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## Successfully Incorporating the Participant Perspective: Analysis of Participatory Research in Development

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SUCCESSFULLY INCORPORATING THE PARTICIPANT PERSPECTIVE:  
ANALYSIS OF PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH IN DEVELOPMENT

by

Zachary T. Revene

A Plan B paper submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree

of

Master of Social Science

In

Sociology

(International Rural and Community Development)

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Logan, Utah

2012

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## ABSTRACT

Successfully Incorporating the Participant Perspective:  
Analysis of Participatory Research in Development

by

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Utah State University, 2012

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Literature from recent decades has highlighted the importance of incorporating the perspective of communities into development project planning and implementation. In this project, the participant perspective was documented through qualitative ethnographic techniques and illustrates the different ways in which this perspective was either included or excluded in two separate case studies along the northern coast of Peru. The case study of huachaque farmers surrounding the UNESCO World Heritage Site of Chan Chan provided an example of the general failure to incorporate the participant perspective into planning of future biodiversity conservation projects. The case study of Huaca Chotuna provided an example of a relatively successful incorporation of the perspective of farmers from the area surrounding an archaeological site of the same name into development projects there.

The Chan Chan case study was the focus of the majority of qualitative research conducted. Specific cultural and social attitudes, assumptions, and opinions surrounding

modification to farmers' existing livelihoods were made explicit. Special attention was given to how multiple cultural and social variables interact to influence the actions of stakeholders. This data was compared to similar circumstances found at the Huaca Chotuna site, in order to highlight major differences. Analysis of this comparative study was conducted through the use of the Unifying Negotiation Framework (UNF), and provided an understanding of how and why the participant perspective are successfully incorporated into development projects. It was found that socio-cultural context, (and the disposition of individual shareholders) is often the determining factor for the inclusion of the participant perspective into the planning and implementation of such endeavors.

(90 pages)

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## INTRODUCTION

Development efforts throughout the world achieve varying degrees of success, as defined by both the local community perspective and the institutions that initiate them. This variability is often rooted in discordant sets of values, opinions, and assumptions surrounding desired outcomes between these two groups of stakeholders. One example of how the development process can encounter difficulties is presented here, and specific examples of the complexity surrounding development are highlighted. Analysis of this situation provides insight into how participants in development scenarios, especially those subject to a modification to their current livelihoods, can be more successfully incorporated into the development process. The primary case study described involves farmers surrounding the large archaeological site of Chan Chan, in northwestern coastal Peru, and their interactions with the site administrators tasked with site preservation.

Farmers at Chan Chan have engaged in commercial agriculture there for generations, and have specific values regarding land use, land tenure, and the presence of the monumental architecture that comprises the archaeological site. Site administrators also have specific values with regard to these issues, and these two groups of stakeholders do not always agree. In fact, a significant amount of conflict has occurred between these two groups, and the resulting interaction between stakeholders has virtually precluded the possibility for successfully implementing development projects there. The multiple levels of stakeholders involved complicate this situation. These stakeholder groups range from internationally recognized institutions all the way to the local farmers with established livelihoods. The involvement of international institutions stems from the fact that the archaeological remains found at Chan Chan are listed as a

UNESCO World Heritage Site, and are therefore subject to specific mandates. These mandates reverberate through the levels of institutional authority, and affect the actions of individuals. This is not met with inaction on the part of local farmers however, all of whom have resisted unwanted treatment by institutional authority.

For example, when efforts were made by state-level authorities to evict farmer residents from within newly established archaeological site boundaries, these farmers utilized the tactic of continued land occupation to resist eviction. When institutional actors sought to diminish the legitimacy of farmers' at Chan Chan, these farmers formed a grassroots organization to establish and defend their rights. When modifications were made to the unique agro-ecosystem that the Chan Chan farmers depend upon for their livelihoods, these farmers were able to utilize specific land and water management practices to mitigate negative effects. All of these situations will be explored in greater detail, but it is important to recognize how multiple variables interact within development scenarios. In sum, the complexity of how to successfully incorporate the participant perspective in development must be understood through the lens of cultural and social factors.

An ethnographic approach was utilized during field research in order to explore all of the complexity involved with the Chan Chan case. This approach allowed for a comprehensive understanding of the interaction between stakeholders, and exposed some of the nuanced interaction between groups. The data that was obtained during ethnographic research illustrated how important different cultural and social variables can be, both at the macro and micro levels. The effect of institutions is influential, however,

the personal assumptions, opinions, and actions of individuals are also a fundamental consideration.

Failure to successfully implement and sustain development efforts is often due to the fact that such projects are not synchronized with local conditions. These endeavors do not occur in a socio-cultural vacuum, and their level of adoption and continued implementation depends upon the degree to which they fulfill local requirements. These requirements are established and defined by all stakeholders in the development process, but may be most important at the community level, as viewed by local actors. Communities that are recipients of development and conservation projects from outside institutions must be willing and engaged participants if these projects are to succeed.

While much has been learned about the importance of the participant perspective in the long-term success of these efforts, and various fields of study have emerged through the consideration of this situation, a neglected area of research is how participant perspectives are informed by often unconscious cultural assumptions and attitudes. Achieving the goal of successfully incorporating the participant perspective into project planning and implementation requires first understanding various aspects of these cultural assumptions and attitudes, and ethnographic techniques are used here to illustrate this aspect of research.

This research identifies and analyses the ways in which participant perspectives have been both excluded and incorporated into two separate development projects in northwest Peru. The primary subject of research is the Chan Chan case, but a second case was also investigated. The second case at Huaca Chotuna shows many similarities to that of Chan Chan, but exhibits much less conflict between stakeholders. The Huaca Chotuna

case is explored here as comparative research, and illustrates some aspects of how to successfully incorporate the participant perspective.

The majority of the analysis presented here utilizes the Unifying Negotiation Framework (UNF), as described by Daniels, Emborg, and Walker (2009). This framework organizes socio-cultural data within the specific horizontal categories of culture, institutions, agency, incentives, cognition, and “actor orientation and experience” (AOE). Each of these specific divisions of cultural phenomena are congruently viewed along a vertical scale of macro, meso, and micro level influence upon stakeholders, ranging from the collective actions of social groups as a whole, to the actions of the individual (Daniels, et al 2009). This framework proves useful as a means of making cultural assumptions and attitudes explicit within the qualitative data set provided below.

## BACKGROUND

### Chan Chan

Research was conducted during the months of June – August, 2010, in two separate field sites in along the northern coast of Peru. The primary field site was the farmland area surrounding the UNESCO World Heritage Site of Chan Chan. Chan Chan is a large archaeological site located approximately 3 miles due west of the modern metropolitan center of Trujillo, which lies within the coastal Moche Valley. Site boundaries extend from the Pacific Coast inland approximately 2.5 miles to the north-northeast, and include highly productive farmlands; known locally as huachagues. Many of the huachague farmlands currently under cultivation by local farmers are included within the legally defined site boundaries, which has caused considerable problems for the farmers there. The specific details of these problems will be described below, and it will be shown that this land-use conflict influences how local farmers are incorporated or not as conservation project participants.

The opportunity to conduct research at the Chan Chan field site was brought to my attention by Douglas Sharon, Ph.D., retired Director of the Museum of Man at San Diego. Dr. Sharon has worked for many years in Peru, and through his personal contacts had been informed of the desire of Chan Chan site administrators to implement a biodiversity conservation project there. The ability to implement this project depends upon the interaction between three major entities or groups. In descending order of hierarchical or bureaucratic complexity, these include: the National Institute of Culture (or Instituto Nacional de Cultura in Spanish; INC below), Executive Unit Number 110 - Chan Chan, and local farmers and residents within and immediately surrounding the site

of Chan Chan. In very general terms, the INC develops policies and protocols for the management of cultural patrimony sites under the control of the Peruvian government, and the Executive Units (which are numerous throughout the country) are tasked with carrying out these directives. The third group, the local community members within the sphere of influence of cultural patrimony sites, is often at the periphery of this decision-making process. The ways in which these three groups interact are the focus of analysis at Chan Chan.

The proposed project at Chan Chan involved the use of the huachaque farmlands, which had been integral in the sustenance of the ancient city, as a setting for demonstration garden plots. These plots were designed to add an interpretive element to the overall archaeological site experience, and to provide visitors with a “living” example of how the ancient city supported its population through agriculture. The first fundamental goal of these garden plots was that they exhibit the cultivation of endemic crops; those that would have been under production during the original habitation of the ancient city of Chan Chan. Inherent in this requirement was the proposed implementation of sustainable agriculture, utilizing techniques and agricultural inputs similar to those which would have been available to the original Chan Chan farmers. In addition to adding an interpretive element to the site, this goal would also function to conserve traditional cultivars in-situ, and in their original agro-ecological context. The second fundamental goal of the proposed project involved the employment of local farmers as agricultural consultants, and as labor for the elaboration and maintenance of these plots.

Both of these fundamental goals were sanctioned in the Plan Maestro (Master Work Plan) for the Chan Chan site, which is an official document legally enacted through

an act of the National Congress of Peru. This level of official legitimacy would appear to provide an ideal setting for the inclusion of local actors' perspective at Chan Chan. However, as will be shown, the perfect execution of this proposed project was not possible in the Chan Chan case.

The garden plot project at Chan Chan appeared ideal for the study of how the participant perspective could be successfully incorporated into a biodiversity conservation and development project for two reasons. First, the farmers who were to be employed as both agricultural experts and labor force were already engaged in modern commercial agricultural activities in the immediate area. Many aspects of this modern agricultural production differ in function from the demonstration gardens proposed at Chan Chan, and understanding how these differences would affect the practices of these farmers was an important focus of study. Modern commercial agriculture has been occurring in the huachaque farmlands surrounding the monumental architecture of the site for many years. And although it is impossible to ascertain from the available data, it is possible that agriculture of varying degrees of intensity has been practiced in these farmlands uninterrupted since the time of the ancient city. One implication of undertaking the proposed demonstration garden plot project is that modern farmers selected to participate would be required to modify their agricultural practices and crop selection. In this case, the elimination of hybridized or non-native seed varieties and the cessation of the use of modern chemical fertilizers, pesticides, and herbicides would be required. Because farmers would be required to modify their preferred agricultural practices, the proposed project would likely modify the livelihoods of anyone impacted by such a change (Scoones 2009). Important to the success of the proposed project would be a

comprehensive understanding of the farmers' (i.e. participants') perspective. As stated in the introduction, success of the proposed change would be more likely if the participant perspective could be incorporated into project design and implementation.

The second characteristic of the proposed project that made it an appropriate case-study was the fact that the project had yet to be implemented, and would involve a variety of different stakeholders from a wide spectrum of administrative (i.e. project planning entities), and non-administrative (i.e. participant farmers), perspectives. This would provide the opportunity to analyze the situation from its pre-implementation phase, throughout the project-planning phase, and into the eventual post-implementation.

However, the "on-the-ground" situation quickly became much more complicated and nuanced than originally anticipated. The difficulties encountered by (and between), the various stakeholders resulted in a virtual stagnation of project planning, and the social relations among these stakeholders was revealed as often ranging between dysfunctional and confrontational. It should be understood from the outset that the interpersonal relations, and individual personalities, of the stakeholders described here play a fundamental role in outcomes. Although attention will be given to influential macro level socio-cultural variables, much of the data suggests that it is the micro (or individual) level that may have the most substantial effect upon stakeholders' attitudes, assumptions, and actions.

Chan Chan has been subject to a significant amount of land-use change, use as a tool for political maneuvering, and fluctuation in the ways in which the land is valued. These changes have, and continue to influence outcomes at the site. This research is instructive because although the results of the Chan Chan research indicate little

possibility for the incorporation of the participant perspective, they do illustrate ways in which this has failed to happen. The data provided will prove useful for understanding how to avoid or mitigate such discord in future projects.

### Huaca Chotuna

A secondary research possibility presented itself during my time in northern Peru, and the opportunity to conduct a comparative analysis was incorporated into the original research design. In addition to the proposed project at Chan Chan, which had almost immediately revealed itself as largely untenable, a development project surrounding the archaeological site of Huaca Chotuna was brought to my attention through personal contacts.

Huaca Chotuna lies farther north along the coast, approximately 112 miles to the north-northwest from Chan Chan. The Huaca Chotuna project was appropriate as the subject of comparative research because it shared many of the primary characteristics of Chan Chan. Huaca Chotuna was also a large archaeological site surrounded by a community of farmers, and these farmers were also being impacted by activities on the site that had the potential to influence their traditional livelihoods. It was also subject to state-level institutional influence by the site administrative agency (Executive Unit Number 111 – Naylamp, Lambayeque), as in Chan Chan. However, Huaca Chotuna proved to have significantly less conflict apparent in the relations between local community members and site administrators. The anecdotal evidence of positive relations between community members and site administrators that inspired the decision to conduct comparative research at Huaca Chotuna was largely confirmed by the data

collected there. Research at Huaca Chotuna proved to be a useful comparative case study, and illustrates many details of how to promote positive relations between participants and project planners.

## METHODOLOGY

An anthropological perspective was employed for understanding the socio-cultural factors that affect project design and implementation, with regard to participant perspectives in these cases. Standard qualitative research methods were utilized to document various aspects of the socio-cultural factors influencing the two case studies presented here. Of primary importance, especially at the Chan Chan field site, was the use of participant observation to collect data in the form of field notes used for later analysis. This technique proved useful in obtaining details about the standard (pre-project implementation) agricultural practices and their associated socio-cultural importance. The use of participant observation also served to establish rapport with local key informants. Rapport proved to be instrumental in obtaining more detailed information in the Chan Chan field site, where previous issues of distrust of outside actors has led to a reticent study group. This difficulty was overcome through repeated site visits to the fields and homes of informants, in an effort to gain trust through repeated interaction. Lines of questioning became increasingly more detailed as rapport was more firmly established with key informants.

