Making Community, Making Heritage: Reflections on Affective Modes of Heritage Production in Chavín de Huantar, Peru

Alexa Romano

Abstract

This paper discusses the production of "heritage" at both the central Andean town and UNESCO archeological site: Chavín de Huantar, Peru. It shifts the focus on heritage from what is produced via excavation/recovery to what is produced via present-day social interactions among archeologists, townspeople, and transients. It introduces and examines affective understandings and bureaucratic understandings of heritage. It specifically examines the ways in which the archaeological site activities and local perspectives construct affective modes of heritage, which create an idiom of community solidarity. The study determines the importance of "affective" modes of heritage production in the sustainability and value of local heritage. It challenges the notion that bureaucratic components of heritage such as UNESCO certification, blood composition, and the tourist industry are pivotal in fostering value and preservation of local heritage. Additionally, this paper demonstrates how understandings of affective heritage emerge through phenomenological experiences involving the knowledge and expertise between local townspeople, archaeologists, and transients (including myself).

Introduction

Heritage is a locus of potential—seclusion, promise—contestation, and hope—exasperation—all experienced in continuous flux. Critical heritage studies have increasingly centered on the Global South, a term referencing the territories of non-European, post-colonial peoples wrought with uncertain development, unorthodox economies, corruption, poverty, and strife, in short, the world in which the "Global North" spins theories. (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2012). Removed from the discourse stemming from the European and Western enlightenment, The Global South offers another perspective on the politics of "heritage" as a context specific concept. However, The Global South is becoming an intensified arena where modern and global actors are intervening, influencing, and reshaping original conceptions of heritage. The central Andean town and archeological site, Chavín de Huantar, Peru, is precisely such a site—a crossroads of archaeological intervention on an international scale, community workers, tourists, and other transients.

Framing cultural heritage in global terms is not a new development, considering that international discussions and coordination around archaeological preservation can be traced back to the 1870's, becoming institutionalized with the founding of UNESCO in 1945 and the establishment of the World Heritage Center in 1972 (Cameron & Rössler, 2011). Global heritage is usually defined through this international apparatus of conventions, treaty-based international law, and international organizations, most notably UNESCO—all these, which I group together as the *bureaucratic* production of heritage (Lafrenz Samuels & Lilley, 2015). The very term of "World Heritage" tends to suck all the air out of conversations around global heritage, leaving little room for investigating other mechanisms at work. (Lafrenz Samuels & Shackel, 2018). This paper reports on the alternate mechanisms of heritage, specifically affective modes of heritage.

Affective modes of heritage go beyond tourism, development, and other tangible processes involved in the bureaucratic production of heritage. Affective heritage addresses the realm of

affective and embodied engagements. That is, how heritage sites are experienced and felt, and how these experiences and feelings affect modes of address that are strongly intersected with the value of heritage (Waterton & Watson, 2015). Present-day practices and phenomena contribute to affective modes of heritage, which, I claim, are a more neglected, yet significant, value-derived component of heritage and thus, a sustainable component of heritage. By sustainable heritage, I refer to Lafrenz Samuels' conception of it as "providing social inclusion and cultural expression and the promotion of human capabilities through a strong sense of identity and belonging. It recognizes heritage a society's building blocks for inspiration and adaptation" (Lafrenz Samuels & Shackel, 2018).

This paper examines the affective modes of local heritage through the lens of an archaeological site itself at a rural Andean mountain village, Chavín de Huantar, Peru. It privileges a phenomenological approach in demonstrating how affective modes of heritage produced at an archaeological site create a sense of community amongst various different social actors that represent Chavín's population. Before delving into affective modes of heritage, this paper addresses the complexity in defining the term heritage and explores its various understandings taken up by certain stakeholders across different contexts. I am interested in how affective heritage is produced and understood. I argue that affective modes of heritage constitute an idiom of community solidarity which produces the sentiments of value and care needed for a sustainable heritage.

Methodology

Over the summer of 2018 while completing my undergraduate degree at Stanford University, I received a grant to participate in the archaeological excavation project at the World Heritage of Chavín de Huantar in the Central Andes of Peru. Dr. John Rick, Stanford professor and archaeologist, directs this project specifically aimed at researching the foundations of authority in the central Andes. John and his wife Rosa, a Peruvian native and anthropologist, have spent summers there for the past 25 consecutive years (and ongoing) mapping, excavating, and conserving the site while also participating in community outreach and maintaining ongoing relationships with the Ministry of Culture, community members of Chavín and surrounding communities, and the Chavín National Museum. Rick stresses the immense importance of working with the local community in and beyond the archaeological site itself. Rick's excavation team includes native Chavín community members, residents of surrounding small communities, Peruvian archaeology students, and professional Peruvian archaeologists. Additionally, each summer Rick assembles about 8 Stanford undergrads with a variety of social science backgrounds to join his excavation and research project. I was one of these 8 student researchers. Over the course of 2 months, our efforts were split between excavation and investigation, in which pursed intellectual pathways for understanding the past of the site.

The richness and complexity of the town Chavín and the heritage site in Chavín surpasses the technical operations and research goals of archaeological excavation. The affective modes of heritage that this paper explores are achieved through phenomenological experience. Phenomenology is the study of "phenomena": appearances of things, or things as they appear in our experience, or the ways we experience things, in short, the meanings produced through experience. Phenomenology studies conscious experience from the subjective or first-person point of view (Smith, 2018).

As a student of anthropology, better versed in theoretical literature than in archaeological expertise, I began excavating alongside the Chavín townspeople, Peruvian archaeologists, and other Stanford research peers, learning about excavation techniques and project goals through a mentor-apprentice-like relationship. By definition, the discipline of archaeology reconstructs, or pieces together, and reifies heritage through the material culture that it finds. Thus, excavation is a central methodology in the discovery of material culture, as well as in the production of heritage by accessing more knowledge of a particular place's past.

However, the question of what local heritage presently means to the various townspeople and archaeologists dominated my thoughts during the excavation. Wary of my status as an American, a non-archaeologist, and a Stanford apprentice in John Rick's team, I thought about how I might engage with the Chavín community and establish my role within it in ways beyond excavation. In traditional scientific social models, academic actors engage with communities for the purpose of obtaining ethnographic information or reporting excavation results. In such engagements, researchers are often uncritically viewed as having useful knowledge, as well as all of the decision-making, economic and social power, while local communities are viewed as mere informants (Atalay, 2010). In the same way that archaeology extracts information through excavation and material culture, I thought about academic actors and outsiders such as myself, the non-Chavín archaeologists, and the Stanford group as individuals between the Chavín townspeople as engaging in extractive relationships for the purposes of reaching an understanding of local heritage.

Instead of extractive processes and relationships, I explore how an understanding of heritage may be achieved through interactive process involving the knowledge and expertise of both community members and 'experts' (Greer, 2010). Thus, as a method for gaining understanding and perspective, I adopted a phenomenological approach to interacting with Chavín as a site and a town by placing myself among the various social actors intertwined in ways beyond excavation discourse.

Archaeology today enjoys a plethora of post-processual theoretical approaches such as agency theory, in which the idea of "practice" is central. "Practices" are linked both to people (social actors) but also to material culture; they are acted out in particular settings or landscapes that are constructed from beliefs, stories and actions that are subject to change over time. Similarly, phenomenological and experiential understandings have much to offer studies of landscape, including archaeological landscapes, particularly if applied in relation to different 'stakeholder' groups (Greer, 2010).

These different stakeholder groups embody various roles, which comprise the multifaceted production of Chavín heritage. Locals compose heritage, but this construction is a dynamic in flux. I capture instances of this flux with records of conversation, observation, and connection, and I capture these instances in two phases: the processual phase in which phenomenological experience occurring in Chavín itself exposes me to affective modes of heritage, and the post-processual phase in which follow up interviews, critical heritage scholarship, and reflections on the processual phase of phenomenological experiences in Chavín. The processual phase of interactive experience and the post-processual phase of analysis and synthesis demonstrate the importance of implementing affective modes of heritage.

Affective modes of heritage production contribute to the sustainability and value of local heritage. Value in heritage is learned about or discovered in phenomena by humans and depends on the particular context of reference held by the particular individuals involved (Lipe, 1984). In particular, this paper explores three phenomena demonstrating the value of affective modes of

heritage in creating a sense of community in Chavín heritage. These include labor, ritual, and education.

This paper relies on data collected over the summer of 2018 and upon return at Stanford University. These data include 225 pages of journal writing over 8-week period of labor alongside local workers at Chavín and interacting with international archaeologists and townspeople, proprietors of businesses, tourists, shamans. It includes 35 pages of interview transcripts with the following academics: John Rick, senior PhD archaeologist and site director for Chavín de Huantar with 25 years of excavating the site; Sam Holley Kline, whose dissertation research draws on ethnographic approaches to cultural heritage and archaeological approaches to landscape and materiality to explore how a landscape of pre-Hispanic mounds was transformed into a federally-managed archaeological site, and to record the histories silenced in that process; and Laura Jones, a PhD archaeologist and the director of Heritage Services at Stanford).

I weave excerpts from my field journals, interview data, and relevant academic literature to produce examples of competing heritage narratives. I include John and Sam's interviews to offer concrete examples of their own interpretations of heritage experiences and beliefs. I frame many of these observations with arguments from the plethora of academic articles on critical heritage studies.

Although these interwoven constructions are incomplete interpretations and experiences, they enact on a phenomenological approach to studying heritage—an ethno-heritage—including participant observation, interviews, critical heritage scholarship, photo documentation, and archaeology to gain a deeper understanding of how affective modes of heritage create an idiom of community solidarity, and thus developing initiative for a sustainable local heritage (Lafrenz Samuels & Shackel, 2018). This research on the affective modes of Chavín heritage can contribute in ways that create new and refreshing thinking around both and newly emerging issues surrounding the heritage debate.

