121 in 2017; and 103 until September 2018 (Ministerio de la Mujer y Poblaciones Vulnerables - MIMP 2018). In both of these statistics it is important to state that these are only the cases reported and that many women and children do not feel safe to report these crimes. However, these numbers are still extremely alarming and point to the crisis that women and children in Perú face.

Table 1: Numbers of Sexual and Physical violence cases in Perú, from January to June 2018. Information from the website of Centro Emergencia Mujer *(CEM)* (Ministerio de la Mujer y Poblaciones Vulnerables - MIMP 2018)

Type of Violence	*Age Range (January - June 2018)*							
	0-5	**6-11**	**12-17**	**18-25**	**26-35**	**36-45**	**46-59**	**60+**
Physical	603	1187	1749	4413	5969	4072	2060	746
Sexual	244	1036	2331	733	443	226	131	47

In this dissertation I do not expand on this correlation, nor do I expect to understand everything about it, but it does lead me to imagine a better world by transforming the way history is taught, including the way history portrays Indigenous Peoples, women, and other marginalized groups. Discursive and physical violence speak to the same problem: oppression and marginalization. Historical narratives play an important role in these forms of violence as the internalization of discursive violence may lead to physical violence. Imagine a boy learning about the importance of women in past societies, growing up respecting women. Imagine a girl learning how women held important roles and were crucial in past societies, growing up and feeling

empowered (see UNICEF 2014 for an example of the differences between boys and girls' empowerment in schools in Perú). Imagine a young individual learning that it is ok to not feel like a boy or a girl and that other genders have always existed, maybe our world would be less queerphobic. How children consume The Past and what that Past looks like is crucial to how our world, culture, and some oppressive cultural behaviors are (re)produced, and it can also serve to transform these same things. In a similar fashion to the reproduction of patriarchy, the education system and the way The Past is taught reproduce nationalism and colonialism.

Nationalism and Colonialism

National and official historical narratives contribute to nationalism and colonialism. Nationalism, as an ideology and political program, seeks to make cultural units (nations) and political units (states) coincide within the same boundaries (Gellner 1983; Babadzan 2000). Nation-states utilize geography and chronology to create this collective identity (Boyarin 1994) through surveillance mechanisms such as schooling (Trouillot 2001). Through a wide body of cultural knowledge in schools—*inter alia* history, geography, art, and humanities—nation-states intend to create a citizenship that coincides with their nationalistic program (Bénéli 2005; Weiss 2014). Citizens internalize collective identity, essential to nationalism, through public education and other media (Convenci 2006; Miñana Blasco and Arango Vargas 2011). In many countries around the world, nation-states utilize the past as a way to legitimize nationalist ideologies. Nationalism tends to set this ideology around the past with myths of a “Golden-Age” where archaeologists and historians are key players, providing symbolic material resources onto which nationalistic narratives can adhere (Convenci 2006). How and what “Golden-Age” nation-states utilize depends on what ancient connections the country wishes to highlight. However, while nation-states create “citizens” many also oppress and continue a long tradition of colonialism.

Many countries in Latin America use archaeological sites to attract tourists and economic development (for Perú see Silverman 2015). These archaeological sites provide prehispanic material remains that have been identified, interpreted, and inherently linked to nationalism and the origins of contemporary modern nation-states (Joyce 2003). For example, in 1988 the National Geographic magazine—in collaboration with Central American nation-state governments—lunched a multi-country tourist route: "*La Ruta Maya*", which concentrated on Maya archaeological sites (Joyce 2003). This tourist route, from the UNESCO World Heritage Organization, contributed to the tensions between nationalism and regional identity (Joyce 2003). The magazine described archaeological sites as "worthy of discovery and excavation", while considering other archaeological sites and local Pasts less important and worthy (Joyce 2003). What is considered worthy of recognition—and teaching—depends on the "Golden-Age" with which the nation-state wishes their citizens to identify. This utilization of Golden-Ages homogenizes The Past and is used for nation-state building. Hamilakis (2003) argues that:

> National imagination forms a framework of ideas, beliefs, and notions, which permeate all aspects of lives, minds, and bodies of people. (…) Antiquities are crucial in the process of imagining the nation and structuring its *topos* [place]. Furthermore, their perception, appropriation, interpretation, and use are subject to negotiation, contestation, and debate involving the state (…), other social groups and actors, [and the] construction of otherness (…). (2003: 54).

The homogenization of the past has serious implications for nation-state power, construction of nationalism, and neoliberal interactions within the tourist industry. While Maya sites and heritage were held on a national and international pedestal (both through tourist advertisement and education), the Honduran regional past, for example, was disregarded and thus constructed as "the other" in a national narrative. Joyce (2003) brings to light this conflict by analyzing Honduran currency. Lempira, a Lenca Indigenous leader from the sixteenth century (from what is now geopolitically Honduras), was depicted on the front side of the One Honduran Lempira bill as a

Maya leader. On the reverse of this bill, the Maya archaeological site of Copán is portrayed. This created controversy among many Honduran Indigenous activists, as it neglected their own regional past by inserting them into a homogenized social category of "Maya" with which they did not identify (Joyce 2003). Galloy (2000) argues that images of high esteem and value are normally depicted on higher-value bills—while images on smaller-value bills pervade in everyday life and transactions. Here we have an interesting dynamic, lower bills show Honduran past (and Indigenous present) as the lowest value in the monetary system but at the same time, they are the ones that circulate more—entering a dynamic of value and visibility (Joyce 2003).

The Peruvian nation-state provides another interesting example of how countries use their currency (*soles*) to encourage beliefs and practices. There are archaeological sites on the reverse of each of the Peruvian bills and ancient iconography on some of the coins. Just to provide some examples Machu Picchu is on the 10 soles bill, Chan Chan on the 20, Chavín de Huántar on the 50, and Caral on the 200 soles bill; coins include many cultures, such as Nasca, Moche, and Wari. The front of the bills portray historical male figures that contributed in some way to the construction of Perú as a modern country, except for the 200 soles bill—where there is a colonial saint: Santa Rosa de Lima. Here we can view how nation-sates value some sites more than others, while others are intended to be viewed more, such as the case of Machu Picchu, an Inca archaeological site. These images are part of a deceptive strategy by the Peruvian nation-state to indoctrinate and "teach" their citizens about which ancient societies are considered worthy of emulation. Other strategies include local and international tourism (Silverman 2015) geared towards those same archaeological sites and the material addressed in local schools.

The Peruvian nation-state disenfranchises Indigenous communities from their history by perpetuating a nationalistic and neocolonial official historical narrative that argues that all

Peruvians are *mestiza/o*—mixed Indigenous and Spanish race and culture (de la Cadena 2000; Ccahuana Córdova 2014). In the history plans the Ministry of Education in Perú suggested for sixth grade, we can observe how the Peruvian government intends to teach the same history to all their children, creating a sense of unity. The overarching goal is to "present the information of historical **facts** through the political development of Peruvian history" (Ministerio de Educación del Perú 2005, emphasis added). The chronology followed is: (1) the first Peruvians; (2) Pre-Inca cultures with a concentration on: Caral, Chavín, Paracas, Nasca, Moche, Lima, and Wari – all of which occupy different time and space, and have different social and cultural developments; (3) Incas; (4) *discover*y and conquest; (5) Colonial Period and Virreinato; (6) Emancipation; (7) Independence; and (8) The Republic Period (Ministerio de Educación Perú 2005, emphasis added). Bria and Cruzado Carranza (2015) argue that "highlighting" a concentration of prehistoric cultures while neglecting each region's prehistory foments a lack of appreciation for students' own heritage. This way of teaching history also communicates a specific way of understanding The Past: a lineal and chronological agglomeration of dates, names, and events that is not related to everyday life (Vargas Arenas 1995). For example, the most recurrent pre-Incan cultures in Perú are seen as if they evolved from each other even though they mostly occupied different territories. By doing this each region is limited to one (or sometimes more) cultures and is not presented with its temporal depth. In addition, while describing the early nation-state, the curriculum concentrates on dates of battles (in the war with Chile), presidents' names, and *achievements* while ignoring more mundane, relevant, and relatable stories. The Past is also presented as disconnected from the present, something that gives a sense of fragmentation. Furthermore, people conducting archaeological outreach projects in Perú argue that more often than not, the word "Inca" is referenced in a universal sense, as an englobing metaphor to all references related to the ancient past in Perú

(Vogel and Pacifico 2004; Bria and Cruzado Carranza 2015). Thus, people (including youth) in Perú learn about the "Golden ages"—often only internalizing the Incas, the most golden of the Golden-Ages—while having little understanding of their local and regional histories.

The Peruvian nation-state uses many of the archaeological Golden-Ages, including Caral, Chavín, Paracas, Nasca, Moche, and Wari. Although state sponsored schools teach a number of different ancient societies, each one of these has its own cultural and spatial development—sometimes completely disconnected from one another. By using and teaching *only* these ancient cultures and societies, the Peruvian nation-state neglects and minimizes other Pasts, often silencing local histories in order to create a sense of *mestizaje*. Ancient cultures are presented in a lineal and chronological order, as if each culture evolved from a previous one, when in fact each of these Golden-Ages are from different regions and have different trajectories.

This problem is something common to other countries in Latin America. For example, in Argentina, the nation-state largely ignores the prehispanic Past and the multicultural nature of the nation-state as a whole (Podgorny 1990). A similar example of prehispanic representation that has been neglected can be seen in Brazil. Piñón and Funari (2007) conducted a survey on 821 students (5th and 8th graders) from mostly public schools (91%) from mostly the middle and low socio-economic class. They asked them two different questions. The first question was: "to whom does historic and artistic heritage belong?" To what children had the options of answering: (a) to everyone, (b) to no one, (c) to the authorities, (d) to scientists, or (e) to the people that created the objects/structures. Only 35% of the children answered that historic and artistic heritage belongs to everyone (28% from 5th grade – 42% from 8th grade). Piñón and Funari (2007) argue that if children do not grasp on the relationship between heritage and community than it will be more difficult for them to understand that historic memory and heritage is a basic human right to all. The second

question Piñón and Funari (2007) ask was: “Name examples of Brazilian heritage”. Of the answers, 60% of the students could not provide an answer and most of the other 40% came from 8th graders. Piñón and Funari (2007) argue that these answers have links with the information provided to them in history textbooks and that 86% of the students in the survey do not go to museums. The information in these textbooks is oriented towards white and European heritage, and concentrate on some regions more than others, providing a sense of regional superiority. They argue that “it would be safe to say that schools are conveying a homogenous heritage that bears little relation to reality” (Piñón and Funari 2007: 307). This homogenous heritage is something that Indigenous and non-Indigenous children are learning in Latin America. It creates a sense of *mestizaje,* which is associated with a collective past—and in turn memory—that facilitates nation-state control over its citizens and the assimilation of Indigenous Peoples, something crucial under settler and internal colonialism as was discussed above. This homogenization of history, thus, continues to subjugate Indigenous communities.

The teaching of the nation-state’s history in U.S. America is quite different. They do not recognize a prehistoric notion of “Golden-Age”; in fact, their “Golden-Ages” start with white, European, male “heroes”. U.S. American history textbooks promote and attempt to indoctrinate blind patriotism through creating character (Loewen 2007). In his analysis of U.S. history textbooks, James Loewen (2007), discusses the differences between the story told about Columbus in U.S. schools and what primary and secondary historical sources tell us about what happened (Loewen 2007). In textbooks, Christopher Columbus is the first U.S. American hero. He is depicted as a valiant, bold, faithful explorer; as the source of the first U.S. American origins myth and as inspiration—he even has his own national holiday (something I truly hope changes soon, as it is extremely disrespectful towards Indigenous peoples). Nevertheless, history textbooks (both

in the U.S. as in other countries in the Americas) do not tell the actual story of Columbus, they exaggerate details so that it seems that all his accomplishments were more-worthy than they actually were (Loewen 2007). They do not discuss how Columbus treated the peoples of the lands that he "discovered"—a word that by itself is also problematic—the taking of land, wealth, and labor of the Indigenous peoples he encountered, which led to their near extermination, and how his transatlantic voyages opened the door for the slave trade (Loewen 2007). As I reviewed above, this concept of "discovery" is something that also happens in Perú. The Ministry of Education, in its curriculum, states "discovery" as an important timeframe to be discussed in schools.

History textbooks also neglect Columbus' own words—for example: "I could conquer the whole of them with fifty men and govern them as I pleased" (taken from his personal journal – cited in Loewen 2007: 54). Columbus' story in textbooks is one-sided. Loewen states: "Textbook authors who are pushing Columbus to build character obviously have no interest in telling what he did in the Americas once he reached them—even though that's half of the story, and perhaps the more important half" (2007: 60). This example is important because the identity that these history textbooks are trying to promulgate and teach is directly related to colonialism and settler colonialism; something that is linked, I believe, to the imperialist agenda of the United States. They are teaching children that this country was built on colonialism, but they are not discussing the harmful consequences it had—and continues to have—on Indigenous Peoples. A similar example of such silences can be seen in the recent controversy of U.S. American geography textbooks, where slaves were depicted as workers (Wang 2015). The controversy reads: "The Atlantic Slave Trade between 1500s and 1800s brought millions of workers from Africa to the southern United States to work on agricultural plantations" (Wang 2015). This silencing of the history of abuse, struggles, and forced labor of African Americans holds strong resemblance to the

racial discrimination and abuse African Americans and other people of color face in the United States today. Here too, we have multiple forms a violence: a discursive one that erases a traumatic past which correlates with systematic racism in the present. These examples highlight the silences official historical narratives carry - they erase the past and jeopardize our future.

Archaeology plays a significant role in the construction of historical narratives and silences. As of today, archaeology is conducted nearly in every country around the world, unearthing past cultures and societies. It is hard to think about an archaeological project that does not come into contact with a living population and/or descendant community. However, in many occasions these living populations do not benefit from archaeological work—as they are disregarded and are considered less important than western inquiry and curiosity (Hodder 2003; Atalay 2008). There are many reasons for why such a problematic dynamic occurs. Hodder (2003) suggests that major grant agencies—both in U.S. America and the United Kingdom—have not traditionally required archaeologists to acknowledge the responsibilities and effects generated in the communities where they conduct their work. Meskell (2003) suggests that it might be due to the minimal outreach conducted during and after archaeological projects. Smith (2005) argues that it has to do with maintaining academic authority by preserving economic and social distance from the communities in which they work. I would like to add that it is also due to the way that history has been taught, as disconnected from the present—as something alien, distant, and dead—when in fact in many societies around the world that is not the case. It might also be due to the lack of interest many archaeologists have in putting on the "political hat" (Hodder 2003). However, this is slowly changing as new generation of archaeologists are understanding the need to work with communities; not only inform and teach them about their research but include them in the research process. For example McGimsey III (2003) argues that after WWII there were no archaeologists

dedicated on full-time basis to public outreach. However, especially over the past decades, there has been an increase in archaeologists dedicating their career to public outreach as one of the four fields within archaeology. However, most archaeologists maintain their work within the "research and report" subfield (McGimsey III 2003). This may be due to the prestige that comes along with it or the little education related to public archaeology, as we will see in Chapter 6.

One example of the dynamics described above can be found in Honduras. In 1998, between 2000 and 3000 Chortis Indigenous peoples occupied the archaeological site of Copán for 2 weeks in order to challenge national polices and discourses (Joyce 2003). This population was requesting 25% of the revenues from the site—since their ancestors built the site in the first place. They also wanted the archaeological objects to remain within the country, where they could see them (Joyce 2003). Here, the Chortis wanted some control over the management of their patrimony. This is only one example of Indigenous peoples fighting for their rights to manage and interpret their own history. In many countries in Latin America, archaeologists take archaeological material culture and objects out of our countries for both analysis and display. In several occasions archaeological objects travel around the world before they are displayed in the towns from which they were excavated (e.g. Perú's Lord of Sipán remains have traveled the world but were not until recently shown in the local museum—see Smith 2005). By taking archaeological material out of its territory of origin and prioritizing these materials for other people, it seems that western archaeology has not moved away from the European antiquarianism that characterized archaeology in the seventeenth and eighteenth century (Scarre 1990; Trigger 1996). It was colonial then and continues to be so today.

My preliminary research at Chavín de Huántar (an UNESCO archaeological site) in Perú suggested that some individuals in town are not content with the dynamics between the

archaeological project and the town (as we will see in chapter 5). When I visited Chavín in 2015, I recall talking with a local woman that was not happy with the amount of money the site receives from national and international organizations, as well as tourist entry fees, while "the town was starving". In addition, she also told me that the town has no idea what recent archaeological research is illuminating. This has serious implications on Indigenous peoples rights to self-determination, claims to existence, and rights to tell—and teach—their own history (Tuhiwai Smith 1999).

The colonial nature of western archaeology is also evident in the lack of recognition Indigenous Peoples receive for their work within archaeological projects and academia. In many occasions, their work is not considered to be worthy of contributing in the "creation" of knowledge (Smith 2005; Everill 2007). The case of the looters, for example, is particularly eye opening and provides evidence of the exploitative practices, in which some western archaeologists take part. Kimba Smith (2005) provides the example of Arturo, a traditional looter and a field worker who participated in the excavations of the archaeological site *El Brujo*, in Trujillo Perú. Smith (2005) uses Pimentel's (2000) definition of "traditional looter" as a skilled excavator, expert, and teacher of local past and landscape—whose ultimate goal is not monetary nor commercial, as those of a commercial looter. In her discussion, Smith (2005) tells the story of how Arturo and his team discovered an important tomb. After examining the "context", they decided to contact the local archaeologists and give them the information in exchange for Arturo's team participation in the field excavations.

These dynamics are not straight forward, and many conflicts arose, such as Arturo's team members of being fired, Arturo being harassed by the police (several times) for refusing to participate in the excavations, and their work and interpretations being mocked (Smith 2005). For

example, as the fill of tombs was removed, Arturo recognized that the individual buried in this tomb was a female. He made this claim by analyzing the distribution of ceramics and the shape (matrix) of the tomb. This recognition was based on his knowledge and expertise as a skilled traditional looter and field excavator. The archaeologist in charge laughed at this statement and could not believe that a burial of such magnitude could be that of a woman, but it was. Arturo was – of course— never recognized for any of his discoveries or interpretations (Smith 2005). Many other local field workers and traditional looters throughout Perú experience these same injustices. Smith states: "This ambivalence in the valuation of local expertise leads us to a series of observations and interpretations concerning social divisions between the two groups of experts" (2005: 156). As this dissertation will make clear, these disparities are not episodic but rather structural, rooted in social divisions relate to those of ethnicity, class, and academic discrimination. Disparities that contribute as well to colonialism, capitalism, and exploitation—where Indigenous or local knowledge systems are considered less worthy and "primitive". Some of these dynamics can also be found in museums.

Museum Representations

Museums are also spaces to present historical narratives (and silences) to the public. Helaine Silverman's (2007) comparison of museums in Cusco, Perú, highlights the different historical narratives presented in a public museum (*Museo Inka*)—funded by the local government and university—and a private museum (*Museo de Arte Precolombino*)—funded by two different South American banks. These museums are intended for two different populations and have two very different historical narratives.

The main script of the *Museo Inka* is centered on the Inca "civilization", although they also have two rooms that discuss other Andean cultures. The organization around the Inca presents a

display of different material objects (pottery, metallurgy, stone tools, and textiles) set in chronological order and is region dependent; it provides over 7000 years of local history from the "origins" to Inca imperial rule. Silverman (2007) explains that, in the adjacent area the display moves along and discusses Spanish invasion, with displays of Inca stone sculptures that were mutilated by Spanish extirpators of idolatries, and images of Guamán Poma de Ayala, which depict Spanish abuse. The museum also has an area centered on the seventeenth and eighteenth century Indigenous rebellions against the Spanish. Silverman (2007) states that the museum intends to tell the story of how the Indigenous population came to be today—with its pre-Inca "origins", hundreds of years of Inca society, Spanish invasion, and Colonial, Republican, and contemporary transformations. Thus, local and regional visitors—the population targeted—embark in an educational experience intended to give a sense of pride on the knowledge and accomplishments of the region. The display is intended to highlight the connections between past and present peoples.

The Museum of Pre-Colombian art is located in the Plaza de Nazarenas, one block up-hill from the Inka Museum, next to a 5-star hotel. As a private museum, it charges three times more than the *Museo Inka*, and holds hundreds of pan-Andean objects chronologically organized. Silverman (2007) discusses the object labels and several world-famous artists' descriptions of ancient Peruvian artifacts as "beautiful primitive art". This is problematic because "the word primitive reveals an underlying ambiguous racial-cultural assessment [characterization] of the pre-Columbian population with implications for the present-day Indigenous population" (Silverman 2007:204). The museum design, display, and price make the museum more accessible for national and international tourists and less accessible to some residents of the area. The narrative of this museum can be linked to the official historical narrative that the nation-state promulgates through schools. Thus, promoting an educational experience centered on the previous discussed "Golden-

Ages". Silverman's (2007) observations also bring to light how this museum fails to connect present and past, therefore denying recognition to the local population, and their legitimate claim to participate in the narratives of their own past. The silences presented in this museum are part of the global tourist market and reinforce neocolonial dynamics (Meskell 2003). It occurs within transnational capitalism, where profit is gained through the appropriation and exploitation of Indigenous peoples (Silverman 2007).

In the U.S. Gero and Root (1990) and Padgett (2015) have also recognized some problematic representations of the past as they erase possibility outside of the political and economic status quo. In his textbook review, Padgett (2015) critiques how Indigenous Peoples are depicted in the U.S. He states that there are no mentions of modern tribal governments and politics, making it seem that they no longer exist; they ignore the past hundred years of struggles, and they do not talk about different economic systems, prioritizing only western economies and the development of capitalism. Gero and Root (1990), in their analysis of the National Geographic Magazine, recognize similar problems. They argue that when the past is presented to the general public they tend to prioritize the importance of state-level societies. National Geographic selectively chooses images that lead the public to believe that state-level societies have always existed, that they are the norm, as well as the most successful form of social organization (Gero and Root 1990). It seems that these images and histories want to give a sense of the eternal existence of democracy. Something that echoes as a justification to the U.S wars that bring "democracy" to Latin America and the Middle East. In addition, this is presented in textbooks or in the classroom, they lead children to believe that the spirit of capitalism has always existed and that non state-level societies are unworthy of recognition. This complicates the possibilities for children to imagine the possibility of a world outside of what already exists.

Key Concepts and Context

In order to understand the role of schools in teaching children about their past in Chavín, I will address some key concepts to contextualize my work. For example, I follow Miñana Blasco and Arango Vargas (2011) when they highlight that the State should be at the center of inquiry of anthropology of education. This is necessary because the state plays a key role in formal education within state-sponsored schools. Within this framework it is not only necessary to work under the lens of Anthropology & Education, but also the Anthropology of the State. By doing so we can provide better alternatives for public education (Miñana Blasco and Arango Vargas 2011).

The State, Trouillot (2001) argues, has been transformed by contemporary globalization; it is not fixed merely in an institution, a nation, or a government, but rather a process. This process includes four important effects: (a) *isolation*: the creation of individuals as a public that will be governed; (b) *identification*: the creation of a collective identity (especially national); (c) *legibility:* the regulation of collectivities; and (c) *spatialization*: the distance that collective identities are allowed to go—that is the jurisdiction of the State (Trouillot 2001). With capitalism and globalization, the power once held by the Nation-State has dispersed, and now other institutions and organizations (including the international) have some control over services (Trouillot 2001). The best example is the control the World Bank has over global education (Miñana Blasco and Arango Vargas 2011; Trouillot 2001).

Nation-States have many mechanisms with which they attempt to justify their sovereignty and come to control, reform, regulate, and govern the citizens living within and sometimes beyond their borders (e.g. U.S. America and Israel—see Weiss 2014). Let us not forget that what was once part of an empire has now become a state, and its power is now under a national government (Steinmetz 2014). There are vast mechanisms used by nation-states to produce and reproduce both

citizens and state power. In the cultural and social realm, education resonates as a critical player in the reproduction—and naturalization—of state power (Ong et al. 1996, Weiss 2014).

Citizenship is the process in which individuals are in constant negotiation between their subjectivities and the web of power in which they are caught. It is the process in which individuals make themselves, but are also being made by the State (through surveillance, discipline, control and administration)—much of which occurs in schools (Ong et al. 1996).

Neoliberalism is a market-based strategy that seeks to promote the interest of money making, while eliminating social programs and limiting the activity and possibility of self-governance (Ong 2006). Ong et al. (1996) argue that it is directly connected to the making of citizenship in our contemporary times: "A regulatory aspect of neoliberalism whereby economics is extended to cover all aspects of human behavior pertaining citizenship" (739). Neoliberalism reconstructs the relationship between knowledge and power, territoriality and sovereignty, and governing and the governed (Ong 2006). As a global phenomenon, neoliberalism disproportionately affects marginalized communities around the world. It is often tied to a radicalized capitalism, imperialism, and military action (Ong 2006:1). In past decades increased the privatization of public institutions, such as schools, medical services, and penitentiary institutions—especially in U.S. America (Bartlett et al. 2002; González 2010b)—but ever more in other places around the world, such as Latin America. In Perú for example, teachers went on a strike in 2017 to protest; among other things, the neoliberal education model promoted by the state. In addition of being a market-based strategy some Foucauldian scholars argue that it is also an internalized ideology. Neoliberalism becomes a logic that affects the technologies of self and governmentality where values of market competition, entrepreneurship, and individualism are praised (Freeman 2014; Ganti 2014). This ideology of neoliberalism, individualism and mark

competition and conception is what the market-based strategy function. Ganti (2014) and many other scholars argue that it is internalized through diverse forms of media such as newspapers, advertising, movies, and entertainment. It is also internalized through state-sponsored schools (Miñana Blasco and Arango Vargas 2011).

By inculcating individuals at young ages, **state sponsored schools** attempt to produce ideal subjects who will fit into the regulation and jurisdiction of the state. For example, Weiss (2014) brings to light how individuals in Israel are inculcated in schools (through history, geography, and religion) into an economy of sacrifice, which later leads many individuals to serve in the military and partake in the war and genocide against Palestine. In addition, neoliberalism has influenced the creation of an education system rooted in market-based principals that reproduce and continue to contribute to the marginalization of different populations, including immigrants and Indigenous peoples (e.g. Bartlett et al. 2002; Rockwell and Gomes 2009; Freeland 1996).

Through globalization, neoliberal schools have reached almost all corners of the world through a rhetoric of "education for all." This is problematic as most of the schooling that children receive is neoliberal and western-centered. The underlying notion that universal schooling is synonymous to progress and equity no longer holds true, as many schools are environments where social inequities and effects of neoliberalism can also be found (Rockwell and Gomes 2009) as I will demonstrate later in this dissertation. Today's neoliberal education through state-sponsored school intends to influence children's competition in global market-based contexts (Miñana Blasco and Arango Vargas 2011).

Neoliberalism education has become universal in modern education thanks to efforts by UNESCO, the World Bank and the OECD in the late twentieth century, which sought to create education as a mission of the nation-state (Ramírez and Boli 1987, Miñana Blasco and Arango

Vargas 2011). This universal form of education intends for children to become part of western mainstream society and of the global economy (Manish Jain in Black 2010). The problem is that many cultures and Indigenous Peoples are being forced into this education system that often contradicts their lifestyles and traditions. Manish Jain mentions (Black 2010) how this education system and rhetoric of "education for all" is problematic: "One of the things that is most disturbing to me—on a level of justice and morality—is that you have an institution that is in place globally that is labelling millions and millions and millions of innocent people as failures." Indigenous Peoples are not only being stripped of their lifestyles and traditions, but also seen as failures in contemporary imperialist white supremacist capitalist patriarchal society. This term is used by bell hooks (1995) to describe the interlocking relationship between different aspects of our society that are oppressive and continue to support the dominant and powerful.

With a drastic increase in testing, memorization, standardization, and competition, schools reproduce a hegemonic "common sense" that not only favors the elite group, but also limits the creative exploration of ideas and knowledge for all students (Bartlett et al. 2002). The schooling process has a significant negative impact on individuals "with its radical reordering of space and time, knowledge, and power" (Rockwell and Gomes 2009: 98). This reordering of space and time relates to both geography (see Weiss 2014 for an example) and history. The reordering of knowledge and power in this time and age relates to the segregation of racialized bodies, ethnicities, and identities, so as the access to education within state sponsored schools. In addition, it affects the production and perpetuation of historical narratives and how these are taught.

The **production and reproduction of historical narratives** is key to this dissertation. For Trouillot (1995) there are two definitions of the term history. First, history as the events that actually occurred, events and scenarios that archaeologists and historians can only hope to

completely recognize. Second, history as the telling of the events that occurred. While in the first case we have no control over the events that happened, we do have control over how we tell and discuss those events. The past outside of academia is consumed at various levels: site and museums visits, national holidays, celebrations, media, and in schools (Trouillot 1995). When the past is presented to the public, historical narratives are taken as facts and truths. Nevertheless, history is produced in a specific social and historical context influenced by dominant ideologies (Trouillot 1995). This recognition is essential in my hopes to decolonize archaeology and education.

Learning about the Past in Chavín de Huántar, Perú

In the following chapters I will address three research questions (1) What do children in Chavín de Huántar, Perú know about their local past? (2) How do different institutions, organizations, and community members influence such teachings? And, (3) How can archaeologists contribute to a more empowering and less oppressive teaching of the past? I will answer and discuss each one of these questions in independent chapters, but the information presented in each one is articulated and speaks to common key factors. Chapter six answers the question of what we can do as archaeologists and presents recommendations to the National Government (especially the Ministries of Education and Culture), archaeologists and educators in general. I also discuss two action and collaborative projects conducted in Chavín de Huántar during my dissertation fieldwork.

Contributions

This dissertation combines archaeology, public and praxis archaeology, education, and social justice research. Since the 1970s, with the introduction of public archaeology within anthropology, scholars have increasingly understood the importance of having public interest in archaeology and archaeological knowledge (Merriman 2004a). However, it is believed that much

of public archaeology focuses mainly on Culture Resource Management (CRM). Although CRM constitutes a large portion of this work in U.S. America, in many parts of the world (even including some parts of the U.S.) public archaeology focuses on other strategies, such as those of museum archaeology (Merriman 2004b), Indigenous archaeology (Parker Pearson and Ramilisonia 2004), field schools, public outreach (D'Elia 2013), and public education (Smardz Frost 2004). In these contexts, archaeologists fixed their attention on making archaeology more accessible to the public, facilitating an interaction between different cultures through time (D'Elia 2013). Nevertheless, relatively little work has been conducted in collaboration with communities and/or educators to use archaeology as a tool to encourage change and/or critical thinking about the past and the world today (Dommasnes and Galanidou 2007). Archaeologists have obligations and responsibilities towards the study of past cultures, but also to the understanding of how contemporary cultures have evolved into the present, and what are their interpretations of their own past (Pai and Adler 2001).

Few anthropologists of education address the importance and influence of (pre)history education. This dissertation attempts to pave the road for future work on this subject. Anthropologists of education and research educators have addressed Indigenous peoples oppression and resistance to state sponsored schools (e.g. Murillo 2009; Rockwell and Gomes 2009; Rockwell and González Apodaca 2012; Zywicki 2013) highlighting bi-lingual and bi-cultural education (e.g. Freeland 1996; Hornberger 2000; Sumida Huaman 2014). These studies do not adequately address the importance of history, its effect on identity, and how it is manipulated to construct a collective identity. My research attempts to fill this gap in the anthropology of education studies. It will also contribute to the growing literature in strategies used to decolonize the past for children (e.g. Burtt 1987; Tilley 1989; MacKenzie and Stone 1990;

Dommasnes and Galanidou 2007; Piñón and Funari 2007; Sarbu and Gheorghiu 2007; Iseke and Moore 2011; Bria and Cruzado Carranza 2015). Another goal of this project was to help archaeology and archaeologists develop ways to contribute to education in the communities where they work.

CHAPTER 2. CHAVÍN DE HUÁNTAR: PAST AND PRESENT

In this chapter I will provide a description of some of the strategies the Peruvian government uses to engage with the past to promote tourism and nation state identity. I will also provide a description of the research site, the community and archaeological site of Chavín de Huántar. This will include a discussion of Chavín de Huántar in the present as a town, Chavín de Huántar's archaeological past, and a brief presentation of my ethnography and the people that participated in this year-long research project.

Perú's tourism industry in context

The vast ecological and archaeological diversity of Perú has been a key strategy used by the Peruvian government to promote tourism. Since 2003, *PromPerú* (The Commission for the Promotion of Peruvian Export and Tourism), which is concerned with international reputation has created a number of different campaigns to promote a national identity for tourist consumption (national and international). Anholt (1998) coined these campaigns as nation-brands, and reveal how countries would like to be perceived through what they consider to be their most attractive attributes (Silverman 2015). Through eye-catching logos with ancient iconographic references and a series of promotional commercials in Spanish and English, PromPerú has attempted for almost two decades to encourage foreign and national tourism, as well as to place Perú as a country with a long history of greatness, worthy of international investment (Silverman 2015). This strategy is used to "fix" the international reputation Perú had as a country hit by corruption, dictatorships, and terrorism (Smith 2005). Although PromPerú's representations provide beautiful images of archaeological sites, biodiversity, and even popular culture (such as cuisine and music) many problems exist with this market-based and neoliberal tourist strategy.

Kahn (2000) warns us that tourist industries often produce countless texts, images, and discourses in which spaces (and time) transform into mere destinations, often crafted into misrepresentations to be consumed both locally and internationally. Nation-states' valorization of popular and ancient culture is not enough if other promises are not kept, as nation-brands and tourism promotion often are disconnected from the reality within countries (Silverman 2015). These realities relate to poverty, discrimination, and poor-quality health services and education, which will be discussed in this dissertation. The government owns and protects archaeological sites as heritage sites—and the national government manages the money from entrance tickets and introduces it into the national budget (see chapter 5).

Chavín de Huántar Today

In context: Chavín de Huántar is also the name of the district where the famous archaeological site was built (see below). It is located in the department (state) of Ancash, in the Conchucos valley, on the eastern slope of the Cordillera Blanca, at an altitude of 3150 meters above sea level (Burger 1992). People traveling from the western slope/side of the cordillera generally take the highway coming from Huaraz, the biggest city in Ancash. This highway is in terrible conditions and can be dangerous if drivers are not vigilant. It is a rural town of approximately 9200 individuals (INEI 2009). The town itself is not that big, as one can walk from one extreme to the other in less than an hour.

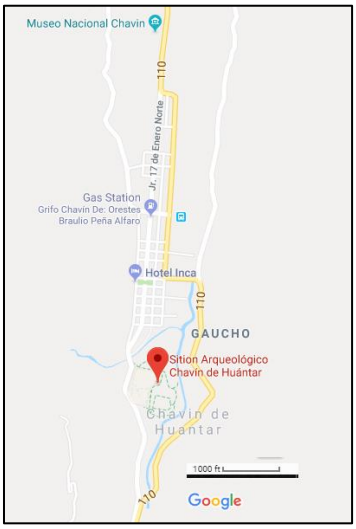

Figure 1: Map of Chavín

Figure 2: Photograph of a portion of the Huaraz – Chavín Highway at around 3700 meters above sea level

The town of Chavín de Huántar has a Catholic and a Pentecostal church; however, many Chavinxs[1] also identify as evangelicals. The Catholic church is located at the town's central *plaza de armas*, which is surrounded by many local businesses (hotels, restaurants, supply stores) and homes. One of my informants told me that some years ago, Antamina gave money to modify the plaza, so all buildings surrounding the plaza would look alike. They are all painted white and, in some cases, have brown balconies. The municipality and civic center are also located around the plaza. Antamina is a mining company located in San Marcos (30 minutes by car from Chavín) that extracts zinc and copper from the area (Antamina 2015).

[1] I use the "x" as a political and inclusive statement to include all genders.

Figure 3: Photograph of the main plaza, decorated with the same colors and styles-donation made by Antamina

Currently, many individuals in town (locals and archaeologists) recognize that there is a history of corruption in the local government; something that seems too familiar in Perú in the past 35 years[2]. Several community members told me that some mayors have even fled the country to hide in Brazil. Some of these political problems have led to shootings. I was there for one of these gun violence related incidents while I was conducting lab work for my bachelor's degree thesis in 2010, and the director of the archaeological program told me that there was another one in 2014. He also told me that there has been an increase in gun ownership in the community as well. However, I did not experience many problems while I lived there, except from the occasional drunk individuals during the town's festivities in July.

[2] All living former presidents of Perú currently are under investigations or have been sentenced to jail for corruption charges linked to a larger net of corruption in South America (Odebrecht).

The town has one hospital, which until a couple of years ago was only a rural health post. Although the hospital is up and running, it still does not have ideal conditions, staff, and founding to provide the residents of Chavín with a good health care system. This situation is not unique to Chavín, as the same government problems affect many communities nation-wide. Chavín has five schools: three kindergartens (children from 1 to 5 years of age) one elementary school (children from 5 to 12 years of age), and one high school (children from 12 to 17 years of age). The closest university is one hour away (by car) in the district of Huari—the capital of the department—while others prefer to go to the ones in Huaraz; three hours away (by car). The town also has one police station, located right next to the elementary school, and 3 blocks away from a bull arena, which is used primarily in the town's anniversary celebrations.

Being from Chavín means different things for community members. Some told me that they had a connection with the archaeological site, others told me that it just meant that they were born and currently lived in town. Others for example, argued that what made them Chavinxs were the traditions that they have carried. One community told me:

August 10th, 2017

> *If you are not from Chavín you don't know how to work the stone. Somebody from Chavín knows how to work the stone, they also know how to dance negritos, the negritos dance.*
>
> *Si no eres Chavino, no sabes tallar. El Chavino sabe tallar, también bailar negritos, el baile de los negritos.*

Working with stone is a tradition that many Chavinxs follow. It has been passed down from generation to generation and is now used by some as a source of financial income. This craft tradition can be seen in my conversation with Liliana:

October 20th, 2016

> *Marcela: In regards to the crafts you and your family sell, do you make them?*

Liliana: Yes, all the work with stone, my son, husband and myself. Now, the textiles and working on the loom, well I do that.
Marcela: yeah? So you make the textiles. And who taught you to make textiles?
Liliana: That came from my parents.
Marcela: And did they work with stone or only make textiles?
Liliana: Yes, for example my older brothers are involved in working with stone. Because of that we also learned and now we teach our kids the same.
Marcela: And who taught your parents? Your grandparents?
Liliana: Of course!
Marcela: So it's a family tradition?
Liliana: Yes!

Marcela: En cuanto a las artesanías que vende, usted o su familia, ¿ustedes los realizan?
Liliana: Si, todo lo que es tallado en piedra lo hace mi hijo, mi esposo, mi persona. y ahora en cosas que son tejidos y telares de mi persona
Marcela: ¿Sí? usted hace todos los tejidos. ¿Y quién le enseñó a usted a hacer los tejidos?
Liliana: Esto ha venido ya desde mis padres
Marcela: ¿Y también tallaban o solo tejían?
Liliana: Si porque tengo mis hermanos mayores que sí, siempre se han dedicado todo lo que es tallado en piedra. a base de eso que también nosotros hemos ido aprendido y ahora igualito, nuestros hijos también lo mismo hacen
Marcela: ¿Y quién les enseñó a sus padres? ¿sus abuelos?
Liliana: Claro
Marcela: ¿Entonces es una tradición familiar?
Liliana: Si

However, not all traditions have had the same luck. Younger generations for example are not learning Quechua and/or are ashamed to speak it. My conversation with Mía, a 10 year old, exemplifies this dynamic.

October 13th, 2016

Mía: People don't appreciate Perú. Because before people would talk in Quechua all the time and now is like… like they don't love Perú.
Marcela: Why? Because people don't speak Quechua anymore?
Mía: They don't speak Quechua anymore, they don't dress like they did before. And like my teacher told me, it's like if your parents speak Quechua and you don't, it's like if you are ashamed of your parents, like you don't love your parents.

Mía: No lo aprecian tanto a Perú. Porque antes hablaban todo en quechua y ahora es como si no le, no le amaran al Perú
Marcela: ¿Por qué, por qué ya no hablan quechua?

Mía: Ya no hablan quechua, no se visten como como antes se vestían y como mi profesor me dijo es que es como decir que tus papás hablen quechua y tu no es como si tengas vergüenza de tus papás, que no los quieras a tus papás.

In addition, this affects agriculture and livestock, as José told me:

October 23rd, 2016

I have lived many years in Chavín. I am 60 years old and well most of our life, our activities have centered around agriculture and livestock. And well now our activities are centered around tourism. We have a small coffee shop and we work within the tourist industry. So… now we are working there, changing the line of business. With the influence of the mining company everything came down, agriculture, livestock. We have had to take advantage of the house that my parents left us, from my grandparents, and old house that we have put at disposition for tourists.

Yo vivo muchos años en chavín, tengo 60 años y bueno casi toda nuestra vida, nuestra actividad ha sido relacionado al agro y a la ganadería. Y bueno ya, ahora ya nos dedicamos a temas de turismo, tenemos la cafetería y trabajamos con el tema de turismo, entonces... estamos ahí trabajando, cambiando de rubro, ya un poco con, con la influencia minera todo se fue un poco abajo la agricultura, la ganadería. hemos tenido que aprovechar la casona que tenemos de nuestros padres, de nuestros abuelos, una casa antigua donde ya lo hemos puesto al servicio de los turistas, no? a eso nos dedicamos.

The increment in tourism and mining in the area, in addition to the lack of investment from the local and national government toward education has others wondering how, why, and when traditions and identity in town started to change. My conversation with Carla about local parades shows this concern.

October 28th, 2016

Carla: In every festival a see kids in the parade with tanks, dressed as people from the military.
Marcela: Something that we have inherited from the Velasco government [in the 70s]
Carla: Yes, and I see them in the parades in the main plaza and I say: This is crazy. Look. How many dances, how much knowledge and identity we have, and we are not applying it, it's unbelievable. You see them dressed as Mickey and things like that, right? It's completely out of context and one asks: What happened? What went wrong? We can dress up like an eagle, or ultimately like a tree, right? But no, we are here with machine guns, dressed like soldiers. Those are our children here in Chavín.

Carla: En cada fiesta veo a los niños desfilar con sus tanques, vestidos de militares.

> *Marcela: Lo que quedó de Velasco*
> *Carla: Sí y veo los desfiles en la Plaza de Armas y digo: qué locura, mira. Cuántas danzas, cuánta, cuánta enseñanza, cuánta identidad tenemos y no la estamos aplicando, es increíble. Los ves vestidos de Mickey y de cosas así, ¿no? Totalmente zafado del contexto o sea uno dice "¿Qué paso? ¿Qué fue?" O sea, podemos vestirnos pues de un águila, por último de un árbol, ¿no? Pero estamos ahí con nuestros ah, nuestras metralletas, de soldados. Esos son nuestros niños acá en Chavín.*

Many things have change in Chavín. But one of the recurrent themes I noticed about how my participants talked about the archaeological site and its history, was their personal relationship with the monument. Many adults 40 years and older used to play during their youth at the site. Fátima told me:

<u>October 26th, 2017</u>

> *We used to come here and play, we used to go into the galleries, exit on the other side, run from one place to the other. We would use candles to light the dark, we would be goofy as kids are.*

> *Veníamos acá a jugar así, solamente lo que veníamos era a entrar a las galerías, salir por un lado, correr por el otro lado. Sólo alumbrándonos con la vela, hacer las travesuras que se hacía de niño.*

As we will see later in this dissertation some of the games children played a couple of decades ago were soccer and volleyball. Today, children are not allowed to play games at the site, and although not apparent, this change in rules I argue, as an effect on how children are learning about their Past. In what follows I will provide the reader with some archaeological information that describes the monument as well as how national governments have used it for political reasons.

Archaeology and Chavín de Huántar

The archaeological site (also known locally as ***castillo*** or *templo*) is located approximately 500 meters from the *Plaza de Armas* or main plaza, at the center of the town. Between the site and the main plaza there are a number of different craft stores, hotels, restaurants, other businesses, and homes. Some of the souvenirs the local community sells include key chains, ornaments, and clothing; all with Chavín as a Golden-Age iconography. Some of these crafts are made by local craft specialists, organized in families, others are bought from larger tourist industries in Huaraz or Lima.

Figure 4: Photograph of the entrance and craft seller stands inside the archaeological site.

Before entering the site, you must go through the ticket stand. The ticket is 10 soles (around 3 U.S. dollars) for adults, 5 soles for university students, and 4 soles for school children. The entrance is free for children under 6 and for all Chavinxs on Tuesdays. As all archaeological sites

and museums in the country, the site only closes on Mondays and special holidays. While in other big archaeological sites—like Cusco—the price tickets for foreign individuals is almost the double, Chavín does not have a differentiated ticket rate for national and international visitors. After purchasing the ticket, you enter the site through a special door where a *guachimán* (security guard) confirms your purchase. The administrative buildings and bathrooms are to the right, following a stair-case; to the left, a number of tourist craft sellers.

The site itself is located at a strategic and sacred location at a *tinkuy*, Quechua word for the merging of two rivers; a special cosmological Andean value. These rivers are Wacheqsa to the north and Mosna to the east. It is at the crossroad of the jungle and the coast, where these two rivers meet (Rick 2006). Although the geography can be complex, it also facilitates communication routes, allowing travel between these two regions (Kaulicke 1998a). The site rests on a flat floodplain formation of around one by three kilometers, formed by an ancient landslides that contained the Mosna river (Rick 2008).

The first human presence recognized by archaeologists is dated to the a-ceramic period[3] or *Archaic*. Stone tools, deer bones, and hearths, have been found and their contexts range between 3350 and 2450 BCE (Rick et al. 2009). Between this a-ceramic period and Early Chavín there is around a 900-year gap; this dates to the transition between the late a-ceramic period and the Early Formative. The recognition of material and contexts is difficult during this transition in Chavín, because of the lack of carbon to date and the depth of these contexts; usually ranging between 2 and 7 meters, making it dangerous to excavate (Rick et al. 2009).

[3] I decide to use the term a-ceramic and not pre-ceramic because there is a possibility that habitants in this region knew of the existence of ceramics in the Ecuadorian region but just did not adapt to this technology. Inhabits in Ecuador where using ceramics as early as 3000 BCE (Damp 1979)

Archaeology and Chavín de Huántar as a Golden-Age

It is during Early Chavín (1200–800 BCE) that there was a small growth in population and material culture; the archaeological record suggests that inhabitants started to occupy different areas; including the start (and most) of the construction of the ceremonial center (Burger 1998; Rick et al. 2009). During 800–500 BCE the site experienced major population growth, and the temple was expanded and repaired due to major earthquakes and landslides; however, there is little evidence of construction after 800/750 BCE (Kembel 2008; Rick et al. 2009). During these periods Chavín de Huántar served as a ceremonial and pilgrimage center (Burger 1992; Druc 2004). Chavín's exchange and alliance network (including pilgrims visiting the site) reached a maximum of 825 kilometers throughout the Andes (Contreras 2011).

Archaeologists hypothesized that around the center there originally would have been an enclosure of this space by a stone wall of around one meter high. This enclosure would have surrounded an area at least 900 meters long and 1000 meters wide (Burger 2008). Around the center there are several settlements that seem to have interacted directly with the center. Burger has suggested that the settlement pattern of the Mosna drainage, suggests a "small city-state or complex chiefdom with Chavín de Huántar at its center" (2008; 697).

The center consists of monumental constructions common for the Formative Period (1500–200 BCE) in the Andes, with buildings forming a U shape, and a number of different plazas for ceremonial and ritual purposes (Kaulicke 1998b). This monumental construction is made from large worked granite and limestone transported to the site from large distances (Turner et al. 1999). The presence of plazas, and the evidence within them, has suggested for decades ritual activities with the site as the center. The square plaza alone would hold at least 1000 individuals, while the circular plaza, 16 to 95 people (Burger 2008). The layout of the site, as well as the size of plazas, galleries, and hallways suggests a management of space and place, probably linked to rituals for a

selective number of individuals at any given time. John Rick (2005) argued that the arrangement of the site in addition to the exotic material (e.g. obsidian, salt, ceramics) might suggest the presence of foreign elites participating in ritual activities. These individuals would come to the site to understand the cult practices and ideology of Chavín to later use it in their own areas. Throughout the site many lithic sculptures and engravings are embedded with ritual significance. Chavín's iconography combines zoomorphic representations (e.g. jaguars, birds of prey, and serpents) with anthropomorphic and phytomorphic figures (e.g. yucas and cacti), creating individuals of symbolic importance (Lumbreras 1974). Most of the animals represented in these images are not from the area but rather from the jungle, hundreds of kilometers away. These images were (some still are) distributed throughout the center. The most recognized depictions are found on the Raimondi stele, the Tello obelisk, the Lanzón, the Falcon Entrance, and a set of lithic blocks forming a sort of procession surrounding the circular plaza. It probably was a monopoly of knowledge and to understand this iconography, priests (and/or priestesses) or elite individuals would have to guide and explain its significance to foreigners participating in the ritual. (Rick 2005).

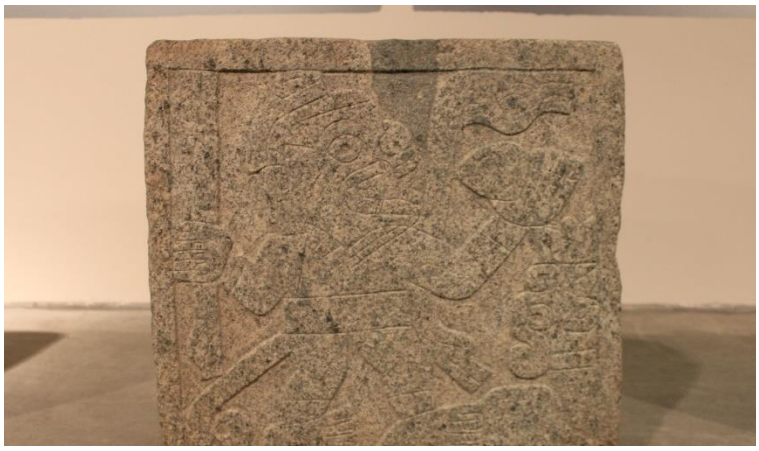

Figure 5: Photograph of what is believed to be a monkey priest(ess) playing a pututu. This lithic stone was part of the procession of individuals in the circular plaza.

Rick (2005) argued that the transformation of this landscape required a large amount of political power. In societies such as Chavín, the individual contribution of labor and commitment to contribute is important in order to create lasting relationships between supernatural entities, their representatives on earth, and the people that make all this possible (Rick 2005). He has also stated that the construction of Chavín and its monumental dimensions would not have been possible without the support of the local population. Non-local individuals also contributed possibly with labor and/or raw materials (Rick 2005). Thus, the construction of this center would not have been possible without commoners, even if they did not participate in all of the ritual activities.

The subsistence at and around Chavín was based on high altitude agriculture—which included potatoes, quinoa, *oca* and *tarwi*—and the natural resources obtained from high *puna* grass-lands as hunting and/or herding of camelids (Burger 1982 and 2008). The location of the site itself seems propitious for agriculture—surrounded by three large earthflow deposits that provide highly fertile soils. Although limited in quantity, this factor must have been decisive in the initial phases of dynamics of power in the Valley, providing enough surplus for the construction of the site (Rick 2008).

Archaeology and Chavín de Huántar: Post Golden-Age

Most of Chavín's recognition is based on Chavín as a Golden-Age—not only archaeologically, but also in schools and in the public media. Nevertheless, many other cultures and societies have also settled in this area. After Chavín, Huarás (500–400 BCE), Recuay (400 BCE–50 CE), and Callejón (50–400 CE) peoples began to build residential architecture in strategic locations over Chavín remains (Rick et al. 2009), some of which are still visible today. However, the site was no longer the center of the valley and region (Lumbreras 1970; Lau 2013). Excavations also shed light on Chilean soldiers that crossed through Chavín de Huántar during the War of the

Pacific (Machuca 2011). Throughout these excavations, in which I had the opportunity to participate, we also found ceramic sherds that seemed to be from the colonial period.