Formal and informal interviewing was another primary research technique utilized in both case studies. Informal, unstructured interviews were conducted at both field sites, and conversations were entered into field notes as data for later analysis. Recorded interviews were also conducted in both cases. Long-format, open-ended interview schedules were utilized in the Chan Chan case. These interview schedules were developed after sufficient baseline information had been obtained through participant observation and informal interviews there. These long-format interviews were semi-

structured, and informants were allowed to elaborate upon initial interview questions in ways that they deemed appropriate. In total, twenty-four interviews were conducted among sixteen informants at Chan Chan.

Short-format recorded interviews were utilized in the Huaca Chotuna case. This decision was made due to a limited timeframe for conducting fieldwork there, and such interviews were determined to be the most efficient method for obtaining information in a case where very little participant observation was possible. Interview schedules were developed using close-ended questions, from which responses could be coded for later analysis. However, informants were also provided with the opportunity to elaborate and give additional information after initial responses were recorded. An open-ended comment question was provided at the end of these short interviews, as a means of providing informants with an opportunity to express concerns not addressed in the original protocol. Exceptions to this interview style in the Huaca Chotuna case were the long-format, open-ended question interviews conducted with the site administrator and with the local community association Board of Directors. Because the majority of field research at Chan Chan had been completed by the time of fieldwork at Huaca Chotuna, all pertinent details of comparison had been sufficiently identified, and interview schedules had been formatted appropriately. This mitigated any concerns in regard to the use of two distinct research techniques, and compensated for the inability of conducting participant observation at Huaca Chotuna. In total, twenty-two interviews were conducted among twenty-five informants at Huaca Chotuna.

Subsequent to research fieldwork, the data was analyzed within the UNF. Certain key elements were focused upon, according to the phenomena outlined in the

framework’s basic design. This framework was developed as “a cognitive structure that aids in managing the intellectual complexity of designing participatory approaches to natural resource decision making”(Daniels, Emborg, and Walker 2009:8). This framework serves as a useful model within which to view multiple socio-cultural variables, and their relation to one another. When presented visually, the Unifying Negotiation Framework appears as a matrix. The authors of this framework are explicit in stating that the two extremes of the socio-cultural variables as presented are not mutually exclusive. In fact, they state that the matrix may be best conceptualized as a column, with the two ends being mentally connected to create a more circular and interactive relationship between variables. The UNF, as presented in the original publication is presented below in Figure 1.

	Culture	Institutions	Agency	Incentives	Cognition	AOE
Macro						
Meso						
Micro						

Figure 1: The Unifying Negotiation Framework (Daniels et al 2009)

As seen in the illustration provided in Figure 1, the variables under scrutiny within this framework include culture, institutions, agency, incentives, cognition, and AOE, or “actor orientation and experience”. Each of these variables is also represented

through varying degrees of scale, as provided for throughout the range of macro, meso, and micro levels. Macro level data within the framework involves the broader societal or global context. The micro level scale typically refers to the individual(s) within the same scenario. Although the data requires viewing certain actors at the macro and meso levels, it will be shown that substantial influence and decision making occurs at the micro level scale.

It is helpful to briefly define each of the six variables of the UNF. Although there are numerous definitions of culture, it is viewed in this context as “ patterned ways of thinking, feeling and reacting, acquired and transmitted mainly by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values”(Kluckholm, 1951:86). Culture is obviously important in many ways, but affects participatory processes through its influence on communication styles, and will undoubtedly effect how different actors form outcome preferences.

Institutions are viewed as organizations that exert influence over certain aspects of society through their authority over specific social functions. These institutions can be as complex as national governments, or very localized entities charged with certain administrative tasks. One key characteristic of the function of institutions is their level of legitimacy. When institutions are viewed as highly legitimate by large segments of the population, or by a segment that maintains sufficient authority, they are able to exert power over given situations. The ways in which institutions exert this power has a direct

affect upon participatory processes, especially when some stakeholders may not be members of the institution.

Agency refers to the ability to exert power, both during a decision-making process, as well as after a decision has been made. Power in this context speaks directly to ability to achieve goals in a negotiation process. Agency also takes into consideration the capacity that exists to implement policies or initiatives agreed upon in a negotiation. This variable is of fundamental importance to the public face of participatory processes, especially when attempting to analyze how, and to what degree local participants are incorporated into the decision-making process.

Incentives are the blend of external and internal motivations that either force a party into a negotiation process, or directly influence how that party acts throughout this process. This is often based upon what benefit (or lack of negative repercussion) a party will receive from engaging into a decision-making process. In some instances, there may be no benefit for one party to begin a dialogue with another, and no negative repercussion for failing to do so. This situation would obviously make participation voluntary, and may preclude an active engagement of all stakeholders in a situation.

Cognition deals directly with how stakeholders process information, and how this affects the decision-making process. This variable is highly dependent upon the ways in which stakeholders learn about a situation, and whether or not cognition bias is present in this process. Cognition bias occurs due to an inaccurate perception of the situation, or a self-serving internal agenda. It is important to recognize cognition bias because it may influence how a stakeholder makes certain decisions.

Finally, AOE, or “actor orientation and experience”, deals largely with the given personality of stakeholders. In this context, personality is viewed as a mediating factor in how stakeholders interact with one another. Some personality traits that influence this interaction can include degree of extraversion (or introversion), agreeableness, conscientiousness, emotional stability, or openness. Affect, or the short-term state of mind (mood), can also affect interactions between stakeholders. Also, the influence of attitudes held by stakeholders about a given situation (or other stakeholder) cannot be underestimated.

## DISCUSSION OF DATA: CHAN CHAN

The UNESCO World Heritage Site of Chan Chan contains the archaeological vestiges of one of the most powerful cultures to have existed along the northern coast of Peru, the Chimú. The locale itself represents an area that has been permanently inhabited since 500 BC (Moseley, 1975). Current inhabitants of the area, as well as the national and regional actors responsible for management of the archaeological site, are only the most modern representatives of human administration of resources there. The extensive history of Chan Chan, from the prehistoric first-inhabitants to the present day, provides the setting for the on-going socio-cultural dynamics that shape its use, valuation, and importance.

Although the ancient past of the area still plays a very important role in how stakeholders at Chan Chan shape their attitudes and assumptions, it is the current situation at Chan Chan that is the focus of this research. Ancient history there is mentioned as a means of understanding this inseparable part of the Chan Chan story, and the subsequent historical past will be explored as a means of understanding the attitudes and motivations of present-day stakeholders. To this end, descriptions of the agricultural lands known as huachaquas, the Peruvian agrarian reform, the role and actions of current stakeholders (especially in regard to land use), and the situation confronting the successful incorporation of the participant perspective (in the proposed demonstration garden plot project), will be provided. Accounts obtained from key informants during fieldwork will be utilized as a means of illustrating how stakeholders perceive these topics.

*Huachagues*

One of the primary focuses of field research at Chan Chan was to understand how present-day farmers at Chan Chan use and value the specific agro-ecological context from which they obtain their livelihoods. This understanding was important because it would highlight the values and practices surrounding this resource prior to any modification from outside influences; such as the implementation of new agricultural strategies required by the proposed demonstration garden plot project. Also, a comprehensive understanding of preferred land management practices would provide one way to gauge the inclusion of the participant perspective into future project planning and implementation, should it occur.

Huachagues are farmlands that contain unusually high levels of ambient moisture in the soil, which allows for the production of crops without the need for irrigation or rainwater dependence. When one produces a mental image of Peru, it often conjures thoughts of immense highlands of the Andean Range. Some images that are often not often associated with Peru are those of the vast coastal deserts that comprise almost one-third of the country's territory. The strip of land that lies between the Andean Range and the Pacific Ocean, the coastal zone of Peru where Chan Chan is situated, is a region of extreme aridity. This strip of land is typified by extensive dunal formations, barren foothills of the Andean Range, and very sparse vegetation. This forbidding landscape offers little possibility for subsistence, and human populations through time have had to rely upon specialization and innovation in order to eke out a living there.

Water for agriculture along the coast of Peru is often difficult to access, and huachaque production is an example of specialization in utilizing limited amounts of this

resource. Most simply defined, huachagues are areas of agricultural production where humans have excavated and removed areas of topsoil, usually to a depth of several meters, in order to lower the ground level to just above its interface with groundwater. Removal of the majority of the original soil overburden occurred during prehistory. The natural moisture of the soil, provided by the capillary action of water wicking to the exposed ground surface, allows agriculturists to cultivate their crops without the use of irrigation or dependence on rainfall. Although the water table within huachagues fluctuates between high and low levels, their fundamental characteristic is that humans can farm there year-round using the proper management strategies. This resource has served to fill an important niche in the variety of survival strategies developed by human societies throughout prehistory along the coast of Peru. The use of these farmlands continues into the present day, and continues to illustrate the social dynamics of survival, prosperity and adaptability in the face of adverse environmental conditions.

Huachagues represent a unique niche in agricultural production in Peru (and the world), and exemplify specialization in otherwise agriculturally unproductive ecosystems. They are highly valued by local farmers as a natural resource, and differ from standard agricultural lands in a number of ways. Huachague farmers that were contacted during this research described their relationship with this specific agro-ecosystem in very positive terms, and illustrated many of the ways in which they value this system above the irrigation agricultural production that is the norm for most of coastal Peru.

José Antonio Carranza Cruz, a huachague farmer that was born in the area and has farmed there his whole life, says: “The huachagues are important because of the

natural humidity that they possess. They have soils rich in potassium, and other minerals. As a consequence, they produce crops that are fresh, juicy, and taste good” (Cruz 2010). The high quality of the produce that comes from the huachagues was a recurring theme among farmers there. This was perceived as being the result of the filtered character of water that penetrates the soil from below, as opposed to the contaminated surface water that is provided by large irrigation projects constructed in modern times. As stated by José Rodrigeuz Goseña:

“If you didn’t have these fields, these sunken fields that don’t need water, [farming] would be a more costly thing. The huachagues, they give without having to irrigate, and better; because its healthy food. Clean food. You don’t irrigate...its filtered through the ground; clean water (Goseña 2010).”

A strong link was made by multiple farmers between the health of the water, the health of the crops grown using it, and the resulting health of the populations that these crops sustained. These farmers made explicit that they were taking the natural and healthy setting of the huachagues, and transferring this health to the resulting crops (Rodriguez 2010; Gomez 2010; Goseña 2010). Jose “Pepe” Rodriguez also made an explicit point of sharing his views on the role of agriculture, and specifically the agricultural production of the huachagues, with regard to society in general. He feels that agriculture is the foundation upon which all the functions of society are made possible, and that farmers are often an under-appreciated group in Peru (Rodriguez 2010).

Because many of the current farmers at the huachagues of Chan Chan were born there, and have farmed the land their entire lives, they are able to provide very detailed information about specific agro-ecological conditions. One such informant, Samuel Alcantada Gomez, had very intimate knowledge of the nuanced fluctuations in water

level and water quality of the huachagues. Because he was born to a farming family that has lived at the huachagues since 1960, his upbringing provided him training in the water management techniques that are necessary tasks there. He spoke in detail about his grandparents' activities at the site, which often entailed modification of the landform in order to maximize agricultural production of the huachaque farmlands. These activities included opening drainage ditches to the sea in times of high water levels within the huachagues, to siphon excess water away. In times of low water, large, labor-intensive furrows were excavated by hand to allow the planting of crops at the appropriate level in relation to the groundwater.

Observations of the fluctuating water levels included the influence of both upland water surplus or scarcity, as well as perceived changes in the huachagues due to the influence of oceanic conditions. Oceanic influence is described as felt further inland, not directly along the coast, when the “the sea is moving” (Gomez 2010). This oceanic influence does not refer to normal daily tidal shifts, but rather to larger cycles of hydraulic fluctuation within the huachagues through their relation to the sea. For example, Samuel described a twenty-year cycle of water table conditions, representing periods of high, average, and low water levels. The last of the high water events occurred ten years before fieldwork took place (circa 2000), and lasted seven years. Drainage of excess water away to the sea occurs during these events, via surface ditches channeled towards the sea. Water tables eventually subside naturally during this cycle, and a brief period of years passes when agriculture is possible with no major water management activities necessary. This is followed by a period of years when furrows must be excavated in order to access the relatively low water table.

Aside from the ocean dependant changes in the huachaque water table, as described by informants, upland influence is also felt. This comes in the form of hydraulic inputs to the water table from irrigation agriculture activities further inland. Agricultural lands further away from the coast are inherently higher in elevation, and any excess water that seeps into the soil there due to irrigation will eventually find its way to the lowlands. This has influenced the patterns and cycles observed by huachaque farmers as agriculture within the Moche Valley has expanded in recent decades, due both to the extension of government funded irrigation canals and increased in-migration of an agriculturist population to the coast (from the highlands). Although this influence is relatively new, and comes from a different direction than the natural oceanic influence, it is dealt with by huachaque farmers using the same water management techniques described above.

