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研究成果の概要（和文）：本研究は、ラ・モリーナ区（ペルー・リマ市）の遺跡の歴史と現状を分析の元に、考古遺産形成の社会過程を理解することを目指した。資料分析、インタビュー、参与観察の使用で、ワカ・メルガレホ遺跡（紀元100-800年）古代から現代までの歴史を理解した。この情報ステークホルダー（区役所、学校の先生、地域住民など）に共有し、彼らがどのようにその情報が受け取り、解釈し、利用したかを観察した。その結果、本研究は一般市民によりわかりやすい考古学情報が必要である。またこの情報はステークホルダーによる多様な活用と視点（観光資産、教育ツール、地域のシンボル）があり、その多様性は管理責任に関する問題を行うと理解した。

## 研究成果の学術的意義や社会的意義

This research contributes to Heritage Studies and Public Archaeology by studying how ancient landscapes have been integrated into modern cities, identifying the problems for preserving ancient remains, and the negotiations needed to better use them with a diversity of interested stakeholders.

研究成果の概要（英文）：This research aimed to study the social process where archaeological remains become Archaeological Heritage by analyzing the history and current situation of archaeological remains at La Molina district (Lima, Peru).

Through document analysis, interviews, and participant observation, it was possible to reconstruct the history of the archaeological site Huaca Melgarejo (100-800 A.D.) to present time. This information was later shared to related stakeholders (local authorities, local schoolteachers, and local residents), observing how later it was received, interpreted, and used by them. As a result, it was noticed that a need for more accessible information to the general public was needed, but also that this information was later reinterpreted by these stakeholders according to their perspective of use of the site (tourism asset, education tool, local symbol). However, this diversity of stakeholders and perspectives has resulted in the lack of accountability for managing the site.

研究分野：Public Archaeology - Heritage Studies

キーワード：Public Archaeology Urban Heritage Andean Archaeology Lima city Peru パブリックアケオロ  
 キ アンデス考古学 都市文化遺産

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### 1. 研究開始当初の背景

Archaeological Heritage is very attractive for the Public (people who are non-professional archaeologists). From museum exhibitions to movies, new discoveries are usually highlighted in news and media, and archaeological sites are often important tourist attractions all over the world (Holtorf 2007). However, the destruction of archaeological remains is a constant threat because of looting for the black market, war, and social conflict, as well as urban and agricultural expansion, among other reasons. A common belief has been that the lack of knowledge of the value of Archaeological Heritage leads to its destruction, therefore governments and specialists have dedicated a great amount of time and resources to elaborate a wide range of strategies to “educate” the Public (Silvermann 2006). Though in many cases this approach was successful to involve local authorities and communities in protecting Archaeological Heritage, it required the presence of an archaeologist and a constant use of economic resources, something that developing countries cannot afford. For example, in the year 2018 in Peru, only 0.38% of the country’s budget (around 170 million dollars) has been scheduled for the Ministry of Culture, a very small number considering it covers the preservation and maintenance of more than 13 000 archaeological sites, 338 museums, and other cultural heritage as well. Why there is a general interest in Archaeological Heritage but very little economic support for it?

A possible answer is that, in developing countries like Peru, there is a monopoly in the management of Archaeological Heritage by specialists like archaeologists (Hernandez Asensio and Arista 2011), and a passive or limited (passive) participation of the Public. This vertical relationship between specialists and the Public has been described by Merriman (2004), Holtorf (2007) and Matsuda (2012) as the “Deficit Model”, where specialists believe that the Public does not have any knowledge about the value of archaeological remains, and it is their duty to teach it. The problem with this approach is that it puts the academic perspective of specialists as official over other existing perspectives about archaeological remains, sometimes silencing or even clashing with them, unintentionally distancing the Public. In the case of developing countries like Peru, this approach also reflects social and economic differences on the access to education, information, and civil rights. Moreover, this approach means that any existing perspective about archaeological remains is ignored or silenced by the academic perspective, sometimes losing important information on the history of these remains.

An alternative approach proposed by these authors is to use a more horizontal model, a “Multiple-perspective model”, where already existing perspectives of the audience about the past are taken in consideration and included in the interpretation and management of Archaeological Heritage, becoming part of the official discourse together with the academic perspective. Though previous studies with this perspective have gathered important data on the relationship between the Public and Archaeological Heritage, these examples are mostly from developed countries, where access to education and information is easier and citizens are more aware of the concepts of civil rights and duties towards cultural heritage. As Matsuda (2004) mentions, it is uncertain if this approach could work in contexts where social differences are stronger, as it happens in Latin America. Therefore, by studying the social and historical context where archaeological remains are located, as well as identifying and analyzing the existent perspectives towards these remains, it would be possible to obtain data that may give a deeper insight on the relationship between different social actors and archaeological remains in developing countries, find out which perspectives and interests archaeological remains can be encouraged to involve it in the protection of Archaeological Heritage, and encourage the active participation of the Public. However, to apply this approach, we still need to find a methodology that let us obtain data to identify and analyze the existing perspectives from its social context, with the following research questions in mind that will guide this research: 1) Do all social actors have a perspective about how to value/use Archaeological Heritage? 2) How these perspectives were created or shaped through time, and what factors were involved? 3) Do similar social contexts shape similar perspectives?