Heritage as a Context

Heritage is a term that holds a variety of definitions, understandings, and meanings across an array of geographies, communities, institutions, and cultures. Heritage is highly subjective—its meaning even varying from members within the same locale. Thus, the one universal thing that remains clear regarding the term "heritage" is actually how unclear the elements are in defining it. Heritage, rather than a word that holds just one meaning, encapsulates a context—a messy context comprising an array of elements. From feelings and histories, to places and people, to narratives and objects, these elements of heritage are experienced even across and within different spaces and time. Heritage is broad. However, there is a difference between what heritage is and how heritage is understood.

What is Heritage?

What heritage is can be simply described as the past in the present. Heritage is a version of the past received through objects and display, representations, engagements, spectacular locations and events, memories and commemorations, preparation of places for cultural purposes and consumption. Collectively, these "things" and practices have played a central role in structuring and defining heritage (Waterton & Watson, 2015). Essentially, heritage is a collection of a

variety of elements. UNESCO considers these certain elements of heritage as the fabric that constitutes a particular culture. UNESCO breaks down heritage into two categories: the intangible and tangible (Barillet; Joffroy; Longuet, Eds., 2006). Still discussing heritage in "noun" form, intangible heritage is related to a particular knowledge or set of skills, such as ritual, dance, music, oral traditions, craft production skills, food preparation, ideology, cosmology. Intangible heritage does not depend on conservation but on the existence and implementation of a certain type of permeance in its circulation. Tangible heritage consists of the physical manifestations of intangible heritage, such as monuments, artifacts, cultural objects, and even geographical or territorial entities (Barillet; Joffroy; Longuet, Eds., 2006).

Because of the multiplicity of elements that constitute heritage, an individual in a particular cultural context will not ascribe every single tangible and intangible element when prompted to describe his or her heritage. Often times, people describe their heritage using a select few elements—perhaps these elements include what they feel most strongly affiliated with, what the community prides itself on, or what notions of heritage have been embraced in the past. In other words, cultural homogeneity jumps into a sequence of non- homogeneity, which indicates that there are different ways to speaking of what heritage is. In Chavín for example, some local community members define "heritage" as carrying the same blood line as their Chavín ancestors. The Chavínos equate descent with heritage, so much so that they are willing to override any alternative reality (Rick, 2019). The Chavínos value sharing the DNA of the ancestors who constructed the site of Chavín, and thus have a direct claim to being a part of Chavín's monumental history. Other communities might conceptualize heritage differently. In Chichen Itza, for instance, some local community members define their heritage as "the pyramids" (Kline, 2019). These examples portray local perceptions of heritage as both intangible and tangible elements. These elements represent only one component of what a local heritage comprises in totality; however, these responses demonstrate how particular communities might have one strong and automatic claim to what "heritage" is.

These examples also reveal the contestation and diversity of what certain groups ascertain to be "heritage." In this sense, individuals of a particular context construe and alter the definition of heritage. Therefore, it may be helpful to view heritage objectively as a set of unique elements that each particular place contains, affirms, and values. However, within each culture there exists a local heritage which cannot be objectively defined since what each culture deems as "heritage" is incommensurable and highly variable. Thus, I have come to a definitional understanding of what heritage is and how heritage takes on subjective forms and meanings within specific and local contexts. Furthermore, these examples demonstrate how crucial it is to observe what people are "valuing" in regard to heritage construction. To notice elements of what individuals and communities are considering and valuing as "heritage" is important in ensuring that communities continue to value those certain elements of their heritage in order for that local heritage to persist.

How is Heritage Understood?

The definition of heritage greatly differs from the understanding of heritage. There exists no right nor wrong way to perceive heritage, but understandings of heritage are subjective and differ among the varied social actors involved in constructing a specific local heritage. These understandings differ according to the types of roles or positions that individuals hold within a local community or in the global arena. The term heritage is broad and overarching; "it" is

something that someone or a collective considers to be worthy of being valued, preserved, catalogued, exhibited, restored, admired. Thus, heritage is both intensely personal and intensely political (Kersel & Luke, 2015). The distinction between personal and political understandings of heritage can be described as "affective" and "bureaucratic" modes of heritage.

Bureaucratic Heritage

Heritage can be understood politically, or in other words, bureaucratically. Lynn Meskell notes that the creation of heritage is a culturally generative act that is intrinsically political (Meskell, 2005). For example, regarding the material culture of a certain heritage, tangible elements prove instrumental in identity formation, land right claims, museum displays, heritage preservation, and tourist attractions—which all speak to the diverse interests at play in promoting and preserving archaeological heritage sites, artifacts, and practices (Williams, 2007; Brodie, Eds., 2006). The decisions needed to select which of these elements of heritage to preserve depends on someone or some apparatus—almost always in positions of power— deciding upon what those elements should be. Thus, heritage can be understood bureaucratically. Heritage becomes subject to a managerial perspective and to a bureaucratic apparatus of horizontally distributed power, where heritage falls under the control of powerful groups such as UNESCO, the Directorate of Cultural Assets, museums, the Ministry of Culture, and even tourism to name a few (Human, 2015). In an interview discussing the concept "guardian of heritage," Chavín archaeologist Rick states:

> If you are the United States and you have this cultural thing, site, object, practice, whatever—and it is a part of the background of some of your people, you therefore must administer it. For example, say you are the secretary of culture or education and a folk dance is lost, it's your fault because you were not a bureaucrat capable of preserving that heritage. Now whether the people who lost that dance give a damn or not is not an issue. It's that this heritage stuff that is "culture" has to be managed as if it were a bank account (2019).

Concerning Chavín, Rick describes the bureaucratic sense of heritage as a form of management where certain groups have or believe that they have a responsibility in preserving a specific heritage, such as dance or a ruin. In this sense, heritage gives rise to an institutional pathway for the cultivation of expertise in managing heritage components and resources (Lafrenz Samuel, 2018).

In Chavín summer of 2018, for example, I witnessed the manifestation of these bureaucratic apparatuses during the inauguration of the International Research Center. Immediately, I felt the exclusivity of the event. I noticed the people present during the inauguration—none of whom comprised the general townspeople of Chavín's working class. I acknowledged my own attendance and felt uncomfortable that I was granted a seat at the inauguration instead of a local townsmember. The audience sat on sheet-covered chairs beneath billowing white drapes. We were waited on by attendants dressed in tuxedoes offering us sweet delicacies on silver platters. I understood that people in power whether they be people with wealth, political standing, bureaucratic authority, or people involved in the archaeological site with credentials, such as John Rick, or affiliates to the university, such as myself, were permitted access to attend such a special event. The audience's array of social actors seemed to prove, to some degree, a potential or a means in which to contribute to Chavin's management of its heritage.

The Peruvian Ministry of Culture, members of the Japanese embassy, the Japanese economic advisor of the company that funded the research institute's construction (Fondo General de Contra Valor), the current Chavín governor, and the professional Peruvian archaeologists of the Chavín UNESCO site were the speakers present during the inauguration (Figures 1,2, & 3). Each represented a different role in the inauguration of the research center, but all must have felt that they contributed in some way to propel this notion of Chavín heritage forward. Thus, heritage can be understood to be a set of bureaucratic relations between various stakeholders, or in other words, heritage can also be understood as a discourse between these various actors.

Figure 1. Chavín de Huantar. Japanese Economic Advisor to Fondo General de Contra Valor (General Fund of Value) delivering a speech at Inauguration of Research Center, 2018.

Figure 2. Chavín de Huantar, Head of the Ministry of Culture delivering spech at research center inauguration, 2018.

Figure 3. Chavín de Huantar, Peruvian archaeologists wearing the Ministry of Culture vests observe and listen to the speeches made during inauguration of the research enter, 2018.

Heritage in this sense is understood as a mechanism that enforces institutionalization of that heritage, where certain governmental groups hold power, and even presume responsibility over others in order to advance or to preserve selected elements of a heritage. However, while the bureaucratic operation of heritage exists and to some degree, is needed, this bureaucratic understanding of heritage proves limiting for it excludes the rest of the local community members who are outside the bureaucratic domain. Furthermore, this question remains: How does a bureaucratic entity safeguard the heritage of particular place without the insight of the local townspeople? Rick (2019) further questions how in touch bureaucratic understandings and management of heritage are with the local heritage entities and thus suggests another way of understanding of heritage. To understand heritage from a solely bureaucratic perspective is not incorrect, but rather it is incomplete. A more inclusive understanding of heritage that is arguably more in touch with local notions of heritage presents the pivot point from a "bureaucratic" understanding of heritage to the "affective" understandings of heritage.

Affective Heritage

An affective understanding of heritage by definition relates to moods, feelings, and attitudes. Affective heritage addresses the realm of affective and embodied engagements, that is, how heritage components are experienced and felt, and how these experiences and feelings affect modes of address that are strongly intersected with the valuing of a heritage (Waterton &Watson, 2015). Affective understandings correlate to sentiments within the self and exist independently from bureaucratic notions of heritage. While in Chavín, I noted how the production of affective modes of heritage emerged from archaeological site activities involving local town members and workers in contrast to the bureaucratic modes present during the inauguration. In an interview discussing Chavín's affective modes of heritage, Rick classified affective heritage as follows:

> [Affective heritage is] what people who live in an area relate to a series of phenomena, things, sites, landscapes, whatever, *feel* that is their heritage. They identify with it strongly as being part of their past and part of their present—their origins you might say. So that's one sense of heritage and that's the one I tend to like. People really do have an identity with things and sights and places and whatever humans in that circumstance have glommed onto (2019, my emphasis).

Affective modes of heritage, as illustrated, do not need validation by bureaucratic apparatuses, since what individuals relate to or deem as heritage resonate from a place of emotional connection. These sentiments can be shaped by previous affective understandings of heritage, but I argue that affective heritage resonates with a broader pool of local town members. Affective heritage taps into the more visceral sentiments of heritage, and one does not need political or bureaucratic social standing to experience those sentiments.