Chavín de Huántar: The Golden-Age as a political tool

Several Peruvian political entities used the Chavín Period of the archaeological site of Chavín de Huántar was as a "Golden-Age". In 1924, the nationalist and populist political party *Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana* (APRA) used a Chavín style eagle as its emblem (Silverman 2002). Using this iconographic motif, APRA reached back in time and adapted ancient iconography of what at the time was considered the "mother culture of Andean civilization", fighting for a new Peruvian society, free of imperialism by supporting popular classes and promoting *Indigenismo* (Silverman 2002). Today, APRA has both dropped its iconographic connections to Chavín and its ideals, becoming neoliberal party linked to corruption, with former party chair and two-time president Alan Garcia as one of Peru's most polemic politicians[4].

In the late 1990s, Chavín de Huántar was placed once again in the spotlight of the national political arena. In December 1996, the terrorist group *Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru (*MRTA) took the Japanese Embassy and held hostage the attendees of a gala event. Although around 500 individuals attended this event, only 72 male individuals remained hostage during five months (Silverman 1999). The then president Alberto Fujimori was named the seventh most corrupt politician worldwide (Transparency International 2004) and is serving 25 years in jail for human right violations and corruption. Fujimori is also under investigation for forced sterilization[5], a type of genocide. The country was in a political and social crisis: attacked by terrorists throughout

[4] On April 17th, 2019 Alan García committed suicide when the prosecutor's office went to his house to detain him and begin his preliminary trial.
[5] Fujimori has not yet been charged for this genocide—but has also received a presidential pardon—that was later revoked by the Supreme Court.

the country and with a government that did as it pleased. I was eight years old when this happened, I remember being gathered with my father and grandfather watching television when there was a news interruption that created panic in the capital[6]. We followed the news for five months, until the hostage situation ended one April day.

Fujimori took advantage of this situation and sold himself as a national hero. The carefully-excavated canals dug up between the Japanese Embassy and neighboring houses were inspired by the underground *Roca* (Rock) Canals found below the archaeological site of Chavín. The canals found at Chavín were part of a hydraulic system used as drainage for the heavy rains between December and March (Lumbreras et al. 1976; Rick et al. 1998) and possibly also used during ritual performances. By calling this rescue mission "Chavín de Huántar", Fujimori reached into the deep past to evoke a sense of group survival and unity—reusing the *communitas* created during the ancient pilgrimage to the site (Silverman 1999). Fujimori then became a national hero for many Peruvians. He utilized the past as a way to legitimize nationalist ideologies related to unity and victory over terrorism—this was one strategy to hide his corrupt and genocidal government, in the eyes of many fellow Peruvians who continue to support him and his party today as they believe he ended terrorism. Silverman (1999) argues

> In naming the rescue mission after Chavín de Huántar, Fujimori was appropriating the archaeological site and culture as a symbol of Peruvian national identity and ascribing to the contemporary underdeveloped country and socioeconomically fragmented society the great prehispanic civilization's aura of advanced technology, efficient organization and areal unity. Fujimori consciously used Chavín de Huántar as a powerful 'root paradigm'(Turner 1985: 167) of Peruvianness, particularly in the sense of giving 'form to action in publicly crucial circumstances'.

[6] The rest of the country experienced this panic on a constant basis during more than two decades; especially indigenous communities in the jungle and highlands. Many of these communities were attacked by both the government and the Shining Path – the largest terrorist group in Perú.

The Peruvian government continues to use Chavín de Huántar as a "root paradigm" or a Golden-Age. Nevertheless, this archaeological site is not held alone, as the government brings to light many other ancient cultures (e.g. Caral, Moche, Nasca, Wari, and Inca) in order to create a sense of Peruvian *mestizaje*. This practice homogenizes the past and limits the exploration of regional and local pasts. It is prompted by the official historical narrative that reaches Peruvian citizens (and international tourists) through the neoliberal tourist industry (Silverman 2015), national currency, and education. By exploring how the past is taught at the town of Chavín de Huántar, I wish to explore the relationship between the official historical narrative, archaeological work, and what the community wishes their children to learn about the past.

Why Chavín?

There are many different reasons why Chavín was an optimal place to conduct this research. As mentioned above, it has been at the center of a political discourse twice in the past 100 years and continues to be used today—along with other ancient cultures and societies—on economic symbols (bills and coins). From an archaeological perspective, Chavín de Huántar is an ideal place to explore the relationship between archaeology and the educational system: how it addresses national history and what children are learning about their past as it holds over 5000 years of history. Moreover, Chavín receives thousands of tourists a year, and the tourist industry economically benefits some families in town. Although one of the town's main economic incomes is through tourism, not all community members receive the same benefits and are equally prepared for the flow of foreign visitors.

In addition, I have been visiting Chavín for the past 10 years. As an undergraduate between 2007 and 2010, I participated in four excavation seasons (July–August) as part of the *Proyecto de Investigación Arqueológica y Conservación en Chavín de Huántar* (Research and Conservation

project in Chavín de Huántar) of the University of Stanford and Peruvian archaeologists. During that time I created meaningful friendships with fellow archaeologists and community members. We would constantly discuss what we perceived as the reality of Chavín, its problems and possible solutions. One constant was that the town has had one corrupt local government after other—something the rest of the country faces both at a regional and national level—for as long as people can remember. Another recurrent discussion was that most of the community of Chavín is not happy with the archaeological project that has conducted research in town for the past twenty plus years. The relationships I created in those years taught me many things and opened my eyes to several problems, but it also gave me hope in the realization that other people were worried and wanted to do something about these problems. At that point, I wanted to address the state of affairs but from my position as an archaeologist and educator.

Our training, as archaeologists, not only on material culture but the power dynamics than enable them allows us to understand political, social, economic, and cultural problems in past societies. This understanding can contribute as a powerful tool for looking at the present as well. The historical depth that archaeologists carry in their tool kit has great potential to help better understand today's problems and ways in which we can contribute to changing the world. As archaeologists, we have witnessed how societies changed in The Past. These changes have shaped my belief in that change and a better world is possible. In addition, education and looking at educational settings is extremely important in understanding todays issues, as many of them are reproduced in the classroom and within teaching material (Rockwell and Gomes 2009; Miñana Blasco and Arango Vargas 2011). If we come to understand educational problems within the global context and issues, we have the potential to transform the world. Education and teaching have the

potential to transform and create a better future for younger generations by changing what and how we teach them.

Over time I have come to understand that a good way to contribute to a better and more just world is not only through archaeology, but also through education and activism. The historical trajectory provided by Chavín de Huántar can be used to teach children more about their history than just dates, locations, deities and rulers. Archaeology has a great potential to contribute to education in diverse arenas. Regardless of the way we decide to approach this vocation, one thing remains clear: archaeology can contribute to many social studies areas, such as culture, environments, change, institutions, production–distribution– consumption of goods, identity, inter-regional and global connections, power, authority, technology and society (Jenson 2010), and global warming. All of these topics can be addressed within a discussion of Chavín's past and can benefit the community as a whole.

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

The classroom, with all its limitations, remains a location of possibility. In this field of possibility we have the opportunity to labor for freedom, to demand of ourselves and our comrades, an openness of mind and heart that allows us to face reality even as we collectively imagine ways to move beyond boundaries, to transgress. This is the education as the practice of freedom.

- bell hooks in Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of freedom (1996)

This project works with a critical epistemology. This recognition is crucial, as epistemologies impact the researcher, participants, and research in general; they shape research topics and influence the selection of methods (Jones et al. 2014). It relates to the scholar's opinions, feelings, and decisions during all phases of research. The critical epistemological stance believes knowledge is created through dialogue, requires action, and should be transformative; it engages in participatory action with an emancipatory purpose (Jones et al. 2014). As an activist scholar, my goal is not only to gain an understanding of a cultural and social context, but also act upon the injustices that I witness in the world and during my work.

Activism and Research

I consider myself to an activist scholar in anthropology and education. I recognize that I not only have a responsibility towards these disciplines to expose social injustices, but also as a human being to confront and change the abuses and suffering of other individuals (Low and Merry 2010). I also use theories and methods to expose structures of inequality and I collaborate with participants and community members to change these issues (Low and Merry 2010). I also consider myself an activist archaeologist. Public archaeology can be much more than just engaging with the public in a static way, it has the potential to create something empowering and be an agent

of change (Stottman 2010). The core of both activist archaeology and this research project can be read in the following quote:

> It [activist archaeology] is about understanding a community and integrating its needs and wants into our work and using the process of archaeology and the knowledge it produces to help satisfy community needs. (Sottman 2010: 8).

Throughout my professional education I witnessed and learned about many things that our sub-discipline continues to do wrong, and how we can still be considered a colonial discipline in some ways. To give one example, in many countries archaeological material and objects are exported for both analysis and display. On many occasions, archaeological objects travel around the world before they are displayed in the towns from where they were excavated (e.g. Smith 2005; Hassan 2007; Kleinitz and Näser 2013). By taking archaeological material out of its territory of origin and prioritizing them as teaching materials for other people, it seems that western archaeology has not moved away from European antiquarianism. This antiquarianism characterized archaeology in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, where "antiques" were taken by foreign archaeologists and displayed in European museums (Scarre 1990; Trigger 1996). It was colonialist then and continues to be so today. This does not mean that all archaeologists work this way; my research has led me to places where archaeology is in fact changing the world in positive ways (e.g. Bria and Cruzado Carranza 2015; McGuire 2008; Jeppson 2010). Nor does it mean that all archaeologists recognize the power dynamics involved in our work, which oftentimes is oppressive. Many archaeologists decide to remain neutral to global problems that are directly or indirectly related to their research and the location where they conduct their work (see Hildyard 2008; Kleinitz and Näser 2011).

One of the problems our discipline faces is that it is often not involved enough with the public, except for educating the public on conservation of sites and heritage. Very few

archaeologists are involved with public education and the creation of educational material and textbooks (Loewen 2007). As archaeologists, we have the responsibility to recognize the effects of our work on living populations and recognize the impact—or lack thereof—when presenting The Past (prehistoric and historic, alike) to the public. Although representations of the past outside of academia are based to a certain degree on archaeological or historical investigations, they are often outdated and/or manipulated (MacKenzie and Stone 1990; Dommasness and Galanidou 2007). Archaeological work goes beyond the "trowel's edge" and it has an effect on living populations, whether directly or indirectly (Hodder 2003; Meskell 2003). Little outreach is conducted in general, and some archaeologists wish to maintain their academic authority over local populations or remain neutral to contemporary problems (Hodder 2003; Meskell 2003; Smith 2005; Kleinitz and Näser 2013). Archaeologists not only have a responsibility towards The Past, but can also contribute significantly to contemporary populations today, especially through education (Tilley 1989).

Archaeology not only has potential to provide an arena to people whose voices are normally ignored, but also to contribute to critical thinking. Critical thinking is important as it allows children to question their social and historical context. Archaeology can contribute to areas within the social sciences, given that we normally discuss culture, environments, change, institutions, production–distribution–consumption, identity, inter-regional and global connections, colonialism, power, authority, technology, ideology, and society (Jeppson 2010). All of these issues that archaeologists study about the past are still relevant for understanding society today. If we start to include these subjects in teachings about the past to children—instead of presenting "facts" about "Golden-Ages" while silencing people and struggles—we will have a better chance to include

different scenarios and multiple peoples. This approach is crucial in order to decolonize the way we teach The Past.

bell hooks' book "Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom" (1996) taught me about the benefits of using an engaged pedagogy. This pedagogy encourages us to transform the classroom for the benefits of both teachers and students—where students are encouraged to participate and not be mere passive consumers and teaching becomes a process of also being respectful for the souls of students (hooks 1996). Teaching spaces, and teaching itself, need to be transformed into places of resistance, where knowledge is meaningful in a way that connects what participants are learning to their experiences (hooks 1996). Teachers (and educators in general) have great power to teach in ways that transform consciousness, reflection, and action on the world in order to change it. The denial of meaningful access to truths that reproduce the crisis and limit the capacity of action of individuals, bell hooks (1996) argues, reproduces the contemporary crisis of white supremacist capitalist (colonial) patriarchy. She mentions:

> Individuals are not just presented untruths but are told them in a manner that enables most effective communication. When this collective cultural consumption of and attachment to misinformation is coupled with the layers of lying individuals do in their personal lives, our capacity to face reality is severely diminished as is our will to intervene and change unjust circumstances (bell hooks 1996: 29)

Because one of the untruths bell hooks talks about is the manipulation and silencing of different histories, this dissertation takes her suggestions and vision into account, especially when conducting an engaged and collaborative pedagogy of The Past.

Positionality

I identify as a female queer Peruvian archaeologist and am interested in creating change within the world by using The Past as a tool for empowerment. In addition, I consider myself an activist and educator in the making. I hope my research will help expose the injustices of silencing and

excluding of important aspects of history, as well as help create empowering teaching strategies that utilize The Past to stimulate critical thinking and action.

As an activist anthropologist I recognize that some may argue that the act of creating change where we conduct research is unethical (Low and Merry 2010). Low and Merry (2010) present two sides of the debate. One side argues that it is not the place of anthropologists to attempt to change the world—that our job is to observe and record social life. While the other side believes that to just observe and record injustices would be unethical (Low and Merry 2010). This intrinsic will to act, to create positive change, is something that I have carried with me since as long as I can remember. Although there are many injustices and forms of oppression worldwide, at the moment I am focusing on one in particular: the colonization of the teaching of The Past[7]. I believe that a past taught with manipulation, exclusions, and silences oppresses many communities and individuals.

Humanity's conceptualization of The Past allows for social and collective memory, which significantly influences the construction of our identities, subjectivities, and actions. These are context-dependent, especially culturally and historically (Alcoff 2006). Our historical contexts create a *horizon*, which not only include the possibilities of being and identifying within the world, but also the position in which we make our assumptions about the world itself (Alcoff 2006). Thus, our social context and how and what we *come to know of the past* influence our identities. When we learn a historical narrative that carries silences and further marginalization, The Past becomes fragmented, but so does our present and future.

One of the major concerns is that such representations of The Past and official historical narratives depict women and members of different ethnic and racial identities (non-whites)—if at

[7] However, let us not forget that all oppression is connected.

all—as less worthy and important. These representations neglect the contributions of females in both the past and the present and reinforce patriarchy (e.g. Gifford-Gonzalez 1993, Padgett 2015). Representations of "Golden-Ages" that neglect different regional, local, ethnic, and racial identities reinforce colonialism (e.g. Podgorny 1990; Vargas Arenas 1995; de la Cadena 2000; Joyce 2003; Padgett 2015). Representations of state-level societies and western economic systems reinforce capitalism and imperialism (e.g. Gero and Root 1990). When these aspects of our contemporary crisis (white supremacist capitalist colonial patriarchy) are introduced in what children learn about the past, it *gives them* a belief that these aspects are intrinsic to our human condition. This reinforces the perception of the problem and limits the capacity of action of individuals (hooks 1996). The Past needs to be decolonized if we are to build a better world.

When The Past is taught with manipulations, exclusions, and silences, people are being oppressed and their collective memory erased. This approach not only benefits certain people, but also limits collective action, which makes change harder to accomplish. I knew about these injustices before starting my dissertation fieldwork but is through my work in Chavín de Huántar that I came to see the severity of this problem in more detail.

Knowledge should not be created for the sake of being created, we need to use the knowledge we gain (in whatever discipline we find ourselves) to transform the world in positive ways. If not, then what good does knowledge provide to the world other than just adding to the large encyclopedia? The world has so many problems at the moment and has been bleeding for centuries, through wars and oppression. Since I can remember I have been sad in one way or another because of this bleeding—it has always affected me in some way. For many years, I struggled with trying to find a way to help, to contribute in making this a better world; a world with no structural violence, poverty, war, or discrimination. Before taking archaeology classes in

my undergraduate studies, I was thinking about changing majors, finding something that I thought could help create a positive change in the world. It was a hard time in my life as I thought I had to give up one of my passions: archaeology. However, I eventually found myself having a conversation with one of my best friends and telling her about my dilemma. She told me something that I will never forget: "you can make your career whatever you want or need it to be". Here I am 10 years later using archaeology and education to expose injustices and working in collaboration with communities to transform the way The Past is taught in order to empower children and create a better future.

I am a Peruvian who spent most of her early years growing up on Long Island, New York, while my parents were getting their Ph.Ds. in mathematics (dad) and chemistry (mom). We moved back to Perú when I was eight, where I started third grade in a private school in Miraflores, one of the most privileged neighborhoods in the country. At home we talked about a lot of things; especially science, history, and politics. Since an early age I wanted to be a historian or an archaeologist. However, when it was time for me to apply for college I went for Engineering, something I thought would make my parents proud. As the reader might imagine, that did not last long—I changed my major after the first semester. In college I became comfortable with my sexuality and political inclinations. I still identify as a queer socialist; something that influences how I view the world and how I decided to do research and collaborate to create positive changes in the world. My identity as queer is not only based on my sexuality and gender, but also relates to my politic beliefs that heteronormativity should not be viewed as the norm. My identity as a socialist revolves around the idea that I believe that everyone should have the same access to educational, health, and economical opportunities.

While I was getting my bachelor and master's degree these feelings did not disappear. To the contrary, they grew thanks to my readings, colleagues and mentors; including my committee today. However, while these feelings grew, I continued to do archaeological fieldwork in the most "common" meaning of the word—excavations, analysis, and research.

My knowledge about Chavín de Huántar and the archaeological project not only consists of the fieldwork I conducted during the 2016-2017 period; I participated in four different field schools between 2007 and 2010. This allowed me to have a strong bond with many of the individuals working in the archaeological project. I interviewed many members of the archaeological project and some of the data I present in this dissertation is strongly based on its analysis. Between 2007 and 2010, I worked with a team of national and international archaeologists as well as many local fieldworkers, from whom I learned many things. I do not remember how I felt the first time I was in Chavín, but I do know that while I was there, I loved working at the site, and I loved living in the town even more each day that passed. I became friends with many people living in Chavín, I started caring about kids and what they learned in school, playing with them, and teaching them things about the site. The caring was mutual. It is for that reason that Chavín was my first option when it was time for me to plan a Ph.D. project.

When I decided to do a public/social archaeology project, Chavín still seemed logical and the best place to do so—especially because in the time that I was there I realized that the archaeological project was not conducting a sustainable outreach project, and that kids really did not know what was going on at the site. When I first "entered the field" as a Ph.D. student, I talked with different individuals in the community who expressed their worries about not knowing what recent knowledge was obtained by excavations, as well as the frustration people have with the amount of money that goes into the site, while people in town are "starving". In addition, at the

very beginning of my research project and while conducting participant observation at the archaeological site—excavating like the old times—one of my informants told me about his friend Alex Gonzales Panta. Alex told him about the time he hiked to take a picture of the archaeological site from above. During this hike he ran into a little boy, who was observing the site from afar. Alex asked him if he had ever been to the site, and the boy answered "no, I come to look at it from here, I've never been there, they say that the entrance fee is too expensive and that only the *gringos* visit it" (Gonzales Panta 2016). These conversations and scenarios only pushed me more and motivated me towards working at and with Chavín.

Research Questions and Methods

Chavín de Huántar (1200–500 BCE) is one of many Golden-Ages the Peruvian government uses to create a sense of *mestizaje* and promote national and international tourism. It presents an interesting place to explore the relationship between Golden Ages and local histories. I am interested in understanding how this "Golden-Age" is presented to local children, as well as explore what other local histories are discussed or not. When I left for Chavín I had a set of questions I wanted to explore. My research questions are the following:

1. What do children at Chavín de Huántar know about their Past?
2. How do government agencies, institutions, public offices, and archaeological projects contribute to education about The Past?
3. How can archaeologists contribute to the teaching of The Past?

This project lasted around twelve months, between August 2016 and August 2017. During this time, I had the opportunity to gain meaningful relationships and friendships with many individuals, some of which were not part of the project, but helped me *survive* different hard

moments during fieldwork. And to them I will be forever thankful, because without them, this dissertation would not have been possible.

Ethnographic Methods

I used ethnographic methods to understand the context in which children in Chavín de Huántar learn about their past. These qualitative methods allow us to answer our questions in detail, but also provide us with an enriched context in which social and cultural behaviors occur. I primarily used ethnographic methods to understand the educational environment that Indigenous children experience while attending elementary school: the archaeological site, the museum, and other community settings. Having multiple educational spaces to explore was beneficial as I wish to understand the multiple avenues children have to understand The Past.

I used participant observation—widely considered the foundational method in ethnography—to experience and record behaviors and interactions in which my participants partook. As Bernard (2006) explains, it entails actively participating and systematically observing the lives and practices of communities to obtain a holistic understanding of social and cultural phenomena. Children are a key focus of my inquiry, I mainly observed and interacted with them, both to understand what they know about their Past, and them as human beings with goals, aspirations, hopes, and fears.

I primarily observed how children interacted with learning about The Past and historical narratives, which included what and how they are taught the past; their personal relationship with it and how they feel about what they are learning; and what they like most about their past. Through observing these dynamics, I was able to better understand how different stakeholders contribute to their education and how they feel about what they are learning. In addition, I was able to

understand what they like the most about the past to create educational material that could be interesting to them.

When planning my fieldwork, I expected to do mostly participant observation with children in 5th grade. My initial research suggested that in this grade children began to explore the ancient Past in a more holistic way, although some initial topics related to the Peruvian past are addressed earlier (Minedu 2005). However, when I started to understand the school system in Chavín I came to see that things were quite different—children of all ages were learning about their Past. When I realized this, my age group changed from children from 5th grade to children of elementary school in a broader sense.

I hung out with kids in different settings: their school and classroom, often participating in school events and sport activities; bumping into each other around the main plaza and hanging out; outside their houses and on the streets of the town; the summer camp in which some of them participated; and almost always in our weekly *fútbol* matches.

Doing participant observation at the local elementary school "República de Honduras" allowed me to gather information on how children are learning about The Past, how teachers negotiate their own beliefs about The Past, and what the Peruvian nation-state wishes children to learn about history. Hanging out and talking to kids I learned about the aspects of The Past with which they engaged the most, what they wanted to learn, and what learning activities worked better for them.

I also conducted participant observation at community activities, including church services, religious patron festivities, town celebrations, and many others. These activities allowed me to better understand how The Past is used at a personal and communal level outside of "formal" learning settings. It also encouraged me to observe how children and other community members

interacted with The Past and with historical narratives that might be in contradiction with each other. Such narratives come from multiple learning spaces. It also allowed me to understand what aspects of The Past are more important to the community and to different families. These observations not only contributed to answering my research questions, but also helped with the organization and planning of the applied and action-based aspects of this dissertation.

In addition to participant observation, I conducted semi-structured interviews. I used these interviews to gather information on the background and opinions of informants, by covering focused questions while allowing flexibility—to both the respondent and myself—to take the conversation elsewhere (Bernard 2006). I recruited participants from the elementary school República de Honduras, the community of Chavín, the archaeological site Chavín de Huántar, the National Museum of Chavín, and government offices. Interviews with participants included children, teachers, community members, archaeologists, and government officials. Depending on the participant, I asked specific questions to better understand their relationship to The Past and the activities related to its teaching. In addition, I used these interviews to explore how archaeologists can contribute to the teaching of a past that benefit and represent the local community.

To help guide my interviews with children, I used three different types of interviews. When I began my research, I was only expecting to use photo-voice and drawing elicitations. However, as the research evolved, I understood what functioned better for the children with whom I was working, and I mixed things up. I used drawing elicitations as part of a semi-structured interview conducted with children; and photo-voice in combination with go-along interviews. Photo-elicitation is a method in which participants use cameras to document their experiences with more liberty, to illuminate experiences that otherwise might have gone unnoticed (Guillemin and Drew

2010). On the other hand, drawing elicitations have similar connotations, as they revolve around participants' drawings. Through visual documentation, these methods have the ability to shed light on cultural phenomena, cultural performances, and ideological standpoints (Allen 2012). In the case of drawings, I asked children to make a drawing about what they imagine Chavín to have been in The Past. These drawings allowed me to understand what they internalized about the teaching of The Past.

I conducted go-along interviews to understand the context in which children interact, remember, and know things about the archaeological site. This method provides the opportunity for a more structured observation in which the interviewee drives the conversation as she moves around space (Kusenbach 2003). It leads individuals to discuss/ analyze environmental perceptions and special practices (Kusenbach 2003), thus providing a contextual understanding of what people feel and how they experience things and their surroundings. For the purpose of this dissertation, the surrounding was the archaeological site of Chavín de Huántar. I asked children to take pictures of the site while they were my "tour guides" (*go-along interview*). They were asked to describe the site to me, tell me what they knew about the site, and share stories of when they visited the site before. This approach allowed me to understand their knowledge of the site while also actively participating in teaching them things that they might not have known, using my archaeological training. It also allowed me to understand what children find attractive about the site.

These three types of interviews with children allowed me to explore the visions and imaginaries children have about The Past, as well as directly explore what children know and do not know about the archaeological site and the town's Past. My ethnographic work with children and their participation in the summer camp "Archaeology and Culture" are central to the analysis and results to this dissertation.

I used semi-structured interviews, drawing elicitations, go-along interviews, participant observation and some of the summer camp activities to answer question 1: What do children at Chavín de Huántar know about their Past? Most of the information came from working with children. On the other hand, semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and document analysis was used to answer question 2: How do government agencies, institutions, public offices, and archaeological projects contribute to education about the Past?

All interviews and field notes were transcribed, translated from Spanish to English (when necessary—I conducted some interviews in English), and coded in NVIVO (version 12). This software allows for systematic analysis of the qualitative data collected, creating patterns and organization of the information (Bernard 1998). A list of codes and emergent themes can be found in Appendix A. I pay close attention to the politics of representation of the participants, as well as my subjectivity and positionality during different phases of this research project. In addition, I used pseudonyms throughout this dissertation and all children's names and participant's names have been changed to ensure their confidentiality. Thus, all names presented in this documents are pseudonyms and in some cases, I have changed the gender of my participants to again, continue to ensure their confidentially.

Table 2: Types of interviews conducted with children

Children	
Type of Interview	**Interviews**
Semi-Structured	5
Drawing-elicitation	5
Photo-elicitation	6
Go-along interview	6

Table 3: Semi structured interviews

Semi-Structured Interviews	
Informants	**Interviews**
Teachers	5
Parents	3
Children	5
Community Members	5
Archaeology community	15
Collectives	2
Government Officials	1
Total	**36**

Table 4: Participant Observation by location and number of hours approximately spent.

Location	Hours
Town	320+
Fútbol Matches with kids	20+
School	30+
Teacher Strike	14+
Teacher Workshops	10+
Summer Camp	48+
Archaeological Site	50+
National Museum of Chavín	20+
TOTAL	**512+**

Action Research

Collaboration is crucial to action-based research, anthropologists of education, researchers with a critical epistemology, and activists in general. We (as anthropologists) need to stop policing the boundaries of our discipline and our work while we engage in conversation and action within other communities (both academic and non-academic); we need to engage in dialogues with different people in order to create significant changes (Speed 2006; González 2010a; Schultz 2014). Collaboration, however, is not as simple as one might imagine. We need to be aware of what community members need, as participants might not share our emancipatory and liberating agenda (Banegas and Villacañas de Castro 2015). For that reason, during the ethnographic periods of my research it was important for me to understand what the community wanted and needed. Through interviews and participant observation, the community expressed the need of a summer camp for children, as well as workshops for teachers.

I will now provide a brief explanation of these action-based projects and research. More details of these projects can be found in chapter 6 as well as in Appendix A; however, it is important for the reader to understand these projects, as they were key to answering some of the research questions discussed in the following chapters.

Summer Camp

One of the patterns I recognized while interviewing children and their parents was that they wanted a summer camp. “Kids have nothing to do here in the summer, something related to the archaeological site and crafts would be beneficial”, they told me. I took this suggestion to heart and planed a summer camp with many different collaborators.

Table 5: Main collaborators for Summer Camp 2017

Main Collaborators	
1. National Museum of Chavín, Director	2. The archaeological site's administration
3. Educators from the National Museum of Chavín	4. The archaeological project (Stanford)
5. Specialists on Local traditions (3)	6. The local government

The summer camp ran from January 5th to February 28th, 2017. We met every Tuesday and Thursday from 9am to 12pm. We had 16 classes for a total of 48 hours of classes. During the month of December 2016, I finalized conversations with my main collaborators and began to advertise the summer camp. I went house to house to as many homes as I could and left a flyer at each door and also handed them to people on the street. I placed larger flyers in certain key stores with the permission of the owners, as well as prominent places in town. In two days, I managed to handout around 700 small flyers. I also followed many of my participants’ advice and coordinated the advertisement of the summer camp via the local radio station.

By the beginning of the year 34 children had signed up. However, by the end of the camp around 91 children participated. Some of them on a regular basis, others would show up and disappear depending on other activities they had; some educational, others familial. Each class had

an average of 45 students. Before classes started, they signed up at the Archaeological Site and the Office of Education and Sports at the Municipality's Civic Center. When the classes began, students could sign up with me at the Civic Center; a space that the Municipality provided for some classes.

Figure 6: Summer Camp flyer. Made by Alejandra Wundram

Although our intention as summer camp organizers was to cap the number of children at around 50-60, it was very hard for me to say no to parents and children that wanted to participate. My goal was to benefit as many children as I could, and it did not feel correct to leave out people who wanted to be a part of this learning experience—everyone should have the right to learn. So we decided to just accept everybody that wanted to join. In that same fashion, the intention was to only have children from elementary school; but again, it was very hard for us to say no to parents and we made some exceptions. As a result, some students were not yet in first grade, while other students that had just finished sixth grade. The summer camp had four main objectives: (1)

- complement the historical education from school;
- combine oral histories and traditions with archaeological techniques and teachings;

- recognize what activities work better with children ages 5 to 13;
- investigate what children knew about their Past.

I discussed each class with the active collaborators of the project, especially the two educators from the National Museum of Chavín. In addition, each class that involved a local or archaeological specialist was discussed in detail with them. These local/archaeological specialists included a Peruvian ethnomusicologist, a Peruvian osteologist, and a local tour guide who works in the archaeological project. Classes included oral histories, visits to the museum and the archaeological site, archaeological contexts, music, mortuary archaeology and funeral contexts, ceramics, the environment, gender, and oral history. At the end of the camp, the children's projects were placed on exhibit at the National Museum of Chavín for a day-long activity with parents and community members.

Teacher Workshops

One of the patterns that I recognized while interviewing parents, community members, teachers and school administration, was that one of the reasons children do not know much about their past is because they are not learning it in school. That was when I knew I needed to reach out to teachers at the local elementary school. At first it was difficult to gain rapport with them, but after a few months and the summer camp, some teachers became interested in collaborating with me. At first teachers were hesitant to participate because they thought I was a government official and that their work was under evaluation; some did not believe that this project and collaboration was worth their time; others had troubles with a *Limeña* (somebody from Lima, the capital of Perú) coming in to their space, asking questions and potentially collaborating with them to change their status quo.

Table 6: Main collaborators for Teacher Workshops

Main Collaborators	
1. Teachers from local Elementary School	2. The Archaeological Site's Administration
3. The archaeological Project (Stanford)	4. The National Museum of Chavín

These workshops had five sessions. Two were intended to plan activities, while the other three were more active. The Research and Conservation project in Chavín de Huántar came to the school and gave teachers information about the site; we visited the site and got a tour of the open archaeological units, as well as the site; and we visited the museum where I provided the teachers with a tour, but we also engaged in conversations, we all learned from each other. The teachers' workshops had five main objectives:

- understand the teachers' needs;
- work with teachers in order to solve some of the problems they face;
- provide teachers with information and contacts for them to better develop ideas about Chavín's past;
- work in collaboration with the three archaeological communities in town (the Archaeological Project, the Archaeological site, and the National Museum of Chavín) to receive information firsthand;
- co-create educational material that could be used in the classroom.

As fieldwork normally goes, many factors affect the plans and outcomes one sets out to do. During our workshops the teachers and I had to adapt to different local and national circumstances. The National Teacher Strike in 2017 affected the ways in which we worked, as well as the amount of time we could spend on different activities and workshops. Nevertheless we did what we could,

and teachers mentioned that even though our work was interrupted, they felt that what we did was beneficial for them and would benefit their students.

Politics of representation

My identity and subjectivity presented in previous pages are important for discussing the politics of representation. I follow Jones, Torres, and Arminio's (2014) definition of subjectivity as a "knower attempting to better understand the world through experiences of those living in the world and understanding the perceptions are not wrong, just different" (18). This subjectivity influences the way in which we interpret our data, as well as how we decide to represent our informants and participants. In other words, the politics of representation revolve around what and how we decide to share and make public the information our participants share with us (Kish 1999). This is crucial while conducting and making research public, because the information we present can be used to benefit communities and individuals but can also be used in harmful ways.

Different researchers have attempted to mitigate these politics of representation in different ways. Kish (1999) suggests that researchers and participants should work together to co-interpret. This approach includes not only how participants are presented to the public, but also how their lived experiences are presented and interpreted. Important also in her discussion is that we must remember that when we are presenting information and speaking for others, we might also be silencing important aspects of their experiences (Kish 1999). Following Newkirk, she states: "they have the right to represent their experiences in their own terms" but recognizes that this depends on whether participants have the time and interest in engaging in such task. Kish (1999) suggests that there needs to be a balance between co-interpretation and the researcher's own interpretations.

The relationship between participants and the researcher is also crucial during research and the politics of representation. The relationship between participants and researchers also shapes

the information gathered during research (Chikkatur and Jones-Walker 2013; X. Wang 2013). By combing this notion with Kish's (1999) recognition of the importance of representing institutions with respect and with a consideration of their reputation, I believe that is also crucial for us to consider the reputation of our participants within institutions. The identity of the researcher is also influential in these relationships and representations. Identifying in a similar fashion as our participants can open some doors (Dolby 2001); while identifying significantly different from them can close doors. Kish (1999) reminds us how important it is that we pay extra attention to these distinctions when representing our informants, as they can become distorted, and have the potential to harm them.

Throughout my dissertation fieldwork and write-up, I often found myself worried about the reputation of some of my participants, as I do not want to represent them as something that they are not, nor cause them any sort of harm. Unfortunately, due to the distance between my participants and myself at the time, we have not been able to co-interpret the results that the reader will encounter in the next chapters. Nevertheless, I hope to mitigate this problem by presenting lengthy extracts (when possible) from our interviews and allowing them to speak for themselves. It is my intention to find a balance between protecting them, presenting their concerns, and exposing injustices. During my 12-month fieldwork I became friends with many of my participants; especially kids, with whom I shared most of my time. I would like to believe that the friendship was mutual, and that they learned from me as much as I learned from them; as well as enjoyed the time we spent together. It is hard for me to stop thinking about them smiling and having fun, something that continues to be a motivation for the work that I conduct.

In the next chapters of this dissertation, I will address my research questions and the context in which these answers arose. In chapter four I will discuss what children in Chavín de Huántar

know about The Past—and how this comes to be. In chapter five I will address what the school and other institutions do to contribute to education of The Past. While in chapter 6 I will provide the reader with recommendations and lessons learned from doing a participatory action-based ethnography of learning in Chavín de Huántar . It is my wish for you to join me in this journey as we discover some of the problematic aspects of how children learn about The Past and what we can do to transform this situation.

CHAPTER 4. CHAVÍN AS A GOLDEN-AGE: THE POST-CHAVÍN VIZARD

In this chapter I discuss what children know about their local Past. In order to do so I will present data from three different types of interactions with kids. These include interviews and drawing elicitations; go-along interviews; and material gathered from the summer camp conducted in January and February 2017. These data entries are occasionally combined with what parents, community members, and archaeologists said in regard to the subject.

This chapter is organized for the reader to follow and compare what children mention about certain attributes related to the archaeological site or temple, and what archaeologists have published about these same topics. Each recurrent theme will be addressed under its heading. First I will provide the archaeological evidence and then continue with what children know about such topic. I used this approach to compare and contrast the information gathered by archaeologists with information children receive. In this chapter I will not discuss the sources of the information provided to children, just what they know. In the next chapter, I will provide an in-depth description of what different institutions, groups of people, and the government do to provide children with information related to The Past. As previously mentioned, the intention of this chapter is merely to outline what children know and do not know about their past. I will provide some initial discussion to these reasons in order to transition into the next chapter. But before doing so this chapter is divided in what children know about Chavín and what children don't know about Chavín. In the first section I will provide the reader with information (archaeological and children's knowledge) related to: Location, Chavín before 1200 BCE, Chavín as a Golden-Age, Antiquity, Temple and Architecture, Iconography, Tenon heads, the Lanzón, the Raimondi Stela, the Raimondi Stela in Lima, the Tello Obelisk, Galleries, the Falcon Entrance, Choque Chinchay,

Plazas, Pilgrimage, media control, households, economy, and subsistence, manual labor, and ancestors as Incas.

What children know about Chavín

Children receive knowledge about Chavín from different sources. However, before we understand those sources and what they do to contribute to education in Chavín, we must first have a clear understanding of what children know. Children throughout this dissertation range from the age of 6 to 13. What they know will be presented after each section's archaeological description.

It is important to highlight at this point that most of the published work about Chavín's archaeological past focuses on Chavín as a Golden-Age. When I asked the current director of the archaeological project about why he thought most children in Chavín only talk about this time period, he told me that he believes this could be partly due to his focus in understanding and publishing on this particular period as cultural and social phenomenon.

Location

Situated in a strategic and sacred landscape, Chavín de Huántar is located at the cross-roads of the jungle and the coast, where the Mosna and Huachecsa rivers meet, and can be seen from great distances (Rick 2006). The Mosna river is located East of the site, while the Huachecsa is towards the North.

Children—for the most part—know the names of the two rivers that surround the archaeological site. When I asked children in our go-along interviews they could recognize them, although in some cases they were not able to recognize which was which. When I asked kids if they knew what these names meant in Quechua, none of them knew. When I asked Augusto for example, he had registered both names, but thought it was only one river.

June 17th, 2017

Marcela: What's the name of this river?
Augusto: Huachecsa or Mosna river.
Marcela: One is Huachecsa and the other one is Mosna.
Augusto: Yeah, that's right, this is the Huachecsa and Mosna.

Marcela: ¿y ese río cómo se llama?
Augusto: rio Huachecsa o río Mosna.
Marcela: uno es Huachecsa y el otro es Mosna.
Augusto: ahí 'ta, esto es Huachecsa y Mosna.

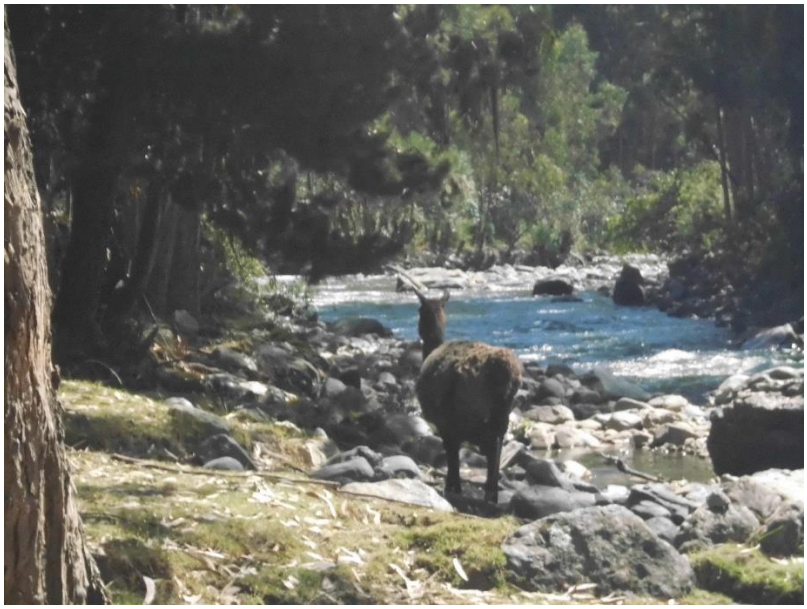

Figure 7: Photograph of the Mosna river taken by Sara during a go-along interview.

Chavín before 1200 BCE

Archaeological evidence: The archaeological site and the town of Chavín de Huántar are located on a floodplain formed by ancient landslides produced by the overflow of the Mosna River. These landslides eventually filled the lake and created a flat surface (Rick 2008).

Across the river from the archaeological site, in the area called "La Banda"(which is a small community) and under layers of stratigraphy linked to ceramics, the Research and Conservation project in Chavín de Huántar discovered a deposit of lithic (quartz and flint)

instruments and deer bones dated to around 2600–2800 BCE (Rick 2008, Rick et al. 2009). Around this area they also found a hearth linked to lithic flakes (Rick et al. 2009). Further away from the contemporary delimitation of the archaeological site of Chavín de Huántar, more Archaic period evidence was found. Seven meters underground, more hearths and lithic deposits excavated including flakes, complete and fragmented arrowheads, cores, and some unifacial instruments all dated to around 2900–3350 BCE (Rick et al. 2009). Rick argues that this evidence suggests a long and extensive pre-ceramic occupation at Chavín de Huántar, prior to the construction of the temple. Children have little to no knowledge about what happened at Chavín de Huántar prior to the construction of the archaeological site. During the summer camp I conducted in collaboration with educators, community members, and archaeologists we discussed early inhabitants of the area and how Chavín's geography was formed. However, even children that attended the summer camp had trouble remembering what they learned only a couple of months prior to our interview at the archaeological site. Children do not know the environmental history of Chavín: that it used to be a lake, that over centuries of landslides it became flat (enough), and that people began to occupy the area circa 3000 BCE. Children also do not know about the community of hunter and gatherers that lived in the area prior to the population growing enough to develop into a chiefdom. No children mentioned any of these factors in any of the interactions we had. All stories discussed by children start at Chavín as a Golden Age. For example, in a homework exercise Juliana mentioned:

January 12th, 2017

> *The archaeological site was built by the Incas. The Chavín culture was the oldest, other cultures came after to exchange food and other resources, like seashells.*
>
> *El monumento arqueológico fue construido por los Incas. La cultura Chavín fue lo más antiguo, otras culturas venían desde lejos para intercambiar sus alimentos entre cosas como la caracola*

Chavín as a Golden Age

When I asked children about Chavín's past, they started their stories with Chavín as a Golden Age (1200–500 BCE). Most children knew the basics of this time period, i.e. they recognized the most important features, iconography, and architecture, as defined by archaeologists.

Antiquity

The raise of Chavín: Around 1200 BCE Chavín de Huántar experienced a small population growth; with this increase in population began the construction of the temple (Burger 1998; Rick et al. 2009). Between 1200 and 800 BCE the site increased in size and in popularity (Kembel 2008; Rick et al. 2009) and became a ceremonial a pilgrimage center receiving visitors and material culture from up to 825 kilometers (Burger 1992; Druc 2004; Contreras 2011). The archaeological site of Chavín has been the focus of numerous investigation projects since the early 1900s. Tello (1960) was the first to mention that Chavín de Huántar was the "Mother Culture" of Andean civilization; a notion that continues to be used in various scenarios and repeated by some of the children.

Children for the most part did not give a time period in which Chavín occurred. However, based on their accounts it is clear that they are referring to Chavín during its "Golden-Age". In addition, some children recognize Chavín as the Mother Culture of Andean civilization, even though recent archaeological investigations have argued against this notion. When Leonela was asked to tell us about what her family told her about the temple, she answered:

January 12th, 2017

> *They have told me very little. What I know is that the word Chavín comes from the word Chaupin and it was discovered by Julio Cesar Tello and he proposed a theory: That Chavín was the Mother culture of all other Andean Cultures.*

Me han contado muy poco, lo que sé que el nombre Chavín viene de la palabra Chaupin y que fue descubierto por Julio Cesar Tello y que este propuso una teoría: Que Chavín era la cultura matriz de todas las culturas andinas.

Temple and Architecture

Archaeology: The archaeological site or temple of Chavín de Huántar as we know it today (in the past it was larger), covers an area of 0.5 square kilometers (Rick 2005). The temple includes many different buildings with stone-faced facades and a number of galleries, canals, and drainages that travel both underneath and within the temple (Lumbreras and Amat 1965; Tello 1960). The site is believed to have been decorated with tenon heads that surrounded the Old and New Temple; stone cornices, some of which might have protected or covered the tenon heads; obelisks; and many other decorated stone engravings, all of which include iconography of humans, animals, and plants (Rick 2005).

Children's description of the temple and architecture is limited to mentioning most of the archaeological features found at the site. None of the children described the arrangement of stones that form the temple, nor where to find each one of the elements. Noemi, a summer camp participant, described in her homework what many of the children said when talking about the Temple or site as a whole:

January 10th, 2017

The archaeological monument of Chavín de Huántar consists of many galleries, drainage canals, [and] air vents inside the galleries. The monolithic Lanzón, circular plaza, the square plaza. The Front of Falcons, tenon heads, and the temple has a pyramidal shape, or had and were theocratic sculptures. They adored animals from the Amazonian jungle: snakes, jaguars, eagles, crocodiles, etc. There are also ceramics, worked bones and stone, like the Raimondi Stele and the Tello Obelisk.

El Monumento arqueológico de Chavín de Huántar consiste con muchas galerías canales de drenajes, ductos de ventilación dentro de las galerías. El lanzón monolítico, plaza circular, plaza cuadrada. La portada de las falcónidas, cabeza clava, y el templo se encuentra en forma piramidal o tenía y fue una escultural teocráticas religiosas, adoración

a los animales en la selva amazónica: serpientes, jaguares, águila arpía caimanes, etc. Y también hay cerámicas, huesos y piedras talladas como la estela Raimondi y el obelisco Tello.

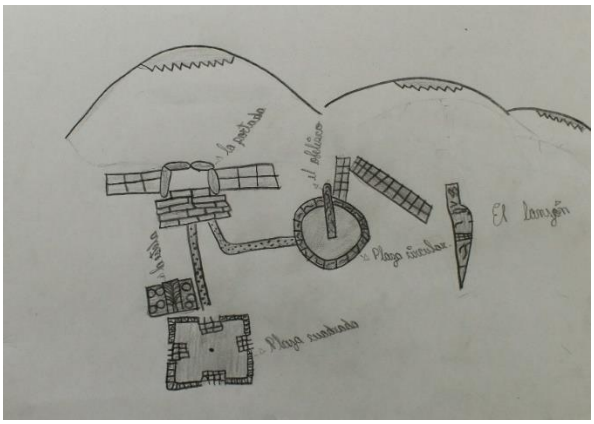

Figure 8: Drawing of the Chavin the Huantar Temple – made by Guadalupe during a drawing elicitation

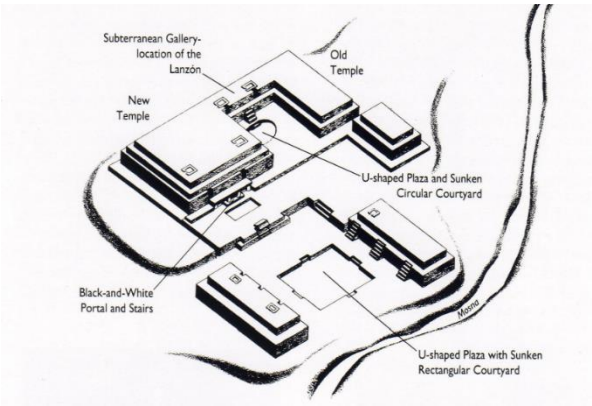

Figure 9: Image of the Chavín de Huántar Temple – taken from Burger (1992)

Iconography

<u>Archaeology:</u> A number of scholars (e.g. Lumbreras, 1969; Burger, 1992) have discussed ritual activity at Chavín de Huántar. For decades, the importance of the iconography found at the site has been used to explain the activities that took place at the archaeological site. For example, Lumbreras (1974) suggests that the iconography in the circular plaza is a procession towards the staircase that leads to the top of the temple and the galleries. This procession includes the presence of anthropomorphic individuals carrying a number of different ritual paraphernalia. Some of these include a San Pedro cactus and spondylus trumpets. Other beings participating in this procession include monkeys carrying ritual shafts. The most common motifs include features of snakes, birds, and felines (Tello 1943).

Figure 10: *Worked Stone with some of the most common Chavín motifs: Snakes and Feline attributes. Located at the Chavín National Museum.*

Children: Most children are able to recognize and mention the presence of the most common motifs of Chavín iconography. Some were able to do so without being at the archaeological site, while others needed me to ask them what they were looking at and what animals they recognized.

Tenon heads

Archaeology: Tenon heads are sculptures that are believed to have surrounded the archaeological site. They show the transformation between anthropomorphic features into those of felines. Archaeologists believe that this transformation and some iconographic features (such as mucus coming out of noses or wrinkled faces) suggest that these individuals had consumed San Pedro—a hallucinogenic plant (Burger 1992).

Figure 11: tenon head

Figure 12: tenon head

Figure13: tenon head

Children recognize the existence of Tenon Heads or *cabezas clavas* but provide little to no detail about what they mean. Those that provide more information about what tenon heads are, mention that there once were many surrounding the temple. They depict transformation between human and feline form and were guardians of the temple, scaring individuals coming close to the ceremonial center. When I asked Sarita what she knew about these tenon heads she told me:

June 24th, 2017

> *They are guardians of the temple and they also say that they are kind of like…. how can I say this, hahahaha, uhm, I don't know, they are almost like statues that look like people, that go from transformation to transformation…. from human to feline.*
>
> *Son guardianes del templo y también dice que están como que… a ver, como te digo jajajaja, este no sé, es como, son como casi estatuas que parecen personas, que van de transformación en transformación… de humano a felino.*

One kid, Teresa added that tenon heads are representations of individuals affected by San Pedro.

Lanzón

Archaeology*:* The Lanzón is a 4.5-meter-high granite stone sculpture located within one of the main buildings at Chavín de Huántar (Rick 2008). Its location and iconography seem to point to an idol-like feature (Rick 2005). The Lanzón has snake-like hair, an animal nose, fangs, human hands and feet with claws; as well as human prestige goods such as earrings, a pectoral, and a decorated kilt. Spanish chroniclers (see image below) might have recognized the Lanzón as an

important deity—although satanized. In addition, numerous archaeologists believe it was one of the main gods, if not the principal one (Burger 1992).

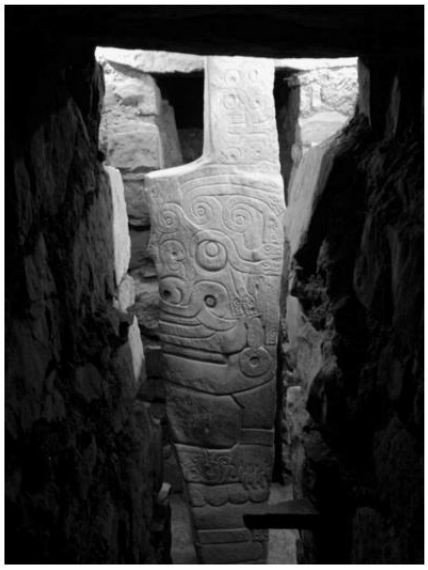

Figure 14: Photograph of the Lanzón from Rick (2005)

Figure 15: Picture made by Pepe from the 2017 archaeology summer camp

<u>Children:</u> Most, if not all kids, recognize the importance of the Lanzón. They also recognize the feline elements and its iconographic importance. Some go even further and mention that the Lanzón was the main god of the Chavín peoples. What is very interesting about this is that many kids are scared of the Lanzón. When conducting a go-along interview with Augusto he did not want to get too close to it.

<u>June 17th, 2017</u>

Marcela: Do you want to go a little bit closer?
Augusto: No… hahaha
Marcela: Does it scare you?
Augusto: Ah… it looks you in the eye!
Marcela: Yeah? And what happens if it looks you in the eye?
Augusto: I would faint.

Marcela: ¿Quieres acercarte un poco más o aquí no más?
Augusto: No… jajajaja

Marcela: ¿Te da un poco de miedo?
Augusto: ¡Ah… te mira a los ojos!
Marcela: ¿sí? ¿y qué pasa si te mira a los ojos?
Augusto: Me desmayo.

Many kids had similar reactions. This could be for a number of different reasons. For example, Sara told me that she was told that the Lanzón was made to provoke fear, she stated:

October 17th, 2016

They told me that for people to be scared [of the Lanzón] they poured blood on it and here is my bloodied Lanzón and this was done so that people are scared and follow the kings' orders.

Me dijeron que para que la gente tenga miedo, le embarraban con sangre y aquí está mi lanzón con sangre y que para que le dé susto y para que obedezcan las órdenes de los reyes.

Another reason could be related to colonialism. For example, early seventeenth century Spanish chroniclers believed that different Indigenous Peoples came to the site on a pilgrimage to worship the devil. The following image taken in 2010 has a direct quote from a passage of Antonio Vazquez de Espinosa. It reads:

Figure16: Photograph of Antonio Vazquez de Espinosa's quote outside of the Archaeological Site.