Kus (N.d) illustrates how the on-going promotion of the “Chavimochic” irrigation project, which proposes diverting water from the Río Santa in the south to provide irrigation to four separate valleys, has been a part of public discourse in various forms along coastal Peru since 1912. He illustrates that this project, which bears an uncanny resemblance to the inter-valley irrigation project begun by the political elite of ancient Chan Chan, has been used repeatedly as a political tool in the Trujillo region (especially in times of water shortages). Even the name of this modern project proposal is reminiscent of former coastal hegemony of the former Chimu empire, combining the names of Chao / Virú / Moche / and Chicama valleys together as a unified concept. The project is proposed as a means of buffering the coastal plain against drought, and providing opportunities for the expansion of agriculture.

The Chavimochic project has already been implemented to a limited degree, specifically in areas of the Moche Valley surrounding Trujillo. This has had a direct effect upon the contemporary farmers of the Chan Chan huachagues. Water is now supplied to the huachagues via extensive irrigation canals, some of which may literally be the same routes used by the ancient engineers in the construction of previous irrigation projects (Farrington 1980). This hydrologic input is part of the long and complex history of the water table of this system.

Farmers in the area report that this hydraulic input has served to raise water tables in the very recent past, causing varying degrees of effect depending upon the location of the field under observation. Samuel Gomez, who owns huachaque property far inland from the coast (approximately 1.4 miles), reported experiencing a rise in water levels as a result of increased irrigation in the area, but said that these changes were not prohibitive to the continuation of his farming due to the slightly higher land elevation of his fields (Gomez 2010). In contrast, Jose “Pepe” Rodriguez, who farms closer to the coastline (approximately .4 miles), reported experiencing overly humid soils in his lower elevation fields. This overabundance of moisture in the soil, which can cause problems ranging from fungal blooms to effectively drowning out crops, can only be combated by the elaboration of drainage ditches to siphon water away towards the sea. These types of drains have been used throughout the memory of all informants, and information provided suggests that construction of drains to control water levels has been used for generations.

Huachaque farmers are constantly monitoring the hydraulic conditions of the huachagues, both through observation and testing, as a means of compensating for the

changes in water table levels experienced there. One visit to the tomato fields of “Pepe” Rodriguez found him excavating a test pit to gauge the ambient moisture levels of his soil. The pit resembled an inverted step pyramid, with each level indicating a general moisture zone within which growing conditions would be different; the top-most level being the driest, and the bottom-most the wettest. Pepe was using the information he gleaned from this test to plan for his next planting cycle.

Another visit to the home of Samuel Gomez, which lies in the heart of the huachuques, provided an interesting glimpse of how dramatic changes to the water table can be, and how human activities are affected in relation to these changes. The well that Samuel and his family use for domestic water use (including drinking), has served as an ad-hoc gauge through the years. At the time of the site visit, the well looked more like a small pond, approximately 25 feet in diameter and bowl shaped in cross-section. Samuel had excavated this bowl shaped depression during a low-water period to gain closer access to the water table. Submerged at the center of the current pond, at a depth of several feet, the brick and concrete well structure that had been constructed was visible through the crystal clear water that had risen in subsequent years. While observing this well, more immediate and striking evidence of the constantly changing water table presented itself. Without any obvious cause, small jets of silt began to immerge from the bottom of the pond, apparently propelled by small currents of in-flowing water. Within minutes the entire pond was muddied, although the water levels observable around the edges had not changed perceptively. Samuel attributed this to a possible small temblor, or other slight geologic shift, and stated that the phenomenon occurred periodically.

At the larger institutional level, members of the INC, and Executive Units also express the importance of the huachagues. This is often done publicly through published works and official documents, and the resulting documentation provides some insight into the orientation of these actors toward the resource and other stakeholders (local farmers and their families). For example, the INC included a very detailed consideration of the huachagues at Chan Chan into the Master Work Plan that mandates all action to be taken at any archaeological site under its administration (Instituto Nacional de Cultura, n.d.). Special funding to a sum total of \$36,416.19 annually, project design for land-use change at the huachagues, and specific socio-cultural goals for the inhabitants there (in the form of modifications to their current system of farming) are all outlined. Underlying this amount of detail is the valuation placed upon the huachagues themselves, both monetarily and organizationally, as viewed by the national institution. It must be noted that these designs and designations were developed by the INC without any apparent consultation with local farmers, which has serious implications for the analysis of this situation, and will be further explored below.

Another important stakeholder at the institutional level, Dr. Cristobal Campana, Director of the Executive Unit 110 – Chan Chan, has spent a considerable part of his career studying the prehistory of Chan Chan. He has also studied the huachagues as part of his completion of post-graduate studies, and focused his dissertation work specifically upon their function, history, and use within Andean ecology. This degree of familiarity with the huachagues and the larger cultural and archaeological history of the area, was one of many reasons Dr. Campana was selected as the Director for this site. Although he is credited with many positive contributions to the archaeological site, his long history of

involvement there has led to certain negative repercussions with the farmer stakeholder group at Chan Chan. A discussion of this interpersonal dynamic will be elaborated upon in greater detail later in the discussion.

Water management policies established by the INC, and the practices subsequently enacted by the Executive Unit, are quite different in orientation than those in use by huachaque farmers. In fact, the most fundamental goals of the INC and Executive Unit water management endeavors at Chan Chan are often in direct conflict with best-management practices desired by huachaque farmers. These two institutions are tasked with preserving the archaeological integrity of the site of Chan Chan, and to a certain degree must view the huachagues as a problem for the conservation of monumental architecture there. Because the archaeological structures there were built using adobe blocks (which consists of a mud and sand mixture with no reinforcing matrix, such as straw), they are susceptible to the detrimental effects of water. Erosion sometimes occurs during the periodic El Niño rain events along the coast, however, a larger threat to the archaeological structures comes from the infiltration of water from below. The large adobe wall structures that form the most visually striking architectural characteristic of Chan Chan, and sometimes reach heights of 9–12 meters (Moseley 1975), become destabilized when water from below wicks up through them. This destabilization is aggravated by the presence of salts found in minute quantities in the groundwater. When this water is absorbed into the adobe, and when dry weather causes evaporation, these salts crystallize into solids. These salt crystals act as small wedges, forcing the adobe apart from the inside at a microscopic level, but the effect of which can cause serious structural decay over long periods of time.

Because of this, the INC and Executive Unit have taken measures to curtail the presence of ambient groundwater, and have added yet another variable into the management practices of local farmers. The strategy for doing so has been to install large drains in strategic locations across the site. These drains are subterranean, and function much like large French drains. Although the concept is similar to the technique employed by huachaque farmers during periods of high water in their agricultural lands, the installation of these drains is now a permanent and wholesale element of the landscape. As opposed to the reversible and surface-constructed drainage ditches excavated by farmers, the new drains built by the INC and Executive Unit are constructed using concrete pipes to siphon water away to the sea, and are designed to function permanently and without maintenance or adjustment.

Although these drains had only been in place for four months before fieldwork began, farmers had already noticed a dramatic shift in the water levels in the huachques (Rodriguez 2010). The low-water periods that huachaque farmers previously adjusted to over a number of years as the hydraulic cycle shifted, had occurred within months. Farmers that had once celebrated the healthy nature of the moist huachaque farmlands, were now contemplating the use of less desirable irrigation agriculture out of necessity. This mimics the actions of farmers from higher elevations, and represents a paradigm shift in the traditional use of huachques. Although huachaque farmers have continually adjusted to and managed the fluctuating water levels at Chan Chan, they now confronted the reality that the groundwater levels there would never rise again, even under the influence of hydraulic inputs from the Chavimochic irrigation project. The nature of the huachques had changed permanently and abruptly through the actions of only a certain

segment of the involved stakeholders. This is especially interesting because the legally mandated and highly legitimate plans to initiate the demonstration plot gardens had been laid out in the Work Plan of the INC/Executive Unit for Chan Chan, which made explicit the need for traditional farming methods (i.e. functioning huachaque agro-ecosystem). The legitimacy of the farmers was apparently not strong enough in the view of the institutions to influence decision making in this instance, and the actions of the institutional stakeholders seems ambiguous according to their own standards. This has obvious implications for the analysis of the inclusion of the participant perspective at Chan Chan.

Part of this analysis includes understanding the historical past of the agricultural situation confronted at Chan Chan today. This understanding of the past will highlight some details of the interpersonal relations between farmers there in the present day, as well as how the institutions of the INC and Executive Unit view the legitimacy of the farmers. The topic of legitimacy of the perspective of the farmers at Chan Chan has many of its roots in the agrarian reform movement in Peru. The agrarian reform led to many changes in the way farmers view their own legitimacy, and helped to set the stage for how they act in relation to institutional stakeholders at Chan Chan.

### *Agrarian Reform & Its Effects on the Rural Population*

Although it falls beyond the scope of this work to fully describe the Peruvian agrarian reform, a brief overview is necessary to an understanding of the current socio-political situation confronting both the Chan Chan (and Huaca Chotuna) case studies. The agrarian reform initiatives that were undertaken by the Peruvian government in past decades still influence the attitudes and actions of local farmers, especially in how they

interact with state sponsored initiatives. Attitudes regarding access to land (and land use), mobilization of grassroots resistance to state influence, and the personal orientation of the different stakeholders involved in both of these case studies have been affected by the history of agrarian reform in Peru. This history also influences how different individual actors in rural communities interact with one another on a personal level. Although the ways that agrarian reform have impacted current attitudes, orientation, and actions of the stakeholders was not made explicit by informants during field research, certain aspects of reform are highlighted here as a means of more fully understanding the cultural scenes described. These unspoken aspects of research results offer a partial view of the unconscious attitudes of informants in general.

The conquest and settlement of Peruvian territory by Europeans followed a pattern similar to that of much of Latin America; in short, a violent domination of indigenous peoples followed by an extended period of pillage of resources. An initial grab of mineral and metallurgic resources was soon followed by domination of vital or productive territorial resources (Galeano 1997). The ratio of productive agricultural and pastureland area to unproductive land is relatively low in the vast landmass represented by the total Peruvian territory. The areas that were capable of producing lucrative cash crops, especially cotton and sugar cane (on the coast), were in short supply relative to uncultivable lands, and were quickly appropriated by Europeans (Alberts 1983). This domination of cultivable lands by capitalist interests evolved into a form of feudalism in Peru. Tenant farmers were granted access to small plots of land in exchange for labor on the larger landholdings of the gentry of European descent (Mayer 2009). Relations between the “gentry” and the “serf” populations ranged between various degrees of

manipulation and oppression, but all large landholders sought to increase capital profit at the expense of a politically powerless labor force with little legitimacy.

This situation began to be publicly critiqued and resisted by both intellectuals and peasant communities in the first decades of the twentieth century. Calls for agrarian reform were discussed in varying degrees in Peru, but no major attempts at reform were attempted until the 1960's. Although the overall positive outcome of agrarian reform is disputed, depending upon the interpretation of individuals of differing opinions, the one fact that can be asserted is that agrarian reform in Peru forever altered patterns of land ownership there.

Mayer (2009) describes the sequence of events of agrarian reform in Peru. These efforts began initially under the presidency of Fernando Belaúnde Terry, who served his first term during the years of 1963-1968. Although campaigning under the banner of reform, the limited policies that he enacted were few and largely ineffectual. The powerful landed gentry, backed by persuasive economic arguments, resisted the implementation of true agrarian reform. Although the populace of Peru (especially the rural agricultural sector) supported expropriation of large landholdings, Belaúnde only took this action to a limited degree. He was the first Peruvian president to pass agrarian reform legislation, in 1964, but was hesitant to enact expropriation of large landholdings due to the fact that this action would compromise the economic stability of export agriculture. Cotton and sugar cane production were important economic exports at the time, and it was generally believed that radical reform would endanger these sectors; as well as force agricultural production in general into disorganization, decentralization, and technological languish (Mayer 2009).

Due partially to this inactivity and hesitancy in the face of enacting widespread agrarian reform measures, Belaúnde was deposed in a military junta orchestrated by Juan Velasco Alvarado in 1968 (Mayer 2009). Velasco was quick to enact sweeping social reform, including both rhetorical inclusion of the previously disenfranchised rural poor into public speeches, as well as widespread and radical expropriation of large landholdings. His actions supported the larger societal push for agrarian reform, which in many respects was a response to the perceived social dangers of ignoring an increasingly vocal and mobilized rural agricultural sector. Within the first two years of his presidency, Velasco turned 15,826 expropriated landholdings into 1,708 agricultural cooperatives (Mayer 2009). These cooperatives were the government's preferred manner in which to redistribute land to the rural poor, and these efforts were managed by state-run entities. The form that the cooperatives took, as well as their daily operations, was closely monitored by the state. Deviation from the mandates set forth by the Velasco government were dealt with on the ground by sanctions, in the form of giving priority, financing, and technological support to those cooperatives that adhered to government standards. However, there was much more need for land to satisfy all of the remaining landless population than could be dealt with, even if all of the country's large landholding had been expropriated. Velasco's government basically took the first major step in reform through expropriation, and hoped that the resulting benefit to small farmers would work itself out on its own. The general sense of frustration felt among the disaffected segment of the population was widespread however, and Velasco was eventually replaced by Morales Bermúdez in 1975 amid general discontent with the results of his reform initiatives (Mayer 2009).