Affective modes of heritage generate a sense of belonging, or "community" since what or how one feels cannot be repressed. Perhaps feelings can be dismissed, misjudged, overshadowed,

Figure 4. Chavín de Huantar. Chavínos and local shaman performing the "Huiscar," 2018

Figure 5. Chavín de Huantar. Local Chavínos perform the "Huiscar" a traditional Peruvian dance during the commencement of the Inauguration of the Research Center, 2018

Figure 6. Chavín de Huantar. Chavíno adorned in traditional Chavín authoritative dress, 2018

or disregarded by outside actors, but these affective feelings have already come into existence. Thus, affective modes of heritage are enhanced or reified when multiple individuals share the same sentiments. Affective modes of heritage draw and bond individuals together.

Affective modes of heritage are not only produced by current populations, but they are also transmitted from generation to generation. When one encounters an element of heritage, the vision of the past that that particular interaction evokes, and the affect associated with the interaction, is highly conditioned, if not determined, by other knowledges about the past that the participant brings to the encounter (Lipe, 1984). This observation points to the attention and respect given to the ancestors or previous generations of a particular heritage where what they value matters to the present generation. Affective modes of heritage production are more commonly associated with the intangible elements of heritage—the elements that the local populations are in tune with and have access to as opposed to those who are absorbed in the bureaucratic understanding of heritage. For example, during Chavín's inauguration of its research center, I noticed that the only local town members present were the ones participating in Chavín's traditional dances and practices. The local shaman played traditional music while local Chavínos danced along (Figures 4 & 5). Another local townsperson adorned himself in traditional Chavín attire and accessories to visually demonstrate the vibrancy and endurance of the early components of Chavín heritage (Figure 6). In Chavín heritage, conch shells are artifacts closely related to the

archaeological site and are used to announce authority figures during events, and the feather headdress is worn by the authority figures. The local Chavínos' attendance at the inauguration was not to participate in the bureaucratic discussions about heritage, but rather to produce Chavin's affective modes of heritage—these modes that are accessible to all members of Chavín's local population. The performance represents a vehicle shared amongst all townspeople even though they were not present.

The Chavín inauguration demonstrates the stark dichotomy in the understandings of heritage: bureaucratic and affective. On the one hand, there exists the Ministry of Culture and the Japanese international funders discussing the research institute itself and the political, economic, and cultural agendas pushing forward in Chavín. On the other hand, despite the absence of the general population, the only components to heritage that revealed the affective modes of heritage that spoke directly to Chavín's historical past were performed by the town locals. The inauguration represents both the bureaucratic and affective modes to Chavín heritage and reveals the sorts of actors and stakeholders present in the construction of Chavín heritage. The inauguration also represents how the adoption of either affective or bureaucratic affiliations and understandings of the term "heritage" produces different engagements with that heritage

In the increasingly critical studies and debates involving heritage, affective modes of heritage can represent another point of research to understand what people are valuing and how these values may be used to strengthen or sustain a local heritage. In Chavín specifically, both affective and bureaucratic modes and understandings of heritage unfold in the inauguration of the research center. However, I argue that an affective sense of heritage becomes more important than the bureaucratic sense, although both are needed. Without producing and valuing the affective modes of heritage first, there would be no bureaucratic engagements with heritage. What heritage will the bureaucratic apparatuses be concerned with if there is no heritage that a community collectively deems or feels worthy of value? Thus, a local heritage will appear to be neither preserveable nor sustainable if it is understood solely bureaucratically. Affective heritage is one way to create community and cultural continuity, and thus sustainability (Shackel, 2001). Through a phenomenological approach to interacting with Chavín as a site and as a town, I argue that affective modes of heritage are crucial in producing a sense of value and care within a heritage. Affective modes are cultivated to create an idiom of community solidarity, which is then followed by heritage sustainably. These affective modes are what this paper will now explore.

Situating Chavín

Geography

The geographical characteristics comprising Peru range from emerald blue glacier lakes situated high in the snowy Andes, to fertile agricultural plots quilted across the hillsides of Peru's countless valleys, to endless expanses of dry deserts running parallel along the coast—not to the mention the dense tropical rainforest that composes over 50 percent of Peru's landmass. Chavín de Huantar—the name used for both the archaeological site and the town—is situated in the high altitude of the Peruvian Andes, two mountain ranges east of the Pacific coast and three mountain ranges west of the Amazon jungle. Reaching Chavín, departing from Lima, requires a logistically difficult 10- to- 12-hour car ride that winds through a series of unimaginably narrow and sharp

switch backs. It is also quite scenic drive because of the different micro-climates that you pass through.

The Cordillera Negras and the Cordillera Blancas are the two mountain chains that comprise the Andes. The Negras—the "blacks"—is the first range encountered, which consists of dry and dusty black rock. Often times, fields of harvested chile (ají in Peru) and corn that stretch on for miles are laid out to dry at the base of the Negras (Figure 7). The Blancas—the "whites"—consist of the snow-capped peaks that feed the Amazon river. Chavín lies on the other side of these two mountain chains (Figure 8).

Chavín is nestled in the valley of the Conchucos— "the people with hats." The town layout is rather long and narrow, molding to the hillsides that hug the valley. Tiers of agricultural plots of land called "chacras" crawl up these steep hill sides looming above Chavín. It is a wonder as to how these fields, located so high up and without any roads to access them, are maintained (Figure 9). Manual labor and the labor of donkeys are needed to cultivate and to harvest the crops, which include corn, quinoa, potatoes, sweet potatoes, and beans— staples of the Chavín diet.

A most prominent detail I experienced upon arrival in Chavín was the political propaganda. My field work in Chavín occurred a few months before the elections, and thus, almost every single free space of wall displayed images of political candidates, slogans, and symbols (Figures 10 & 11). The town itself embodies a traditional Spanish colonial layout. The center of town includes a main plaza lined with the town hall building, the Catholic cathedral, a few quiet and unassuming hotels, and shops that sell basic commodities (Figure 12). The cobblestone streets are narrow and bustle with local Chavínos, often times hauling produce and

Figure 7. Corn set out to dry in the Cordillera Negras, route to Chavín, 2018.

Figure 8. The Altiplano-- Peruvian highland grasslands located in between the Cordillera Negras and Cordillera Blancas, Route to Chavín, 2018.

Figure 9. Varieties of agricultural plots (chacras) inundating Chavín's hillsides, 2018.

firewood on their backs or on the backs of donkeys. Local Chavíno women occupy street corners where they dry out corn, weave textiles, or sell street food.

Historical Background: Site, Town, and Population

Sometime during the late Initial Period, around 900 BC, a highly exotic art style and religion began to appear in the north-central Andes of Peru (Malpass, 2016). Chavín was the name ascribed to this art style, which included themes of anthropomorphic demons, jaguars, and other beasts—unlike any other style in the surrounding area. Chavín de Huantar, a 3,000-year-old monumental temple, represents the center of Chavín religion. The temple is dominated by a monumental complex of several buildings. Both Chavín's unique art style, religious beliefs, and monumental structures continue to fascinate and draw visitors, archeological investigation, and is presently a UNESCO archaeological site

Figure 10. Chavin's politically propagated buildings, 2018.

Figure 11. Children doing homework on the curbsides-- More political propaganda, Chavín, 2018.

Chavín is additionally the name of the town adjacent to the site, with a population of approximately 9,000, which a majority are of indigenous and mestizo ethnicities. Spanish and Quechua are the spoken languages (Brinkhoff, 2017). Chavín's economy consists of agriculture, mining, herding, textile production, and tourism generated from the archaeological site and the Chavín National Museum, which is situated right next to the Chavín's research center. Chavín's essence as a town, relies heavily upon ebb and flow of people visiting the archaeological site.

Chavín de Huantar as an archaeological site became UNESCO- inscribed in 1985. According to national regulation, the management and protection of the site is the responsibility of the Ministry of Culture on behalf of the Peruvian Government. The Ministry of Culture has developed a management plan authorizing the necessary items to meet basic needs and to develop permanent projects required for protecting, preserving and restoring the site under the framework of institutional operation

schemes (UNESCO, 2019). In addition, research and preservation activities are supported by private institutions such as Stanford University under the supervision of archaeologist John Rick. Although the Chavín archaeological site, which is operated by the Ministry of Culture, employs a few ticket salespeople and a few guards to patrol the grounds, UNESCO governance states that the site has insufficient resources to do anything more, such as carrying out preservation projects or furthering excavations (UNESCO, 2019). Thus, Rick's excavation relies on independent funding, which he obtains from Stanford University and local mining companies.

Figure 12. Town Plaza, Chavín, 2018.

Figure 13. Entrance to Chavín's archaeological site, 2018.

The local mining companies are incentivized to help fund UNESCO site excavations, such as Chavín, by the Peruvian government. The government exempts the mining companies from taxes; instead of paying taxes, the mining companies contribute to Peruvian national patrimony and to programs generating tourism. The archaeological excavation, thus, becomes pivotal in drawing tourists and maintaining the tourist industry since it compensates UNESCO and The Ministry of Culture's lack of funding to preserve and to gain further knowledge about Chavín heritage. Chavín's archaeological site puts the town on the map and generates work opportunities in textile production sold near and on the site, at hotels, restaurants and at small shops, and in labor on the site itself.

Chavín's fixed and a shifting population is usually determined by its cyclical wet and dry weather patterns. Many tourists go to Chavín during the dry winter months between June and September, while the archaeological site excavations are underway. From October to May, the wet season resumes, tourists are fewer, and the archaeological excavation transitions from on-site excavation to indoor lab work. The strata comprising Chavín's social milieu includes a multitude of actors that embody specific niches within Chavín community. These actors include the local population, which are of both of indigenous and mestizo ethnicity, the Peruvian government, the mining industries, the Ministry of Culture, the archaeological site employees, transient Peruvian and international archaeologists, transient students, such as myself, researchers from private

international institutions who are a part of Rick's excavation team, tourists, and transient surrounding community members who find work at the site and in other industries in town.