Next to this town of Chavín, there is a great building made out very well worked rock, of notable greatness, it was a guaca [huaca] and sanctuary of the most famous of the Gentiles like among us Rome or Jerusalem where the Indians would come to offer sacrifices, because the devil in this place gave them many oracles, and in this way they came from al the kingdom, below the earth there are large rooms and chambers, such is the case that there is news that they pass under the river, that it passes next to the guaca [huaca] or ancient sanctuary - Antonio Vazquez de Espinosa 1616.

Although this quote is no longer printed outside of the archaeological site, it was there for many years and it would be of no surprise to me that the usage of the words “the devil in this place gave them oracles” might have influenced members—especially Christian members—to believe that the Lanzón was/is the devil. In addition, according to Luis, one of my key participants, evangelicals today associate the Lanzón with the devil.

Raimondi Stela

Archaeology: The Raimondi Stele is an engraved granite stone of almost two meters high and 74 centimeters wide. Tello (1923) believed that it was one of Chavín’s main gods, a jaguar with anthropomorphic features. In similar ways as the Lanzón and the Tello Obelisk, the Stele has eccentric eyes, fangs, and claws (Fujii 1993). This anthropomorphic figure is holding two staffs, one in each hand, and has a peculiar headdress—although some believe it to be a cape—with multiple heads/faces coming out of each other.

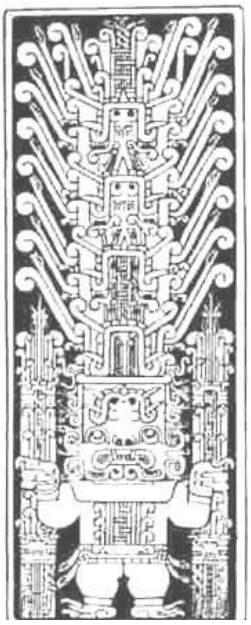

Figure 17: Iconographic representation of the Raimondi Stele

Figure 18: Photograph of a replica of the Raimondi Stele located near the Temple entrance, taken by Augusto

Children: Most kids know of the existence of the Raimondi Stela and its importance. However, only about half of the children that mentioned it, talked about how this sculpture has images related to snakes, eagles, and felines. One mentioned that the numerous faces on the upper portion of the Stela are a reference to a headdress; while one kid—who participated in the summer camp—remembered that the tour guide provided us with the additional theory that it could be a sort of cape. However, most children mention the Raimondi Stela in similar contexts to what Sara wrote in her summer camp homework:

January 10th, 2017

> *They say that before the monument was used to farm maize. After the landslide [1943] people started to clean and every time they cleaned, they found a lot of things, and they found the Lanzón, the* ***Raimondi Stele****, the tenon head, and the Tello Obelisk and they keep finding more things, but I want to know more.*
>
> *Dice que antes el monumento era una chacra de sembrar choclo. Después del aluvión las personas empezaron a limpiar y cada vez que limpiaban más descubrían bastantes cosas y también descubrieron el lanzón monolítico, la estela Raymondi, la Cabeza clava y el obelisco Tello y siguieron descubriendo más, pero quiero saber más.*

Raimondi Stele in Lima

One particular common place for many children is the notion that the Raimondi Stela is not in the Museum of Chavín, but rather in a museum in Lima (National Museum of Archaeology, Anthropology, and History). When I asked children about what they thought about the location of the Raimondi Stele and where it should be, they had different opinions. For example, Melisa answered the following when we were talking about the Stela:

August 20th, 2017

> *Well I don't know too much about this, but my dad says that the Raimondi Stela, the real Raimondi Stela is in Lima. They took it because they don't find it important here. They were going to take the Lanzón too, but it was too heavy. I think it should come back to Chavín because it's our culture, not Lima's.*
>
> *Bueno, de eso no sé mucho, solo que mi papá me dice que la Estela Raimondi, la verdadera Estela Raimondi está en Lima. La llevaron porque acá no le daban importancia: El Lanzón*

también lo iban a llevar, pero pesaba mucho. Yo creo que debería regresar a Chavín, porque es nuestra cultura, no es de Lima.

On the other hand, when I asked Mía where she thought the Raimondi Stela should be, she said:

June 17th, 2017

In Lima, because, look, the Lanzón is already here, we already have two… The Raimondi Stela should be in other places so that other people can also see it.

En Lima, porque, mira, si acá está el Lanzón y acá ya tenemos dos… La Estela debería estar en otros lugares para que otros conozcan.

Tello Obelisk

Archaeology: The Tello Obelisk is a granite shaft with complex and meaningful iconography. Archaeologists believe that there are two center images of either caimans or crocodiles. Tello (1943) believed that it was a hermaphrodite monster; while Burger (1992) believes it is a representation of a creation myth. Besides the two main images there are several other animal features—including felines, fish, birds—as well as human elements and plants. The Obelisk was found in the square plaza (Tello 1943) but this may not have been its original location (Burger 1992).

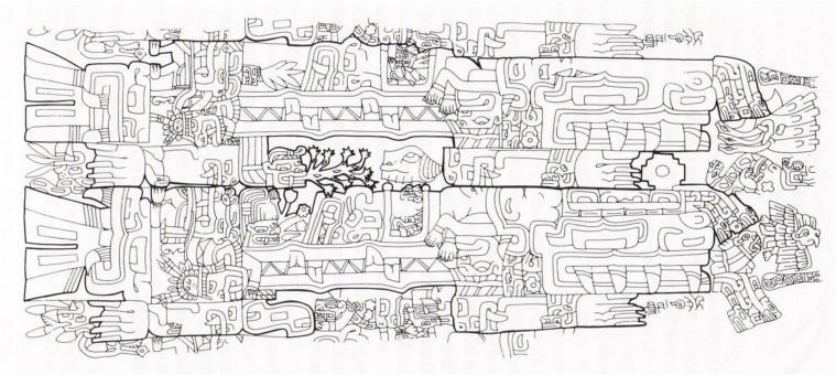

Figure 19: Drawing of the Tello Obelisk Iconography taken from Burger (1992)

Children: As in other cases, most children recognize the Tello Obelisk as important; however, there is little knowledge to what archaeologists believe the Tello Obelisk represents. Only two

children went into detail about some of the iconography on this sculpture. For example, Sarita told me:

June 24th, 2017

> *The Tello Obelisk has an alligator part, and also another part, but it also has parts with snakes, eagles, and jaguars. And especially an alligator.*
>
> *El Obelisco Tello tiene una parte de caimanes, ya, y también otra parte, pero también tiene partes de serpientes, de halcones y también de jaguares. Y en especial del caiman.*

Galleries

Archaeology**:** The temple of Chavín de Huántar has many different galleries, not all of which have been archaeologically re-discovered yet. These galleries tend to have a labyrinth layout; some were used for storage (e.g. *Caracolas* Gallery), others for ritual activity, and some have yet to be understood. The ones open to the public include: The Lanzón Gallery, The *Laberintos* Gallery, *Doble Mensula*, and the *Los Cautivos* Gallery.

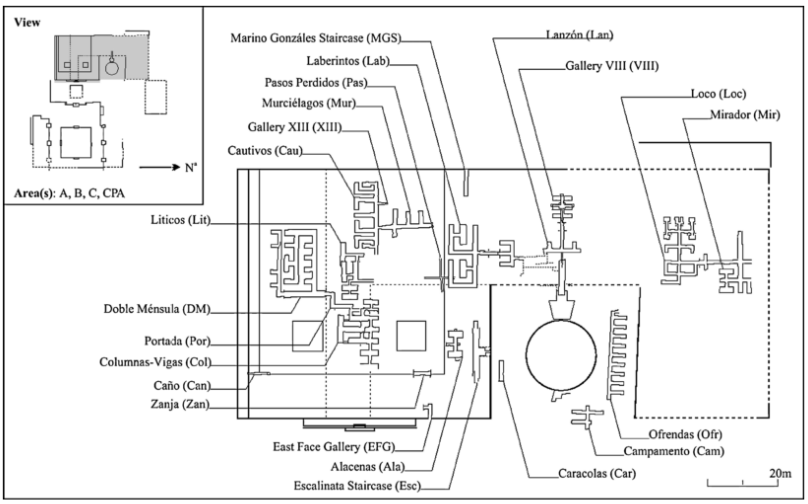

Figure 5.2. Map of the distribution of major gallery systems within the central buildings of Chavín de Huántar (from Kembel 2001).

Figure 20: Layout of galleries from the archaeological site. Taken from Kembel 2001; Rick 2005)

Children: After the Lanzón Gallery, The Los Cautivos Gallery is the next well-known gallery for children. When asked what happened in this conglomeration of rooms they answered that it was a

place where the elites hung prisoners or slaves. When Jesús was asked to talk about the archaeological site he mentioned:

January 20th, 2017

> *There were many galleries ventilated with air ducts; there is also a gallery that was of the* Cautivos *[captives], where they punished bad people., Besides, they say that they would drink San Pedro to look at the outside world.*
>
> *Otra cosa es que tenían varias galerías ventilados por conductos de aire; también hay una galería que es de los cautivos, allí los castigaban a las personas malas, aparte dicen que tomaban el San Pedro para ver hacía el mundo exterior.*

Portada de Las Falcónidas [Falcon Entrance]

Archaeology**:** This archaeological feature consists of two columns with typical Chavín iconography. On each one of these columns there is a bird with feline and snake features.

Children**:** Very few kids talked about the *Portada de Las Falcónidas* but when they did, they had an idea of the iconographic elements that are involved in this feature. This was clear when I was on a go-along interview with Mía. We can see her understanding of this feature in our interaction:

June 17th, 2017

> *Marcela: And what's this?*
> *Mía: Like an entrance hahaha*
> *Marcela: It's the Falcon Entrance – Do you know why it's called like that?*
> *Mía: Because there are two birds above?*
> *Marcela: Do you see them? Let's get closer… Do you see them?*
> *Mía: Yes*
> *Marcela: What other animals do you see?*
> *Mía: There is something like from the Raimondi Stele on those cylinders*
> *Marcela: Ok, but what other animals can you see?*
> *Mía: Like a puma.*
>
> *Marcela: ¿Y esto qué es?*
> *Mía: Como una portada jajajajaja*
> *Marcela: Portada a las falcónidas… ¿Sabes porque se llama así?*
> *Mía: ¿Porque hay como dos aves arriba?*

Marcela: ¿Las ves? Vamos a acercarnos más ¿Las ves?
Mía: Si
Marcela: ¿Qué otros animales ves?
Mía: Hay como algo de la Estela Raimondi en esos como cilindros
Marcela: Ya. ¿Pero que otros animales?
Mía: Como un puma…

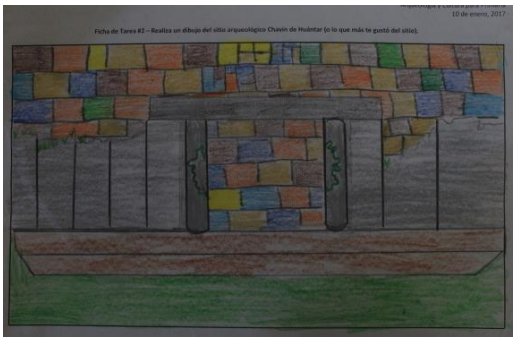

Figure 21: Drawing of the Portada de las Falcónidas made by Jesús

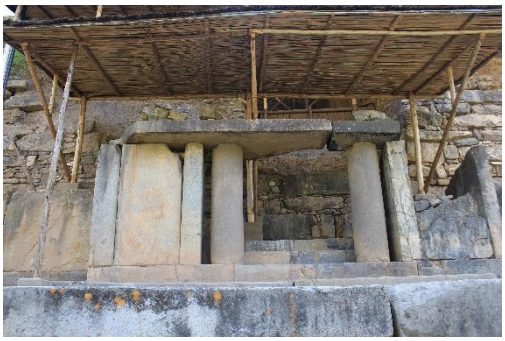

Figure 22: Photograph of the Portada de Las Falcónidas.

Choque Chinchay

Archaeology: Choque Chinchay is a rock structure with 7 holes in it. Archaeologists have speculated that these holes were used to mirror constellations and help predict seasonal climates (Lumbreras 1993). This is not the only structure at the site believed to have been used with this intention. From the circular plaza at sunrise, we can see an astronomical alignment of the summer solstice. Rick (2006) argues that the elite probably used this alignment to predict and control agricultural production. Lumbreras (1993) envisioned the presence of an oracle at the site that predicted Niño events.

When Children (not all of them did) talked about Choque Chinchay, they had a good idea of the use for this structure. They recognized that it had holes that were used to put water (one kid mentioned that they placed blood in the holes) in them to look at the starts; furthermore, they also

recognize that these seven holes combined with water and the stars, were used to predict the farming season. My conversation with Augusto summarizes what these kids described:

June 17th, 2017

> *They would bring water and put it in the seven holes, to see when it will rain, when they could harvest. They could see the stars, the moon, and each one of the Incas [sic] would kneel here. And in each one of the holes they would put water that they would bring from the bridge.*
>
> *Traían agua y los colocaban en los siete huecos, para ver cuándo llueve, cuándo cosechan, y veían las estrellas, la luna, y acá cada uno de los Incas se arrodillaba. Y en cada uno de los huecos, echaban agua. Y traían del puente*

Figure 23: Photograph of Choque Chinchay, taken by Augusto during our go-along interview.

Plazas

The presence of sunken plazas, and the evidence within them, has for decades suggested ritual activities held at the site (Rick 2005).

Square Plaza

Archaeology***:*** This sunken plaza is located close to the Mosna river. Its length is 49 square meters. In the middle of each side there is a staircase, allowing people to access the plaza. It is believed that the Tello Obelisk once stood in the middle of the temple and some rituals and ceremonies were held in this location (Tello 1943). An additional possibility is that while elites conducted rituals and different ceremonies in other places of the temple, pilgrims conglomerated in this location and held exchanges. The square plaza alone would hold at least 1000 individuals (Burger 2008).

Figure 24: Photograph of a portion of the Square Plaza

Children***:*** For the most part kids knew that the Square Plaza was important, and that ancient people held different rituals and offerings at this location. A clear example of this was my interaction with Jorge at the archaeological site:

August 23rd, 2017

Jorge: In the Plaza there were ceremonies.
Marcela: Yeah? What type of ceremonies?
Jorge: Like dances. They would bring other things, their things to exchange?
Marcela: So, they made exchanges?
Jorge: Yep, exchanges
Marcela: And where did the people come from?
Jorge: From a lot of places
Marcela: From where?
Jorge: Like from Lima, towards here and [from] ummmm… Ecuador.

Jorge: En la plaza pasaban ceremonias
Marcela: ¿Sí? ¿Qué tipo de ceremonias?
Jorge: Como bailes. Traían otras cosas, sus cosas para cambiar.
Marcela: Osea, hacían trueques
Jorge: Ajá, trueques.
Marcela: ¿Y de dónde venía la gente?
Jorge: De varios lugares, sí.
Marcela: ¿De dónde?
Jorge: Como de Lima, hasta acá y ummmm… Ecuador.

Children had different opinions on who participated in these ceremonies. Some children mentioned that everybody in town participated in the rituals, some mentioned that people from other places would also participate. On the other hand, others suggested that only the elite participated in ceremonies. Even though Rick (2005) has a similar opinion, Mía's words bring up an important and a key topic: whom are children considering important? She told me:

October 13th, 2017.

The teacher told me that, before the Incas [sic], the most important individuals would sit in the square plaza, and other people wouldn't. Other people that weren't important, like the commoners, they didn't sit there, they didn't sit there because they weren't that important.

> *El profesor me contó que antes, los, los Incas [sic], o sea los más importantes se sentaban de la plaza cuadrada ahí y los que no, no son tan importantes los pobladores esos, dice que no se sentaban, no se sentaban, que no se sentaban ahí porque no eran tan importantes.*

Here Mía refers to Incas as the elites. For now, I will leave out the problematics of the usage of the word Inca and concentrate on who she and/or her schoolteacher consider important. It is interesting and worrisome that the commoners are not considered important. If not for them, the temple and its popularity (and all the resources and materials needed to sustain the site) would not have been possible (Rick 2005). Why are teachers telling children that only elites are important? Are children to believe that only those who have economic and political power are important? That the rest of us do not have a say, are not worthy, or do not deserve respect? In the next chapter I provide another example of a teacher using this type of framework. Both of these cases are another example of the relationship between diverse forms of structure violence and discursive violence. These small interaction make me worry about how these types of statements might affect children as they grow up, how they feel and view their role in society.

The square plaza and fútbol (1)

Another interesting thing children—and other participants—brought up is that not that long ago people would gather at the temple and play *fútbol* and participate in other activities. For example, when Jessica was asked to describe the archaeological site she wrote the following: "*There's square plaza. They played fútbol there" (Hay una plaza cuadrangular. Ahí jugaban fútbol).* Similarly, while on a go-along interview with Jorge we had the following interaction:

August 23rd, 2017

> *Jorge: My mom and dad told me that they used to let people play here*
> *Marcela: Really? And what did they play?*
> *Jorge: Volleyball and fútbol*
> *Marcela: And where did they play? In the plaza? Or everywhere?*
> *Jorge: By the Plaza*

Jorge: Me ha contado mi mamá y mi papá que antes dejaban jugar acá
Marcela: ¿Sí? y ¿qué jugaban?
Jorge: voleibol and fútbol
Marcela: ¿Y dónde jugaban? ¿en la plaza? ¿o por todos lados?
Jorge: Por la plaza

Seeing so many children mention that their parents used to play *fútbol* or do other activities at the site made me think about how the control of access to the site and the control of knowledge about the site may in fact be related. With this I am not really suggesting that access should be completely free (not related to money but free in space and exploration –locals should have free admission every day of the week, not only on Tuesdays); because as an archaeologist I have seen people get hurt at archaeological sites and I have witnessed how some people vandalize structures and places. However, this idea does make me think that we need to urgently readjust the way people are allowed to use archaeological spaces. The restriction of space is attached to the restriction of knowledge. For example, some children feel that the archaeological site is not theirs but rather for the "gringos" (Gonzales Panta 2016). This restriction of space is tied to the control over land from the nation-state and settler colonialist and is tied to the restriction of knowledge that allows for an easier assimilation of Indigenous Peoples into the national social configuration. How do we expect children to understand their past if they are restricted from the spatial environment where it occurred? Of course, if we are to readjust the usage of archaeological spaces, this needs to come hand in hand with an understanding and teaching of how to take care of the site and one's self at the site. This might be a complex transition, but I believe it is possible.

The square plaza and fútbol (2): Different generations, different interactions, different relationships.

When I was analyzing the data I collected from kids on what they know about the square plaza, I found an interesting connection between three different data points. The first was kids

describing their parents playing sports at the archaeological site when they were younger. The second was from a mother who described her teenage years visiting and exploring the site because, as she put it, there was “less control”. The next thing I thought about was an article from Alex Gonzalez Panta (2016) where he describes an encounter with a Chavín local, a young boy. They were both on a hilltop of one of the surrounding mountains. The boy was looking at the temple, Alex came up to him and asked him what he was doing; the boy answered that he was looking at the site. Alex asked him why he didn’t go and visit the temple; the boy responded that only the foreigners went to the site. Here he is referring to all the tourists who visit the archaeological site. It comes as no surprise then: if children do not feel that the archaeological site is really theirs, how can we expect them to understand what happened at the site? I do not intended to underestimate children’s capacity to explore and learn—but we are not only restricting their access to the site (only one day a week to local Chavinxs have free admission to the temple) but also teaching them a history with tourist goals, rather than a deep understanding of their past with the potential to transform their lives in more positive and sustainable ways.

To further complicate the scenario, another interesting connection came with this analysis. Most children today are afraid of the Lanzón; although based on the accounts of María, a mother, things seemed to be different a couple of decades ago. She told me about her teenage adventures at the site, described herself and her friends hugging the Lanzón. Hugging is normally associated with positive feelings and connections. The most interesting thing about her memory is that her children; however, are terrified of the Lanzón (see above). This at first was hard for me to grasp, because one of my major findings is that children with a household with members involved in one way or another (craftspeople, educators, archaeologists, tourist guides) with the site, tend to know more about Chavín’s history. However, we must not forget that not all children have these

households and that external factors to these homes also have a strong influence on what children know and feel about the temple and their past. For example, the archaeological and touristic communities often tend to exaggerate and exoticize certain mythical figures in order to attract more visitors and interest (Gero and Root 1990). The Lanzón is not the exception. Evangelicals also have a strong, increasing presence in town and have been heard to reference the Lanzón with the devil—a negative connotation in a mainly Catholic/Christian country and region. Lastly, we need to revisit how the archaeological site is restricted, even within galleries. A glass door separates The Lanzón from visitors. People are not allowed to get too close to protect it from vandalism and touch. Although this is done for protection, it also limits the contact between living Chavinxs and their past. All of these different factors affect how children visualize their past and affect how and what children learn about their past. Here a fragment of my interview with María:

October 15th, 2017

> *Before there was more freedom with, when there wasn't much control, right? Well, I am saying this when I didn't have children, there wasn't much control,[so] we would go and walk around the castle, right? We would go to the tenon heads, we would go and see the Lanzón, we would leave, feel at home, but there is a lot of control now, right?*
>
> *Well, when I was in school, when we were in school, sometimes in the afternoons somebody would say "Let's go to the castle, there is nothing there". Before, there wasn't anything, right? There was no TV, nothing. "Let's go to the castle" and we would go, a group of teenagers, 12, 13, 15 years old and we would go and walk. And like I said, we would enter, there was not that much control, we would get on top of the tenon heads, we would take pictures,* ***we would hug the Lanzón*** *and we would go just walk around. And sometimes, during school we would go to the castle, it was like a field trip for us, going to the castle and walking around, getting to know it. We had a teacher that explained the history, how it was before.*
>
> *Más antes había este, libertad con, cuando todavía no había mucho control esto, ¿no? Bueno, esto yo le estoy diciendo cuando todavía no tenía mis hijos, no había control, nosotros íbamos y nos paseábamos todo el castillo, ¿no? Entrábamos en las cabezas clavas, entrábamos en el Lanzón, salíamos, como en casa, pero ahora hay bastante control, ¿no?*
>
> *Ah ya bueno, cuando este, estaba en el colegio, estábamos en el colegio, a veces así en las tardes, se nos ocurría, ¿no? "Vamos al castillo, no hay nada". Antes, no había nada pues,*

> *¿no? No había ni televisor, nada. "Vamos al castillo" y nos íbamos en grupo de adolescentes, de doce, trece, quince años y íbamos, caminábamos, como le digo, entrábamos, no había mucho control, nos subíamos a la cabeza clava, nos tomábamos fotos, le abrazábamos al Lanzón y andábamos por ahí, ¿no? Y a veces este, en la escuela, nos íbamos de paseo al castillo, era eso era nuestro paseo de nosotros, ir al castillo y caminar por ahí, conocer, había nuestro profesor que nos explicaba la historia, de cómo había sido más antes, ¿no?*

Through the triangulation of the data presented above, both the restriction of space and current religions demonizing The Past, I argue are used by the structure of settler colonialism to assimilate children into western life and the configuration of the nation-state. This is done by completely transforming their landscape and access to their land and past. The control over land by the nation-state and settler colonist is directly related to acculturation and the restriction of knowledge. By controlling the land and who was access to archaeological sites, the nation-state is also controlling who has access to information.

Circular Plaza

Archaeology: The circular plaza has many different lithic sculptures (not all in situ) and engravings embedded with ritual significance (Rick 2005). The arrangement of these sculptures suggests a type of processual or ritual space (Lumbreras 1974). The characters in these images include the iconographic features previously mentioned. In addition, they also present other animals such as monkeys and bats. Rick (2005) believes that ceremonies at the circular plaza held less people and might have been exclusive for elites. This plaza can hold between 16 and 95 people (Burger 2008).

Children: Most kids know of the existence of the circular plaza. Some children go further and mention that rituals were also held at this location. However, as I will discuss bellow, children did not know about the post-Chavín structures archaeologists left for people to witness latter occupations.

Figure 25: Photograph of the circular plaza with post-Chavín architecture.

Figure 26: Photograph of one of the lithic sculptures believed to have been from the circular plaza—character of a monkey playing a pututo. Chavín as a Golden-Age

Pilgrimage

Archaeology: Many scholars have suggested Chavín de Huántar is a pilgrimage center (Burger 1992; Druc 2004). Based on the diffusion of stylistic elements from Chavín, they believe that Chavín de Huántar had a widespread influence, interacting with other sites in the Andean territory. Daniel Contreras (2011) described in great detail the Chavín exchange and alliance network. Using GIS, he created a node-and-network map that connects Chavín de Huántar with other sites throughout the Central Andes, based on evidence of exotic material and iconography.

The non-local materials found at Chavín suggest a great deal of interaction over a maximum distance of 825 kilometers (Contreras 2011). A number of studies used compositional analysis to demonstrate the provenance of materials that include ceramics, obsidian, cinnabar, and salt. Obsidian can be traced back to Quispisisa, Jampatilla (Ayacucho), Alca (Arequipa), and Potero Pampa (Lambayeque) (Burger 1984; Glascock, et al. 2007; Nado 2007) cinnabar to Huancavelica (Burger 1988), salt from San Blas (Morales Chocano 1998). The provenance of ceramics is not known precisely but there is a clear distinction between local and non-local ceramics based on trace element and compositional analysis (Lumbreras et al. 2003; Druc 2004).

The source of some foreign ceramics has been speculated to be from Cupisnique and Cajamarca (Lumbreras 1993), and four sherds were identified as coming from Ancón (Druc 2001).

Archaeologists also used iconography to understand alliance networks created between Chavín and other geographical areas. As previously mentioned, ceramics may have been from Cupisnique and Cajamarca; other evidence also includes those typical from the Jequetepeque Valley (Burger 2008). When looking at ceramics and other material culture such as textiles, metals, and lithics found outside of the site, it is possible to recognize locally produced crafts that incorporated forms and designs found typically in Chavín iconography. Some of these examples include; Kuntur Wasi in the Upper Jequetepeque Valley, where an individual was found buried with a gold crown with a typical Chavín motif. Additionally, at this site there was a stone sculpture that incorporated a double-profile composition, typical in Chavín, as well as the representation of hair in forms of serpents (Burger 1992). Another important case can be seen in Pacopampa in Cajamarca, where there is clear evidence of ceramics that relate to feline-head representations, also typical in Chavín art, especially those of the shaman carrying the Cactus in the circular plaza (Morales Chocano 2004). In regard to the textiles previously mentioned, the well-known Karwa textile (from the South Coast of Perú) also incorporated many Chavín style motifs.

Children: Most children did not mention that individuals would come from different parts of the Andes; however, two or three did explain to me that pilgrims would travel to the site.

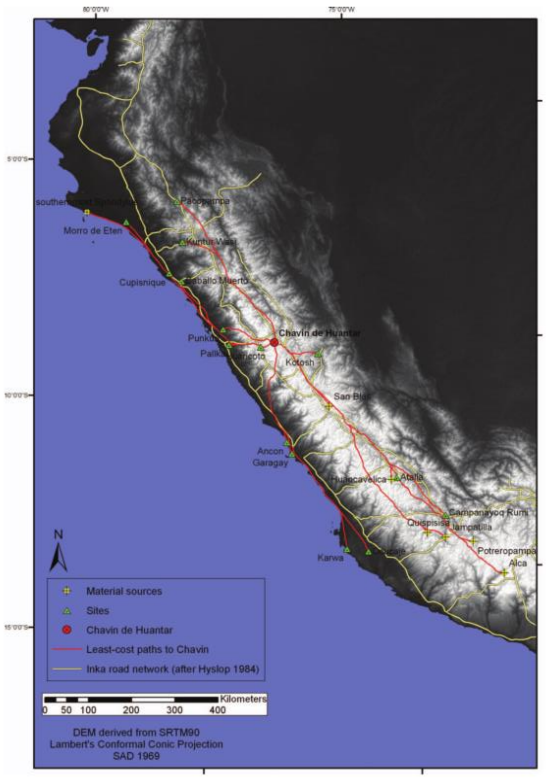

Figure 3 Least-cost paths to Chavín and the Inca road network.

Figure 27: Different possible routes pilgrims might have traveled by, to reach Chavín from Contreras 2011.

Media Control (Sounds and San Pedro)

Archaeology: Rick (2005) has argued that the ritual activities at the site comprised diverse medias; which included the use of drugs (San Pedro Cactus), the control over sound (with trumpets and the manipulation of sound from the underground canals) and light. The manipulation of sound correlate with the discovery of spondylus trumpets in the Gallery of *Caracolas*. Evidence in this gallery suggests the consistent usage of these trumpets (Rick 2005). The suggestion of control over light correlates with the presence of numerous mirrors found near a number of galleries (Rick 2006). With the transformation of an already sacred landscape and the impressive architecture and iconography at the site, the different spaces would have intimidated individuals visiting the center.

Individuals with a possible altered state of consciousness would have experienced a set of ritual activities that would have most definitely enriched their visit. Nevertheless, it is important to mention that the ritual activities were probably not meant for everybody. As previously mentioned, the square plaza alone would hold at least 1000 individuals, while the circular plaza between around 16 to 95 (Burger 2008). This suggests that not everybody was intended to participate in these ritual activities, or different groups of people would be let into certain sectors within the site at different of times.

Children: Some of my kid informants knew that San Pedro was used during rituals; however, many of them also discussed how San Pedro is used today—and how they do not agree with tourists using it. Some children also knew that the hydraulic system was used to create sounds as part of ritual activities. Susana described both medias when answering a question as part of a summer camp homework activity:

January 10th, 2017

> *Chavín was a ceremonial site run by priests that subdued pilgrims by giving them mezcalina (San Pedro) so that they could worship the Lanzón god and through the monument there was a hydraulic system used to create sounds and that way they would scare them.*
>
> *Chavín era un templo ceremonial encabezado por sacerdotes que sometían a los peregrinos ingiriendo mezcalina (San Pedro) Para adorar al dios Lanzón y por el monumento corría todo un sistema hidráulico para crear sonidos y así atemorizaban.*

Households, Economy, and Subsistence

Archaeology: Around the site there are several settlements (small sites) that appear to have had a direct interaction with the center. Burger argues that the settlement pattern of the Mosna drainage suggests a "small city-state or complex chiefdom with Chavín de Huántar at its center" (2008; 697). Subsistence at and around Chavín was based on high altitude agriculture—which included

potatoes, quinoa, *oca* and *tarwi*—and the natural resources obtained from high puna grass-lands, which include hunting and/or herding of domesticated camelids (Burger 1982, 2008). The location of the site itself seems propitious for agriculture; surrounded by three large earthflow deposits that provide highly fertile soils, decisive in the initial power dynamics throughout the valley and providing enough surplus for the construction of the site (Rick 2008).

Children: Many children knew that the area was well cultivated in The Past. This knowledge might be due to the continued agricultural tradition in the area. For example, in a drawing elicitation with Augusto, he seemed to know what ancient Chavín peoples were cultivating, but he also mentions some crops that are not Andean in origin and that Europeans brought to the Americas. His drawing did not include individuals farming, but when I asked him about the mountains in his drawing he responded:

October 15th, 2016

> *The mountains mean that the Incas [sic] would cultivate, they cultivated there, they cultivated potatoes, wheat, maize, and other things.*
>
> *Las montañas significan que los Incas [sic] cosechaban, por ahí cosechaban, cosechaban papa, trigo, choclo, varias cosas.*

I followed up this questions trying to probe and understand what gender divisions he thought existed in the past:

Marcela: *How do you think the people that lived in Chavín worked? People worked on the ranch and cultivated… Do you know if it was women or men that cultivated food? Or were they both?*

> *Men, men cultivated and there are many pawns, the women cooks to feed everyone.*
>
> *Los hombres como, los hombres cosechan y como hay varios peones, la mujer cocina para que les de alimentación.*

Figure 28: Augusto's drawing of the archaeological site

Figure 29: Photograph of Augusto drawing a picture of the archaeological site for his drawing-elicitation.

Manual Labor

Archaeology: Rick (2005) the transformation of this landscape required a great amount of political power, since the management of time, resources, and labor were most definitely needed for such

a task; as well as skilled craftsmanship for the manufacturing of such elaborate art. In societies such as Chavín, the contribution in labor and adherence are important for the strong, lasting relationships formed between supernatural entities, the individuals that represent them on earth, and the contributors (Rick 2005). He has also stated that the monumental construction of this center required the support of the local population—which indirectly benefited from the popularity of the site—as well as from the contribution of non-local individuals, either in form of labor or raw material (Rick 2005).

Rick (2005) argued that the theocratically powerful leaders controlled the labor force for the transport and construction of this site. The same can apply to the elaborate stone cuttings, a craft specialization required in the lithic work, where we can find finely cut stones and spectacular carvings. Rick (2005) suggested that the labor used in the construction of this site includes those of local provenance—direct beneficiaries of the popularity of the site—and those of non-local provenance, which would be related to secondary-elites visiting the site. The distinction between local and non-local works is an assumption that we will never be able to recognize; however, it is important to mention that the monumentality of the site itself suggests the involvement of many people in the construction. In this same manner, I argue that the contribution of offerings can also be seen as the contribution of labor and material, since they would help construct the popularity of the site.

Children: When I asked children about manual labor their answers were often gender divided. A clear example of this division was the previous example of my conversation with Augusto, based on his drawing of the archaeological site. Another opportunity I had to understand what children thought about gender-based manual labor was during the summer camp, where students draw what

they thought women and men worked on in The Past. For the most part, kids drew that men would hunt, harvest, and carry large rocks; while women would cook and work on textiles.

Figure 30: Drawing made by a participant during the 2017 summer camp. Man hunting

Figure 31: Drawing made by a participant during the 2017 summer camp. Woman working with textiles

Ancestors as Incas

Most children tend to refer to the ancient Chavín peoples as “Incas”. This labeling is not a unique experience to kids in Chavín, but a phenomenon also recognized in the North Coast and in other places in Ancash (see Bria and Cruzado Carranza 2015). Some children refer to the Incas as the elite Chavinxs; those in control of ceremonies or the temple; others refer in general to ancient peoples as Incas. This system is problematic because of the apparent national discourse that refers to peoples’ ancestors as Inca. And although the Incas occupied most of the Peruvian territory for

around a century, they did not reach all places—and all places did not adapt Inca culture and society. Thus, results interesting this agglomeration of two cultures and societies separated in space and time (for at least 2500 years). When the Children in Chavín refer to the Incas they are not talking about the Inca Empire that occupied the Peruvian territory circa 1400; they are talking about the people that lived and built Chavín during the Chavín Period (1200 – 500 BCE). This conversation is interesting because the Incas were—and to a certain extent continue to be—the most golden of Golden-Ages and kids are internalizing this even though the Incas were not fully present in the area, nor did they build the Chavín temple. We saw some examples of the usage of "Incas" throughout the chapter and this was very common in my conversations with children of all ages. When I conducted a drawing-elicitation with Julia I asked her—as I asked all my participants—to draw a picture of the archaeological site. Instead, Julia drew a picture of people. When I asked her who they were (besides the clear name-tag in the picture) she told me they were the Incas, the ancient people who lived in Chavín de Huántar.

Figure 32: Drawing made by Julia during our drawing-elicitation

What children do not know about Chavín de Huántar

One of the main topics children in Chavín do not know about is what happened before or after Chavín as a Golden Age. In the next chapter I discuss in more detail why this may occur. However, my go-along interview with Jorge at the site give us a glimpse of some of the reasons. As we approached the circular plaza, where there is a baulk left by archaeologists of the Recuay culture I asked him:

August 23rd, 2017

Marcela: Do you know what that structure is in the middle?
Jorge: No
Marcela: You don't know?
Jorge: No.
Marcela: It's a house
Jorge: A tiny house
Marcela: A tiny house, from a culture that came after Chavín. Do you know what cultures came after Chavín? That lived here?
Jorge: The Moche culture?
Marcela: No, the Moche culture is from up north
Jorge: Ok…
Marcela: from here in Chavín
Jorge: No
Marcela: It starts with R… Recuay. After that we have the Huaraz culture, there is also another one called Callejón.
Jorge: Callejón? In school they don't talk…. We don't talk about those cultures.
Marcela: Nothing is said about those cultures in your school?
Jorge: Nothing from those cultures you mentioned, only the Moche Culture, that's it.

Marcela: ¿sabes qué es esa escritura de en medio?
Jorge: no
Marcela: ¿no sabes?
Jorge: no
Marcela: es una casita
Jorge: chiquita
Marcela: chiquita, de una cultura que vino después de Chavín, ¿tú sabes que culturas habían después de Chavín? ¿que vivieron aquí?
Jorge: ¿la cultura Moche?
Marcela: no, la cultura Moche es en el norte...
Jorge: ya...
Marcela: aquí en Chavín
Jorge: no
Marcela: una comienza con R, Recuay, después tenemos la cultura Huaraz, también, y una

también es la cultura Callejón
Jorge: ¿callejón? en el cole no hablaban, nada decimos de esas culturas.
Marcela: ¿nada dicen de eso las culturas en tu colegio?
Jorge: nada de esas culturas que tú me has dicho, solo de la cultura Moche, ya.

Figure 33: Small house of the Recuay culture, left by archaeologists to show the presence of occupation post-Chavín.

There are many things that are interesting in this conversation. First, Alejandro does not know what the structure is, nor to what time period it belongs. Second, he is confused about the relationship between the Moche and the Chavín cultures. He believes that Moche is part of the archaeological and chronological sequence of the town. This idea is extremely interesting because Moche and Recuay did have contact. Also, it is an indication of how children might internalize the lineal "Golden-Age" history presented to them. Third, he tells me, without me even asking, that in school there is no discussion of post-Chavín cultures. I encountered a similar situation on my go-along interview with Elizabeth. When we reached the circular plaza, I asked about the Recuay

structure.

June 20th, 2017

Marcela: What do you want to tell me from here? What is this? What does it look like?
Elizabeth: hahaha… I don't now… I think that… I don't know… a bird?
Marcela: You think it's a bird?
Elizabeth: there is the eye hahaha… that rock right there, and there…
Marcela: Ok… do you know what it is? Do you want me to tell you?
Elizabeth: Yes.
Marcela: It's a house, a small house. And tell me… those rocks, or the way they have built this house, is it in the same way that they built the temple? Or is it different?
Elizabeth: I think it's the same
Marcela: It's the same? So, you would say that it is also from the Chavín temple?
Elizabeth: Yes.

Marcela: ¿qué me quieres contar de aquí? ¿qué es eso? ¿qué parece?
Elizabeth: (risas) no sé... creo que... no se ah… un ave?
Marcela: ¿un ave crees que es?
Elizabeth: ahí está su ojo (risas) esa piedra, y ahí, faltaba un poquito para (inaudible)
Marcela: ya... ¿sabes lo que es? ¿quieres que te diga?
Elizabeth: sí...
Marcela: es una casa, es una casita. y dime, esas piedras, o la forma en que han construido esa casa, es igual a como la que han construido el templo? o es diferente.
Elizabeth: creo que es igual.
Marcela: ¿es igual? entonces tu dirías que eso también es de la cultura Chavín?
Elizabeth: sí...

Following on this note, my conversation with Mía also provides an extremely interesting perspective. At the same school that Jorge and Elizabeth attend, she was told about Recuay—but Recuay and other post-Chavín cultures seemed to be presented as a threat. This explanation makes sense, since there is such a concentration of information, pride, and tourism around Chavín, and anything that does not relate to the topic is taught as something foreign and not part of their history.

October 13th, 2016

After when, when the landslide came, it is said that Recuay, Huaraz, they were…. They came and attacked us, and that's why they say that Cha… that Chavín is found in the last level. The first level is the landslide, then Huaraz, then Recuay, and Chavín is at the bottom. We haven't reached Chavín, because Chavín is at the bottom.

Y luego cuando vino y cuando vino el aluvión, eso dice que eh, Recuay, Huaraz eran… eran

> *o sea, que venían así a atacarnos y por eso dice que Cha, que Chavín está en la última capa. La primera capa es aluvión, luego viene Huaraz, luego Recuay y Chavín está al último, todavía no llegamos a Chavín porque Chavín está al fondo.*

This last conversation resonated with a conversation I had with the director of the Research and Conservation project in Chavín de Huántar. We were talking about the political and educational struggles around their research, and the town's opinions of the archaeological site. More specifically about a conversation he attempted to have with community members about leaving the Recuay baulk.

July 2nd, 2017

> Marcela: *so you think it is just a political thing that it at some degree also has to do with that when we talk about Chavín we also talk about Chavín as a golden age and not necessarily Chavín as Recuay, Huaraz, Callejon ,and so on.*
>
> Project Director***:*** *Right. So Chavín has a singular glorious history. This is, I mean, people came close to saying this, in different words, Chavín is a place where our ancestors achieved great things. And then there were the other people who came in and contaminated it, maybe they even brought it down. You know, they were the barbarians; they were the uncivilized for sure. And why should we respect their history in any way, shape, or form. That was really uniform, surprisingly uniform, this involved people that were not in each other's presence. You know, sequential visitors of the circular plaza with small groups of people, over the course of an entire day. It wasn't a huge number of people [that] I was dealing with, because the turnout is disappointing, in spite all the attempts to get the word out and poster the town, and what have you, and free admission for what that is worth. But, nonetheless, yes it was. Chavín is glorious or it is not Chavín. Probably tend to see that again anywhere in the world, but that points some educational issues, right away.*

The Project Director was referring to his conversations with adults. Nevertheless, it is important to understand that education does not occur exclusively in schools; a lot of what children learn comes from their homes. These adults have an opinion of post-Chavín history and is transmitted to children in various arenas. These arenas will be discussed in the next chapter and it will become clear how it is children are learning their history.

In this chapter I have detailed what children know and do not know about The Past of their town. The data presented in this chapter came almost entirely from children between the ages of 6 and 13. With them I conducted semi-structured interviews, go-along interviews, and drawing and photo-elicitation. In addition, the information presented in this chapter also came from the participate observation I conducted and summer camp activities and homework. There are six major findings presented in this chapter.

(1) Children do not know what happened before or after Chavín as a Golden-Age. In regard to after the latter children have some knowledge about what happened, but the majority have no idea. In some cases, children attributed Recuay structures to other Peruvian Golden Ages (Moche); while in others they did recognize those same structures were Recuay, but they talked about those ancient peoples as enemies and threats to Chavín. (2) When talking about Chavín as a Golden-Age children knew the basics of the culture and temple. Although they did not provide a time frame for this period they could recognize and sometimes describe the main elements of the archaeological site (galleries, drainage canals, air vents, the Lanzón, The Raimondi Stele, The Tello Obelisk, the square plaza, the circular plaza, tenon heads, and iconography). The children also knew that some ceremonies were conducted at the site. (3) The children that knew more about these elements had more direct contact with the archaeological site, having family members as part of the tourist industry. (4) Although children know the basic of the archaeological site and a part of their Past some problematic elements appeared in the description of their knowledge. For example, there appears to be a misunderstanding of the importance of commoners and peasants in The Past. Some children believe that commoners were not important because they viewed the ceremonies held at the temple from afar. However, the commoners were extremely important in the construction and maintenance of the site and it is power, something that children do not seem to recognize. This can

be problematic when thinking about the power dynamics of the present and how it is ingrained since the teaching of The Past (5) Following other trends in Perú, children call their Chavín ancestors Incas, internalizing the most golden of Golden-Ages in Perú.

Lastly, (6) most children are scared of the Lanzón. Based on the data gathered from my conversation with children, their parents, people living in Chavín and my participant observation, this is due to a number of factors. First I realized that there was a generational distinction between these feelings of fear. The parents of the children I interviewed used to be able (and was common) to enter the site at their will, hangout, play *fútbol* and volleyball, enter galleries, and even hug the Lanzón. While their children do not visit the site with the same frequency (if at all) and there are a number of space restriction between them, the site and its features. This restriction of space is connected to the restriction of knowledge. In addition to this generational distinction and the restriction of space, children told me many horror stories related to the Lanzón that were told to them by family members and even teachers. This echoes what some informants told me about how religion might have played a key factor in shaping perceptions of the Lanzón being the devil. These changes have occurred in the past decades and relates to the growing presence of nation-state institutions controlling land in the region and its ties to settler and internal colonialism (e.g. The ministry of culture taking control over the archaeological site).

In the next chapter I will explore some of the reasons why children only know the basic of Chavín as a Golden-Age. I will describe what the elementary school República de Honduras teaches children, as well as what other institutions, such as the archaeological project, the archaeological site, the local government, and the National museum of Chavín do to teach children about The Past. In chapter 6, I will describe what archaeologists can do to contribute and

complement what children learn in schools by describing two action-based projects I conducted while conducting this ethnography.

CHAPTER 5. DARK SARCASM IN THE CLASSROOM: WHAT INSTITUTIONS TEACH CHILDREN ABOUT CHAVÍN DE HUÁNTAR

"We have often allowed our histories to be told and have then become outsiders as we heard them being retold. Schooling is directly implicated in this process. Through the curriculum and its underlying theory of knowledge, early schools redefined the world and where Indigenous peoples were positioned within the world -Tuhiwai Smith 1999:33

In this chapter I will provide a detail description of what different institutions teach children in Chavín de Huántar. These institutions include: (1) the local elementary school and its relationship with the Ministry of Education; (2) the archaeological site and its relationship with the Ministry of Culture; (3) the Municipality of Chavín: the local government; (4) the archaeological project with international and national archaeologists; and (5) the National Museum of Chavín. Each institution will be discussed separately, with guiding questions: what they teach, how do they teach, and how people in Chavín feel about the educational system. I gathered the information through participant observation, interviews and documents. To start of the chapter, we will begin with the local elementary school and its relationship with the Ministry of Education.

Personal Social – Ministry of Education

As pointed out by Linda Tuhiwai Smith, schools have been part of the colonial agenda since colonizers implemented them to control Indigenous Peoples. This fact has affected millions of people worldwide for over 500 years. Today, schools are not the only state-sponsored institution that reproduce colonial mechanisms of control. Before getting into detail about those institutions, I will provide a brief description of the main goals of the Ministry of Education in regard to "Personal Social" the area that encompasses "History" as a subject.

Personal Social is one of the nine curricular areas proposed by the Ministry of Education. The other areas are: Physical Education, Art and Culture, Communication, Spanish as a second language, English as a foreign language, Math, Science and Technology, and Religious Education. As we can see in this description, there is no area specifically dedicated to History. This subject is within the area of Personal Social, but this is not the only topic addressed. Personal Social has four main competences: (1) to construct identity, (2) for individuals to live and participate in life in a democratic way, (3) to responsibly manage space and the environment, and (4) to responsibly manage economic resources (Minedu 2016).

In regard to History, the intention is for students to understand the cultural diversity in Perú through teachings related to traditional Andean and global knowledge (Minedu 2016). This teaching seeks to avoid discrimination and form active and responsible **citizens** through a critical understanding of public affairs related to sustainable development and climate change (Minedu 2016). The Ministry of Education (2016) states that they want students to engage in active learning, where they can address different social problems and recognize diverse realities.

The government wants children to: (1) critically interpret diverse sources, (2) understand history though time, and (3) elaborate explanations in relation to historical processes (Minedu 2016). In addition, they want children to be able to differentiate between their past and their present, understand the importance the past has on the community and region, and recognize the different histories at a local, regional, and national level—understanding that they occurred in different periods and in different places (Minedu 2016).

As we saw in chapter 4 and will continue to see in this chapter, these goals are not being meet in Chavín. This disjunctive is not only the fault of teachers, but a complex reality surrounding the topic of teaching about The Past. In addition, the site director brought to light some other

problematic aspects of how the government teaches history to children, and how it changed through the years. When I asked her about the errors made when trying to teach about Chavín or Chavín's past, this is what she told me:

October 25th, 2016

> *Regarding the archeological monument, there is no curricular project where the Ministries of Culture and Education come together to be able to say what we teach our children. The Ministry of Education has its own curricular system, even taking data from years that we have already gone through, with outdated theories. They no longer take into account the latest research and based on that they do not assemble correct information, as it should be; they are still telling stories without a scientific base. We start from there. When we go through the books, some of them miswritten, some are confusing, then from there begins the information we are giving, it is distorted, and then when it arrives to schools, that kind of information gets there. And then when the children come visit, they are given other information. Then one more way to confuse, and those who are paying more attention tell the teacher. We start from the moment of who is making the documents, they are now restricting them [the children], they are given a book they have to fill in and only read that. In past it was not like that, they left us the bibliography open and it was reviewed. We could have volumes, and what not. Instead, now they give them a book already edited, with parameters for what they want to be taught and that is it. Then, that is when we create the confusion. When they come, they talk about the Chavín Castle, about the Chavín ruins, but they never tell us about an archeological, monumental complex, they cannot tell us of a place that is perhaps sacred, we still continue with that idea.*
>
> *Con respecto al monumento arqueológico, no existe un proyecto curricular donde confluyen Ministerio de Cultura, Ministerio de Educación para poder decir que enseñamos a nuestros niños. El ministerio de educación tiene un propio sistema curricular, incluso tomando datos de años que ya antes pasamos, con teorías ya desfasadas, ya no toman en cuenta las últimas investigaciones, y en base a eso no arman una información correcta, como debe de ser, se sigue todavía contando historietas donde no tienen un sustento científico. Partimos desde ahí. Cuando revisamos los libros, mal escritos algunos, que confunden en otros casos, entonces desde ahí se comienza la información que estamos dando, se desvirtúan, y luego cuando ya llega a los colegios, llega ese tipo de información y cuando los niños vienen a visitar acá, se les da otra información. Entonces una manera más de confundir, y los que más caso hagan es decirle al profesor, partimos desde el momento de quién hace los documentos, ahora se le está restringido, se les da un libro, donde ellos tienen que llenar, y leer solamente ello. en años pasados pues no era así, nos dejaban la bibliografía abierta y se revisaba. Podíamos tener tomos, lo que sea. En cambio, ahora les dan un libro ya editado, parametrado, para lo que quieren que se les enseñe, y ahí se acabó, entonces es ahí les creamos la confusión, cuando llegan acá nos hablan del Castillo de Chavín, nos hablan de las ruinas de Chavín, pero nunca nos dicen de un complejo arqueológico, monumental, no nos pueden decir ellos de un sitio que es quizás sagrado, todavía seguimos con esa idea.*

Another key informant, Joaquin, added:

December 7th, 2016

> *And other thing they are doing is that history—at least the teaching of history at a national and Chavín level and in other places—is taught from high cultures, it is only seen through the high cultures, they only see here, as I mentioned, the golden age and the high cultures, and nothing to do with the local developments we had here. That is why I think that right here in Chavín we are not doing good, and I believe that in a large part of Peruvian education, is also the same because precisely the data, and the books, and the teaching they give in the provinces is largely different from the education in the capital. And in the capital of each department [region] where at least they have quality education, and people from the provinces, as usual, has to have the education only of life, for life.*
>
> *Y otra cosa que están haciendo es de que en la historia, por lo menos la enseñanza de la historia a nivel nacional como acá en Chavín y otros lugares, se enseña a partir de las altas culturas, solamente se ve como las altas culturas, solamente acá ven como mencioné, la edad de oro y de las altas culturas, y nada tiene que ver con los desarrollos locales, que hubo acá. Por eso yo creo que justamente acá en Chavín, estamos mal, y yo creo que, en gran parte de la educación peruana, estamos también igual porque justamente los datos y los libros y la enseñanza que dan en provincia, es completamente distinto a la educación que se da en la capital, y en las capitales de los departamentos donde que por lo menos la educación es de calidad, y la gente provinciana como siempre, tiene que tener la educación sólo de vida, para la vida.*

Both informants expose important issues related to the state of education in Perú. Education in state-sponsored schools—as we have seen in the introduction—focuses on "Golden-Ages" and does not address local histories. In addition, the neoliberal education system also limited the opportunity for students to explore diverse types of reading materials and provided standardized books, allowing or encouraging little investigation and inquiry. The next pages will provide more details about the state of Education in Chavín de Huántar.

I.E 86349 - República de Honduras

Chavín de Huántar has one Elementary school, República de Honduras, located a block off the main street of town (17 de Enero), next to the town's police station, and a couple blocks away from the towns bull arena. The school is painted light blue both on the inside as on the outside.

There are two doors, one on the main street that leads to the large *fútbol* (soccer) field, the other leads to a main patio with one basketball hoop on each side. The patio also leads to the teachers' offices—including the offices of the principal and sub-principal—as well as an office called "*mesa de partes*", a place for most of the administrative activity. The teachers' office has some tables and benches. The walls have some posters from the Ministry of Education and the local government, so as photos from former students.