Subsequent presidents proceeded to enact policies that largely served to reverse the gains made by the agrarian reform under Velasco and Bermúdez. Belaúnde (re-elected for a term between 1980-1985), and Alberto Fujimori (president from 1990-2000) adopted more neoliberal policies. Fujimori especially is credited with widespread efforts at privatization and adherence to free-market agendas. Under his presidency, the vast majority of the agricultural cooperatives that had not already collapsed under poor management or non-support by the state, began to dissolve. The push for private property ownership among the agriculturists themselves speeded this process along. There had been a general discontent among cooperative members, almost since the inception of this system. Soon following the wave of revolutionary and communal spirit that Velasco had inspired, there came a generalized wave of dissatisfaction with the cooperative system. Individual farmers favored individualized production. The mandates of the cooperative system under which they had been given land began to seem stifling as share in profits declined, social development programs failed to materialize, and communal infrastructure (tractors, threshers, irrigation pumps, etc.) began to deteriorate. As one farmer stated in his recollections of this time, "...the cooperative screws us up worse than the hacienda" (Mayer 2009: 161). All of these factors led to a willingness by farmers to abandon the agricultural cooperative system in Peru (Mayer 2009).

An added pressure to the cooperative system that led to its collapse was the lack of sufficient land available to accommodate all of the landless population. Cooperatives themselves were often pressured by neighboring landless rural poor for access to land. Much the same way that the original hacienda landholdings had been occupied by former workers on the heels of Velasco's initiatives, soon all of those who were not included

wanted some sort of access to land. There are documented accounts of occupations of newly established cooperative lands by those who felt left-out (Mayer 2009). Although Velasco's reforms had benefited an estimated .5 million families, they had also left approximately 1 million families without access to land (Alberts 1983). This situation was the antithesis of what Velasco's government has envisioned when enacting reform, and the hope that things would work themselves out never materialized. Fujimori's shift towards privatization suited many families, the majority of which preferred to have permanent private ownership of land, and the ability to control their own agricultural production.

Some important legacies of agrarian reform in Peru remain, and have direct bearing upon both the Chan Chan (and Huaca Chotuna) case studies presented here. The first of these was the general sea change in rural agriculturists' attitude towards the possibility of land ownership. Once the stranglehold of the hacienda system had been destroyed by agrarian reform in Peru, the attitude of rural agriculturist shifted towards effecting real change in government policies with regard to land appropriation. Much the same way as rural communities had pressured cooperatives into their inclusion through the use of land occupations during the first days of agrarian reform, land occupation itself became reified among the landless rural population as a valid means by which to obtain access to land.

This is evident in the Chan Chan case study. A majority of the land surrounding Chan Chan had been purchased directly from the former hacienda of the area in the years prior to the agrarian reform. Key informants contacted during research, especially those that had been in the area for a majority of their life, had benefited from this trend;

obtaining their farmlands from the former hacienda as the capital interest attempted to profit in the face of obvious decline (Cruz 2010; Gomez 2010; Goseña 2010). This falls in line with the somewhat general movement by haciendas throughout Peru towards divestment of assets in anticipation of forced reform (Alberts 1983). Hacienda owners were well aware of the possibility of agrarian reform prior to its implementation, and many sought to preemptively sell off portions of their landholdings prior to forced concessions, as opposed to waiting for uncertain outcomes forced upon them by the Peruvian state.

Jose Rodriguez Goseña came to the area in 1948 at the age of thirteen, and among all the informants contacted at Chan Chan was the only one to have seen firsthand the entire progression of the agrarian reform in the area and to have been old enough to recount it in detail. Jose's experience spans the spectrum of agricultural work in Peru from recent decades: from working as a "colono" (tenant farmer) as a child, to working directly for the Casa Grande hacienda as a young man (to support his mother), to finally purchasing his own property and farming as an independent agriculturist. He purchased land parcels from the Casa Grande hacienda in both 1958 and 1959, as part of the hacienda's rush to divest of property under threat of expropriation by the agrarian reform. These land purchases allowed Jose to establish himself in what would eventually become designated as the UNESCO World Heritage Site of Chan Chan, years prior to any formal recognition of the site. It also allowed him the opportunity to farm independently prior to the establishment of agricultural cooperatives on the hacienda lands that had not been sold to individuals. These cooperatives were established in 1968-1970 on former Casa Grande lands, and remained cooperatives for almost twenty years. At the height of Jose's

farming career in the area, he cultivated multiple fields for commercial cash crops, had a small herd of cattle, and had built enough infrastructure to house his family and extended family, as well as eight paid workers. Most of this would all be taken away from him during the formal recognition of the site of Chan Chan, and the subsequent actions of the INC, Executive Units, and National Police (Goseña 2010). A discussion of this remains separate from the effects of the agrarian reform on a social level, however, and will be discussed in the following section.

Another pertinent effect of the Peruvian agrarian reform has been a modification in how rural farmers interact with one another, and how this interaction affects their dealings with outside entities. Under the former hacienda system the large landholding gentry dictated social relations. Social well being, stability of employment, and access to certain goods and services were largely dependent upon the mandates of the hacienda owners. Social relations between community members were obviously present during normal daily interaction, but had little influence over the larger scale of political mobilization during the epoch of immutable hacienda control. The social relationship between community members became more intricate after the implementation of agrarian reform however.

Seligmann (1995) illustrates how differing segments of the rural population redefined their social roles during this time. She indicates that once a power vacuum was created by the dissolution of the hacienda system, certain individuals were more agile in positioning themselves as leaders. In many cases this was accompanied by an ability to realize greater economic gains in the process. This followed the imbalance between those that had benefited from the first phase of agrarian reforms. There were more original

economic and property right benefits given to individuals who had been former employees of the haciendas prior to reform, and many of these original beneficiaries were able to capitalize on the head start, and establish more direct control over resources (such as credit, access to development projects, etc.) (Alberts 1983).

Seligmann (1995) refers to the individuals that were best able to position themselves as leaders in these communities as “intermediaries”. The terms “rural poor” and “rural elite” are used here as a means of distinguishing between the two disparate groups that became apparent during research. These two groups (rural poor and rural elite) exhibit different capabilities for influencing other stakeholders, and an effort is made to highlight the differences in social capital typically obtained by these two groups. However, following Seligmann’s characterization, the rural elite tend to exhibit many of the same qualities that she describes in her analysis of intermediaries. The rural elite in both the Chan Chan and Huaca Chotuna case studies tend to have at least some primary education, many have worked in the capacity as low-level government functionaries, and most have returned to agricultural production as a means of partial financial support. Many of the Chan Chan informants, for example, have worked in local hospitals (Gomez 2010), or even as staff at the National Congress building (Rubio 2010). These individuals have been able to influence their rural poor neighbors. Often they have been able to establish an “...economic niche for themselves by becoming extremely skillful at mediating between peasants [rural poor] and the state” (Seligmann 1995: 181). In other words, they have assumed the role of spokesman within a system in which their rural poor neighbors are unwilling to fully engage. This may seem rather inconsequential, but Seligmann (1995) proposes that it is a strategic maneuver on the part of both groups. In

her analysis, the rural poor are fully aware that within the larger cultural context of Peru agricultural laborers are less valued than individuals that exhibit the characteristics of leadership, are (at least partially) educated, and able to speak publicly. In her research, “peasants [rural poor] were willing to spend enormous amounts of money and time in pursuing solutions to problems through intermediaries who might have more success influencing bureaucrats” (Seligmann 1995: 186). This distinction is important, and influences how fully the community perspective is represented in both the Chan Chan and Huaca Chotuna case studies.

Understanding these two perspectives, that of the rural poor and rural elite, becomes important as the discussion turns to how the farmers at Chan Chan have confronted the situation of land use change there. The establishment of Chan Chan as a UNESCO World Heritage Site has had a dramatic impact upon the lives and stability of huachaque farmers. Land use disputes between those that farm and live in the huachques and the institutional-level actors responsible for the administration of site activities have become a central negotiation point for all stakeholders. This situation has sparked conflict, and in many regards can be seen as the primary impediment to the inclusion of the participant perspective at Chan Chan.

#### *Land Use Change & Conflict at Chan Chan*

The administrative authority vested in the INC and Executive Unit #110 – Chan Chan by the national government of Peru, has placed them in charge of one of the most important archaeological sites in Peru. Their primary responsibilities there include the protection and investigation of the archaeological remains, restoration of damaged sections of monumental architecture, and promotion of the site as a tourist destination

(Instituto Nacional de Cultura, n.d.). The responsibility of protecting the archaeological remains has been interpreted by these institutions as including the expulsion of inhabitants from within site boundaries. These inhabitants consist almost exclusively of huachaque farmers and their families. This has occurred, or at least been attempted, even though many of the farmers there had legal possession of land titles within current site boundaries before such boundaries were established. The situation is aggravated by the fact that there have been no formal actions taken by site administrators to establish terms of compensation for the removal of these farmers from their lands.

The tactics used by site administrators in the recent past have included forced expulsion of persons from the property with the aid of the National Civil Police, as well as demolition of house structures, destruction of livestock and agricultural crops, and the capping of domestic water wells (Gomez 2010, Goseña 2010). Even in the face of such actions on the part of institutional stakeholders at Chan Chan, the farmers have largely remained firm in the conviction that the land is theirs, and that they have a right to continue farming there. Although many huachaque farmers did relocate their place of residence following multiple episodes of demolition, the majority has continued to cultivate there (which necessitates a commute and added cost). A smaller group of farmers has maintained physical residence within the site boundaries, having rebuilt their homes after prior demolitions.

Jose Goseña was again able to provide a detailed history of the actions of outside stakeholders in regard to land use change at Chan Chan, based upon his long-term residence there. His memories of outside influence actually begin long before the site was officially administered by legally recognized institutions such as the INC and Executive

Unit, and illustrate some of the ways that the land use and valuation at Chan Chan has fluctuated according to the different actors involved. Although the first historical instances do not directly impact the current situation at Chan Chan, they do form the antecedents upon which present day actors base their assumptions and opinions about the current situation.

For example, one of the first intrusions (as defined by this informant) on the site in modern memory occurred as part of a regional road improvement initiative. A highway was to be extended between the City of Trujillo, and the then small fishing village of Huanchaco. The most direct route for the highway bisected the site of Chan Chan. José recalls that in the years of 1948 & 1949 the work was completed with little disregard to the archeological integrity of the site, with a certain degree of destruction of monumental architecture and looting of artifacts occurring in the process. Inspired by this, the National University of Trujillo sent representatives in 1951 to begin the first apparent modern intervention of institutions for the protection of the archaeological remains of Chan Chan. The University representatives were some of the first to begin the prolonged endeavor of delineating site boundaries, therefore starting the process through which future determination of land rights would be gauged. Subject to challenge during this first iteration of site boundary delineation were the local haciendas, which had large amounts of property within the area that University representatives considered part of the archaeological site. These haciendas had not yet begun to sell off land in the anticipation of the agrarian reform, and were apparently able to act with relative impunity in the face of University recommendations. Large areas of monumental architecture and habitation areas of the ancient city were plowed, leveled, and looted during this time (although it is

almost certain that this had been occurring to a certain degree previously). The purported discovery of large amounts of valuable artifacts during the highway construction may have added to the interest of hacienda employees in looting of the site for profit. There may also have been some incentive to take control of undeveloped agricultural lands before any official designation of site boundaries could occur (Goseña 2010). An expansion of the original National University of Trujillo site boundary delineation occurred in 1967, adding more attention and momentum to the effort of conserving the site (Gomez 2010). What is clear is that formal institutional interest in the protection of Chan Chan as important cultural patrimony was beginning in earnest.

There were interim activities that sought to bring Chan Chan to the forefront as one of Peru's most important archaeological sites during the years following these early efforts. These included archaeological investigations by foreign and national academics, preliminary attempts at conservation of the monumental architecture, and the building of museum infrastructure (Instituto Nacional de Cultura, n.d.). However, the next major event in the movement towards official recognition and protection of the site occurred in 1986. This was the year the Chan Chan was named as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, a designation that would forever change the concept of land use there, and which would sanction the presence of institutional authorities such as the INC and Executive Unit #110 – Chan Chan.

It is interesting that one of the first actions taken by these two newly incorporated stakeholders was the dramatic and decisive attempt to evict residents from the area now officially delineated as a national archaeological site (with international legitimacy). Once official site boundaries had been established by this designation, the now seemingly

immutable boundaries of the site formed a cut-off point within which no modern intrusion could exist. The first major phase of evictions and demolitions occurred July 10, 1987 (Gomez 2010). Assisted by a large contingent of approximately three-hundred National Civil Police that had been mobilized and consolidated from surrounding areas (in numbers much larger than would normally be available in the region), and under the direction of INC and Executive Unit representatives, residents were forcibly evicted. Although there had been prior warning of this action, many residents remained unprepared. Bulldozers were utilized in the demolition of homes and other modern infrastructure, and in some cases the loading buckets of these machines were filled with people, who were driven to the Trujillo-Huanchaco highway and dropped off there. Rezzeta, a large commercial pig farming venture that had moved into the area was also impacted by the evictions. Its infrastructure was demolished, and many of its animals were killed on-site (Goseña 2010). These actions indicate that the authority and legitimacy of the newly established (at this site) institutions of the INC and Executive Unit was sufficient to preclude the successful resistance of both private and commercial interest within the site boundaries of Chan Chan. Although these evictions and demolitions (which occurred again in 1997) were an obvious use of power on the part of the institutional actors the huachaque farmers did not relinquish complete control of the farmlands.