### 2. 研究の目的

With the questions above in mind, this research aimed to study the social context of different perspectives about Archaeological Heritage, to understand how they originate, change, and coexist with other perspectives through time in developing countries, and propose possible ways to find common ground on these perspectives for protecting archaeological remains.

### 3. 研究の方法

This research was carried out on two levels (micro and macro) to obtain detailed data from a case study

(micro level) and compare it with other cases in Peru and elsewhere (macro level).

#### Micro level

For the micro level, archaeological remains located at La Molina district (Lima, Peru) were chosen, particularly the site of Huaca Melgarejo. Since La Molina district is a residential area apart from the typical tourist spots of Lima city, it gives us a clear idea of how archaeological remains have an important value beyond economic activities usually associated to archaeological sites. This site has undergone several different uses since it was built around the year 200 A.D. Originally a ritual and administrative center, it was later used as a cemetery upon arrival of Spanish conquerors, to later become abandoned and reused for animal herding until the 1980's. After this area had an intensive urban development, monumental sites like Huaca Melgarejo became part of the open recreation areas of the new urbanizations. During the late 1990's excavations to understand its chronology, extension and purpose were carried out sponsored by a local NGO, but the results were limited to scientific reports presented to the national authorities. Therefore, the information about the site has remained unknown for most local stakeholders until this project started.

From FY2019 to FY2022, two on-site fieldwork seasons of one month were planned each year. However, due to COVID-19 pandemic and consequent travel restrictions made impossible to travel overseas, on-site fieldwork was only carried out on FY2019. Also, after being approved to expand this research on another Grants-in-Aid from FY2022, this research was shortened until FY2021. Therefore, from FY2020 and FY2021, remote (online) fieldwork was carried out using social media and communication tools, as well as help from Peruvian collaborators on the field.

To identify key stakeholders and unveil their perspectives about archaeological remains in La Molina district, an ethnographic approach (non-structured interviews and participant observation) was used. Stakeholders were classified according to their relation to these remains in terms of their interests, knowledge, and power to affect them. To add more information about the relationship between these stakeholders, a document analysis of historical and management records available at the city hall, as well as publication on social media was reviewed. After identifying key stakeholders and their interests, a hands-on approach on facilitating access to information about archaeological remains in La Molina district as well as aiding in the formulation of projects related to these remains was carried out. These activities were made by processing the academic information available from the site to make it accessible to a general public, including guided visits to the site, presentations, preparation of education and dissemination materials, and aiding on the registration of the district's archaeological/historical collection with the support of research collaborator Stefani Mamani Escobar from Yamagata University.

#### Macro level

For the macro level, this research project aimed to carry out interdisciplinary academic meetings with colleagues from around the world, especially those working on developing countries. By sharing and discussing the challenges presented on each meeting, it was possible to obtain information on how archaeologists and other specialists deal with the Public on each site. To obtain more detailed data on this topic, a joint heritage project was carried out with Prof. Yuji Seki (National Museum of Ethnology) at the Pacopampa Town (Cajamarca, Peru). Prof. Seki's archaeological project has carried out excavations at the Pacopampa Archaeological site for more than fifteen years, while also working with the local community to spread the knowledge acquired by his research. To eventually develop this town for future tourism as well as to canalize the interest local people have about their own history, Prof. Seki has proposed the construction of an interpretation center managed by the town. However, instead of showing just the archaeological findings, the exhibition will focus on local traditions and customs, widening the concept of Cultural Heritage. The data obtained through workshops and interviews has been used by this research to identify which cultural elements could become heritage in a rural area and compare it with the findings in La Molina district.

This approach went along with another research project carried out by this research collaborator, linguistic specialist Dr. Makiho Maruoka (Ritsumeikan University) to analyze the difference in meaning for the terms "Cultural Heritage" in different languages (Spanish, English and Japanese). Her project, aimed to understand the problems of applying international legislation (from UNESCO and ICOMOS) at a regional and local level in Latin America, allowed us to identify why this term has different conceptions according to the background of each social actors.

To further broaden the concept of Cultural Heritage used in urban environments, this project also analyzed other types of material culture that carry a value of heritage. Particularly the situation of Cultural Heritage of immigrant minorities in Peru (Nikkei community) was useful to understand the formulation process and dynamism of material culture to become a group's heritage. This approach was possible with the support

of the members of the Research Group of the Japanese Presence in Peru – 16<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries from the Instituto Riva-Aguero of the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru (PUCP).