Power Structures

Chavín's social milieu shape Chavín heritage, and each member adopts different understandings regarding what Chavín heritage is and what it means—affectively and bureaucratically. Rick states that the "local bureaucrats, the Ministry of Culture, and researchers working in Chavín acknowledge that they and the general population have very different internal dynamics, alliances, and vision for Chavin's future" and of its heritage (Rick, 2019). A "kaleidoscope of ideas and interests" are at play and the particular voices, demands, and requests that are considered reflect a social hierarchy (Escallón, 2018). For example, there exists a potent class structure in town, which produces a social hierarchy. Chavín's social strata include an indigenous population and a mestizo (mixed indigenous and Spanish descent) population. The mestizo population regard themselves to be higher in status and dominant in power (Allen, 2002). This hierarchal structure manifests during the Patron Saint Celebrations, which occur as a week-long and non-stop fiesta every summer. The processions of the Virgin Mary—since Chavín contains a Spanish colonial history, and thus is influenced by the Catholic church—express the dominance of social classes. The actors actively involved in the procession—the families toting the Virgin Mary statue—are Chavín's mestizo families. These families are the ones who typically run the hotels and the restaurants and send their children off to receive a university education. During these processions, I observed that the indigenous population—the common people and the laborers that I work with on the site—stand off on the sides, not playing any role in the procession other than an observational one. Rick notes that these particular processions are subversively enacted by the upper-class mestizo families for their own community enforcement (Rick, 2019). These processions are a way to express and maintain class dominance.

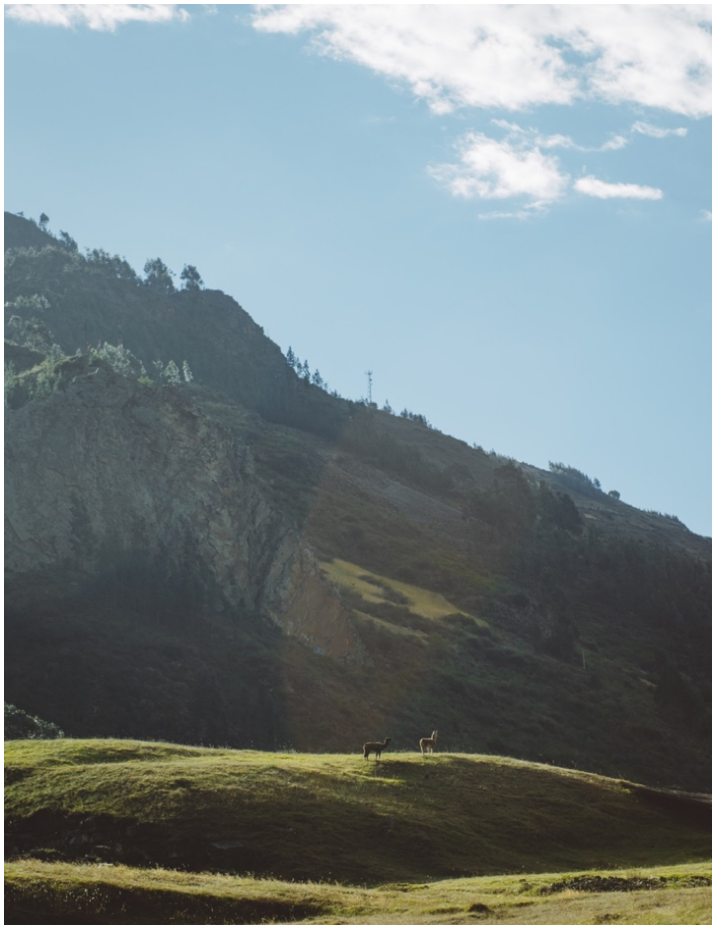

Figure 14. On Chavín's archaeological site, 2018.

Social status also textures the archeological site. For example, because the site is controlled by the Ministry of Culture whose members are appointed by national and UNESCO decree, Chavín's local town members do not administer the

site and thus, they are powerless in attesting their interests, ideas, or other forms of participation in matters regarding the site. For example, the dancers at the inauguration of the Research Center were present at the invitation of the Ministry. The Ministry of Culture and other bureaucratic actors who manage Chavín's heritage justify their power over the local population and solidify a social hierarchy by claiming that the site and the trickling effects that it generates onto Chavín (the town) are part of national, and even world, heritage. Rick claims that bureaucratic actors suggest that no matter what action is taken, the local community ought to be proud since Chavín has been deemed by UNESCO to have universal value (Rick, 2019). However, this paper explores how the local Chavínos measure and find value through different standards—through the affective modes of heritage. How the local Chavínos participate and contribute to their heritage exists beyond the bureaucratic modes and understandings of heritage. It must.

Tourism Development: Non- Bureaucratic & Anti- Affective Modes of Heritage

Chavín's archaeological site fuels tourism, and tourism helps the local economy. However, Chavín does not depend on tourism for its survival as a town since other industries exist. Other studies have shown that tourism alters communities' ability to preserve and construct their own heritage. In this sense, tourism and heritage become intertwined. In Chavín, tourism and heritage exist side by side since there is no significant dependency of one upon the other. During my interview with Rick on the topic on the effects, Rick elucidated that "tourism, although it should have a greater role, does not necessarily have a major impact in Chavín" (Rick, 2019). Even some of Chavín's community members do not attribute tourism to heritage identification nor formation, since some accredit heritage to blood descent (Rick, 2019). Chavin's tourist industry may influence how its heritage will develop, but since tourism is not critical to Chavín's formation nor sustainability of its heritage, I will not discuss those potential implications. I will, however, discuss why tourism and the enterprises involved with it are implicated neither in the categories of the bureaucratic nor in the affective modes of heritage.

Non-Bureaucratic

Tourist-affiliated occupations such as owning a hotel, selling souvenirs, guiding tours, or having a seasonal restaurant, do not comprise bureaucratic modes of heritage. Assigning such occupations or involvement to bureaucratic modes of heritage appears unseemly because any individual has the capability to participate. However, tourism does include a managerial component that arguably impacts Chavín heritage, but unlike the social sphere heading the inauguration of Chavín's research center, the actors involved do not need to have political nor bureaucratic standing. In other words, tourism provides varying industries that cater inclusively to all general townsmembers to participate. However, the management of tourism at the archaeological site belongs to those individuals that hold bureaucratic and political power such as the Ministry of Culture, UNESCO, and credentialed institutions and its affiliates. The *involvement* with tourism as it manifests and operates in the town includes all actors alike, while the *management* of tourism at the archaeological site includes only those with powerful social influence—which excludes the majority of Chavín's population. In this sense, tourism at Chavín's local level does not represent nor contribute to the conception of a bureaucratic notion of heritage.

Anti- Affective

Tourist- affiliated occupations neither comprise nor foster affective modes of heritage. In fact, I argue that tourism causes anti-affective modes of heritage. I define "anti-affective modes" as actions that promote disengaged community behavior, or actions that reflect self-profit-maximizing behavior. In some places, tourism produces benefits of economic growth and the distribution of the benefits of that growth; however, while economic changes are commonly imputed to be positive, the sociocultural ones tend to be negative (Escobar, 1995). In Chavín, I observed that tourism produced anti-affective modes of heritage in that it fostered industries and mindsets concerned with individual pursuits of wealth. An example Rick presents from his experiences with Chavín's archaeological site follows:

> If [one] really valued this resource [the site] and wanted to share the love and understanding of it, then that would be a different then wouldn't it? It's not just, "how much to I have to tell you to earn my 40 soles for this tour?" It should be, "welcome to Chavín, and we're going to tell you why this is so important and why we're proud to be descended from it (2019).

This example demonstrates how certain aspects of tourism are manipulated for short term economic gain rather than for cultivating a sense of community solidarity and value in Chavín's heritage. As mentioned by UNESCO, communities desire UNESCO inscription to reap prestige and tourist dollars, rather than doing the necessary conservation and preservation work for sites already on the World Heritage list (UNESCO, 1994). My observation of how involvement with Chavín's site solely for the purpose of income is not a critique because it supports local livelihoods and demonstrates the ever-shifting nature of a town's development. Instead, this observation remarks that the objective of local actors involved with tourism stemming from the archaeological site has little to do with the construction or preservation of the site's heritage.

Furthermore, tourist development encourages individual entrepreneurship that produces little return to Chavín as a town and as a site collectively. For example, Rick asserts that "the idea of using capital – true capitalism—is not just selling for a profit. It's doing the things that allow you to sell for a profit relatively indefinitely. And it's that relatively indefinitely that's missing. (Rick, 2019). In Chavín, the accommodations for tourists do not follow any organized or cohesive system that cultivates the heritage of either town or site. The local townspeople treat tourism as a means for short term economic gain. Rick continues, "Tourism operates in such a way that the actors involved do not have to invest in it—they just have to harvest because just having the site present is enough. The site brings people in" (Rick, 2019). In short, instead of embracing feelings of community solidarity and bringing attention to the importance of the site, some community members utilize tourism for independent and economic-driven purposes.

Heritage Beyond Tourism

Tourism engages local Chavín community members with the archaeological site; however, I have argued that tourism contributes neither to the bureaucratic modes of heritage production nor the affective modes. Indeed, tourism produces anti- affective sentiments in terms of investing, preserving, and valuing Chavín as a town and as a site, since many community members utilize tourism for independent and economic-driven purposes. In regard to care and perseveration of a

site, UNESCO principles state that the long-term conservation of properties inscribed on the World Heritage list will never be guaranteed unless human heritage is first and foremost the concern of those who live alongside it (UNESCO, 1994).

