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New Perspectives in Global Public Archaeology

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Chapter 1
Introduction: New Perspectives in Global Public Archaeology

Akira Matsuda and Katsuyuki Okamura

What is Public Archaeology?

Since its very beginning, archaeology has in many senses always related to a much wider constituency than just archaeologists. Archaeological excavations, for example, have affected and been affected by the lives and activities of people in nearby communities. Archaeological objects have been traded and collected by and displayed to the general public. Archaeological research has produced a broad range of information and knowledge, which has not only contributed to the formation of public understanding of the past, but also has become the basis of people's collective identities. This relationship between archaeology and the public was, however, for a long time overlooked by the great majority of archaeologists, who considered it irrelevant to the aim of their study: the understanding of the past. The establishment of public archaeology in the 1970s–1980s and its subsequent development in the 1990s and early twenty-first century was an attempt to change this state of the discourse. The advocates of public archaeology have argued that archaeology's relationship with the broader community should be the subject of debate and scrutiny in its own right (Schadla-Hall 1999, 2004).

How, then, is "public archaeology" defined? This question is actually a matter of discussion, as the term appears to mean different things to different people (Ascherson 2006: 50–51); indeed, in the present book Pyburn (Chap. 3), Wang (Chap. 4), Lea and Smardz Frost (Chap. 5), Kwon and Kim (Chap. 7), Shoocongdej (Chap. 8), Burke, Gorman, Mayes, and Renshaw (Chap. 11), Colwell-Chanthaphonh, Ferguson, and Gann (Chap. 18), and Saucedo-Segami (Chap. 19) each offer differing, but not necessarily incompatible, accounts and views on possible definitions.

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When the term "public archaeology" was coined by McGimsey (1972) in the early 1970s, it primarily meant archaeologists' efforts to record and preserve archaeological remains that were being threatened by development works, on behalf and with the support of the public (McGimsey 1972: 5–6; see also Merriman 2004a: 3; Schadla-Hall 1999: 146–147). This view is still widely shared in the USA, where public archaeology has traditionally been associated with cultural resource management (CRM) undertaken in the public interest (Cleere 1989: 4–5; Jameson 2004: 21; McDavid and McGhee 2010: 482; McManamon 2000: 40; White et al. 2004). But elsewhere in the world, the term has acquired a range of new meanings (Ascherson 2006, 2010; McDavid and McGhee 2010: 482). For example, the first issue of a journal dedicated to the subject, established in 2000 and titled *Public Archaeology*, lists the themes to be covered as: archaeological policies, education and archaeology, politics and archaeology, archaeology and the antiquities market, ethnicity and archaeology, public involvement in archaeology, archaeology and the law, the economics of archaeology, and cultural tourism and archaeology (*Public Archaeology*, 2000: inside cover).

The multiple issues pertaining to public archaeology suggest that the subject has a huge purview, but this can also be a source of confusion. For example, when asked to explain what public archaeologists actually *do*, a whole variety of answers may come up: for example, "communicate archaeology to the public," "examine how archaeology relates to the public," "carry out archaeology with/for the public," and "restore archaeology to the public." Some might find it difficult to say even whether public archaeology is a field of research or of practice. Despite this apparently quite confusing situation, we wish to propose a broad and inclusive definition of public archaeology for this book. The reason is very simple: "public" and "archaeology" have different meanings in different cultures and countries.

From a global perspective, it is difficult to presume on a single mode of archaeology for three reasons. Firstly, the theoretical underpinnings for archaeology vary across the world. In North America, for example, archaeology has traditionally been strongly influenced by anthropological thinking, whereas elsewhere in the world, and particularly in Europe, the subject has been closely associated with history (Hodder 1991: 9–11; Pyburn, Chap. 3: 30). In addition, processual and postprocessual theories have strongly affected the agenda of academic archaeology in North America, Britain, and Australia, but much less so in other parts of the world (Ucko 1995).

Secondly, the practice of archaeology differs greatly from one country to another due to the varying economic and socio-political conditions under which archaeologists work. In the so-called developed countries, the great majority of archaeological excavations and discoveries occur in the rescue archaeology sector, where consequently most archaeologists find their jobs. This implies that archaeology as a profession is bound up with development works, and if the number of these decrease, archaeology would face sustainability issues (Aitchison 2009; Okamura, Chap. 6; Schlanger and Aitchison 2010). In economically disadvantaged countries, on the other hand, few archaeologists rely on working on rescue excavations as their source of income, reflecting the smaller scale of development

works undertaken. It is normally at governmental agencies, universities, research institutions, and museums that most professional archaeologists are employed and positioned, and they are constantly under pressure to cope with the scarcity of human and financial resources necessary to conduct proper research. In some countries, tourism that capitalizes on archaeological resources yields a significant part of the national or local income (see the example of Thailand in Shoocongdej, Chap. 8) and this influences the practice of archaeology by requiring concentration on well-preserved, high-profile sites. In addition, if large amounts of archaeological materials are still unexcavated, and especially if they have potentially high market value, archaeologists are likely to need to fight against looting, which can also affect their practice.

Thirdly, what archaeology means to the public in each country is contingent on the history of its development in the local context. The public perception of archaeology is often inextricably intertwined with local traditions of interpreting and interacting with the past through material culture. Such local/indigenous views often stem from traditions that are much older and more powerful than "scientific" archaeology (Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf 1999; Layton 1994; Matsuda 2010b; Smith and Wobst 2005). Each nation's history, and particularly the question of whether it has been a colonizing nation or one that was colonized, inevitably influences the meaning of archaeology for it. For countries that possess a substantial amount of archaeological materials brought there from other countries, the meaning and significance of archaeology is something entirely different to what it is in the countries where those materials were originally located. People in this second group now need to travel to countries of the first group to access these archaeological materials, which in many cases are supreme examples and which they might view as purloined objects. Clearly, archaeology is not *equal*, either in association or accessibility, across the world.

The meaning of the public is also understood differently in different parts of the world. The English word "public" has two separate and yet interrelated meanings or connotations, "officialdom" and "the people," and this double connotation seems to account, in part, for the ambiguity that surrounds the term "public archaeology" (Carman 2002: 96–114; Matsuda 2004; Merriman 2004a: 1–2). Since public archaeology was originally established and developed in English-speaking countries, non-Anglophone countries have had to find an appropriate translation on introducing the subject into their own *archaeologies* (Shepherd 2005: 3), and in this process the double meaning of "public" has in some cases posed a challenge. For European languages that have a word equivalent to "public," it may not have been such a concern (but see Saucedo-Segami, Chap. 19: 252), but for many non-European languages the ambiguity of "public archaeology" has been hard to capture. In Japanese, for example, the English word "public" is conventionally translated as *kōkyō*, which is much closer in connotation to "officialdom" than to "the people." Consequently, the only way of suggesting the double concept of "the public" in Japanese is to use the English word transcribed phonetically (*paburikku*); thus, public archaeology becomes *paburikku kokogaku*. In another East Asian language, Chinese, the translation of "public" is equally problematic, but the solution found in this case is

to offer two different translations of public archaeology for different situations: *gongzhong kaoguxue* (archaeology of the public) or *gonggong kaoguxue* (shared archaeology). As Wang (Chap. 4: 52) explains:

> The two terms have different meanings, thus allowing differing interpretations in different contexts by different people. For the government, it [i.e. public archaeology] is about controlling archaeology through legislation and funding. For the archaeologist, it is about communication and networking. For the general public, it is about the right to share.
>
> (N.B. The brackets and the words in them are added by the authors)

Ultimately, what "public" means inevitably reflects how a particular society has developed in differing political and social contexts, which have also influenced how archaeology and related activities operate and develop. Once this is taken into consideration, the translation of "public archaeology" becomes even more complicated and the introduction of the ideas behind the term into non-Anglophone countries even more challenging. The temptation that often arises here is to focus only on what exists in presumably *any* country, which is the official provision and control of archaeology in the public interest, and treat it as the universal definition of public archaeology. Adopting such a narrow and authoritative definition, however, results in the exclusion of various possibilities of public archaeology, particularly those that could encourage and empower members of the public to build up and express their own accounts of the past (Holtorf 2005a).

In view of the above, as the editors of this book, we consider that in approaching public archaeology from a global perspective, we should adopt a definition that is as broad and inclusive as possible. Thus, we define public archaeology as a subject that examines the relationship between archaeology and the public, and then seeks to improve it. A few points should be made about this tentative definition. Public archaeology is conceived here as a dynamic endeavor, which consists of an ever-evolving two-stage cycle comprising both research and action. First, there is research into the archaeology–public relationship, which is then followed by action to improve that relationship, and there is again research, followed by action, and so on. Research involves collection and analysis of data and may take the form of scholarly or practice-based work, but importantly it has to be intended to bring about change – some improvement – in archaeology's relationship with the public. It is worth noting that much recent discourse on public archaeology has indeed not simply involved describing various archaeology–public relationships but has been about actively changing these relationships and developing them.

Change in the archaeology–public relationship does not automatically arise from research: it requires action that is informed by that research. Such action can be made in the form of practice, for example, offering education and information on archaeology to the wider public, involving members of the public in archaeological investigation, and engaging in public discussion and lobbying and also yet more scholarly "critique" (Grima 2009: 54). We consider that taking such actions, as opposed to merely observing the archaeology–public relationships, is an essential element of public archaeology. Ultimately, then, we see public archaeology as a commitment made by archaeologists to making archaeology more relevant to contemporary society.

Multiple Approaches to Public Archaeology

By accepting a broad and inclusive definition of public archaeology, one can assume that the subject can be approached in multiple ways. What, then, are these approaches? Drawing on discussions around how science relates to society at large, Merriman (2004a: 5–8) and Holtorf (2007: 105–129) present two and three models, respectively, to explain how archaeologists engage with the general public. It is useful to briefly review each of the models, as they in effect represent different approaches to public archaeology.

Merriman's "deficit model" suggests that archaeologists should engage with the public so that "more people will understand what archaeologists are trying to do, and will support their work more" (Merriman 2004a: 5; see also Grima 2009). In this model, public education plays an important role in informing the public how they can – and to some extent, should – appreciate archaeology. What Merriman calls the "multiple perspective model," on the other hand, suggests that archaeologists should seek to engage with the public to "encourage self-realization, to enrich people's lives and stimulate reflection and creativity" (Merriman 2004a: 7). According to this model, archaeologists should help people to achieve this broader realization instead of simply forcing them to "follow a single agenda" (Merriman 2004a: 7).

Holtorf proposes "education model," "public relations model," and "democratic model." His "education model" posits that archaeologists seek to make as many people as possible "come to see both the past and the occupation of the archaeologist in the same terms as the professional archaeologists themselves" (Holtorf 2007: 109) while his "public relations model" suggests that archaeologists should try to improve the public image of archaeology to encourage more social, economic, and political support for it (Holtorf 2007: 107, 114–119). In contrast to these two models which both see the public as the subject of education or lobbying – in other words, as an entity who is to be informed by archaeologists – Holtorf's "democratic model" suggests that archaeologists should seek to invite, encourage, and enable everyone to freely "develop their own enthusiasm and 'grassroot' interest in archaeology" (Holtorf 2007: 119).

Comparing the five models shown above, one may notice that Merriman's deficit model can be split conceptually into Holtorf's education and public relations models, while his multiple perspectives model is quite comparable to Holtorf's democratic model (Fig. 1.1). This suggests that Holtorf's three models present a *refined* version of Merriman's two models. Considering that such refinement of archaeology–public models helps make a more nuanced understanding of public archaeology, we wish to propose yet additional refinement here, which is to distinguish between the "critical" and the "multivocal" approaches in Merriman's multiple perspective/Holtorf's democratic model. Although both approaches are often regarded as progressive and "leftist" in theoretical terms, one can discern a difference between them, which is, in effect, parallel to the difference between critical and hermeneutic epistemologies in archaeological theory (Hodder 2002; Preucel 1995).

	More practice-oriented		More theory-oriented	
Four approaches to public archaeology	**Educational approach**	**Public relations approach**	**Critical approach**	**Multivocal Approach**
Corresponding models suggested by Merriman (2004a)	Deficit model		Multiple perspective model	
Corresponding models suggested by Holtorf (2007)	Education model	Public relations model	Democratic model	

Fig. 1.1 Different approaches to public archaeology

The critical approach, as its name suggests, is grounded on a critical epistemology and focuses on the question of "whose interests are served by a particular interpretation of the past" (Hodder 2002: 79; see also Hamilakis 1999a, b; Shackel 2004: 3–6; Shanks and Tilley 1987; Ucko 1990: xiii–xvi). Echoing the "critical theory" developed in the social sciences (Calhoun 1995; Horkheimer 1995 [1937]), this approach aims to reveal and challenge the socio-political mechanism sustaining specific archaeological practices and interpretations, which help reproduce the domination of the socially privileged over the socially subjugated. Examples of the critical approach can be found in works undertaken under the banners of critical and postcolonial archaeology (Leone et al. 1987; McDavid 2004; Shackel and Chambers 2004), "archaeology from below" (Faulkner 2000), and others (Bender 1998).

The multivocal approach, on the other hand, is based on a hermeneutic epistemology and aims to explore diversity in the reading of past material cultures. In practice, public archaeologists adopting this approach seek to identify and acknowledge various interpretations of archaeological materials made by different social groups and individuals in various contexts of contemporary society (for example, Hodder 1998a; Holtorf 2005b: Chap. 6). In other words, they seek to gain an *overall* understanding of what past material cultures mean to people, which can be contrasted with the aim of the critical approach, which is to highlight a *specific* meaning of the past, sometimes to socially privileged groups to counter their socio-political domination (Faulkner 2000) and at other times to socially marginalized groups to help them achieve due socio-political recognition (Bender 1998; McDavid 2004). Essentially, the divide between the critical and multivocal approaches suggested here could be compared to the difference between two positions on the intellectual "left": the traditional left and the postmodern liberal left.

Thus, drawing on and refining Merriman and Holtorf's models, we can identify four approaches to public archaeology: (1) educational, (2) public relations, (3) critical, and (4) multivocal (Fig. 1.1). It should be stressed that all approaches are intended to make archaeology more relevant to the general public. Yet, the decision of which approach to take – or more realistically, which approach to prioritize over others – inevitably results in the development of a distinctive form of public archaeology in each context. In light of this, one of the important tasks to undertake in addressing public archaeology from a global perspective is to identify which approach is

predominant in each country/area and to consider the implications. For example, if the education or public relations approach receives most emphasis, it would be reasonable to assume that public archaeology in that country/area is more practice-oriented; and similarly if the critical or multivocal approach is prioritized, public archaeology is likely to be more theory-oriented: these are important indicators of how archaeology operates and is situated in each society. By thus examining the characteristics and discourses of public archaeology in different countries/areas and then comparing them across the world, we are eventually able to understand where the subject stands today in the global context.

Why Examine Public Archaeology from a Global Perspective?

There are several pioneering publications that address from an international viewpoint specific aspects of public archaeology – for example, archaeological education (Stone and Molyneaux 1994; Stone and Planel 1999), community archaeology (Marshall 2002), and CRM (Cleere 1984, 1989; McManamon and Hatton 2000; Messenger and Smith 2010). However, the subject as a whole has not been examined from a global perspective in depth yet (but see Merriman 2004b). Since this book is intended as a catalyst to initiate a comparative examination of public archaeology across the world, it is worth considering why it is important to adopt such a global perspective.

The first thing to recall is that public archaeology has developed neither uniformly nor equally across the world. Lacking a clear, universally accepted definition, the subject has emerged at different times in different countries and areas, often thanks to the efforts of key devoted individuals who have worked to better situate archaeology in modern society (see, for example, the case of Canada in Lea and Smardz Frost, Chap. 5). While, as already stated, public archaeology was originally proposed in association with CRM in the USA in the 1970s, it was soon introduced into Britain, Australia, and other English-speaking countries, gradually expanding its scope much beyond CRM. The paper (Chap. 5) of Lea and Smardz Frost offers a detailed examination and critique of this process in Canada.

Around the beginning of the twenty-first century, public archaeology started attracting the interest of archaeologists in the non-Anglophone world, and efforts were made to incorporate it into local archaeologies. It would be safe to say that the global spread of public archaeology is still ongoing, as attested to by recent and emerging publications on the subject by archaeologists in various parts of the world (Bonacchi 2009, Fredrik and Wahlgren 2008; Funari 2001, 2004; Green et al. 2001; Guo and Wei 2006 [cited in Wang, Chap. 4]; Matsuda 2005, 2010a), including individual chapters in this book.

In view of the above, one could argue that the importance of addressing public archaeology from a global perspective derives from the need to examine the extent to which the subject has become familiar to archaeologists in various countries/areas in the world, as well as how it has been accepted and adapted in each local context. To emphasize this point, it is useful to consider whether the factors that

have contributed to the development of public archaeology in North America, Britain, and Australia can be applied in other parts of the world.