Huachaque farmers countered the dispute over land tenure at Chan Chan with the tactic of continued land occupation. This tactic had gained popular recognition during the years of the agrarian reform, and because the farmers in the huachques had previously purchased land, they were able to utilize this tactic as part of the larger struggle for the

recognition of land tenure in Peru. As stated previously, many farmers did relocate their place of residence to surrounding communities after the demolitions, but did not stop farming their fields. Investing money in new housing construction on the site was seen as economically irresponsible because these houses could be easily destroyed by state entities. But the land is a permanent resource, and farmers expressed their valuation of the huachagues through their actions: being willing to commute from outside the site in order to continue farming lands that merited the extra effort.

A contrast in definitions of must be highlighted here. Two different general concepts exist for what protection of the archaeology of Chan Chan means, each one exclusive to the two major stakeholders. For the INC and Executive Unit (viewed in this specific example as one side of the conflict; these two entities will be analyzed as separately functioning stakeholders later in the discussion) the protection of Chan Chan requires the complete control of the resource, and the exclusion of any stakeholders that do not act according to the specific mandates set forth by the Master Work Plan for Chan Chan. For the huachaque farmers, protection of the archaeology means continued farming, and the exclusion of outsiders engaged in looting activities.

Continued farming of the huachagues was cited by multiple farmers as a necessary measure for preserving the adobe construction of the monumental architecture at Chan Chan. This assertion is made by farmers because of the purported benefits of having groundcover plants protecting the adobe architecture from erosion. “The presence of the farmers is important for the conservation of the archaeological monuments. It is very important.” says Victor Julio Cruz Rubio (2010), referring both to the groundcover benefits of continued cultivation, as well as the ability of plants to remove the dangerous

salinity from the groundwater. José Cruz (2010) affirms that without continued cultivation, the soils surrounding the monumental architecture of Chan Chan experience noticeable increases in crystallized salt build-up. The presence of such salts has been identified by site administrators as detrimental to the archaeological remains (Instituto Nacional de Cultura, n.d.). Also, farmers see cultivation as a natural means of maintaining appropriate water levels. This is achieved by the water level maintenance practices used by huachaque farmers, as described above, as well as the ability of plants to extract water from the soil. From the perspective of the huachaque farmers, their activities are a necessary and beneficial influence upon the conservation of the archaeological remains.

Another claim made by huachaque farmers in defense of their presence at Chan Chan is their role as unpaid guardians of the site. Although a certain amount of looting has occurred, especially in the area of ancient cemetery (which is relatively remote in relation to the huachagues), huachaque farmers contend that they have been instrumental in keeping these activities to a minimum. Looting of archaeological sites in Peru is a serious offense, and the presence of watchful eyes in the area is claimed to be a deterrent. Farmers in the area are very much aware of the comings-and-goings of different individuals, and know who is there for legitimate purposes. However, the responsibility felt by huachaque farmers to be good stewards in this respect has diminished in the years since the evictions and demolitions occurred. They seem to have taken a reactionary view, assuming that if site administrators feel they hold dominion over the site, they must be willing and able to perform this task themselves.

Paradoxical to the attempted eviction of huachaque farmers from within site boundaries remains the fact that both the INC and Executive Units have themselves stated the importance of the presence of farmers in the huachagues. The Master Work Plan for Chan Chan states explicitly that the presence of farmers in the huachaque “would create a human barrier that will strategically avoid the infiltration or invasion of human groups towards the southern areas of Chan Chan... (Instituto Nacional de Cultura, n.d. 5.1.2:1).” Although the wording of this assessment may be criticized in its apparent dismissal of the “human groups” already present, the statement seemingly provides some legitimacy to the huachaque farmers’ claims for continued presence there.

Another narrative that is common among modern Chan Chan farmers is their claim as preservers of the cultural and agricultural traditions of the ancient Chimu who built the city of Chan Chan. A narrative of inheritance was a commonly occurring theme used by modern farmers when validating their right to continue farming in the huachagues. The continuation of an ancient farming tradition was one way in which farmers were able justify their presence in opposition to the desire of site administrators to remove them from within site boundaries. While it remains difficult to separate a constructed reality used as a bargaining position (validation through identity construction as direct lineage from Chimu ancestors), from a sentiment that actually holds deep meaning for individuals, it is important to note that all informants expressed this theme in some form during research.

However, in many cases the assertion by current farmers that they are the descendants of the original Chimu agriculturists must be viewed with skepticism. This is primarily because many informants indicated that they or their families had in-migrated

to the coast within the decades of the mid-to-late twentieth century (Cruz 2010; Gomez 2010; Goseña 2010; Reyes 2010). In-migration to the coast from the highlands has been a common trend in Peru as the scarcity of employment in highland regions has forced rural residents to look for a better life. Employment rates are higher on the coast, and in-migrants to the region can find jobs in a more highly diversified economy. Many highland in-migrants to the region continue to seek employment / income generation through agriculture, as in the case of many of the huachaque farmers. This places a certain degree of doubt upon how valid claims to the Chimu ancestry can be, other than in very general terms of identity as an agriculturist. Victor Julio Cruz Rubio (2010), president of the local farmers' representative committee discussed below, does state that an estimated 30-40% of farmers in the huachagues have last names of Chimu origin. This information does provide a tentative indication that certain members of this group do have historical claims to the original Chimu ancestry, although any continual link to the original agricultural tradition of the area remains unknown.

Land tenure and land use conflict has become one of the major points of contention at Chan Chan, and has complicated the relationship between the various stakeholders there. Although the legitimacy of the INC and Executive Unit #110 – Chan Chan has allowed them to conduct evictions and demolitions at the site, their legitimacy does not stand unchallenged by huachaque farmers. Aside from the tactic of continued land occupation at the Chan Chan huachagues, local farmers have also mobilized grassroots political organizations as a means of increasing their own legitimacy and for the promotion of popular support. This organization must be explored as part of a greater understanding of the huachaque farmer stakeholder group.

*Social Capital & Organizational Legitimacy*

Social capital theory states that networks of cooperation are dependent upon the ability of stakeholders to express concerns, and build relationships with other stakeholders (Pretty and Smith 2004). The grassroots organization of the rural community association at Chan Chan illustrates the importance of social capital with regard to the participant perspective, and also highlights how the rural elite described above are able to increase their legitimacy. This is especially important as we explore the relationship of these organizations with the larger state-sanctioned organizations of the INC and Executive Units, specifically with regard to negotiation position (i.e. the ability of participants to successfully express and implement their perspective.) This type of rural community association is referred to as a grassroots organization, in reference to the sociological literature concerning such movements.

Grassroots organizations are recognized as a specific type of social group, whose primary goal is to effect social change. This type of social organization is typically characterized by mobilization at the individual and community level, with goals that often include changing a situation at the local scale, especially in the first phases of activity. Interest in these types of groups is inspired by the social mechanisms at work in their function, as well as the degree of influence they can exert on larger social systems; in this case the INC and Executive Unit. They often represent an effective means through which otherwise politically powerless individuals can work together to change the status quo.

The “Committee of Agriculturists Neighboring the Archaeological Citadel of Chan Chan” (CANACC; translation and acronym by author; Comité de Agricultores

Colindantes de la Ciudadela Arqueológica de Chan Chan) is the current grassroots organization active in the struggle for farmers' rights at Chan Chan (Rubio 2010). The organization responds to negative impacts (or activities that could lead to negative impacts) to the way community members gain their livelihoods as agriculturists. It also works to maintain the land tenure and land use rights of farmers. Social capital is integral to this process, and attention must be paid to how community members interact among themselves and outside actors in response to the changing land use and land tenure issues described above.

CANACC represents a membership of 237 farmers from the huachagues of Chan Chan (Rubio 2010). There appears to be a relatively low level of direct participation by individual members, reflecting a general willingness of some members to leave negotiation and other actions in the hands of a relative few, which is characteristic of the dynamic between rural poor and rural elite. The CANACC Board of Directors decides which issues are important enough to notify its members about, and this notification is carried out by individual contact between board members and the majority. Meetings are held sporadically on an ad hoc basis, which is again dictated by when board members feel justification to do so. Even when meetings are scheduled, there is only an estimated 50% attendance rate. This is due in part because of the admitted difficulty of communication between board members and the totality of the general membership. This is due largely to the fact that only an estimated 10% of the organization's members actually reside within the spatial boundaries that the group seeks to protect (Rubio 2010).

Victor Julio Cruz Rubio (2010) has been instrumental in grassroots organization at Chan Chan since land tenure conflict began there between local huachaque farmers and

the INC and Executive Unit. Although the organization has gone through various permutations, its most recent form is the CANACC, which formed in 1996. The group immediately preceding the current one was called the “Defense Committee”, an admittedly weighted phrase that was changed to the more neutral terms used currently. “Its formation has been to defend the lands that we possess, up until now, against abuses of the state...”, says Victor, “...against the frontal attack that they have made by demolishing our houses, capping our wells, and destroying crops. Because of political and economic abuses we saw that we had the obligation to form this unified committee of farmers, to be able to defend our rights...(Rubio 2010).”

It is important to note that CANACC has not been active only in the physical scene of the huachagues, or even in the immediate region. Defense of their rights has included bringing the plight of the huachaque farmers to the attention of the National Congress in Lima. Bypassing some of the most immediately available stakeholders to the Chan Chan case indicates that the CANACC itself may not hold strong opinions of the legitimacy of the INC and Executive Units. “The INC of Trujillo is an institution that doesn’t have the capacity to resolve [problems]. They depend on the supervisor in Lima...and he depends on his supervisor from the Ministry of Education.”, says Victor, “We had to go directly to Lima, and attack the...do the work, better said, at the Congressional level (Rubio 2010).” This level of political involvement exhibits that leading members of CANACC are capable of focused action to increase their legitimacy. It is also obvious that only certain members of this group have been involved in such direct measures (as described by Victor), and that the rural elite paradigm described above is an influential factor in who’s individual voice is heard.

Huachaque farmers and residents at Chan Chan have a certain degree of legally recognized legitimacy, which the CANACC as a collective has capitalized on. This legitimacy comes from the umbrella organization of the “Rural Community Association of Huanchaco”, which was established in 1958 (Rubio 2010). Rural residents at and around Chan Chan fall under the jurisdiction of this association, which is a representative organization recognized by the national government of Peru and which maintains certain legal rights. These rural community associations, which are numerous throughout the country, were sponsored by the Peruvian government to provide indigenous communities a mechanism through which to represent themselves to the elected local governments. They are able to make certain mandates, which are subsequently recognized as local law as long as they do not contradict anything contained within the National Constitution of Peru. The function of CANACC is sanctioned under the legal standing of the Rural Community Association of Huanchaco as a special issue committee of the larger association.

This degree of legitimacy has allowed CANACC members to officially present their cause to the National Congress in Lima, and has been an effective mechanism through which certain gains have been made in the struggle for recognized land tenure at Chan Chan. These gains include the rather significant ruling by the National Congress in favor of the huachaque farmers, as represented by Law 28261: “Law that Declares by Public Necessity and Utility the Recuperation of the Archaeological Complex of Chan Chan”, passed in 2005. This law mandates that adequate compensation is necessary to those farmers able to prove land tenure rights through appropriate documentation, should the site administrators decide to permanently remove them from within site boundaries.

Although this is a significant gain for the huachaque farmers, the law has yet to be enacted. Five years had passed since the approval of this legislation without it being signed into law, even though this should have occurred within ninety days (Rubio 2010). A state of uncertainty still remains in regard to the legal standing of the huachaque farmers until this legislation is signed into law, a tenuous situation that leaves full legitimacy of this group at the national level unfulfilled.

As mentioned above, Victor Julio Cruz Rubio has been one of the primary actors for CANACC, and has spearheaded many of the activities of resistance at Chan Chan. His stated opinion of the INC has been heard, but in many regards his relationship with the Executive Unit is of more importance to this discussion. Part of the analysis of the Chan Chan situation necessitates viewing interpersonal relationships as part of the larger spectrum of socio-cultural variables that can affect outcomes, as indicated by the UNF. The legitimacy of CANACC, and of Victor in particular, is therefore not dependent upon political legitimacy alone.

It is important to note that Victor has had a long and rather complicated relationship with another important stakeholder in this situation, the Director of Executive Unit #110 – Chan Chan, Cristobal Delgado Campana. In very succinct terms it can be said that the relationship between Victor and Cristobal has through the years gone from one of trust and cooperation, to one of animosity, distrust and antagonism. A brief example of this transition is that Cristobal is the godfather to two of Victor's children (a role that holds greater significance in Latin America than it typically does in the United States), but at the time of fieldwork Victor was preparing to denounce Cristobal to the authorities for accusations of corruption, and has had open confrontations with him in public. The

transition from a relationship built upon friendship and respect to one of hostility involves details of their interaction that fall beyond the purpose of this work to highlight. However, this situation has obvious implications for the incorporation of the participant perspective into future projects at Chan Chan, specifically because the most prominent and active members of two important stakeholder groups are at odds.

Aside from the interpersonal struggles between these two individual stakeholders, there has also been a history of conflict between the larger institutional actors at Chan Chan. One example provides insight into how the implementation of projects there has failed in the past. This example illustrates not only some of the difficulties inherent in project implementation, but also the topic of legitimacy and agency between actors and across the macro, meso, and micro scale. Because this case also involved many of the huachaque farmers, a description of this past project failure will prove helpful in analyzing the possibility of any future endeavor.

### Past Experience with Project Implementation at Chan Chan

The example provided here is not only pertinent to our discussion, it is an exact illustration of how conservation and development projects have failed in the past at Chan Chan. Previous attempts have been made to establish demonstration garden plots in the huachagues of Chan Chan. The current project proposal is the second time this endeavor has been suggested.