Therefore, how might the cultivation of a collective and appreciated human heritage in Chavín be realized? If tourism produces anti-affective modes of heritage, tourism cannot be the idiom of community solidarity and sustainable heritage. By sustainable, Lafrenz Samuels means providing social inclusion and cultural expression and the promotion of human capabilities through a strong sense of identity and belonging (Lafrenz Samuel 2018). Thus, the production of affective modes of heritages becomes more important than both tourism and the bureaucratic sense of heritage, although all play a role in the construction and preservation of Chavín heritage. Without the affective sentiments generated from Chavín heritage primarily, its heritage will not sustain.

Heritage is produced through attitudes, actions, and a sense of community. Increasingly, heritage is produced through community participation, which is presented through affective ways of making heritage appeal to host communities (Mapunda & Lane, 2004). Again, affective heritage addresses the realm of affective and embodied engagements, that is, how heritage components are experienced and felt, and how these experiences and feelings affect modes of address that are strongly intersected with the valuing of a heritage (Waterton & Watson 2015). At the core of the production of community participation and belonging is the awareness and care of affective modes of heritage. To cultivate this awareness and care is to realize the aspects of the present and the past which are believed to be worthy of remembrance (Reeves, 2008). This paper now turns to the three phenomena produced at the archaeological site, as I observed during my field work at Chavín, that produce affective modes of heritage and generate an idiom of community solidarity.

Affective Phenomena of Heritage Production: Education, Labor, & Ritual

Education

Education produces affective modes of heritage that generate community solidarity through the mobilization of social change and community engagement (Lafrenz Samuels & Shackel, 2018). What I refer to as education is not the sense of general academic schooling available to the children of Chavín and its surrounding communities, but rather it is the educational outreach informing both the local children and adults about Chavín's archaeological site. The archaeological site itself is not in the curriculum as central to education about heritage or archaeology. However, during the fieldwork season in Chavín, one Stanford student organized a school event with the education administrator of Ancash—the region that Chavín and other small Andean communities are a part of. This event occurred in Challhuayaco, a small town 20 minutes south of Chavín, which involves an extremely inclined drive up the agriculturally plotted mountains. The geographical trek required to arrive to this school, precariously situated almost vertically into the mountain side, is a difficult and time-consuming one. Thus, to plan any event at this school is rare because it demands much coordination and time.

However, for one day, 3 entire schools from other surrounding communities were all present at Challhuayaco's school for a science fair at which Stanford students, researchers, and John Rick operated stations offering educational components about archaeological methods, including the demonstration of robots and total stations, the importance of archaeology and the

social sciences, and an introduction of bone analysis. These educational components all were in relation to the Chavín's archaeological site. My role during the science fair was to document the event and each of the stations with my camera, which offered me opportunities to observe what sorts of ideas that the Stanford researchers and archaeologists were presenting and the ways in which the community members—school children and their parents alike—absorbed and engaged with that information.

The Challhuayaco school event represented a point of interaction between the local community members—school children and their families—and the archaeological site. This educational outreach event created community engagement, which has been described as involving a mutual dialogue and cooperation among the many different stakeholders at heritage places and the sharing of the results from such cooperation (Chirikure & Eds., 2008). I observed that this production of immediate community engagement proceeded to be realized as affective modes of Chavín's site and heritage.

Figure 15. Chavín Archaeologist demonstrating total station, Challhuayaco, 2018.

Figure 16. School children from Ancash communities observing total station, Challhuayaco, 2018.

Specifically, community engagement surfaced during the robot and total station demonstrations through the occurrence of a mutual dialogue between the researchers and the local students and community members. A total station is a surveying instrument that uses electronic transit theodolites in conjunction with a distance meter to read any slope distance from the instrument to any particular spot. In keeping search for concrete expressions of affective production I used my camera to capture the engagements between the Peruvian archaeologists and the school children and community members. I observed how the demonstration of the total station drew together a large group of community members. Many school children and teachers listened intently, some actively participated, many asked questions, and others snapped photographs with their phones, recorded videos, or scribbled notes (Figure 15 & 16). It was a scene of active, intense, and communal engagement. I observed the same level of engagement at the robotics station. This moment of engagement embodied "affect." You

can see the postures of the many young school children as they actively crouch and peer at the robots— an engagement with curiosity in knowing about these archaeological tools that contribute to preserving and constructing Chavín's heritage as a town and site (Figure 17 & 18). Additionally, the bone analysis demonstration generated questions about the certain types of animal bones found at the site, such as camelid species. These questions are significant because the camelid species include llamas and alpacas, which represented and continues to represent a vital role in many elements of Chavín heritage and livelihood. The main point is that the dialogue, which I noticed flowing between these different social actors, simultaneously transferred knowledge from the tangible educational demonstrations to the importance of Chavín's site and its heritage (Figure 19). These dialogues and engagements demonstrated an affective production of heritage by stimulating an interest and care of Chavín's heritage and practices that compose and comprise the archeological site.

The effects of Challhuayaco's educational event yielded a mutual dialogue and engagement among archaeologists, researchers, school children, and community members. Community engagement through educational outreach is significant in the production of affective modes of heritage because it instills an interest in learning about and caring for Chavin's site and heritage collectively and at an early age. For example, Rick noted that the particular summer fieldwork of 2018 was the most interactive summer between the archaeological site actors and the local education system. He vocalized the importance of cultivating an interest and care amongst the children and community members regarding the site and its heritage through education. He observed how the

Figure 17. Stanford engineers discussing robot's as an archaeological tool to Ancash community members and children, Challhuayaco, 2018.

Figure 18. Young Ancash children engaging with robots, Challhuayaco, 2018.

Figure 19. Stanford PhD student presenting on bone analysis, Challhuayaco, 2018.

local community members' involvement with the site should be approached with affective sentiments to realize the importance of Chavin's archeological site as place of rich Chavín heritage to care for and not just as a place to extract money from. He stated:

> The approach should be "welcome to Chavín, and we're going to tell you why this is so important and why we're proud to be descended from it." Not, "you're going to pay your admission to us, not to the ministry of culture." That's what's important here. Education does this. You got to start young (2019).

Archaeological education produces affective modes of heritage in a sense that it enables school children and community members to know about, to understand, to work on the archaeological site, and to grapple with components of Chavín heritage early on, which helps to prevent engaging with Chavín's site mainly as a place for economic production. However, what I observed is that these forms of engagement do not have to solely be through the archaeologists' eyes, but through any sort engagement that demonstrates how children and community members can have community roles that allow them to produce their own interpretation of Chavín's site and heritage. The engagement with Chavín's heritage is significant because mobilize social change (Lafrenz Samuels & Shackel, 2018).

For example, advocates of educational outreach understand it as a mode of engagement with radical potential to foster democracy, level power imbalances, expand civic consciousness and increase transparency, accountability and efficiency (Baiocchi, 2005; Scoones, 2009). Engaging with Chavin's heritage is not limited to bureaucratic positions or understandings. At the Challhuayaco school event, Ricks role was to give a speech to the school children in which he iterated that school children and the surrounding community members all have roles in the cultivation and participation of Chavin's site and heritage. First and foremost, Rick emphasized that all the stakeholders—researchers, archaeologists, students, community members, tourists, all have the abilities to engage and to think about Chavín as site and heritage (Rick, 2019). I observed that the affective mode of heritage regarding the site was not to demonstrate the progress and research flowing from the site itself, but rather in the education and the cultivation of community engagement that the archaeological site produces. Educational outreach concretely

Figure 20. Young student sitting in on Rick's lecture, Challhuayaco, 2018.

Figure 21. John Rick discussing archaeological importance to community and heritage to Ancash school children, Challhuayaco, 2018.

and affectively demonstrates that children and community members alike can participate in and contribute to Chavin's site and its heritage. These educational components breed affective feelings such as "purpose" and "belonging." To know that one can comprise and compose—to have a "purpose" within a particular communal heritage —instills a sense of importance and care for that heritage.

Educational outreach with the wider public about the rich and varied heritage of the region encourages engagement in behaviors that respect local heritages and promotes sustainability (Labadi & Gould, 2015). To cultivate the care and to demonstrate the roles that Chavín community members can have in such a way, Rick claims is "paramount to the probably of the survival of Chavín's site" (Rick, 2019). In this way, the Challhuayaco event promotes affective modes of heritage and such sustainability. I argue that educational outreach generates communal engagements and dialogues with Chavín's heritage. The engagement of children and community members with the participation and production of their own heritage mobilizes social change by stimulating a collective knowledge, and a sense of purpose and belonging—all which affectively consolidate the community and generate care for Chavín's heritage presently and continuously. I observe the rarity and difficulty in the organization of the Challhuayaco event, but since it demonstrated to be such a high excellence way to engage community in the production of heritage, I wonder what it would take to schedule these educational events more regularly.

Labor

The inclusion of local Chavín residents in the labor force at Chavín's archaeological site enables the production of affective modes of heritage, as local purposes are joined with external academic and political purposes related to the site. Moreover, these work modes foster sustainability.

Community engagement as demonstrated in education outreach represents one component in the production of affective modes of heritage and community solidarity. However, community participation is not just about engagement, it is about giving power to the local communities in all aspects of heritage, including research and management (Damm, 2005; Phillips, 2008). The participation of local community members as site workers yields a sense of empowerment in the labor that the workers do on site and also offers the integration of workers from different racial and economic backgrounds and classes that makeup Chavín's social fabric (Figure 22).

Figure 22. Various site workers. Left to right: visiting university Peruvian archaeologist, Chavín community member, and an older worker who walks five hours from a surrounding community each week.