Browsing through the literature analyzing the growth of public archaeology in these regions or countries since the 1970s (Ascherson 2000; Jameson 2004; Merriman 2002, 2004a; Schadla-Hall 1999, 2006; Shackel 2004), one can identify three factors that might explain it: (1) the development of archaeological theories, in particular those of postprocessual archaeology, which have stressed that archaeological practice and interpretation are not independent of contemporary ideologies and that there can be many approaches to the understanding of material remains, including those that are not based on the methods and methodology of archaeology; (2) the postcolonial discourse regarding the "politics of the past" (Gathercole and Lowenthal 1990), which many archaeologists have had come to terms with in relation to the interpretation and management of archaeological heritage; and (3) the increasingly market-driven economy in modern society that has led on the one hand to the development of the heritage industry, and on the other hand to the increased awareness of the need to conduct archaeology in publicly and financially accountable manner.

However, it is questionable whether the three factors outlined above can be directly applied outside North America, Britain, and Australia. As already mentioned, postprocessual archaeology was influential in those three regions, but was much less so elsewhere in the world (Hodder 1991; Ucko 1995). Consequently, discussions regarding the politics of the practice, interpretation of archaeology, and multivocality of archaeological evidence have not been actively pursued by archaeologists in non-Anglophone countries, as they do not necessarily consider such issues as among archaeology's main concerns.

The degree to which the postcolonial discourse of the politics of the past has been addressed within archaeology also varies significantly across the world, reflecting different experiences of the colonial past, and sometimes even its absence, in each country/area. For example, while many archaeologists today pay attention to indigenous peoples' rights to retain and access ancestral materials in the Americas, Australasia, and Africa, such rights are little considered and discussed in relation to the ancestral materials of the Europeans; this is arguably because the "indigenous peoples" of Europe – however they may be defined – have traditionally been privileged over more recent "immigrants" (Tarlow 2001: 252; see also Kuper 2003: 390; Merriman 2004a: 14). East and Southeast Asian countries experienced yet other variations of colonialism (Barlow 1997; Bastin and Benda 1968), but despite that they are rarely referred to in discussions on archaeology and postcolonialism. Generally speaking, archaeologists in those countries seem to be somewhat diffident about engaging with their colonial pasts (but see Mizoguchi 2010; Pai 2010).

Unlike the two factors already mentioned in the development of public archaeology in Anglophone countries, the expansion of a market-driven economy is arguably a truly global phenomenon. It is safe to say that nowadays there is more pressure on archaeology than ever, across the globe, to justify the costs entailed by its activities. This is particularly the case where large amounts of public funds are spent on archaeological work, but even if the costs are borne by private sponsors, such sponsors

are not likely today to let archaeologists concentrate solely on scholarly work but rather require them to demonstrate the benefits of their work to a wider audience. In a related development, archaeology is becoming more open to exploitation by the heritage industry. An increasing number of individuals, including archaeologists, and corporations have become interested in developing business through selling "archaeological commodities" (Moshenska 2009) in various ways. It is important to remember, however, that the global expansion of the market economy has, again, differently affected different parts of the world, with subsequently differing effects on archaeology across the globe. For example, one could suppose that the public in countries with more open markets is likely to expect archaeology to yield benefits more directly, even in a monetary sense. Such expectation would be smaller in counties that have markets more tightly regulated by the state.

Thus, the three factors that have contributed to the growth of public archaeology in North America, Britain, and Australia are likely to affect the development of the same subject differently in other parts of the world. The shift to a market-driven economy that is happening worldwide has increased the pressure on archaeology in most, if not all, countries to stop serving only the intellectual community of scholars and to explicitly demonstrate its value for contemporary society and enhance that value further; Shoocongdej's paper (Chap. 8), for example, refers to the extensive use of archaeology for the development of heritage tourism in Thailand. In this context, public archaeology is likely to be considered useful by both archaeologists and the general public alike, since it *appears* to be able to effect an increase in the "public benefits" of archaeology (Little 2002). Thus, in the coming years, we can expect more elements of public archaeology to be included in archaeological projects across the world, not least because this could also be a way of securing funding for archaeology.

A more fundamental issue, however, is what will be happening under this "useful-looking" façade of public archaeology – i.e., whether the subject will change *in substance* as it spreads worldwide, and if so, how. As stated above, public archaeology has so far developed predominantly in Anglophone countries, where postprocessual archaeology and the postcolonial discourse have been influential. It is yet to be seen how the subject will develop further as it becomes introduced in new areas of the world, where archaeology is underpinned by different theories and operates under different socio-political conditions; this point is clearly highlighted in the papers of Wang (Chap. 4), Okamura (Chap. 6), Kwon and Kim (Chap. 7), Shoocongdej (Chap. 8), and Saucedo-Segami (Chap. 19), which present distinctive conditions of public archaeology in China, Japan, South Korea, Thailand, and Peru, respectively.

To further complicate the situation, some archaeologists carry out international excavation projects and engage in public archaeology activities abroad, as exemplified in Matsuda's case study (Chap. 13). Most international excavation projects are conducted by archaeologists from economically advantaged countries in economically disadvantaged countries (see Saucedo-Segami, Chap. 19: 252; Shoocongdej 2006), and this obvious legacy of colonial archaeology has in recent years been put into question by archaeologists of a critical and reflexive mind (Gero 2006). Partly in response to this, various types of supplementary or "offsetting" public

archaeology activities are implemented today alongside the main archaeological research work in international excavation projects. These activities range from simple outreach, collaborative work to be undertaken together with local communities (Moser et al. 2002), to ethnographical and sociological research on the interaction between archaeological work and local people (Bartu 2000; Matsuda, Chap. 13; Shankland 1996, 2000). Such public archaeology initiatives are bound to change the relationship between archaeology and the public in each locality and, if their results are significant, may also affect the way public archaeology develops in the host country. With the progress of globalization, one can expect more international excavation projects in the future, and this is yet another reason why it is important to address public archaeology from the global perspective.

How to Cope with Different/Fragmented Pasts?

An important issue to ascertain in global public archaeology is whether the allegedly "democratic" critical and/or multivocal approaches discussed earlier can be accepted, perhaps with some adjustment, outside the Anglophone world. The theoretical tenet underpinning both approaches – the past can be differently interpreted by different social groups – has yet to firmly take root even in the public archaeology of Anglophone countries, and this is largely due to the difficulty in agreeing on the criteria to use in assessing the appropriateness of each interpretation of the past (Lampeter Archaeology Workshop 1997: 172–173). Put simply, these criteria can be material evidence, scientific accuracy, cultural context, representativeness, social justice, or a mix of these; this clearly suggests that interpreting the past is not merely a scientific act, but also cultural and social one. Dealing with different accounts of the past that belong to different social groups, thus, often results in entanglement in politics, whether local, national, or international. The global spread of public archaeology is interesting in this respect, as it inevitably raises questions in each country/area about the extent to which archaeology or archaeologists should be involved in the "politics of the past."

Chapters in this book suggest that there are largely two ways for public archaeologists to deal with "different pasts." One way is to seek to create a narrative of the past with which multiple interest groups can identify, as exemplified by the case studies of New Caledonia by Sand, Bolé, and Ouetcho (Chap. 9) and Gorée Island in Senegal by Thiaw (Chap. 10). Integrating divergent accounts of the past is politically important, as it helps overcome division and antagonism between identity groups (Archibald 1999: Chap. 5) and creates a common bond among them. But it is a challenge that requires a series of compromises. Thiaw (Chap. 10: 135) describes his attempt to make an inclusive, shared history of Gorée Island as follows:

> (T)he history of Gorée has been characterized by the multiple interests of groups with differing social status, as well as racial, cultural, and national identities. Over the years, each of these different identities has developed a selective commemorative agenda, which at the same time silences the experiences and memories of others. The question is: how to appreciate and commemorate the experiences and contributions of all, without marginalizing any?

Also, there is a more fundamental question of whether archaeology should actively take part in the political process of uniting people. Sand, Bolé, and Ouetcho (Chap. 9: 123) articulate the "dilemma" that they felt in working in multicultural and multiethnic New Caledonia in the form of a question:

> (I)s it archaeologists' role to provide the civil society of their archipelago with historical data, offering a vision that is culturally constructive and socially useful, but which at the same time is undeniably politically "manipulated"?

There is good reason to be cautious about the political use of archaeology, since its "misuse" can have detrimental effects for people (for example, Arnold 1990; Lal 2001; Rao and Reddy 2001; Sharma 2001), sometimes even putting them in physical danger, especially when nationalism is involved (Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Kohl et al. 2007). However, if we accept that *any* archaeology operates under the social and political influence of contemporary society (see Kwon and Kim, Chap. 7: 90; Shoocoongdej, Chaps. 8: 97–99) and that it can in turn contribute to sustaining and modifying, at least in part, that social structure, the issue is no longer about how to avoid entanglement in politics, but rather about how to "take a stand" (Hodder, Chap. 2), assuming the social responsibility of archaeology to engage with different groups and different pasts. On this, Hodder contends (Chap. 2: 26):

> It is not enough to argue that the archaeologist is a relative powerless mediator who simply brings stakeholders together. It is not possible to be a neutral go-between. Archaeologists do have influence as professional experts, and they have to recognize that their actions as experts have effects on the world for which they are partly responsible.

The other way of dealing with different pasts is to try to give voice to previously neglected ones. This may mean to support and promote politically suppressed pasts – in line with the critical approach – or alternatively to explore socially relevant accounts of the past that have been excluded from archaeological consideration because of their nonscientific nature. As an example of the former, Badran's paper (Chap. 15) suggests that one of the four reasons for the exclusion of ancient pasts in the Jordanian primary citizenship curriculum is the "ideological use of the past" for the purpose of nurturing Arab nationalism and supporting Hashmite rule. She argues for the introduction of archaeology in formal education in Jordan so that pupils can "appreciate the full extent of the riches of the past," including the non-Arab and non-Islamic pasts. In a slightly different but analogous example, Murata (Chap. 17) traces the trajectory of history education in the Japanese school curriculum and points out the "bizarre fusion of nationalism and neo-liberalism" in Japan's education policy in recent years. As a strategy to counter the increasingly nationalist bent in the curriculum, he argues for the strengthening of local-based learning through archaeology in school education.

Examples of the latter are given in four papers in this book. Burke, Gorman, Mayes, and Renshaw (Chap. 11) carried out an examination of the oral histories of the Rapat air-raid shelters in Adelaide and recognized the importance of the "social myths" relating to the shelters for the local community. This led the authors to reconsider the role of archaeology in people's "collective act of remembering," and they reached the conclusion that archaeologically investigating the "truth" of the

shelters would result in the debunking of certain social myths, thereby potentially weakening local people's relationship to their community. Shepherd's (Chap. 12) account of the dispute over the exhumation of Prestwich Street human remains in Cape Town highlights the contrast between the scientific nature of archaeology that wants to "disclose" the past relating to the remains and the community's desire to keep that past silent, secret, and closed. His argument that an enlightenment-style "will to knowledge" cannot always meet the needs of the community to collectively remember the history – in particular pain and trauma – associated with place is clearly consonant with the argument of Burke, Gorman, Mayes, and Renshaw. Both seek to reconcile the archaeological past – or archaeologists' past – with non-archaeological, but socially meaningful, alternative pasts.

A similar stance is taken by Colwell-Chanthaphonh, Ferguson, and Gann (Chap. 18), who embrace the concept of multivocality in pursuing collaborative archaeology at the San Pedro Valley. Arguing that multivocality is "no simple plurality, but an *engagement* of different voices arising together to tell a whole and complex story" (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al., Chap. 18: 241, italics in original), they aim to develop their archaeological and ethnohistorical research into an educational project, addressing the national public, Native American communities, and the current residents in the Valley through the use of the Internet. As they suggest, the Internet can offer a platform whereby multiple groups express and discuss their views of the past, thanks to its multimedia interactivity (see Hodder's early account on this in Hodder 1997: 698–699), and as such has the potential to greatly help public archaeologists engage with different pasts, even in the global context.

Abu-Khafajah's (Chap. 14) ethnographic work carried out in the Amman Citadel in Jordan focuses on the "meaning-making process" that is at play in local people's interpretation of the citadel. Her work highlights the varying meanings ascribed to it, and as such can be considered as an attempt to highlight the views of the past that are relevant to the local community but have conventionally been neglected due to their nonscientific nature.

A key factor in successful engagement with different pasts must be to clearly define the role that archaeologists should play in public discussions concerning the interpretation of the past. In such discussions, archaeologists can be, for example, educators, instructors, consultants, facilitators, or collaborators. Surely, their role needs to be defined in consideration of the cultural, social, and political contexts in which the discussions take place, and in certain circumstances they may have to play a double or triple role at the same time. However, it is worth remembering that, whatever role they play, archaeologists are distinguished from the rest of the public by their possession of a knowledge of archaeological methods and methodology and that this knowledge can become a source of authority in discussing the interpretation of the past with other people. Knowledge is power (Foucault 1980) and as such can be both useful and oppressive. While the knowledge of archaeology does not, and should not, grant archaeologists the right to control public discussions on how to interpret the past, it does, and should, help them argue for *some* authority in these discussions (Hodder 1998b: 217). Clearly, a past that is archaeologically interpreted is still *one* past. Yet, it is a past on the basis of which archaeologists need to

engage with other alternative pasts. If we accept that public archaeology is an attempt to make the discipline of archaeology more relevant to contemporary society, those who espouse it need to be reflexive, rather than deconstructive, in their attitude to archaeological methods and methodology.

For the same reason, one could argue that the need to cope with different pasts does not diminish the importance of offering the public archaeological education. Henson (Chap. 16) suggests that too much emphasis on epistemology and hermeneutics in archaeology – i.e., "how we do archaeology" and "how we interpret our findings" – could lead us to neglect "why we do archaeology in the first place." He goes on to stress the empowering effect of archaeological education and argues that by learning archaeological skills, people become able to "take part for themselves" in making sense of the past. Muraki (Chap. 20) expresses a similar opinion in his review of the participatory excavation program at the Miharashidai site in Japan. He equates public participation in archaeological excavation with the sharing of the "pleasure" of excavation and contends that "participants can learn the skills to learn about archaeology, history, and the past by themselves, enjoyably" (Muraki, Chap. 20: 273). Both Henson and Muraki are, however, manifestly against the imposition of archaeologists' views on the public. Indeed, as Muraki points out, in order for archaeological education to be successful, it is essential that there is a "close relationship" and "two-way communication" between archaeologists and participants. From this viewpoint, archaeological education does not differ much from engagement with different pasts, in that both approaches need and encourage dialogues between archaeologists and members of the public.

While it has so far been argued that public archaeologists should engage with different groups and divergent interpretations of the past, it is also important to note a problem inherent in this position. When talking about "different groups," we tend to assume that each group can somehow be clearly defined. However, in reality, such definition is often difficult. As Pyburn (Chap. 3: 31) contends:

> any individual is a member of multiple flexibly bounded communities, and negotiating personal loyalties and distributing personal resources among various groups is one way of describing ordinary life.

One could argue that defining groups clearly is difficult for two reasons: individuals belong to multiple groups at the same time and each group, including the socially dominant and marginalized, is often fragmented (see, for example, Franklin 2001), especially when seen in today's postmodern context. This suggests that the "different groups" with whom public archaeologists are to engage are *working* concepts, which need to be posited and roughly defined each time in order that some form of the engagement with actual people is possible, but are in fact never fixed and coherent.

The critical question that follows this, then, is whether the emphasis on the engagement with "different pasts" is actually a play of *différance* (Derrida 1982; see also Hodder 1999: 156), in other words, an endless deferral of any fixed meaning of the past. As far as the pursuit of difference continues, there will always be *other* groups with *other* interpretations of the past. Should public archaeology engage

with all of them – *could* it, indeed? The global spread of public archaeology inevitably raises this question, as it addresses other archaeologies, other publics, and other pasts. Put simply, what past(s) should public archaeologists engage with, on what grounds, and on behalf of whom?

Conclusion

Originally conceived in the 1970s in the USA as archaeologists' commitment to preserving archaeological remains, public archaeology has subsequently developed in other English-speaking countries, gradually expanding its scope and addressing various aspects of the relationship between archaeology and contemporary society and is today being introduced into non-Anglophone countries. The varying socio-political conditions under which archaeology operates in each country/area are likely to contribute to the formation of distinctive forms of public archaeology in each setting. In assessing this global development of public archaeology, it is useful to pay attention to the balance and order of priority of the four approaches to the subject that have emerged in North America, Britain, and Australia, namely, educational, public relations, critical, and multivocal approaches, as they provide a clue as to how archaeology is situated in each society.

The global spread of public archaeology inevitably highlights different archaeologies, different publics, and different pasts, and public archaeologists need to find a way of coping and engaging with them. In doing so, they need to base their argument and practice on the methods and methodology of archaeology – this also has the effect of making the discipline of archaeology more relevant to contemporary society. However, this does not mean that archaeologists should be allowed to impose their views on the public. In order for public archaeology to be successful, dialogues with members of the public, involving a two-way process, are essential.

Public archaeology can be defined as a movement or a social engagement by archaeologists, and the question of "which direction it should move in" needs to be constantly addressed and kept under critical examination. One of the aims of this book is to provide a forum for such open discussion, and by doing so also to reaffirm the relevance of archaeology in a global society in the twenty-first century.