Next to this office, on one side, are the teachers' bathrooms (one for men, one for women). On the other side, a wall with the school's anthem and next to it a locked staircase. The staircase leads to the second-floor classrooms, but I have always seen them closed and unused. Next to the staircase there are two student bathrooms (again, one for boys and one for girls). The bathrooms are separated by a large sink with many faucets. The *fútbol* field is turning to the left. Straight ahead are the first set of classrooms, both on the first and the second floors (there is a total of 12 classrooms). There is a small garden next to the door entrance, to the right. Then, we can see a second set of 12 classrooms, again both on the first and the second floors. The hallway is towards the end of the classroom building and leads to two bathrooms on the left.

Figure 34: Map of the distribution of Classrooms from the Elementary School República de Honduras.

There are some rooms after one goes up a couple of stairs. One of these rooms serves as a sort of food storage unit. The APAFA (Parents association) pays two women to prepare different meals—depending on the day—outside this storage unit. For example, around 10am they serve foods like *quinua* or oatmeal. During the teacher workshops, I worked with these women making lunch for the teachers. I asked them who pays for their work, they told me that the APAFA. They also mentioned that sometimes they did not receive a complete "paycheck" because a lot of the parents do not have money to pay the fee. Nevertheless, all kids receive a meal—which proves that these women do care for the students. They both had kids at the school. It also demonstrates that there might be a situation of oppression by the nation-state here, as women are working without pay. They care about children, but the work is not being compensated. They are doing the work of care and feeding children, something the government should do, or pay for someone to do. I believe that the Ministry of Education should take this into their hands and fund or invest

money in school meals and those that prepare it; especially in rural communities. Many teachers have mentioned that their students are malnourished and thus have trouble learning, some even fall asleep before 10 am. This is why the work of these women are extremely important. The cooking unit is a fire with a grill placed on-top with some large pots. In front of the cooking unit there is a hallway that leads to the hallway for the first set of classrooms.

Figure 35: Photograph of hallway between the cooking area and the first set of classrooms

Figure 36: Photograph of cooking area where mothers prepare food and drinks for students.

Although each classroom is different and is its own space; there are many similarities. In the front of the classroom there is a blackboard and the teacher's desk. Most walls have large pieces of paper (*papelógrafos*) with kids' work. The teacher decides the organization of the children desks depending on their educational style and on the kids' dynamic. These desks are usually for two students and have two separated compartments where kids put their school material, which usually is only a notebook. Children share textbooks provided by the Ministry of Education, but I also saw them get photocopies from the *librería* (the school supply store) right next to the school, due to the lack of actual textbooks that have reached the school.

The Echo of a distant tide: Lessons on The Past

While conducting fieldwork at the school, the administration provided me with a document called "*Situación Significativa*" for the area of *Personal Social*, a monthly overview of what teachers should address. The school most follow the national curriculum at all times but are allowed and plan ahead to address specific regional and local historical narratives. The Ministry of Education (2016) wants children to be able to distinguish between different local, regional, and national moments; having children able to understand that they occur in different places and understanding the relationship between them. In Chavín, this "*situación significativa*" is a very loose lesson plan; with an understanding of their students' needs and questions they should attempt to have them answer. With this document in hand, I realized the school only dedicates two months to teaching The Past (July and August). The July section reads *verbatim*:

> The students of School N° 86349 "República de Honduras" in Chavín de Huántar participate in different activities to celebrate the anniversary of our District, where one can see the loss of moral and spiritual values, so as cultural identity. In order to rescue the ancestral customs of our people and generate cultural identity in our students, we pose the following questions:

- Are ancestral customs still practiced to this day?
- Which traditional activities take place in the anniversary of our district?
- Which institutions participate in the celebration of the anniversary?

- Which preventive measures should be put into practice during the celebration?

In this unit, the students of our school develop learnings related to different curricular areas to revalue traditions, customs, and religious faith in values.

Los estudiantes de la Institución educativa N°86349 "República de Honduras" de Chavín de Huántar participan en las diferentes actividades de celebración de la Fiesta Patronal de nuestro Distrito, donde se observa la pérdida de los valores morales, espirituales y la identidad cultural; para rescatar las costumbres ancestrales de nuestro pueblo y formar en nuestros estudiantes la identidad cultural planteamos las siguientes preguntas:

- ¿Las costumbres ancestrales aún se practican hasta hoy en día?
- ¿Qué actividades costumbristas se desarrollan en la fiesta patronal de nuestro distrito?
- ¿Qué instituciones participan en la celebración de la fiesta patronal?
- ¿Qué medidas preventivas se debe poner en práctica durante la celebración?

En esta unidad los estudiantes de nuestra institución educativa desarrollan los aprendizajes vinculados en diferentes áreas curriculares para revalorar las tradiciones costumbres y la fe religiosa en valores.

While the August section reads *verbatim*:

The students of School N° 86349 "República de Honduras" in Chavín de Huántar **know little about the customs and ancestral tradition** despite having a museum, artisan and archeological centers that demonstrate our cultural legacy. Therefore, it is necessary to promote and spread the historical value of our cultural legacy. To that purpose challenge our students with the following questions:

- Do you know the past of our prehistoric culture?
- What can we do to know the history of our town?
- In what sources can we find evidences of the past?
- Which activities can we develop to spread and revalue our pre-Inca culture?

In this unit, the students of our school will develop learning related to different curricular areas that will help us know and revalue our Andean cultural legacy.

Los estudiantes de la Institución Educativa N°86349 "República de Honduras" de Chavín de Huántar**, conocen poco las costumbres y tradiciones ancestrales** a pesar de contar con un museo, centros artesanales y centros arqueológicos que evidencian nuestro legado cultural. Por lo tanto es necesario promover y difundir el valor histórico de nuestro legado cultural. Para ellos planteamos el reto a nuestros estudiantes a partir de las siguientes preguntas:

- ¿Conocen el pasado de nuestra cultura prehistórica?
- ¿Qué podemos hacer para conocer la historia de nuestro pueblo?
- ¿En qué fuentes podemos encontrar las evidencias del pasado?

- ¿Qué actividades podemos desarrollar para difundir y revalorar nuestra cultura pre Inca?

  En esta unidad, los estudiantes de nuestra institución educativa desarrollarán los aprendizajes vinculados en las diferentes áreas curriculares, que nos ayudarán a conocer y revalorar nuestro legado cultural andina.

This last one is particularly interesting because the teachers who created this document recognize that most of the students from their school do not know much about ancient traditions or cultures (note that they use culture and not cultures). This impression was consistent with what teachers and other community members told me about children in town. Understanding this problem, the school is attempting to change the way they teach about the subject. The teaching workshops we developed together are a perfect example of these attempts; as I will discuss in the next chapter. I used different methods to better understand what children learn about The Past from the school: Participant observation, interviews, and document analysis. All these methods combined showcase an interesting scope of what they learn from this institution.

During my fieldwork I had the opportunity to observe two classrooms and two one-time class sessions of history lessons. Each teacher took a different pedagogical approach; which demonstrates the variety of strategies that teachers employ when addressing topics related to The Past. As we saw in the last chapter, most children only have a basic understanding of Chavín as a Golden-Age. They also learn about other Andean Golden-Ages, as I mentioned in this fieldnote extract while observing one of the classrooms:

June 19th, 2017.

On the blackboard there are different 'flipcharts'. The upper left chart shows the chronology of the cultures/societies discussed in this section of their class. It looked something like this:

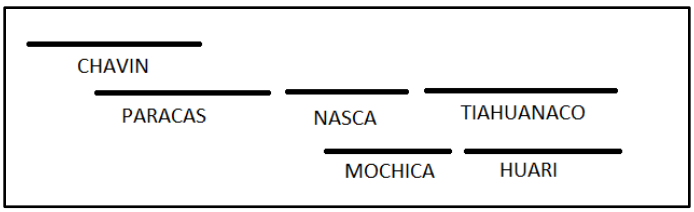

Figure 37: Chronology of Golden-Ages as taught in the elementary school República de Honduras classroom.

The first class I observed was an upper division class with around 24 students. During the course of two hours, the teacher dictated information about other Andean Golden-Ages, while the students attempted to copy it all in their notebooks. As one might expect, students asked for repetition many times. After this portion of lecture, the kids presented their homework on different cultures, while the teacher asked questions about some of the topics discussed in previous lessons. She asked students different questions as a refresher; however, they had a hard time answering those questions. For example, when she asked about the oldest culture in Perú, they answered Chavín de Huántar, and that is not the case (she was looking for Caral as an answer). Students did not know how to answer what other cultures existed in Perú and where they were geographically. After reiterating that they should know those things, she asked students which culture they should know by heart—they answered "Chavín".

Based on the flipchart of Chavín and what the teacher presented, children are expected to know the following—this is expected based on what is written on the flipchart which reads *verbatim:*

- Chavín is located in Ancash, the province of Huari – [built] between 900 BC [sic] and 200 BC [sic].
- Political aspect: priests governed. Its principal center was Chavín de Huántar, here they held religious cults.
- Economic aspect: Important crops were maize, quinua, beans, and they used irrigation canals and reservoirs.

Cultural Manifestations:

- <u>Ceramics:</u> they were monochromatic (only one color: red, grey, black). They had globular form, straight base, spouts, etc. Decorated with jaguars, condors, and serpents.

- <u>Sculptures:</u> lithics that were sculpted and made: Lanzón, Obelisk [no mention of the name of the Obelisk], the Raimondi Stele, and tenon heads.

- <u>Architecture:</u> the maximum construction was the temple of Chavín de Huántar. Others: Sechín (Ancash), Kuntur Huasi (Cajarmarca), Garagay (Lima), Pukuri (Ancash). [These 'others' where not built by the same people that lived in Chavín, there was influence and contact, but the dynamics are much more complex than there are buildings built by the same people]

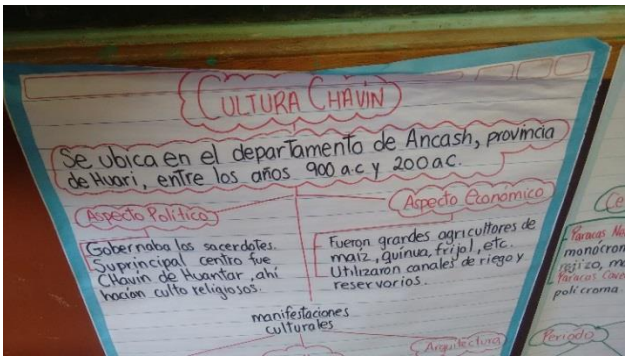

Figure 38: Image of a flipchart with description of Chavín de Huántar as a Golden-Age in class in Chavín.

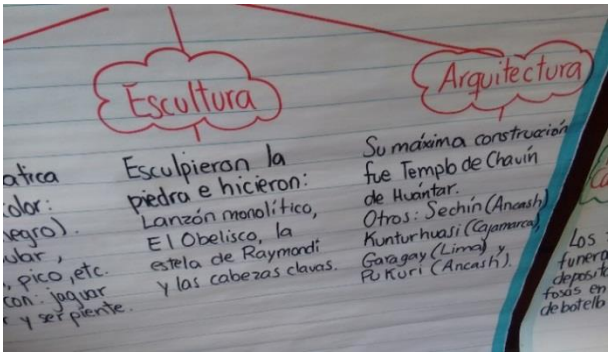

Figure 39: Image of a flipchart with description of Chavín de Huántar as a Golden-Age in class in Chavín.

After observing this class, I not only realized that there was a lot of important information related to the cultures the national government wants children to learn, but it was also fun to see the class interact. The teacher seemed to lose her temper with kids not knowing the answers, but they also made her laugh a lot, and made me laugh a lot. I liked how the teacher taught the class: even though kids did not know all the answers, she seemed to be doing the best she could. I do not believe she is the problem, but rather the curriculum. It is hard to blame the teachers when they must follow a curriculum that leaves no space for new and profound information. However, something that I did find interesting but unsurprising was how the teacher talked about all ancient people as "Incas", something that was different in the next class I observed.

Elementary school field-trip (June 20th, 2017): During my research at the same school, I also had the opportunity to observe a different way of teaching about Chavín. This time, Professor[8] Quiroz took his students to the archaeological site or temple on a small fieldtrip. I asked him why we were going instead of having class at school—he told me that it was the best way to do it, to go and have children see the monument with their own eyes, instead of just showing them images. Something that is not common based on my interactions with community members and children.

We left the school at around 10:35 am, before recess was over. The walk to the site was nice, there were 13 students, less boisterous than students from the previous class. On the way to the site, Professor Quiroz told me that for him it was extremely important to sensitize students with the past and with Quechua—something that he did throughout the fieldtrip. A perfect example of this approach occurred while crossing the bridge that separates part of the town from the archaeological site. We stopped there, and the teacher asked students if they knew what Wacheqsa and Mosna (the two rivers that surround the site) meant in Quechua. Wacheqsa—he explained—means something warm, with many offspring; while Mosna means something noisy.

We continued walking and we made it to the site entrance/ticket office. Before we entered, the security-guard asked me if this visit was part of my project and if the site director (government employee) knew we were visiting the monument today. I told him that it was part of my project, but that the site director did not know I would be visiting. However, since it was Tuesday, I told him that we could enter for free. He asked me if we wanted to exercise this free admission, the teacher and I looked at each other as if the answer was obvious and answered "yes".

[8] I use Professor when I directly talk about my participant by name. This provides a bit of context of how students and other teachers address each other in Spanish. Teachers are called *profesores(a)s* or *maestra(o)s*. Instead of using professor in other places instead of teacher I thought it would be better to maintain it in teachers as it would be easier for a English speaking reader.

Once inside the archaeological site, the teacher took a couple of minutes to explain some of the basics of Chavín. He told students that Chavín is located in the Province of Huari, District of Chavín de Huántar, at 3180 meters above sea level (MASL), in the Department of Ancash. Before moving towards the replica of the Raimondi Stele, he asked students if the Chavín culture was pre-Inca or Inca. The students didn't answer so he told them that it was pre-Inca— "before the Incas"—and that Julio C. Tello discovered it in 1919. "There are four main routes to make it to Chavín" he continued "and people came from different parts of the Andes to participate in the ceremonies held in the square plaza". The thirteen students and I gathered around him on a sunny and warm day, as he maintained that Chavín society was religious and not military; "it was like a university", he told us. The following interaction occurred as we walked towards the Raimondi Stele:

Professor Quiroz: Who was the main god?
Kids: The Monolithic Lanzón
Professor Quiroz: Do you know what 'monolithic' means?
Kids: No!
Professor Quiroz: 'Mono' means one—monolithic, one lithic, one rock, made out of one rock.

Professor Quiroz resumed his class at the Raimondi Stele just a couple of steps away. He told students that the idea of the fieldtrip was for them to first look and observe—and then ask questions. He reiterated that the Raimondi Stele is not in Chavín but in a museum in Lima and then proceeded to tell the story of how Antonio Raimondi *discovered* and took the Stele to the country's capital. The kids and I listened to the story of how Raimondi was sitting at a table at the house of some of the community members when he felt the engravings on the opposite side of where things were placed, so he asked if they could turn the rock around. Raimondi realized that they had something extremely important in hand and told the community members that he had to take the piece to Lima, since Chavín did not have a museum yet. Professor Quiroz told the students

that they took the Stela to Lima on donkeys, since roads were not paved yet—"it took them between 4 to 5 days"—he finished.

As we moved towards the archaeological excavations and closer to the Raimondi Stele, the teacher told us that the site was bigger than what we were looking at, that it had a total of 14 hectares and that the Ministry of Culture owned the site—"**now the State owns the site"** he told the children, "but before, people would play soccer in the square plaza and go into the canals". As we moved away from the archaeological excavations, he told students that there is still a lot to excavate, that anthropologists and archaeologists are in charge of analyzing everything.

As we continued the trail, we saw semi-exposed parts of the temple to the right, and parts of the temple not yet excavated on the left, invisible due to dirt and grass growing. On this side one can also see eucalyptus trees growing on the bank of the Mosna river and the mountains on the other side. During this part of the tour Professor Quiroz explained the drainage canals to students and told them that these canals are throughout the site. He mentioned that ancient Chavinxs used them to prevent the rain from ruining their houses. "Ancient Chavín people were great engineers and architects" he told students.

As we approached the square plaza, we stood around the exposed canals close to one of the plaza's staircase. The teacher asked students if they had an idea of why the canals here formed a cross. Since the children did not know the answer, the teacher explained how it prevents the site from flooding when the river flow increases: when water returns it all does not go towards the square plaza, rather it is divided and distributed through all three branches of the canal.

Figure 40: Location of the exposed cross-canal in relation to the square plaza.

Figure 41: Picture of the cross-canal from above. Taken by Mía during our go-along interview.

When the teacher explained about the square plaza and the rituals held at the site he mentioned: "*they came from different countries of the Andes to give offerings to god—like in Rome or Bethlehem (Belen). They would bring different foods for the Lanzón, have ceremonies here in the square plaza, then in the next plaza, and then in the circular plaza. After that, only those* ***free of sin*** *would go and see the Lanzón*". The teacher explained that the priests would sit on the stairs directly connected to the plaza, while the "town" would sit on the stairs above. In explaining this situation, he started to talk about social classes and gave a wedding as an example. [His intention was to explain that everybody was not invited to these ceremonies]. He asks: "if you don't have a ticket (invitation), can you go and eat? If a person with dirty clothes or a peasant woman comes, would you let them in?"

There are two interesting aspects in this portion of the class. First, Professor Quiroz attempts to have children understand the dynamics of ritual by using Christian lexicon; he is using his knowledge—and those of kids—to place value and understanding on the separation of people and who could do what; when in fact we do not know if that was a requirement. Then, he mentions

that peasant women are seen as dirty and were not allowed to go to weddings today, giving a participant value based on class status. Although he is right in that not everybody could participate in ancient rituals (based on archaeological data and analysis) his statement is discriminatory towards a group of community members today, people who might be relatives of the kids. If we recall what Mía mentioned (Chapter 4) while we were in the square plaza, she too believes that peasants are not important. There is a big difference between saying that rituals were exclusive for elite members in society and saying that peasants are not important—or that they are dirty—and that is why they are not welcomed in important rituals today. This is extremely problematic in my eyes and might affect the children's self-esteem growing up.

As we moved through the square plaza, the teacher and students reflected on the plaza's dimensions and how ancient people from Chavín—and the students today—could figure out where the center of the square/plaza is. The teacher asked for one of the students' notebooks, went to the last page, drew a square and later connected the corners with an "X". Students soon started mentioning that that was easy, that they could use a rope to figure it out, to what the teacher smiled in agreement. After this mixture of math and history lesson, we continued our journey towards our next stop: Choque Chinchay.

Figure 42: Students and Professor Quiroz climbing out of the square plaza and walking towards Choque Chinchay.

When we made it to the Choque Chinchay the teacher told the students that he did not know too much about it, but that he would share what he did know. He told them it was a water calendar; an astronomic calendar that would help individuals know when they should harvest; "the holes, filled with water, would serve as mirrors to look at the constellations to understand the climate" he stated. The teacher added that some people said this rock would also serve as a place of sacrifice and offerings, "sometimes even blood". We continued the tour and as we reached higher levels, we walked through many unexcavated places. The professor saw our surroundings and told the children that there were still many galleries and houses that remain unexcavated and that some are dangerous, so we are not allowed to enter those areas as per the executive order of the Ministry of Culture. While we turned the corner, one of the students—who was writing everything he could—told me with a happy and excited face: "I only came here on a preschool fieldtrip". Although I

realize that this fieldtrip might have happened without my presence in town, it does seem problematic to me that the last time this 5th grade student came to the site was in preschool. The site is so close to the school and as part of the town's landscape, but it has been at least five years since this kid went to the site. This was an indication that not all teachers take advantage of the archaeological site as a teaching tool.

Before reaching the temple's *façade*, we stopped at the Serpents Staircase. Here he told the students that Julio C. Tello (whose theories he used the most) believed that it worked as a sort of transit indicator. When the serpents faced west (as seen in the picture below) transit would move in that direction, while if facing north (up in relation to the picture below) transit would continue towards the *façade*.

Figure 43: *Picture of the Serpent Staircase professor Quiroz refers to in regard to Tello's theories.*

We climbed the wooden ladder placed to reach the façade and formed a semi-circle around Professor Quiroz. When he discussed the site and the construction, he mentioned the temple has a 5° inward inclination and that is made from large worked rocks filled with *pachillas* (smaller stones used to fill wider gaps between rocks and mortar). This combination of elements, he told them, helped make the temple anti-seismic; "which meant that it could resist earthquakes".

Figure 44: Combination of large rocks and pachillas that constitute the façade

Figure 45: Inclination referred to by Professor Quiroz.

After appreciating the façade and looking at more drainage canals—exposed at various points of the site for visitors to understand how the canal system worked—we reached the *Portada de las Falcónidas* [Falcon Entrance]. Here, Professor Quiroz explained how each column represented different anthropomorphic bird deities (left-female, right- male). On these columns—the teacher also pointed out—we could see *pututeros* (individuals who play the *pututo*—an Andean flute made from seashell). Musical rituals, he mentioned, were an important part of the cleansing activities. As he finished his explanation and we began to move towards the circular plaza, a student asked about the "Incas", to what professor Quiroz responded that they were not Incas, but that rather Chavín is considered a pre-Inca society.

When we made it to the circular plaza, he asked the students about the architecture in the middle, which is a Recuay structures. The kids did not know what they were, nor when they were constructed. The teacher did not mention that they were from the Recuay culture/society but did mention that they were Post-Chavín. It is important to note that he was one of the only teachers

and participants that talked about a period post Chavín as a Golden-Age. He continued explaining the circular plaza by mentioning that only "clean" people would make it to this point, and that they later would go through the labyrinths [galleries] to repent, and then visit the Lanzón. At this point I realized that it had become a pattern for some students to not pay attention to professor Quiroz but rather copy what the site signs would say about each *important* part of the temple—as in the picture below.

Figure 46: Photograph of a student coping the description of the circular plaza from a site sign.

The next stop in our tour was the Lanzón gallery. Here professor Quiroz told students to form a line and that boys should be at the front. Inside, he explained that Julio C. Tello discovered the Lanzón and that it is the only god located in-situ. He then reiterates to see if his students remember what monolithic means—they did. Following this explanation, he describes that the Lanzón weighs over 3 tons, and has a diverse set of typical iconographic elements (animals, plants, and people). Nowadays, he tells his students, we cannot get to close to the Lanzón because we would contaminate the structure—but still from afar we must enter in semi-reverence as a matter of

respect “like we would enter our church” he concluded. As we left the Lanzón gallery and entered the Labyrinth gallery, I asked Professor Quiroz why people were afraid of the Lanzón; he told me he really did not know, but that his niece once fainted inside the gallery and that he had heard stories of people sleepwalking. In this gallery conversation revolved around understanding architectonic elements such as niches, storage, and air vents. As we left these galleries and the tour was almost over, I noticed that one of the students had a particularly happy face—he was having a blast with the fieldtrip—which made me happy as well.

After the two galleries above the circular plaza we went to see the tenon head. The teacher explained that zoomorphic means “combination between humans and animals”. He said the tenon heads surrounded the whole temple and were its guardians; that they were separated by around 2 meters; and that above each head there would be a rock for protection. After we got to see the tenon heads we headed back to the entrance, where students got to see the Tello Obelisk; however, Professor Quiroz did not provide an explanation about it. While the kids were looking at the iconographic elements on the Obelisk, the teacher told them that as their homework they had to draw the monument and its main gods, as well as write the dates and discoverers of different elements they had talked about during the fieldtrip.

One of the main differences between the classes was that Professor Quiroz would talk in Quechua sometimes, ask students questions in Quechua or explain certain Quechua terms for the students. This might be a way the teacher attempts to strengthen the Indigenous connections to the site. When I asked him, he told me that he talks to his students on a regular basis in Quechua because the language is disappearing, and many children today are not fluent in it. To the contrary, when I asked Professor Velarde, the teacher whose classroom I first observed, she told me that she used Spanish because she wanted her students to have the most opportunities at getting a job and

studying. Here, both teachers have different worries. Another big difference between these two classrooms was that one stayed at school, while the other one went to the site to make the past tangible; this allowed Professor Quiroz to explore aspects of the site that are not possible in a classroom. This different approach also correlates with professor's Quiroz understanding of Ancient Chavín people as being a Pre-Inca society; something I believe has to do with his own continuous professional development, as I have seen him reading archaeological pamphlets and visit the museum without his students.

Before I move to the opinions or information gathered from interviews of the school, I will present an extra set of information from notes taken by a kid. At the beginning of my fieldwork, when I still had not gained rapport with teachers, I focused in bonding with children. While doing so I became very close friends with Mía. We would play volleyball and with jacks. One afternoon, before we said our good-byes, I asked her if I could look at her *Personal Social* notebook to see what she was learning. Her notebook—especially the portion that addresses Chavín—is also an important set of data, as she took notes of what her teacher dictated (in 2016). Here is a transcription of her notes *verbatim:*

The Chavín Culture

It is the mother civilization of the Andes. It peaked between 1400 and 200 before Christ.

Location:

- Continent: South America
- Country: Perú
- Department or Region: Ancash
- Province: Huari
- District: Chavín
- Origin of Name: Quechua word Chaupín: center or middle.

Altitude: located at 3140 meters above sea level.
Age: Between 1400 and 200 years before Christ.
Expansion: Lambayeque to the North, and Arequipa towards the South.
Organization: It was the first well organized State in the Andean word. They had a theocratic government.

Economic activities: The economic basis were livestock, agriculture of maize, and the work of irrigation canals.
Religion: Chavinos were polytheists, since they adored many gods like the feline, condor, serpent, and the Staffs god.
Architecture: They would build large temples on a base of worked stones. The main temple was Chavín but other sites with Chavín influence were constructed such as Kuntur Wasi (Cajamarca), Huaca de los Reyes, Garagay (Lima). They had a "U" shape, with sunken plazas and structures with the shape of the Jaguar god.
Sculptures: they worked granite stones like the tenon heads and stelas.

For her homework she was asked the following questions:

1. Who were the main gods of Chavín?
2. What did Dr. Lumbreras mean when he said Choque Chinchay?
3. What are the measurements of the Lanzón?
4. What does the Raimondi Stele represent?
5. What is the measurement of the square plaza?
6. Who discovered the Chavín culture and in what year?
7. How many layers are covering Chavín? Which ones are there?
8. Draw Chavín's main gods.

As we have seen in this section, the information presented to children from the school is very similar, although in different ways. This information aligns with what children know about Chavín, as presented in Chapter 4. Next, I will present material from my participants regarding the school, the knowledge they present their students, and the different opinions people have about this teaching.

Opinions of the school

Depending on whom I asked or talked to there were diverse opinions about what teachers, the school, and the education system did to teach children about their past. The people I interviewed and spent time with had different understandings of why children do not know about their past. For example, a member of the project, Paula, told me the following:

October 13th, 2017

> *There is a lot of laziness, especially in schools. Maybe because the programs don't allow a closer engagement with students. Teachers bring their students once to the monument, if they have time. One tour normally lasts around 2 ½ to 3 hours; [but] they come and go in 15 minutes; they do a quick visit and then go back to school. But they don't guide them [the kids] because teachers also aren't up-to-date with the projects' discoveries. Very few are interested and attend the talks [and] conferences.*
>
> *Y sobre todo en los colegios hay mucha desidia, quizás porque los programas no lo permiten, de mayor acercamiento a los escolares, los profesores llegan una vez si es que tienen tiempo, al monumento, y una visita, que normalmente, una visita guiada, dura de dos horas y media a tres horas, ellos van en quince minutos dan la vuelta al monumento y se regresan, pero no le dan la orientación porque los profesores tampoco están al día, con todas las cosas del proyecto, y cuando hay charlas, conferencias, son muy pocos los interesados que asisten.*

Paula mentions that one of the main problems is that students do not visit the site and the lack of continuous professional development from teachers. In regard to children not visiting the site, we had one example (above) of a student who had had to wait until 5th grade to visit the archaeological site again, while we have other students that have never been to the site (see below). My conversation with Julia also presents a participant worried about the continuous professional development of teachers.

Patricia, the mother of Sara, is a single mother who although not from Chavín, has lived most of her life in surrounding towns. She has a degree in cultural management and currently lives in Chavín due to her work. We spent many hours together and became friends talking about The Past and how we (as a society) must do a better job in teaching about it. On a sunny morning during the first weeks of my fieldwork, I was on my way to the school to talk to the administration about my research project and their willingness to participate as an institution. Before reaching the school's entrance, Patricia and I bumped into each other. We had met a couple of days ago, after a mutual friend introduced us. I took the opportunity to double check if we were still up for the interview we had planned—we were. As we talked about the interview, she told me how she

perceived the situation, and what her daughter was learning about Chavín's past in school. Here is an excerpt of my field notes:

October 26th, 2016

> She told me she was very unhappy with the situation and how history was being taught—that she had to re-teach her daughter the past related to Chavín. She told me that they [the school] are still very out-of-date, that they continue to use only Julio C. Tello theories. She told me it was hard and frustrating for her as a mother, because it is the only elementary school in the town, so there is no other option. In her opinion teachers do not seem interested, because there are so many places to get information and provide a detailed explanation to the students. These places—she mentioned—are the archaeological site, the museum, and even the archaeological project.

Figure 47: Picture of the school's main entrance. To the right a librería (supply store).

The more time I spent in Chavín, interviewing and conducting participant observation, the more negative opinions I heard about teachers, the school, and the education system. It was crucial for me as an anthropologist to understand the "other side" of the story. Building rapport with teachers was extremely difficult at first; there was lack of time and energy, distrust, and even sometimes lack of interest. Some of these opinions changed after I had spent many months in

Chavín and worked with many of their students during the summer camp. Some teachers, however, participated in this research from the beginning.

Further along in my fieldwork, the rapprochement with some of the teachers allowed me to interview some of them. Their insights here are fundamental—not only on the reality of what and how children learn, but also on some of the struggles that directly affect their work (including the teacher strike detailed/explained in the following pages) and what children learn in school. As we will see, the teachers' reality interacts not only with archaeological arenas but also with the complex reality Perú faces, including the educational crisis.

It was a rainy June afternoon and Professor Margarita and I had agreed to have our interview, after she got caught up with some afterschool conversations with other teachers. Margarita is the s*ub-directora* (the "equivalent" of vice-principal) of the elementary school; she is not from Chavín but won a regional competition and was appointed to the town. She had only been in the position for a few months but had much insight into some of the dynamics that affect children's learning in school and ways for the school to improve. When I asked her if students from the school know about Chavín's past this is what she told me:

June 21st, 2017

> *No, they don't, they really don't. Because, because classes are mostly held in the classroom, they haven't had a visit with a guide, they haven't had the opportunity—or the opportunity has not been given to them—to take them to the site or to visit the museum to see, to observe everything that our ancestors left us. I have had the opportunity to visit a lot of the upper division classes, 5th and 6th grade, and when they are asked a question, they hardly know the answer. So, it's a little worrisome. In the future we could plan activities for each class, so at least once or twice a year we could go visit the museum and the archaeological site.*

> *No, no conocen, verdaderamente no conocen. Porque, porque las clases solamente lo han desarrollado en las aulas, no han hecho una visita guiada, no han tenido la oportunidad, o no se les ha brindado es oportunidad de llevarlos al lugar o visitar el museo, para ver, para observar todo lo que nos han dejado los antepasados. He tenido la oportunidad de visitar varias veces los grados superiores, de 5to y 6to grado, y cuando se les hace una pregunta, casi que no conocen, entonces es un poco preocupante, más bien para el posterior se podría*

programar actividades por cada sección, para ir por lo menos una vez o dos veces al año para visitar al museo y al sitio arqueológico.

In reaction to what other community members and parents had told me about their views on the lack of interest some teachers had, I asked Margarita: Do you believe that there is a genuine interest from teachers for children to learn about history? Or do you believe that they focus on other areas?

Margarita:

From what I have seen, in the last years we have the census evaluation [Evaluación Censal de Estudiantes – ECE] to students from 2nd grade. And now, since last year, they will evaluate students from 4th grade and possibly 6th grade. So what teachers do is focus more on math and reading comprehension. Why? Because the census is based on those two competences /abilities. So maybe other subjects like Personal Social, right? Which encompass the past, history, they left them a little bit behind. Even in the… in the study plan there are only three hours dedicated to Personal Social in 1st grade. In other grades it's four. All this while Math and Communication have more hours, 6 – 7 hours. And maybe this is why teachers don't have the time to go and visit the site and how History is planned, it is minimal. That's a possibility.

Lo que he visto es que ya, en los últimos años tenemos la evaluación censal, a los estudiantes de segundo grado, ahora desde el año pasado, a los de cuarto grado, y posiblemente los de sexto grado lo van a evaluar, entonces lo que los docentes hacen es abocarse a lo que es más razonamiento matemático y comprensión de lectura. ¿Por qué? Porque la evaluación Census es en base de esas dos competencias educativas. si. entonces de repente las otras áreas como personal social, ¿no? que abarca lo que es el pasado, la historia, van dejando un poquito de lado. inclusive las, en el plan de estudio las horas que van a destinar a personal social, en primer grado solamente son tres. En grados superiores son cuatro horas - Mientras que lo que es matemáticas y comunicación, tiene más horas, 6 horas, 7 horas. y es por eso que, posiblemente los docentes no se dan tiempo para ir de visita y como programan estos temas de historia, es mínimo. es posible.

At that moment I took the opportunity to ask her what history students learn. I asked her: Do they learn History of Perú as Peruvian history or only prehistory? Do they learn until the Incas or do they also see the Viceroyalty, the Colonial Period, and the Republican Period? Or do they learn that in secondary school?

Margarita:

No, in Elementary school too, until contemporary times. Like I mentioned, we only have a few hours, so everything is touched upon but just a little or summarized—not in depth; only from prehistory to contemporary times, the Republic… but just a little bit, we only discuss it a little bit.

No, en primaria también, hasta la actualidad - como le digo, como tenemos muy pocas horas, todo se hace, pero poquito, o resumido, no a lo que es amplitud - solamente desde la prehistoria, llegamos hasta la actualidad, la República, pero poquito, poquito tocamos.

When I realized that in fact history was not a priority for the education system (and by extension for this school), I took the conversation back to the Census evaluation and I asked her: So, for them it is important for the school to standout in these subjects [Math and Communication] so their work is recognized?

Margarita:

*Yeah! Recognized. Moreover, every year the Censual exam increases the learning goals, the level of satisfaction. They [the Ministry of Education] award a bonus called "*Bono Escuela*" ["School Bonus"]. So, if an institution managed to have the majority of its students reach that satisfactory level, the teacher gets 3000 soles [around 1000 US dollars], and the other teachers get around 1000, 1500 soles. It really depends on how many teachers reach the goal in the institution, that's why we all aspire to get the School Bonus and reach the highest levels within the UGEL Huari [Ministry of Education office in Huari].*

Claro. Reconocido, es más, cuando, en el examen CENSAL, cada año va incrementando los logros de aprendizaje, el nivel satisfactorio, dan un bono, el "Bono Escuela" se llama. Entonces, si en una institución han podido lograr que la mayoría de los estudiantes lleguen a un nivel satisfactorio, les dan 3000 soles, al docente. y a los demás docentes, mil soles, mil quinientos soles. Dependiendo de la cantidad de docentes que lo logran en una institución, entonces por eso, todos aspiramos lograr el bono escuela, llegar a los resultados más altas a comparación de la UGEL Huari.

The census evaluation and the neoliberal education system in Perú play a significant role in what and how students in Chavín are learning about their Past. With already a limited amount of time dedicated to "history" the census evaluation, a neoliberal strategy, is taking time away from lessons of The Past. This without a doubt affects students knowledge of The Past, since

schools are the main arena where children are learning. The following section I will explore other neoliberal dynamics that effect children's knowledge of The Past.

Dark Sarcasm in the Classroom: Indigenous Education and Neoliberalism

In their introduction to a special issue of Indigenous education in the Anthropology & Education Quarterly, Rockwell and Gomes (2009) state that the current education system worldwide is the result of early European schools from the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, historians have identified historical documents that trace these early European schools back to at least two centuries (e.g. Burns 1999; Premo 2005). These early schools in the Americas victimized colonized peoples and were used to educate the "uncivilized". With the creation of nation-states, school systems moved towards teacher professionalization, graded structures, compulsory attendance, homogeneous groupings, structured curriculums, dependence on written media, and new forms of evaluation (Rockwell and Gomes: 105) Schools then—and now—are the interface between the state and Indigenous Peoples and communities, primarily used for assimilation (Hornberger 2000).

Rockwell and Gomes (2009) warn us about the common assumption that schools are spaces to access knowledge and an effective exercise of human rights. They claim that on the contrary, schools—including bilingual and intercultural schools—generally try to integrate Indigenous children "not into a space of mutual recognition of difference but rather, into a subordinate role in a dominant national configuration" (Rockwell and Gomes 2009: 104). School systems in Latin America were founded on the idea that a uniform national culture (e.g. the official narrative) was necessary for the "equal citizenship for all" (Rockwell and Gomes 2009).

While conducting educational ethnographies we need to recognize the cultural, social, and historical processes of children, students, teachers, and schools. These processes include

globalization, transnationalism, neoliberalism, fragmentation, interculturality, and discursive formations (González 2010a). Based on the information gathered during this dissertation research project, I witnessed how neoliberalism affects what and how children learn about their past. Neoliberalism influenced the creation of an education system on market-based principals that reproduce and continue to contribute to the marginalization of different populations, including immigrants and Indigenous Peoples (see Bartlett et al. 2002; Cammarota 2011; Gibson and Koyama 2011; Figueroa 2011; Collins 2012; Schultz 2014; Minoura 2012; Sumida Huaman 2014).

The market-based strategy of neoliberalism influences almost every aspect of our life and unfortunately also schools. This is problematic as these institutions are now geared towards profit at the expense of social and human welfare; affecting the education of people around the world. With a radical increase in testing, memorization, standardization, and competition schools reproduce a hegemonic "common sense" (related to economic growth) that not only favors the elite group, but also limits the creative exploration of ideas and knowledge for all students (Bartlett et al. 2002). This approach tends to only favor those already in privileged positions and limits the possibilities for others; creating a homogenous education that downplays and rejects diversity (Bartlett et al. 2002).

The Censual Examination I discussed with Margarita is a clear example of schools caught in a neoliberal web of power dynamics. While teachers are encouraged and motivated—through the "School Bonus"—to concentrate on topics such as math and communication (through memorization) to be tested later in a standardized fashion, other subjects such as History are left behind. Standardized testing limits creativity and critical thinking, while history and archaeology have the potential to influence both of those topics.

Overall, public education, teachers' salaries, nation-state financial distribution towards education, and types of education limit critical thinking and exclude and silence peoples' pasts. All this seems like a vicious circle of oppression. It is important not only to look at the education system as a whole and how it affects what children are learning, but also look into the lives of teachers. Neoliberalism not only affects the knowledge transmitted to students, but also the livelihood of teachers; which in term also affects their teaching situation. The livelihood of teachers became evident when I participated in the Teacher strike that will be discussed below.

Teacher Strike: "los maestrxs luchando también están enseñando"

While planning and working with teachers in our teacher workshops (see chapter 6) teachers in Chavín went into the National Teacher Strike of 2017. Teachers in Chavín shared the national rhetoric of the strike and many of the concerns presented in other places (regarding to the Ministry of Education), but also had specific claims related to the organization and implementation of education in the region. I will mention these claims as presented by the teachers of the area, not only from República de Honduras, but many other schools.

It was a sunny August morning and we were gathered in a small plaza located between the elementary and the high schools. There are around 30 to 40 teachers discussing about the measures they will take during their strike. When there was enough quorum, one of the union leaders (SUTEP) started discussing some of their concerns. As the morning advanced other teachers also participated. They discussed the newly approved Teachers Act (*Ley Magisterial*). This Act enforces that teachers have three opportunities to pass the Teacher Performance Evaluation. Teachers in Chavín (and other places in Perú) do not agree with this evaluation as it does not consider the learning context of children. For example, many children in the Andes are malnourished and—as teachers told me— it is hard to keep some of their students awake past 10

am because they did not have a wholesome breakfast; which in turn affects their learning capabilities. Thus, teachers, argue that they should not be held accountable for the responsibilities of the government, and that firing them without considering the complexities in the lives of Andean children violates their rights. Following along these lines, they complained that the people making these decisions do not have classroom experience and do not understand the struggles public schoolteachers go through. A teacher at this point mentioned—in reference to the evaluations—that at no point has the Ministry of Education sent personnel to their schools for training and that she and many other teachers had to pay and seek for their professional development courses. A teacher mentioned: "The government does not send anybody. We have families and we have to travel to other locations to seek for our own training".

As they continued with the discussion, a teacher mentioned that they need to be united in this struggle, because the Ministry of Interior believes that they are terrorists. Many of the teachers mention that they are not terrorists, that teachers are not violent, that in fact the government is the one inflicting violence, as three teachers were killed by police officers. Teachers also said, "Let us unite, if we all unite, a week, 10 days, we may be able to shake the system up". Following these comments, a principal of one of the schools mentioned: "This struggle and fight involves all of us". One of the main struggles that all teachers around Perú face is economic disparity. Many of the teachers in Chavín mentioned that they do not have "economic dignity", that 2000 soles a month (approximately 650 US dollars) is not enough, that it is degrading.

In the specific case of Chavín, teachers had many complaints of their own. One of main ones was that they want the local government to return the "*Casa del Maestro"* (House of the Teacher). A former local government administration promised this space to them as a place to gather and collaborate. They used the strike as a perfect example of the need for this space—"we

shouldn't have to gather under the sun" one of the teachers mentioned. The local government later gave the space to a third party and teachers where fighting to have it back. The second major complaint was that they are not receiving textbooks for their students, limiting the learning material for children.

Throughout the time of the Strike I participated in different meetings and marches in town. Teachers were united, and the town showed their support in various ways. During one of the marches around town, as I accompanied teachers singing and chanting, I stopped many times to ask people on the street their opinions on the Teacher's Strike. They told me that they had every right to fight for a better pay, that it did not make sense that police officers made more money than teachers. Another relevant part of the Strike in Chavín was one of the recurrent chants—especially while around children— "*Maestros luchando también están enseñando*" (Teachers fighting for their rights are also teaching).

Figure 48: Some local children watching their teachers Strike in front of the local government. Teachers would chant "Teachers fighting for their rights are also teaching".

Figure 49: Picture taken in Lima, during the National Teacher strike 2017. In the image it is possible to observe the Ancash SUTEP banner.

This teachers' strike sheds light on an important aspect of teachers' livelihood: they have an extremely low salary and are constantly worried about losing their jobs. It would be easy to say that students do not know about their past because teachers do not care, or that they are not continually updating/improving their teaching methods. Although this might be right, to leave it at that is unfair and unrealistic. Many teachers work two jobs in order to support their families, many teachers do update and innovate their methods on a regular basis, but kids are still malnourished and fall asleep mid-class. It would be irresponsible to put all the blame on teachers, as they are also struggling to make ends meet.

The correlation between this teacher strike and what children learn becomes clear when we understand the troubles teachers face on a daily basis. How are we to expect a constant update on material if the government does not provide it? How are we to expect a constant improvement in teaching methods if teachers are worried about losing their jobs and in addition, many have two jobs to make ends meet in their personal lives? The school as an institution has its limitations and

the current education system in Perú is in a precarious situation. It is no surprise then, that the school in Chavín de Huántar has a hard time teaching children about their Past in ways that incentivize critical thinking and move away from neoliberal education; something teachers also complained about during the strike. And as we will see in the following pages, it is not only the school or teachers responsibility, there are other institutions that play key roles in the education of children in Chavín de Huántar. However, these too have numerous problems within their context that need to be addressed. In what follows I will address the Archaeological sites outreach projects and its relationship with the Ministry of Culture.

Archaeological Site: Ministry of Culture

Archaeologists and other travelers "discovered" the archaeological site of Chavín de Huántar as early as the 1900s. It is part of the UNESCO world heritage and is under the control of the Ministry of Culture (previously known as the Institute of Culture). The director of the site—different from the archaeological project—is a Chavina who studied archaeology in Lima, at Universidad Mayor de San Marcos. I understand the crucial role this Archaeological Site and its administration play in education in Chavín de Huántar as a material resource for children and one of the primary sources of the town's income. For this reason, it was important for this research project to include their educational projects for children and community members, in order to visualize the educational policies that they and the Ministry of Culture enforce.

Figure 50: Photograph of the Chavín entrance as of October 2016.

Projects conducted in 2016

I witnessed two outreach projects the archaeological site conducted while conducting fieldwork: the anniversary of the site as UNESCO world heritage site and a ceramic workshop for kindergarten students.

Ceramic Workshops for Children

In October 2016, while initiating my rapprochement with members of the administration of the archaeological project to start conducting interviews and specially to begin planning our collaboration, the site director and other members mentioned that they were about to hold a ceramic workshop for children and that it would be a great opportunity for me to see some of the projects the archaeological site conducted. They sent out an invitation to all kindergarten institutions in

town and in the surrounding communities. The workshop was intended for children between the ages of 2 and 6. The workshop aimed at stimulating motor skills by using clay and play, while also promoting the recovery of ancient craft practices and cultural patrimony. The classes interested in participating only had to sign up at the site and admission was free, but schools were required to bring a kilogram of clay. This, however, was not the case in the two workshops that I attended, as the program organizers brought the clay.

October 25. 2016

I was at the archaeological site at around 8:15 am even though the ceramic workshop would begin at 9 am. I wanted to be there before the workshop began to make sure it was ok for me to document the activity. It also allowed me to witness movement around the archaeological site *early* in the morning. At first, I stayed outside and witnessed how one of the female sellers outside cleaned where her stand would be. She entered the site multiple times for water and a broom. As this woman was cleaning and I made notes of the collaboration between workers, I overhead a small boy with his mother mention that they were walking next to the *castillo* de Chavín (Chavín castle)—something that at first seemed odd since there are no castles in the Andes**,** but later became a recurrent choice of words for individuals living in Chavín[9]. At around 8:30 a little boy came up to the door and asked about the ceramic workshop but was told that it was too early, that the activities started at 9 am.

At around 8:50 am a bus drove up to the site, I could not see them, but I heard a lot of children at a distance. As they walk up to the site, I realized that they are here for the workshop.

[9] Calling Chavín a castle resonates to how early chroniclers used European references and made analogies between what they were familiar with in Europe and what they were observing in the Andes. For example, Cieza de León (1880) from 1518 to 1554 refers to some Andean temples as castles, while in 1571 Pedro Pizarro (1986) called Inca governors kings. However, Cieza de León does not talk about Chavín as a castle, but rather a stronghold (Mesía-Montenegro 2008). It is not until the late 1800s that outsiders began to call Chavín a castle; the most important being Antonio Raimondi in 1873 (Mesía-Montenegro 2008). Raimondi was an important figure in shaping archaeology at Chavín and might have played a significant role in adding "Castillo de Chavín" to Chavinxs repertoire

Some of the kids were wearing a light blue school uniform; accompanied by a teacher and some mothers. They all seem very excited about the activity, and this did not go unnoticed by the site director, who mentioned as she saw them “they haven’t slept due to the excitement”. When the director made it to the site, she opened the gates and allowed in all the kids and adults. Things were not ready yet; the workshop instructors were not there yet either. While we waited for them to arrive, I noticed that a class from the elementary school República de Honduras was there on a fieldtrip. Also, children from other school with different uniforms also arrived.

At around 9:05 am the workshop instructors entered the site with four bags of clay, but the canopies and tables were still not in place. Some of the site’s workers started putting things together, while one of the instructors took the children to an open area. Around 40 kids formed a circle and listened closely to what she was saying. They all started to greet and thank different entities; such as the sun, *la pachamama* (mother earth), the water, air, and moon. She talked to them both in Quechua and Spanish and repeated it, so children internalize how all these elements are our grandparents and ancestors. She continued and taught them a song. As they walked in a circle holding hands, they repeated the song they learned a few seconds ago. They sang together: *dancing, I plant my roots like a tree, planting them here.*

Figure 51: Photograph of children, parents, and teachers in a circle as they greet and thank important natural elements, described to them as their ancestors.

While kids continued singing and greeting their ancestors, the other workshop instructor started preparing clay for the children. He grabbed a wire and started cutting the clay in small squares to later distribute them. Once the canopy was set up, they instructed the children to pick a place to sit. I realized at this point that there were more kids than places. The infrastructure could not hold all the kids without a bit of improvisation. The instructors gave piece of clay to the first set of kids told them to create a sphere, while the second group of children waited 30 minutes in another area. After a while some of the kids started to get bored of making different spheres and started to create other shapes; some made worm-like figures, while others made llamas—some even added real grass for context. While children continued with their crafts, one of the instructors played the *pututu* three times and told the kids she was doing this to ask permission from the

grandparents (what she calls ancestors). The next activity described is somewhat different and is intended from more than just children.

Figure 52: Photograph of a clay llama made by a young girl, with grass to give context and make the animal seem more real.

UNESCO world heritage anniversary activities

December 6th, 2016 marked the end of a series of events the archaeological project programmed to celebrate the anniversary of the archaeological site. During this week-long activity the site's administration sent callouts for drawing/paintings and poem competitions. They also held volleyball and *fútbol* tournaments during the week. On the last day, the events at the site included the students of the elementary school performing a local dance and a parade of different community members displaying and selling clothes from local artisans. In between activities, different individuals talked about the archaeological site and its importance. Individuals linked to

the site's administration thanked the public (about fifty people attended the event) and mentioned that they were disappointed that nobody from the local government came to the event—something that was common for these sorts of events, as many of my participants told me. During the parade and in between each award ceremony for the previously mentioned competitions, three Peruvian musicians played the *pututu*, Andean flutes, and an Andean drum for the small crowd.

Figure 53: Local elementary school children performing a local dance at the archaeological site of Chavín de Huántar.

Figure 54: Three Peruvian musicians playing Andean music while local artisan's work was on display during the parade.

During my research I learned about past and current projects, but also about those in the making. One of these future projects include the restoration of Marino Gonzalez's house. Marino Gonzalez was one of the first Chavín custodians of the site who is well remembered by people in town. His house will potentially become a sort of cultural center for living culture, to rescue local traditions which include clothing, music, and dances, and also hold exhibitions. The administration is working on a dance group; they already have the outfits, but they want a dance teacher from Huari. They also have in mind an agreement with the local government of Huari: they send a dance teacher and also future tourist guides, so they can practice at the archaeological site. The only thing the administration would have to finance would be food and housing for the dance teacher—something that would not be affect by their financial troubles. These financial troubles, however, do affect other outreach projects and their planning as we will see in the following section.

Financial problems: Doing what they can

October 13th, 2016 – fieldnote excerpt

> I am the site, waiting for one of my interviewees. There are a lot of children with their parents. One of these groups is from Chepén (Lambayeque) as part of a high school senior year fieldtrip. As I observe them, I hear the teachers talk about how they did not know that the guide was not included in the entrance fee and that it is 40 soles extra. As more and more people started entering the site, I decided to move so that I would not be in everybody's way, closer to the ticket stand. While I was moving, a mother with her young child (from Huaraz) asked one of the workers for the *libro de reclamaciones* (book of complaints). She wanted to complain about the bathroom situation, the lack of water and electricity. The site worker tried to explain to this mother that the site's financial situation was very bad, that it was not as easy as to bring water tanks and fix things, because the site does not receive enough money to do so.

One of the recurring problems while conducting research in Chavín de Huántar, especially at the archaeological site, was the lack of financial support from the Ministry of Culture. In one of my interviews with a member of the administration I asked what happened with all the money from the entrance tickets. He/she told me that 100% of the revenue is deposited and goes directly

to the Ministry of Culture. The administration complained about this situation not only in regard to services but also in their limited ability to finance educational projects. For example, according to the Ministry of Culture, the site received around 12,000 visits during the Independence Day holidays of 2016 (Ministerio de Cultura 2016). If we multiply that attendance by the mean of entrance value (7 soles) that makes 84,000 soles that went directly to the Ministry of Culture. Although the site does not receive that influx of tourists on a regular basis (with exceptions around Easter and the northern hemisphere summer) this one example points to the amount of money the site can produce but not use to improve their services and educational projects. Nevertheless, some money does return, as the. The administration told me they monthly receive between 1000 and 1500 soles—mostly in materials—for the conservation of the site.