#### 4. 研究成果

Although COVID-19 altered the original research plan, this project was able to achieve its objective with the data gathered from FY2019 to FY2021. First, it was possible to understand that Cultural Heritage does not have an intrinsic high value for the Public. Moreover, the definitions made by professional archaeologists and other specialists are not necessarily accepted or prioritized by all stakeholders, and it becomes more of a negotiation to integrate them in their own perspectives. Local authorities, for example, accept the laws that define and protect archaeological remains, but do not feel compelled to prioritize it over other necessities of their district or if there is no political or economical revenue for them to do it. Also, their interest in the information of archaeological remains is usually superficial and limited to promote it for tourism activities. On the other hand, we have other key stakeholders that are deeply interested in the information coming from archaeological remains and consider them part of their own history. Some schoolteachers are the best example of these stakeholders, becoming very demanding on the academic information available about archaeological remains. Also, they are very active to have their own interpretation of this information, filling any gap with their own knowledge. Though they demand scientific knowledge to support their activities, they do not feel uneasy with adding subjective information to make it more available for their students. For local residents, though they are very interested about archaeological information, they can be divided on passive and active actors. While passive actors only receive the information without contesting it, active actors use archaeological information to push local authorities to fulfill their requirements for improving the quality of life around them. Though they do not challenge the interpretations of archaeologists, they choose which elements of these interpretations benefit them in order to support or not preservation initiatives. From these observations, it was possible to conclude that though archaeological information can be reinterpreted, adapted, or used by each stakeholder at their own convenience, there is an active demand for this information to support any initiative they have. Common ground could be achieved by identifying each stakeholder's needs and interest by facilitating the activities they want to promote.

On the micro level, it was possible to have the following observations:

- In Peru, archaeological excavations need to include dissemination activities of the results obtained. This information should be available in an accessible language for every stakeholder beyond the scientific reports presented to the Ministry of Culture.
- There is a lack of mid and long-term plans for archaeological remains at municipal level. Since the municipal term is four years with no reelection, any project planned is limited to this time. Also, every new group that becomes local authority usually lacks information on archaeological and historical remains, making it necessary to train them on their first year. Since many archaeological projects do not last long periods, it is necessary to build a local institution apart from the political sphere that holds and promotes the information about archaeological heritage to the Public.
- Besides archaeological sites, there are several archaeological and historical collections in Lima city that need to be properly studied, registered, and preserved. Therefore, archaeologists and other heritage specialists should become part of local governments to aid with their expertise for this heritage. However, there is a perception of these specialists as not essential, a problem we may need to find a solution in the future.
- Recent historical material culture, especially that related to Industrial Heritage or Immigrant Groups' Heritage, is not valued as important as other elements belonging to prehispanic or colonial times. The idea of material cultural heritage in Peru seems to have an overfocus on those periods. Further studies should be carried out to find ways to promote the value of a more "modern" heritage.
- The archaeological research carried out at Huaca Melgarejo needs to be continued since there are several aspects of its construction and development that need to be understood. By continuing its study and making available its information, it would be possible to establish a common ground between stakeholders to discuss its future use and preservation.

On the macro level, a comparison with rural and foreign examples was possible through the research at Pacopampa Town and the participation at international academic meetings. For the rural case, it was possible to observe that archaeological remains are just one of the many Cultural Heritage highly valued by the local community. Other local cultural expressions were more important, including local food, traditions, music, and dances. Moreover, archaeological remains were appreciated mostly by their role as part of the local legends surrounding the town rather than its value as an archaeological heritage. On the other hand, the activities carried out during the excavations of Prof. Seki had been included as part of the local history, making the members of the project important people in the town. A further study will be

carried out to analyze how archaeological projects can become part of the Cultural Heritage of a group even in urban areas, or if it is just a characteristic of rural areas.

Another aspect explored on this macro level was community building. As observed on the micro level, a problem for managing archaeological remains is accountability. At Pacopampa, several activities for cleaning and preserving the site have been carried out by the community with the sponsorship of the archaeological project. It could be inferred that by building a community interested on the local cultural heritage, an interest on preserving archaeological remains can be encouraged. Further activities will be carried out at Huaca Melgarejo to prove this hypothesis.

About the comparison with other countries and regions, it was possible to observe that urban areas tend to have a problem form connecting local residents with archaeological or historical remains because of their continuous movement. By focusing not on the relationship between modern population and ancient populations, but actually on the concept of different populations using the same environment, it is possible to encourage the interest of several local stakeholders to feel connected to these remains. To prove this hypothesis, future research will be carried out to identify and analyze the relationship between these stakeholders and archaeological/historical elements that are part of the landscape and are still used in the present, like canals and roads.

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〔産業財産権〕

〔その他〕

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6. 研究組織

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7. 科研費を使用して開催した国際研究集会

〔国際研究集会〕 計0件

8. 本研究に関連して実施した国際共同研究の実施状況

共同研究相手国	相手方研究機関		
ペルー	Instituto Riva-Aguero PUCP		