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Chapter 2
Is a Shared Past Possible? The Ethics and Practice of Archaeology in the Twenty-First Century

Ian Hodder

I take it for granted that archaeological stewardship should be based on dialogue between stakeholder groups. Some form of collaboration and consultation is at the heart of most attempts today to deal with long-term stewardship issues, whether it is the consultancy involved in the development of the Stonehenge management plan or the dialogues involving archaeologists, governments, and indigenous peoples throughout the world (e.g., Swidler et al. 1997). I also take it for granted that many guidelines and procedures have been discussed for such stewardship collaboration dealing with a wide range of issues, including the need to identify all potential stakeholders, provide time for consultation, evaluate varying cultural values regarding heritage, and assess economic implications (e.g., de la Torre 1997).

My concern here is with the ethical basis for the coming together to work out stewardship issues. This paper asks what are the ground rules for these discussions. Since my own experience of these issues is largely as an archaeologist working in the Middle East, I want in particular to consider what ground rules are possible when the participants are from opposite sides in areas and times of war, conflict, and distrust. What should the starting point be? Should it be that we all have to take as agreed that there are universal cultural heritage rights? Is it by returning to these universal points of agreement, these universal ethical and moral principles, that we can make progress? Or should the starting point be simply the intent to have a dialogue? If the latter, what are some of the guidelines that might best lead to productive results? How should the dialogue be handled by the participants?

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Ethics as Universal Principles

I wish to start by examining the notion that there are universal ethical principles concerning cultural heritage. I have been very moved by the scale of the destruction of heritage in recent years in Iraq, as seen through the lens of the journalist Joanne Farchakh. She has rightly and effectively publicized the terrible destruction and damage caused by the war and by looting in southern Iraq, at Nimrud, Nineveh, and at Ur temples.

I normally consider myself relatively immune to emotion about the loss of things. There seems so much direct human suffering in the world that I do not remember before being emotionally moved by the loss of heritage. Such events as the destruction of the library at Alexandria, Mao's destruction of culture in China, or the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas have always seemed criminal, but they have not brought tears to my eyes. I have been aware of large-scale looting of course – the large-scale digging of graves in St. Lawrence Island to obtain ivories for sale as part of "subsistence looting" or the massive digging over of Moche sites in Peru to find the fabulous ceramics that fetch such high prices on the market.

Some of the destruction in Iraq is a direct result of the war through direct shelling, looting, and the use of sites as military bases. But again one is used to this, as in cases, such as the bombing of cultural centers in Europe in the Second World War and the destruction of the Mostar Bridge in the Bosnian War.

But there was something about the sheer scale of the looting and destruction in Iraq; or perhaps it was just that I knew more about this heritage and had grown up seeing it as the origin of western civilization. But what I want to explore is whether my response to such loss and destruction suggests a universalism. Do we all react in similar ways because there is something morally repugnant about such destruction? Can we say that in some universal sense "this is wrong"? And can we say the same about all the other cases above?

The assumption of a universal moral repugnance is at the basis of international attempts to protect heritage enshrined in the Venice Charter and in numerous statements by UNESCO and ICOMOS, particularly those related to the treatment of heritage during times of war. Whether in war or peace, many of us take it for granted that World Heritage Sites should be preserved for the sake of humanity as a whole. We accept that there are sites of universal cultural significance. And we accept that nation states should be admonished if they do not take adequate steps to record and protect their heritage.

So here, there seems to be some notion of universal rights to cultural heritage, and we expect national and international bodies to do what they can to protect those rights. In such a context, we could easily say that the destruction of heritage was wrong – a crime against humanity and we could set this up as a universal moral or ethical judgment. Thus, as a group of stakeholders sat down around a table to discuss a specific heritage program, perhaps they could have this particular moral injunction as part of a kit of universal statements that could be put into practice and used to judge particular contested instances.

But as much as I was moved by the looting and the loss in Iraq, I also found myself moved by explanations of why the looting occurred. Perhaps the main factors are the demand for antiquities in developed countries throughout the world and the existence of middlemen traffickers in search of profits. But observers have also pointed to the levels of hunger and poverty and the lack of job opportunities in southern Iraq, where many of the key sites are located. There was an economic rundown resulting from Saddam's policies, the embargo and the no-fly zone. After these years of neglect, it is possible that large numbers of people could get a small income by finding and selling tablets and other items to the middlemen that took them into the global market for antiquities. In such a context, coupled with a relative lack of law and security, it seems difficult to deny this income to these local people. No wonder they went out to loot these sites if they needed to feed their children. Given the same range of options, would I not have done the same? I remember feeling much the same about the subsistence looters on St. Lawrence Island. Given the lack of alternatives, could one deny them their livelihood?

In the Iraq case, it has been argued that those doing the looting received small sums in exchange for the objects obtained and that it was not possible to sustain a real income through looting. According to this scenario, the main culprits are the middlemen and buyers and the lack of effective guardianship and security. I do not know whether it is correct to talk about the Iraq case in terms of "subsistence looting," but I do accept that in other cases, such as St. Lawrence Island, such a term is appropriate. In such a case, there seems to be a morality in allowing people to meet their basic needs through digging up and selling their heritage, if that is what they want to do.

So here, we seem to have an alternative universal right – that people should be allowed to make their own decisions about their own past. On the whole we accept, and this is included in many UNESCO statements, that each nation state has the right to deal with its own past. But more recently, this right has been extended to non-state groups. Indigenous groups worldwide have used the past as part of identity politics (Kane 2003). Thus, Native American groups under NAGPRA have the right to be included in making decisions about what should happen to their past; or the Burra Charter enshrines the notion that we should listen to local voices and meanings in deciding how to manage the past (Australia ICOMOS 1981).

So these two sets of human rights (universal and local) seem to contradict each other. My question was "are there universal heritage rights?" My own view is that such rights are best discussed as part of specific historic global processes. Any attempt to create absolute universal rights has to deal with the specifics of individual cases, and it is liable to be used in the interests of dominating global alliances. Any universalism needs to be sensitive to local needs. Any universal focus leaving the past to national or local or diasporic interests ignores the potential for vested interest abuse and ignores our interconnected world.

So even if we could agree as a starting point that there were identifiable universal heritage rights, at present some of the main rights seem contradictory. The universal right to a common heritage is contradicted by the universal right of groups to control access and make decisions about one's own past. Even if there were these

universal rights, we would still be left having to resolve the contradictions, working them out specifically and pragmatically. So, whether universal rights exist or not, we still have to find a way of dealing with heritage rights in specific contexts. A sense of universal ethics is not going to help here. In fact, such a sense would be dangerous as a starting point for a collaborative discussion. There would be the danger of a suspicion that one right or the other was being used by one side or the other to serve their own ends (Byrne 1991). It might be argued that universal claims of the value of heritage for all humanity were in fact a ploy serving the interests of dominant global alliances. Or it might be felt that the right of local groups to claim their past was part of a self-interested identity politics. It seems that we need a different model of how to start the dialogue about managing cultural heritage.

Coming to the Table

Where should the weight of moral authority lie – on the side of a common past or on the side of separate rights? Is this a question of universal rights that should be respected, and if so, which universal rights should dominate? Or is it a question of working things through pragmatically and collectively? It seems to me that any position that tries to take the moral high ground is unsustainable. This is because ethical "political correctness" soon appears to be in the interests of specific groups and because there are too many contradictions in the application of the universal principles. Things have to be worked out on the ground.

So rather than basing discussion about how to manage heritage on the basis of universal human rights, I would prefer a version of deliberative democracy. I take this version from Seyla Benhabib (2002), but without her emphasis on universal principles. Of course, any dialogue takes place within accepted normative frameworks. But for reasons identified above, I see these frameworks as always provisional and open to critique. The authority of dialogue and consultation does not lie in universalism in some absolute sense, but in terms of a global experience of "best practice."

I would interpret a deliberative democracy as one not based on essentializing universals about the "rights of man" but based on a set of deliberations which are at once local and global. The global is needed because we live in a global, diasporic, interconnected world. Like it or not, we are all connected and codependent, so we have some responsibility for what happens remotely. The global is also needed in the perhaps vain hope that in the larger collective there will be wisdom that balances against local narrowness and bigotry; but the local too is needed to guard against universalizing claims of dominant groups and vested interests.

Any notion of deliberative democracy assumes that, at least provisionally and partially, people come to the table and talk as equals. This notion recalls Habermas' (2000) idea of "ideal speech communities." So here, we are again with what looks suspiciously like a universal ethical principle – that the stakeholders around the table should have an equal voice. This seems necessary in order to create the possibility for dialogue and to clear the ground so that ancient hurt and suspicion can

be set aside, at least temporarily around the table. So perhaps we should say that all voices are equal. Or should we say that some voices have greater weight? One might argue the latter on several grounds, for example giving greater weight to the legal owner of the land on which a site is based or to the government agencies that are entrusted with care. Or one might take a different view and argue that those groups around the table that have suffered most historically have a special weight in decision making (for example, indigenous groups that have suffered long periods of colonial or other oppression). Thus, again a contradictory universal ethical principle emerges – that greater weight and voice should be given to the weaker partners in a dialogue and that restitution should result from grievance.

So once again, attempts to start the dialogue based on universal principles seem to flounder if they are unrelated to the specifics of the historical experiences of the participating groups. For Benhabib, still more general ethical codes remain as the only possible starting points for those coming to the table – the principles that the stakeholders should listen to each other around the table and respect their views. Presumably, if people have come to the table at all, then these expectations are often reasonable. Perhaps one can build guidelines for a universal "best practice" on collaborative dialogue on heritage on the basis of these two simple principles – to listen and to respect. However, in cases of extreme conflict, barbarism and death, when the sides feel nothing but hurt and anger, even these expectations seem too high.

It seems that all one can say is that ethical principles should be part of all discussions about heritage stewardship. This is because ethical issues often seem to be about protecting people, especially vulnerable or disadvantaged people, or about protecting people from special interests or from individual acts of erosion of the public good. If this is an adequate account of what much ethics is about, then ethics must always be attuned to history and to the particular social tensions and divisions that have emerged. Ethics have to be attuned to the histories of wrong, the sequences of misuse, marginalization, and neglect. They must be attuned to the specific cultural understandings within which people shape their aspirations, only to be curtailed by the interests of others. So the notion that ethics should be part of all collaborative dialogue situates heritage issues within a wider concern for rights and sensitivities. It draws attention to the larger social and historical baggage which people bring to the table. Even if ethical guidelines have to be worked out through a linking of general principles with specific situations, the very process leads to discussions of rights and justice. Ethics have a value as part of the process, not as some universal panacea that can be taken off the shelf and applied in all circumstances, but as an essential issue always to be considered throughout every part of the collaboration and dialogue.

The Context Away from the Table

In many parts of the world, constructing "ideal speech communities" around the table seems naïve, and the effects of differential power play too small a role in Benhabib's account of deliberative democracy. In the real world, there are always

power differentials, and these affect the possibility of open discussion and dialogue. While we might develop certain rules about what goes on at the table, it seems impossible to argue that people around the table can participate adequately and ethically unless issues that are not on the table are addressed. We might try and achieve some "ideal speech"-type situation in which, following Habermas, there is some degree of equality. But to claim this is to ignore the real differences between participants – which must be dealt with by addressing issues beyond the table.

First, there is the need for participants to have a stake, and this often means that they have to be placed in a position where they can reap economic benefit. It is important to address the ways in which marginal groups around the table may be or may have been excluded from economic gain from heritage sites, as in cases, where the state has controlled access, visitor fees, construction of tourist venues, and the like. People are likely to be more effective stakeholders if they experience economic benefit from heritage sites.

At Çatalhöyük, the local communities have often shown little interest in the site, and in the past they received no economic benefit from it. We have tried to address this issue by encouraging local investment in a shop by the site, facilitating the resurfacing of roads, contributing to new water supply systems, and encouraging local government to invest in a village school. We employ people from the local village and town and have plans for a large museum in the local town. We have also tried to develop a Çatalhöyük "brand" and enter into partnerships for the production of kilims (carpets), their distribution, and sale. Although the latter initiative has had limited success so far, there are many sites and regions in the world, where craft production linked to heritage has brought economic benefit.

Local and regional officials often latch on to the idea of economic benefits with alacrity. They expect an economic bonanza, rather on the model of the impact of the Guggenheim Museum on Bilbao in Spain. It is important not to fuel these expectations if they are unrealistic; there is a need to point out that most cultural heritage projects do not produce large numbers of tourists and do not produce a great economic boom. But involvement in planning for realistic economic benefits is an important basis for much stakeholder participation. The potential or actual economic gain gives a surer place around the stewardship table and greater leverage when it comes to decision making.

Another important aspect of the wider context of the table is education. There are often great differences in levels of knowledge and education around the table. The archaeological specialist is able to talk with great authority about heritage and its management, but local communities may sometimes know little and be little able to express their demands. It is important that all those round the table are able to understand the issues and explain why particular heritage solutions are preferable.

At Çatalhöyük, the initial lack of interest and involvement occurred at least partly because most in the local community had received very little education, many could not write, and few knew anything about a non-Islamic past. We have tried to deal with this in a number of ways. As in many other foreign projects in the Middle East, we have provided scholarships for students (in our case, sometimes from the local region) to gain language, archaeology, or conservation training in major universities

in Turkey or, more commonly, abroad. Under the EU-funded Temper scheme, large amounts of educational materials have been prepared for primary and middle schools in Turkey and in the local region, and every year about 600 children each spend a day at the site learning at firsthand about archaeology and heritage (Doughty and Hodder 2007). In the local village, we have provided slide shows and have hosted the whole village at the site to explain our plans and to get feedback. The community has been involved in designing the displays in the Visitor Center.

Participation, knowledge, and education can be encouraged by involving people in all aspects of the research and site management process. It is not enough simply to say that archaeological science should continue as normal, and then afterward the archaeologists should talk to various stakeholder groups about the results and interpretations. This leaves stakeholder groups at a distance, removed, disengaged, at a disadvantage, and disempowered. Instead, such groups need to be involved at all stages. This type of integration is common in many projects now. At Çatalhöyük, it is part of the reflexive methods we have been employing. Members of the local communities are involved in the postexcavation process in the laboratory, and the different excavation teams involve local community members in different ways. One of the local villagers who was a guard at the site for a long time has written his own book about the project that has been published by Left Coast Press (Dural 2007), and the words of the local community are included in the main project publication volumes. The voices of local workers have been silent for too long in the Middle East.

Another important development that is needed away from the table is trust. Those around the table have to trust what is said by other participants. The establishment of trust involves showing that what is said around the table can be followed up or relied upon in the periods between meetings. In areas, such as the Middle East, the main impediment to deliberative democracy is how to engender trust and cooperation in a context of distrust and conflict. The problem is how to focus on respect for the dignity of the other when separation and denigration dominate all aspects of daily life. In postconflict situations, there are extraordinary cases of reconciliation. The reconciliation process in Ruanda and the Truth and Reconciliation Courts in South Africa are remarkable attempts to focus on respect and forgiveness in the immediate aftermath of domination, genocide, war, and death. Similar projects have taken place in Israel (such as the TEMPER project – Doughty and Hodder 2007). I have been very struck in my discussions with members of the Wye River project about how central is the issue of trust. This group of Palestinian and Israeli archaeologists and heritage specialists have been involved for some time in collaborative projects (Scham and Yahya 2003). Participants often say that the project has been successful because they feel they can trust participants on the other side. Such trust is built up over time and through events and familiarity.

The results in the Wye River case are impressive. Rather than acceding to the purging of the Islamic and Ottoman past in the landscape, they focus on the material that has so often been ignored – the Ottoman and Christian buildings. They work with the Israeli Antiquities Authority in bringing to the fore the buildings in Old Akko which have Crusader foundations and Ottoman superstructures. They engage

local communities in the projects and create and support community centers. The Palestinian projects at Biblical sites aim at an inclusive rather than exclusive past.

This is where the concept of a shared heritage takes its force – not from the common rights of man or from a universal right to a common past – but from a recognition that specific histories are entwined in complex ways, that the histories are overlapping, layered, complex, fluid, blended, interdependent, fleeting, and transient. Rather than fixed identities and impervious boundaries of difference, we have a process of dialogue and contingent constructions of difference. It is in the recognition of this complex process that the idea of a shared past takes most effective form.

A further way to make the same point is to focus on layering. Hegemonic claims to heritage often erase phases, events, or histories that do not serve their interests. The complex layers on which the present is built are forgotten or denied. But layering and stratigraphy are important components of archaeology. As we dig down, we find the forgotten layers and can reconstruct the layering on which the contemporary world is built and on which present power is built. In these ways, the self-sufficiency of the present, its essential nature, is problematized and cracks are opened up for a more open dialogue, a better sense of movement, change, and negotiated rights.

Again, the potential of the remembering of layering is clear in the Wye River case as in the case of the Dahar al-Omar Mosque, also called Al-Mu'aleq, being studied by Hanan Halabi Abu Yusef. Here, a Crusader structure was later used as a synagogue, and then later a mosque was constructed over it. The reopening of this mosque after the war is, thus, of great importance, especially if the multilayeredness of the building can be emphasized.