There is a drive to have educational projects, as we will see from a portion of my interview with Karina (a site worker and tourist guide); however, financial limitations bound their efforts:

October 14th, 2016

> *Since I came here [the ticket booth] I was actually saying "when will they get me out of here." I wish I had my own space, basically to work with children, because sometimes I think that older people are a lost case; it is difficult to raise awareness in them, but the children are beginning, with them there is a future, they can teach those who... go out to the communities, make them workshops, bring them here, get them more involved, focus on that; but since there is no budget, there is no money for more staff, I am still there, stuck.*
>
> *Yo, desde que he entrado acá [la boletería] en realidad decía, cuándo me sacarán de acá, quisiera tener mi espacio, para trabajar básicamente con niños, porque hay veces pienso que las personas mayores, ya son un caso perdido, es difícil concientizarlos, pero los chiquitos que están empezando, con ellos, sí un futuro, ellos le enseñan a los que ya... salir a las comunidades, hacerles talleres, traerlos acá, involucrarlos más, dedicarme a eso, pero como no hay presupuesto, no hay para más personal, y sigo ahí pues, metida.*

As we have seen in both the elementary school and the archaeological site's administration the teaching of The Past is mostly constrained by financial limitations. These limitations are tied directly to the national government that does not invest in educational projects (and personal) to

better the educational scenario related to the teaching of The Past. Without the nation-state's support these institutions are very limited in the amount of work they can conduct to improve. Let us now review what the local government of Chavín does to teach Chavinxs about The Past.

Municipality of Chavín de Huántar: Government

The municipality of Chavín de Huántar—as many local governments—has many problems with money being reallocated and invested in specific areas different to those to cover the basic needs for the community. For example in my conversation with Victoria, a local restaurant owner and mother of two, she told that she was not very confident when it came to the local government and their policies towards education because of how they address some of the town's problems. Here and abstract of our conversation:

October 15th, 2017

Victoria:

> *I've previously spoken with regional governors that were involved in tourism and until today, nothing. For example, I have suggested that they make a library in the main plaza, or an underground library—that in lots of places exist, I've told that in that place called el movimiento, in the oval, they could do something there, something cultural, something exclusively Chavín. But you talk to the people with power, the people that could do something, and they don't do anything. How do you think I feel as a citizen of Chavín?*
>
> *He hablado, anteriormente con los regidores que eran de turismo y a la fecha nada, por ejemplo les he propuesto que deberían de hacer una biblioteca en la plaza, haciendo una biblioteca subterránea que en muchos lugares se ve eso, les he dicho que el monte, que la frontis lineal, que lo llaman el movimiento, el óvalo ahí se podría hacer también este, algo o sea, algo cultural que esté exclusivamente con Chavín pero si tu hablas con las personas que están en el poder y pueden hacerlo, no lo hacen. Yo como ciudadana, cómo me siento?*

Marcela: Why do you think they don't do it?

Victoria:

> *I think it has to do with, now the community, people think that just because they make a soccer or volleyball courts that the municipality is doing big things for us. That's, that's not what we need.*

> *Por el mismo hecho que, o sea ahora la población o la, las personas piensan que o sea, con hacer un proyecto de una loza deportiva, la municipalidad está haciendo grandes obras. Eso no es, o sea eso no es lo que necesitamos.*

Another example is the relationship between the tourist industry and the education system. As I mentioned, Chavín receives a large amount of tourists year round. And the local government works towards promoting (not always efficiently) a better environment and services for tourists. When I asked about educational projects from the local government, all projects seemed to relate to teaching children about their past (focusing on Chavín as a Golden-Age) for them to become tourist guides and/or archaeologists; this to continue promoting the tourist industry in Chavín de Huántar. I noticed that all the ideas and actual municipal activities geared towards this goal.

Thinking back, I saw this scenario on October 18th, 2016 during my first encounter with the local government. It was a sunny day that I spent walking around town and taking pictures of as many Chavín iconography I could find. Although I spent many months in Chavín during my undergraduate career and had noticed the iconography "everywhere", I was still surprised with how present some elements were in town, as part of people's everyday landscape.

Figure 55: Chavín as a Golden Age iconography in the main plaza.

Figure 56: Chavín as a Golden Age iconography in the Civic Center.

I located the Civic Center—on the North East corner of the main plaza—thanks to a previous visit to the Municipality. When I arrived, the woman I wanted to talk to was busy, so I went around taking pictures of the iconography and tourist panels. People would come and go, some worked for the local government, and others were Chavinxs filling paperwork. The municipal offices are distributed on the first two floors. On the first floor there is a sort of patio with small gardens. Towards the left some hallways lead to the offices, with panels on the walls. While I was waiting to introduce myself to the people working in the tourist office, I noticed their red panel. "*Gerencia de Turismo*" it read, with two tenon heads on the top corners, an image of the Lanzón on the bottom left corner, and the Raimondi Stele on the right. There was some information in the center, towards the right. All images were printed in black and white and the rain had damaged them. This was my first official exposure to what the area of tourism looked like from inside the Municipality.

Figure 57: Tourist Office promotional panel located at the Civic Center.

While I was taking photos, I noticed that somebody had left the tourist office and I decided to see if I could have a word with somebody from the area. I met a young woman in her late-twenties who told me she was the person in charge of tourism. I introduced myself and told her about my research project and the "at-the-moment" potential applied projects I had in mind. She got really excited to hear about my ideas of working with kids and teachers. I told her that for me it was extremely important to also work with the local government and that I wanted to hear and work with *everybody*. I asked her if it would be ok for me to interview her, and she said yes but was hesitant—she had only been working in Chavín for around two weeks. We agreed to an interview in a couple of weeks but continued talking about tourism and education. Something extremely important that I learned that day was that the Tourism Office held the Education area. This relationship will become more noticeable further along in this chapter.

A couple of weeks later I entered the tourist office, introduced myself again and confirmed with Mariana if it would be ok to I interview her. She agreed and we began. During the interview I learned a lot about how the local government run the tourist dynamics, so as the oral histories from surrounding areas. To my surprise, even though education is under the umbrella of this governmental office, nothing had been done related to education and the past; although Mariana told me that plans were starting to shape up. I asked her: You have told me so far some of the general things the Municipality wants to do in regard to the education of the past, but what has been done so far?

October 28th, 2016

> *Well, I talked to the current manager and asked him, right? Well, this is the Tourism Management in within this management and there is the education issue "and you know very well" I said, "you know very well that the issue with the archeological site is what, is practically the reason of being of the management, right?" Because if the site were not there, there would not be tourism management. He then said "Yes, well, we are thinking about it" and I asked him "Do we have any news? Has there been any progress yet?" And he says no.*

The management was just created—I believe—a year, a year and a half, or two years ago, and from then they just started to see that topic, right? Education, why? Because the education office, as far as I understand, basically the actions so far are focused on sports, focused on recreation and not so much on cultural or educational matters, right? Why? Because on one hand is also this, the lack of care of those in charge, who perhaps have not seen these cultural or education matters as a priority. But yes, from now on, as I say, we talked about the plan we are formulating and therefore, in relation to that we can start to work on education

Bueno, conversé con el gerente actual y le pregunté, ¿no? Bueno, la gerencia de turismo está dentro de esta gerencia está el tema de educación "y usted sabe muy bien" le dije "usted sabe muy bien que el tema del sitio arqueológico es el que, es la razón de ser de la gerencia prácticamente, ¿no?" Porque si no estuviera el sitio, no habría gerencia de turismo entonces me dijo "Sí, bueno, se está pensando hacer" y yo le pregunté "¿Ya tenemos algún adelanto? ¿Ya se avanzó con el tema?" Y me dice que no. La gerencia se ha creado recién hace, me parece un año, año y medio, dos años y a partir de ahí recién se está viendo el, ese tema, no? De la educación, por qué, porque la oficina de educación, hasta donde yo tengo entendido, básicamente las acciones que tiene hasta ahorita es más enfocado al deporte, más enfocado a la recreación y no tanto al tema cultural o educativo, ¿no? Por qué, porque por una parte también es este, la despreocupación de los encargados que tal vez no han visto con un tema de prioridad el tema de la educación, el tema de la cultura. Pero sí, a partir de ahora, como le digo, hemos conversado ya sobre el tema, hemos hablado del plan que estamos formulando y ya pues, con relación a eso ya se empieza a trabajar el tema de la educación.

According to Mariana, some of the plans the local government wanted to implement include: (1) changing the context in which children are learning. For example, they want to have workshops with teachers for them to add The Past to other subjects. She gave me the example of math, “instead of adding apples, children should be adding *Lanzones* or tenon heads” so that they can begin to internalize their culture. (2) Work with the school so that kids could take a course called “education for work” to train students to become tour guides. And (3) train teachers in subjects related to tourism. We talked about this last topic again many months after our first interview, when we initially planned to work together (after the summer camp). She seemed very interested in working in collaboration with me and children. When I called her to talk about this, she told me that the plans had changed, that they did not have permission to work with kids, so

that they would focus on teachers. When she told me that they would focus on tourism, I asked her if we could add an area related to archaeology, to what she responded "we will have to see"—she did not seem convinced that that was a possibility. That was the last I heard about their project.

Tourism and Education

The local government and the dynamics they promote between tourism and education is something that I ran into in various opportunities during my fieldwork—not only from municipality workers but also from community members. For example, when I asked Juan, an elder community member who worked many years at the archaeological site and project, why he thought children should learn about The Past he told me:

October 18th, 2016

> *That's what's important to learn, they should be at least tourist guides because they know from beginning to end, because you know that understanding the ruins, all of Chavín, it would be better. Nobody knows. Sometimes they come from other places and those guides speak upside down.*
>
> *Eso es lo importante aprender, porque deben ser siquiera guías porque conocen principio a final, porque tú sabes que conociendo bien ruina todo Chavín porque sería mejor. Nadie conoce. A veces vienen de otro porque hay guías hablan al revés por otro.*

On a similar note when I asked José, another community member, his opinions about my ideas of working with children he told me:

October 23rd, 2016

> *Yes, I think that we have to work with children, because older people… they have forgotten a bit. […] Buildings are starting to appear that are out of context, there is where workshops from the Municipality should come in, they need to be the facilitators, so that they don't ruin what we have, we are an Andean zone and we need to preserve [Chavín] as an Andean zone. I believe that that will resume in benefits of the new generation, there will be many more tourists, let's not damage this town. That's where we need to get involved with videos, show videos to kids, like how it is in Cusco, like how it is in Arequipa, like how it is in Ayacucho, so that they can see and so that they can have that vision and they don't ruin their town. It is very sad for me, with the mining boom, houses of 4-5 stories with roofs and everything and we are losing our Andean charm. So we need to shove this through children's eyes, with*

videos and other things, what a tourist center looks like and what it should be like, that's where we need to work. In those topics, so that the town isn't ruined, [because] it has an enormous future, with a monument so important like Chavín.

Sí, yo creo que con los niños se tiene que trabajar, porque ya las personas mayores ya... me parece que se han olvidado un poco. […] Se está haciendo edificaciones fuera del contexto yo creo que ahí tiene que entrar a tallar las municipalidades, ser los facilitadores, que no malogren, nosotros somos una zona andina, y tenemos que conservarnos como una zona andina. Yo creo que eso va a reanudar en beneficios de la nueva generación, va a haber muchísimo más turista, no malogremos este pueblo. Ahí también se tiene que involucrar con videos, pasarle videos a los niños, como es el Cusco, como es Arequipa, como es Ayacucho, para que vean y tengan esa visión y no malogren su pueblo. A mí me da muchísima pena con esto del boom del canon casas de 4 - 5 pisos con azoteas y todo y ya está perdiendo su encanto de zona andina, entonces hay que meterle por los ojos a los niños, con videos y todo, como son los centros turísticos, y como deberían ser, ahí hay que trabajar bastante. En esos temas para que no malogren este pueblo que tiene tremendo futuro con un monumento tan importante como el de Chavín.

While when I asked Alberto, a tourist guide and municipality worker, what were some of the most important things children should be learning about Chavín, he told me:

October 14th, 2016

I think that… this year I will, well maybe next week or in November, I want to visit—as a local government representative—schools, schools that are in Chavín and talk to principals. They should, students should come here [to the site] at least once a week for an hour, each grade. In 2004, 2005 I trained students from 3rd, 4th, and 5th grade of secondary school. I gave talks in the monument. Now we have many tourist guides from Chavín, like I would say they are my disciples and they have studied [at a university y level] tourism and now they are here at the site. Before that, there were no official tourist guides from Chavín…. There wasn't, but today we have around sixteen, seventeen guides, including myself that I am also a tourist guide.

Yo pienso que, yo este año bueno, quizás sea próxima semana o en noviembre, yo quiero visitar los colegios, escuelas que están en Chavín como representante de la municipalidad, eh, para poder hablar con los directores por lo menos deben, los alumnos acá deben llegar por lo menos una hora por semana de cada salón que yo más antes lo hice en dos mil cuatro, dos mil cinco, yo capacitaba a los jóvenes de tercero, cuarto y quinto de secundaria, daba charla en el monumento, mi persona y a eso, a eso ahora tenemos muchos guías Chavinos, como yo diría que son mis discípulos y ellos han estudiado turismo y ahora están dentro del monumento. Más antes no había guías oficiales de turismo Chavino, no había pero hoy en día ya tenemos algo de dieciséis, diecisiete guías, me influyo yo que también soy un guía también del monumento.

These three interviews are just a small sample of how community members involved with the local tourist industry and/or local government view how to discuss the Past with children. They all believe that institutions should use The Past to create a more solid tourist industry in Chavín. Although this by itself is not problematic—as the tourist industry can provide economic benefits for those who participate—it does become a problem when The Past is only used to generate money, and when that money does not benefit everybody equally. Joaquin, one of my key participants and local community member well versed in knowledge about the archaeological site and local politics explained to me:

December 7th, 2016

> *Well, the Andean man [sic] as such, since the Spanish conquest has been lazy. Now, in Chavín I think we have ourselves to blame, we who live here, we don't do anything. The problem with Chavín is its system, it revolves around an economic environment. Something that doesn't generate you a direct income, you don't have to give it a hand. The site directly and economically doesn't provide benefits. Indirectly it does. So, how does the site benefit indirectly—who does it benefit? It benefits those who have their craft stores and restaurants. But most of Chavín… in Chavín those who benefit from tourism is minimal. Not everybody, because in Chavín there hasn't been a well-planned tourist industry. There are polarized sectors that are economically active with tourism.*
>
> *Bueno, el hombre [sic] andino como tal, desde la época de la conquista española viene siendo ocioso. Ahora justamente en Chavín, yo creo que a los que tienen que echar la culpa son a cada uno de nosotros que vivimos acá, que no hacemos nada. El problema en Chavín, todo el sistema, gira en un entorno económico. Algo que no te genera ingreso directo no tienes por qué darle la mano. El sitio, económicamente directamente, no beneficia. Indirectamente nada más beneficia. Entonces, el sitio como indirectamente beneficia y ¿a quiénes beneficia? beneficia a los que tienen su artesanía. Y a los restaurantes. Pero a gran parte... en Chavín son pocas personas que se benefician con el turismo. No todos, porque en Chavín no se han conectado adecuadamente el sistema de planeamiento turístico. Solamente hay sectores nada más polarizados, si es un económicamente activos con el turismo.*

Many towns and locations in Perú use archaeological sites and tourism to benefit economically and Chavín is no exception. This by itself, as I previously mentioned, is not the

problem. The issue becomes evident when only a small group benefit from this income, and when The Past is only used for profit. As we will see in Chapter 6, the Past can be used to benefit the community as a whole and empower individuals. If we take an archaeological praxis perspective to this issue, more people could benefit from The Past. Before we enter that discussion, we will first review what the archaeological project and National Museum of Chavín do to prompt education about the Past in Chavín de Huántar.

The Archaeological Project

Since 1995, the archaeological project (*Proyecto de Investigación Arqueológica y Conservación en Chavín de Huántar*: Research and Conservation project in Chavín de Huántar) has conducted a great deal of research and published many articles and book chapters, most related to Chavín as a Golden-Age. Thanks to this project and its members—both national and international—archaeologists have come to a better understanding of the "Chavín phenomenon". The project was house of numerous bachelor and doctoral projects, both national and international.

For years the archaeological project attempted a number of different outreach/ educational projects. During the 2016 National Archaeology Conference, the archaeological project presented a summary of the activities conducted and listed the following: (1) Conservation of construction material, (2) photography workshops, (3) craft workshops, (4) elementary school ceramic workshops, (5) Pututu workshops, (6) a comic book, (7) mural art with secondary school, (8) newsletters, (9) talks, and (10) a documentary *El Teatro del Más Allá* or "The Theater of Beyond" (Rick 2016). In this section I will describe some of these outreach approaches.

These activities had mixed results and acceptance within the community. Rick mentioned that the main problems were the lack of money, the distribution strategies, and the reception from the community (Rick 2016). For example, the craft workshops (especially of ceramics) lasted only

a few months because they ran out of money; and material such as the documentary and comic book, although well recognized, did not reach all the people it intended. For example, the comic book's first edition was distributed for free in Chavín, Huaraz, and San Marcos; however, many community members I talked to, have not seen this comic book.

One of my interactions and interview with a project member was particularly informative. Paula is a Peruvian archaeologist who has been part of the archaeological project since the very beginning, at least 20 years ago. She also participated in prior archaeological projects directed by the Peruvian archaeologist Guillermo Lumbreras in the 1970's - 1980's. Today she is the director of the project's Lab. Paula lives in Chavín most of the year, attempted to run different outreach projects, and is part of the *Mesa de Tourismo* (tourist table). When I asked her about the project's outreach politics, she told me:

October 13th, 2016

> *For economic restrictions we see ourselves limited in conducting outreach projects, getting close to the community. With this in mind, however, we have conducted exhibtions, trainings, and workshops. With all the limitations we have as a project we have given our time, which is also limited, to do talks at schools about the findings we make at the archaeological site so that it is promoted through the town. We do this through printed pamphlets or expositions. After the National Museum of Chavín opened in 2008, they have done a good job in working with schools and, logically, they asked us to participate. Like I said before, luckily we have had expositions of the latest findings, at the site, at the museum, and we have also gone to Huaraz, so that the regional population understands the importance of our work at Chavín. We have made an important impact on investigations and academic training, but the economic restrictions continue as few people invest in these types of projects. The State does not contribute with research projects at the site, but our project continues. And the knowledge we contribute with is very important as it is was currently is being defused.*
>
> *Por las restricciones económicas, nos vemos bastante limitados en realizar un trabajo de acercamiento a la comunidad, realizando, qué te digo, exposiciones, o capacitando, haciendo talleres, que, sin embargo, lo hemos hecho. Con todas las limitaciones como proyecto, hemos dispuesto de nuestro tiempo, bastante ajustado para que se den charlas en los colegios, para todos los hallazgos que se encuentran en monumentos, se difunda, ya sea nosotros publicando algunos folletos informativos o si no, haciendo exposiciones. Últimamente cuando se ha hecho el museo nacional de chavín en el 2008, que los últimos dos años ha habido ciertos programas de acercamiento con los colegios, lógicamente*

siempre han pedido el apoyo del proyecto. hemos realizado felizmente exposiciones ya de los últimos hallazgos, tanto en el monumento, como en el museo, y también hemos tenido que llevar a Huaraz, para que la población de la región se entere la importancia de estos trabajos en chavín. Hemos llegado a tener un sitio muy importante en la investigación, en la formación académica de, sobre la arqueología, pero sigue pues las restricciones económicas y no de aportaciones a proyectos de investigación, el Estado no realiza ninguna investigación al monumento, y el proyecto sigue. Es por eso que estamos acá veintidós años, trabajando, y los aportes que el proyecto ha dado, son tan importantes que es lo que actualmente, que es lo que más se difunde.

There are many interesting points here. The archaeological project does publicize the information they produce. For example, since 2011 the project publishes newsletters where they discuss on a yearly basis their *discoveries*. In addition, during the year I conducted fieldwork in Chavín and Lima, I heard the project director participate in at least two different talks and conferences; one in Lima and one in Chavín.

Figure 58: Photograph of the project director and the tourist community of the region at one of the talks the Archaeological Project conducted to defuse recent discoveries at the Civic Center of Chavín de Huántar, August 2017.

The conference in Lima was intended to communicate to the Peruvian archaeological community the outreach strategies the archaeological project used to share their findings; while the talk presented in Chavín de Huántar sought to update local and regional tourist guides on the project's recent findings from. As seen in the photograph above, there was a significant number of attendees—I calculated around 50 individuals. The talk lasted between an hour and a half to two hours, and he presented the findings from the last couple of years. Individuals would take notes and—towards the end of the talk—there was a Q&A session. Based on the interviews conducted with members of the archaeological project, this is something that the project director does on a regular basis and many people attend these talks. As I listened in the back of the room, I noticed that he only talked about the findings related to Chavín as a Golden-Age.

What is interesting about the information shared via these two means is that they do not always go hand in hand. For example, the newsletters describe different periods including both Chavín as a Golden-Age and periods before and after (although in limited quantities). However, the talks and conservation are normally geared only towards Chavín as a Golden-Age. There might be a correlation between this information and what children know, but there is also a correlation of what is not published, shared or communicated to the general public (about other periods) and what children do not know. The director of the archaeological project told me that he sometimes felt guilty because he mostly publishes on Chavín as a "Golden-Age", since this is his personal and intellectual interest. This interest revolves around understanding and re-imagining Chavín's role in the Andean Formative and ritual activities and has led to many contributions in the archaeological community especially by providing a better understanding of what occurred at Chavín in the past.

Going back to the talks, most of those who participate are members of the tourist industry, and as we saw above, they are mostly interested in understanding Chavín as a "Golden-Age". To try to understand what came first and what influences what is to enter a discussion of the chicken and the egg (although evolutionary speaking, the egg came first). However, it is clear that the information circulating in Chavín and those who produce and consume it are part of a vicious circle that feed off of each other and that focusses only on one period. Is it that thee tourists are more interested in Chavín as a Golden-Age and that is why archaeologists have concentrated on that period? Or is it the other way around? Either way, over 2000 years of history are being ignored.

Understanding the project's outreach through the Comic Book: "Chavín: Camino al Centro del Mundo"

In 2015 the archaeological project published a comic book intended to bring the history of Chavín to a broader audience outside of the archaeological community. They made this goal explicit in the introduction to the comic book by informing the people reading the book of their intentions. The statement reads:

> *The archaeological project of Chavín de Huántar has noticed the need to promulgate the scientific information in non-traditional ways. For that reason, we present this graphic narration, in the hopes that it will be a tool—**intended for young individuals**—that allows us to discuss our past and share it with society. In this way, we can ask more questions that will allow us to dig deeper in research, and better understand our communities past.* (Rick, Bazán, and Ortiz 2015: 2; emphasis added)

The project published the first edition of the comic book in December 2015 and made 3000 copies. According to the project, these books were distributed to some schools (but as far as I understand, it did not reach the Elementary School where I worked, as they were surprised when I gave them a copy). Funding came from the mining company Antamina and the Augusto N. Wiese

Foundation which is an institutions that promotes educational and cultural activities in name of and for Peruvian citizens (Fundación Wiese 2018).

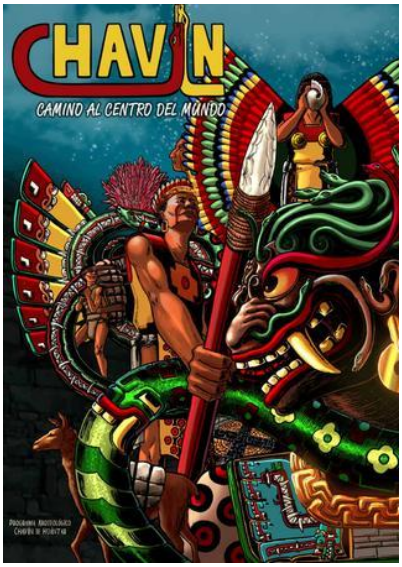

Figure 59: Cover of the Comic Book "Chavín: road towards the center of the world"

Description of process and distribution

The archaeological project invested their time to produce this comic book. The director of the project told me that at first he was reluctant to the idea, as he knew that it would take some of the project's key archaeologist "off the field" and into this educational project, and thus potentially delay some important research-oriented goals. However, they wanted to create something that could include some of the information found in the pamphlets but in a language and venue that children could grasp. As Paula told me:

October 13th, 2016

> *A way to motivate the students was that the project made a comic book, a magazine for children, so they have at least some interest, and that this is something more than just the results of the newsletters we give for the academic levels that we have reached.*
>
> *De allí que una de las formas de motivar al estudiantado fue que el proyecto elaboró un cómic, una revista para que los niños por lo menos tengan cierto interés, y que esto es algo*

más que los resultados de los boletines informativos que damos para los niveles académicos a los que hemos llegado.

The archaeological project knew their responsibility to reach a broader audience. Even though many of the project members claim that Chavinxs do not have an interest in the past or the archaeological site, they decided not to generalize. Ana, a Peruvian archaeologist working for the project told me they could assume that people in town had no interest in learning about Chavín. This came up during our interview, while discussing the importance of public archaeology, the project's outreach, and more specifically the comic book. This is what she told me:

October 22nd, 2016

I believe that sometimes the project stays half-way, like you mentioned. They do not have somebody that can mesh the project's intention or effort and make it reach the other side. Because we lock ourselves in and say, well then, they don't want to learn, but it isn't like that either. Last year, when they did the comic book, they called a group of kids—the target group—kids mostly from the last year of high school. At the beginning, I did not have expectations at all, because I said "well, these kids don't want to learn, they never came, then they never went to the monument, we never see them at the museum, nothing." But that day that they went to the two sessions, the kids were very aware of what was happening when they asked about some of the comic strips, they even provide some observations regarding gestures, forms; they were very critical and that surprises you. So, then it's like you start to ask yourself: how are we failing? We are then falling behind, where is our effort for more; then, more than anything, is being realistic and say: well, this is not enough.

Yo creo que a veces el proyecto se queda a la mitad del camino, como tú dices, falta alguien que engrane la intención de proyecto o el esfuerzo del proyecto, y los haga llegar al otro lado, entonces porque a veces nos encerramos y decimos, pues bueno, no quieren aprender, pero tampoco es así, el año pasado cuando se estuvo haciendo en el cómic, se convocó a un grupo de chicos, el grupo objetivo, de los chicos que era más que todo quinto año de secundaria. Al principio, yo no tenía nada de expectativas, porque dije bueno son chicos que no quieren aprender, nunca vinieron, entonces nunca fueron al monumento, nunca se les ve en el museo, nada. pero ese día, que fueron las dos sesiones, eran chicos muy conscientes de lo que pasaba cuando les hacían preguntas sobre ciertas viñetas, inclusive daban observaciones sobre gestos, formas, ósea eran muy críticos y eso te sorprende, entonces es como que a veces uno se comienza a preguntar, ¿en qué estamos fallando? entonces nos estamos quedando, pero estamos conscientes de que nos estamos quedando, entonces dónde está nuestro esfuerzo para más, entonces más que todo es como ser realista, y decir bueno, no es suficiente

The comic book had mixed reviews from the Chavín population: some have seen it, some have not; some like it, some do not. Unfortunately, none of the children mentioned that they had a copy or that they read the comic book. So even though the intention was there, the audience they wanted to reach had no opinion whatsoever on the book. On the other hand, I did gain information on what other members of the community thought about it. When I talked to Joaquin, who is very familiar with Chavín and its reality, he stated that he did not believe that the comic book was a good strategy. When I asked him why, this is what he told me:

December 7th, 2016

> *It's really simple, because the comic book, the literature, isn't geared towards education. There are some things that don't even make sense, that don't even go with the topic. It would have been good if the comic book would have been a story of Chavín. But the comic book implies a lot of things. For example, there is an erroneous discussion of San Pedro consumption, there are things that shouldn't even be there, that are ridiculous hahaha. I don't believe that you can sensitize a community with a comic book.*
>
> *Es bien sencillo, porque el cómic, la literatura no está como muy orientada para la educación, hay cosas que ni siquiera tienen sentido de lo que están hablando, son cosas que ni siquiera van con el tema, bueno sería que el cómic se hubiera hecho con una historia contada de Chavín. Pero en el cómic implica algunas cosas, algunos datos errados incluso con el consumo de San Pedro, hay cosas que están por demás y que está muy descabelladas, (risas) Y yo creo que, mediante el cómic, tú no vas a sensibilizar a una población.*

In my conversation with Mariana, she described to me the discomfort that she noticed from community members about the comic book, especially related to who made it, and why Chavinxs were not included in its production. She stated:

October 28th, 2016

> *Now the other issue that I also think bothers the people, because I talked to people from here and there is—for example—this comic book thing. There is a fund assigned to do that, right? We have, they know, there is people not only from Chavín, there is people from San Marcos, who are professional in artistic topics, for example. Professionals in carving, then Mrs. Gabriela who is there, who is a character, the project director, who is also included there. They know very well, they know there is people who can do that, who can do it better. And excuse me, but that mess they presented does not justify the price, does not justify the*

research they are doing because it really does not say anything… Then, for example, those issues bother the people tremendously. For example, did we come to the presentation? No, we did not come to the presentation, they just informed us that there was a presentation. My colleagues came and told them upfront "look, there are professionals here who can do that", and they have hired someone who supposedly is a specialist. That comic looks like a horror movie, I don't know if you have seen it.

Ahora el otro tema que también incomoda creo yo a la población porque he hablado con gente de aquí, de allá, es por ejemplo, el tema del comic. Hay un fondo que se les ha asignado para que hagan eso, ¿no es cierto? Nosotros tenemos, ellos conocen, hay gente no solo de Chavín, hay gente de San Marcos que son profesionales en temas, por ejemplo, artísticos. Profesionales en tema de tallado entonces la señora Gabriela que está, es un personaje, el director del proyecto que también está incluido en eso. Ellos conocen muy bien, saben que hay gente que lo puede hacer, que lo puede hacer mejor y discúlpame pero ese mamarracho que han presentado no justifica el precio, no justifica la investigación que están haciendo porque en realidad no dice prácticamente nada…. Entonces por ejemplo, esos temas incomodan bastante a la población. Por ejemplo, nosotros vinimos a la presentación, no, no vinimos a la presentación, nos informaron nada más que se había hecho la presentación. Compañeros míos sí han venido y le han dicho pues, de frente, mira, hay profesionales que lo pueden hacer y han contratado a quien supuestamente es especialistas, ese comic parece una película de terror, no sé si lo has visto.

Opinions on the comic book are diverse, as we can see. However, it was an interesting strategy used by the archaeological project to reach a younger generation. The comic book was received by some of the teachers I worked with in high regards. After our teacher workshop I had a follow up interview with one of my key teacher participants, Elena. We talked about the next steps of our collaboration and she highlighted how the comic book will be a great addition to teaching history to her students:

August 22nd, 2017

Like what the doctor was saying, he talked about an edition of the comic book for children. That would be really interesting, right? You know that children are intrigued by those things, comic books, drawings. A private company should invest in that, and children, through comic books, will also be able to know and understand their culture.

Como estaba mencionando ese día el doctor, habló de una edición de un comic para niños, sería interesante ¿no? usted sabe que a los niños les llama la atención, los comics, los dibujitos, sería no? que una empresa privada invierta en eso y que los niños se les entre a través de eso, los comics, las historietas, también conozcan más de su cultura

The archaeological project with its limitations (lack of money, communication, and a public archaeologist) attempted to reach out to children. Their efforts might not be perfect, but they are trying. After the analysis of data collected during my research project, I believe that the main issue—besides money and communication—is the relationship between the project and the town. This is an ongoing problem, but traces back to other archaeological projects, and some even argue date back to colonial times and foreign distrust.

Us and Them: Lack of money and lack of communication

As many people from the institutions that I worked with argue, exists a lack of financial support to conduct outreach activities. The archaeological project is not the exception. Although they did some educational work in the town, this was mostly limited to informing about their findings to tourist guides and providing newsletters of their work; with the exception of the mural drawings from one of their archaeologists and painters, and the comic book (the only projects intended for children). When I asked Josefa about the funds for the archaeological project and why they decided to ask Antamina for financial support, she told me that they were the only who provided support in the region. I then asked her if she thought Antamina had their own political interests in giving them money, to what she responded:

July 2nd, 2017

> *Of course [there] is an agenda, they are exploiting copper among this population, in this region, so this is the way of… let's not say to silence, but is a way to say "ok, we are exploiting copper in the region but we are hiring the people in the region, we are funding highways, electricity and water works, to improve the streets, and the social aspect, that is the social aspect, which is social and political right? But in terms of relationships with the communities or the educational aspect. We presented that to Barrick and Antamina, a proposal; since there is patronage in Peru, there is no incentive for privates to support research projects. If the government does not provide, which other organization is going to provide funds to do research? So, unless there are outside organizations, right? The World Monument Fund, or we used to come with the Global Heritage Fund and they, uhm, said "well, there has to be a national counterpart, we can give this amount, but…" then the foundation's chairman came and approached this mining companies exploiting in the region*

and said "they have money and must give back some funds to the area". That is how we got a little bit, until they were interested in the type of work we were doing, and they continue to finance us.

Por supuesto, es una agenda que están explotando el cobre entre estas poblaciones, entre esta región, entonces, es la forma de… no digamos acallar, pero es la forma de decir "ok, nosotros estamos explotando el cobre de la región pero estamos dando trabajo a la gente en la región, estamos dando fondos para carreteras, para electricidad, para agua, para poner las calles en mejores condiciones y la parte social, esa es la parte social, que es social y político ¿no? Pero en términos de relaciones con las comunidades o la parte educativa. Nosotros presentamos eso a Barrick y Antamina, una propuesta, ya que no hay mecenazgo en Perú, no hay ese incentivo de que los privados puedan apoyar para proyectos de investigación. Si el gobierno no da ¿qué otra organización te va a dar fondos para hacer investigación? Entonces, a no ser que sean organizaciones de fuera ¿no? El World Monument Fund o nosotros veníamos con la Global Heritage Fund y ellos, uhm, dijeron "bueno, tiene que haber una contrapartida nacional, nosotros damos tal cantidad, pero…" entonces el presidente de la fundación vino y se acercó a estas compañías mineras que explotaban en la región, dijeron "estos tienen plata y deben revertir algo de fondos a la zona". Fue así como conseguimos un poco a poco, hasta que les interesó el tipo de trabajo que estábamos realizando y nos han continuado financiando.

Thus, the archaeological project does have money to conduct their research. This money, however, is closely monitored. As mentioned, the archaeological project does conduct outreach projects, and they use the money from Antamina and their research funds for such projects. So if they do conduct outreach, and children do understand the basics of Chavín as a Golden-Age, why is it that many people in town believe that the project does nothing? Why is it that the community has such a harsh impression of them? For example, of the many interviews and hours of participant observation I held in town, many community members had bad opinions about the work they did. There seems to be a mismatch between institutional constrains and community needs. Some community members believe that the archaeological project is stealing their culture, does not tell the town about their research (monopoly of information), that the project only conducts archaeological research for their own economic benefit without any benefits for the town. In addition they believe that the archaeological project only uses the town to get more funding and

that they are destroying the archaeological site. However, it is important to mention that others held them in high regards. Positive opinions include that they are doing great research; that they care about Chavín and its past and are helping the town be recognized at a global level. Here are two examples from craftswomen, working not too far away from each other.

Liliana mentioned:

October 20th, 2016

> *The project director, yes, my respects, he also always, also in the excavations, what they have found has always been, let's say, it has always been good and has always had to take the pieces to the Chavín museum.*
>
> *El director del proyecto, si, mis respetos, el también siempre, también las excavaciones lo que han encontrado siempre ha sido digamos, siempre ha hecho bien y siempre se ha tenido que llevar las piezas al museo de Chavín.*

While Valeria thinks differently:

December 12th, 2016

> *Well, it is very simple, one as an archaeologist, I never interacted with the defense front with the municipality, if I never knew how to negotiate with people, with the social actors. And I never broadcast my research on the radio, the TV, what am I doing? I never do workshops, I never do anything. What can I expect from the population to do for me? I never did anything, I cannot expect wonders from the population. Another [thing] is that is such a fragile place as Chavín, where the population tends to have misunderstandings more easily, you cannot do as you please. And that is why I believe that the problem comes [from] here. […] That is why, if the project has income from Ancash, from the mining company, the mining tax, or any other public institution from Ancash providing the money, it wouldn't be a bad idea that one comes forward and takes the bullet for that money. And they begin to report where the money comes from, in what is the money spent, and even were do they profit from the money, and what do they do with the money; because the project is really an incognito, because people do not know what they do inside. Therefore it lends itself to misunderstandings and they say the archaeologist took the pieces to another country, that he is selling our culture, they have gotten to that level of misunderstandings, because the project does not care about the people. The project does not care about the people here. It is very simple, if they cared they would do things differently, but since they do not care, little by little by little they go into this conflict. That is the simple reason for the project. That is my opinion as citizen.*
>
> *Es que es bien sencillo pues, uno, así es que como arqueólogo nunca me relacioné con el frente de defensas con la municipalidad, si yo nunca supe negociar con la gente, con los*

actores sociales, Y nunca difundo mi investigación, por la radio, por la tele, ¿que estoy haciendo? Nunca hago talleres, nunca hago algo, pues ¿qué puedo esperar de la población que haga hacia mí? Si nunca hice nada, tampoco puedo esperar maravilla de la población. Otro, de que, en un lugar, tan frágil como Chavín donde que la población se presta para malentendidos con mayor facilidad, tampoco puedes hacer lo que se te da la gana. Y por eso yo creo que acá viene el problema. […] Es por eso que, si en el proyecto están entrando ingresos, de Ancash, de la mina, del canon minero, o cualquier institución pública de Ancash está facilitando el dinero, o los está financiando, no sería mala idea que uno salga al frente y sacar el pecho por esa plata. Y empiezan a informar de dónde viene la plata, en qué se gasta la plata, y hasta donde se gana con la plata, y que se hace con la plata porque realmente el proyecto es algo incógnito porque la gente no sabe que hacen adentro. Por eso, lo que se presta para malentendidos y dicen que el arqueólogo se la llevo a las piezas para otro país, lo está vendiendo nuestra cultura, incluso hasta esos malentendidos se ha llegado porque al proyecto no le importa la población. Al proyecto no le importa la gente de acá. Es bien sencillo, así le importa sé, haría diferentes cosas, pero como no le importa por eso poquito a poquito a poquito a poquito va entrando en este conflicto. Eso es la sencilla razón del proyecto. Yo pienso eso como pobladora.

On the other hand, it was important for me to understand and show the other side of the story. To understand what people working on the archaeological project thought were the problems with the town. I asked all the members of the project that I interviewed their opinions, here are three that encompass them. The Project director told me (interview in English):

July 2nd, 2017

I think probably has to do with just getting a higher profile and, if there is one thing I've learned in Peru and other places is well, [the] higher your profile, the more you are a target. Not just a target in the sense of people trying to do bad things to you, but rather you become an element in the local scene. And elements, all elements, are used positively and negatively, without exception, so I'm sure you know well […] And so, as we came into greater prominence because there were more students here, we were buying more stuff here, more services here, hiring more people here. Uhm, every one of those things I just mentioned, creates an equal and opposite reaction. You know that we've support… you know, for years that was the biggest payroll in town. Single payroll [giggles], before the canon minero came in. But, in part, as the canon minero came in, we became -in some cases, as you can be aware- very intentional targets, we became political football. There is a feeling at broad that you could get elected by active opposition to us, making us the devil, and playing that you are going to get rid of us. And that's not an accusation, that's a statement of fact, is a statement of political reality. If you would, any other project and you know, sure, we have made mistakes, and sure we could have done better, but I don't honestly believe we could have made more friends. The more that we would try to be more a good political keel, with more people, I think it probably would have backfired, as much as it could have front fired. And you know my perspective on that has just became, well, if you think you are going to

win the heart of a small town, you better think again, because that heart is divided. And it is not divided just because people have different ways of looking at things, it's divided because the town is divided, intends to be divided, and puts a great effort into division. That is the nature of small town, I think you could find probably in equivalent measure in the US, and probably everywhere in the world. And so, choosing a course through those things, you know, again, I would, approve a statement that said that we have done serious mistakes along the way bad choices, poor investments, insufficient investments, you know. I don't think we make anything to try to make people go against us.[…] You know the education has been 'this will divide, and this will divide closer to even than you might have think'. And so, and, if there is a way -of a complex issue with multiple facets- if there is a way that most people can oppose most other people in some fictitious thing that is basically people going far beyond being split 50-50, but actually being split in such a way that they oppose other people, substantially, who agree with them on some other factor, it's probably going happen. That's pretty negative view in some ways, sort of pessimist view, really. […] It has led me to think that unless we really have reason to think that something we are going to do is going to help, we really want to think twice about doing it, so it has spurred us to more inaction than action. And you say, well that's not a very good outcome, is it? And I am not so sure, and what in the ultimate long run sense is our good outcome for Chavín? And I come back to thinking that if we can provide information about the site, perspectives on the site, interpretations of the past, various levels of accessibility and really isn't the goal the accessibility, various levels of information transfer that will require or that can only be done under certain types of accessibility. You can't teach the deep lessons of Chavín with all the data in a comic book, not going to happen, right? On the other hand, we can't reach very many people, with more technical stuff. Or a more theoretically driven, you know, complex, argument involved and stuff.

When I asked Josefa, a project member, this is what she told me:

July 2nd, 2017

This has been going on for many years, even maybe since the time of Tello; that the things from here go to Lima, so there is like an adverse reaction. Then came the person in charge of maintaining the monument had many enemies, because he was there to watch for the monument, and the relationship between him and the town was not good. Because, in addition, he tried to recover pieces scattered through the town, so the animosity was pretty strong. Then, I even remember the time I worked when I was a student, there was almost no relationship with the people. Maybe with one or two people who were interested, right? And our approach to the people is to hire people from Chavín to participate in the excavation and that they act as communicators of what is being done; because they are participating, they are excavating, they know what is recovered. Even in one occasion, when there was the problem of the excavations in the main plaza we called, we invited the mayor and his councilmembers, so they come to the monument to explain what we were doing. We said "Look, these are the treasures that we got when we excavate, this is what you say are the treasures. For us they are actual treasures, they are fragments of ceramics, stone tools, batán, batán tool, it was to reconstruct how the lived." We showed them, but they showed

little interest. They listened, the visits are, in several occasions we invited the mayor with their council. They came, the visit lasts one hour, there almost no questions and [they] say "oh, but this, you have to build this wall, it is falling apart, why don't you do that?" "if you want to get to Chavín, remove all this and leave the Chavín walls." If you explain them "no, we cannot do that. We have to remove this little by little in order to know what happened some years ago, then go" try to interest them in terms, in a simple language, but it is a little bit frustrating, you know? If the authorities do not show interest, because they are the ones that should promote [this], right? Also, in schools, develop activities, in coordination, now that there is a National Museum, right? But, through these years, say fifty years, there is not much change.

Eso va desde muchos años, puede ser quizás desde la época de Tello, que las cosas que ha aquí se van a Lima, entonces es como un anticuerpo. Luego vino el encargado del mantenimiento del monumento y él tenía muchos enemigos, porque él estaba allí para cuidar el monumento y la relación entre el pueblo y él no era buena. Porque, además, él trataba de recuperar piezas que estaban esparcidas en el pueblo y entonces la animosidad fue muy fuerte. Luego, me acuerdo incluso la época en la que trabajé cuando era estudiante, casi no había relación con el pueblo. Quizás con una o dos personas ¿no? que estaban interesadas. Y el acercamiento nuestro al pueblo es contratar a los, a la gente de Chavín para que participe en las excavaciones y que ellos sean los comunicadores de qué es lo que se hace, porque ellos están participando, están excavando, saben lo que se recupera. Incluso en una oportunidad, cuando hubo el problema de las excavaciones en la plaza de armas, llamé, invité al alcalde con sus concejales, que vengan al monumento para explicarles qué es lo que hacíamos. Le dije "Mire, estos son los tesoros que nosotros sacamos cuando excavamos, esto es lo que ustedes dicen que son los tesoros. Para nosotros en realidad son tesoros, son fragmentos de cerámica, son herramientas de piedra, son sus batanes, su mano de batán, era para reconstruir cómo vivían" les mostramos, pero muy poco interés. Escuchaban, las visitas son, en varias oportunidades hemos invitado a los alcaldes con sus concejales, han venido, es una hora la visita, casi no hay preguntas y dice "ay, pero esto hay que levantar este muro, está que se cae y ¿por qué no lo hacen?" "entonces si quieren llegar a Chavín, saquen todo esto de encima y dejen los muros Chavín". Si les explicas… "no, no podemos hacer eso. Tenemos, poco a poco, ir removiendo esto para poder saber qué sucedió hace unos años, luego ir", tratar de interesarles en términos, en un lenguaje sencillo, pero es un poco frustrante ¿no? Si las mismas autoridades no muestran interés, porque ellos son los que deben impulsar ¿no? También en los colegios, desarrollar actividades, en coordinación ahora que hay un Museo Nacional ¿no? Pero, a través de estos años, digamos, 50 años, no hay mucho cambio.

Both archaeologists here provide interesting information about the dynamics between archaeology/archaeologists and the town. While the project director talks about how hard it is to reach a town that is already divided around important issues and money, Josefa tells us that this problem has been around for many decades. It is something that she has always seen in Chavín,

and that she believes has to do with the legacy of early archaeologists. Paula, another Peruvian archaeologist on the project, mentions something similar and expands:

October 13th, 2016

> *It's inherited, through traditions about the image of what a foreigner is and what they do at an archaeological site, they treat them as thieves… they automatically think that they are leaving with treasures. They think this because there isn't knowledge that what we are doing is a research project,* ***to write their history****, and this isn't only here, it's a national issue. The archaeologist, as we talked, has suffered everywhere. They [the town] want only Chavinos running the projects, because they believe that they are the ones that have knowledge… but you can't give money or a project to people who have no idea what needs to be done at an archaeological project… every year that we work here they say, "what are they taking", "what are they stealing", "why are they here". […] We are always working with their adverse mentally, but regardless, little by little we have started to teach and invite people to our lab, everything is transparent… everything that we excavate is placed in the inventory and catalogue… we hand everything to the museum …. Before, logically everything was taken to Lima because that's what the State mandated until there was a museum. Now that there is a museum everything stays. Even then, knowing that there is a deposit, a storage unit where we take everything, they keep saying those things […] We have been working here for 22 years, under the eyes of thousands of people, researchers, archaeologists and institutions, but maybe we haven't… maybe one of our weaknesses as a project is to not have a parallel project that works on these understandings, that are more open… workshops, but workshops that last more than just three, four months… workshops that last a year or two, where we know that the people who graduate from them are willing to do the job. Here in the region, there are some of those workshops, but they last three, four months, and then that's it. Because there aren't any locations to conduct them, and when the archaeological project wants to rent a space, they charge us like we were coming from rich countries, and we don't have that money.*
>
> *Se hereda, y a través de las tradiciones sobre la imagen de lo que es un extranjero que viene a estos sitios arqueológicos, ya lo tratan como el ladrón… al toque piensan que nos estamos llevando tesoros. Porque no hay esa, qué te digo, ese conocimiento, de que lo que estamos haciendo es una investigación,* ***para escribir la historia de ellos****, y no solamente es acá, es a nivel nacional, el arqueólogo, como lo hemos conversado, ha sufrido eso en todas partes. Quieren hacer que solo los Chavinos, sean los que hagan ese trabajo porque son los que conocen, pero no le puedes dar un dinero, un programa, a gente que no tiene idea de lo que se tiene que hacer con el monumento, entonces, cada año que nosotros trabajamos dicen "que cosa se estarán llevando" "qué cosa se roban" "para qué vienen" […] Estamos así siempre con esa opinión adversa, pero a pesar de eso, ya muchas personas poco a poco, hemos estado enseñándoles e invitándoles a nuestro laboratorio, que todo es transparente, que todo lo que nosotros recogemos de las excavaciones, de las excavaciones que están inventariadas, catalogadas, todo lo entregamos al museo, antes, lógico lo teníamos que llevar a Lima porque eran las disposiciones del Estado, hasta que haya un museo, ahora que hay un museo, todo se queda. Aun así, sabiendo que hay depósito, almacenes donde*

> *nosotros llevamos todo, siguen hablando, pues […] Y no en vano hemos estado veintidós años trabajando en este sitio bajo el control de miles de ojos, de investigadores, arqueólogos e instituciones, pero quizás tampoco no tenemos quizás una de nuestras debilidades es tener un proyecto paralelo, que trabaje en esta capacitaciones, que sean más amplias, de talleres, que no sean talleres que te duren tres, cuatro meses, sino talleres que de uno o dos años porque ahí sí sabemos que las promociones que salen, son gente que va a estar dedicados a hacer ese trabajo. Y acá en la zona hay talleres de tres, cuatro meses y adiós, se acabó después todo. Porque también no hay locales en dónde hacerlo, y cuando en el proyecto quiere alquilar uno, nos cobran como si fuéramos pues gente que viene de países ricos, y no tenemos presupuesto.*

This quote from Paula tells us numerous things worth unpacking. First, she explains the views the community has of the archaeological project from her perspective. Many community members, some of whom I have talked to as well, share the opinion that the archaeological project is there to excavate and take ancient material culture out of Chavín. Thus, this idea is not only what many of the project members think of how the community views them, but many community members indeed confirmed this is the case. Second, she also mentions that the project does not have enough funding for outreach projects, something that needs to happen—they believe—to change their image within the town. Third, something that struck me and that is important in our discussion of decolonizing The Past and how we teach history is what the participant said about that they are in Chavín to "write their history". This notion is problematic in many ways and is worth talking about. If we are to transform the way we teach history, we also need to transform the way we study and write it. Ideally, as archaeologists (or historians) we need to work with the community to write an inclusive past. Indigenous communities have every right to write their own histories. Unfortunately, limitations at a state level do not allow them to do their own archaeological work without University degrees. So, when this practice changes (if it ever does) we will work in collaboration with communities, either to write the story together or to provide and share different methodologies so that we can answer the questions they want answered. These ideas lead me to another problem relevant to this dissertation: the information the project provides

to the town and the archaeological community. Since the archaeological project is the only one allowed to officially write about Chavín's past, it is important to review how they perform that critical task. Angela, a Peruvian archaeologist interested in Chavín told me:

October 25th, 2016

> *So, we still have that and the history of Chavín is still untold, there isn't either much information, what comes from the project is very limited. We still don't have a publication of the archaeological project, in these twenty-two years, regarding all the research, so that us that we are in this major—or someone—could take the information and maybe create a miniguide. And we can create more information, which we don't have. So, the only thing they hand us out are the bulletins, bulletins are information of an excavation process, but generalizing Chavín we don't have a context. And the publications issue, the having more brochures issue, more documentary information, anything visual, photography, those are pretty much restricted.*
>
> *Entonces eso todavía tenemos y la historia de Chavín todavía no está contada, no hay mucha tampoco información, lo que nos llega del proyecto es bastante limitado, no tenemos todavía una publicación del proyecto arqueológico en estos veintidós años acerca de todas las investigaciones, cosa que a nosotros que estamos en la carrera o alguien, pueda tomar la información, y quizás crear una miniguía, y podemos crear nosotros más información, que no tenemos. Entonces lo único que nos alcanzan son los boletines, que los boletines son informaciones de un proceso de excavación, pero generalizando a Chavín no tenemos un contexto. Y el tema de publicaciones, el tema de tener más folletaje, más información documental, lo que sea visual, fotografía, esas son bastante restringidos.*

Joaquín adds:

December 7th, 2016

> *There [in Chavín] there's only information leak, only in one direction. And in the project the information is targeted. In which sense? In that information of everything that is being done there is for the benefit of archaeologists. Those are waiting for that Chavín article to be published. The population does not benefit, because even if the population reads this article, they are not going to understand it. Even because that article is not for the people, is just for the self-ego and we never do archeology for the people. […] The project, I think, does not contribute at all to the monument, to the people. That is from my perspective… that they do little, they don't do much really, and if they want to prove they are Chavín, well we haven't seen the results so far. That is the harsh reality.*
>
> *Allá [en Chavín] solamente hay fuga de información, Que solamente va. Y en el proyecto, la información es direccionada. ¿En qué sentido? En que la información de todo lo que se hace allá, son en beneficio de los arqueólogos. Los que están esperando que se publique ya ese artículo sobre Chavín. A la población no la beneficia, porque por más que la población*

> *lea ese artículo, no lo va a entender. Incluso porque ese artículo no es para la población. Solamente es para el ego de uno mismo y nunca hacemos una arqueología para el pueblo. […] El proyecto yo creo que no aporta en nada al monumento, a la población. Eso desde mi punto de vista… de que hace poco, no hace mucho en realidad, y si quiere demostrar que es Chavín, pues hasta ahora no se ven los resultados. Esa es la cruda realidad.*

Both conversations revolved around Chavín as a Golden-Age. When I talked to Ana, a Peruvian archaeologist on the project, about Post-Chavín information she mentioned how the project ignored those time periods, especially in the information they disseminated. We started talking about the information presented in the museum but ended up talking about how other time periods besides Chavín as a Golden-Age are ignored. She stated:

October 22nd, 2016

> *Well, there will be a small room [in the museum] just for post-Chavín. And furthermore, it is very complex this post-Chavín. So, it's like they said "well, post-Chavín is easier and it's less important" And it's also the archaeologists' fault, because most of the project's exhibitions always say "Los Chavín", and in the last minutes we talk about post-Chavín, when it is on what we have more information, when it is on what we have more records.*

> *Bueno va a haber una pequeña sala [en el museo], sólo de lo post chavín. Y, es más, es bien complejo, lo post chavín. Entonces como que dijeron ya lo post chavín es más fácil, y es menos importante, y también es culpa de los arqueólogos, porque en la mayoría de las exposiciones del proyecto es, siempre se pone "Los Chavín", y en los últimos minutos hablamos de los Post-Chavín. Cuando es lo que tenemos más información, Cuando es lo que tenemos más registrado.*

As we saw in this section, many complex factors influence the dynamics of the archaeological project. They have done and continue to do a magnificent research job excavating and analyzing material year after year. Along with these research efforts, they also attempted to conduct outreach projects—some received better than others. However, they also complain about the lack of time and financial resources to improve these efforts. On some occasions they even mention that these efforts might be in vain because people are not interested in what they have to say. This problem relates to the poor relationship and communication with the town. Another

important aspect of the archaeological project is that most of their efforts (publications and outreach) are geared towards Chavín as a Golden-Age—almost ignoring everything Post-Chavín; something that goes hand a hand with local and national rhetoric about the importance of Chavín's history.