Cruz explains how he, and other local farmers, approached the site administrators of the Executive Unit #110, with the idea of implementing a demonstration garden plot in the Huachaque Grande. It is interesting to note that local farmers approached the

institutional representatives of Chan Chan, utilizing their knowledge of the goals of the Master Work Plan for Chan Chan as validation. Cruz and others elaborated a project design and economic profile outlining the costs of the proposed activities in 2007. As he explains:

“We had an idea, that the ideal people to involve would be people from the area; those that had experience in the cultivation of original [endemic] plants. And because of this, we had the opportunity to speak with Cristobal Campana, [Director], with the Executive Unit [#110 Chan Chan]. And we presented him with the idea of doing a project to plant mate gourds, which is an original plant of the huachaques of Chan Chan. These gourds were used in antiquity as a utilitarian product, of use as a vessel; and different uses in everyday life. Like for fishing, as floats. A substitute for pots of today. A place to store seeds. Also, they were used as a type of planting aid; as receptacles that you could take to the cultivation fields [filled with seeds] to be able to plant. At the same time, you could use them to bring [drinking] water to the fields, fresh water. [These are some uses,] among other gifts that the mate gave in our area, especially in the huachaques of Chan Chan.”

“Based on all of this, we presented to Dr. Campana, as I repeat, the [project] idea. And he passed along the information to the Executive Unit, and he helped out a lot with the initiative. We also had preliminary meetings with the Director of the INC [National Cultural Institute]. In these meetings the Director of the INC authorized the cleaning of one piece of the Huachaque Grande. A cleaning; because it was filled with debris, filled with weeds, insects, spiders, and rats. Abandoned, the huachaque was abandoned, the area of Huachaque Grande. We succeeded in cleaning the area, and in the days following the cleaning we proceeded in planting native plants. Such as mate [gourds], aji mochero [chiles], and other native plants. We had some tomato plants. Also, a little bit of tomatillo, which is another native plant of the huachaques; we made a small plot of tomatillo. We applied natural fertilizers to everything. Compost, decomposed bird droppings. And we continued to cultivate. At first we were able to harvest a little bit, but the problem was that the INC established a denouncement against us. Against the Director of the Executive Unit, Dr. Campana, who had authorized the cultivation, and against me (Cruz 2010).”

When asked why a denouncement, which is a preliminary step in initiating legal proceedings, had been made against both himself and the Director of the Executive Unit by the INC, he explained that “they suspected that we were [negatively] affecting the

archaeological zone” (Cruz 2010). The situation was more complicated than just the issue of protecting cultural patrimony however. Cruz (2010) continues:

“What happened was that once the area, once the area of the Huachaque Grande began to produce, the particular interests of those involved persisted. Like the INC taking the first step; denouncing us left vulnerability that third parties would take advantage of these. So, they left us deprived of strength in any case. Because if they don’t help you...if the Director of the [Executive] Unit is denounced, and if they denounce those of us involved, a third party comes along and takes advantage of these proceedings (Cruz 2010).”

These third parties included commercial farming investors that had in recent years begun to infiltrate the larger huachaque zone from outside the area. These investors had the capital necessary to plant crops at a larger scale than the typical huachaque farmer could, especially because many original huachaque farmers were unable to obtain credit.

When these outside investors began to see new lands come under production through the effort of the project that Cruz had helped initiate, they pressured members of the INC to intervene. This is a pertinent and striking example of how this specific group of rural elite is able to mobilize for their own interests. They are able to do this partly based upon their access to capital, but in this example mainly upon their ability to manipulate established rules and regulations (such as the INC’s mandate to protect cultural patrimony). This ability is important to recognize because it suggests that the negotiation process at Chan Chan can be complicated by third party actors that have little legitimate ties to the land, other than their ability to take over abandoned or unused tracts for cultivation. These tracts are areas that long-term huachaque farmers, those that have been in the area for decades or generations, have not been able to cultivate due to prohibitive economic situations. These third parties pay members of the rural poor as their labor force, using them as modern-day colonos on property that they do not own.

These rural poor farmers are the ones that prepare, plant, and harvest the lands sequestered by these capitalist interests, and are typically the only ones to maintain any physical permanence during this process. This technique generally creates a situation wherein there are few consequences for the investors. For example, these capitalist investors do not spend any money for land titles, and if an institutional authority takes action to evict, their capital mobility allows them to abandon any farming activities with relatively little repercussion (other than the loss of money already spent on seed, labor, etc.). They do not have long-standing familial ties to the huachagues. Interestingly, the huachague farmers contacted during research view this type of rural elite farmer as an invader in much the same way that the institutional stakeholders at Chan Chan view the more typical long-term huachague residents. Cruz (2010) continues:

“What happened is that people from outside came in with capital, and they got other people from the area involved. Because we began to drain it. We cleaned it. The humidity lowered, and made it so that the soil was completely aired out, and ready to plant. At first they didn’t invade because it was with the water almost at the surface, and you couldn’t plant anything. Because we had cleaned everything, they began to show up. First the denouncement of the INC, and second the interests of third parties (Cruz 2010).”

This was done in order to force Cruz and his fellow farmers out of the newly productive huachague farmlands. Pressure from these outside influences, both invidious capitalist farmers and the actions of the INC, eventually drove the project to a halt:

“We had to abandon it all. I stayed in the fields, but I was receiving too many threats from the people involved. So, I didn’t have help from either the INC or the Executive Unit. The Executive Unit couldn’t do anything because of the denouncement. So, I had to abandon everything with my group of people that were helping, because we didn’t have any type of economic support to be able to cultivate the area. And also because of the threats that kept occurring. And we’ve never received help from the INC in this respect (Cruz 2010).”

At the time of field research in 2010, the same area that had been cleared and cultivated during the short duration of the original demonstration garden plot project was under cultivation by hired workers of the capitalist investors that had forced Cruz and his associates out. It appears that the pressure they had applied to the INC, by citing illegal encroachment upon cultural patrimony by the Cruz project, had merely been a ploy to take control of the lands once the official project had been forced out.

Outside influences, both institutional and from a specific segment of the rural elite, stifled the ability of Cruz and his associates to continue. These influences included the retraction of informal permission for land use by the INC because of outside pressure, and the economic limitations that began to occur when the Executive Unit was denounced and could no longer provide funds. The capitalist farming interest of better financed members of the rural elite were, however, able to remain in the area after any official involvement with undertaking had ceased. This occurred after much of the manual labor required for the preparation of the land had been provided by huachaque farmers seeking to implement a project using institutionally recognized authority. This example illustrates the complicated relationship between the institution and the individual, as well as how important it is to view all stakeholders in relation to the concept of macro, meso, and micro level variables. Also, incentives have likely been effected by this prior attempt to implement a demonstration garden plot project at Chan Chan.

The Chan Chan case study, specifically the ways in which different stakeholders interact with one another and use varying levels of legitimacy for their own purposes, has been shown to be a rather complicated and contentious situation. The discussion will now

turn to the Huaca Chotuna case study. This case will provide an example of relatively conflict free interaction between stakeholders. Utilizing the Huaca Chotuna case as a comparative example during analysis will provide suggestions for how the participant perspective can be incorporated into project planning and implementation at Chan Chan, or highlight the ways in which this may be difficult.

## DISCUSSION OF DATA: HUACA CHOTUNA

As mentioned previously, the time available for research at Huaca Chotuna and its surrounding communities was rather limited. Only one week was available for survey research, and wide spatial distribution of residences in the area made contacting large numbers of community members difficult. Because of the limited timeframe and no possibility for contact with large numbers of respondents, close-ended questions were utilized in the majority of interview schedules. The results of these questions were coded into yes-or-no responses addressing pertinent themes. Information that was provided in addition to the primary questions was also documented in the form of comments. In addition, long format recorded interviews using open-ended questions were performed with the local community association Board of Directors, and the Director of the Executive Unit #111 – Naylamp, Lambayeque.

The Huaca Chotuna case exhibits many similarities to Chan Chan. The nationally recognized archaeological site there is surrounded by multiple agricultural communities, and these communities have had to make adjustments to the presence of a new institutional stakeholder in the area in the form of the Executive Unit assigned to administer the archaeological remains. There has been a reconfiguration of land use designation based upon the mandate by national level institutions, namely the INC, to delineate archaeological site boundaries. There is also an active community association that represents the interests of landholders in the area, much the same as CANACC at Chan Chan.

The main difference between the Huaca Chotuna and Chan Chan cases, however, is the relative lack of conflict present at Huaca Chotuna. Community members have not

experienced any significant degree of disruption to their preferred land management practices, and survey results indicate that they do not report negative effects from the activities of the Executive Unit. This illustrates the possibility for relatively harmonious interactions between institutional stakeholders charged with protecting important archaeological remains in Peru, and the communities that surround them. Also, Huaca Chotuna community stakeholders have been incorporated into project activities at the site based upon a significant degree of consultation between both groups, suggesting that interactions between site administrators and community members can include the perspective of both stakeholder groups.

An important distinction between the Chan Chan and Huaca Chotuna case is the lack of negative impacts upon traditional use of local agro-ecosystems by institutional stakeholders. Although the local agricultural practices of the area have been negatively impacted in recent years, this has been due to a downward trend in commodity prices for preferred crops. The newly formed institutional presence of the Executive Unit at Huaca Chotuna, which only began four years prior to fieldwork, has not had any role in curtailing agricultural activities or in altering unique agro-ecosystems. Irrigation agriculture is the preferred technique for production of crops such as rice, maize and cotton surrounding Huaca Chotuna. The unique huachaque agro-ecosystem found at Chan Chan does not exist there. Water management techniques by local farmers have been allowed to continue at Huaca Chotuna without Executive Unit interference, based upon the fact that the irrigation canal system used to provide water does not impact the archaeological site. Also, there is very little possibility of damage to archaeological structures caused by water filtration from below. The topographic and geologic character

of the Huaca Chotuna area does not allow for the presence of high soil moisture content as it does at Chan Chan, and this is a moot point from the perspective of site administrators. Because of this site administrators have not affected the agricultural livelihoods of local community members in any appreciable way. The lack of conflict in these regards has removed one very complicated variable from the interaction between community members and site administrators.

The Huaca Chotuna case also illustrates the importance of the dynamic between the groups labeled above as the rural poor and rural elite. The majority of residents surrounding Huaca Chotuna can be classified as rural poor, and none of the informants contacted during research indicated the presence of in-migrants with access to capital. The social homogeneity of the Huaca Chotuna area is accompanied by a relatively homogenous economic profile, due to limitations in diversification of economic opportunities. Agriculture is the economic mainstay of most of the families; rice, cotton and maize being the primary cash crops of the region. Residents are typically of low, to very low, economic status, often surviving only at subsistence level or slightly above. Young men who engage in commercial fishing operations as seasonal employment sometimes supplement incomes in the area. There is reportedly a high incidence of return to the community by these young men, however (Damien 2010). Rural elite within this group are limited to their function in the RCASJ Board of Directors, and appear to engage in these roles as their primary activity. This stands in contrast to limited agricultural and manual labor engaged in by the majority contingent of rural poor that represent the RCASJ membership.

The relative lack of in-migration from outside the area also differentiates the Huaca Chotuna case from that of Chan Chan. All community respondents indicated that their family has resided in the area for unknown numbers of generations, and there is little indication to suggest that there has been any significant demographic shift into or out of the communities there. Anecdotally, when questioned about their family history, community members surrounding Huaca Chotuna reacted with slight confusion when asked where their family came from originally. This can be interpreted as meaning those respondents identify so heavily with their generational ties to the immediate area that any suggestion of being from outside does not even register as a possibility. Also, surnames of the area indicate links to the very ancient cultural antecedents of the region, and therefore very little demographic shift (la Torre 2010). This cultural characteristic of the communities surrounding Huaca Chotuna is interpreted as influential to community stakeholder identity, and as integral to this group's interaction with the Executive Unit.

The majority of the community's interaction or knowledge of the site's activities has occurred through community outreach and consultation performed by site administrators. This has been a proactive attempt by these administrators to form positive relationships within the community, and reflect the desire to work closely with community members towards development goals. When questioned about the existence of negative effects felt because of the activities of site administrators, only one out of fourteen community respondents claimed to have experienced a negative effect. This indicates that the level of consultation performed by site administrators appears to be sufficient to avoid conflict or negative effects to the community.

One of the primary goals of the Huaca Chotuna site administration is to improve the economy and quality of life of the communities surrounding the site. Part of this is reflected in the fact that many of the respondents were either currently employed, previously employed, or had family members that had been or were employed in site-associated work. The relative absence of non-agricultural employment in the area makes the influence of site employment attractive, and it appears that many of the respondents react favorably to this situation.