The first component of labor, which, I argue, yields a sense of empowerment is produced by the value the site workers find in their labor. For example, when I first began fieldwork, I imagined that the archaeological site primarily offered jobs and income for the local community members—a means to an end. I questioned if the local community members (not credentialed archaeologists from universities) were invested in the site's excavation and research goals or even in the value of the archaeological site to Chavín heritage. What I experienced was a response of enthusiasm from the workers as they demonstrated what sorts of labor they were absorbed in and how their labor was contributing to a larger system of labor at the archaeological site as a whole. For example, local community members exhibited extremely fine technical skills in knot tying in order to heave rocks from below the ground (Figure 23). These rope techniques are a learned-local knowledge that use the same knot processes for tying up pigs to roast (Figure 24). Local community members also devised pulley systems to transport these rocks, and they demonstrated methods in how to distinguish pottery from rocks—to name but a few examples of reliance on technical skill and locally driven invention. I perceived a purpose to their labor and this purpose was realized and adopted by the other workers, archeologists, and researchers, alike. "Affect" manifested through sentiment of "pride." The workers devising these techniques were proud to know of their contribution and to have it recognized and incorporated. Pride manifested in labor also led to a sense of purpose. Each role of labor represented a purposeful component, which enabled the site to function as a collective whole. I shared that feeling of purpose as I worked alongside the various site workers too. The collective labor and the diverse roles of labor of the various actors on site

Figure 23. Chavín community member displaying knot technique, Chavín 2018.

Figure 24. Chavín knot pulley system-- same technique used for pig roasts, Chavín 2018.

produced affective modes of heritage engagement by instilling a collective value in the various labors themselves, as well as collective purpose of being involved with the site.

I claim that labor fosters collective purposed rooted in "affect." Rick furthers this claim by noting that the underlying component of that value and purpose is the fact that the archaeological site labor promotes integration between various social backgrounds and classes that creates community solidarity (Rick, 2019). In other words, labor on site produces a heterogenous community that cuts across the rigid social fabric composing Chavín's population. This is important because this integration advocates a mode of engagement that has a radical potential to foster democracy, level power imbalances, and expand civic consciousness (Baiocchi, 2005). Rick notes that the labor on the archaeological site unites a variety of social members in ways that challenge Chavín's rigid socialites. For example, Chavín consists of various political parties, powerful mestizo families, bureaucratic entities, visiting archaeologists, university researchers. Rick claims that "many of the interlinks that form, whether consciously or not, between these various social actors are rarely uniform nor unilateral" (Rick, 2019). The discourse flows vertically rather than horizontally.

Figure 25. Nemecio and I. Hours of sifting buckets of dirt together were spent at this wheelbarrow, Chavín 2018.

Figure 26. Señor Floriano and I on site, Chavín, 2018.

Even amongst local workers from differing surrounding communities, commonalities can be difficult to find. For example, many days I worked alongside a Chavín community member, Nemecio, who lived a short distance walk from the site, replicated keys as a part-time business, and performed small electronic repairs from his shop that doubled as his living room (Figure 25). Nemecio had greater economic stability and spoke very good Spanish, in comparison to many other site workers, such as Señor Floriano, who walked a few hours every morning to arrive at the site and who mainly spoke Quechua (Figure 26). However, during the entire field season, they worked together seamlessly and bantered and joked daily. To Rick's point, when various workers from different backgrounds come together to labor on the site, they seemingly get along very well. Working on the archaeological site creates an out of context situation separate from Chavín's cross- cutting and rigid social structures (Rick, 2019). Site labor enables various workers to

discover, or according to Rick, *re-discover* the heritage that community members have in common (Rick, 2019). Site labor produces affective modes of heritage not only by cultivating a sense of belonging to a community, but also by forming a new community, which in turn, forms the glue that holds the site's workers together. My field work experiences integrated me into this community on the site and brought me into dialogue-- where dialogue and community integration normally would not exist-- with a wide array of people composing Chavín's population. In this sense, affective modes of heritage experienced through site labor produced an idiom of community solidarity, even if only on the site (Figure 27).

Figure 27. Gallery 4 workers integrating various social actors including local community members, visiting Peruvian university archaeologists, a high school student from the Challhuayaco school event, a Stanford peer, and myself, Chavín, 2018.

As observed by other heritage studies, by reducing frictions and eliminating differences among its various actors, site labor provides an effective way of making heritage and its management appeal to communities (Mapunda & Lane, 2004). At Chavín, collective site labor yielded results in the discovery of objects that Chavín's site workers found meaningful. For example, on the very last day of the field work season, the gallery that my team—two other Stanford students, two local Chavín community members, and two Peruvian university archaeologists—and I discovered a fully intact decorated pututu. The important symbolism of pututus is specific not only in Chavín (in 2001 Rick had unearthed 22 fully intact Chavín pututus in the gallery next to ours), but in the entirety of Peru because its ancient civilizations used them to announce the arrival of authority figures. The use of pututus are commonly carved into stone tablets and walls, throughout Chavín's site. They are important. My gallery's discovery of the pututu during the 2018 field work season was the first intact pututu since found since Rick's discovery in 2001. The entire community of Chavín's site workers arrived to the gallery to watch the removal of the pututu:

> We all anxiously peered over the side of the gallery waiting for Rick to remove it. He worked excruciatingly slow—sure to use his upmost caution. I had my camera out trying to snap this process from all different angles while maneuvering around the audience. Rick finally removed the pututu and cradled it in his arms like a newborn baby. He turned in a slow circle so that everyone could have a look. He said, "it's got the 90-degree angle cut in its side and it's decorated… no doubt this is Chavín." Someone told him to play it. John looked down at shell, used his shirt to wipe off all the dirt on the mouth opening, took a deep breath, and then he blew. The sound resonated throughout the entire site… it

> was a deep and full sound that sounded so whole and pure… I wasn't sure if it was due to the quality of the Chavín conch shell or to the expertise of John's blowing skill… probably a combination of both (Romano Journal, 2018).

After that initial moment of discovery, I observed that every single worker, researcher, archaeologist, and student, desired to have a picture with the pututu. The pututu represented an object of massive importance. There was an affective sentiment tied to this particular object in which its discovery fortified and created pride in Chavín's heritage. Rick's cradling of the pututu was an affective display of emotion, perhaps appropriate for a person so deeply invested in Chavín (Figure 28 & 29). This cradling of emotion was infectious, calling forth emotions, or "affect," from others. The "affect" was contagious, as all the site workers wanted to take photographs cradling the pututu (Figure 30).

In his research on the value of collectively discovering objects in a particular heritage, Martin Hall claims that objects are how people relate to one's history (Hall, 2001). Thus, the discovery and collection of a pututu is much more than a stimulating activity that yields an artifact to be placed in a museum; collectively discovering the pututu serves as a metaphor constructing Chavín's heritage, and the fact of finding a perfectly intact pututu expresses the endurance and embeddedness of Chavín's heritage which all actors at that moment were a part of (Hall, 2001).

The pututu itself was important because that moment of discovery was

Figure 28. Discovery of the pututu on the final day of the excavation, Chavín, 2018.

Figure 29. Rick blowing into the pututu moments after its discovery, Chavín, 2018.

Figure 30. Chavín community members, Rick, and Rick's wife inside gallery 4, Chavín, 2018.

a direct link to Chavín's ancient heritage; however, "the object is only as important as it was to the people—the Chavín workers. It is a thrill" (Rick, 2019). I observed that the moment of discovery was empowering to the workers on the site. In a literal sense, the shared actions of labor constituted Chavín's heritage. Labor created a moment of collective belonging, which produced affective sentiments towards Chavín's heritage through the discovery of the pututu. That moment of discovery was a derivative of every single layer unearthed, every single bucket of dirt sifted, every single worker's labor contributions—everyone was a part of that moment. Each small act of labor had a stake in the pututu as a collective property. Hall claims that the concept of property indicates value—the ownership of a resource. Some forms of property may be inalienable, such as the pututu (Hall, 2001). Finding this pututu and the pututu itself was a common asset of the site's community. The engagement and integration of all actors generated by site labor produced these feelings of value, purpose, and community of Chavín's heritage.

As the pututu example shows, labor at Chavin's archaeological site generated a collaboration. Collaboration means working across difference, which leads to disrupting Chavin's class structured social fabric, or in this case interaction between social classes. Without this collaboration and Chavin's heritage would be very much weakened because a collective survival of the site is strengthened when more people who affectively value the heritage are involved. Labor is pivotal in sustaining the site but also cross cutting across different social actors and melding a community into one. Site labor instilled a sense of purpose in work and a purpose of labor on the site and created community solidarity. If Chavín heritage must sustain and persist, it must include a collaboration amongst the actors that impart and produce affective modes of its heritage as demonstrated through site labor.

Rituals (Pagapos)

Ritual at Chavín's archaeological site produces affective modes of heritage that create an idiom of community solidarity. Ritual provides a platform for inclusion that enables Chavín community members and site workers to express themselves. If education fosters community engagement, and labor fosters community participation and integration, ritual pushes community solidarity even further by enabling expression. Rituals generate a social economy at Chavín's archeological site by granting its site workers, including myself, inclusive expression. To be able to express and to be respectfully recognized, as the ritual's participants demonstrate, for our contributions on the site instills affective modes of appreciation and commitment to Chavín's site and heritage.

The specific ritual I refer to in Chavín, which is understood across Andean community, is called a "pagapo." The pagapo is the Andean ritual of payment to the ground—or to Mother Earth, also known as "Pachamama." Historically, pagapos are a part of Andean heritage in a tangible sense, because they are performed as a practice. There is no formal way in which pagapos are performed, but traditionally pagapos have been implemented in agricultural communities in recognition of the debt to Pachamama. In Chavín, elements of the pagapo manifested in subtle and inexplicit ways. For example, during the annual patron festivals that occurred during my Chavín field work season, the Peruvians shared alcoholic drinks while standing in a circular formation. Everyone carried a plastic cup and there was one large central bottle that was passed around to refill the cups. However, before each refill, I noticed that the Peruvians left a little bit of liquid at the bottom of the cup and emptied it out on the ground, stating that "it is an offering to Pachamama." Similarly, during Pachamancas, which are meat and vegetable bakes in underground ovens, the Peruvians take the potatoes and consciously

throw little pieces of them back to earth. Essentially, pagapos, or small earth offerings, are "ways to show respect and reinforce good behaviors" (Rick, 2019).