One of the main problems in teaching the Past in Chavín—besides the failed attempts of public outreach from the project and national educational problems—relates to Trouillot's (1995) discussion on the production of history. As previously established, the archaeological project's main interest is to understand Chavín as a Golden-Age. They mostly publish and disseminate information related to this topic, ignoring and disregarding information from other periods (over 2000 years), even as they have the information. This is due to the interest of the project director and what "sells" in the archaeological community, as Chavín as a Golden-Age has always been a hot topic within Andean archaeology.

This reality relates to what Trouillot (1995) calls "the moment of fact creation". The archaeological projects in Chavín created a historical narrative around Chavín de Huántar and have not recognized until recently their moral and political power in the present (See Kobrin 1996). This is problematic because what children learn in Chavín about their own history is based on interpretations of Western individuals with their own priorities. In addition, their lack of publication on topics besides Chavín as a Golden-Age limits the work of other archaeologists. Some of which might want to produce and work with the Ministry of Education and textbook publishers to incorporate this material, the task Loewen (2007) encourages us to do. The National Museum of Chavín de Huántar, however, is looking for ways in which they can balance this information and work with and for the community.

National Museum of Chavín de Huántar

The museum of Chavín is located on the outskirts of town, around a 20-minute walk from the main plaza. To reach the museum one can walk any of the roads parallel to the main street "17 de Enero". At a certain point these roads merge into the highway that leads to the next big town in the area, San Marcos (which is an hour and a half away by foot and a 20-minute bus/car ride). This highway does not have a sidewalk, so if you are walking to the museum you often face speeding cars, trucks, and buses. This is something that many people in town mention as one of the main problems of the museum—it seems to be intended for people that arrive on a tourist bus and do not need to navigate the highway by foot, like community members do.

The museum opened on July 18th, 2008 during the administration of Alan García. I remember working in the field at Chavín during the opening. García arrived on a helicopter, spent some time in the inauguration, took a tour of the museum and later left on the same helicopter back to Lima. Japan donated around 2.7 million dollars for the construction of this museum, as a sign of sistership between both countries (Embajada de Japón en el Perú 2008). The museum closed for around a year (2016-2017) to change the museography. During my fieldwork I witnessed some of the changes and additions made. The ones related to their education vision will be described below.

The museum is a one-story building made by a combination of cement and well-crafted stones, in an attempt to replicate the archaeological site's main temple. The entrance is a gated door, followed by a patio with a sunken circular plaza. After this plaza there is a small staircase that leads to the main entrance. Once inside the museum, the ticket stand is to the right and to the left begins the tour of around 10 rooms. Each room has a specific intention—mostly geared towards Chavín as a Golden-Age. Since 2017, one of these rooms include an educational area for children. Museums are recognized as an institutional connection between archaeology, history, arts, and the wider society (Shanks and Tilley 1992). Archaeology museums intend to educate the

general public on the interpretations archaeologists have made about objects, sites, places, and time (Barker 2010). The National Museum of Chavín is no exception. In the next sections I describe the outreach projects this museum has held with children throughout its short history.

Figure 60: Photograph of the National Museum of Chavín de Huántar.

Outreach Activities: Activities Prior to 2017

Qhapaq Ñan Project

The Qhapaq Ñan Project from the Ministry of Culture went to the National Museum of Chavín de Huántar in two occasions (2012 and 2013). Qhapaq Ñan (Andean Road System) is a series of roads, archaeological sites, and networks the Incas consolidated that spread over six countries (Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, and Perú) and 30 000 kilometers (UNESCO 2018). The intention of the Qhapaq Ñan Project is to: (1) discover the cultural and natural heritage associated with Qhapaq Ñan, (2) Understand the diversity of such heritage (both material and non-material), and (3) express the valorization and respect of all of these elements (Contreras Ampuero 2009). The museum director in Chavín described these workshops when I

interviewed her. The project coordinators came from Lima for three to four days and worked with a group of around 30 children. They brought games and presents and taught them how to build a bridge out of rope. They also taught kids how to weave these ropes and later showed them a video of how archaeologists reconstructed ancient bridges. After that they learned about the Inca road system and its importance in the past.

Tenon Head conservation

The museum also invited a conservation specialist to teach children about the tenon heads and how to take care of them. After children learned from tangible material (the actual tenon heads are in the museum) kids made drawings of their favorite tenon head.

Viva Conchucos

This project was financed by Antamina, the regional mining company. It aims to take advantage of the high tourist seasons (June–August) so that tourist can have an optimum experience; as well as create programs that consolidate the local community's identity (Antamina 2013). The museum director told me that the educational component of this project consisted of taking children to the archaeological site and the museum, where there were different activities —including drawing—and that at the end of the tour they received a backpack.

Figure 61: Photograph taken at the National Museum of Chavín in 2015. Individual photographs show the outreach activities they have conducted with children.

Outreach Activities: 2016 and 2017

Even though the museum was closed for most of 2016 and 2017 they did not want to stop their outreach efforts. Since the children could not come to the museum, the administration and the intercultural staff took the workshops to them. They created intercultural workshops for children on specific days: agricultural day, farmer's day (*día del campesino*), and for the holiday of Virgen del Carmen. They not only went to the schools in Chavín de Huántar but expanded to rural communities close to the urban area of Chavín. The museum director described the experience as very enriching:

October 19th, 2016

> *And I want to tell you something, kids from rural schools, in the majority of cases, are kids with great knowledge of the farmer's lifestyle. They speak Quechua perfectly, they know how to harvest, when to harvest, because they see it with their mom and dad every day. So the experience is very rich, very very rich, more than in the town.*
>
> *Y quiero decirte algo, los niños de los colegios rurales, en muchos casos son niños con un gran conocimiento de la vida campesina. hablan quechua perfectamente, saben cómo se cultiva, saben cuándo se siembra, porque lo ven con su mamá, su papá, todos los días.*

entonces hay ahí una experiencia muy rica, muy rica. más que en la ciudad - da risa decir la ciudad - que es el pueblo.

The idea of these workshops was to sensitize the population and let children and the community realize that the museum is not only for tourist consumption, but rather a place for all, as Patricia told me:

October 28th, 2016

I understand, and from what I've been reviewing their annual programs, that the museum is going to schools, in a way of raising awareness. They are going to the schools, the museum is going to the schools, so schools later come to the museum; that is more or less the idea. There I see a strength because at least, uhm, the… we have many schools in the communities we have here in the district, within that group, the most interested ones that I truly see and notice are the people from the surrounding areas, which are the communities, they are much more excited… they have a hidden identity, even when you talk to them, even in their mother tongue, which is Quechua here in this place, they are a lot more passionate and much more interested. Then, using in the museum techniques, methods much more, much friendlier, you gain much more trust that that museum isn't only for tourists; that the museum is not for outsiders, it is not that much so. First, our museum must be like our house, our second house, that our second little school, another school here, where that can come, learn in detail about our identities; then at least I see it with activities that if they are already starting, they are already in the process, then at least that is a first stage for change. First you have to change the chip, changing our way of thinking, of our students in the schools, of our people. Many still believe [that] when you visit students in the schools, they think the museum is only for professionals who want to know a little bit more about the culture, let's say Chavín or something like that. Or at least some think that the museum is just where we store old, stuff, antiques, and that's it. So we are changing those type of concepts first in our people, so that their parents also understand because if it defines our children, it defines their parents as well, to grant them their permits, grant them, give them their spaces, that their children come to share the museum, that is more or less the stage we are living here in the museum.

Tengo entendido, y a lo que he estado revisando sus programaciones anuales, que el museo está yendo hacia los colegios, en una forma de sensibilización, está yendo hacía los colegios, el museo está yendo hacía los colegios y que los colegios para que luego vengan, maso menos esa es la idea. por ahí veo una fortaleza porque al menos, eh... los.... tenemos muchos colegios en los centros poblados que tenemos acá en el distrito y de los cuales, los más interesados realmente veo y noto que son la gente de los alrededores que son de los centros poblados que ellos se emocionan mucho más... en si tienen una identidad guardada, cuando tú les hablas, incluso en su lengua materna que es el quechua aquí en este lugar, ellos se apasionan mucho más, y se interesan mucho más, entonces se usando en el museo técnicas, métodos, mucho más, mucho más amistosas, mucho más gana confianza, de que ese museo no es, no es solo para los turistas, que el museo no solo es para la gente que viene de afuera,

> *no es tanto eso. es primero, nuestro museo debe ser como nuestra casa, esa nuestra segunda escuelita, es otra escuela más aquí, que ellos puedan venir, aprender a detalle de nuestras identidades, entonces lo veo al menos con actividades que si ya se están iniciando que ya se está procediendo entonces al menos, eso es una primera etapa, de cambiar, primero es cambiar el chip, es cambiar la forma de pensar de nuestra, de nuestros escolares, de nuestra gente. muchos todavía creen, cuando uno visita a los alumnos en las escuelas piensan que el museo es solo para visitantes de afuera, de que el museo es solo es para los profesionales que quieren saber un poco más de la cultura digamos chavín o algo así, o al menos algunos piensan que el museo es simplemente donde se guardan cosas viejas, antiguas, y nada más, entonces estamos cambiando esos tipos de conceptos primero en nuestra gente y cosas que también que sus padres entiendan porque mucho si determina de nuestros menores, determinan también sus padres, para otorgarles sus permisos, otorgarles, cederles sus espacios que vengan sus hijos a compartir al museo, esa es maso menos la etapa que se está viviendo aquí en el museo.*

As we see, the way the museum approaches the educational programs differs considerably from those by the Municipality and the archaeological project. They wish to bring community members into the museum, so they realize that the museum is a space of learning, and a space for them to enjoy. As for the intercultural activities from the museum, I spoke with the two individuals in charge of the program and they described the different activities they had. The first one was intended to vindicate Quechua as a language. While the second was for *el día del campesino*. At the time of my interviews with the museum staff, they were still planning the third one, called "Ancestral Foods".

Vindicating Quechua

This workshop intends to recuperate Quechua as a language with a wider reach within the community. As Marco (the program coordinator) told me, they planned this project when they realized that Quechua was stigmatized in both urban and rural areas (although less in the latter). He believes that many parents forbid their children from speaking Quechua or being bilingual because it produces a specific and notorious accent when speaking in Spanish. The museum wants

to change that perspective so that community members in Chavín (both in rural and urban areas) identify with their native language.

The workshop activities included Marco leading a group of children—and sometimes teenagers—in a round of jokes, tongue twisters, stories, and folk stories. He would start and then the other individuals would continue with what they knew. When he told me about this activity, I asked him about some of the stories they would tell in Quechua, specifically if any related to the archaeological site or the ancient past of Chavín. This is what he told me:

October 20th, 2016

> *Mainly, the tales observed here are not from a single era. It's from different eras. For example, the Achikey story, it is unknown since when it has been around, and there are others that are recent. For example, that story "Juan Oso" from the same name, Juan, a recent name. I don't really know where that name comes from, right? But Achikey is a Quechua name and it's been here forever, [a] tradition from generation to generation. Achikey means witch, so for the same situation of names and the events that occurred, then you can link that they were from different times. Different periods.*
>
> *Principalmente, las narraciones que se observa aquí no son de una sola época. Es de distintas épocas. Por ejemplo el cuento Achikey no se sabe desde cuándo ha sido, y hay otros que son recientes. Por ejemplo lo que es el cuento "Juan Oso" por el mismo nombre, Juan, un nombre reciente. No sé también de dónde viene ese nombre ¿no? pero Achikey es un nombre quechua, y que viene desde siempre, tradición de generación en generación, Achikey significa lo que es bruja, entonces por la misma situación de los nombres, y los acontecimientos que hubo, entonces se puede ligar que fueron de distintas épocas. Distintos períodos.*

Although this workshop is not centered on archaeology or the ancient past, there are important components related to The Past worth highlighting. Quechua, one of the native languages in Perú, is rapidly disappearing because of globalization and neoliberalism. The museum's intention is to recuperate this language and have the community maintain their primary form of communication, because it relates to their identity as Chavinxs, but also to their self-esteem. For example, the museum director told me:

October 19th, 2016

> *I see with my people, with the workers who speak in Quechua, the security guards, how their faces change when they speak Quechua [among themselves], it's so different than when they speak in Spanish. Quechua brings them together like family. How terrible must be to forcibly speak a language.*
>
> *Yo veo con mi gente, con los trabajadores cuando hablan en quechua, los vigilantes, como cambia el rostro cuando ellos hablan quechua, que diferente es al español. el quechua los hermana. que terrible ese... tener que hablar otra lengua obligado.*

Día del Campesino

The second workshop also included educational institutions in rural and urban communities—mostly in the rural ones. The only urban school they worked with was the elementary school República de Honduras. The workshop focused mostly in rural areas because, in words of the coordinators, they "still have their culture" and still practice what their parents have done for years. Marco told me:

October 20th, 2016

> *Here, you know, for many reasons: globalization, television; all that stuff. Obviously if we start to use that, it's too much. It is where I believe you know the better chance, so, but the community, little or nothing has arrived here, still hasn't arrived with more strength. Although it will come later, because they are getting there with projects done by companies, they are going, it seems like they are going to have fiber optic, all that stuff so they can have their internet, all that stuff. So, that is why we want to… we tried to work there, because they still have it, like I said. Parents are still engaged in that, in agriculture in this case. And the children participate in that directly. And then we saw the strategy of collecting information, in any case, working with them, because that is their job, their daily work. And that is what we want to keep, because if we left that aside, then we wouldn't be doing anything. Then work there with them, what they do themselves, then we are trying to better reactivate all their daily activities.*
>
> *Aquí, usted sabe, por muchas razones, la globalización, la televisión, todo ese tema, obviamente si empezamos utilizar eso, es demasiado. Es donde yo creo que usted conoce mayor la oportunidad, entonces, pero la comunidad, poco o nada llega todavía, hasta ahora, aún todavía casi no llega, con mayor fuerza. Aunque sí va a llegar posteriormente, porque se está yendo con los proyectos que están haciendo las empresas, están yendo, parece que van a tener fibra óptica, todo ese tema para que puedan tener su internet, todo ese tema. Entonces, por eso es lo que queremos que... hemos tratado de tratar de trabajar allí, porque*

ellos todavía tienen, como le digo. Los padres todavía se dedican a aquello. A la agricultura en este caso. Y los niños participan en eso de manera directa. Y entonces vimos la estrategia de recoger la información, en todo caso, también trabajar con ellos, porque eso es su trabajo. Eso es su labor cotidiana. Y justo es eso lo que queremos mantener. Porque si los dejáramos a un lado eso, yo creo que no estaríamos haciendo nada. Entonces trabajar ahí con ellos mismos, de lo que ellos mismos hacen, entonces estamos ahí tratando de reactivar mejor todas sus actividades diarias.

Marco described the difference between the rural and urban communities as abysmal. Children from República de Honduras barely know the differences between crops, they cannot differentiate between wheat and barley like children in rural communities. The first step was help them recognize the different crops; then, integrate the knowledge from the communities. This project led Marco and Milagros to plan their next workshop: Ancestral Foods

Ancestral Foods

Based on the knowledge the coordinators collected from their work with crops and community members, they decided that it would be an interesting opportunity to vindicate ancient recipes. During the second workshop they started to ask children what recipes/ dishes they could make from each one of the crops they mentioned—and most of them knew. Then, they started gathering information from parents and grandparents to see what food they prepared for their children. When I inquired Marco about his interest in creating this workshop, he told me:

October 20th, 2016

Because as you know, now they obviously bring preserved food. Like chili powder, chicken (hahaha) and other things, right? So… before what was it that they made? That's what we want to focus on now.

Porque ustedes saben que ahora, traen obviamente comidas conservadas. El ají, el pollo, (jajaja) y otras cosas, ¿no? entonces, anteriormente qué es lo que se hacía, eso es lo que queremos enfocar esta vez.

Marco also said it was crucial to work with the community elders, because they made and ate the foods they want to prepare with children. Marco and Milagros, both from the Chavín area,

heard of many ancient foods but have not tasted many of them. For them it is central that elders participate in this type of project. He told me that at first it seemed difficult to reach these elders, but with time many elders participated and talked to them, they seemed interested in having their stories and recipes heard. We did not talk too much about the recipes, but Marco told me that they gathered information from "North, South, and West" and would like to continue to expand their repertoire. One of the first recipes they want to try out is a creamy pea soup. They want children to make the soup.

Although these three workshops do not relate to archaeology, they connect to The Past and the museum's intentions to vindicate certain traditions they are losing due to globalization and neoliberalism . Learning about these projects and talking with members of the National Museum of Chavín was also beneficial for the collaboration and workshop planning of the Summer Camp that we held during January and February of 2017. Marco was one of my main collaborators and we used his expertise in many of these subjects to plan different workshops, as I will describe in Chapter 6.

Educational Space in the National Museum of Chavín

Another important aspect of the educational efforts from the National Museum of Chavín is their educational space. This room is painted beige and light blue. At the front of the room are two computers/monitors programed with the History of Chavín de Huántar (as a Golden-Age), while the other one is a compilation of the area's gastronomy. This last one based on the work of Marco and Milagros during the workshops. On one side of the room there are pictures of this workshop and different typical dishes from the area, while on the other side there is a description and pictures of the different archaeological projects in Chavín. Towards the back there are a series of games and material for children, including a Raimondi Stele puzzle, tenon heads and Lanzón

costumes, and a Tello Obelisk turn puzzle. Before I saw the initial phases of this educational space, I asked the Museum director why they decided to create it and she told me:

October 19th, 2016

> *We now have a space designed within the museography, a space more less big, to have workshops, there will be toys, etc. We will be working with the community there, with the community, because when they come visit with kids in a tour they only stay for a bit, they can draw and read a book, but after that they leave, but now we will be able to hold different workshops.*
>
> *Tenemos un espacio ahora que está diseñado dentro de la museografía, un espacio más o menos grande, para hacer talleres, van a haber juegos, etc. entonces ya para trabajar con la comunidad, con la comunidad. porque cuando vienen a la visita los niños con sus tours, se quedan un ratito, pueden dibujar un rato, pero luego se van, pueden leer un cuentito. pero en este caso ya se puede hacer talleres de diferentes temas.*

Figure 62: Some of the games and puzzles that would eventually be part of the Museum's Educational Space.

Figure 63: Marco using the Educational Space to explain to students from the Summer Camp some of the typical gastronomy from the area

Although the museum dedicates all the archaeological education in this space to Chavín as a Golden-Age, there is one thing that differentiates the museum's educational area and practices: The museum not only talks about archaeology and the past but brings to life and makes tangible some of the living traditions and memories—a sort of living past—for children to see and take advantage. Although the museum was closed during most of my research, based on my conversations with museum personal their educational space and practices, it seems that they will only continue to improve.

Children in the Museum

Before turning the page and talking about the outreach aspect of this research project, it is important to understand how the children see and use the museum. Here I base my analysis on data collected from interviews, go-along interviews, and homework/activities from the Summer Camp I conducted in January and February of 2017. For me, it was important to understand this view and use, since the museum itself is an educational institution.

Most of the children I interviewed and hung out with went to the museum anywhere between two and "a million times". Most children visited the museum with their parents or family members, on holidays or when other family members came to visit. Some children mentioned that they also went to the museum with their kindergarten classes, but not so much in elementary school (although there was one exception). One kid favorite was the tenon heads display, not only based on the children's opinion, but also according to the museum personnel. Many kids also mentioned that they like going to the museum because they get to see "ancient" things. In general, the museum seems to be a place the kids enjoy. However, the new museography includes one room that kids do not seem to enjoy that much—that scares them. This was clear when I interviewed Augusto. After he told me that he had gone recently (after the re-opening), I asked him what he thought about it, if he like it… this is what he told me:

June 17th, 2017.

> Augusto: *Yeah, it was nice, I went with my little brother. Inside there are Incas [sic], there I was afraid.*
> Marcela: *Did it scare you?*
> Augusto*: I didn't want to go in anymore.*
>
> Augusto: *sí, bonito, con mi hermanito me fui, adentro no ves que hay Incas [sic], ahí tuve miedo.*
> Marcela: *¿te asustó?*
> Augusto: *Ya no quería entrar.*

The room Augusto is referring to is an exhibition room where they put mannequins to recreate ancient ceremonies held at the site. In a similar fashion, after our visit to the museum during the Summer Camp, I walked back to the town with some of my students. I then asked them what they liked the most and what they did not like. One of my students told me that she was afraid at one point. I asked her where, and she too told me that she got scared in the "Inca Room"—referring to the same room with mannequins that Augusto mentioned. This fear might come from

the human size figures, the lighting of the room, and/or the little context and knowledge children have of the ceremonies held during the Chavín as a Golden Age period.

Figure 64: "Inca Room" children refer to and are afraid off. This representation is of an ancient Chavín as a Golden-Age ceremony.

Another important aspect for children—especially the older ones—was the road towards the museum. This situation also came up in many of my conversations with museum personnel. As I mentioned in the description of the museum, there is no sidewalk for a portion of the way towards the museum. This entrance can be dangerous for children or families walking to the museum with small children, since people can sometimes drive carelessly and speed. When I asked Christina, a child participant, what she would like to change in the museum she told me:

October 21st. 2016

> *We should make the entrance somewhere else, because there are too many cars around there, and it is dangerous when kids cross the street.*
>
> *Deberíamos hacer este, por otro lado la entrada porque pasan muchos carros por ahí es peligroso cuando vas con niños cruzan.*

This entrance is problematic, and the museum administration is aware of that. They plan to change the infrastructure so that it can be more welcoming for the community and not only for the tourists arriving by bus.

Concluding Remarks

In this chapter I provided a description of what and how different institutions in Chavín teach and/or provide as educational outreach about Chavín's past. I began by discussing the problematic ways in which the Ministry of Education implements *Personal Social*, the area that encompasses "History". The curriculum teaches the same Golden-Ages at a national level in order to create a sense of mestizaje, arguing that all Peruvians are mestizo (see de la Cadena 2000; Ccahuana Córdova 2014). This intention to make all peruvians mestizo is a way to acculturate Indigenous Peoples; something we have discussed in previous chapters as a mechanism settler and internal coloniast use to insert people into a national configuration and landscape. The homogenization of education based on neoliberalism facilitates this acculturation. In Chavín the Huántar, we saw how children learn these "Golden-Ages", and know little to nothing about other aspects of their local past. We also saw that the Ministry of Culture and teachers in general are not the only institutions/people to blame.

Regarding the teachers, we saw that many people in the community of Chavín blame them for the little knowledge children have about The Past. To say that teachers are not interested in their continuous professional development simplifies the complex reality of teachers and their constant struggle against the neoliberal education system. These struggles not only include the subjects they teach, but their precarious income as well. How are we to expect children to learn an empowering perspective of The Past if their teachers struggle to make ends meet and are sometimes forced to have two jobs? In addition, there is little communication and collaborative

work between the elementary school República de Honduras and the archaeological institutions in town, especially the archaeological project.

On the other hand, many community members and institutions accused the local government of showing little interest in addressing an education of The Past. Most of the government efforts relate to using The Past on a superficial level to continue with an unfair tourist industry that only benefits a small number of individuals in the community. Their strategies relate to working with children and teachers to produce future tourist guides. The municipality also argues that they have little financial support to produce sustainable educational products, something that the archaeological site's administration also claims. The archaeological site, however, with little resources does conduct outreach educational projects with children and empowerment in mind.

The archaeological project—working in Chavín for over 20 years—attempted multiple outreach projects. However, many of these projects failed due to financial limitations, time constrains, a focus on research, and the poor relationship between the project and the community. Furthermore, the archaeological project's research and publications unfortunately focuses on Chavín as a Golden-Age, limiting the information archaeologists and educators can use to create educational material for children. This interest and it's publication relates to Trouillot's (1995) description of "fact creation" where original sources (such as archaeological research) affect the education of the public. This is something that has become clear in Chavín de Huántar.

In this chapter I also addressed the outreach projects the National Museum of Chavín conducted. These projects are promising as they go beyond archaeology and teach children about other aspects of their past and present. These projects served as inspiration to many of the classes we conducted in collaboration during the Summer Camp in January and February 2017. This

summer camp and other public archaeology outreach projects in Perú will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6. ARCHAEOLOGY AND EDUCATION

"To say that we live in an unfair world is a commonplace understatement of the contemporary problem… Since the beginning of the twentieth century, a hundred million people have died in connection with 160 smaller and 16 larger wars. During the thirty-five years since the end of World War II there have only been between twenty-six and thirty days without a war somewhere on the planet…. Capitalism has created a uniquely alienated and estranged world…. Where does archaeology stand in relation to all this? Where are its values? What is its purpose? Is archaeology relevant or irrelevant to the world?" (Tilley 1989, 105)

These words by Tilley are as relevant today as they were back in 1989, if not more. It is difficult not to question how much things have actually changed since then, when current events and the economic crisis suggest our world continues to bleed and social inequity only seems to increase. I ask the same question Tilley (1989) asked 29 years ago: where does archaeology stand in all of this? What can we do as archaeologists to contribute to a more peaceful and just world?

It is necessary to not only transform the way we teach history, but to have an engaged pedagogy while doing so. This engaged pedagogy, as previously mentioned, encourages us to transform the classroom—where students are encouraged to be more than mere passive consumers (hooks 1996). Teaching spaces and teaching itself need to transform into places of resistance where knowledge is meaningful in a way that connects the participants' learning to their experiences (hooks 1996). Teachers (and educators in general) have great power to teach in ways that transform consciousness, reflection, and action on the world in order to change it. The contemporary crisis of white supremacist capitalist (colonial) patriarchy, bell hooks argues, is created by the denial of meaningful access to truths (1996). Let us revisit a quote from her book "Teaching to Transgress":

> That is to say, individuals are not just presented untruths, but are told them in a manner that enables most effective communication. When this collective cultural consumption of and attachment to misinformation is coupled with the layers of lying individuals do in their personal lives, our capacity to face reality is severely diminished as is our will to intervene and change unjust circumstances (bell hooks 1996: 29)

Throughout this dissertation I exposed some of these untruths or silences. As an activist scholar in education and in archaeology, I worked in collaboration with educators, archaeologists, students, and community members; and used the past as a tool for empowerment. Fox (2012) warns us that it is not enough to wear our activist hat while we teach about the injustices of the world; we must create activities and spaces that enable students to take these teachings outside of the classroom (or museum) and transform their lives (Fox 2012).

This chapter is dedicated to public archaeology and education. I will review some public archaeology projects and then go into detail about the outreach aspect of my research project, which include a summer camp and teacher workshops. It was important for me to engage with the community and give back to them from the get-go, as well as explore different ways in which archaeologists can continue to contribute to public education.

In Chavín, although there is a lack of communication and many institutions (and individuals) accuse others of not showing interest, when re-reading my field notes I discovered that I discussed many potential projects with my participants. Different groups and members of the Chavín community have the capacity, knowledge, and willingness to collaborate in the benefit of children. Chavín has such a rich history, and people have enough ideas and disposition to impulse that change in Chavín de Huántar instead of waiting for the government to intervene—although from a responsibility perspective it most definitely must. I will also provide recommendations for how to transform the way The Past is taught in Chavín, Perú, and at a global scale; as individuals and as part of institutions.

Public Archaeology

Archaeology is the study of past cultures and societies through the analysis of material remains (Guest 2016) and the use of different methods and theories to understand past events.

Some archaeologists distribute their findings in academia, some work for the government and CRM (Cultural Resource Management). Even as we work for different people and have our own interests, how many of us work to create a better world directly? . Many archaeologists wish to remain in mainstream archaeology (some in fear to become political) but in doing so they remain at the margins of society and its problems. However, our work is already political and has an effect in society, whether like it or not (Meskell 2003; Hodder 2003; Saucedo 2006; Kleinitz and Näser 2013) . Others do not participate directly (either to be more responsible with the communities we work or with society in general) because they do not know how to do so, since public archaeology is not part of the curricula in universities (e.g. Perú, see Saucedo 2006). Nevertheless, by conducting public archaeology or applied work within archaeology, the archaeologist is no longer an island in society but rather becomes an active member within it (Saucedo 2006).

Public Archaeology is the way archaeologists bring their (and others) work to the broader public outside of academia. There are many definitions of what public archaeology is and what it represents. For example, Schadla-Hall (1999) mentions that it is—or has the potential to be—the way archaeologists interact with a public that knows little to nothing about archaeology. Matsuda and Okamura (2011) add that in attempting to understand the relationships between archaeology and the public, it aims to advance and improve it. Similarly, Merriman (2004) states that public archaeology is a part of archaeology that attempts to understand the negotiation, conflict, and meaning of archaeological work through ethics and identity. Or as Moshenska (2009) puts it, public archaeology critiques and studies knowledge production and consumption of archaeology and all it produces.

In a more tangible fashion, public archaeologists can understand the various levels of archaeological knowledge and who it reaches: professionals, academics, and amateurs; it bridges

the global with the local (Moshenska 2009). We can work from anywhere between CRM to activist work; however, our work as archaeologists is inherently as educators (Saucedo 2006), since we *hold* one of the keys to The Past.

Public Archaeology in Perú

I dedicate this section to the Public Archaeology I witnessed in Perú in the last years. This section is informed by the panel "Patrimony and Education" in the National Archaeology conference in Perú in 2016; the international day of museums 2017 (activities from the National Museum in Lima); and the work I witnessed and read about over the years. Even though there has been an increase in public archaeology, the amount of work conducted on this subject is still very limited. Salcedo (2006) points out that a big limitation for public outreach or public archaeology in Perú is how universities teach public archeology—they do not. This fact limits the number of tools for archaeologists when engaging with the public, but also has to do with how unaware some archaeologists are towards the problems that are part of their work. These archaeologists, for the most part, are not interested in expanding their knowledge outside of academia. Salcedo (2006) argues that this lack of public archaeology courses, however, should not be a justification for the limited amount of outreach, since there are several websites and bibliography available. Economic limitations are also an issue, as we saw in chapter 5. Salcedo points out that archaeological projects mostly use their money on investigation and not on expanding their area of diffusion (2006). Peruvian archaeologists also worry about the politization of their work and limit their interactions with the communities (Saucedo 2006). Many of these issues, as we have seen above, are not limited to Peruvian archaeology, but rather are part of an archaeological culture worldwide. A culture that, however, seems to be slowly changing. In what follows I will detail some of the public archaeology efforts in Perú.

Public Archaeology: Examples

During the Patrimony and Education Panel 2016 I became familiar with many outreach projects conducted in Lima. These data are a combination of the information presented at this panel (and the research I conducted on the projects they mentioned) and other similar projects.

Huaca Pucllana

This archaeological site is in the Miraflores district in Lima, and its main occupation dates to the Lima Culture (100 – 650 CE). In 2017, the archaeological site held its 27th archaeological summer camp for children between 7 and 12 years old. According to the flyer, the summer camp included two months of theoretical and practical classes (January 6th –February 24th) and visits to museums, archaeological sites, and natural reserves. The flyer also reads: "Have fun at Huaca Pucllana: Exploring, excavating, analyzing, and getting to know our cultural patrimony" (Museo de Sitio Huaca Pucllana 2017).

Mateo Salado

This archaeological site is located in the Lima district, at the limit between Lima, Breña and Pueblo Libre. Its main occupation dates to the Ychsma culture (1100 – 1400 CE). Huaca Mateo Salado opened to the public in 2014; however, archaeologists have been working with the community in different projects since 2011. The archaeological site's website (run by the government) says some of these projects include free admission and tours to people from of neighboring districts; a number of different art workshops and presentations including clowns, plastic arts, and poetry, as well as workshops for archaeology students in nearby universities (Ministerio de Cultura 2012; Espinoza 2016)

Pachacamac

This archaeological site is located in the district of Lurín, in Lima. Its main occupation is also Ychsma (1100 – 1400 CE), but archaeologists also found occupations that date back to the Lima Culture (100 – 650 CE) and the Wari Culture (500 – 1000 CE). The archaeological site of Pachacamac also provides different educational outreach. Its web site suggests that their intention is to promote local identity, knowledge of local history, and an understanding of the environment. They encourage these topics through community talks, tour visits, and various workshops (iconography, quipus, and oral histories). In 2013 the archaeological project also produced a teacher's guide for both primary and secondary schools (Santuario Arqueológico de Pachacamac 2018).

Qhapaq Ñan

As mentioned in Chapter 5, the Qhapaq Ñan Project form the Ministry of Culture took their educational projects to Chavín. They also went to other places around Perú, including projects in Lima—in Cieneguilla (Qhapaq Nan Sede Nacional 2018a) and Chaclacayo (Qhapaq Nan Sede Nacional 2018b)—and in Ayacucho, particularly Vicashuamán (Qhapaq Nan Sede Nacional 2018c, 2018d). These workshops, although not related directly to the Inca Road System, attempt to work with children's and teachers' creativity related to oral histories, cultural heritage, and other local traditions. In addition, the Qhapaq Ñan project also works with community members around Perú to discuss the importance of this road and train them to take care of their culture heritage (Qhapaq Nan Sede Nacional 2018e). They also work with people with disabilities (Qhapaq Nan Sede Nacional 2018f). This is one of the governmental archaeological outreach programs in constant growth over the last five years. As we have seen, it is expanding its outreach to many different communities with many different topics.

Huacas, Burbujas y Rock n Roll

This project held in over 20 *Huacas* in Lima aimed at motivating individuals to use archaeological sites as public spaces and encourage people to learn more about the archaeological landscape that is part of the city. This is a collaboration between the Ministry of Culture, regional governments, local municipalities, neighborhood associations, private companies, and citizens in general (Kilka 2018). Their intention is to reintegrate the communities living close to archaeological sites with the monuments, while adding music from the 21st century to show that music has always been part of our cultural heritage. The idea is that individuals feel like the site is theirs, so that they not only participate in activities at the sites, but also start to take care of them. In addition to the music, they performed a history of the activities conducted at the site in ancient times (Kilka Agencia 2015).

As detailed above, public archaeological projects in Lima increased in the last decade. However, there are several other projects that are not as well advertised but should not be ignored. Some of the projects above intend to serve as an example for projects and sites (*huacas*) outside of Lima; something that was also mentioned (to me) during the International Museum Day, at The National Museum in Lima.

International Museum Day (May 18th – Lima)

International Museum Day in Perú has become a perfect opportunity for museums to use the museum as an extended/ enhanced educational space (more than usual). They tend to focus their efforts in educational workshops for children of different ages. When I first learned that the National Museum was having a two-day event for children, I traveled back to Lima to see what our National Museum had in mind. By talking to people organizing the event I learned that for the first day (May 18th) they expected 500 kids from different schools of Lima (San Borja, Barranco,

Salamanca, Huarochiri, Puente Piedra, etc.). In a similar fashion, on the second day (May 19th) a total of 750 children were to visit the museum. Another important piece of information was that these activities were a pilot to take them to other parts of Perú.

Figure 65: Photograph of "International Museum Day" advertisement hung outside the National Museum in Lima.

Activities

Before children had the opportunity to experience some of these fun events, they sat in the main room of the Museum. They listened about the importance of museums and played different guessing games. Based on the responses about different ancient Peruvian cultures, I had the impression that they knew more about "Peruvian's history" than the children in Chavín—thus highlighting the difference in education inside and outside of Lima and its centralized nature. Here is an excerpt of my field notes from that day:

May 18th, 2017

> I feel like there is a great difference between what children in Lima know compared to other departments in Perú, at least in Chavín. And that doesn't come as a surprise. I feel like the

children from these workshops in Lima answer faster and better the questions the educators ask, than what I have heard children from Chavín.

After this small introduction, the organizers divided the children in smaller groups and began the educational tour through the museum. Most of the events were the same during these two days of activities, so I will provide details of those that seem relevant to this dissertation and particularly this section of public outreach: (1) The archaeological project of Puruchuco, (2) the Museum Pedro de Osma, and (3) The Museum *de la Reserva*.

Puruchuco

This archaeological site is in the Ate district, in Lima. Its main occupation dates to the Incas (1440–1532 CE). This workshop was a favorite, as it was almost always filled with children. The two instructors started off by explaining what a *Quipu* (ancient Andean record keeping device) and a *Yupana* (ancient Andean calculator) meant. Then, each kid received a string to make their own *Quipu*. The instructors taught them how to make different knots and place them in different parts of the string, depending on the number they wanted to represent. After this, they taught children how to count in Quechua from 1 to 10.

Figure 66: Instructors from Puruchuco teaching children how to make knots on their Quipus.

Museum Pedro de Osma

This museum is located in Barranco, Lima. The material culture exhibited mostly centers on *virreinal* and colonial art. First, the instructor provided an explanation of the museum and the material there. After that, the instructor explained what a *Kero* (cup) is. Many different past societies used these *Keros* as cups made from different materials ranging from wood, ceramics, and metal; especially during the Inca and Colonial Periods. After this explanation, kids had the chance to decorate their own Keros printed in a worksheet. Those who did not want to decorate their own Kero could draw on a paper that covered the wall. After the workshop I asked about the educational projects the museum offered, the person in charge of the workshop told me that they make special tours for each grade and have special educational material for teachers.

Figure 67: Photograph of children's Kero drawings next to the Pedro de Osma Museum's banner.

Museo del Banco de la Reserva

This museum is located in the Lima district, in Lima. The material culture in its exhibit include different paintings varying from the Republican Era to Contemporary art. Since 2016, the museum attempts to transform the relationship between the visitors, the museum, and the material cultural and paintings with which they interact. They launched an interactive aspect to their museography, where visitors could participate more directly with the material and their emotions. They wanted visitors to participate with their own voices, identify with who/what they connect in the museum, what relationships they find and don't find, understand if the museum inspires them to learn more and be more creative, as well as encourage visitors to be more in contact with their emotions (Museo Central 2016). In order to accomplish this last aspect, the museum had visitors tell how specific paintings made them feel through emoji post-its. They brought this activity to the International Museum Day events, and had children do the same thing. This approach helps the museum expand its view on what museums are and how they should be.

Figure 68: Photograph of the interactive exhibit by the Museo del Banco de la Reserva.

Public Outreach outside of Lima

In this section I provide examples of public engagement in Perú. Both Peruvians and foreigners conduct these examples in different parts of the country. Some of these examples share intentions and methods; while others are different and innovative. I will address three specific examples: (1) Educational Outreach in *Magdalena de Cao*, (2) the Co-Creative Engagement Project in Hualcayán, and (3) The Ethnographic exhibit in the Pukará Lithic Museum.

Acercándonos a nuestro patrimonio: una experiencia educativa en temas patrimoniales y artísticos en el distrito de Magdalena de Cao

In her conference talk during the National Archaeology Conference of 2016, Arabel Fernández talked about her research efforts in *Huaca el Brujo*. She mentioned that they worked with elementary and high school children in order to raise awareness about the archaeological site. They gave patrimony talks where they addressed the importance of the site and arranged school visits to the museum and the site in a two-day field-trip. On the first day, they talked about cultural patrimony and then visited the site, the museum, and the lab. On the second day they went over what they learned the previous day, tell stories, and share experiences. They also asked students to bring any type of object and create a story around it. Before these activities, the site's personnel worked with teachers to prepare them for their visit (Fernández 2016). In addition to the field-trips, they also conducted workshops with elementary schools in the area. These include mural painting workshops where children chose and painted plants and animals from the area, ceramic workshops where the personnel taught about production and children can make anything they wish, and textile workshops were the kids practiced math on *Quipus* and worked on design patterns for textiles (Fernández 2016).

Co-Creative Engagement: Hualcayán, Ancash – Perú

One of three community engagement programs the community of Hualcayán and the *Proyecto de Investigation Arqueológico Regional Ancash* (PIARA) implemented. This case study is based on the report and publication generated by Rebecca Bria, a U.S. American; and Elizabeth Cruzado Carranza, a Peruvian (2015). Hualcayán sits over the 80 hectares of archaeological remains of an ancient town, an agricultural complex, and a religious center. Past people occupied this ancient site between 2500 BCE and 1450 CE (Bria and Cruzado Carranza 2015). The contemporary town was founded as a farmer community in 1982. As an outpost to bigger cities such as Caraz and Huaraz, Hualcayán lacks basic social infrastructure, including roads, education, and health services. In addition, many local people refer to the ancient structures and material culture as "Inca" although they are mainly from the Recuay ancient society (Bria and Cruzado Carranza 2015).

The PIARA project aimed at mitigating this disenfranchisement and contributing to halt the destruction of the site by engaging the local community. They used a co-created project that distances itself from traditional outreach programs as they are created with—rather than for—local communities. The three co-creative projects are: (1) the Cultural Heritage Festival, (2) The Women of Hualcayán Handcraft Enterprise, and (3) The Hualcayán Oral History Project. I believe that these co-creative projects inexplicitly attempted to decolonize the way children and other community members learn about their past.

PIARA's first project was the *Cultural Heritage Festival.* The PIARA archaeological project has worked in Hualcayán for over seven years. During these years, the project made many friends throughout the community. Bria and Cruzado Carranza (2015) said that many community members addressed their frustration about not having many local traditions (the modern town is approximately 35 years old). The community expressed their intentions to organize a festival for

the first time to start a tradition and become a "true" community. Festivals and *carnavales* allow Andean Indigenous communities to publicly express their identity as a community. PIARA supported this initiative and suggested adding a celebration to the community's ancient history as well. Their intention was to encourage an appreciation for the community's ancient past, one that challenges the official national narrative of a mestizo/a identity (Bria and Cruzado Carranza 2015). The festival had multiple collaborators: local and regional participants, the community, the archaeological project's staff and students, the local school, the municipality of Huaylas, and a regional university.

The community organized a presentation of Hualcayán contemporary heritage, including different dances and foods. PIARA organized archaeological activities, including a tour of the archaeological site and lab, which they turned into a museum for the festival. Although many people had already seen the artifacts excavated from the site—as many community members participated on the project—the museum was open for a week. This time period allowed them to discuss the materials with community members, including elementary and high school children. This festival intended to encourage a reflection on what constituted their community's identity, both past and present. It also allowed community members to ask questions about the archaeological project and the work that they conducted (Bria and Cruzado Carranza 2015); something that many archaeological projects in Perú fail to do.

The second project is *Women of Hualcayán Handcraft Enterprise*. In this co-created project, skilled female local weavers expressed their interest to engage in an economic enterprise and sell their textiles. PIARA expressed a desire to increase the visualization and appreciation of Indigenous art. This co-created project combines Prehispanic and contemporary techniques and designs. They sell the textiles locally and in U.S. America and distribute the profit to the women

and to a collective fund to purchase new materials. In the future, they hope that the collective profit contributes to health, wellness, and training for local women and children. PIARA created this project to encourage community members to produce crafts related to their local past while generating financial benefits (Bria and Cruzado Carranza 2015). Although the report did not mention if children participated in this enterprise, craft specialization is multi-generational (see Arnold 1985). This project also contributed to teaching ancient textile technologies to children as an appreciation of their art, but also in a way that could benefit them financially in the future.

The third—and perhaps most impactful for children—was the *Hualcayán Oral Project*. PIARA worked in collaboration with the local elementary school to present their archaeological work to 120 children. They emphasized the cultural achievements and technological accomplishments of the ancient Hualcayán population. They presented the past with hands-on workshops, which included material analysis, iconographic drawing/interpretation, and crafts specialization. These activities allowed children to explore technologies, social practices, and arts of ancient Hualcayán (Bria and Cruzado Carranza 2015). After this initial project, PIARA and teachers from the school discussed how they believed children benefited from the experience of learning about their local history with actual material. However, teachers also felt that students could benefit from learning more about their more recent community history.

Between the teachers and the PIARA project they decided that they could implement a student-led oral history project, to allow students to engage in “discovering this history”. Children used video cameras to record interviews with their family members: parents, grandparents and other relatives. Students, teachers, and PIARA formulated the questions. These included: (1) When did you move to Hualcayán? Why? (2) Where did you move from? (3) What challenges did you face starting a new life in Hualcayán? (4) What stories exist about the ancient people who once

lived in the ruins here? (5) What do you hope for the future of Hualcayán? The videos were later edited and presented to the community. These videos structured further projects (1) books with transcriptions of the interviews, (2) a video presentation displayed in the digital heritage exhibit in the community museum; to allow access to the oral histories regardless of level of literacy. This project allowed the collection of local oral history and let children participate in the gathering and presentation of their own history through a dialogue that included teachers, community members, and the archaeological project (Bria and Cruzado Carranza 2015).

PIARA presented the archaeological material to the community and explained their archaeological interpretations. The lab/museum was open to the community for a week. Their openness to co-interpretation should be expanded to their archaeological interpretations and create a permanent space within the museum for communities to construct their past, away from archaeology and archaeologists. Museums have the potential for great empowerment and education. We need to transform museums into places where people can create their own pasts, rather than presenting it in one particular way, alienated from the present (Tilley 1989). Museums should not only be spaces of education and presentations of the past but also places for engagement with the community that allow for less oppressive and exploitative versions of the past.

These examples also demonstrate that it is possible to decolonize and teach the past without the contribution of archaeological projects. The Hualcayán Indigenous community worked in collaboration with a western archaeological project. They used archaeology and oral histories (although unfortunately not together) to present the past. I believe that there is great potential to combine oral histories with archaeological material and reinforce these oral histories with material culture. By using these examples and approaches I envision an emancipatory Archaeology of

Education. Archaeology can enhance the symbolic material resources for Indigenous Peoples to tell and teach their stories and histories.

The Ethnographic exhibit in the Pukará Lithic Museum

The third example of public archaeology is a collaborative, community-based project conducted in Puno, Perú. After many years of archaeological work, the Pukará Archaeological Project decided to work with the local community. They wanted to engage and collaborate with the local community to co-create a museum exhibit about local and contemporary craft specialization. Even though this exhibit would not fit into what is expected at an archaeological site's museum, the Pukará Archaeological Project wanted to collaborate and engage with the local community (Klarich 2014). They were interested in changing the community views on the museum as a space for tourists that only benefits the Ministry of Culture (Klarich 2014), something that sounds familiar when I think about my time in Chavín de Huántar.

One of the most important things for the Pukará Archaeological Project was to bring different stakeholders into the conversation. They wanted to work with the diverse community, the local government, Ministry of Culture, anthropologists, archaeologists, and other interested individuals (Klarich 2014). In 2010, the *Mesa de Turismo* (tourism board) invited them to present their project and open a discussion with the diverse stakeholders in order to set project goals, potential collaborations, social and economic benefits, as well as determine a central theme for the upcoming museum exhibit (Klarich 2014). The stakeholders mentioned that ceramic was the best craft they produce; however, as their ethnographic project grew, the archaeological project became close with the textile craftswomen and added them to the project (Klarich 2014).

The museum exhibit titled: "*La Herencia Pukará: 3000 años de Historia y Tradición*" (The legacy of Pukará: 3000 years of History and Tradition) presented a collection of ethnographic work

(including interviews, photographs, and videos) a binational team of anthropologists and archaeologists conducted, a series of final products the local community produced, as well as the raw materials and tools the local craftspeople used (Klarich 2014). The two main goals were to showcase the complex relationships between the past and the present, as well as encourage tourist to stay longer in town and purchase the products the town is well-known to produce (Klarich 2014).

In the next section of this dissertation I will summarize the outreach and public archaeology projects conducted in Chavín de Huántar (for a more detail description, see chapter 5). Following this summary, I will detail the public archaeology aspects of my dissertation fieldwork. Many similarities exist between the two outreach projects I conducted, and the three case studies discussed above. Although important public archaeology work has been conducted in Perú, we all still have much to learn from each other, and those who still have not conducted outreach projects may need to rethink their motivations.

Public Archaeology in Chavín: Outreach at Chavín de Huántar

Different institutions throughout the years created several outreach projects in Chavín de Huántar. The archaeological project "Research and Conservation project in Chavín de Huántar" attempted to create (1) ceramic replicas workshops for local people, (2) informative conferences, (3) talks at schools and field trips, (4) newsletters at the end of field seasons, and (5) a comic book. When I asked the project director about outreach projects related to education in the summer of 2015, he mentioned that it was hard for the project to become directly involved with education. He stated that teachers have had little interest in working with archaeologists and that they often leave for Huaraz as soon as the weekend comes. I discussed all these aspects in Chapter 5.

On the other hand, the museum conducted educational projects in the past years: (1) Qhapaq Ñan—from the Inca trail organization with the same name. This national project aims at

encouraging the social appropriation of cultural heritage linked to the extensive Inca roads and prehispanic heritage (Contreras Ampuero 2009); (2) a conservation workshop where children worked and learned from actual tenon heads (*cabezas clavas*); and (3) Quechua and traditional workshops, with communities around Chavín de Huantar. All of which I also discussed in Chapter 5. The museum director stated that they are interested in focusing their efforts on children and reinforcing their local identity; as they are the future of the town.

In addition, the NGO ANIA (Association for Childhood and Nature) also worked with children in Chavín de Huántar. ANIA and children created gardens at the museum and the elementary school, to encourage appreciation for the environment. A teacher and some students from the elementary school even wrote a children's book the NGO published "*Ania y sus amigos de Chavín* (Ania and her friends from Chavín). This book presents the story of the archaeological site and the people of Chavín.

Plans – Swisscontact Report 2014

In 2014 the NGO Swisscontact elaborated a report about the current and future plans of the tourism scenery at Chavín. It stated that 86% of the people that visit the site are national tourists. Most of the visitors include families, couples, groups of friends, college students, and school trips (mainly elementary school). They estimated that between 69,052 and 87,059 tourists in 2015, and expected an in 2019 to between 81,405 and 163,139 (Swisscontact 2014). This report also discusses some of the problems that limit the amount of tourism coming into Chavín. These include: (1) security, (2) limited amount of tourist installations and infrastructure adequate for families, (3) little diversity in activities, and (4) limited information about the destination and what it offers. With these issues in mind, the museum hopes to contribute in the following areas: (1) the elaboration of a museum script and the training of guides with a standardized discourse, (2) a guide

at the museum to explain history and the exhibit, (3) brochures with the new museography—four have a long term volunteer program (between 3–6 months) that will help with studies and work related to the museum, tourism, and education, (5) a book of local crafts that aims at recuperating local techniques, (6) transform the museum shop into a place where visitors can buy local crafts, (7) implement a craft and community fair, and (8) continue to build education activities and programs with children and make it something that can be implemented in the tourist activities (Swisscontact 2014).