Carlos Wester la Torre, Director of Executive Unit #111 – Naylamp, Lambayeque, has been instrumental in fostering this type of relationship. Through a conscious effort, and partially based upon observation of failed initiatives at other archaeological sites of the region, Carlos has striven to put community outreach and integration at the forefront of the larger effort of site preservation and interpretation. He says, “We want to learn all of the good things they have done [in other projects], but also the bad. We can’t make the same mistakes, because if we do we’ll exacerbate the problem” (la Torre 2010). His own description of this approach provides insight into how this has evolved at Huaca Chotuna. Carlos describes:

“We began the investigations here with a greater degree of excavation, with a lot of focus on conservation, but with a lot of focus on the workers as well. We began to know the people here a bit more; what they do [for a living]; how much they earned before beginning to work with us; what professions had they worked in; how many children they had. We conducted a small survey and the results were important to us because we learned that the workers had been receiving [an average of] eight to ten nuevos soles a day, and at the most ten to fifteen a day. We began to form a relationship with these people, and we decided that based upon the economy [of the area] we would pay twenty nuevos soles each day. And so, from one moment to the next we duplicated their income. So that’s going to have an impact in the economy of the community. Its going to mean that more kids go to school, that there is more satisfaction at the dinner table where they eat everyday, that there are new [and better nutritional quality] foods on these tables that were scarce before, an impact on [the availability of] clothing, on the ability

to raise animals, and more than anything on the ability to farm their plots. Where before they weren't able to plant, they now have the opportunity to have an income that allows them to start farming again. So, it's true that the project has had certain effects: at the level of scientific discoveries; in the advanced understanding of history; and at the same time at the social level. Because if I were to ask "how were things here ten years ago?", [the answer would be] that things were totally different from what they are now. I notice that there are many expectations that the people have here, and that they are expecting more to come. And for us this isn't a bad thing, it's good. Because it means that we have gained [their] trust, [that we have] credibility (la Torre 2010)."

This focus on trust and credibility is important to note, especially when considering the topics of legitimacy and interpersonal relationships, and how important these can be in the successful implementation of projects. Carlos and his staff have made contact with a majority of the community members surrounding Huaca Chotuna through the rural community association, and have established relationships with certain community liaisons that have been active in the integration of the site institutions into the area. Carlos describes:

"...Something very important has been that we have made contact with two or three people from the area who have played a very important role in this whole process. One of them is Augusto Santa Maria, our friend who is a leader of the community, and very respected by the people. He is a master curandero as well, and has served as a vehicle of communication; he's been the communicator between us [from the Executive Unit] and the community. And secondly, the Rural Community [Association] of San José, with Milagro Acosta. I believe that without them it would have been impossible to put together all of these efforts in the area. We wouldn't have been able to do this by ourselves, because all of the sudden we would have had many problems. I think that we have made contact with the appropriate people. I have spoken with them [Agusto and Milagro], but more than anything with all of the members [of the rural community association], and I ask them if they ever thought that this type of thing would ever happen here, and they say that they never thought it would (la Torre 2010)."

This level of engagement has proved critical to the success of any efforts at Huaca Chotuna. This due largely to the legal legitimacy of the Rural Community Association of San José mentioned in the quote above (which has the exact same historical origins as the

Rural Community Association of Huanchaco described at Chan Chan), but also due to the legitimacy that Carlos Wester la Torre recognizes on a personal level. It has been shown in the Chan Chan case that much of the “on-the-ground” function of legally legitimate community organizations can be curtailed if powerful stakeholders decide to ignore this legitimacy. This is not the case at Huaca Chotuna. Carlos continues:

“...Right now a Board of Directors exists in the community with which we can converse, with which we can sit down at the table, and that has the capacity to understand [the situation] and adjust its position to the benefits of its members. Because the decisions that [the Board of Directors] make aren't [necessarily] going to affect me, but they will sway the opinion of dozens of families upon whom we depend for everything that we do here. But I think that the decisions that the community is making right now are intelligent ones, because they're always thinking that the project shouldn't be subjected to obstacles or problems because their fellow community members are there. And [these fellow community members] are the best ones to provide testimonials about things. They are the ones that can tell others about things, and say, 'look, in the project I receive this kind of treatment, they pay me this much, and I'm happy.' (la Torre 2010).”

There appears to be a significant amount of mutual respect from the community members as well. When contacted, Augusto Santa María Garcia (2010) expressed satisfaction with his interactions with members of the Executive Unit. His initial contact with the archaeological project came when he was contacted directly by Carlos, who was organizing a small informal social event with some of the local (male) farmers of the area. According to Augusto, Carlos said he would provide food for the gathering, and wanted to use the event as a means of getting to know the local farmers that Augusto had seen fit to invite. This tactic provided an opportunity for a recognized community leader to introduce a contingent of active community members that he thought would like to become involved with site activities. The meeting occurred on the grounds of the newly established archaeological park, but instead of using this newly controversial setting (in terms of land-use change) for the purposes of argument or conflict, it was used as a

meeting ground upon which to share food, chicha (an artisanal corn-based beer), and conversation. Community members were allowed to cut firewood there, which benefited both their homes and the site, which needed tree clearance in certain areas. Community members were also introduced to the Executive Unit staff, and many went on to become employed at the site. This informal social networking served to form an important link between the community and the institution of the Executive Unit. In Augusto's estimation, it was an important beginning to what he still sees as a positive relationship (Garcia 2010).

**Relations between the Rural Community Association of San José (RCASJ) and the Executive Unit at Huaca Chotuna also appear to be constructive. The Board of Directors of the RCASJ expresses that they feel able to work with the Huaca Chotuna Executive Unit. They also maintain very strong opinions about their own legitimacy. When questioned about their function in relation to community interaction with site administrators, board member Milagro Acosta stated matter-of-factly that the Board of Directors is "...regulating all of the projects that they are going to implement at Huaca Chotuna (RCASJ 2010)." This degree of certitude is perhaps based upon the previous degree of success in negotiation that the RCASJ has had with the Executive Unit. One key element in the RCASJ's position is that they require community members be utilized as the primary work force for activities at Huaca Chotuna. In their own words:**

**"The agreement with the museum, with the archaeologists [of the Executive Unit], is that there will be work for the people [of the community]. This is part of the agreement that we're going to sign. They're going to commit to giving work to the people (RCASJ 2010)."**

**This requirement has been a fundamental part of the community's demands, and appears to be respected by the Executive Unit in its hiring practices, even before a formal agreement is signed. An important thing to highlight is the fact that Huaca Chotuna community members, as represented by their community association, are involved in this dialogue in the first place. Huaca Chotuna does not yet have a formal Master Work Plan (as in the Chan Chan case), but the development of this work plan is occurring with the input and recommendations of the RCASJ. These Master Work Plans are legally binding documents passed by acts of the National Congress of Peru, and dictate all future activities at important archaeological sites. The fact that the community has direct input into the development of this document is consequential. It is also a significant indicator of the desire of both stakeholder parties to work together towards the formation of a relationship that benefits everyone concerned. The implications of this situation illustrate the possibility for cohesive negotiation between institutional and community stakeholders.**

The Huaca Chotuna case highlights certain characteristics of stakeholder interaction that apparently contribute to less conflict, increased communication, and a relatively high degree of community participant incorporation. This case stands in contrast to the Chan Chan situation, and can be used as a comparative example. Utilizing the UNF described above, details of these two cases will be made explicit within the six variable categories of interest.

## ANALYSIS

Discussion will now focus on an analysis of the data presented in previous sections. Information that has been provided about agro-ecological, previous participation, and social capital factors within our two case studies will be synthesized and interpreted in a way that will illustrate the possibility (or lack thereof) of incorporating the participant perspective into the Chan Chan demonstration garden project. This analysis will incorporate data that was collected in the Huaca Chotuna case study in an attempt to provide a comparative analysis. As stated explained above, the situation at Chan Chan was seen to be largely untenable from the very outset of field research there, by different shareholders and myself. The difficulty encountered at Chan Chan was due to social, cultural, and political variables. Huaca Chotuna on the other hand appeared to exhibit the possibility of continued participant contributions to future project implementation there. Both of these situations will be analyzed a way that will make positive and negative elements of both situations explicit.

For the purposes of such an analysis, the Unifying Negotiation Framework (UNF), as presented by Daniels, Emborg, and Walker (2009) will be utilized. Each of the six variables will be described from the point of view of the Chan Chan case study, with pertinent comparisons provided from the Huaca Chotuna case study. Because this analysis seeks to address the research question of how to “successfully incorporate the participant perspective?” the data categorized below will be derived primarily from the information provided by community stakeholders. Although this analysis must address the perspectives of site administrators as well, these perspectives will be framed within the context of outside influences to participant realities. For this purpose they will be

analyzed as separate macro and meso level variables, due to the fact that they effectively form the operational environment within which the community-level stakeholders must act. To begin, it is necessary to describe the available data within the six variables important to the UNF: culture, institutions, agency, incentives, cognition, and AOE.

### *Culture*

General cultural characteristics (those at the macro level) of the Chan Chan case study community participants can be defined in broad terms as consisting of Peruvian nationals from the north coast. The more important characteristics become evident at the meso level, where identity as huachaque farmers become more important. This shared identity, as represented by all Chan Chan community informants includes, but is not limited to, characteristics of: high levels of traditional ecological knowledge (TEK); feeling of special connection to the huachaque production system; and involvement in modern commercial agricultural production directly linked to local and international market demands. Longevity of residence in the area plays a role in the cultural identity of the informants as well. Although many have resided in the area for long periods of time, and many of the younger informants were in fact born in the area, there is an over-representation of families with immediate temporal links to highland (sierra) areas. This is an important distinction because it may influence attitudes such as attachment to place and willingness to relocate.

Huaca Chotuna community informants possess all of the same characteristics mentioned above (substituting huachaque farmer with standard irrigation agriculturist), with the notable exception of length of residence. In this case, every informant is from

the immediate area, and has long-standing (generational) family history in the area. In-migration is not present in any large degree, and out-migration is usually not permanent.

Site administrators from both case studies, presented here at the meso level, come from a culture of Peruvian bureaucrats. This entails a variety of different cultural characteristics, which include, but are not limited to: moderate-to-highly politicized ideological orientation (from any of the available party persuasions); susceptibility to the influences of corruption engaged in by cohorts or willingness partake in corruption personally. These characteristics are influential in how bureaucratic functions operate within their own culture, as well as how they are perceived by outside cultures. These characteristics are also important to understanding what degree of limitation or facilitation site administrators are able to provide for the inclusion of the participant perspective in any future social development or biodiversity conservation efforts.

### *Institutions*

Their organization of, and membership in the CANACC, as described previously, represents the institutional orientation of Chan Chan community informants. This organization is characterized by: relatively low levels of communication and interaction between all members on a regular basis; dispersed residence of the majority of its members outside the huachaque area; and relatively low levels of legitimacy, as defined by outside institutions (such the INC, and Executive Unit). Institutional affiliation appears to be rather weak because of these characteristics, although the majority of informants report membership in the CANACC organization.

This contrasts with the Huaca Chotuna case study, which exhibits opposing characteristics on each point mentioned for CANACC members from Chan Chan. RCSJ

members at Huaca Chotuna have higher levels of communication and interaction, extremely high incidences of local residency of members, and strong legitimacy in dealings with outside institutions.

The institutional characteristics of the Executive Units, which are present in each case study, include: authority to manage cultural patrimony resources, with special focus on project planning; ability to influence the activities of community members within the boundaries of this cultural patrimony, and often beyond; and the requirement that they conform to the laws and policies of agencies above them in the bureaucratic hierarchy. These characteristics can be seen as somewhat rigid in both cases.

### *Agency*

Agency is a rather complicated variable in this context. Daniels and Walker (2009) frame this variable as the ability of a group to exercise power within a given negotiation scenario. This ability is inherently limited in both case studies, especially because the setting for negotiation or participation is dictated by the Executive Unit institutional context. Although the CANACC has been successful in lobbying the National Congress of Peru to defend their rights, this success has not been met with any appreciable effect “on-the-ground” to this point. Community members may have sufficient agency in their daily lives or dealings within their cohort, the larger contextual setting of this discussion suggests that the Chan Chan case study be viewed as limited in the degree of agency that community stakeholders can attain. The Huaca Chotuna case study is slightly less problematic in this respect, due to the fact that RCSJ is afforded a significant degree of legitimacy by the site administrators.

The meso level expression of agency within this specific context, as it pertains to the site administrators, is rather uniform. Both Executive Units are free to engage in project planning and implementation, although they are required to do so within the bounds of regulation as set forth by Peruvian law. Agency, and the way power can be exerted over a given situation is less of a concern for site administrators, specifically because they have legal authority. The Huaca Chotuna Executive Unit is afforded special consideration in this regard due to the fact that they have yet to formally establish a legally binding Master Work Plan for the site.

### *Incentives*

Incentives in the Chan Chan case will be viewed from the perspective of what incentives the community stakeholder group has for engaging and cooperating with the Executive Unit. In this case there appears to be a high incentive to do so. Because of the history of land use conflict and uncertainty about the future of land tenure there, a high level of benefit could be gained by forming closer bonds with administrators. Aligning goals and forming cooperative relationships with site administrators would likely have a positive outcome for Chan Chan farmer. This incentive could result in greater degrees of stability, and possible benefits through an increased amount of development activities. This is also true in Huaca Chotuna, where there is a high incentive to engage and cooperate with administrators as a means of diversifying economic opportunities in the area.

One important observation about the role of incentives in the Chan Chan case is the possibility that there are in fact dis-incentives towards collaboration. As shown, prior attempts at implementing a demonstration garden plot failed due to the actions of actors

outside of the community participant and Executive Unit stakeholder groups. Actors from the INC and members of a non-resident rural elite were instrumental in thwarting full implementation of the project. Both of these groups had their own set of motivations, and their actions directly affected the primary study groups. This has likely influenced the actions and assumptions of stakeholders towards future project implementation.