Conclusion: Taking a Stand

I have argued in this paper that while we need to discuss ethical principles regarding heritage and stewardship, the value of such discussion is less in the universal absoluteness of the principles and more in the need to routinely consider rights and wrongs that have built up historically in specific global and local conjunctions. When collaborative discussions take place, it seems that a dual approach is needed to ethical and social concerns. The first concerns the procedures that are used around the table. But second, an adequate ethical response, also involves dealing with the wider context away from the table so that participants in the heritage process are empowered.

It is important finally to emphasize the need for archaeologists to take a stand in this process. It is not enough to argue that the archaeologist is a relative powerless mediator who simply brings stakeholders together. It is not possible to be a neutral go-between. Archaeologists do have influence as professional experts, and they have to recognize that their actions as experts have effects on the world for which they are partly responsible. To claim a distanced ethical or scientific neutrality is to abdicate responsibility for the effects of one's involvement in a public heritage. Taking an ethical path in archaeology involves making professional and personal choices.

I want to illustrate this point with some final examples from my own experience at Çatalhöyük. For example, local traditionally Islamic and nationalist politicians have tried to claim an ethnic link between the population at Çatalhöyük 9,000 years ago and the present population. In considering the ethics of this, I found I had to take a stand and argue that the archaeological evidence did not support views that verged on the racist. So in our collaborative discussions, I have used my scientific and professional expertise to argue a particular position because I thought that right both scientifically and ethically. As another example, in a local traditional Islamic context, I was asked by male elders in the local community not to employ and pay women. After much thought on what is a difficult issue, I argued that I did want to employ women and there is no doubt that such employment has empowered and changed the lives of some women in the village. I felt that as a member of an interconnected world I should use my position to contribute to change in the lives of these women. Similarly, the Turkish government asked me to prevent Goddess groups visiting the site on the grounds that they might harm the site and have a negative effect on the local communities. I felt that in a global world it would be wrong to attempt to prevent such visits as long as there is no harm to the site and as long as dialogue can be maintained with the local communities. Finally, ethical issues are raised by sponsorship. Again I have found myself having discussions with team members to decide on ethical criteria for accepting sponsorship. These are often difficult discussions and in the end one has to take a stand – arguing against certain sponsors, making it clear to others that sponsorship cannot be associated with undue influence on the scientific and social process of archaeology.

All these interventions are dangerous, and we cannot be sure of the effects. But I feel strongly that we are all already interconnected at the global scale. Dangerous as these interventions are, we have already intervened and it is better to discuss, dialogue, and participate from a specific ethical and social position than to claim a scientific objectivity or a moral universalism regardless of the effects on peoples' lives.

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Chapter 3
Engaged Archaeology: Whose Community? Which Public?

K. Anne Pyburn

> *The concept of dualism … the traditional and the non-traditional … provides a framework within which to understand the problem archaeology faces … what is considered custom may be more a consequence of this conceptual dichotomy than of any similarity to actual pre-colonial society.*
>
> – Daniel Miller 1980

In this discussion, I treat community archaeology as a subset of public archaeology and consider the issues of community archaeology as a preamble to discussion of wider issues engendered by archaeologists attempting to orient their efforts to a public sphere. The most undertheorized aspect of community archaeology is the idea of community itself. Although archaeologists often discuss the competing concerns of various interest groups, such groups are either regarded as subgroups of a single community or as competing communities, but the term community is defined with a description of a particular set of people or simply left undefined. Here, I problematize the concept of community on three fronts: (1) any individual belongs to multiple communities; (2) community archaeology frequently reifies imaginary communities, which have been created by the archaeologists; and (3) community archaeology needs to consider not only descendant and local communities, but also those communities with political and economic power.

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Defining the Community in Community-Based Archaeology

Community archaeology has different origins in the USA from its origins in Britain. In the UK, where archaeology's intellectual home has been in history, people's interest in what they find in their gardens has always been considered legitimate. Everyone identifies archaeological remains with local as well as national history and often with cultural, if not exactly, biological ancestors. Amateur societies and community museums are common and have been for many decades. It is not coincidental that the television show *Time Team* originated in Great Britain, where, despite its slow pace and authentically modest discoveries, it is quite popular and has spun off several similar and related programs.

Although there is a sharp divide between academic archaeologists and the British public, public archaeology, which is identified with cultural heritage management, is practiced mainly outside the academy and emphasizes technical skills applied to discovery over research design and theoretical orientation. Public archaeologists are portrayed in the media as blue-collar laborers as much as college professors and do not distance themselves from the public with jargon or complex interpretations. There is a natural connection between public and community archaeology, since interested local groups are simply subsets of a larger, but similarly, interested public. Of course, there are community and national controversies over the disposition of archaeological resources, but repatriation and preservation of sites in English contexts are not areas of dramatic racial or cultural contestation, since the museum curators and site stewards more or less share the heritage of the people whose material and human remains they control.

The situation has been quite different for British, European, Australian, and American archaeologists practicing outside their own nations, where the connection of the past to national heritage has been controversial. Archaeologists of European descent digging in Egypt and India might claim historical connections with the people whose ancestors they research, but do not usually share their cultural identity. In areas, like Mesoamerica, South America, and Asia, historical connections are mostly unrelated to European research questions. This situation is much closer to the practice of archaeology in the USA, where professionals for the most part have practiced as strangers in their own land.

Archaeology began in the USA with the investigation of ancient indigenous cultures; although historical archaeology has grown, most U.S. archaeologists still focus on people whose history they do not share and whose descendants continue to be an economically and politically oppressed minority. Consequently, archaeology's home has been in anthropology, traditionally the study of "other cultures" outside the context of western history. Americanist archaeologists have emphasized expertise over engagement, since their claim on the past is academic rather than personal. What ordinary citizens find in their gardens is considered private property, but more likely valued as treasure than heritage. Indigenous history is regarded as only a minor preamble or small subset of national history. Indian communities have only recently begun to be included in archaeologists' concept of the public.

Ascherson notes that American archaeology sees responsibility to the public as one of the many responsibilities of an archaeologist, whereas public interest has long been fundamental to any archaeological work in Britain, where archaeology has become more overtly "about 'now' than about 'then'" (2007: 51). But this divergence is much more recent in the practice of archaeology by British archaeologists working outside England, where most research was, by definition, colonial. And neither the processual positivist stance in the USA nor the postprocessual relativist stance of British archaeology has problematized the concept of community or been very clear about who constitute public archaeology. In effect, the same assumptions about the nature and relevance of "communities" to heritage conservation and management are made in the USA and Great Britain and the rest of Europe, albeit for different reasons. Ideas about historical continuity of a discrete population, perpetuation of traditional culture, ideological and economic conservatism, and resistance to change are not usually carefully examined before being used to define community membership and authenticity.

As Marshall (2002: 216) comments: "Communities are seldom, if ever, monocultural and are never of one mind. They are aggregations of people who have come together for all kinds of planned and contingent reasons. There are therefore many ways in which the community relevant to a particular archaeological project may emerge. None is unproblematic and in many cases the interest community changes over the course of a project."

In reality, any individual is a member of multiple flexibly bounded communities, and negotiating personal loyalties and distributing personal resources among various groups are some ways of describing ordinary life. Implicitly defining a community as an integrated organism with a coherent structure and discrete boundaries that contain a finite group of people is an intellectual echo of an earlier phase of archaeology when the prevailing paradigm was cultural evolutionism. As far as generalizations go, it is probably more accurate to expect that communities with unchanging traditions and impermeable boundaries are unusual and may be a response to oppression.

The fact that individuals are commonly members of multiple communities is a key point, since such crosscutting experiences and allegiances can make negotiations easier and refocus a competitive inclination to an emphasis on commonalities and cooperation. Government officials born in the village where the archaeologist wants to work, professional archaeologists with indigenous heritage, families with close relatives living in several towns and villages, and international tour guides who own local businesses all may play key roles in structuring a positive framework for research, preservation, and the interpretation of archaeological resources.

The history of many developing nations is a history of colonization, oppression, exploitation, and marginalization of indigenous groups defined by outsiders or even forced into "communities." In 1978, the people of Aguacate, Belize, who speak Kekchi did not think of themselves as Maya (R. Wilk, personal communication, 2000); this is a "community" created by colonialism. In the communities of developing nations, opportunity for economic improvement and even survival is often better for those who turn away from their community and its past to participate in

colonial "development." In this situation, the past seems useless and humiliating, and continuity with the past becomes an acceptance of poverty and exploitation. As the forces of globalization enforce the boundaries of modernity by reifying tradition, they also conflate marginalization, ignorance, and poverty with tradition and ethnicity (Warren 1998). Parents in economically marginalized communities lose their children to urban jobs and children become ashamed of their poor and traditional parents. Both pride in heritage and the creation of local jobs can alleviate this situation, not as an attempt to reinter the past but as a way forward.

When archaeologists equate continuity of cultural descent with authenticity, they contribute to an oppressive construction of tradition and community, in which indigenous or local claims to the right to manage and interpret the past entail some sort of ethnic posturing in the present. This is not to say that ethnicity is externally imposed, but that external forces are given an undue influence on the form it can take to be recognized as authentic, and people are limited in how they choose to recognize and deploy their traditions.

Beliefs about the homogenizing influence of globalization along with unexamined beliefs about community life in the past have made archaeology the last refuge of authenticity. In the service of tourism, cultural preservation, and ethnic pride, archaeologists have supplied a steady stream of reconstructed pasts that reference the present, believing it is the other way around. Strategic essentialism has empowered some groups, but some archaeological reconstructions that emphasize cultural continuities oppress the living. The government of Belize recently challenged the land rights of a group of Q'eqchi Maya partly on the basis that the sort of agriculture they practice is not traditional but paradoxical also because archaeologists have convinced the public that traditional Maya agricultural strategies caused their civilization to collapse. Failure to practice the sort of agriculture archaeologists have identified as authentic supposedly disqualifies their claim to be Maya, whereas traditional Maya agriculture disqualifies them as stewards of the land. Never mind that the archaeological reconstructions and the ethnographic characterization of Maya agriculture were both wrong (Wilk 1985, 1991). Clearly, the past and its traditions are better regarded as protean, both for the sake of accuracy and for the sake of descendant communities.

Various authors have shown that local reaction to global pressure is rarely a matter of simple absorption, no matter how profound the pressure applied on a community to "change with the times." In fact, globalization has in many cases increased the visibility of local traditions and even – as discussed by Nevins and Nevins (2007) – resulted in their construction, as well as the intensity of local commitment to them. In the words of Schadla-Hall (2007: 76), "a desire has become increasingly apparent for people to assert and demonstrate their identity and origins in a clear and comprehensible way." On the other hand, the terms of debate about modernity and globalization do globalize. "Making heritage legible," as Bauer (2007) notes, requires fitting it into a framework of predefined features and contrasts through which local achievements are defined in global terms. This sort of distinction is the same process visible in the spread of beauty pageants; local ideas of beauty may not change and in fact may be exaggerated as political resistance to the hegemony of western ideals of appearance. But in order to resist, globalized characteristics of

female beauty are countered by different coloring, measurements, and talents, not different categories of evaluation (Wilk 2004a, b). And either way, women, communities, and archaeological sites become commodities.

Community-engaged archaeology probably cannot avoid reifying imaginary communities; by defining a community as a bounded coherent group, we also define the terms that local people and descendant groups must use in order to have a voice in the management of heritage. By helping local people develop a community infrastructure to deal with tourism and opportunities for development, we may be helping them assimilate into the modern world system and narrowing their avenues of expression. But we may also be imposing a framework of traditions with little resonance for the people involved and little consonance with the past. Economic oppression not only makes people wary of outside interference, but also unable to reject any possible opportunity. This is not to say that people do not need infrastructure, defined communities, and ways to use the world system to work effectively for social justice, but that the definition and manipulation of these categories should not be exclusively in the hands of outsiders.

Shepherd (2007) makes the extremely important point that the maintenance of local authenticity requires staying on the margins of the global economy and accepting the paternalism of world powers in order to survive. In China, but also in the USA, the countries of the former Soviet Union, and almost any other nation state, ethnic diversity is being domesticated according to global definitions of "otherness." Through the Chinese government's promotion of the tourist industry in Tibet, Tibetan culture is denatured of its radicalism and resistance by being constructed as an artistic performance (Shepherd 2007). Shepherd sees a culture being overwhelmed by the condescension of tourists who attempt to photograph mystery and spirituality or, even worse, find entertainment in the traditions they consider charming and cute. Inadvertently, these visitors are acting to reposition Tibetans' perception of themselves and the meaning and value of their reified and commoditized community.

There are several ways to rethink the idea of community. McDavid's (2002, following Rorty 1991) concept of a "historically situated, pluralistic, *contingent* conversation" suggests the possibility of a conscious construction of a community developed around a heritage project. Bauer (2007) has employed the concept of "terroir" – a reference to the material continuity notably visible in the archaeology of long inhabited places. He poses this concept as a counter to the ostensibly homogenizing effects of globalization, which he rightly sees as a force that is not as unique to human experience as modernization theorists claimed. But it also serves to undermine simplistic assumptions about cultural continuity as the primary authenticating factor for local traditions. Somehow, despite centuries – or in some places millennia – of innovation, migration, and conquest, local practice references the past. Without being ecologically reductionist, Bauer has echoed Alexander Pope's famous line, "In everything respect the genius of the place," suggesting that in tracing the succession of inhabitants of any landscape archaeologists can divine a continuity in local genius that is not the equivalent of ethnic fossilization. Similar thoughts have been very much on the minds of globalization theorists of the past few years, and the study of food from whence Bauer takes his term "terroir" is quite a useful lens for focusing an interest in the conflicts and accommodations between tradition and

change, domination and resistance, and the local and the global. How new ingredients are reinterpreted as traditional and local foods become global fads is interesting not only because the process is not what the modernists expected (Wilk 2009), but also because these processes can be shown to be ongoing from deep in the human past (Pyburn 2008a). In the dance between the local and the global, it is the dance, not the community, that is continuous and traditional.

The Q'ekchi healers of southern Belize have created a professional organization (Naturaleza 2003) patterned after organizations of wealthy nations, such as the American Medical Association (AMA) and the British Medical Association (BMA). This new institution arose out of the healers' concern that their skills were being disregarded and disrespected in favor of medical practice that is too costly for ordinary people to afford and for which they have no access to training. Their fear is the loss of their knowledge, which is still needed by people who can afford nothing else, and are also being denied the education they need to offer better care to their patients. They are willing to share their skills and knowledge; they do not understand why western-trained healers are unwilling to do the same.

The Q'ekchi healers are following an age-old strategy of syncretism to preserve their cultural heritage and serve the needs of their people. This is a strategy that can be seen in any culture; it might even be argued that this is what culture is *for*. They are defining themselves as a community and making an effort to preserve their chosen traditions, but in a context they have determined that makes sense in their present context. Over a period of roughly 3,000 years, Maya speakers authored a variety of systems of production, consumption, land tenure, commerce, and *heritage* (it is what the hieroglyphic inscriptions are all about) as sophisticated as anything the colonial powers imposed from Europe. One primary use of heritage has always been to construct a bond with other people – or to sever one. Both uses are evident on stele from the Classic period. This does not mean that Maya speakers are "living in the past" as National Geographic would have it, but that like any very long-lived group Maya people use heritage to address the present and construct their future as best they can. So while the Q'ekchi healers are creating a bounded community, they are also claiming a bond with other communities of healers which they have chosen for themselves.

The upshot of this is that archaeologists need to get out of the business of authenticating culture and community traditions and to be very conscious about how we employ the rubric of community to any local or descendant group. While data pertinent to these issues can sometimes help communities establish a beachfront in the battle for human rights, the same archaeological "facts" that help one community can hurt another or turn sour in the long run. The issue to be considered by archaeologists must always include a consideration of the needs of multiple communities, and it is likely that archaeologically based knowledge is more appropriately deployed in the service of democracy than in the service of essentialism. Even if archaeologists fail to problematize the meaning of "community," members of the public do not, and by failing to do so, archaeologists run the risk of unwittingly playing into the hands of one faction or another, when taking a more consultative and knowledge-sharing approach could have a more positive outcome. A good place to begin is to *ask* people if they consider themselves members of a community, in which other communities do they belong and participate, and how do they define their memberships.

This clarifies the second problem with community archaeology already mentioned: that a focus on "the" community makes it easy to forget that descendant and local communities need to be understood ethnographically for engaged archaeology to work. Often, the communities that we really need to understand anthropologically are those that wield the most political and economic power, such as government officials, school boards, multinational hotel chains, USAID missions, and archaeologists themselves. Like the local groups we usually refer to when we talk about stakeholders, these communities of wealth and authority have traditions and normative behaviors that can be analyzed with anthropological research and better understood as a means of promoting understanding across cultural divides. For example, explaining to people where archaeologists derive their ideas about the value of the past, their beliefs about science, and their passion for preservation can humanize our intentions and even make us more sympathetic to a skeptical audience.

Finding a Public for Public Archaeology

In an important essay, Matsuda (2004) constructs the theoretical framework archaeologists need for developing a "public sphere" for archaeology. Following Habermas (1989), he points out that archaeologists generally use the term "public" in two ways: first, in reference to people in general who are not trained practicing archaeologists and second, in contradistinction to private interests, a group whose rights to scientific knowledge and cultural resource preservation are upheld by state authority. While engaging with an interested lay public suggests democratic decision making, the charge to do archaeology for the good of all human beings actually vests authority in archaeologists as vectors of state regulation by positing that a generalized good lies beyond the grasp of nonspecialists.