Public Archaeology: Transforming the way history is taught in Chavín de Huántar

On the ground archaeology outreach: During my dissertation field work I conducted two outreach and collaborative projects. I did not plan these projects in total extent when I began to do my fieldwork but following the suggestions from applied and activist anthropologists and educators, I left my collaborative work open to plan with collaborators and community members. This approach allowed for flexibility in the creation and planning of activities. When I first arrived to Chavín in 2016, the idea was to initiate conversations with teachers to understand what they wanted from archaeologists to contribute to their work teaching children about The Past. Unfortunately, it was hard to establish rapport when I had only been in Chavín for a few weeks and teachers did not seem too interested at first. This lack of interest may come from a number of different reasons I gathered during interviews and participant observation, ranging from not feeling comfortable with an outsider participating/observing their work; feeling like I would evaluate their work rather than contribute to teaching The Past; lack of interest in having somebody work with them; not having time nor interest to improve the teaching of The Past; thinking that there is no need to improve certain things or learn new things; fear that I am part of the Ministry of Education, and thus also

there to evaluate their work. It also was "extra" work for which some teachers might not have interest nor time.

As mentioned in chapter 5, teachers' pay is very limited and in some cases they require extra jobs to sustain their families. Some teachers must travel between thirty minutes to an hour to reach the school, so they had no interest in spending extra time at the school. Professor Elena provided an example of this perspective in a follow-up interview we had during the Teacher Strike. I asked her what suggestions she had for future teacher workshops, to which she answered:

August 22nd, 2017

> *It is important to reach the teachers because we hold the public education in Perú, so it is very important. I think I'd like for this project to keep growing, right? Reach more teachers in the rural area who do not know [about this] right? There are teachers that are very locked-in. So, the think that they have everything, that they are educated and there is nothing left to learn, and they don't participate. I would like for it to reach more people.*
>
> *Es importante llegar a los docentes porque nosotros tenemos la educación pública en el Perú, es muy importante entonces, creo que me gustaría que este proyecto llegue a más, ¿no? a más docentes en zona rural, ¿no? que no conocen. Hay maestros que son muy cerrados ¿no? entonces, piensan que ya tienen todo, que ya están formados que no hay nada que aprender y no participan. Me gustaría que llegue a más gente.*

I asked her if she thought that was one of the reasons some of the teachers did not participate in our project—she answered "*Claro*" (yes, of course). I then asked if she thought there was some distrust towards me, and she answered:

> *I don't think it's distrust, because we know your quality as a person, your quality, your education. I think that for some teachers it has been a matter of time, right? There are teachers that have other activities [jobs], so they don't participate for being involved in these other activities. So there are a lot of things.*
>
> *No creo que sea desconfianza, porque conocemos su calidad de persona, su calidad que tiene, su educación; creo que también, en algunos docentes creo que ha sido un factor tiempo no? hay docentes que se dedican a doble actividad, entonces por dedicarse a la otra actividad no participan, no? Osea hay de todo.*

These issues combined with the little participant observation that I had conducted at the school and the town, did not help to build a scenario for rapport. At first, I was disheartened by the fact that the teachers did not want to work with me, but I understood what was going on. I decided to focus on other fieldwork activities and continue with the interviews in town and at the school. During these interviews, especially with parents and some members of the archaeological community, and particularly with the director of the National Museum of Chavín, I started to understand some of the problems the town had with the teaching of The Past and what community members wanted for their children.

I asked many parents what they thought archaeologists could do for children and many suggested a summer camp, since children in Chavín de Huántar do not have many activity options during the summer. Some children traveled to Lima or other neighbor towns such as Huaraz (three hours away) or San Marcos (30 minutes away to have summer camp classes. Some of the children that participated in this research went to these places for refresher courses in math, computer classes, and sports.

Archaeology and Culture Summer Camp, 2017

In this section I detail the summer camp I conducted with multiple collaborators during the summer of 2017 (January and February). This was the first time I conducted an archaeological outreach project of such magnitude; I only participated in one-day events with mostly children. These earlier experiences inspired some of the events planned for this summer camp, others I adapted from non-archaeological activities, and others were suggested and planned in collaboration with different members of the archaeological and anthropological community in Chavín. The overall idea was to complement and help transform the way we teach The Past to

children and for students to learn their local history while encouraging critical thinking and active agency in their present and future.

Expanding the classroom

We must recognize the importance of taking students outside of the classroom, because most of their interactions and lived experiences happen mostly outside of school—although cultural, social, and political factors are also present in schools (See chapter 5 for an example). The idea behind taking students outside of the classroom and into the archaeological site and the museum was to encourage them to have a tangible learning experience, where they not only learn on paper what ancient Chavín habitants did, made, or participated in; but to actually show them where all these things happened. Going to the museum and the archaeological site are part of the school plan; although as seen in Chapter 5, this fieldtrip not always happens. Based on this situation, it was important for me and my collaborators to take children there. The idea was to contextualize them with the site and the material culture, to allow a better understanding of the other aspects of our classes.

Using archaeological methods/material/replicas

Following the same idea as expanding the classroom, these activities aimed at making The Past tangible for students: not only to teach them on paper what archaeologists do, or the activities people conducted in The Past; but to allow students to participate on hand-on activities that can improve their learning. These classes included archaeological contexts, music workshops, skeleton and funeral and mortuary contexts, and ceramic workshops.

Alternative Histories

The idea of teaching students about alternative histories was to allow them to explore different ways of learning about the past: focus on archaeological work; but also complement that learning with other tools archaeologists sometimes use during our research, such as oral histories and folk stories.

Using the past to construct a better future

One of the main objectives is to create critical thinking about transforming the way The Past and activist work relate to the topic. This critical thinking can be used to transform the world we live in and empower students. These classes included taking care of the environment, gender, and the preparation of their own museum exhibit.

Details of the Summer Camp

Between October and December 2016, I started to plan each class and began conversations with people that had showed interest in my project or that I thought would be good collaborators. My intention was to have as many collaborators as possible, especially from different institutions, to allow better communication amongst the different agents in Chavín. I noticed that a lot of people were interested and worried about what children were learning about Chavín's past, so I invited them to participate.

My main collaborator was the National Museum of Chavín. The museum director and I went through some ideas and our goals with children. In addition, the museum provided two educators who worked there: Marco and Patricia. Marco is a Chavino who lives in a rural community close to the town; while Patricia is from Huaraz but lives in Chavín. Both have degrees in education and participated in the museum's outreach activities. I also had two members from the archaeological project who supported the Summer Camp classes. Mario, a local tourist guide

who has worked in the archaeological project for over 10 years gave the kids a tour of the archaeological site; while Ana, a Peruvian archaeologist, taught an osteology class. In addition, Pepe, a Peruvian ethnomusicologist and musician conducted the music workshops; and Zoe and Luis lead some of the ceramic workshops. Besides these individual collaborations, we had support from the local government, who provided the location for some of our workshops and a small snack for children on the days we were there. The archaeological site's administration supported the project by not charging us admission and gave us a space to conduct two of our ceramic workshops.

When I had all the classes planned and locations set, I began to advertise the summer camp. I left an inscription worksheet at the tourist office in the Civic Center and another at the archaeological site. Then, I started hanging flyers around town that detailed some of the workshops, the date and time, and that this summer camp would be free. In addition to the flyers in key locations, I also walked around town to distribute handouts and answer some questions about the activities. I had a welcoming reaction from many of the community members and before I knew it, I already had three children signed up for the activities. When I came back to Chavín after the holidays (Christmas and New Year), I had 10 children signed up at the archaeological site and 34 at the Civic Center. Most students were between 9 and 11 years old, and genders were distributed evenly. The number of students increased as the summer camp began, but the age and gender distribution remained similar.

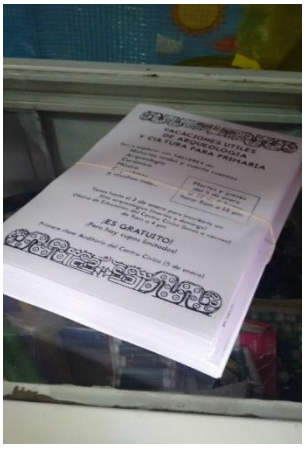

Figure 69: Handout used as advertisement for the Summer Camp.

Figure 70: Flyer next to a fútbol *field used as advertisement for the Summer Camp*

Classes were every Tuesday and Thursday, from January 5th to February 28th. They would last around three hours—from 9 a.m. to noon. Except for our second music workshop, when we told children they could stay as long as they wanted to finish their instruments. The rationale behind having this structure of class (Tuesday and Thursday) was to mingle around possible family trips over the weekend and the early start (9am to noon) was to allow students to have the afternoon free to do whatever they want. Once we became a tight group, we started getting together on a weekly basis to play *fútbol*. In addition to our classes we also had a music exhibition and closing event on March 3rd.

Table 7: Class timeline for January.

January

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
2	3	4	**Oral Histories** 5	6
9	**Site Visit** 10	11	**Archeological Contexts** 12	13
16	**Museum Visit** 17	18	**Music Workshop** 19	20
23	**Music Workshop** 24	25	**Recap** 26	27
30	**Skeleton Workshop** 31			

Table 8: Class timeline for February

February

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
		1	**Ceramics** 2	3
6	**Ceramic Workshop** 7	8	**Ceramic Workshop** 9	10
13	**Environment** 14	15	**Gender** 16	17
20	**Folk stories** 21	22	**Prep I** 23	24
27	**Prep II** 28	1	2	**Museum Exhibit** 3

Classes

(See Appendix A for description of each workshop**).**

Class #1 – Introduction

Since it was the first day and I already had students (at around 8:15 a.m.) I had to improvise some activities. They all seemed very shy and nervous, so I started talking to them, telling them that I was nervous too, but that it was ok, and that as time passed it would get better. At 9 a.m. we

started the class (on this day I only had one helper from the museum). We started off by introducing ourselves. I also told them that as we were a diverse group of people, of different ages, so we needed to help each other like a big family with a lot of brothers and sisters. I told them that this was not like school, that they were not being graded, but that we did have to work and participate. That the idea was to learn, have fun and make new friends. After that, some people from the municipality came in and also introduced themselves and mentioned that they were very happy to have so many kids there and willing to learn.

We introduced ourselves by saying our name and what we had for a Christmas meal. After our introduction, I told them that it was time for us to make the rules of the summer camp. The idea that we worked on this together was for them to take agency on how we should all act during our classes and workshops. Having students take action in creating the rules for the environment they will be in they are more likely to follow them. I told them for me, the most important thing was that they participate so they could learn, and that the whole idea of this summer camp was for it to be dynamic and for them to interact. The rules they came up with were:

1. Participation
2. Respect--not make fun of other people
3. Don't touch other people's things
4. Don't interrupt
5. No violence
6. Being on time
7. Responsibility
8. Don't use bad words
9. Don't make fun of our ancestors
10. Don't mishandle or damage archaeological material
11. Respect other people's opinions
12. Be humble
13. Take care of each other :

Figure 71: List of rules created in class.

After setting up the rules we played a game called in Spanish "*el pueblo manda*" (the town is in charge), pretty much the same as Simon says. I like the name of the game in Spanish because

I wanted them to internalize the idea that the town—the people—are in charge. We divided the group in two: I led one and the other teacher (from the museum) led the other. The kids seemed to enjoy the game.

Class #1 - Oral Histories

Date: January 5th, 2017

Location: Chavín Civic Center

Objective: The main objective of this lesson was to teach children that there are different ways to learn about The Past besides archaeology and history. Oral histories can help children better understand the traditions and stories that are part of their worldview. Local traditions in Chavín, such as language, agriculture, and clothing are disappearing at a worrisome rate, especially since the area has been occupied by the mining industry. I asked them about the importance of learning about The Past and ways in which we could do so. The idea was to encourage students to learn from each other and to listen to other people's stories. I had them ask each other about something

Figure 72: Children conversing amongst themselves and sharing oral histories they have learned from their families.

they had learned outside of school. We also discussed the importance of talking with older people and learning from them, their stories, and their experiences. This activity was complemented with homework where children had to ask and listen to their parents or family members when they talked about the archaeological site.

Class #2: Site Visit

Date: January 10th, 2017

Location: Archaeological Site

Objective: The idea was for children to visualize and learn from an expert about the archaeological site and to make their learning experience more tangible. We not only expanded the classroom by taking children to the archaeological site, but we also invited an expert on the subject and a tour guide (who works with the archaeological project) to explain the site and archaeological investigations to children. The main objective was to have kids see where, all the things they were learning in school, actually happened and to add the archaeological site to their landscape. For homework kids had to write down what they knew and draw their favorite part of the archaeological site.

Figure 73: Our tour guide explaining some of the Raimondi Stele iconography.

Class #3: Archaeological contexts

Date: January 12th, 2017

Location: Civic Center

Objective: For children to learn how archaeologists use material cultural in order to understand different contexts that occurred in The Past. I gave children an "archaeological context" (e.g. arrowhead in the garbage) and they had to draw what that might look like archaeologically. For those kids that were a little bit older I asked them to draw the life-course of a fork in order for them to understand what needs to happen so that they can have that material in their homes. The main objective was for children to think critically about the material culture used in both The Past and the objects they use in the present.

Figure 74: Replicas used for the context activities.

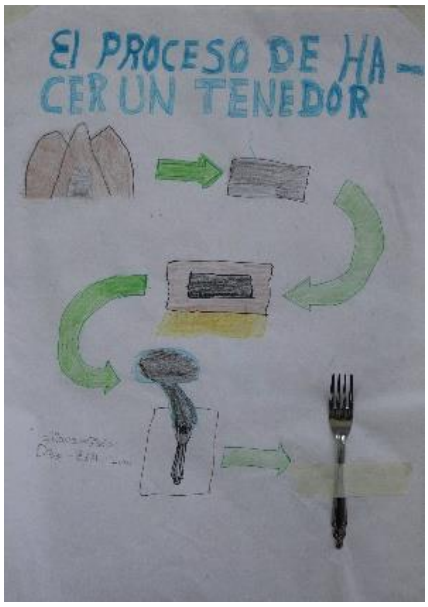

Figure 75: Life-course of a fork –
summer camp 2017.

Class #4: Museum Visit

Date: January 17th, 2017

Location: National Museum of Chavín de Huántar

Objective: For children to have the opportunity to visualize archaeological material, instead of just hearing about things. This made the learning experience and The Past more tangible. I gave

them the tour of the museum and we discussed the artifacts and pictures we were looking at. In addition, we also talked about the material that is not in the museum but rather in Lima, the capital of Perú.

Figure 76: Children and Patricia in the "sala de anhelos" talking about the ceramics that are in Lima.

Figure 77: Children and Marco in the education room, where Marco is talking about some of the gastronomy in Chavín.

Class #5: Music Workshop I

Date: January 19th, 2017

Location: Civic Center

Objective: To present children with a first-hand experience where they could understand the importance of music in The Past and listen to actual archaeological replicas played by an ethnomusicologist. This collaborator talked to children about why people play music and the sounds that they might be trying to imitate and why they would do so. In addition he also talked to children about the material used to make these musical instruments and where they came from. This class provided children with the opportunity to think more in depth about music, why people play it, and how they make their instruments.

Figure 78: Pepe placing his instruments on the table.

Figure 79: Children gathered around the main table preparing for class.

Figure 80: Pepe playing an Andean ceramic flute.

Figure 81: Pepe interacting with children.

Figure 82: Pepe playing two Andean cane flutes

Figure 83: Summer Camp participant observing some the Andean cranial trumpets.

Class #6: Music Workshop II

Date: January 24th, 2017

Location: Pepe's workshop

Objective: For kids to further expand on the previous lesson and create their own instruments. Children 11 and younger made rattles, while older children made panpipes.

Figure 84: Children on the sidewalk hammering the bottle caps.

Figure 85: Children on the sidewalk working on their projects.

Figure 86: Rattle made by student before adding wool to the handle.

Figure 87: Final rattles made by children.

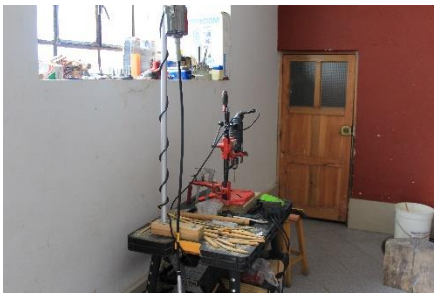

Figure 88: Machine used to work the cane.

Figure 89: Student sanding his pan pipe.

Figure 90: Final pan pipe made by children.

Class #7: Recap and Games

Date: January 26th, 2017

Location: Civic Center

Objective: For children to think about what they had experienced in the last class. They had to draw and write about the process of making their musical instruments. This helped children remember and record the process critically.

Figure 91: Children re-creating the steps of how they made their musical instruments.

Figure 92: Children re-creating the steps of how they made their musical instruments.

Class #8: Skeleton and Funeral Contexts

Date: January 31th, 2017

Location: National Museum of Chavín de Huántar

Objective: For this class students received a small talk from an osteologist of the archaeological project. The talk revolved around what bones can tell us when we look into the past. After the talk, kids had the opportunity to make their own burials, starting off with gluing paper bones together and choosing offerings for their "person". They learned the importance of taking care of and remembering our ancestors, as well as to think differently about death.

Figure 93: Ana explaining to kids what we can tell about past societies by looking at bones.

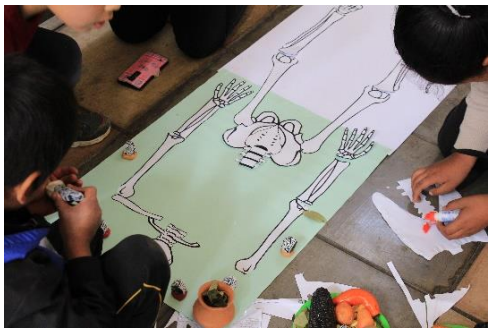

Figure 94: Children working on their skeleton

Figure 95: Children's final product, a skeleton, and a funeral context.

Class #9: Ceramics I

Date: February 2, 2017

Location: National Museum of Chavín de Huántar

Objective: For the first class, I gave a brief introduction to ceramics. We talked about what ceramics are, how they are made, and how much really goes into it. After giving them some examples of different ceramics, the kids had the opportunity to work with archaeological and contemporary fragments. During the main activity kids had to piece together contemporary ceramics. The main objective was for them to experience what archaeologists sometimes do while thinking critically about the object itself and practicing cognitive skills.

Figure 96: Children gluing and reconstructing their ceramic vessels.

Figure 97: children's layout of ceramic fragments, while they imagine/draw what the vessel looks like.

Classes #10 and #11: Ceramics II and III

Date: February 7th and 9th, 2017

Location: Archaeological Site – Chavín de Huántar

Objective: For students to get their hands dirty and make their own clay vessels. Kids had two classes to practice motor skills and make The Past tangible through creation and creativity. Our intention was also to encourage the practice of local traditions.

Figure 98: Luis explaining how to put a ceramic vessel together.

Figure 99: Student polishing their ceramic vessel.

Class #12: Environment

Date: February 14th, 2017

Location: Archaeological Site – Chavín de Huántar

Objective: For children to realize that they are agents in history and in taking care of the environment. Students made three drawings about their favorite place in Chavín. First they had to draw what it looked like in The Past. Second, what that same place looks like today. And finally, what that place would look like if they do not (or we do not) take care of it. This made students visualize what might happen to their favorite place and made them think of ways they can avoid the tragedy of their last drawing.

Figure 100: Drawing of how a group of children envision their favorite place (a farm) if they don't take care of it.

Figure 101: Drawing of a group of children's favorite place in Chavín.

Class #13: Gender

Date: February 16th, 2017

Location: Civic Center

Objective: To discuss the stereotypes around actions of men and women in The Past and discuss how men and women are more than capable of doing anything they want—but there are social norms that sometimes determine who does what in some contexts. Children made drawings of what they thought women and men did in The Past and then had to place a post-it with that activity on the board under the gender they are referring to. After all kids were done we talked one by one

about those activities. This helped children grasp on the reality that gender roles are social constructs rather than something related to human capacity.

Figure 102: Student drawing what he thought men's gender roles were in the past.

Figure 103: Image of the second step of workshop. Student placing post-its under gender roles.

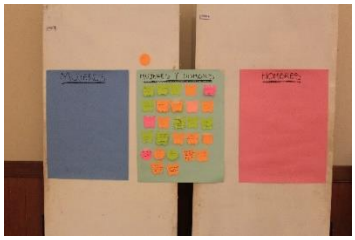

Figure 104: Image of post-its moved to the center, after we discussed that gender roles are based on society, not on capacity.

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Class #14: Folk Stories

Date: February 21st, 2017

Location: Civic Center

Objective: For children to learn about different ways that people have thought about life and the region. The idea was for them to listen and appreciate different folk stories related to the area, something that provided them with an understanding that there are different ways to learn about The Past. They heard a story from Marco and then kids were given a series of other folk stories in a booklet. After the story-telling children had to draw their favorite folk story in the form of comic book. The objective of this was for children to practice their retention and create something from what they had just learned.

Figure 105: Collaborator and Professor Marco, story-telling

Figure 106: Children drawing their favorite folk-story.

Classes #15 and #16: Prep I and Prep II

Date: February 23st and 28, 2017

Location: Civic Center

Objective: To have kids participate in the preparation of the museum exhibit. This was done for kids to feel part of the *whole* process of presenting their material and realize how important their work is. The main objective was to provide students with agency in the final product that was show cased to their parents and other community members. Towards the end of the preparation of class #16 we also participated in the town festival. The object was to encourage the participation of kids in local traditions and community events.

Figure 107: Photograph of part of the town's carnival festivities.

Figure 108: Photograph of some of the children participating in the town's festivities.

March 1st and 2nd – Getting the exhibit ready

On the two days before the exhibit and closing event there was a lot to do. The first thing Marco and I did was to decide which classes to display. Once we had that, we had to decide the material to display the kids work and how we would use the space to create an accurate museography. Before we started adding children's work, the room looked empty and only had blank panels.

Figure 109: Photograph of the room we used for the museum exhibit before we added student's work.

The distribution of the kid's work and our main museography looked something like this:

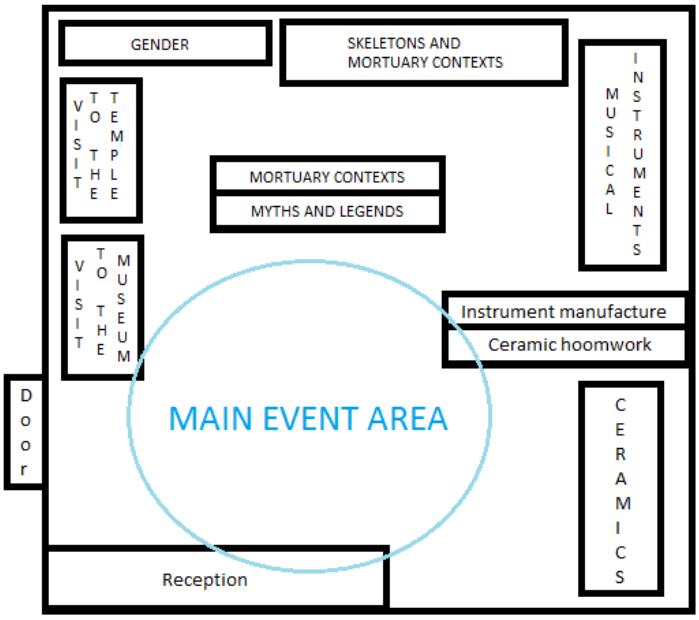

Figure 110: Image of children's work layout.

We had another small room where we displayed their group works: Archaeological contexts and the environment. In that room, we also had planned to have a power point slide show. We spent both days putting up the kids work, including their ceramics and musical instruments, and moving and rearranging the panels with their work. At first it was only Marco and I working on this, but as time passed some of the other museum personnel started to help. We enjoyed looking at the kids' work, and I told them some of our goals for each class. We had a good time, they seemed to be happy to be part of the preparation. During all this time the Museum director was not present. Although she did make it to the exhibit and closing event. This is how the room looked in the end:

Figure 111: Image of the museum's exhibit with children's work.

Something that I failed to mention previously was that I also prepared two documents to give away. One was an invitation to the event; that I gave the kids on the last day, and that I also gave people in the municipality. I thought that it would be a good idea to invite the personnel from the archaeological site, and the priest. I also prepared an informative hand-out so that parents and people who came to the exhibit and closing event knew what it is we did in each class.

ACTIVIDADES REALIZADAS

Clase 1 (5 de enero) **Historias Orales**

En esta clase revisamos una nueva manera de aprender historia; a través de historias que se cuentan de generación en generación, comenzando por ellos mismos.

Clase 2 – 10 de enero: **Visita al Templo**
Durante esta clase visitamos el sitio arqueológico y los/as niños/as recibieron una visita guiada de Rieman Ramírez, guía de turismo que ha trabajado muchos años con el proyecto arqueológico.

Clase 3 (12 de enero) Introducción a la arqueología En esta clase aprendimos lo que es un contexto arqueológico y que es lo que utilizan los arqueólogos/as para entender los objetos que se van encontrando.

Clase 4 (17 de enero) Visita al Museo Nacional de Chavín.
En esta clase visitamos el museo y los/as niños/as tuvieron la oportunidad de ver la nueva museografía del museo y los objetos líticos que se exhiben como las cabezas clavas y el Obelisco Tello.

Clase 5 (19 de enero)
Demostración de instrumentos musicales prehispánicos.
En esta oportunidad pudimos contar con el etnomusicólogo Álvaro Zumarán que nos hizo una demostración de instrumentos andinos.

Clase 6 (24 de enero) **Construcción de instrumentos musicales.**
Durante esta clase los/as niños/as construyeron sus propios instrumentos musicales con material disponible de la zona, fomentando la música tradicional de la zona.

Clase 7 (26 de enero) Repaso
En esta clase los/as niños/as dibujaron y analizaron como construyeron sus instrumentos.

Clase 8 (31 de enero). **Contextos Funerarios**
Durante esta clase los/as niños/as aprendieron sobre el esqueleto humano y cómo es que se enterraban a los/as antiguos de Chavín y los Andes.

Clase 9 (2 de febrero). Cerámica arqueológica
Durante esta clase los/as niños/as aprendieron sobre las características de la cerámica arqueológica y luego tuvieron la oportunidad de reconstruir cerámica contemporánea rota.

Clase 10 y 11 (7 y 9 de febrero). Cerámica Práctica
En estas dos clases los/as niños/as tuvieron la oportunidad de hacer sus propios ceramios. Bajo la conducción del profesor Miguel Yauyo.

Clase 12 (14 de febrero) Medio ambiente
En esta clase los/as niños/as realizaron dibujos imaginándose Chavín en el pasado y Chavín en el futuro, y tratamos de incentivar el cuidado del medio ambiente.

Clase 13(16 de febrero) **Mujeres y Hombres en el pasado**
En esta clase exploramos los roles que tuvieron los hombres y las mujeres en el pasado; llegando a la conclusión que todos los individuos pueden realizar las mismas actividades.

Clase 14 (21 de febrero) Cuenta Cuentos
En esta clase el profesor Daniel Flores nos cont
historia de Juan el Oso y la fábula del Zorro y el le
Como actividad los/as niños/as tuvieron que dib
alguna de estas leyendas u otras que se les brindó. I
se realizó para fomentar y rescatar las leyendas loc
que tienen buenas enseñanzas para los/as pequeños

Clase 15 y 16 (23 y 28 de febrero)
Preparación para la exposición.
Durante estas clases los/as niños/as pintaron cerámicas y terminaron de alistar algunas cosas están expuestas en el museo. El 28 de febrero taml fuimos a ver el corso del carnaval de Chavín, para fomentar y rescatar en los/as niños/as las tradicic iones del Distrito de Chavín de Huántar.

Agradecimientos

Principalmente a los niños y niñas que todos los martes y jueves venían a clase con ganas de aprender y con quien compartimos muchos lindos momentos y sonrisas. También al Museo Nacional de Chavín y todo su personal, al Monumento Arqueológico de Chavín, a la Municipalidad de Chavín de Huántar, en especial a la Lic. Karen Mazzi, que nos prestó espacio y brindó los refrigerios, al Programa de Investigaciones Arqueológicas de Chavín de Huántar, y a los maestros: Daniel Flores, Ketty Javier, Álvaro Zumarán, Lisseth Rojas, Rieman Ramírez, Cecilia Paniagua y Miguel Ángel Yauyo.

Vacaciones Útiles

Arqueología y Cultura

2017

DIRECCION GENERAL

ARQLA. MARCELA POIRIER

Figure 112: Informative hand-out provided to those who attended the museum exhibit

Summer Camp Museum Exhibit and Closing Event

Date: March 3rd, 2017

Location: National Museum of Chavín de Huántar

Objective: Have children present their work to their parents and other community members. The idea was to empower students and have them see that their work is worthy of being in a museum. In the same way, have them understand that museums are not only places for ancient artifacts, but rather living culture, as well. In this way we wanted to give the museum back to them, have them have agency over the museum and bring them back to something that belongs to them. This was done to counterpart the settler colonialism mentality of taking land and The Past (and spaces where it is presented) away from children and community members. This allowed children and community members to see that the museum can be a communal space and not only a place for tourist to come visit.

Figure 113: Collaborators talking to children, parents, and community members present at the museum exhibit.

Figure 114: Children, parents, and community members at the museum exhibit.

Figure 115: Students showing their parents their work.

Figure 116: Students showing their parents their work.

Teacher workshops

In this section I address the workshops conducted with teachers from the Elementary school República de Honduras between April and August 2017, partially interrupted by the National Teachers Strike. The intention of this teacher workshop was to provide teachers with complementary archaeological information and co-create material they could bring into their classrooms. Unfortunately, we did not get to this part of the workshop due to the strike.

First meeting – April 21st, 2017

While I waited for the bell to ring and students to return to their classrooms after recess, I ran into Mía and her little cousin. I asked them what they were up to and what classes they had before recess. Mía told me she was in her art class, making nuns out of origami, while her cousin was in a communication class learning rhymes. "*A Simón le gusta el limón*" (Simon likes lemon) she told me. While I answered back with some other clever rhyme, Mía left us to go and play volleyball. After a few minutes the bell rang, and a sea of children ran back to their classrooms. At this point I was a bit nervous, but the interaction with my friends helped me and reminded me why I was there.

I entered the teachers' room and started talking to the principal about our potential interview. We coordinated the date and time as the teachers entered the room. Twenty teachers came to the meeting, including the principal and the vice-principal. I started the meeting by introducing myself and telling them about my research project. I mentioned that it would be great to work with them to benefit their students. I told them that I wished to do observations, to sit in as if I was a student to better understand the dynamics in the classroom. And after that, have workshops and co-create material they could bring in to their classes. In addition—I concluded—I was very interested in understanding their needs and see what I could do as an archaeologist to help them.

Many teachers had questions and the conversation started. Some of them showed a lot of interest, while others seemed to be more on the defensive side. A few teachers were worried about who would participate, that if it would be fair that some participated while others did not. I told them that on my side I was happy to start working with as many of them that wanted to participate, it did not matter if it was only two or three, that we could start with a small group, and that maybe with time others would want to join us. Another concern was that they already had their modules programmed and that what we would do about that. I told them that the idea was to adapt to different circumstances and that I was not there to tell them how to do something or to plan, but rather for us to be a team and make decisions together. Some teachers also mentioned that to navigate the modules we could potentially use history and prehistory to teach other subjects, such as math or communication. A teacher asked me to give them an example of how the past could be used within other modules without leaving the line of the curricula—I gave them the example of the environment I used during the summer camp, as they told me that during April, for example, they had to address the environment.

Towards the end of the meeting, teachers also mentioned that it would be interesting if we did not only work in the classroom, but that we take the class to the archaeological site. We talked about the possibility of me giving them the tour rather than have a tour guide, because they did not like the idea to pay for a tour guide every time they went. In addition, they also told me that they had no idea about the new *discoveries* of the archaeological project. At that moment, I told them that I would talk to the archaeological project and ask them to provide teachers with up-to-date information.

When the meeting ended, I had eleven teachers signed up for the workshops. I spent some time after the meeting answering questions and talking to some of the most interested teachers. During these conversations we discussed some of the things we might be able to do as a group. One of my conversations was with the vice-principal. After going over the "*Situación Significativa*" we decided that the best time of the year to start our workshops would be towards the end of June and through August, where they focus on children's identity towards Chavín. Until then, I decided to build rapport with teachers and start to plan the archaeological project's participation in these workshops.

Figure 117: Photograph of the teacher's room, were we held our first meeting.

After a month or so of visiting the elementary school on a regular basis, hanging out with teachers, conducting participant observation and interviewing school personal, I realized I finally established a trusting relationship with teachers. By the end of June teachers were calling me "Marcelita", an endearing term used to show love. They were also very outspoken about how I was a part of the institution. Here is a fieldnote excerpt that I wrote about after a teachers' sports day event at the local high school.

June 27, 2017

We played volleyball and we lost 2 sets to 1. During the first set they destroyed us, but by the second set we started to give them a fight. We lost the third set 15 to 7. Let's say I played half of the game. Even though I was not able to observe the class today, I believe playing in a match with teachers and hanging out with them and students was beneficial. I think this to a certain degree solidified my bond with them. At first, I was worried that the other educational institutions would not let me play and I told teachers this worry, to what the principal replied "of course they will let

you play, you are part of our institution". Hearing that from the principal and having the other teachers excited that I would be part of their team felt nice, it did indeed make me feel as part of the institution. I wanted us to be a team during our teacher workshops, and today was the first time I felt that we were indeed becoming one :)

Figure 118: Photograph of some of the teachers from the elementary school playing volleyball at the high school anniversary event.

Planning our workshops

A week after our volleyball match, I was back at the school. This time I went to start planning actual workshop events. Although I extended the invitation to all teachers, only three of them showed up after class. I told them that my intention with these workshops was to start a dialogue with the archaeological project and museum that was sustainable and that could work regardless of my presence. At this point I had already talked with members of the archaeological project and that they were willing to come to the school and talk to the teachers. I asked the three teachers present if we should ask the others what day they could stay after school for the archaeological

project's talk, but they told me that it would be best if we just suggested a date, and that the teachers interested would stay. The best date we came up with was July 20th. We decided that the best way to encourage teachers to stay would be if I offered them lunch before our workshop. I told them that I would bring a copy of the worksheets I used during the summer camp for all teachers to have and use/adapt it as they wanted. In addition, I told them that I would be donating some books related to Chavín and history to the school, for them to start a small library. I did this in response to some of the worries of teachers and community members about the outdated information teachers gave to kids. I told them that I would also provide every teacher with a photocopy of the Chavín volume of "Ancient Peruvian Cultures" edited by La República, a national newspaper. This idea came from Professor Quiroz's willingness to have a copy before the archaeological project's talk, to have a basic understanding of what they would talk during that workshop.

Workshop #1

Location: Elementary School, República de Honduras (auditorium).

Date: July 20th, 2017.

Objective: Provide teachers with up-to-date information about the archaeological project's findings and start a line of communication between the elementary school and the archaeological project.

The Workshop: I arrived at the school at around 12:30 p.m. and asked the vice-principal where we could have our workshop. She told me that the best place was the school auditorium. This room is connected to a classroom, separated by chairs. The vice-principal unlocked the door and I started to organize the room to have lunch and our workshop/talk. At around 1 p.m. teachers started to arrive, and I started serving them the lunch made by the two mothers who prepare food for children

during the day (see chapter 5). At around 1:40 p.m., I went to the school's main entrance to welcome five members from the archaeological project.

The members of the archaeological project talked about the bureaucracy around their archaeological investigation and their recent research, and its implications in Chavín's history. They talked for around an hour and 45 minutes. The project brought the newsletters and pamphlets they published in recent years. They also provided the school with one of their comic books. After they talked about the information in these publications, they opened the floor for teachers to ask questions. These questions were mostly geared around better understanding Chavín as a Golden-Age. Towards the end of the Q &A session, I added my own and asked the archaeological project to provide information on periods besides Chavín as a Golden-Age. Teachers became very interested in these topics. One of the most important outcomes of this workshop was that teachers asked the archaeological project for a tour of their excavations and the archaeological site, which we did in our third workshop.

Figure 119: A professor *going over his copy of "Chavín: Ancient Peruvian Cultures" during the archaeological project's talk.*

Figure 120: Teachers from workshop #1 and members of the archaeological project.Figure

Workshop #2

Location: Elementary School, República de Honduras (auditorium).

Date: August 7th, 2017

Objective: Discuss with teachers the future workshops (site and museum tour) and hand them the summer camp worksheets. In addition, I was interested in understanding what teachers learned from the archaeological project's talk.

The Workshop: Between July 20th and August 7th there were a lot of things going on. First, children and teachers were on winter/Independence Day break. Second, the National Teachers Strike had begun. This strike affected our workshops, as teachers did not want to participate in anything that had to do with school—they were on strike. I first realized that the strike would affect our project when I participated in a teacher's meeting earlier in the morning. After the meeting where teachers discussed if they too were going on strike, I asked them if we would still have our workshop in the afternoon—to what they jokingly mentioned "you still have us for today" since the strike started to on August 8th.

In the afternoon we met again and enjoyed a delicious lunch that included soup, a chicken stew, and a large conversation on the strike and the national government's policies on education. After lunch, I handed the teachers a booklet of the summer camp's worksheet activities, IRB forms, and a worksheet for them to fill out. This worksheet was intended to better understand what teachers learned from the archaeological project's talk. In addition, we concluded by planning the tour of the archaeological project and the National Museum of Chavín.

What teachers learned

Unfortunately—and due to the National Teacher's Strike—only one teacher turned in the worksheet that would tell me what they learned from the archaeological project's talk. It is worth mentioning this information although it is one teacher's perspective, as they are all part of the

institution. I cannot generalize and assume that every teacher learned and focused on the same things—everyone has a different and particular reality. Nevertheless, it is still important to bring this information to light.

What new information did you learn after the archaeological project's talk?

Previously, I knew little about the archaeological monument of Chavín de Huántar. I knew that it was used for ceremonies, but I did not know that in these ceremonies participated people from other regions of our Peruvian territory. I knew they discovered archeological material but did not know they also found bones. Besides, I now know that excavations are still going on and that one can still go into the underground canals. Now I've learned that the main ceremony was carried out where the Lanzón was. I have also learned that the priests of that time were very creative, innovative and dynamic to keep the people's attention.

What information (new and old) do you think is important for your students to learn?

I consider it is important for students to learn the strategies and abilities used by the priests of that period to sustain the power to convince and impress the people; the wisdom they had in knowing the behavior of the stars and the seasons of the year. Also, the abilities and knowledge on engineering and architecture they used to build temples with their own designs for their time.

In what innovating ways do you imagine presenting this information in your classroom?

To develop a learning session with a guided tour at the Archaeological Monument so the students have direct contact with the remains found at the site. Also, if necessary, to have a tour guide working there [on the site], who knows best the information on the subject.

As homework, make drawings imagining how these ceremonies took place and the rituals and people that participated in it.

What information or material do you need to complement this workshop and in your classroom?

I think it is enough with the materials provided (books) in the workshop. To work with the students creating museums in the classroom it is necessary to visit the archaeological Museum, observe the remains found and with playdough make music instruments and even a model of the archaeological Monument.

What do you expect from future workshops?

I wish to know strategies to develop a guided session. To know how we could relate [this] to other development areas.

Workshop #3

Location: Archaeological site of Chavín de Huántar.

Date: August 24th, 2017

Objective: Have teachers visit, understand, and learn first-hand about the archaeological site from the archaeologists working there. In addition, teachers were able to visit archaeological units and have archaeologists explain what they were working on.

The Workshop: After two weeks of an intense teacher strike, some teachers became very eager to continue with our workshops. For about a week, we exchanged phone calls and attempted to plan our visit to the archaeological site and the National Museum of Chavín. After many futile attempts, one of the teachers mentioned that we should just go with those who were available and wanted to go, as I had to return to the United States, and the archaeological project was soon to close its units.

On August 24th, 2017 seven teachers from the elementary school República de Honduras and I went to the archaeological site to have a tour conducted by members of the archaeological project. Thanks to the collaboration with the site's administration, we did not have to pay the

admission fee. We began our tour at the open units the archaeological project was currently excavating. Three different archaeologists explained what each one of them were working on—all excavating new plazas and ceremonial areas that they have not yet published. This provided teachers with the most updated information available about Chavín as a Golden-Age and will be extremely useful when they teach about Chavín and visit the archaeological site in the future. Teachers asked many questions to the archaeologists, something that will also benefit their teaching in the classroom.

After we visited the open units, one of the archaeological project's members continued with us to provide us a tour of the rest of the archaeological site. We continued our route towards the square plaza through the main buildings and ended at the circular plaza. Here, we had the opportunity to talk about Post-Chavín time periods, again something that will be beneficial for their teachings in the future. Overall, teachers really enjoyed having this experience and told me that they enjoyed learning first-hand about the archaeological site and recent research.

Figure 121: Teachers and a member of the archaeological project discussing some of the most recent findings at one of the open units.

Figure 122: Teachers and archaeologists working hand in hand at the archaeological site of Chavín de Huántar, Perú

Workshop #4

Location: National Museum of Chavín

Date: August 29th, 2017

Objective: Have teachers visit, understand, and learn about the material in the National Museum of Chavín.

The Workshop: In the same way as our workshop 3, National Teacher Strike also affected our visit to the museum and—also in a similar fashion—seven teachers from the elementary school of República de Honduras participated in this workshop. Initially, the museum would provide us with a tour guide to go through the museum. However, based on our tight schedule and our need to adapt to the teacher strike, we had to plan this workshop fast and the tour guide was not available the day we went. This situation was not necessarily a bad thing, as I gave the teachers the tour and

it allowed us to discuss many more topics, such as an in-depth conversation of the importance of other periods besides Chavín as a Golden-Age, as well as ways in which we could make The Past useful and fun for children.

In addition, not having a formal guide allowed teachers to bring their knowledge of the site into the conversation as well. Something that I believe we all appreciated, as it allowed teachers to build off other's opinions and learn from each other, making the conversation more horizontal. This conversation was not only focused on the knowledge of Chavín's past, but also on how they could talk about these topics with their students. Both interactions came up in numerous occasions as we walked through all the museum exhibits. Towards the end of our visit, teachers had the opportunity to see some of the work some of my students did during the Summer Camp, as the museum decided to hang some of these on the wall.

Figure 123: Teachers from the elementary school República de Honduras and myself talking about the archaeological site of Chavín de Huántar.

Frustrated plans – Teacher Strike:

As described in this chapter, the National Teacher Strike affected some of our workshops. My initial plan was to have different workshops after the visit to the archaeological site and the National Museum of Chavín, where teachers and I would plan and create educational material that could be implemented in their classrooms. However, this plan was not possible, as by the time my research period was over teachers were still on strike. In the future I would like to return to Chavín and redo workshops 1 through 4 and complement these with workshops to plan educational material.

Figure 124: Teachers from the elementary school República de Honduras discussing amongst themselves about some of the Post-Chavín material remains on exhibition in the National Museum of Chavín de Huántar.

Recommendations

In the future I recommend continuing with the projects listed above (the summer camp and teacher workshop). It is important for archaeologists to work in collaboration with educators to transform the way we teach history. Ethnographic work is necessary to better understand the

context of learning, as well as active and consistent work with communities. This type of project can be replicated in any different context around Perú.

Moving forward in Chavín, I believe that there is still much work to do. We need to create an ongoing project that works regardless of the presence of specific educators and archaeologists. We need to continue to foster collaboration between the different institutions that work with history and kids, for our work to be sustainable and beneficial for children. Personally, I would like to continue to work in Chavín, its community and children. I believe that we can improve the summer camp, have more activities that work better for kids, as well as having a complete teacher workshop. This workshop has great potential to bring new information into the classroom in empowering and fun ways for kids. I am excited to see where this work can take us as a community in Chavín, and as a country in Perú.

Before giving recommendations for institutions in Chavín, as well as how to address this topic at a national and global level, I want to address the importance of people knowing and understanding The Past. For this I will not only provide my personal opinion based on my knowledge and research, but I will also provide important quotes from participants and conversations I had during my fieldwork, including children. For example, during the first class of the summer camp I asked the whole class why they thought it was important to learn about the past, and some of the answers I received, although *simplified*, resemble what my other participants mentioned. Kids' opinions about why it is important to learn about the past fell into five different categories; (1) to teach about what happened, (2) to learn about our culture, (3) to learn about our ancestors, (4) to learn about things that will be useful in the future, and (5) to learn about our traditions. I will also provide some quotes from older individuals. Due to space I will only include some of these quotes, but most of those not included follow similar lines of thought. For example,

when I asked Julian—a member of the archaeological project—why he thought it was important for a people to learn about history, he told me:

October 16th, 2016

> *One needs to know where one comes from, but not only for an issue of identity; well, yeah, identity has to do with it too, you have to feel like a part of something, you have to feel like you are somebody. And a lot of that has to do with where you come from, who you are, who your friends are, who they aren't. The past gives you that, but at a collective level. There is a personal history, but really, that personal history is a product of a broader history. The past has a way of being present, present in you and in us; in a collective. If the past just stays in the past, like an ornament on the wall of your home, it's just that, an ornament, it's useless. The past needs to be useful, the past isn't alien to you, it's there, it's been built. You are built from the things that came before you. Be it your parents, your country, the history of your country, the history of your neighborhood, the history of your city, the history of the world in general. You are preceded by that and in a way, it has formed you. If you don't understand yourself as part of a historical continuity you aren't understanding yourself fully, you are thinking of yourself emerging from a reality completely different from what came previously. I think it marks a sense of belonging, at different levels, it can be familiar; national; worldwide, which would be ideal. And that can help Man [sic], humans in general, men and women, etcetera, regain a sense that maybe was lost, or maybe we never had, a sense of belonging together as a species. Right now, we cannot talk about only one humanity, because humanity is divided, we only need to look at all the wars we have had – and all the interests involved. A future is only possible if we have a conscious, not only as a country, but a global and species consciousness. But to get there we need to recover the things that make us up, that have made us and will continue to do so, things that are from that past but make up the present. We cannot go back to the past, but we can make it visible, understand it, and take it in. And once we integrate it into our lives […] we will have a bit more of control over our presence in the world. I think that's what the past is useful for, to have a historical consciousness, in the sense that it can provide us with a social capacity to anticipate certain things and direct the world's development towards more encompassing goals, that are more beneficial to people.*
>
> *Uno tiene que saber un poco de dónde viene, pero no tanto por una cuestión de identidad, sí, por una cuestión de identidad, por el tema de tienes que sentirte algo, tienes que sentirte alguien, y mucho de eso pasa por saber de dónde provienes, quién eres, quiénes son tus amigos, quiénes no lo son. Y, el pasado te da ese sentido, pero a nivel colectivo. Hay una historia individual, pero en realidad la historia individual es un producto de una historia mayor. El pasado tiene de alguna forma, hacerse presente, y hacerse presente en ti y en un nosotros. O sea, en un colectivo. Si el pasado simplemente se queda en el pasado, como un adorno en la pared de la casa, es eso, es un adorno, no sirve para nada, el pasado tiene que servir para ser, el pasado no es ajeno a ti, está, ha sido constituido. Tú estás constituido por las cosas que te han precedido. Sean tus padres, orgánicamente, sean tu país, la historia de tu país, la historia de tu barrio, la historia de tu ciudad, etc., la historia del mundo en general. Tú estás precedido por eso, y eso de alguna forma, te ha formado. Si no te comprendes a ti*

mismo como una continuidad de ese proceso histórico, no te estás comprendiendo, te estás pensando que surges como una realidad totalmente diferente a lo anterior, y yo creo que marca un sentido de pertenencia, a distintos niveles, puede ser familiar, el país, nacional, mundial, que es lo que sería lo mejor. Y que eso, pueda ayudar al hombre, al ser humano en general, hombres, mujeres, etc., a recuperar un sentido que quizás se perdió, o quizá nunca se tuvo, que es el sentido de especie. Ahorita no podemos hablar de una sola humanidad porque la humanidad está dividida, hay que ver todas las guerras que están habiendo. Y todos los intereses que hay. Un futuro solamente sería posible teniendo una conciencia, no solamente de país, sino una conciencia digamos, global, una conciencia que algunos dicen, conciencia de especie. Pero para construir eso hay que recuperar justamente aquellas cosas que nos conforman, que nos han conformado, y que además nos conformarán, que son el pasado, pero vuelto presente. Porque no podemos regresar al pasado. Lo que podemos hacer es vislumbrarlo y comprenderlo y asimilarlo. Y en tanto lo asimilemos, el presente va a ser un poco más consciente, un poco más... vamos a tener, en buena forma, control, un poco más control sobre nuestro andar en el mundo. Yo creo que para eso sirve el pasado, para tener conciencia histórica, en el sentido de que eso sirva para tener la capacidad social de anticiparnos a ciertas cosas, y poder con ello dirigir el desarrollo del mundo hacia fines un poco más abarcativos [sic], más beneficiosos a más gente.

Estela, a Peruvian feminist historian, told me in a similar fashion:

August 9th, 2016

Well, I think it's fundamental, it's like an existential compass. It gives you an idea of who you are and what makes the society you live in, that you inhabit,. And it is… well I always make an analogy that it is like if a person lived without memory, they would go crazy. So, I think that consciously or unconsciously communities and collectives seek their history; of their group, of their family, of the individual itself, right? Also, of the human species. So, if the individual doesn't have history, he/she can go crazy, there is like a void, and that can be disorienting, confusing, and depressing. However, I believe that as time passes there are more chances to remember and have a richer version of ourselves; that allows us to face contemporary problems better equipped, because it broadens our view, right? It broadens our view of the present. It is also fundamental because it allows us to make better choices, choices with freedom.

Bueno yo creo que es fundamental porque, es como una brújula existencial, te da una idea de quién eres y de qué está hecha la sociedad en la que vives, en la que habitas, de que eres parte, y es... bueno yo siempre hago una analogía que es como si una persona viviera sin memoria, enloquecería. Entonces yo creo que los pueblos, las colectividades, consciente o inconscientemente buscan una historia de sí mismos. De su grupo, su familia, de quién es la... la cuestión del individuo mismo, ¿no? y también como especie, humana, entonces como que cuando un individuo no tiene historia, puede enloquecer, es como tener un vacío, ¿no? entonces desorienta, confunde, deprime, […] creo que, cada vez hay más posibilidades de recordar y de tener una visión más rica de nosotros mismos, que nos permita enfrentar los problemas del presente como mejor dotados, mejor habilitados, porque, de hecho, es como,

> *como que enriquece tu visión ¿no?, enriquece tu visión del presente, y me parece que es fundamental también para tomar mejores decisiones, para optar con más libertad.*

Both quotes follow a similar view of the importance of history. History can provide us with an understanding of who we are as individuals, a society, and a species. And this understanding can help us build a better world. On another note, and with a different opinion, the archaeological project's director warns us about the complexity of talking about this subject—and is concerned with how the past can and is used to create division. He told me during our interview:

July 2nd, 2017

> *To me, following on that and just expanding a little bit [sigh] the past has then become quite a… a… a subjective division in my lifetime, much more so than at least obviously was before. It has been a major battleground for identities, for privilege, for priority, and such things. And that to me again is worrisome, especially when that is sub-framed within a general understanding of the past. Now, it is very easy to have a great deal of self-interest in your own personal past, as if, in many cases you owned it. As if there were a possession and in many cases a weapon to be used against others. Uhm, or at least a way to carve out your particular position in society. That is not all bad, but I think it neglects the general issue of history. What do we know about the past of humans? Not just our own past. Who are we as an organism in this world on a broader level?*

In this quote, we can see the worries of my participant about how The Past is manipulated, in occasions to create division and bring problems. He warns us about the history people learn, and how they use history; which is a key point in this dissertation. I believe that The Past is important for individuals as we can learn from past experiences, *good* and *bad*. This Past can help us understand how to face current situations. For example, as our world faces climate change in the age of the Anthropocene, what can we learn from The Past? We can look at past societies and learn about how they took care of their environment, as well as look at past societies that exploited their environment and see what happened to them. This is just one example of what the past can teach us.