Pagapos compose Andean heritage in a tangible sense by representing a practice, but they also produce affective sentiments towards Chavín's heritage because they allow Chavín's site workers a means of expression. Rick has stated that prior to his field work in Chavín over 25 years ago, pagapos were not performed. No archaeologists were incorporating these rituals in site excavations (Rick, 2019). However, Rick began performing pagapos at Chavín's archaeological site because once the excavation began to yield artifacts and material remains, he started to feel like there was a sense of debt. Pagapos in Chavín quickly came to represent more than an offering of thanks to the earth. More importantly, the pagapos cultivate a collective sentiment of community, which at best, involves the mutual dialogue and cooperation amongst all members at a heritage site and the circulation of that sentiment (Chirikure, 2008) I call this circulation of dialogues an expression of social economy the reinforces sentiments of community solidarity.

I noticed these expressions while participating in a pagapo that kick- started the beginning of the field work season. The pagapo began with every single work site member—the visiting Peruvian archaeologists, the local community workers, the Stanford research students—all standing in a large circle. The 3 materials needed for this pagapo included the coca leaves, hand rolled cigarettes, and brown hard liquor (Figures 31 & 32). Rick initiated the pagapo by thanking Pachamama and the "apu" (spirit) of the mountains for giving everyone this opportunity to learn more about the past of the ancestors of Chavín and the Andes, and additionally, for bringing everyone together. I watched as Rick and two local Chavín community members stood in the center of the circle and puffed the cigarette smoke in all four directions of the compass and took swigs from the liquor bottle and spewed liquor on the ground in all four directions too (Figures 33, 34, 35, & 36). I noticed that bags of coca leaves and rolled cigarettes were being passed around in the circle to share. Each person took handfuls of coca from the bag and a drag from a cigarette before passing them along to the next (Figures 37 & 38). While this was happening, we all stated our names and who we were in relation to the site. After introductions, anyone was encouraged to say words of gratitude and offerings. For the pagapo's closure, Rick made his final remarks, and many of the archaeologists and local community members, when introducing themselves, said "I am thankful to be a part of el doctor's (Rick's) project." Rick quickly corrected them stating how Chavín's excavation was not his project at all, but rather it was everyone's project.

Figure 31 (top) & 32 (bottom). Elements of a pagapo: coca leaves and rolled tobacco, Chavín, 2018.

Figure 33, 34, 35, & 36 (clockwise starting from upper left). Local and surrounding community members in the middle of pagapo circle offering coca, tobacco, and liquor, Chavín 2018.

Figure 37 (left) & 38 (right). Sharing and passing around the coca leaves, Chavín, 2018.

Figure 39. A Stanford student expressing gratitude during pagapo, Chavín, 2018.

As a student present at this pagapo, I found it interesting that Rick quickly deflected his role of authority as being the excavation director. However, by establishing the pagapo as a moment of expression available to all, Rick enabled a mutual dialogue between himself and the other site members, as well as the site members to each other (Figure 39). Michel Callon, professor of sociology at École des Mines de Paris, notes that there is no discourse without a speaker and an audience, and no communication without well-formulated sentences and well-articulated concepts (Callon, 2006). However, upon further analysis, even with a speaker and a receiver, discourse does not always entail mutual communication or opportunities for expression, because communication can be one-way. As Foucault puts it: dominant groups impose their ideas on those subordinate to them to continue that subordination. Essentially, discourses are often seen as means of social control (Foucault, 1978). Discourses are also relatively coherent bodies of knowledge, which are intimately related to relatively formalized practices and strategies of particular social actors and groups (Longhurst, 1991). This statement insinuates that discourse is performative, that is, it is actively engaged in the constitution of the reality that it describes. In the context of the pagapo performed at the archeological site, Rick ensured that the pagapo encapsulated a particular discourse —a reality of engagements, participation, and expression—between all site actors. This notion of the pagapo's performativity and expression underpin the importance of it producing affective modes of heritage by generating a performative discourse available to *all* site actors. In this sense, the pagapo, devoid of any sentiments of subordination, inspired affective modes of democratic sentiments at Chavín.

The pagapo's social economy of expression and dialogue can be reinterpreted as the democratization of heritage construction and management (Human, 2015). Essentially, giving voice to all site workers in a communal space allows each actor an opportunity to participate and to be acknowledged for that participation. Pagapos offer a sense that each member on site matters. For example, when I asked Rick about the significance of performing rituals on site, such as the pagapo, he responded:

> I do it for a series of historical reasons but why do I really do it? It's about community. It's about us and who we are to each other. As you can probably detect, I feel very strongly about the workers. They are wonderful people and it's such a pleasure for me to introduce a new set of students every year, and through this ritual ceremony make it very clear to the students, and to the workers to, that I want the students to understand that these are laborer folks. These are not uneducated laborers. We are working amongst people who are of extreme value to us because they are extremely talented, and they are wonderful human beings. I just want that message from the outset to be clear. So, it's really about community. The pagapos iterate, "we are a community, we have a common

> purpose." I always go over that and I always go over the fact that I've seen that that purpose every year emerges, and every year it's clearer and stronger. I want to kick start those feelings. Pagapos do that (Rick, 2019).

Rick's inclusion of pagapos in archaeological practice mirrors the rise of collaborative or participatory approaches to research and governance as phenomena that increasingly influence the World Heritage arena (Meskell, 2013; Strasser, 2002). The pagapo's ability to foster expressions, circulate discourse, implant democratic notions of participation, and integrate all site members produces affective sentiments towards Chavín's site and heritage in a unification of community solidarity. In this sense, the pagapo ritual presents a democratic foundation.

Laura Jones, initially an anthropologist, but now a PhD archaeologist and the director of Heritage Services at Stanford, notes the value of the circulation of mutual discourse made possible by democratic involvement of all members regarding a local community and archaeological site. The social interactions Jones continually encountered in the field as an anthropologist differ from the social relationships she experienced in archaeology. She describes the imbalanced social interactions she felt as an anthropologist when she was constantly questioning her informant's data and wondering if she was getting "good" or "enough" data. It brought Jones discomfort to feel as if she was taking social facts and observations from the community, then returning back to her solitude to analyze the data she had just acquired. She states that the process was "emotionally and intellectually hard and isolating" (Jones 2018). While involved with a community on an archaeological site, Jones felt the absence of this kind of power dynamic in relations when engaging with the community. As Rick claimed that Chavín's excavation was everyone's project, Jones stated the same regarding her field experiences. She states:

> In archaeology, the community created a really safe-space for me to not feel like I was still part of some colonial project. I was helping the community take care of their heritage. To me, I always found discomfort with this social hierarchy where I was just taking time to work on my own projects instead of contributing (Jones, 2018).

The collaboration and mutual discourse that Rick and Jones describe as central components in fostering affective modes of heritage and community solidarity may be classified as ethno-archaeology. "Ethno" is a combining form meaning "race," "people," or "culture," used in the formation of compound word. Thus, ethno-archaeology essentially means doing people and community centered archaeology: "It's the community's goals, it's the community's research interests" (Jones, 2018). In this aspect, I discovered that archeology in Jones experience and the pagapo rituals that I experienced, are socially oriented instances where many archaeologists and excavation members are significantly interested in human stories and social relationships. Furthermore, producing social wealth, rather than material riches, will lead archaeologists to develop deeper understandings of the local meanings of things, places, and landscapes (Herrera, 2014). For example, Ricks discusses how pagapos represented opportunities to recreate and create a community-based notion of heritage. He states, "the greatest thing is that local community members are finding a way to reach back and pull pieces together and recreate something that they think what their heritage should be" (Rick, 2019). The fact that community members and various other site workers could lay claim to their contribution to the pagapo and to

the discovery of objects such as the pututu represents the real "wealth." The materiality grounded in archaeology assists the social aspects in the production of affective modes of heritage.

Community involvement initiates a new regulation of cultural heritage and effectively legitimates innovative local practices of heritage conservation (Human, 2015). The ritual pagapos performed at Chavín enabled community members and other actors a part of the excavation to engage in some sort of participation, expression, and dialogue. These elements exhibited in ritual pagapos produced affective modes of heritage instrumental in creating an idiom of community solidarity by instilling within each site actor a democratic role in which each could express and be heard. Embodying these roles creates a respect for Chavín's site and a motivation to sustain its heritage.

Conclusion: Communal Heritage, Realizing Values, & Caring

My experience at Chavín began with archaeological research. However, throughout the fieldwork season, it evolved into the study of the anthropology of archaeology. A phenomenological approach to interacting with Chavín as an archaeological site and as a town enabled me to place myself among the various social entities in ways beyond excavation discourse, and the project became an exploration into the affective modes of heritage. Essentially, this project is an ethnography of archaeology realized in stages: from excavation practices and discourse, to the phenomenological nature of sensory and bodily experience, to understanding the influences that affective modes of heritage has on communities.

Chavín's archaeological site has proven a locus of production for affective modes of heritage. Affective modes of heritage activate a communal heritage. The site represents a collective territory perceived by all actors involved, not solely as something belonging to the community, but also as an asset where everyone has access to democratic rights and opportunities to be a part of and shape Chavín heritage. Affective modes of heritage are responsible for generating these sentiments of community solidarity presently, and they positively influence the sustainability of Chavín's heritage. This sustainability is again described as providing social inclusion and cultural expression and the promotion of human capabilities through a strong sense of identity and belonging (Lafrenz Samuel, 2018). The production of affective modes of heritage achieves this.

Moreover, affective behaviors lead to Chavín heritage sustainability by catalyzing care. I have argued that community solidarity is achieved through affective modes of heritage production. Without producing or engaging affective modes of heritage, the sentiment of community solidarity would not persist, let alone exist. Underlying the root of affective modes of heritage is care. The sustainability of heritage is, and must, stem from the sentiments of belonging, which in turn, cultivates care.