Both uses of the term belie archaeologists' tendency to set themselves apart from other interest groups. By setting ourselves apart from nonspecialists, we often fail to see our professional interests in the context of many other competing and probably equally legitimate interests in the material remains of the past. This is the unexamined attitude that leads archaeologists into believing that explaining themselves to the public is doing the public a favor, when it is more likely that archaeologists who engage in public discussion and democratic debate are in the long run doing a favor for themselves. Paraphrasing George Orwell, archaeologists tend to see themselves as more equal than other members of the public.

This attitude also robs archaeologists of the ability to see the utility of multiple overlapping communities within a public. Not only can archaeologists do a better job of seeking consensus by working with interested individuals who participate in several communities, they can also better engage a public by accepting that they are also part of the public. When archaeology is constructed in opposition to collecting, religion, entertainment, or descendant communities, we lose sight of how our practice not only affects, but even creates impermeable boundaries around potentially antagonistic groups.

Unlike Matsuda, most archaeologists rarely bother to define "public" at all, but instead make broad assumptions about the characteristics and tastes of a generalized audience. Rather than attempting to educate nonspecialists and improve general knowledge about archaeological research and the politics of heritage and human rights, archaeologists typically behave more like journalists than academics by pandering to an imagined audience. Attention and approval are seen as more valuable than (or at least prior to) knowledge and scientific honesty (Holtorf 2008); e.g., Indiana Jones looting, stomping stereotyped indigenous people, patronizing women, and heroically overcoming the exigencies of daily life outside the wealthy west is an acceptable icon because his portrayal of archaeology as adventurous and fun lures students. Publicizing finds that coincidentally have value in the art market, and interpretations of the past that justify the status quo and promote blaming the victims of the modern world system for the environmental deterioration and resource conflicts substitute for education because real information is "too boring."

The success of *Time Team* (Schadla-Hall 2007) suggests that the public tolerance of tedium is much greater than most archaeologists believe. Furthermore, exit interviews of museum visitors indicate that at least some members of the public are quite interested in the actual practice of archaeology and in the more mundane aspects of the past. Even more interesting is the observation that the ordinary people with unexceptional educations who constitute "the public" in many parts of the world are very interested and knowledgeable about the politics of community, ethnicity and tradition, and the role of heritage in local identity.

It might be better to address the interests and expectations of the public by asking people what their interests are than by making assumptions that may actually create expectations. In my own experience, I have found that while people expect archaeologists to boast about treasure, they respond with great enthusiasm to evidence of the heroism, compassion, intelligence, and aesthetic sensibilities of ancient people. An ancient recipe grips a middle-class American audience more than a jade necklace. On the other hand, it is not necessarily a bad idea to create some expectations, especially those that do not promote political violence, elitism, gender stereotyping, and blaming the victims of the world system for the environmental problems of today. Imagine what a different world it would be if the public looked to the past, and to archaeologists, for solutions to social problems rather than the fatalistic expectation that the past was only a prelude to the worst of the present.

The term "public" can actually be broken down into multiple audiences with differing interests and expectations. While it is clearly important to identify expectations in order to communicate with people, even if the goal is to change them, it is not always necessary to meet them. To a significant extent, visitors to museums and archaeological sites, lecture attendees, television audiences, and magazine subscribers are seeking knowledge, not simply titillation. As Matsuda notes, the consuming public is not necessarily uncritical and passive (Samuel 1994, in Matsuda 2004: 73), and that we urgently need "detailed analysis … to clarify how the public work with and negotiate archaeological information, as well as how they assimilate or reject it according to their social circumstances" (Matsuda 2004: 73). Modern pedagogy, recognizing that the expectations of students have been shaped by the entertainment standards of

television, is replete with methods for sharing information that are successful because they are engaging and not boring, but still teach something (Burke and Smith 2007). But archaeologists should consider whether in the final analysis it is not better to be a little dull than to reinforce the worst stereotypes of the modern world. It is certainly bad to turn off the public to archaeology, but some alternatives are worse.

I have argued elsewhere (2008b) that archaeologists are best suited to present themselves, whether to a public or to each other, as educators. This may be seen as using the "deficit model" (Merriman 2004: 5) of the public, if taken to suggest that the public has no concept of the past and only certain people have legitimate knowledge of the past. However, this need not be the case if archaeologists acknowledge educators as one segment of several types of public and define education as a strategy for sharing useful knowledge. Archaeologists do believe that their knowledge of the past has legitimacy and value, since most have spent a considerable portion of their lives acquiring it. Like any other interest group, archaeologists have the right to speak their opinions as convincingly as they can and the responsibility to share important information. People with alternative interests and expertise have the same rights and responsibilities in a democratic society, and refusal to engage civilly with divergent perspectives is more likely an indication of condescension than respect.

Respecting the Heritage of Archaeology

It is certainly true that community involvement and public engagement have only recently begun to be practiced with any consistency, and although the idea of community archaeology is not new as Marshall (2002) points out, the explicit emphasis on sharing control of archaeological resources with local communities is relatively new. But most archaeologists underestimate the amount of community-oriented archaeology that was done and the degree of commitment and intellectual rigor applied to public outreach before the present generation. In fact, archaeologists have frequently jeopardized their careers by paying too much attention to the social context of their work and not enough to their scholarly progress up the tenure ladder. What has always been true, and is still true to a significant extent, is that community engagement has shared the low status in academic circles of applied anthropology or sociology and in many quarters is still generally not considered to be archaeology at all. Consequently, much of what has been done remains an unremarked and unpublished part of archaeology's oral history.

In 1980, Daniel Miller published the results of a settlement survey of the Solomon Islands in *Current Anthropology* titled *Archaeology and Development.* He worked over a large area, which included several islands, and talked to living communities along the way. His project was a public archaeology project, not the first one but certainly one of the most impressive and extremely precocious in its explication of the need for alliances between archaeologists and various other interest groups and the need for local people to be involved in decision making about heritage management. Several well-known scholars published responses in the journal that were

slightly skeptical, but for the most part roundly approving. The strange thing about this article is how little it has been acknowledged. Whether or not archaeologists were concerned with their impact outside their field, it seems clear that they did not want to be seen as concerned.

Nevertheless, similar studies have gradually increased and publication has exploded in the last 10 years; for example, Maya archaeology and heritage have been discussed by Cojti Ren (2006), Ehrentraut (1996), Euraque (1998), Fischer (1999), Hasemann and Lara Pinto (1993), Healy (1984), Hervik (1999), Joyce (2003), Luke (2006), Montejo (2005), Mortensen (2001, 2005), and Tercero (2006), and this is not an exhaustive list. In Australia, scores of archaeologists have successfully fought alongside Aboriginal people to win the right of Aborigines to control the archaeological record of their heritage (Greer et al. 2002; Smith 2004). Archaeological anthropologists have studied living communities' relationships to archaeological research and heritage in Alaska (Hollowell 2006), Greece (Hamilakis 2007), and Brazil (Bezerra 2003) to name a few. In 2002, the Community Archaeology issue of *World Archaeology* (34(2)) organized by Yvonne Marshall brought together an important set of papers and had a galvanizing effect on the discipline. A look at the lineup of papers presented at the World Archaeological Congress (WAC) in 2008 gives a testimony to the explosion of awareness and activism by archaeologists who are ever more willing and able to discuss these issues (WAC 6 2008).

The accumulated wisdom of all these efforts is considerable, but the emphasis still tends to be placed on the originality of each study rather than on increasing a useful bank of knowledge. A similar situation can be seen in the recent emphasis on public anthropology, undoubtedly a good thing, but which seems to turn its back on the accumulated wisdom of applied anthropology. Serious attention to previous work by both archaeologists and applied anthropologists would certainly remind archaeologists to ask (1) "When this development or preservation or local museum project is complete, where will the *real* money go?" and (2) "What communities that identify themselves with the issues are addressed in this project, how do these communities overlap, and how do they define their stakes?"

The economic structures of local communities are a product of both culture and history and reflect both varieties of greed and philanthropic efforts toward someone's idea of equity. It goes without saying that such structures are often in need of improvement. It is time to move away from the implicit assumption that once upon a time everyone was nice to each other (or everyone was venal or everyone was guilty or innocent) or that respect for impoverished indigenous communities facing globalization entails preserving their primordial innocence or restoring a unified past.

The A Horizon

For public outreach and community collaborations to work, they have to be embedded in local culture and answer needs to be other than just "preservation" or "tourism" in an abstract sense. What communities is the museum for? Local? Indigenous? Descendant? Tourist? What Public is the target audience? Children? Visitors?

Looters? Wealthy community leaders? Poor or disadvantaged people? The reason that outreaches projects' fail is that they are designed to solve problems that do not make sense to the people they affect with strategies that depend on outside investment and pressure. All too often, the archaeologist is trying to "help" a local community that is not really a community as much as it is an economically marginalized class to do something people are not interested in and do not understand (Bezerra 2003). So every community collaboration and public outreach project has to begin with ethnographic research to figure out how to achieve the project's goals. If the goal is preservation, then archaeologists have to be willing to explain their perspective and negotiate with people who will be affected by the "preservation" to come to an agreement about what exactly should be preserved and for whom. Preservation has many definitions.

Tourism is often a very good thing for archaeology and for communities, but not always. It takes some planning and some ethnography to make sure that it actually helps the right people, not just foreign investors, and sends the right message, not just the glorification of ancient violence or ancient kings, but the promotion of other types of human achievement that make people want to be part of a community and willing to engage with archaeologists and other visitors. The ancient Maya has been sold by archaeologists and Hollywood as a community that was once brutal and warlike, so now people regard living Maya people as the descendants of an evil culture that failed. This is utterly untrue; the Maya had achievements beyond anything most people can imagine, but all the public is told is what tourists are supposed to want to hear. And Maya people continue to be stigmatized. This may entertain tourists by giving them what they expect, but the long-term impact on either tourist economies or the standard of living of Maya speakers does not appear to have been positive.

At this point in history, it is clearer than ever before that those who make no effort to make things better are not less guilty than those who try even if they fail. If social scientists have learned anything about people in the last 100 years of research, it is incumbent upon us to try to use it and to share it. One of these discoveries is that there is no single way to create a community nor has there ever been, though some strategies have undoubtedly worked better than others.

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Chapter 4
"Public Archaeology" in China: A Preliminary Investigation

Tao Wang

Introduction

In 2006, Peter Ucko and I visited over ten universities in the People's Republic of China, at which archaeology was offered as a degree course. We met with staff and students from each Department of Archaeology and held interviews to find out about their experiences, expectations, and ideas regarding the nature and practice of archaeology. Staff and students were interviewed separately in order to encourage people to speak openly. In addition, interviews were held with the directors and archaeologists of several archaeological institutes in the provinces/regions. This paper is one chapter of the book that Peter Ucko and I had proposed to write together, before his death.

The tape-recorded interviews consist of semistructured questioning, and free discussion was encouraged. One set of questions concerned what is now often referred to in the UK as "public archaeology." The description of what constitutes "public archaeology" included all areas of contact between the public and the presentation of the past: for example, archaeological sites, museum displays, particular legislation, and both formal and informal education. The group discussions revealed that Chinese archaeologists are, on the whole, either unaware of this aspect of current Western archaeological theory and practice or do not appear to recognize such an area of investigation. However, a few aspects of what we describe as "public archaeology" were taught within specialist courses, in particular, legislation and conservation, and/or museology.

There is a large degree of skepticism among staff and students at the majority of the universities about the notion that archaeology should be undertaken for the benefit of the wider public and that there should be any emphasis on communicating the

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methods and findings to nonspecialists. Indeed, they were skeptical of the idea that knowledge of the past might be "owned" by nonspecialists. For most Chinese archaeologists based in universities (staff and students), the practice of archaeology is seen as a specialist activity that is carried out exclusively by experts. However, this is not always the case in practice, and the provincial/regional nonuniversity institutes that are responsible for employing graduates in the field offer a very different picture.

Why does the term "public archaeology" elicit such reactions from Chinese students and archaeologists? Some, genuinely puzzled and confused, asked whether this really was an academic subject worthy of study, and how such an approach might contribute to the development of archaeology. While this may reveal a gross misunderstanding of the subject, it nonetheless forces us to reconsider the concept and practice of public archaeology in the unique context of China. However, if we seek to gain a broader picture of the global context, we should perhaps start with a brief note on the development of public archaeology in the West.

There is already a rich body of literature on public archaeology in the USA and the UK which does not warrant detailed evaluation here. However, it is necessary to make a few observations in order to draw comparisons later. First, as far as the terminology is concerned, in the USA, the rise of public archaeology was closely related to cultural resource management (CRM) in the 1970s and 1980s (Jameson 2004). This had two implications: (a) its scope was mostly limited to "local" or "indigenous" archaeological material, such as site preservation and (b) the need to train professionals to manage archaeological resources. In recent years, debates in public archaeology have shifted toward education and ethical issues in the profession. This is all for the good in relation to the development of the discipline, but for a long time, even among many professional archaeologists, public archaeology was not treated as an academic discipline but more as a tool to influence government policy making. Only a few universities offered public archaeology as a degree course or research topic. In fact, many academic/ university archaeologists tried to distance themselves from such enquiry.

The situation took a significant turn in the UK at a very precise moment. This was at the time of the first World Archaeology Congress (WAC) held in Southampton in 1986 and organized by Peter Ucko (Ascherson 2006; Stone 2006). In his long and outstanding career as an archaeologist and anthropologist (Ascherson 2007; Shennan 2007b), Peter Ucko realized that archaeology can never be separated from politics and that the survival and development of the discipline in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries depended, to a large degree, on its engagement with contemporary society and the public. A number of publications on the subject have since appeared, and these can be seen as the results of the first WAC and its subsequent meetings. The academic journal *Public Archaeology* was launched in 2000, under the editorship of Neal Ascherson. The Institute of Archaeology, University College London (of which Peter was Director, 1996–2005), was the first institution in the UK to offer public archaeology as a degree course to students:

> The course aims to provide a basis for an understanding of archaeology and law in an international context; to demonstrate the impact of political and socio-economic process on archaeological activity and thought; to examine the relationship between archaeology,

nationalism and ethnicity and also equip students with a framework for both appreciating and developing archaeology in a wider context.

(Institute of Archaeology, UCL, MA in Public Archaeology, printed material).

Though the exact definition of public archaeology still divides scholars, its focus is clearly on the interface or interaction between the spheres of archaeology and the public. It has become an established academic subject, drawing strength from Marxist and postprocessual archaeological theories (Merriman 2002). The current shift in the field is directed toward detailed investigation of how archaeology operates in different social and cultural contexts, as explored in this book.

A Historic Review and Significant Incidents Before 1949

In many ways, the Chinese context in which archaeology has developed varies greatly from that of the West. While there is no need here to present an overview of the history of Chinese archaeology, it is important to remember several critical moments in that history which are relevant to an investigation of the relationship between archaeology and the public – these help us to view the question from a historic perspective.

Premodern archaeology in China derived from traditional antiquarian studies known as *Jin shi xue* or the "bronzes and stele scholarship" (Chang 1981). Collecting antiquities has long been a significant part of traditional social practice, both for personal cultivation and as a way of developing one's social status (Clunas 1991a). In this context, excavations and research were mainly private undertakings. The evidence is seldom strong enough for us to reconstruct the real archaeology of premodern times, and in the majority of cases they may have been little more than treasure hunting. The historical literature shows, however, that the authorities did try to implement legislation to punish those who engaged in looting and tomb robbery and that social conventions also played a role in controlling illegal excavations (Wang 1999: 291–320). But the antiques trade flourishes, as Clunas (1991b) has shown in his study of the Ming dynasty, when there is an unprecedented level of wealth in society and collecting becomes fashionable. For this reason, private digging for treasure never really stopped and ancient artifacts were traded and collected by the elite, including the royal households.

By the early twentieth century, when China abandoned its monarchy and became a republic, modern archaeology had already been introduced to China from European countries as a method of historical and scientific research (Wang and Ucko 2007). However, it did not replace the traditional field of "bronzes and stele scholarship," which continued to flourish side by side with the newer field of scientific archaeology. The first western-style national academy, the Academia Sinica (*Zhongyang yanjiuyuan*), was established in 1928 and included archaeology within its Institute of History and Philology (IHP). The selection of the first head of the archaeology team was to be made between Ma Heng (1881–1955), an established scholar of the

traditional "bronzes and stele," and the recently returned Harvard graduate Li Chi (Li Ji 1896–1979). Li was appointed as head.