In general terms however, administrators have relatively little incentive to engage or cooperate with either group. Their overall mission and goals do not depend upon these communities in any substantial way. They will continue to be funded and staffed, so long as they fulfill their primary duty as the managers of the cultural patrimony in their charge. Unless there are specific mandates from within the bureaucratic hierarchy that oversees these Executive Units, there is little incentive for engagement or cooperation. This is less true in the case of Huaca Chotuna site administrators, due to the fact that they have expressed desire to engage with community members as a means of more successfully completing goals that they have set forth at the site. As discussed previously, the Director of the Huaca Chotuna Executive Unit has made engagement with the community a priority. This attitude appears to be based upon personal orientation, however, and is not necessarily incentivized by the institutional context within which he operates.

### *Cognition*

The cognitive variable, which refers to how and why decisions are made within a given situation, is difficult to define in the Chan Chan case. It is highly influenced by the actor orientation and experience variable discussed below, because of the fact that many of the actors from both levels of analysis (community members and administrators) have had confrontational experiences with one another. This inherently shifts decision-making

strategies away from un-biased and rational, towards a strategy based upon a confrontational and sometimes vindictive motivation. Biased decision making in this case appears to have problematic implications for both community members and site administrators. This bias is linked to other influences in the cognitive process, such as what each stakeholder group knows from previous experience about the other, the assumptions (subconscious and explicit) that this entails, as well as what implication this may have for assumptions about possible outcomes.

This is contrasted by the Huaca Chotuna case, where relations have been positive and relatively cooperative. The decision making process is not burdened by factors other than what is best for the actors and the situation at hand. There is still mutual development of community/administrative relations that is taking place at Huaca Chotuna, which has left this variable objective.

An important element of the cognition of stakeholders from both Chan Chan and Huaca Chotuna, and especially relevant to the community stakeholder group, is the generally recognized possibility for corruption (Rodriguez 2010; RCASJ 2010). Peruvians in general seem to acknowledge the widespread existence of corruption, especially in regards to politically motivated actions. Division along political party lines is common, and there are benefits to being the member of a political party that holds office. These benefits can include greater access to employment, and a higher likelihood of receiving municipal or federal funding. Conversely, members of political parties opposed to those currently in power can be denied employment, and project funding can be withdrawn. The concept of government funding is closely linked to the concept of political corruption in the minds of many Peruvians. Allegations may range between the

mishandling of project funds, to outright accusations of theft or embezzlement. This situation often creates a profound sense of mistrust, especially on the part of community members who feel neglected or cheated in the process. The concept of trust between stakeholders is critical to the decision making process, and shares many common themes with AOE.

### *Actor Orientation and Experience*

The actors from both groups, administrative and community, have had negative experiences within their relationship with one another at Chan Chan. This is perhaps the one of the most important variables in this case, due to the long history of land use conflict (including traumatic events such as forced evictions and property demolition), and interpersonal conflict. Although not always the case, there is a fair amount of resentment at play within personal relations. Also, there appears to be a tendency to retrench into uncompromising positions when interpersonal conflict is renewed in given situations. This reduces communication, and is generally detrimental to cooperation between groups.

The Huaca Chotuna case is much less confrontational, and has yet to be marred by negative actor orientations. Community members still maintain a positive perception of the site administrators, and report a general sense of felt benefit to the community as a result of the administrator's actions thus far. One very important element in the Huaca Chotuna case is the orientation of the Executive Unit's Director, Carlos Wester La Torre. As described above, La Torre is oriented towards working in tandem with community members as part of the larger undertaking at Huaca Chotuna. He views any success of meaningful development at the archaeological site as co-dependent upon the overall

success of community development, as experienced by local community members.

This is a positive orientation, and will likely serve to maintain a communicative and cooperative environment. This orientation may be lacking at Chan Chan due to the long history of bureaucratic and institutional activities there, and the ways in which prior institutional agreements and mandates may preclude change.

### *Interaction of UNF Variables*

When the variables of culture, institutions, agency, incentives, cognition, and AOE are viewed together in the way they influence one another, certain conclusions can be drawn about why the Chan Chan case shows little possibility for the inclusion of the participant perspective. Understanding why this is unlikely in the current situation, however, also provides insight into how this situation can be improved in the future. Because the Huaca Chotuna case has been shown to be relatively successful at incorporating the participant perspective, it provides comparative examples for improvement in the Chan Chan case.

The culture that has developed around the farming of huachaqes, even if this culture has developed among relatively recent in-migrants to the area, is one that plays an important role in this situation. The huachaqes represent a unique agro-ecosystem, and because this agro-ecosystem provides such esteemed natural agricultural inputs (in the form of quality, non-irrigation water source), they are not easily replaced in the minds of farmers. This causes conflict when rivaled by an institutional stakeholder that has a different valuation of this resource, as evidenced by the Executive Unit's eviction of farmers and lowering of huahaque water levels to below cultivatable levels. This is obviously complicated in the Chan Chan case because larger macro level stakeholders

hold more agency than the local institutional actors. Although the Executive Unit is responsible for the daily administration of the archaeological site, they are subject to the oversight of both the INC (which is a national level institution), and the UNESCO (which represents an international institution). Because three levels of bureaucratic culture converge at Chan Chan, it can be difficult to know which exerts more agency when focused through the lens of the Executive Unit's actions. In this case the macro level cultural component, and its effects upon agency at the institutional level, may preclude the free action of individuals, even if these individuals desire to behave differently. Because of this, the Executive Unit #110 – Chan Chan should be viewed as impeded in its ability to incorporate participant perspective, if this contradicts the mandates of the macro level institutional stakeholders involved.

In contrast to this is the ability of the Huaca Chotuna Executive Unit to act more freely within the institutional context. This is most likely due to the fact that the archaeological site of Huaca Chotuna receives much less international attention, and is not subject to the influence of UNESCO. Removing one more institutional stakeholder at the macro level seems to be beneficial to the ability to incorporate the participant perspective in this case. This can also be interpreted as meaning that more direct links between stakeholders is ideal. However, it is unrealistic to assume that institutional stakeholders can be excluded from a given scenario, and techniques for successfully incorporating the participant perspective must be sought depending on other variables in the Chan Chan case.

Agency may be one of the most operationally influential variables in the ability of participant stakeholders to present their perspective, and have it incorporated into project

planning and implementation. It has been shown that the power to impose agency on macro and meso level institutions can be difficult for community participants. However, this may be a flexible situation, one in which the character of interaction between different stakeholders may be crucial. For example, at Chan Chan the stakeholders appear to have entrenched themselves into rather static position where the possibility for negotiation is diminished. The legally recognized agency of institutions at Chan Chan has afforded them the ability to do so. Conversely, the legally illegitimate agency of huachaque farmers has been influential through the use of land occupation, and represents a de facto expression of power. This has been accomplished through community organization, in the formation of CANACC, and through an unwillingness to concede. This stasis has continued due to the inability or unwillingness of stakeholders from both sides to negotiate via open communication and compromise.

The unwillingness to openly communicate and compromise is due in part to the cognitive processes and AOE of key stakeholders. This brings the analysis of the Chan Chan situation to very personal level. Although it is obvious that the cultural and institutional variables in this case may preclude certain actions, it should also be made explicit that the individuals involved in real-time, on-the-ground interactions may in fact be the most important entities. The history of conflict, mistrust and animosity that has been experienced between key stakeholders at Chan Chan over a long period of time may in fact be the largest barrier to incorporating the participant perspective into projects there. Sufficient incentives do not exist to supercede this impasse, and there are certain past experiences that provide dis-incentives to doing so. The lack of effective direct

communication, because of the cognition and AOE of these stakeholders, continues to make incorporation of the community participant stakeholders unlikely at Chan Chan.

This is again contrasted by the Huaca Chotuna case. There has been a relatively brief history of interaction between Executive Unit and community farmer stakeholders, and the initial interactions have been deemed positive by both sides. It is difficult to determine any other cause for this other than the cognitive process on both sides that have allowed for effective communication from the beginning. Both stakeholder groups have recognized and respected the institutional legitimacy of the other, and in the process have created a positive AOE, in regards to the respective groups. Un-biased (or positive bias) cognitive processes and positive AOE may be the most important variables in the incorporation of the participant perspective. Both of these variables appear to depend heavily upon the ability to effectively communicate, and the results of communication appear to reflexively reinforce cognition and AOE.

## CONCLUSION

In summary, what do the results of the UNF analysis imply for the possibility for the successful incorporation of the participant perspective in the Chan Chan demonstrative garden plot project? Several things become apparent through the use of the UNF. First, the cultural and institutional variables identified in this analysis appear to be static, especially when viewed from the administrative perspective. This is due to the difficulty of mitigating the complex interaction between international, national, regional bureaucratic culture, as well as institutional inertia. Because these variables function at a level often not consciously engaged, there is likely little improvement to be made within these fields with regard to further incorporation of the participant perspective in future project planning and implementation. Agency also appears to be a contentious variable in this regard, especially because the balance of power lies almost exclusively with administrative actors, especially in regards to legal recognition. Although community participants may desire to exert control over decision making, in an effort to incorporate their perspective into project planning and implementation, their ability to do so is almost wholly dependent upon concession by site administrators. Imposing agency through the use of land occupation likely serves to exacerbate conflict. This is due to the fact that these community participants are subject to laws, rules, and regulations that site administrators are charged with enacting. However, a very important thing to keep in mind is that this variable, although set directly in opposition between the community and administrative groups, is a space in which progress could be made if administrators are willing to make concessions. This is dependent upon the incentive, cognition, and AOE variables.

Incentive appears to be an area of interaction between site administrators and community participants where more compromise can be attained, and where the possibility for incorporating participant perspective may occur. In the current situation, there is no real incentive for site administrators to incorporate the participant perspective, and having attempted this in the past with negative repercussions may act as a disincentive. However, this variable is not subject to such a permanent (or semi-permanent) stasis as culture, institution, or agency. If negotiation processes advanced towards identifying benefits community participants could provide to the project goals or mission of the site administration, it is possible that more credence would be afforded to their perspective and contribution. Such a dialogue is unlikely to occur at the current time due to factors identified in the cognition and AOE variables.

I propose that the cognition and AOE variables are the most influential to the Chan Chan situation, and are likely the most influential variables in many similar cases. Although these variables are indeed subject to macro and meso level influences that may preclude their ideal function (such as the actions of the larger culture, institutional mandates, or lack of incentives), it is here that I feel the most headway can be made towards successfully incorporating participant perspective, for several reasons. At the foundation of the cognitive and AOE variables lies the concept of effective communication and unbiased decision making. These processes have been stifled at Chan Chan, due to interpersonal conflict, and resentment from past actions that remain into the present day. Although it would be naïve to think that shareholders in any situation similar to that of Chan Chan will be readily willing to put aside differences and resume dialogue,

it is fair to say that efforts could be made to mitigate some of the more negative effects of past conflict and disagreement.

I feel that the best opportunity for further incorporation of participant perspectives in this case will involve a reconfiguration of the communication process. Part of this would entail making biases in decision making explicit to all shareholders, and providing mechanisms for their resolution. Such mechanisms might include moderation by a third party in an effort to realign cognition regarding project goals towards a more neutral and proactive stance. Because the desire to implement a demonstration garden plot project at Chan Chan has been expressed by both major stakeholder groups (and is in fact mandated by the Chan Chan Master Work Plan), this goal can serve as the common ground upon which to mitigate conflict. Also, AOE factors could be identified as part of this process. This tactic would likely serve to defuse biased decision making, reduce confrontational language or actions, and foster a more balanced exchange.

Of fundamental importance to fostering the communication process would be efforts to promote dialogue in neutral settings. Ensuring that all shareholders, from all levels of the official and non-official spectrum, are encouraged to participate in dialogue on a “level playing field” would reduce many of the problems that have arisen from the cognitive and AOE variables identified through the UNF.

The ethnographic research conducted in two semi-rural communities in Northern Peru resulted in the compilation of data regarding the failures and successes of the incorporation of participant perspectives into project planning and implementation. The Chan Chan case study revealed a situation where the community participant perspective has been largely ignored in recent project endeavors. This has been caused by a variety of

interpersonal conflicts and institutional actions against local farmers. The Huaca Chotuna case study in comparison revealed a rather successful incorporation of the participant perspective in project planning and implementation. This has been due to the presence of successful community organization, and willingness by site administrators to engage with local communities. The analysis of both situations using the UNF revealed that the difference between these two case studies are found within the variables of shareholder cognition and actor orientation and experience. It is clear that personal as well as socio-cultural factors are both important in this process.

Of primary importance to both of these cases, and especially important in any endeavor that seeks to implement projects that may alter the livelihoods and preferred practices of community members, is the obvious need to consider multiple variables. The UNF has provided a useful tool for making these variables explicit. However, these variables can only be explored thoroughly when special attention is given to understanding as many details about the societies involved. Planning for the implementation of development, conservation, or other type projects within rural communities has been shown to be a complex process. Pitfalls for the successful implementation of projects involving the incorporation of the participant perspective can arise if such understanding is not made a priority.

Although the Chan Chan case has stagnated because of the problems identified through qualitative research there, the possibility remains for improvement. The incentives of both groups of shareholders can be reframed, and new possibilities for contribution can be made apparent. Methods of communication can be improved, and biases in decision making can be made explicit and mitigated during this process. This is

by no means a simple or straightforward task. However, if viewpoints, concerns and ideas can be expressed in neutral and constructive terms, progress can be made. The successful incorporation of the participant perspective in future project planning and implementation will likely result in a greater degree of success and satisfaction with project results, as defined by all shareholders. Such success would serve as a proactive model for other endeavors in the region, and in similar situations throughout the world.

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