I view The Past as a source of possibilities. Many times, we have trouble envisioning a world without capitalism; as I heard many times throughout my life. But if we start to present the different and diverse economic systems that were part of our society, people can begin to see how we can live without this economic system. I am not suggesting that we return to old economic ways, but once we have a source of possibility, we can begin to image different (and better) opportunities. In a similar fashion, homophobia and queerphobia are still part of our society, although some people believe that being queer/trans is just the current trend. However, if we look at our "source of possibility" we can see how many cultures have accepted and appreciated diverse gender peoples, and that this has been a part of our Past for millennia. I truly imagine a better and more just world—not only because I have become a better and more just person by studying The Past—but because I can see how The Past helped people with whom I worked. Thus, the most important recommendation I can make at an individual level is that we have much to learn as society and The Past has much to teach us. We should look back and learn, expand our source of possibility, envision it and work for a better and more just world.

Institutional Recommendations

Although individuals can create positive change by themselves and in groups, it is important to address recommendations at a structural and institutional level. In the following pages, I address specific recommendations for the Elementary school República de Honduras, the local government of Chavín, the archaeological project of Chavín, the Ministry of Education, universities teaching archaeology and anthropology, and the Ministry of Culture. In addition, I discuss what archaeologists, historians, and anthropologists can also do.

The teachers and administration of the elementary school República de Honduras should continue to take advantage of the archaeological and teaching tools available for them within the

community. I provided them with contact information for this outreach project and workshops to work without my presence. However, I hope to return and work with them to continue our work. On the other hand, the local government of Chavín should re-adjust their educational goals and not only work towards creating future tourist guides but understand the importance and benefits that The Past offers children and the community in general. Even though the archaeological project conducted outreach projects, they should attempt to improve their image in town, and continue to work in collaboration with educators to provide them with up-dated information. They should also expand their research and publications in order to include other topics: more than just Chavín as a Golden-Age.

At a national level, the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Culture should start to work in collaboration with other agents. Educators and archaeologists should not only collaborate at an individual level but should also at an institutional scale. The Ministry of Education should also reconsider the way the address teaching about the Past. Children should have more hours of history class, as well as more hands-on activities; we need to make history fun again. We can learn for the summer camp experience conducted during my fieldwork and make the past tangible (taking students to archaeological sites and museums), using archaeological material and replicas (as well as having them re-create material), and using The Past to think about the present and future. In addition, they should include space for teachers to address local histories into the curriculum. Teachers need to become involved in designing portions of the curriculum, in order to benefit their students' lives, the environment, the country, and world. The government should also consider working with anthropologists and research educators to better understand the context in which children around the country learn. Teachers (including the Ministry of Education), archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians need to work together and create educational material (e.g. summer

camps and teacher workshops). The Ministry of Culture should create laws or requirements for big projects to engage with their local communities. Finally, universities that teach archaeology should heavily consider including public archaeology as a course and subfield, in order to prepare professionals to face our responsibility of transmitting our knowledge to a wider public, including children. For those archaeologists that do not know where to start the is a large amount of literature out there from where you can learn. A better world is possible, and archaeologists not only have the responsibility to contribute to it but have the tools to do so.

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSIONS

The objective of my research was to bring to light what children of Chavín de Huántar know about their past and the contributions of Chavín institutions to such teaching. In addition, the research aimed at finding ways in which archaeologists can contribute and collaborate with local communities to transform the ways we teach The Past to children. This dissertation addresses these three main points in individual chapters, expanded upon with detail. The results connect with important key concepts as neoliberalism and its imposing transformation of reality, space, and time with an agenda; collective memory of imperialism and the colonization of history and memory; and the production of history and monopolization of knowledge. These results provide insights into the need to transform what and how children learn about The Past, and the need to restructure the education system in Perú.

During this ethnography of learning, conducted between August 2016 and 2017, I answered three research questions: (1) What do children in Chavín de Huántar, Perú know about their local past? (2) How do different institutions, organizations, and community members influence such teachings? and, (3) How can archaeologists contribute to a more empowering and less oppressive teaching of the past? To answer these questions and conduct research I used a critical epistemology with multiple ethnographic methods. These include semi-structured, informal, and go-along interviews, photo and drawing elicitations, participant observation, observation, document analysis, and the information gathered from my outreach projects.

Children in Chavín de Huántar have a basic understanding of Chavín as a Golden-Age. They can identify the main iconographic elements and gods and understand that there were ceremonies at the center. Nevertheless, their knowledge—for the most part—stops there. This means that children in Chavín know about an 800 to 1000-year time period, leaving over 3000

years of history out of their knowledge horizon. Furthermore, not all children fully grasp this understanding and seem to only repeat it out of memorization. On another note, children linked to the tourist industry through their parents, either as tourist guides or craftspeople, seem to better understand Chavín as a Golden-Age. Thus, children in Chavín de Huántar do not know what happened before or after this central period. In addition, children refer to their ancestors and ancient Chavín peoples as Incas, something that was also identified in other parts of Ancash and Piura. This can be related to the homogenization of ancestry and the formation of a collective memory related to the Incan past.

The acknowledgment of the silences presented in this dissertation are crucial if we are to decolonize the teaching of The Past and education. Let us recall how bell hooks (1996) argues that the denial of access to the truth in education, limits the capacity of action of people. In this dissertation I have demonstrated many silences that are presented to children. These at a first glance are linked to everything not related to Chavín as a Golden-Age but it goes much further than that. Chavín de Huántar, and The Past in general, have many things to offer children (and the general public). Children should be learning about power, media control, sustainability, gender diversity, different economic systems, different religions, craft-specialization, communication, and many other topics that have the potential to benefit humanity in powerful and good ways. In this regards, I follow bell hooks (1996) statement, and argue that essential to the discussion of denials of truths must be those related to how we teach about The Past, who we include and in what ways. The denial of access to the truth about The Past also limits the capacity of action of people, especially as they attempt to imagine a better world. Students should be empowered to create change, not only through critical thinking, but with lessons from The Past.

Following this line of denial of truths, another important finding from this dissertation relates to the restriction of space and its connection to the restriction of knowledge. Many children do not visit the archaeological site as often as their parents did. Parents told me that they would visit the site on a regular basis, either to explore the galleries of the site or to play *fútbol* in the square plaza. One clear example of this generation distinction was my conversation with a parent and her child. While the mother told me that she used to enter the site at her will and often hug the Lanzón, many children, including her son were afraid to go close to the Lanzón. The site now "belongs to the state" as Professor Quiroz told his students. This means that there are many restrictions between the local community and the archaeological site. The nation-state decides when people can visit the site, how much and when they have to pay, and how close they can get to certain features. The Peruvian government uses the archaeological site to benefit economically and improve its reputation internationally. However, by only concentrating on that, The Past is stripped away from children and the Indigenous community—continuing a long dynamic of colonialism where land and memory are taken from native populations. Both the restriction of space and current religions demonizing the Past, I argue are used by the structure of settler and internal colonialism to integrate children into western life and the configuration of the nation-state by completely transforming their landscape and access to their land and Past.

Another worrisome aspect I found was during my interactions with Mía and my observations of a school field trip, was how peasant peoples from the past and present were treated as less worthy. Mía mentioned that commoners were not important and thus did not participate in the ceremonies. Although archaeologists believe that commoners in fact did not participate in ceremonies to the degree elite individuals did, they were extremely important in the construction and maintenance of the temple and the society surrounding it. On the other hand, it is important to

recall Professor Quiroz' analogy about the same participation of ceremonies, about who would participate in important ceremonies today, such as a wedding. He told students that a person with dirty clothes or a peasant woman would not be allowed to participate, even asking their students if they would let them in to their wedding. Professor Quiroz was one of the kindest teachers I meet in Chavín; however, his comments do point to some of the problematic aspects of teaching about The Past and the prejudgments when doing so.

Knowledge and transmission of knowledge depend on the teacher presenting the information. Even though Professor Quiroz made a judgmental statement, he was one of the most interested in his professional development—which was evident when he took his students to the archaeological site. Many people in town blame the school for the little knowledge their children have about The Past. Although not all teachers invest time on their professional development, the whole teaching community cannot be blamed for this. Teachers not only face structural problems such as little pay and curriculum constrains, but they also lack information about time periods outside of Chavín as a Golden-Age, and this is not only their fault. Neoliberalism and the monopolization and homogenization of historical knowledge are key factors that affect the teaching and learning of The Past in Chavín and should not be ignored. However, regarding Chavín as a Golden-Age, teachers should be more involved in taking their students to the archaeological site and the National Museum of Chavín, so as reach out to the Archaeological Project more often, as they provide teaching tools they can use more.

Financial limitations are often one of the main problems the institutions in Chavín face when asked about their outreach or educational projects. For example, even though the archaeological site conducts some programs, including celebrations of patrimony day or solstices and ceramic workshops; the administration claims that the Ministry of Culture allocates limited

budget to expand their work with the community. All the money from entrance fees goes to Lima, and only a small portion returns. The money for their projects comes from small grants and oftentimes their outreach is volunteer. In a similar fashion, the Municipality of Chavín de Huántar does not receive money to conduct educational projects and when they do, they focus on how children and adults can become tourist guides. This by itself is not problematic, but as we have seen in this dissertation, only a few members of the town truly benefit from the neoliberal tourist industry, while others watch from the periphery and try to make ends meet. The institution that benefits the most from the tourist industry is the national government. In this way, and similar to how they obtain natural resources for their own benefit, they are abstracting cultural capital in form of monetary compensation, something that the town of Chavín does not benefit from. Again, we see how this relates to internal colonialism and it's resemblance to what European empires used to do with South American Indigenous Peoples and their land.

The Research and Conservation Project in Chavín de Huántar—the archaeological project in town—also mentioned that financial limitations affect the amount of outreach they conduct. They do have a large repertoire of projects conducted over the last decades, with various results and acceptance due to the tense relationship with the town. They could also do a better job and continue with these efforts, and many members of the project acknowledge that they need to work harder to reach the town. Although the growing trend in archaeological work is to have better relationships with communities and outreach projects, one of the main problems the archaeological project has is that they almost exclusively publish and discuss Chavín as a Golden-Age, ignoring everything that came before and after, even though most of the excavations and information are from Post-Chavín. This interest and publications relate to Trouillot's (1995) firsts moments of the production of history "fact creation" (the making of sources) and "fact assembly" (the making of

archives). The archaeological project is the only one allowed to excavate at Chavín and they almost entirely provided information related to Chavín as a Golden-Age.

This monopoly of information affects the production of history, as they are the ones who control the narrative held about Chavín de Huántar. This monopoly not only affects the archaeological community but also children in Chavín and their knowledge about The Past, especially the information they get from their school. This situation heavily relates to Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (1999) concept of collective memory of imperialism. She states: "This collective memory of imperialism has been perpetuated through the ways in which knowledge about indigenous peoples was collected, classified and then represent in various ways back to the West, and then, through the eyes of the West, back to those who have been colonized" (Tuhiwai Smith 1999: 1). Western archaeologists, mainly from U.S. America and Lima, collect and classify Chavín's Past (nearly all as a Golden-Age). The Ministry of Education then uses this (mostly outdated) information to create parts of the curriculum and textbooks, which then children in Chavín consume. Since archaeologists focus on Chavín as a Golden-Age, children only receive that information in schools, losing over 3000 years of information. This continues to help the nation-state homogenize The Past and its teachings to create a sense of Peruvian citizenship with a shared history where all of us should become mestizxs.

Returning to financial limitations, the National Museum of Chavín seems free from this issue. This is interesting because they are also part of the Ministry of Culture. Their outreach projects not only concentrate on archaeological information (although Chavín as a Golden-Age) and intercultural programs. They focus their projects on trying to sensitize the community—local and surrounding smaller towns—in ancient and contemporary traditions. They also want the community to feel invited to the museum, like the museum is theirs and not only for the tourist

community. The museum, as one could expect, was the most active in outreach projects, which allowed me to collaborate directly and constantly with them throughout my research project.

I believe that the main problem with the little knowledge children have about Chavín's past, besides Chavín as a Golden-Age, is the lack of communication between the institutions working in Chavín. Even though there is little outreach in general, through my fieldwork I met many people from these institutions that were more than willing to collaborate with me. With them and various community members we were able to provide children with a summer camp and the school with teacher workshops. Children, parents, and teachers seem to receive well these collaborative projects; as many of them asked me if I would continue with these projects in the future. Although I do not expect these individual projects to change the whole situation in Chavín, I believe that more projects and collaboration of this nature can be extremely beneficial for children and the community. However, in order to do so there is a need for more and better communication between these main institutions, not only amongst themselves but also with the community. I hope that my work created a precedent for this to happen, but in order to transform and truly connect the archaeological project and the town, at the moment there is a need for a moderator such as a public archaeologist or applied anthropologist.

Having a public archaeologist or applied anthropologist in the mix by no means will solve all the problems addressed in this dissertation. Structural problems also affect what children learn about The Past, and until we address larger issues such as colonialism, racism, capitalism, neoliberalism, and patriarchy the education system will continue to be oppressive for marginalized communities. All oppression is connected, and we cannot expect the teaching of The Past to be free from oppression if we do not challenge the system in which we live.

After these five years of research, both on paper and in the field, I can argue that The Past plays a significant role in the way the world is structured. Not only in Chavín, but globally. The exclusion of women and other genders in historical narratives influences the struggles patriarchy puts us through daily. In a similar fashion, the exclusion of Indigenous Peoples (and other peoples of color) and the struggles they faced for centuries influence the continuation of colonialism and racism. In this dissertation, I provided an example of the relationship between how women are represented in historical narratives in Perú and I argue that there is a connection to the alarming violence towards women in my country. I have also gone into great depth about the problematic silence and exclusion of other time periods in Chavín and its relationship to colonialism and neoliberalism.

This problem does not stop at Chavín de Huántar and sometimes can be more than structural violence. During the seven years I lived in Lafayette, Indiana I feared the exuberant racism and potentially racist and homophobic acts that a person of color could face living in this state and town. A recent report by the FBI states that Lafayette has the most reported hate crimes in Indiana (wlfi 2018). I cannot recall the amount of times I was afraid to leave my house or go to campus. Purdue has also been attacked numerous times in these past years by white supremacist flyers that intend to intimidate non-white population. These years have been hard, not only for the stress a dissertation causes, but also the mental strain and fear racism provokes. I see a direct correlation with these white supremacist acts and racism and the erasure and lack of acknowledgement of the history (and present) of the Ku Klux Klan in Indiana. Jennifer Sdunzik (2019) in her dissertation “Mapping Whiteness: Uncovering the legacy of all-white towns in Indiana” argues that the erasing and neglecting of KKK history from her informants and museums in small towns in Indiana recreate a peaceful imagined community. These imagined communities

claim to have no connection to racism or white-supremacy, but their omission of their history perpetuates an inhospitable and unwelcoming environment for minorities (Sdunzik 2019). She states:

> As the history of the KKK in the state is still a sore subject, it could explain why my informants kept their memories and knowledge hushed. Inadvertently, however, their refusal to admit having knowledge about the NHTDA [National Horse Thief Detective Association] and KKK contributes to the perpetuation of an idyllic small-town environment full of white-washed history (Sdunzik 2019: 297).

Here, the silencing of racist movements and organizations affects international and non-white individuals, as racism is still very much alive in Indiana.

One does not need to travel far to see how the erasure of history affects our world today. We live in a troubled world—be it Lafayette, Indiana or Chavín de Huántar, Perú. What other silencing of The Past affect individuals in our society? What might happen if we do not transform the way we teach The Past? How many more people will die, be oppressed, or marginalized? Our future as a species lies mostly with children. Let us transform the history we teach them and how we do so. Let us decolonize history and its production. Let us fight for a better world. Let us give children the tools and knowledge to build a better and more just world while we do our share for them.

APPENDIX A.

In this Appendix you can find the Code Book I used while analyzing my data in NVivo. Those highlighted are the most recurrent themes that appeared.

1. **Antamina (mining company)**
2. Archaeologists
    a. Identity
        i. Identity with The Past
    b. Archaeology knowledge
    c. Economic benefits
    d. Chavín-Huaraz-Recuay
    e. Educación
        i. Chavín
        ii. School-teachers
        iii. Curriculum
        iv. Ministry of Education
        v. Consequences
        vi. Mistakes
        vii. Gender
    f. Importance of The Past
    g. Manipulation
        i. Chavín
        ii. Incas
    h. Mining
    i. Ministry of Culture
    j. Outreach
        i. Municipality
        ii. Museum
        iii. Archaeology Project
            1. Newsletters
            2. Ceramic workshops
            3. Archaeologists from Chavín
            4. Comic book
            5. Conservation
            6. Documentary
            7. Lack of Money
            8. Murals
            9. Political Problems

10. Science projects
11. Talks

iv. Archaeological site
1. Lack of Money

v. Archaeological site (no)

vi. Tourism

3. Crafts
4. Cactus
5. Love for Chavín
6. Talks
7. Chavín de Noche
8. Chavinxs

a. Access to information
b. Love for Chavín
c. School – Education
i. Curriculum
ii. High-school
iii. University
d. School before
i. Conquest – "savages"
ii. San Marcos
e. How kids learn better
f. Community
g. Planning activities
h. Extra info on Chavín
i. Things that have been done
j. Things to do
i. Archaeologists
ii. Problems
k. Lack of interest
l. Government
i. Local government
1. Education
2. Tourism
3. Tourism and highway
m. Oral Histories
n. Identifying with Chavín
o. Identifying with the Past
p. Importance of the Past
q. Julio C. Tello
r. Older generations youth at the monument
s. The house and the Past
t. What is not taught

u. What they want children to learn
v. Lumbreras
w. Mothers
x. Marino Gonzalez
y. Monument
z. Museum
aa. Children
bb. Relationship with the archaeological project
cc. Tourism
dd. Tourism and Education
ee. Tourism and Children

9. School
    a. Knowledge of Children
    b. Description of School
    c. Lack of interests by teachers
    d. Malnourishment
    e. Public education
        i. Neoliberalism
    f. Future workshops
    g. Teacher Strike
    h. Student's identity
    i. Importance of the past
    j. Opinions of workshops
    k. Outreach at the School
    l. Planning workshops
    m. Living as a teacher
10. Corruption
11. Dances
12. Fútbol
13. Regional Government
14. Ministry of Culture
15. Ministry of Education
16. Museum
17. Children
    a. Landslide
    b. Chaupin
    c. Chavín as a Golden Age
        i. Antiquity
        ii. Tenon heads
        iii. Canals
        iv. Coque Chinchay
        v. Raimondi Stele
        vi. Galleries

vii. **Iconography**
viii. **Lanzón**
ix. **Tello Obelisk**
x. Pilgrims
xi. **Circular Plaza**
xii. **Square Plaza**
xiii. Falcon Entrance
xiv. Quechua
xv. **Rituals and Ceremonies**
xvi. San Pedro
xvii. Sound
xviii. Exchange

d. **Incas**
e. **Fear**

18. Lost Traditions
19. What can archaeologists do
20. Opinions of Summer Camp
21. Archaeological Project

APPENDIX B.

In this Appendix you will find a detailed description of the summer camp I conducted during January and February of 2017.

Class #1: Introduction

Since it was the first day and I already had students (at around 8:15 a.m.) I had to improvise some activities. They all seemed very shy and nervous, so I started talking to them, telling them that I was nervous too, but that it was ok, and that as time passed it would get better. I started asking them about what they ate on Christmas and stuff like that. That got them talking a bit.

At 9 a.m. we started the class (on this day I only had one helper from the museum). We started off by introducing ourselves. I also told them that as we were a diverse group of people, of different ages, so we needed to help each other like a big family with a lot of brothers and sisters. I told them that this was not like school, that they were not being graded, but that we did have to work and participate. That the idea was to learn, have fun and make new friends. After that, some people from the municipality came in and also introduced themselves and mentioned that they were very happy to have so many kids there and willing to learn.

After our introduction where everyone gave their name and told us what they did over break, I told them that it was time for us to make the rules of the summer camp. The idea that we worked on this together was for them to take agency on how we should all act during our classes and workshops. I told them for me, the most important thing was that they participate so they could learn, and that the whole idea of this summer camp was for it to be dynamic and for them to interact.

After setting up the rules we played a game called in Spanish "*el pueblo manda*" (the town is in charge), pretty much the same as Simon says. I like the name of the game in Spanish because

I wanted them to internalize the idea that the town—the people—are in charge. We divided the group in two: I led one and the other teacher (from the museum) led the other. The kids seemed to enjoy the game.

Class #1: Oral Histories

Date: January 5th, 2017

Location: Chavín Civic Center

Objective

The main objective of this lesson was to teach children that there are different ways to learn about The Past besides archaeology and history. Oral histories can help children better understand the traditions and stories that are part of their worldview. Local traditions in Chavín, such as language, agriculture, and clothing are disappearing at a worrisome rate, especially since the area has been occupied by the mining industry. Here the idea was to encourage students to learn from each other and to listen to other people's stories. We discussed the importance of talking with older people and learning from them, their stories, and their experiences. This activity was complemented with homework where children had to ask and listen to their parents or family members at home.

Description of Class

At around 10 a.m. I lined the chairs one in front of the other for our next activity. It was time for the kids to get to know each other. Each partner had 20–30 seconds to introduce themselves. To help them out we told them that they could tell: (1) their name, (2) where they are from, (3) favorite activity, (4) favorite food, and (5) a fun fact. At the beginning the kids had some

trouble loosening up, but after a couple of rounds in seemed to work out. The older kids loosened up faster.

At around 10:30 a.m. came the snacks. While they were eating, I started talking about oral histories. I told them that it was a way for us to gather and reconstruct history and that it could be personal, about other people, families, communities, or even our ancestors. That the idea was that it had to be oral—that people had to tell these stories. I told them that it was a way of learning about the past, different from written history and archaeology. I then asked them a couple of questions and while they answered, I moved around the room, repeating the answers so that everyone could listen. These were the questions and answers:

1. What can we learn about the past?
    a. About our ancestors
    b. Crafts
    c. Things that can be useful for the future
2. Why is it important for us to learn about the past?
    a. To be able to teach about what happened
    b. To learn about our culture
    c. To learn about our ancestors
    d. To learn about things that can be useful for the future
    e. To learn about our traditions

Description of activity

After these questions and answers, we started our first activity related to oral histories. We gave every kid a worksheet with two questions/instructions. The first part was: “Tell us a story about your life and about who you are (you may include your family). Also, tell us something you

learned outside of school." Some kids had no problem with answering the questions, while others did—either because they were shy or because they didn't feel comfortable writing.

After they wrote their own stories we started an activity to form groups. I gave every kid a piece of paper with an animal on it (there were two of each animal). The idea was that they had to act their animal until they found their partner. Some of them acted their animal—others cheated and started asking. I think this activity did not work as well because it was the first day and kids were still a bit shy. When they found their partner they had to share what they had written about themselves and fill in the second question/instruction of their worksheet: "Tell us the story of your partner. Don't forget to write about what he or she learned outside of school."

Description of homework

After they finished sharing their stories, I gave them their homework worksheet. They had the answer the following questions/instructions: (1) Make a narration of ancient Chavín. Ask your family members for this part of the homework. What have they told you about the archaeological site and the ancient town? And (2) Make a narration about the history of the district of Chavín until today. Ask your family about this part of your homework. What have they told you about the district?

Lessons

- Children should always have the option to draw instead of writing, especially the younger ones.
- Remember that some kids are shier than others and we need to adapt.
- This might be an interesting activity to do later on in the class-plan, since it might work better for kids to feel more comfortable with the class.

Class #2: Site Visit

Date: January 10th, 2017

Location: Archaeological Site

Objective

The idea was for children to visualize and learn from an expert about what was going on at the archaeological site to make their learning experience more tangible—expanding the classroom and taking the children to the archaeological site or temple.

Tour description

We started the tour around the model of the site (see picture below), where our tour guide explained a couple of things about the site: the tenon heads, the falcon gateway, the entry to the plazas and some other important elements. Then he started explaining about the landslide that happened in 1942. The kids knew a lot about the landslide (it seems that that is one of the things that the kids learn a lot about in school). The guide also talked about how the project found hearths and projectile points underneath the civic center (where we had some of our classes). He told them that that was where the first habitants of Chavín lived. He explained that where the town is today there was a great lake, but landslide after landslide the earth underneath the town became flat and dry. He then started talking about the "*Lanzón*", the Tello Obelisk, and the Raimondi Stele. The majority of kids knew where these things were (site, museum in Chavín, and museum in Lima respectively). He then talked about the three worlds and the animals that represented them—Above, condors and eagles; Earth/here, pumas and other felines; and below, fishes. The kids also seemed to know about that.

We then moved to the replica of the Raimondi Stele (see picture below). Our guide talked about its iconography. He made questions about the iconography and the kids answered. The

questions were related to what they were seeing; for example, what animals they could see. One of the kids answered a lot of the questions and our guide said something along the lines of "look, we have our own little archaeologist here—in fact, all of you could become archaeologists or tour guides". He then continued talking about the iconography. He explained that there were two different hypotheses about the head-dress. One was that in fact it was a head-dress. He asked the kids about the potential problem with that, and some of the kids replied that it would fall off because it is too heavy. The other hypothesis—he explained was that it was like a cape and that that made sense, not only because the head-dress would fall off, but because the whole individual depicted had animals all over, and that it made sense that the back of the person also appeared to be an animal.

We then moved to the area of excavations. Here, our guide talked about some of the excavations - he showed some pictures of the team excavating. He really did not talk much about the findings of the project in past years. After he finished, I talked a little bit about my experience with the excavations; that through these excavations we witnessed the continuation of the Chavín culture as a whole; which includes occupations of Huarás, Recuay, Callejón, and even some Chilean soldiers from the War of the Pacific. The idea was to show them that many people lived in Chavín after Chavín as a "Golden-Age" – and that us, here visiting, was also an occupation. That the people that live in Chavín continue to occupy this territory; that Chavín was theirs and that there are many things that we can learn from our ancestors.

We then continued the tour towards the square plaza—however, one of the girls did not feel good so I stayed with her. I missed part of the tour where our guide explained about the square plaza, but I left my camera with one of the other teachers. The kids sat in the square plaza and our tour guide explained how the square plaza severed several of purposes—a place of gathering,

exchange, and offerings. When we rejoined the group, they were at the "*Choque Chinchay*" (choque: stone – chinchay: jaguar). This stone with 7 holes, the tour guide explained that they served as a place to keep water (and/or other things), and sometimes served as water mirrors to look at the constellations.

When we moved towards the Falcon Gateway, things started to become a bit hectic. Some of the boys started to play some "violent" games and started teasing each other—it was pretty clear that it was a friendly tease, but I did not want them to act that way during our visit to the site, or at all during the summer camp—I gave them a couple of warnings, but when that did not work I had to separate them.

After visiting the circular plaza, we began to explore the galleries. Since the Lanzón gallery is small they entered by themselves. After that, the tour guide decided to separate the girls and the boys. He took the boys into the rest of the galleries, and I took the girls. I explained to them the things that I remembered and know about the galleries. Especially about the air/light vents, and how ancient people would use obsidian to bring the light in. I also told them that the canals, which were actually small galleries, served as a drainage. After the galleries, we met with the boys at the tenon head. While our tour guide explained about how the tenon heads went all around the archaeological site and where transformations between humans and felines, I talked to some of the boys. One of the boys said something like "Boy, these Incas had a strange life". After that some of the kids came up to me and told me that one of the kids was making fun of our ancestors—that he said something along lines as "these tenon heads are stupid". I told him that that is not something nice to say, that these constructions are from our ancestors, that even if he didn't feel identified with them, he had to respect the beliefs and the ancestors of his classmates.

After the explanation of the tenon heads we took a group picture. Then we went towards the entrance where I gave all the kids an orange and their homework.

Description of homework

Their homework for this class was to make a drawing of the archaeological site (see below) and to tell us about the site as if we have never heard of it before.

Class #3: Archaeological contexts

Date: January 12th, 2017

Location: Civic Center

Objective

For children to learn how archaeologists not only use material culture but its context to understand what might have happened in the past.

Description of class

At 9 a.m. I told them to form three lines, grab a piece a paper and write what they liked most about the archaeological site. Then I taped their answers to their bellies. After they all had their answers, I put music on and told them to dance while they looked for people who had the same or similar answers. There wasn't a lot of dancing involved, but people eventually found their groups. In their group, they had to talk about why they liked that thing the most. Here are the numbers:

1. Gallery of the labyrinths: 2
2. People and the landscape: 4
3. Raimondi Stele: 4

4. Circular plaza: 4
5. Lanzón: 8
6. Square plaza: 12
7. Tenon heads: 7
8. “ruins”: 5
9. People that mentioned more than one thing: 4
10. Serpent stairs: 1
11. Ceramics: 1
12. Stones: 1

For the next activity, we decided to separate the more energetic kids (the ones that gave us some trouble at the archaeological site). We formed ten groups of between five and six kids. Before I explained the activity, we talked about what archaeology is and how we can tell a story about the past based on studying objects and their contexts.

Description of activity

Both activities of this day were based on them drawing the contexts of two different objects; one contemporary (forks) and the other “prehistoric” (replicas of projectile points and spindle whorls, see picture below). I asked a local craftsman to make these replicas for the project.

I asked the groups to draw an archaeological context, things that they thought they would find if their object was in such context. In the contemporary case, groups had to draw one of the following contexts: Fork in the garbage (2), fork to eat (1), a broken fork (1), forks in a storage unit (2), a fork with other utensils (1), a lost fork (1), a fork in a dining room (1), and the process of making a fork (1). I gave this last one to a group with kids that were well engaged during the other classes—I thought that they could take the challenge.

For the prehistoric case, groups had to draw one of the following contexts: projectile point in the garbage (1), projectile point in an animal (1), projectile point in a human (1), broken projectile point (1), projectile point in a storage unit (1), projectile point with other tools (1), place where they make projectile points (1), spindle whorl as an offering (1), spindle whorl in a storage unit (1), and spindle whorl in the garbage (1). This activity was created for students to understand the importance of material culture attached to their contexts; and how archaeologists understand material culture through understanding contexts.

During both activities, we would go from group to group to help them with difficulties and to answer some of their questions. It seems that they really enjoyed these activities. By the time we wanted to start with the third activity (iconography) kids were already very tired, so it didn't really work out. Despite this last part, I am very happy with how the context activities turned out.

Description of homework

For homework, they had to write the differences between how people in Chavín lived in the past and how they live today.

Class #4: Museum Visit

Date: January 17th, 2017

Location: National Museum of Chavín de Huántar

Objective

For children to have the opportunity to visualize archaeological material, instead of just hearing about things. This made the learning experience and the past more tangible.

Description of class

At around 9 a.m. I told them to make three lines and I gave some directions. I told them that we had to be on our best behavior because the museum was opening their doors for us. I also told them we could not touch the archaeological pieces and that if we did not behave that they probably would not let us back in, and that we had many activities there, so this was very important. One of the teachers told them the same thing but in Quechua. The way to the museum went better than I expected, there were no problems with the cars on the highway.

When we reached the museum I was a bit surprised, because I thought that one of the other teachers was going to give the tour; however, he told me I was going to do it. I did not panic because at the end of the day I know a lot about Chavín and the things in the museum, even though it has a new museography. I also decided that I was going to reinforce some of the previous things we have talked about, both at the archaeological site and the context activities. I asked them questions about some of the things that they learned at the site. Sometimes they would answer correctly, sometimes they needed my help.

After around an hour and a half one of the teachers took over, she noticed that I was running out of energy, and she also had some important things to talk about. We reached a room called "*sala de los anhelos*" (room of the longings). She told the kids that it was called like this because it was a room where we only had pictures of objects (ceramics and lithics). She told the kids that these things are in Lima, but that they belong in Chavín, because they were found here—that these things belonged to them, and that hopefully we could have them back soon. After that we went to the kid section in the museum, where we watched videos and images about the past and present of Chavín.

After the videos, we went towards the entrance of the museum, close to the library. They gathered around in chairs and some sat on the floor. During this time the museum handed out some

snacks. The two other teachers and I discussed the activity we were going to do and concluded that it would be best if we left it as homework. The kids seem tired, and more work needed to be conducted on the museography before the inauguration.

The way back to the auditorium was not as good as the way to the museum. It was much more disorganized. Some of the older kids went faster than the younger ones. All three of us teachers were also separated. When I reached the auditorium, a mother was waiting for her child. I had no idea where she was, she was not in my group on the way back. After a couple of minutes, and some of the kids helping me out, we found her—she had gone to the plaza to play with some of the older girls. I was very scary and stressful to think about the idea of losing a kid, I am so glad it did not happen.

Description of homework

The homework then was to make a drawing (some wanted to make more than one drawing) and answer why they picked that object, what they liked more about that drawing, and what they think the object was used for. Before we left, we took a group picture.

Class #5: Music Workshop I

Date: January 19th, 2017

Location: Civic Center

Objective

To present children with a first-hand experience where they could understand the importance of music in the past and listen to actual archaeological replicas played by an ethnomusicologist.

Description of class

This was by far the best workshop that we had during these summer classes and maybe even the best thing I organized in my professional career. As mentioned in the first pages, I asked a musicologist to come and help out. In this first workshop, we had planned that he would come to the auditorium with his instruments (archaeological replicas and instruments from around Perú; coast, highlands, and jungle) and play some tunes for the kids. I arrived early as always (8:15 a.m.) with more name tags for the kids, since we had so many new people signing up for the summer camp (we have a total of 75 kids signed up, but *only* an average of 50 showed up to each class). Kids signed in, made new name tags, and we also planned to play some soccer and volleyball in the afternoon.

It was 9 a.m. and our teacher of the day still had not arrived, I began to worry because the kids were excited about the music workshop and I had no plan B. I called him, and he said he was just waiting for me to call, that he would be there in five minutes. He came up to the auditorium and we planned the class. We asked the other teacher to organize the kids around the long table in a semi-circle, while we went to his apartment (a couple blocks away) to pick up all his instruments. He had a suitcase full of instruments, plus a couple more bags. We arrived again at the auditorium again and he started placing his instruments on the table. When he had all his instruments out, he introduced himself and started talking about what music is, how music is created, and how important music was for our ancestors. He mentioned that our ancestors and ancient peoples of Chavín—and in other places in the Andes—made music to imitate certain sounds of nature. He explained his musical instruments—what they were made of (cane, bones *deer, condors, jaguars*, skulls, gourd, ceramics, seeds); where they were from (coast, highlands, jungle); and different instruments: trumpets, flouts, raddles)—and playing the actual instruments.

After this demonstration, he practiced with the kids some rhythm, first with some clapping, then with some stomping. After they got the hang of it, he taught them a song. A song—he explained—for animal herding. They learned the song first, then added their claps and their stomping, and later he played the *Quena* (an Andean flute). When they got the hang of it, he chose one of the kids to play percussion on a drum.

After a couple of times playing the song it was break time. While the municipality started handing out snacks, some kids came up to the table to look at the instruments and asked the teacher some questions (see below). After the break, they practiced the song a couple more times. Before time ran out, the teacher told the kids to bring some bottle caps so that we can make different instruments on the 24th.

The kids seemed to have loved this class very much. It was a great day. I have many videos of the kids singing and the teacher playing his instruments. We even got the attention from the education department of the muncipality. They came up to the auditorium and recorded some of the music as well. After the class was over, the communication/media person interviewed us about the project and this class specifically.

Class #6: Music Workshop II

Date: January 24th, 2017

Location: Pepe's workshop

Objective

For kids to further expand on the previous lesson and create their own instruments.

Description of class

After getting all the material and planning this workshop with the music professor Pepe (he agreed to provide his name in my dissertation) and I agreed that it would be best to have this class (construction of instruments) in his workshop. Because of the types of instruments the kids would be making—rattles and windpipes—we would be using hammers, making a lot of noise and a big mess.

At around 9 a.m. I gathered the kids and told them that we would be moving to Pepe's workshop—they were excited about the class. Before we left however, I collected all the metal bottle caps and asked who had brought hammers. Before we started, Pepe showed all the kids his workshop. We then went outside, and they made two lines on the sidewalk. Pepe picked some of the kids with whom he made the pan pipes. At first he only picked boys, but after a while I told him that I would like girls to participate as well—he agreed. At this point the class was divided in two groups and I will address each one of them separately. The class lasted until around 8pm, although we had a break at lunch time and not everybody could stay).

Rattles

I divided the kids in groups, each group with a hammer. When groups were divided, we gave them around 20 bottle caps. Pepe gave instructions on how they had to hammer the caps so they could work with the rattles. Kids spent around and hour and a half hammering on the sidewalk.

After the kids finished hammering the bottle caps, they had to make a hole in the middle of the caps. Each kid had at least 10 caps. When all their caps had a hole, they formed a line with one of the teachers, so that he could twist the wire we bought and make a rattle. After the rattle was made, I cut some cane for the kids, so they could use it as a handle and decorate it with colored strings.

Pan pipes (antaras)

The first thing kids had to do was peel the cane. Alvaro gave them instructions on how to do it. After they peeled the cane, they put some of it aside on the sidewalk. After each kid peeled a couple of the canes, they had to select a good cane: one that was thinner towards one of the ends. Pepe then explained to the kids where they had to cut the cane for them to have smaller canes of different sizes. The kids shared the saws that we had available and cut their canes. Then, Pepe explained the importance of instruments being in tune. He then used his machine to find the tune in each on the canes. After everyone had their canes tuned, Pepe taught them how to put the pan pipe together and then the kids had to sand the edges.

Class #7: Recap and Games

Date: January 26th, 2017

Location: Civic Center

Objective

For children to visualize archaeological material, instead of just hearing about it. This approach made the learning experience and the past more tangible.

Description of class

On this day I planned to have kids learn songs in Quechua, but the teacher helping us out did not seem very happy with the idea. So instead we decided to have a recap on how the kids built their instruments. After that I had planned to have them play some games—I thought this was a good idea, since a lot of them stayed in the workshop until late in the night on our last class. Before class started, I told them about my research and let them know that I would be giving them IRB forms for them and for their parents. I told them (and then again at the end of the class) that if they

did not want to participate in my research that they could continue to come to the summer class, that it would have no effect on their participation in class. After those instructions, I told them to form five lines next to the tables I set aside with crayons, markers, pencils, and pens. We then handed out an activity sheet where they would have to make a six-step drawing of how they built their instruments. After that, those who could write had to describe the process. Those who could not write (or finished faster) made drawings of the instruments they liked the most of Pepe's demonstration.

After they finished their activity worksheet, we formed a semi-circle and did a recap on what we have learned about Chavín and the archaeological site. Things at this point started to get hectic—kids were a little more boisterous than usual. I then tried to put them in even groups, so we could play some games. However, the kids weren't happy with the groups that I was making. At one point, some of the kids started to fight—one kid even kicked another boy. I had to separate them and take all the older boys outside. I told them that they had to behave, that they were my best students but that if they continued to act out, I would have to ask them to stop coming, because they are an example to all the other little kids. While I was outside, Pepe came in to deliver some of the missing instruments and he started to sing with the kids. After a couple of times singing the same song he left, and I jumped in to explain about my project and gave every kid their IRB forms.

Class #8: Skeleton and Funeral Contexts

Date: January 31th, 2017

Location: National Museum of Chavín de Huántar

Objective

For this class students received a small talk from an osteologist of the archaeological project. The talk revolved around what bones can tell us when we look into the past. After the talk, kids had the opportunity to make their own burials, starting off with gluing paper bones together and choosing offerings for their "person". They learned the importance of taking care of and remembering our ancestors.

Description of class

After a long Monday (30th) buying all the material we needed for this workshop I was extremely excited to see how it would turn out and how the kids would react to the activity we had planned. For this class I asked one an osteologist of the archaeological project to help me out with a small presentation about bones. She made a power point presentation where she discussed some of the basic things archaeologists can look at while analyzing bones (why bones are important, how bones decompose, what bones we have and what they are used for, differences of skeletons based on age, how to detect age and biological sex, how we can determine activity patterns and sometimes even death. She also briefly talked about medicine as well as funeral contexts). For her presentation, we had an actual skeleton laid out for a better demonstration (and they could come up to it after the presentation to look at it closely).

We held this workshop in the museum my collaborator, the museum director, was present so for the first time. During the presentation (and a bit after as well) we discussed what we thought about the presentation. It seemed a bit dense and hard for some of the kids, but a lot of them were paying attention and learnt new things.

After the presentation, we divided the kids in 10 groups of 4-5. Each group had to piece together a paper skeleton and make a funeral for that individual. I made cards with five different

individuals (a male weaver, a female ceramist, a female musician, the lord of Chavín, and the Lady of Cao—I played around with gender stereotypes to make kids start thinking about gender roles). The idea was not only to piece the skeletons together, but to also choose offerings from a table. Kids had to read the description of their individual and choose the offerings that would go with their it. They had so much fun during this activity.

Class #9: Ceramics I

Date: February 2, 2017

Location: National Museum of Chavín de Huántar

Objective

For the first class, I gave a brief introduction to ceramics. We talked about what ceramics are, how they are made, and how much really goes into it. After giving them some examples of different ceramics, the kids had the opportunity to work with archaeological and contemporary fragments.

Description of class

For this workshop, I did a small presentation of ceramics, as we did in the museum. I talked about what ceramics are, how they are made, and what they can tell us based on shape and decorations. It was less dense then the skeleton presentation, because I believe that I am more prepared to talk to children about archaeology than a lot of Peruvian archaeologists. I also had the kids participate more and talk more about what they knew about ceramics and what they were seeing in my power point.

After the presentation, they were handed a prehispanic ceramic fragment from the excavations and they had to draw what they thought the vessel looked like. After that, they had a

small snack while I prepared the next activity. For this workshop I painted 10 plates and 10 bowls and then broke them. I have used this activity in the past (archaeology day in the town I wrote this dissertation); however, this was a bit more complicated as they had more pieces to put together. Not all groups (again, 10 groups) could complete all the vessels, but they had fun attempting to do so.

Classes #10 and #11: Ceramics II and III

Date: February 7th and 9th, 2017

Location: Archaeological Site – Chavín de Huántar

Objective

For students to get their hands dirty and make their own clay vessels.

Description of class

For these two classes I contacted a group of individuals who were working with kindergarten kids since last year. I thought it was a great opportunity for everybody—for them to have experience with older kids, for the project to continue to collaborate with other individuals, and for the kids to have a hands-on experience on how to make ceramics. Since making ceramics is not easy at all, we decided it would be best to have two days for kids to work with clay (both workshops were at the site). The first day we did simple things: we started off by making spheres, a then we had the kids make small bowls. After they made their bowls, they were free to decorate them. Some kids however, made plates or other things.

The second day, things got a bit more “complicated”. Our teacher decided that he was going to teach us how to make bottles. The idea is that we had to make two small bowls, like the

previous class, but then put them together. After putting them together we had the spout of the bottle. Kids seemed to really like making ceramics; unfortunately, the rainy season in the Andes is between December and March and burning the clay would be impossible. However, maybe later in the year, we could have another week of ceramic making where we can have the complete process.

Class #12: Environment

Date: February 14th, 2017

Location: Archaeological Site – Chavín de Huántar

Objective

For children to realize that they are agents in history and in taking care of the environment.

Description of class

For this workshop, I planned to have them doing more hands-on activities—making pictures during the whole class. The day before I bought more markers, colored papers and, more extra stuff for them to work. They had complete freedom on how to make the drawings. The idea was that they had to make four different pictures—one of Chavín 1000 years ago, one of Chavín today, and two of Chavín in 100 years: one if we didn't take care of it, and one if we did. They did not have to pick the archaeological site, they could choose any place in/around the town. Some groups had some trouble picking a place, but as time passed every group was working. I had two groups that went a *little farther* than 1000 years—they drew a great lake as the center of Chavín (something that they learned when we did our tour of the site), I let them draw that, but I explained/reminded them that Chavín looked like that thousands of years before, before anybody lived in Chavín. I liked this exercise because it made them think about how things would look if

they didn't take care of their town, while also having them think what Chavín looked like in the past. It was also complementary to the homework I gave them, where they had to think of ways to take care of their favorite things in the environment.

Class #13: Gender

Date: February 16th, 2017

Location: Civic Center

Objective

To discuss the stereotypes around actions of men and women in the Past and discuss how men and women are more than capable of doing anything they want—but there are social norms that sometimes determine who does what in a context.

Description of class

I was a bit worried about this workshop, as I had previously discussed with my advisor Kory. When I was in Lima, I talked about having a gender workshop with my archaeology and history colleagues who work with gender and who are also interested in public archaeology. I asked them for advice and the best thing that they told me was that it really depended on how the gender dynamics unfolded in class. As days came closer to this workshop, I still had no idea how I could empower women and try to work with minimizing *machismo.* It was a complicated also because right now in Perú there is a strong movement of people opposing what they call "gender ideology" in the curriculum. They believe that the Ministry of Education is trying to turn everybody queer (not heterosexual) by promoting equity and no-discrimination based on gender and sexual orientation. I even had the opportunity to record from my house, a man who was complaining about this curriculum/teaching approach on his megaphone.

For all these reasons, I had to be very careful on how I discussed and conducted this workshop. A couple of days before I searched online for some pre-made workshops that could give me ideas. I decided to keep it gender simple and only talk about men and women, and not introduce other genders, as I understood that when working with sensitive topics one must first *raise awareness*. I found online a workshop that described children writing gender roles on a post-it and sticking them on a big circle (one big enough for the whole class). Then, after all kids finished placing their post-its, have a discussion of why they thought only men or women could do certain things. The idea was to move all the post-it to another—the "both" circle. I thought that this could be a good exercise for both empowering women and minimizing *machismo*.

I did make a small twist to the workshop: I asked kids to first draw what activities or jobs they thought men and women had in The Past and afterwards write their activity on a post-it and stick it where they thought it would go. After they finished, we talked about what they drew. They soon realized that both men and women could do any activity; that their roles depended more on their society than if they were men or women. I gave them examples, and other kids also gave examples to help out and move the post-it to the middle. When the workshop ended I was very happy with how it went. However, I was a bit frustrated in the afternoon (although happy that more girls came) when we went to play our Thursday soccer, because I was still picked last, even though the boys know that I can play. I guess it takes time for them to internalize things, and more workshops like this.

Class #14: Folk Stories

Date: February 21st, 2017

Location: Civic Center

Objective

For them to learn about different ways that people have thought about life and the region.

Description of class

This was a last workshop as such. I initially wanted it to be held in the museum because I believe that story-telling and oral history should have place in the museum—especially if we are to decolonize the past. However, Marco (one of my collaborators, educator of the museum and teacher of the day/workshop) thought it would be best if we did it in our regular space in the municipality, since the museum was still closed, and it would take us 30 minutes to get there.

Marco told the kids the story of *Juan el Oso* (Juan the bear) and a fable about a fox and a lion. The kids really enjoyed the stories, although the first one was very long. However, there were many moments where they laughed and laughed—which made me and Marco very happy. After Marco told these two stories the kids stayed in circle, so I could hand them printed versions of some more tales from the area (both from Chavín and from Huari—the region's capital) and their activity form. The idea behind this activity was that they had to pick from the two tales Marco told them, or from the five tales I handed them. I think the kids really liked this workshop, not only because they got to hear stories, but that they could put them into pictures too.

Class #15: Prep I

Date: February 23st, 2017

Location: Civic Center

Objective

To have kids participate in the preparation of the museum exhibit for them to feel part of the *whole* process of presenting their material and realize how important their work is.

Description of class

On this day, we started getting ready for the exhibition and closing event of our summer camp at the Nacional Museum of Chavín. Some of the activities we had planned for this date were to make their name tags again—one for them, and one for a part of the exhibit that I wanted to make. They also made smaller name tags for their music instruments and their ceramics (both of which were also part of the exhibit).

After this preparation, we started to get ready to paint our ceramics. We put newspaper on the floor, and I gave each group plastic containers I made from plastic bottles. I gave each group a big container with water and small containers for them to mix their paint. Kids were very happy to paint their vessels since we didn't have the opportunity to actually cook the ceramics.

Class #16: Prep II

Date: February 28, 2017

Location: Civic Center

Objective

To have kids participate in the preparation of the museum exhibit for them to feel part of the *whole* process of presenting their material and realize how important their work is.

Description of class

For this class the kids would finish coloring some of the worksheets they had worked on during the past two months—some of them were activities we did in class, but most of them were homework. I started giving out the sheets before 9 a.m. so that kids could get a head start. After finishing up with the last details, we would go to the town's parade so that the kids could observe

some of their local traditions. The parade was part of a three-day carnival dedicated to the *Shayapa* cross. This cross is located on the top of one of the surrounding mountains and is said to protect the town from evil and natural disasters; as well as provide the town with good crop for the rest of the year.

Having the kids finish their work (mostly coloring) did not have as much success as I would have hoped, so after their "lunch/snacks" came, we went down to the town's main plaza and watched and participated in the parade. Before we left, I asked the kids to leave their musical instruments and their ceramics so that I could take them to the museum and set up the exhibit.

Summer Camp Museum Exhibit and Closing Event

Date: March 3rd, 2017

Location: National Museum of Chavín de Huántar

Objective

Have children present their work to their parents and other community members. The idea was to empower students and have them see that their work is worthy of being in a museum. In the same way, have them understand that museums are not only places for ancient artifacts, but rather living culture, as well.

Description of event

I am pretty happy with how the exhibit and closing event turned out although at first, I was very stressed about it. The exhibit was from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. with the main event at 10:30 a.m. For the main event we planned to have a small concert, with the ethnomusicologist that helped me out with the music workshops—and then some of us would give a few words. I was very happy with the number of people that showed up. I was scared that it would just be us and ten kids, but the

turn-out was really good. There were around 30 kids, around 15 parents, people from the municipality, representatives of the archaeological site, members of the community, and even the priest—which was a surprise to many. One of my participants told me later on that it was the first time that he had seen so many "different" people gathered together for such an activity.

We started the main event at around 10:30 a.m. We had the kids sit around a small setting that Pepe (my informant, friend, and musicologist) had set up for his small concert. Parents and other members of the community had chairs between the main door and the reception; those who did not have a chair stood around the main event area. Pepe started playing his instruments (mainly pre-hispanic) at around 10:40 and played for all the guests for around 20-30 minutes. It seemed that the guest appreciated this part of the event; although some of the smaller kids started playing around after a while; but that was no surprise, since that was a common factor during the whole summer camp. However, they did not act to act out and everything was kept under control in a calm—and even funny—manner.

At the end of the concert there was a nice transition between what Pepe was playing and the participation of the kids. After playing one of his *pututuos* (an Andean trumpet made from a special shell) he started playing a *quena* (an Andean flute) and started the tune of the song that he had taught them during our first music workshop. The kids started singing—it was a perfect way to conclude the small concert we had arranged.

After the concert, my collaborators (or their representatives) stood in front of our guests and gave a few words. The museum director started off. She had the highest rank among the present and we were indeed in her premises. She thanked the people who came and mentioned that it was extremally important for the future of their kids that they become more involved in their children's activities. She also thanked me for all the work. On a later Facebook post she mentioned that I had

proved everybody in Chavín that this type of work could be done and that more projects were coming their way. I talked after the museum director and as I knew that most of the other people would address the adults, I decided to talk to the kids directly, thank them for all the good times, all the smiles, and the laughs. I also asked them if they had fun and they *all* said yes, at least with their heads. Then came Pepe; Mariana, my collaborator from the municipality; the representative from the archaeological site, and finally Marco, who spoke in Quechua.

After this, I had planned to maybe give the tour to the people that had come to the exhibit; however, since there was around 60 people, if not more, I decided to tell the kids that they would serve as tour guides. They would have to take their parents around the museum room-exhibit and show them the work that they had done. Before they did so, nevertheless, I did explain to everybody how the exhibit was organized so they could have an easier time navigating the rooms.

After a couple of hours, we were left alone in the museum, and only had two visitors in the afternoon. This gave me time to talk more with the museum personnel. The museum director was kind enough to give me the MALI (Art Museum of Lima) Chavín book that I have been wanting to own for a while now. We also discussed that this was not the end of our collaboration, that this summer camp proved that things like this were possible in Chavín. I told her that my doctoral project would continue, that she should not worry and that we could do more things. She told me then that she was talking about collaboration even after my doctoral project was over. She mentioned that “the museum was mine”. In a sense, I felt that she was offering me a future job; which felt nice, because it made me feel that she indeed was very happy with how the summer camp had turned out, and the ideas that I have for future collaboration. The next couple of days we took down the exhibit and I went back to Lima. However, before going back I went to the school (before classes started so I could talk to all the teachers at the same time). Marco and I presented

the summer camp project to them and discussed that we wanted to bring some of those workshops to the school. I presented my project to them and told them that I would be back in April, so they could discuss the opportunity to participate in a teacher workshop amongst themselves.

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