The leading players in Chinese archaeology then were mostly Western-trained Chinese scholars, with few talented locals. Among them, the western notion of academic independence prevailed. Although the last 100 years have seen massive social upheaval in China, Chinese intellectuals were initially cosseted in their "ivory tower." Like their peers in the West at that time, Chinese archaeologists seldom gave thought to the idea of close public involvement in archaeology or to the idea of direct responsibility to either the government or the general public. However, as archaeology could only be undertaken outside the confines of library walls, in most cases in remote rural locations, it was inevitable that sooner or later the archaeologists would come face to face with reality. They had to understand the power structure within society and interact with local communities. The story of the archaeology of Anyang – the capital of the late Shang dynasty (approximately 1500–1045 B.C.) – is an important chapter in the history of modern Chinese archaeology (Li 1977). Artifacts from Anyang are stored and displayed in museums all over the world today, including many major Western museums. It is worth recalling two incidents that were behind the fascinating discoveries of amazing objects at the site, as they relate to the effect of the excavations of Anyang on public relations and the contribution this made to the development of Chinese archaeology.

The first incident was concerned with the archaeologists from the IHP who started their first excavation in Anyang in 1928. Although the excavation was producing highly significant results, the team soon ran into trouble in the autumn of 1929. Some local individuals and groups, including the Henan Library that represented the most important local cultural institution, insisted that as the site was located in Henan province, the excavations should be carried out by people from Henan and that the findings should be kept in the library. Excavations at Anyang came to a standstill over this matter. The standstill lasted a full year until finally, after skillful negotiation by Fu Sinian (1896–1950), the director of the IHP, the excavation was resumed (Fu 1930). A compromise was then reached to the effect that the local education bureau in Henan would send personnel from the local museum to observe the excavations and that the IHP would take in students from Henan University and train them. The initial tension was thus overcome, and the incident resulted in the establishment of the protocol and a model of how to conduct archaeology in a complex social context. Incidentally, the stoppage of excavation at Anyang forced the IHP to excavate elsewhere and led to the unexpected discovery of the important Neolithic Longshan culture in Shandong province.

The second incident is less well-known and came to light only in a recently published memoir (Shih 2002). Shih Chang-ju (Shi Zhangru 1902–2004) was one of the students sent by Henan University to work at the Anyang excavations. He would later become one of the leading archaeologists of Shang archaeology. In his memoir, Shih recorded the establishment of the Huanshui School – a primary school set up by members of the IHP for the children of the workers employed by the IHP archaeology team at Xiaotun village in Anyang. In addition to teaching children, the school also provided training courses for local workers. This school was probably

the first successful example of public archaeology in modern China. It achieved local people's participation in archaeology which brought benefit to the local community. The discovery of Shang dynasty oracle bones and royal tombs at Xiaotun made the village famous, and the site attracted a large number of visitors. Interaction between the villagers and archaeologists/visitors was very harmonious, and, in Shih's words, "Xiaotun then became a cultural zone; the setting up of the school bore a very positive significance" (Shih 2002: 145). Unfortunately, the archaeological operations in Anyang, as well as the Huanshui School, came to a sudden end in 1937 at the outbreak of the Sino–Japanese War.

New China, New Archaeology

After 1949, the newly established People's Republic of China and its communist leaders tolerated the freedom and privilege enjoyed by the intellectuals for a short period, but gradually began to tighten its grip on the institutions and professionals who were responsible for education and scientific research. Marxist ideology became dominant. Archaeologists, like their historian colleagues, were required to conduct their work according to the correct political line and to "eliminate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology" (Cheng 1965; Chang 1977; Tong 1995). The results of this approach were evident in the number of casualties during the numerous political campaigns from the 1950s to 1970s: the Three Anti's Movement ("against corruption, waste, and bureaucracy," December 1951/October 1952), the Five Anti's Movement ("against bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, doing shoddy work and using inferior material, and stealing economic information," January/October 1952), the Anti-Rightists (1957), and the Great Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). Among the criticism directed toward intellectuals, including archaeologists, was the accusation that intellectuals who had received a capitalist education lacked the desire to communicate with the general public. The guiding principle was that the public, consisting mainly of factory workers, farmers, and People's Liberation Army (PLA) soldiers (as in the famous *gong-nong-bing* "worker–farmer–soldier" combination), should lead all state affairs, including academic research. The intended reforms had a diabolical effect on the intellectual life and higher education in China – from mild self-criticism to more severe de-employment, labor camps, and even imprisonment. In the Cultural Revolution, all research academies and universities were shut down and scholars were sent to the countryside for "re-education." As Tong (1995: 193) wrote:

> During these tumultuous 10 years, the destruction of the "Four Olds" was carefully planned and organized. The thoroughness of this campaign is revealed by the fact that almost every concerned household was searched. Thus, not only the monuments and relics on the ground were seriously damaged, but private antiquarian collections were almost entirely destroyed. Our national cultural treasures never sustained such heavy losses during the five-thousand-year history of Chinese civilization, including periods of foreign invasion or civil strife.

However, while the country was in chaos and many academic disciplines were exiled to the political wilderness during the Cultural Revolution, archaeology

was probably the least affected subject. In his article, Tong (1995, note 9) also mentioned that Xia Nai, then the leader of Chinese archaeology, did not endure personal suffering:

> Even during the Cultural Revolution, Xia Nai himself was not much affected by this evil storm. Beginning with 1970, when universities and scientific institutions were still closed, and the majority of intellectuals were imprisoned in "cowsheds" or sent to the countryside for re-education, he was personally appointed by Prime Minister Zhou Enlai to receive foreign guests and to visit Albania, Mexico, and Peru, carrying out "Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs".

Many important archaeological excavations continued even at the height of the Cultural Revolution. These include the excavation of the Han dynasty princely tombs at Mancheng, Hebei, in 1968 and that of the Ming dynasty royal tombs in Sichuan in 1970. The excavations at Anyang also continued. Results of excavations were also made public at this time. For example, the exhibition of "Cultural Relics unearthed during the Cultural Revolution" was displayed at the Palace Museum in Beijing in 1971 (Chutu wenwu 1972). A political essay published in the *People's Daily* on 24 July 1971 proclaimed the "revolutionary line" of archaeology and listed all the important contributions to archaeology made by farmers, factory workers, and PLA soldiers. The concluding paragraph read (Chutu wenwu 1972: "Explanation"):

> In the work of archaeological excavation and preservation, the revolutionary committees at various places, together with archaeologists and workers in the professions concerned with cultural relics, took the learning of Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought seriously. They applied historical materialism, and followed completely the policies and guidelines regarding cultural preservation and archaeological excavation as determined by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCPCC) under the leadership of Chairman Mao. With eagerness, they implemented Chairman Mao's important directive: "Let the past serve the present" (*Gu wei jin yong*). Through archaeology they not only learnt and researched history, but also combined archaeology with ideological and political education. Using artifacts, they exposed and condemned the extravagant and corrupt life of the ruling classes throughout the dynasties and their crude oppression and exploitation of the working people. At the same time, they praised passionately the working people who created history and civilization. These valuable cultural relics are vivid sources of material history for carrying out education of the vast masses in dialectical and historic materialism and class struggle.

Mao's directive "Let the past serve the present" became the mantra and *raison d'être* of Chinese archaeology. In 1972, when publication of all other academic journals was stopped, the three leading archaeological journals – *Kaogu* (*Archaeology*), *Kaogu xuebao* (*Acta Archaeologica Sinica*), and *Wenwu* (*Cultural Relics*) – were resumed under the direct sanction of China's Prime Minister, Zhou Enlai. The standard of Chinese archaeology during the Cultural Revolution maintained a surprisingly good level and was even praised as a "Golden Age." The high point was marked by the excavation of the Han dynasty tombs at Mawangdui in Changsha, Hunan province. This excavation was organized as a cross-disciplinary project, with input from medical and botanical sciences, and resulted in a number of high-quality publications (Changsha 1973). In 1973, an exhibition of Chinese archaeology was sent to the Royal Academy in London (Watson 1973). This was the first international exhibition that China had sent to the West since 1949.

Regarding the period of the Cultural Revolution, we have to ask the question "Why archaeology?" Why, when all other academic research was under destruction, was archaeology allowed to flourish? Perhaps Mao and other communist party leaders realized that archaeology was a highly "public" subject that could be employed as a useful tool in foreign affairs as well as in controlling society and promoting a new ideology. It is particularly relevant for our investigation to analyze the emergence of the "archaeology of the workers and farmers" (*gong-nong kaoguxue*). In the later stages of the Cultural Revolution, many universities were reopened and admitted students who were workers, farmers, and PLA soldiers. Archaeology was deemed a model of the "open door education" policy (*kaimen banxue*). Universities were encouraged to take their students outside the classroom so that they could learn at factories and in the countryside, and to help them gain basic knowledge and skills through participating in actual archaeological excavations. Just as self-instruction guides were prepared for the "barefoot doctors" (*chijiao yisheng*), so the manual *Basic Knowledge of Archaeology for Factory Workers and Farmers* (Jilin and Hebei 1978) was compiled and circulated.

The principle of "archaeology of workers and farmers" was exemplified in an article published in the important journal *Wenwu* in 1976, under the title "New things happening at the front line of archaeology and cultural relics," with the subtitle "A story of the archaeology and cultural relics training class for those who are farmers and workers at Jinancheng" (Wenwu 1976d). It tells how, in April 1975, a special field training course was set up at Jinancheng, an ancient site of the Chu state, for students who were local young farmers and factory workers, as well as those employed by regional museums and cultural relics offices. The course was taught by staff and students from Peking University and the Hubei provincial museum. For 3 months, they:

> earnestly studied the theory of proletarian dictatorship and the legislation and policies relating to cultural relics, and developed a basic knowledge of archaeology and methods used for field excavation. They excavated about 1500 square meters at the site and sorted materials from six burials. The foundations were thus laid for them to carry out more archaeological work in the future. They also organized a propaganda group, which visited nearby production units, secondary and junior schools, and PLA camps, to study together with workers, farmers, and soldiers the written works of Marx, Lenin, and Chairman Mao. They gave talks and lectures on the cultural relics policies of the CCP, the history of the Chu state and the Jinancheng site. They explained how archaeological work could serve the Three Revolutionary Movements (class struggle, production effort, and scientific experiments). All these actions were welcomed by the masses of farmers, workers and soldiers, and have had a very positive effect. Now, the students of the training class have returned to their own work – and production-units – where they are actively propagating the cultural relics polices of the CCP, co-ordinating the creation of the infrastructure for agricultural and water management. At the same time, they can also actively conduct archaeological work. After their return, some of the students set up flexible short courses for archaeological training. These students, especially the workers and farmers, have become the archaeological guard reaching out to the different war lines, in addition to being the shock brigade in production. They are a branch of the new-born force at the frontline of archaeology (Wenwu 1976d: 16).

The language used here is in the distinctive "Cultural Revolution Style" (*wengeti*). In the political correctness of that time, the core message was crystal clear: a new kind of archaeology was in the making – an archaeology that was for the people and

by the people. Archaeologists were to follow the correct line of the CCP and Mao's theory. This dogma and principle were to be applied to archaeological excavation and interpretation. Moreover, the new archaeology of the workers and farmers was to be utilized in class struggle and, under the special political circumstances of that time, to denounce Deng Xiaoping's revisionism (Wenwu 1976a, b, c, e, f, g; Kaogu 1976a, b, c).

The end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976 marked a dramatic change in China's political landscape. The Cultural Revolution was officially condemned as a disaster caused by the far leftists (*jizuopai*) or "Gang of the Four" (*sirenbang*) in the CCP, and the mass movement of the Cultural Revolution was frequently described as the "10 years of calamity" (*shinian haojie*). Indeed, since the Cultural Revolution, mainstream Chinese archaeologists have rejected the forced marriage between archaeology and the public, together with those policies that were "directed from the top in the name of those at the bottom." The so-called open door education and the archaeology of the workers and farmers were discarded, and there has been very little discussion of this once dominant revolutionary archaeology. However, when we come to reinvestigate the practice of public archaeology in China – the current trend – perhaps it is time to ask if the baby might have been thrown out with the bathwater.

Current Trends

Since the 1980s, the Chinese government has adopted an "open door" policy and ploughed ahead with economic reforms. In the last two decades, and particularly in the last 10 years, China has witnessed a growing interest in Western archaeology. Many new terms and concepts from Western archaeology have been translated and introduced into China. The new generation of Chinese archaeologists embraces the West with open arms. However, the interest in Western archaeology has mainly focused on scientific archaeology, and not so much on public archaeology. The reasons for this may lie with the slow start of the subject in the USA and Europe, but is also closely linked to the sociopolitical pretext, as well as the current situation of Chinese archaeology.

In China, there is a tension between the government, the archaeologists, and the general public. For many archaeologists, in particular those who suffered or witnessed the suffering of others during the Cultural Revolution, a career in archaeology was attractive as it held the promise of an escape from the political minefield (Evasdottir 2004). These archaeologists regard their first responsibility as being to the field of archaeology; they hold a strong belief in archaeology as a science and are not interested in the idea of archaeology being in the interest of the government. The notion of academic freedom holds real meaning for them. In our interviews with Chinese academics and students, we encountered strong arguments that archaeology is a scientific subject that should not be influenced by politics. These people are bemused and puzzled when they learn of the increasing popularity of public archaeology in the West. They see it as having arisen in a very different sociopolitical

background (essentially, in capitalist societies) while having resisted public archaeology in their own sociopolitical setting (communist or "socialist with Chinese characteristics"). No wonder they approach the subject with mixed feelings.

However, changes are taking place. A small number of Chinese language publications on public archaeology have appeared in recent years. Colin Renfrew and Paul Bahn's *Archaeology: Theory, Methods and Practice* (Renfrew and Bahn 2004) and Nick Merriman's "Introduction" to *Public Archaeology* (Merriman 2007) have been translated into Chinese; two young Chinese scholars, Guo Lixin and Wei Min, have also published an article to introduce some basic concepts of public archaeology and, at the same time, to comment on its usefulness and future development in China (Guo and Wei 2006). The prestigious Peking University has recently established a Centre of Public Archaeology and Art (CPAA, n.d.) which is a very significant development in the field, and no doubt many other universities will soon follow. The aims of the CPAA are (a) to study the relationship between archaeology and society; (b) to improve and advance the discipline of Chinese archaeology; (c) to disperse among the general public scientific knowledge of archaeology and cultural relics to promote the positive elements of our traditional culture and raise the quality of our citizens; and (d) to enhance the development of cultural preservation and archaeology.

While these notions are far from secure, the intention is to popularize archaeology and provide a platform for exchanges between professional archaeologists and those who are interested in archaeology and antiquities. At the same time, it is hoped that this new venture will enhance social networking, bringing further benefits to the university.

In May 2008, archaeologists from the Shandong Provincial Institute of Archaeology and Cultural Relics and from the Chinese Academy of Cultural Heritage organized the first public archaeology event at the Nanwang Canal site (Jining Municipal Government 2008). During this event, over 1,000 students and local people visited the site, with archaeologists serving as their guides. In the same month, the national newspaper *Wenwubao* (Cultural Relics Weekly) organized a discussion forum on public archaeology. The topics included the following:

1. The history of public archaeology, and the general views of archaeology held by Chinese and foreigners.
2. The contemporary significance of archaeology, and the duty and obligations of archaeologists.
3. The social role of archaeology, and the relationship between archaeologists, the media, and the general public.
4. Comments on popular publications, projects, and activities relating to archaeology, in particular comments on TV live broadcasting of archaeological excavations.
5. What do you think of the popularization or entertainment value of archaeology?
6. Should public archaeology become a legitimate component of archaeology? How do we build Chinese public archaeology?
7. To explore the methodology and forms in which archaeological knowledge can be transformed and popularized; to find meeting points between archaeology and public knowledge.

8. To discuss the relationship between studies of new undocumented artifacts
   (mainly from illegal excavations) and modern academic ethics and the moral
   code of the profession (China Cultural Heritage Net 2008).

Discussion

In today's context of globalization, archaeologists from different countries may
ask similar questions, but we cannot expect the answers to be the same. The first
difficulty may arise from the translation of the terminology. In the original English
term, public archaeology implies both the government and the general public or the
people (Merriman 2004, 2007). The same ambiguity is also found in Chinese termi-
nology, which uses two different terms: *gongzhong kaoguxue* (archaeology of the
public) and *gonggong kaoguxue* (shared archaeology, where *gonggong* functions
like the English prefix *omni*, as in *omnibus*). The two terms have different meanings,
thus allowing differing interpretations in different contexts by different people. For
the government, it is about controlling archaeology through legislation and funding.
For the archaeologist, it is about communication and networking. For the general
public, it is about the right to share. There are powerful arguments from all sides.

   In the context of postcolonialism, archaeology is employed in the construction, as
well as the deconstruction, of the modern identity. The concept of the past has always
been a powerful metaphor in Chinese culture. As Fowler (1987: 238) points out:

> Traditionally for the Chinese, the past has always been in part a morality tale providing
> precepts for proper behavior and thought in the present. But in China, as elsewhere,
> which precepts are 'provided' is a matter of ideological interpretation and the current
> needs of the state.

   It is impossible to separate the conceptualization of the past and archaeological
practice in the current social environment. This throws up some interesting contrasts.
For example, when nationalism occupies the center stage in politics, archaeology (the
study of the past) plays an important role in the government's cultural strategy. In
China, the most controversial example is the Xia–Shang–Zhou project which has
attracted a great deal of criticism from Western scholars, but has been defended in
Chinese intellectual circles (Li 2002; Lee 2002). It is perhaps interesting to note here,
as we have mentioned earlier, that public archaeology has a very different connotation
in China from what it means in the West. The difference may also exist in practice. For
instance, in a civil society such as the UK, the state's authority over archaeology is
diminishing (Thomas 2004), but in China, the opposite is happening.