According to a philosopher on the ethics of caring, difficulty in caring arises when humans share only the justification for our acts and not what motives us (Noddings, 2013). In bureaucratic engagements with heritage, actors fail to share amongst each other the feelings, conflicts, the hopes, and ideas that influence choices that impact many but are decided upon by a few. The affective modes of the production of heritage reveal the sentiments shared by many social actors of Chavín and demonstrate the motivation for continuing its production. Engaging in the affective modes of heritage demonstrate why we care. Thus, the focus here is on the affective modes of the production of heritage that cultivates a form of care and community

solidarity. In Chavín, these affective modes were demonstrated at the archeological site through education outreach, labor, and ritual.

Additionally, even though we sometimes judge caring from the outside as third-persons, arguably the essential elements of caring are located in the relations between the ones caring and the thing cared for (Noddings, 2018). Laura Jones discusses these relations between the ones caring and the thing cared for, which, in ethnoarchaeology, means doing archaeology with and for the community. Archaeologists can make contributions of even greater importance based on their connections with local communities and their experience in navigating among other stakeholders. Not only do many archaeologists work alongside locals and live in local communities, they work at the pleasure of the locals (Magnoni, Eds., 2007). If we can realize the value in caring—caring between people, objects, and heritage— then sentiments around those values become stronger and instigate the protection and continuation of those values—those affective modes of heritage. Essentially, to care may mean to be charged with the protection or maintenance of someone or in this case—Chavín's heritage.

This paper focuses on how community solidarity arises less from economic improvement and tourism development and more from the phenomena of education, labor, and ritual which yield community engagement, participations, inclusion, expression and a collective heritage—and a care for that heritage. This care must be achieved through phenomenological engagements and experience. I came to this understanding through a give and take, through dialogue and participation at the archeological site beyond the discourse of excavation.

I demonstrate how once heritage is consensually defined in context, stakeholders may participate in shared visions of development that engage complex histories and address ongoing processes of exclusion, as well as producing material benefits.

Rather than trying to prove a point, this project on Chavín heritage explores the implications of affective behaviors in developing, sustaining, and thickening communities in notions of heritage. This paper explores several phenomena that lend themselves to affective responses by producing "structures of feeling," Theorist, Raymond Williams considers "structures of feeling" as the deepest and often least tangible elements of our experience. It is a way of responding to a particular world which in practice is not felt as one way among others—a conscious 'way'—but is, in experience, the only way possible. Its means, its elements, are not propositions or techniques; they are embodied, related feelings"(Williams, 1977). I see a great potential in thinking about affective modes of heritage, and "structures of feelings," in generating "knowable communities, and thus, community solidarity "(Williams, 1977).

References

Allen, C. J. (2002). *The Hold Life Has: Coca and Cultural Identity in an Andean community*. *Washington*. D.C: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Atalay, S. (2010). We Don't Talk About Çatalhöyük, We Live It: Sustainable Archaeological Practice Through Community-Based Participatory Research. *World Archaeology*. 42(3), 418-429.

Baiocchi, G. (2005). *Militants and Citizens: The Politics of Participatory Democracy in Porto Alegre*. *Stanford*. CA: Stanford University Press.

Barillet, C., Joffroy, T. & Longuet, I. (Ed.). (2006). *A Guide for African Local Governments, Cultural Heritage and Local Government*. CRATerre- ENSAG/ Convention. Paris: UNESCO.

Brinkhoff, T. (2007). Retrieved from https://www.citypopulation.de/php/peru-distr.php?adm2id=021004

Brodie, N. (Ed). (2006). *Archaeology, Cultural Heritage, and the Antiquities Trade*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida.

Callon, M. (2006). What does it Mean to Say that Economics is Performative? Do economists make markets? *On the performativity of Economics*, 311-357.

Cameron, C., & Rössler, M. (2011). Voices of the Pioneers: UNESCO's World Heritage Convention 1972-2000. *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development*. 1(1), 42-54.

Chirikure, S., Manyanga, M., Ndoro, W., & Pwiti, G. (2010). Unfulfilled Promises? Heritage Management and Community Participation at Some of Africa's Cultural Heritage Sites. *International Journal of Heritage Studies,* 16(1-2), 30-44.

Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J.L. (2012). Theory from the South: or, how Euro-America Is Evolving toward Africa. *Anthropological Forum*. 22(2), 113–131.

Damm, C. (2005). Archaeology, Ethnohistory and Oral Traditions: Approaches to the Indigenous Past. *Norwegian Archaeological Review*. 38(2), 73–87.

Escallón, M.F. (2018). Heritage, Land, Labor, and Competing Claims for Afro-Colombian Rights. *International Journal of Cultural Property* 25, 59–83.

Escobar, A. (1995). Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World, *Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ. 3-54.

Foucault, M. (1978). *The History of Sexuality*, Volume 1: An Introduction, tr. Robert Hurley. New York, 1990.

Greer, S. (2010). Heritage and Empowerment: Community- Based Indigenous Cultural Heritage in Northern Australia. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*. 16(1-2), 45-58.

Hall, M. (2001). Cape Town's District Six and the Archaeology of Memory, in Layton, R., Stone, P.G., Thomas, J. (Eds.), *Destruction and Conservation of Cultural Property*. Routledge, London: New York, 298–312.

Herrera, A. (2014). Commodifying the Indigenous in the Name of Development: The Hybridity of Heritage in the Twenty-First-Century Andes. *Public Archaeology*. 13(1-3), 71-84.

Human, H. (2015). Democratizing World Heritage: The Policies and Practices of Community Involvement in Turkey. *Journal of Social Archaeology*. 15, 160–183.

Jones, Laura. (2018, May 18). Personal Interview.

Kersel, M. M., & Luke, C. (2015). Civil Societies? Heritage Diplomacy and Neo- Imperialism, in L. Meskell (Eds.), *Global Heritage A Reader* (Vol. 12). John Wiley & Sons. Chichester, UK: Malden, MA 70-93.

Kline, S.H. (2019, January 24). Personal Interview.

Labadi, S., & Gould, P.G. (2015). Sustainable Development: Heritage, Community, Economics, in Meskell, L. (Eds.), *Global Heritage: A Reader*. John Wiley & Sons, Chichester, UK: Malden, MA, 196–216.

Lafrenz Samuels, K., & Lilley, I. (2015). Transnationalism and Heritage Development. in L. Meskell (Eds.), *Global Heritage A Reader* (Vol. 12). John Wiley & Sons. Chichester, UK; Malden, MA 217-239.

Lafrenz Samuels, K., & Shackel, P. A. (2018). Heritage Development. *Mobilizing Heritage: Anthropological Practice and Transnational Prospects*. University Press of Florida. 58-83.

Lipe, W. D. (1984). Value and Meaning in Cultural Resources. in. H. Cleere (eds), *Approaches to the Archaeological Heritage: A Comparative Study of World Cultural Resource Management Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1-11.

Longhurst, B. (1991). Raymond Williams and Local Cultures. *Environment and Planning*. University of Salford, 23(2), 229-238.

Magnoni, A., Ardren, T., & Hutson, S., (2007). Tourism in the Mundo Maya: Inventions and (Mis)representations of Maya Identities and Heritage. *Archaeologies*. 3, 353–383

Malpass, M. (2016). *Ancient People of the Andes*. Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press.

Meskell, L. (2005). Sites of Violence: Terrorism, Tourism, and Heritage in the Archaeological Present. in L. Meskell and P. Pels (Eds), *Embedding Ethics: Shifting Boundaries of the Anthropological Profession*. Oxford: Berg. 123-146.

Meskell, L. (2013) UNESCO and the Fate of the World Heritage Indigenous Peoples Council of Experts (WHIPCOE). *International Journal of Cultural Property.* 20, 1–20.

Mapunda, B., & Lane, P. (2004). Archaeology for Whose Interest–Archaeologists or the Locals? *Public Archaeology*. London: Routledge. 225-237.

Noddings, N. (2013). Why We Care About Caring. Caring: *A Feminine Approach to Ethics and Moral Education*. University of California Press. 7-29.

Phillips, C. (2008). Comment on Community Involvement in Archaeology and Cultural Heritage Management: An Assessment from Case Studies in Southern Africa and Elsewhere. *Current Anthropology.* 49(2), 479–480.

Reeves, K. (2008). Dig a Hole and Bury the Past in It: Reconciliation and the Heritage of Genocide in Cambodia, in Logan, W., Reeves, K. (Eds.), *Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing with "Difficult Heritage*." Routledge, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon; New York, 67–81.

Rick, J. (2019, January 31). Personal Interview.

Scoones, I. (2009). Livelihoods Perspectives and Rural Development. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*. 36(1), 171-196.

Shackel, P.A. (2001). Public Memory and the Search for Power in American Historical Archaeology. *American Anthropologist*. 103, 655–670.

Smith, D. W. (2018). Phenomenology. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Palo Alto CA: Stanford University.

Strasser, P. (2002). Putting Reform into Action —Thirty Years of the World Heritage Convention: How to Reform a Convention without Changing Its Regulations. *International Journal of Cultural Property*. 11(2), 215-266.

UNESCO. (2019). Chavín (Archaeological Site). Retrieved from https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/330

UNESCO. (1994). UNESCO's Medium-Term Plan for 1996-2001 and World Heritage Conservation. WHC.94/CONF.001/02. Paris: UNESCO (consulted 9 June 2014). Available at: http://whc.unesco.org/en/documents/942.

Waterton, E., & Watson, S. (Ed). (2015). Heritage as a Focus of Research: Past, Present and New Directions. *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research*. Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: New York. 1-17.

Williams, D. (2007). *The Americas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 63(4), 659-661.

Williams, R. (1977). *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.