   The current situation in Chinese archaeology is full of paradox. While the main-
stream of nationalism prevails and archaeology as a national enterprise is adminis-
trated by the central government, at the same time the celebration of regional
cultures has also opened up the regionalist paradigm (Falkenhausen 1995).
Archaeology in China has relied on political and financial support from the state,
but as China moves toward a market economy and political reform, archaeology
faces new challenges, such as the need to find extra resources and to determine
where to build new power bases. In China today, the biggest challenge to archaeology

is the shift from politics to commercialization. Rapid economic development has made rescue archaeology the main priority. Now, perhaps with exception of the Institute of Archaeology in the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), most of the archaeological institutes in the provinces/regions are engaged in commercial archaeology and derive more than half of their income from contracted projects. At the same time, the jobs market for archaeology graduates is dwindling and universities are experimenting with new courses, for example combining archaeology with heritage studies, to meet the needs of the growing cultural industry. In the modern consumer society, it seems that archaeology, like everything else, can be repackaged and put up for sale.

The recent socioeconomic changes are also affecting the status and social standing of archaeologists. Archaeology is increasingly seen as an admirable profession. Although in our survey Peter and I found that archaeology departments in Chinese universities had to work hard to recruit students 10 years ago, by 2006 the subject was attracting a large number of applicants. Television and other media have whetted the public's appetite for archaeology: live broadcasts from archaeological excavations draw audiences of millions. It has become fashionable to collect antiques, and collectors want to be associated with archaeology in order to learn more about their collected pieces and maybe also to validate the status of their artifacts. The question of whether archaeologists should study artifacts from illicit excavations arises frequently. Many Western archaeologists insist that this is a no-go area and collecting antiquities is generally unacceptable (Public Archaeology 2000), but this is an ethical debate very much derived from Western moral philosophy. China has its own moral philosophy, and until now archaeological study has included private collections. Chinese archaeologists urgently need to develop a coherent and sensible ethical code that can be put into practice. Furthermore, as the tradition of collecting runs long and deep, the individual drive behind collecting in China is incredibly strong and complex. As many collectors assert, owning a physical piece of the past allows them a chance to express their own identity and to project their own voice over the interpretation of the past as determined by the state or professional archaeologists. Can archaeologists respond?

Of course, these questions are not only for China. As Shennan (2007a) has argued, in present society archaeology, both in terms of operation as well as interpretation, is becoming increasingly involved with social, political, and intellectual trends. It is fair to say that in the twenty-first century, public archaeology will become an important component of world archaeology.

Concluding Remarks

To sum up, China is beginning to develop a public archaeology. No one can predict the future for this new adventure, but if public archaeology is to become a positive element in the current Chinese framework and structure of archaeological inquiry and practice, is there any barrier that needs to be overcome? Following our preliminary investigation in 2006, I would like to sketch out some positive features of this newly emerging field:

1. Archaeology plays an important role in the revival of traditional cultural values. We do not foresee the government wishing to loosen its authority over cultural policy making, but it may allow a multiple model that will benefit the development of a civil society.
2. Archaeologists feel that they should be responsible for the integrity of the subject and remain truthful to the scientific principles of archaeology, but at the same time they should consider the ethical issues and social implications of their research; they will continue to engage in education and the distribution of knowledge, but will also interact more with the public to broaden the scope of their research and explore different interpretations.
3. Public participation, together with government legislation, helps the preservation of cultural relics and protects the development of archaeology; local communities should also be involved in the excavation and preservation of archaeological sites and monuments and voice their concept and interpretation of their own past.
4. The media interest in archaeology should go beyond its entertainment value, and produce high-quality programs in which archaeology is properly presented; all kinds of media, including newspapers, television, and newer media forms, such as virtual media, should be used for such purposes.

It is clear that the future development of Chinese archaeology will have a lot to do with how archaeologists interact with the public, both inside China and abroad. We can expect the participants in this field to be international and that the interaction will take place in various locations. The recent "First Emperor" exhibition at the British Museum (Portal 2007) was welcomed, both in China and overseas, as a way of locating China within the concept of the ancient civilizations of the world. There are many areas and topics that need further exploration. This initial enquiry is a modest attempt to open up the discussion.

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[1] Titles usually follow authors' names. But, for a groups of articles published in *Kaogu* and *Wenwu* in 1976, on "archaeology of workers and farmers", which were clearly written by organized groups or editors themselves, I have put them under the name and date of the journal.

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Chapter 5
Public Archaeology in Canada

Joanne Lea and Karolyn Smardz Frost

Introduction

Public Archaeology in Canada has taken a number of forms over the years, starting with the excavations conducted by publicly funded agencies and museums in the mid-twentieth century. These were sometimes carried out in order to facilitate the reconstruction of historic sites deemed of federal, provincial, or municipal significance, usually for combined scholarly and touristic purposes. The multi-year research programs initiated at Quebec City, those at Fortress Louisbourg, and at numerous other military sites across the country all may be deemed "archaeology in the public interest," (a term so aptly used for naming the Center for the Study of Archaeology in the Public Interest at the University of Indiana, Bloomington), if not archaeology actually done by members of the public, as the term has sometimes come to be interpreted more recently (Fry 1986; Taylor 1968).

The form of Public Archaeology that might easily fall under the rubric of "educational archaeology" has a much more recent history. Excavation projects carried out in order to popularize understanding of the purposes and importance of archaeology may be considered here. These range from such simple forms of interpretation as having explanatory signage and brochures available for site visitors, through simulated and even real excavations undertaken with the assistance of untrained volunteers and sometimes of schoolchildren. This form of Public Archaeology sprang from the same impetus that produced the Public History revolution of the late 1970s. It not only stemmed from the "democratization of history" that resulted from the rising interest in social history in the immediately preceding decades, but also was seen as a means for expanding popular understanding of, and appreciation for, the need to preserve the past in the present (Ayers 1999; Schlereth 1983; Washburn 1991).

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This form of what might be considered "participatory" Public Archaeology thus grew out of an awareness that the immensely fragile remnants of Canada's prehistoric and historic past were disappearing at an unparalleled rate in the face of urban, suburban, and industrial development. Some archaeologists working in Canada came to understand that these remains could not be protected by any legislative or political means without the support of a large majority of the general public. Furthermore, popular support would be fundamental to raising the required capital to undertake research and preservation projects on endangered sites (Smardz 1991). While it is not the task of this paper to discuss Cultural Resource Management as a form of Public Archaeology in Canada, it is of note that this came into its own during much the same era.

Foundations for the Development of Archaeology in Canada

Canada is the northernmost country in North America. It has a population of approximately 32 million people, most of which lives in urban centers, close to the country's border with the USA (Energy Mines and Resources Canada 1974: 95–96; Statistics Canada 2007). To understand archaeology in Canada, there should be an examination of the foundations for its development.

First Nations peoples began to arrive in what is now Canada perhaps 30,000 years ago based on current archaeological evidence (Wright 1972: 2). Beginning in the sixteenth-century Canada was colonized by the French (Trudel 1973: 43) and then the British who seized control of the land militarily in 1759 (Brown 1987: 109, 187–188). British policies in Canada favored making treaties with First Nations peoples. French Canadian subjects were initially expelled from Canada or subject to assimilation but were finally guaranteed cultural rights, such as language and religion as in the Treaty of Paris of 1763 and the Québec Act of 1774 (Bumstead 1998: 78; Dale 2004: 31, 64, 67). When several Canadian colonies of British North America confederated in 1867 to form the country of Canada, a federal system of government was established. Under it, the national government had overriding jurisdiction in areas, such as national trade, economy, and defense, but provincial governments were to have jurisdiction over cultural matters that involved local identity, such as education (Moore 1997: 126, 238). This allowed the religious and linguistic differences in individual provinces to be reflected in their own cultural institutions, as had been established since the Treaty of Paris of 1763. Cultural concerns, such as those related to archaeological heritage thus came under the jurisdiction of both federal and provincial/territorial governments. This split in responsibility for archaeological heritage, in part created an environment in which public archaeology has developed in a fragmented and isolated manner within Canada.

The new country of Canada began a westward expansion of its territory in the face of threats by forces from the USA to expand into western British North America (Creighton 1955: 120). The Canadian government continued the British colonial policy of undertaking military action or establishing treaties with First Nations in the Canadian west rather than undertaking consultations with them (Bumstead 1998: 208; Creighton 1955: 43; Morton 1972: 25).

The lifeways of these western First Nations were seen as dying traditions in the face of oncoming modernization and colonization. These lifeways were captured informally by artists, such as Paul Kane (Reid 1988: 52), who felt they would soon be gone forever. They also became the subjects of ethnography in government departments associated with the neo-colonial expansion of Canada (Waite 1971: 149).

Therefore, Canada's first professional anthropologists were hired by the Geological Survey of Canada in 1911 and were given a home at the newly founded National Museum of Canada in the same year (Taylor 1982: 3). These men, Sapir and Barbeau, began ethnographic studies of the peoples associated with the search for natural resources in the west (Vodden and Dyck 2006). Archaeology in Canada thus began with a focus upon First Nations heritage and as a discipline linked to Anthropology. The anthropological link for Canadian archaeology was firmly established by Barbeau's work with the American anthropologist, Franz Boas. The Boasian connection also began a trend in Canadian archaeology of early association with anthropology in the USA, rather than with other branches of study in Europe. Indeed, most early Canadian anthropologists following Barbeau sought training in the USA. There were no academic programs to train archaeologists in Canada until past the mid-twentieth century. The first Canadian to obtain a PhD in archaeology did not graduate until 1967 (Mackie 1995: 181).

It was at this time period that archaeology in Canada came of age. Until the 1967, archaeological work in Canada was practised professionally by only a few people, such as Jenness, at the National Museum of Canada, but as part of anthropological studies (Marsh 1999: 1210). In 1964, however, the University of Calgary had established the first Archaeology Department at a Canadian University (Mackie 1995: 182). The timing was propitious because Canada celebrated the hundredth anniversary of its confederation in 1967. In this climate, funding was available to showcase the nation and its cultural heritage, such as at the World's Fair, in Montréal (Bumstead 1998: 357; Granatstein 1986: 302–303). Archaeology became a means for the young nation to celebrate its past and establish its own identity. This was true also for provinces within the country as a whole. In the province of Québec, in the same period, there were cultural and social changes that have been termed "the Quiet Revolution." A search for cultural identity in the modern province of Québec saw a shift away from traditional historical approaches to the exploration of more scientific avenues, such as anthropology and archaeology (Behiels 1987: 51, 53; Sloan 1965: 58).

There was a sufficiently large number of Canadian archaeologists by 1969 for the establishment of the Canadian Archaeological Association (CAA) during meetings at the University of Manitoba. The founding CAA executive was employed by the National Museum of Man (Simonsen 1996: 1). From these roots in anthropological departments at the National Museum of Man, the CAA began with an academic focus upon pre-European contact study of First Nations heritage. This focus would compound the fragmentation faced by Canadian archaeology because of Canada's political system. Changes in the practice of archaeological work in Canada that occurred in the decades following the establishment of the CAA created branches of archaeology with different foci from those of the CAA.

As in other parts of the world, in Canada there had been a building and development boom beginning in the mid-twentieth century. This development work uncovered increasing numbers of archaeological sites such that there was an increasing demand

Table 5.1 Provincial/territorial legislation and language for archaeology in Canada

Provincial/territorial legislation/guidelines	Language used for the process of archaeology	Language used for archaeological research
Alberta (Historical Resources Act 1988: 14–15)	Research	Archaeological resource, archaeological property
British Columbia (Heritage Conservation Act 1996: 2)	Heritage inspection, heritage investigation	Heritage object, heritage site, heritage wreck
Manitoba (The Heritage Resource Act 1985: 1, 21)	Heritage resource impact assessment, excavation, investigation	Heritage object, heritage resource
New Brunswick (Historic Sites Protection Act 1983: 1) (Municipal Heritage Preservation Act 1978: 2)	Heritage resource management	Historic or anthropological site
Newfoundland Labrador (Historic Resources Act 1990: 3)	Archaeological investigation	Archaeological object, historic resource
Northwest Territories (Archaeological Sites Regulations 2001: 1, 3)	Search for or excavate archaeological sites	Archaeological site, artifact
Nova Scotia (Nova Scotia Museum Act 1989: 3)	Manage property; identify, mark, acquire, preserve and develop sites	Articles or materials relating to human activities
Nunavut [uses Northwest Territories regulations]	Archaeological research activities	Heritage resources, archaeological resources
Ontario (Ontario Heritage Act 1990: 35)	Archaeological fieldwork	Resources of archaeological value
Prince Edward Island (Heritage Places Protection Act 1988: 2–4)	Only mention of: heritage plan, heritage impact statement	Heritage place, historic resource
Québec (Loi sur les biens culturels 2005: 1, 14)	Recherche archéologique	Bien archéologique, découverte/fouille archéologique

for archaeologists to deal with the archaeological heritage uncovered. Thus, a form of archaeology referred to as cultural resources management (CRM) (Cleere 1989: 4) became common in Canada.

The rapid growth of archaeological practice led to a governmental response. The federal government created legislation concerning the import and export of antiquities (RS 1974-75-76 c. 50, s.1). Parks Canada which had been created to manage National Historic Sites was charged with archaeological work on federal lands. Federal lands included First Nations reserves, under the Indian Act (RS 1985 c. 1-5). There was no First Nations input into the development of archaeological practices on reserves at that time, however (Arawack 1986; Bielawski 1986).

Provincial and territorial governments dealt with the emerging need for archaeological work and standards to govern it by creating legislation and government offices to oversee the work. Twelve (now thirteen, since the creation of the territory of Nunavut in 1998) separate provincial or territorial archaeologists were created. As seen in Table 5.1, the legislation that resulted from the formation of the provinces

Table 5.2 Provincial and territorial ministries or departments that license and regulate archaeological heritage in Canada as of 2011 (N.B. Department names change with time.)

Province/territory	Responsible ministry or department
Newfoundland and Labrador	Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation
Nova Scotia	Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage
New Brunswick	Wellness, Culture and Sport Secretariat
Prince Edward Island	Department of Tourism and Culture
Québec	Ministry of Culture, Communications and the Status of Women
Ontario	Ministry of Tourism and Culture
Manitoba	Department of Culture, Heritage and Tourism
Saskatchewan	Department of Tourism, Parks, Culture, and Sport
Alberta	Alberta Culture and Community Spirit
British Columbia	Ministry of Community, Sport and Cultural Development
Yukon	Ministry of Tourism and Culture (Heritage Resources Dept.)
Northwest Territories	Department of Culture and Community, Department of Education, Culture and Employment
Nunavut	Department of Culture, Language, Elders and Youth

and territories has come to govern archaeological work is varied. It currently subsumes archaeological work under several different departments with widespread perspectives, such as Community Development, Heritage Promotion, and Development and Culture, as shown in Table 5.2. The language used to refer to archaeology in these pieces of legislation is also varied and points again to a fragmented view of archaeology across Canada as a whole.

Museum-based archaeology was also fragmented during the same time frame. In 1970, the federal government created regional centers that were decentralized heritage offices (Côté 1992: 131). In 1971, a policy of democratization and decentralization was created for the establishment of Canadian museums (Dixon et al. 1974: 2).

Development of Avocational Archaeology in Canada

Amateur or "avocational" archaeological societies were formed in Canada, in large part, in the same time frame that professional archaeology developed. There had been antiquarian societies, such as the Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Society (or La Société d'archéologie et de la numismatique de Montréal), founded as early as 1862 in Montréal (Québec ministère de la culture, communications et condition féminine 2006: 1).

As well, groups had formed around university professors, such as Professor Wilfred Jury in Ontario, to undertake excavations and laboratory work out of interest in the early decades of the twentieth century (Van Sas 2006). However, the foundation of most incorporated groups, dedicated to archaeological research took place in the latter half of the twentieth century, as noted in Table 5.3.

Avocational archaeology societies within Canada are also isolated from one another. Their work falls under provincial or territorial legislation and regulation.

Table 5.3 Founding dates for some avocational archaeology societies in Canada (websites accessed on July 31, 2009)

Avocational archaeology society	Date started	Source for information
Alberta Society of Archaeology	1975	http://www.albertaheritage.net/directory/archaeological_society
Archaeology Society of British Columbia	1966	http://www.asbc.bc.ca
Nova Scotia Archaeology Society	1987	http://www.novascotiaarchaeologysociety.com
Ontario Archaeology Society	1950	http://www.ontarioarchaeology.on.ca/origins.htm
Save Ontario Shipwrecks	1981	http://www.saveontarioshipwrecks.on.ca/about_sos.html
Underwater Archaeology Society of British Columbia	1975	http://www.uasbc.com

There is no national avocational society in which provincial/territorial societies may discuss common issues or at which their representatives may meet one another. The only national archaeology association remains the CAA which is professional and academic in focus. In its newsletter, in the past, the CAA has published information about work undertaken by provincial/territorial avocational societies, but this has been at the sporadic request of the CAA, without an official channel of communication being established (Fedirchuk 1987).

The isolation of avocational archaeology societies from one another in Canada provides yet another example of the fragmentation of archaeological practice across the country. It has added to the duplication of services, the lack of common understanding, and the look to countries other than Canada for resources that typifies public archaeology in Canada. The Underwater Archaeology Society of British Columbia (UASBC), for example turned to the UK and its Nautical Archaeological Society course as the model for certifying its divers, rather than to resources within Canada (UASBC 2007: 1).

While local needs are met and addressed within the Canadian structure and can be seen as a positive development (see Rowlands cited in Ucko 1995: 20), a common forum would allow avocational archaeological groups to share work and solve problems together, rather than to produce similar resources repeatedly. This point is illustrated by the numerous booklets for children and teachers that are available in Canada, such as *A Handbook For Teaching Archaeology in Saskatchewan Schools* (Rollans 1990); the Nova Scotia Archaeological Society's *Discovering Archaeology* (Boutilier et al. 1992); the Manitoba Archaeological Society's *Digging the Past: Archaeology for Kids* (Wind River Research Services 2004) and, in Ontario, the Friends of Bonnechère Park's (1998) *Discover the Spirits of the Little Bonnechère*.

The isolation of avocational archaeology groups from one another not only limits the influence and knowledge of these groups within their own provinces/territories, but also keeps Canadian archaeology as a whole from benefiting from regional expertise.

The Development of Public Archaeology in Canada

Public archaeology was popularized first in the USA as a term used by McGimsey (1972). Since then, it has been variously defined in America and internationally: virtually all professional archaeology in North America is public archaeology, funded directly or indirectly with public monies and mandated by publicly supported legislation (Smardz and Smith 2000: 27).

Public archaeology in America can be understood as encompassing the CRM compliance consequences as well as educational archaeology and public interpretation in public arenas, such as schools, parks, and museums (Jameson cited in Merriman 2004: 4), an area of archaeological activity that interacted or had potential to interact with the public (Schadla-Hall cited in Merriman 2004: 4).

Public archaeology is all the New Territories lying around the periphery of direct research into the remains of material culture … [It is] about the problems which arise when archaeology moves into the real world of economic conflict and political struggle [i.e.] … ethics … [It] used to mean little more than archaeology conducted or conserved for the general good by public authority (Ascherson 2000: 2).

Ascherson (2006: 51) has also noted that definitions in the USA and the UK focus on different aspects of public archaeology:

> The American usage…sees public archaeology as one pragmatic branch of the discipline among others: roughly doing the sort of archaeology which involves interacting with the public. The British version, in contrast, has become a *Stoa* in which the most fundamental theories about the past, its exploitation and the political role of archaeology are questioned and investigated.

As seen, avocational archaeology was one focus for archaeology in Canada that included non-professional archaeologists in archaeological research. Public archaeology as coined by McGimsey developed in Canada amid influences from both the USA and the UK because of the absence of a Canadian forum for it. Both the USA and the UK definitions for public archaeology found their way into practice in Canada. This is because public archaeology in Canada developed in the isolated and fragmented milieux that characterized archaeology as a whole in Canada.

Public archaeology in Canada developed from the practices of key individuals and their beliefs and understandings. These individuals were forced by the structures under which archaeology was governed and practised in Canada to look outside of Canada for guidance. These key personalities included Paul Erickson, Heather Devine, Karolyn Smardz (now Karolyn Smardz Frost), and David Pokotylo. They individually created groundbreaking resources for public archaeology, such as Erickson's (1997) *Teaching Anthropology Newsletter*; Devine's (1985) archaeology program and teacher resources in Alberta; Smardz's Archaeological Resource Centre (*sic*) in Toronto, and Pokotylo's establishment of the first Public Archaeology university course per se in Canada, at the University of British Columbia. Smardz also worked with Peter Stone, first of Southampton University and later with English Heritage to produce the first newsletter in this new subdiscipline, *Archaeology and Education* which lasted from 1988 until 1990, when it was superceded by the

much more ambitious *Archaeology and Public Education* newsletter of the Society for American Archaeology's Public Education Committee first published in September 1990.

The drive and expertise of these key personalities was both the strength of public archaeology's inception in Canada, and also its Achilles' heel. The isolation of the individuals and their programs or resources from one another in Canada was a factor that kept the development of widespread support for public archaeology at bay. Unless institutionalized, as in the case of Pokotylo's course at the University of British Columbia (UBC), individual programs could not withstand the absence of their founding personalities. The *Teaching Anthropology Newsletter* did not survive Erickson's departure from it. There was little Canadian outcry or support when Smardz's program lost its funding in 1993, although letters of protest were received by the Toronto Board of Education from such far-flung locations as Zimbabwe, Yorkshire, and Japan, and Brian Fagan wrote an eloquent and much-quoted article for *Archaeology Magazine*, the most widely read popular American publication on the subject, entitled "Bad News from Toronto" (Fagan 1995: 26; Smardz 2000: 236).

The public archaeology work of these key individuals was apart from ongoing archaeological practices with any national perspective and so was forced to develop in isolation. There had been public archaeology activities undertaken during this period that were government-funded. Like the reconstruction of the Fortress of Louisbourg in Nova Scotia, these projects were individual, rather than part of an overall approach to archaeology and were often linked to other issues, such as unemployment and the development of tourism (Davis 1999: 39).

The individualistic approach to public archaeology at the national level was highlighted by the split in spheres of interest that denoted federal archaeology in Canada. The Archaeological Survey of Canada (ASC) was the heir to the anthropologists at the National Museum of Canada and was responsible for CRM work on federal government lands. Its members had founded the CAA and were focused, as seen, primarily on pre-European contact archaeology. Archaeology at National Historic Sites and National Parks became the mandate of Parks Canada and was often post-European contact in focus (Burley 1994: 83).

Thus at the federal level, the archaeology seen most by the public at parks and historic sites was split, in practice from the archaeology undertaken by founders of the CAA and found no home in the only national archaeological association. The CAA was then alienated from federal archaeology further through a public disagreement it had with the federal government about the development of the Import and Export Revenues Act and whether monetary value should be fixed to archaeological heritage. The CAA found itself outside of consultation with the government at this point (Burley 1994: 84). At the federal level, therefore, archaeology took place not only in a fragmented but a hostile environment that included camps divided between pre- and post-contact foci.

Museum-based archaeology was excluded altogether from discussions, such as from a National Heritage Review in 1987, published in the *Canadian Heritage* magazine (Spurling 1988: 72). This left key individuals, such as Devine in Alberta and Smardz in Toronto, whose work focused on post-contact sites on the outside of

mainstream Canadian archaeology, such as that represented by the CAA. They were in an untenable position because by virtue of being outside the mainstream they were vilified by that same mainstream for not being part of the Canadian archaeological community in terms of methodology or theory (Smardz 2000: 236). Public archaeology was therefore held to be outside of Canadian practice.

The only fora available to Canadian public archaeologists in which to discuss method and theory at the time were outside of Canada. Smardz was instrumental in the founding of the Public Education Committee of the Society for Historical Archaeology, which grew from a piece of foolscap paper pinned to a notice board by Virginia-based educator and archaeologist Martha Williams, who later chaired the committee, requesting input from people interested in archaeology and education at the SHA's 1987 Savannah conference, into one of the most active committees in the organization. The Society for American Archaeology (SAA) formed a Public Education Committee in 1990 with Devine and Smardz as early members (Kehoe 1998: 146). Erickson (1990) became a major contributor to the work of the American Anthropological Association (AAA) and its Task Force on Teaching Anthropology by chairing a study that authored an *Interim Report on Precollege Anthropology*. Post-contact and urban public archaeologists who founded Québec's Pointe-à-Callière archaeology museum in Montréal gained expertise in public archaeology from the Society for Historic Archaeology in the USA (Pointe-à-Callière staff, personal communication, 2005).[1] American public archaeology thus gained influence in Canada through the work of key individuals who were members of American professional associations. As well, the 1995 Chacmool conference at the University of Calgary, entitled "Public or Perish", featured predominantly American speakers to discuss public archaeology (Cripps et al. 2003). Outside of the proceedings from this conference, there were few academic venues for publishing about public archaeology in Canada at the time. Smardz et al. published in non-academic publications therefore (see Devine 1989; Huber 1988; Smardz 1989; Sobol and Sobol 1993). The non-academic approach only fueled condemnation of public archaeology in Canada for being outside the mainstream.

Since there were no venues for academic work about public archaeology in Canada, academic papers too were published outside the country. Both Smardz and Pokotylo were contributors to Smith and Ehrenhard's (1991) *Protecting the Past* for the National Park Service (NPS) in the USA. As well, Devine and Smardz authored articles for the NPS public archaeology publication *Presenting Archaeology to the Public: Digging for Truths*, by Jameson (1997). Smardz also produced articles that appeared in publications from the UK, such as *The Excluded Past* (Stone and Mackenzie 1990), *Interpretation* (1995) and with Lea in *Antiquity* (2000). Devine (1994) also published in the UK in *The Presented Past* (Stone and Molyneaux 1994).

With inspiration from Brian Fagan, Smardz co-edited *The Archaeology Education Handbook* with Shelley Smith of the Bureau of Land Management. Sponsored by

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[1] Pointe-à-Callière is an archaeology museum in Montréal, Québec. Staff there were interviewed with the understanding that their identities would remain confidential.

the Society for American Archaeology, the influential book was published in the USA in 2000, with contributions from many leading American and British public archaeologists and from Canada. Through these publications and personal involvement with the World Archaeological Congress individual archaeologists, such as Smardz, were conduits for American and British public archaeology method and theory into Canadian public archaeology. This trend has continued through the postgraduate training of key Canadian public archaeologists: for example, Rowley from the University of British Columbia at Cambridge University (UBC 2007); Bazely (2001) of the Cataraqui Archaeological Research Foundation at Leicester University; and Rivet from Parks Canada also at Leicester University (J. Molnar, personal communication, 2008).[2]

Because public archaeology in Canada circumvented mainstream Canadian archaeology, public archaeology embraced methodological and theoretical developments from the USA and the UK, such as interpretive and postcolonial archaeologies before they were embraced by the majority of Canadian archaeology. Therefore, Canadian public archaeologists were able to develop Canadian archaeology with respect to global practices. David Pokotylo's work is an example in this instance. He served as president of the CAA (CAA 1996) and while at the UBC, he authored studies about public interest in and support for Canadian archaeology in British Columbia, with Mason (1991) and with Guppy (1999) and for the government of Canada (2002). And, as noted, at UBC he established the first Public Archaeology university course in Canada, later taught by Rowley.

Development of a Theoretical Base for Public Archaeology in Canada

The development of a theoretical base for public archaeology followed similar trajectories as those of the development of archaeology per se and of public archaeology in Canada. That is, Canadian archaeological theory tended to proceed from the archaeological establishment first at the National Museum of Canada and later at the CAA. Canadian public archaeology developed its method and theory on foundations from the USA and the UK.

Since, as seen, Canadian archaeologists first received training in the USA, archaeological method and theory in Canada was based in anthropological method and theory (Kelley and Williamson 1996: 10). Specifically, this led to the predominance of records of cultural histories, such as those that had been undertaken by Kidder in the USA (Trigger 1993: 188). Long after archaeology elsewhere began to embrace other approaches, Canadian archaeology continued to pursue a cultural–historical approach primarily (Kelley and Williamson 1996: 9). It was thought that

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[2] Jim Molnar is an archaeologist with Parks Canada Archaeology Branch.

Canada's methodological and theoretical lag may have been due to Canada being a relatively young country with a large land mass and a small population of archaeologists (Kelley and Williamson 1996: 6). In this respect, Canada may be compared to other large, former British colonies that also began to explore national identity through archaeology following 1960 (Nzewunwa 1990: 197). Another explanation for the lag was an attempt by Canadian archaeologists to show cultural independence by not "jumping onto passing isms" (Kelley and Williamson 1996: 12). Possibly, there was confusion among Canadian archaeologists about the idea that archaeological field work was the same as theory (Spurling 1988: 65).

A broader exploration of archaeological theory, as it related to public archaeology in Canada, did not therefore take place until the latter part of the twentieth century. It was provoked from outside Canada by key public archaeology practitioners who had to seek fora outside of Canada in which to discuss and publish their work. It was provoked from inside Canada because of issues involving First Nations.

The issuance of permits for archaeological work in the province of British Columbia, and then in the Northwest Territories had required consent of local First Nations, when applicable, dating from the early 1970s (Spurling 1988: 74). There had also been sporadic projects in Northern Canada that had included First Nations (Arawack 1986; Bielawski 1986; Jamieson 1994).

However, First Nations themselves focused their attention on their cultural heritage following the 1984 Declaration of Principles of World Indigenous Peoples (McGhee 1989: 15). In 1988, action finally taken by the Lubicon Cree First Nation when they protested *The Spirit Soars* exhibit of First Nations material culture at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, AB during the Winter Olympic Games (Hanna 1987: 12). Repatriation of First Nations material culture was a topic forced onto the cultural agenda in Canada, first at The Canadian Museum Association where there were consultations with the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) at the 1988 "Preserving Our Heritage" conference (McGhee 1989: 15). Trigger (1988), at McGill University, in Montréal first published a Canadian exploration of the theory underlying ownership of the past in his *A History of Archaeological Thought* with its international perspective. The following year, McGhee, at the ASC published on the same topic from a Canadian perspective. He urged Canadian archaeologists to share access to archaeological heritage with other communities, such as First Nations who, he said, saw archaeologists as "the handmaidens of colonization" (McGhee 1989: 14). Both First Nations (Canadian Museum of Civilization with the Commonwealth Association of Museums and the University of Victoria 1996: 78) and archaeologists in Canada (see Ferris 2003: 165) recognized, however, that McGhee's position implied that archaeologists were to maintain control over archaeological heritage. More discussion has therefore followed from these beginnings.

In 1991, there was an Aboriginal Archaeology Symposium (Canadian Museum of Civilization with the Commonwealth Association of Museums and the University of Victoria 1996: 59) and in 1996, the Canadian Museum of Civilization sponsored a conference about "Curatorship: Indigenous Perspectives in Post-colonial Societies." Within the same year, the CAA formed a First Nations Archaeology committee. Its work resulted in the publication of a Statement of Principles for Ethical Conduct

pertaining to Aboriginal Peoples (CAA 1997). The Principles encouraged CAA members to be reflexive about work with First Nations. Language used is to be more inclusive of First Nations perspectives. For example, the terms "pre-contact" and "post-contact" are deemed preferable to "prehistoric" and "historic" archaeology, so as not to demean First Nations history because it is not always in written form. Models have been published in the CAA's *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* for working not only with but for First Nations communities (Budhwa 2005; Hamilton et al. 1995).

Despite changes in the climate for archaeological practices in Canada, McGhee's position about sharing of archaeological heritage continued to be asserted in Canada when Rosenswig (1997: 105) expressed a sentiment that archaeologists spoke for the public. The discussion of control over archaeological heritage brought Canadian archaeological theory into a key debate about control over archaeological heritage that exists within public archaeological theory internationally (see Gosden 2001: 250; Matthews 2004: 9; McDavid 2004: 37; Ucko 1995: 18). Canadian public archaeology thus finds itself within the theoretical frameworks for postcolonial and interpretive archaeological theories (see Hodder et al. 1995; Jones and Graves-Brown 1996: 19) that examine not only practices, such as compliance with government regulations, but also an examination of the relationships between archaeology and its public uses, as noted previously by Ascherson.

The issue of ownership of the past, in the form of archaeological heritage, remains a difficult one in terms of public archaeology practice and stewardship in Canada (Pope and Mills 2007: 2; Wylie 1997: 118). It nonetheless was an entry point for Canada into interpretive archaeological theory. French and British theorists who spoke about the issue are now regularly found in citations about Canadian archaeological theory (Birch 2005: 2; Kelley and Williamson 1996: 15).

Recent Directions in Canadian Public Archaeology

There have been exemplary public archaeology programs and resources developed in many provinces in Canada. Recently, operating programs include, but are not limited to:

– Archaeology Month, promoted through the Reseau Archéo-Québec by the Ministère de la culture, des communications et de la condition féminine, in Québec.
– The Boyd Archaeological Field School, a high school credit course program operated by the Toronto and Region Conservation Authority, in Ontario.
– The Cataraqui Archaeological Research Foundation's "Can You Dig It?" summer program for children in Kingston, ON.
– The Durham Roman Catholic School Board's archaeology high school credit course offered at Father Leo Austin Secondary School in Whitby, ON.
– The Grace Adams Metawewinihk archaeological program offered by the University of Saskatchewan.

– Memorial University of Newfoundland's work, such as the Ferryland project and website and the Newfoundland Archaeological Heritage Outreach Program.
– The Museum of Ontario Archaeology's educational and summer programs, in partnership with the University of Western Ontario in London, ON.
– The Ontario Heritage Trust's Archaeology Summer Camp in Toronto, ON.
– Parks Canada programs in archaeology and architectural conservation offered in partnership with Cape Breton College at the Fortress of Louisbourg, in Nova Scotia.
– Pointe-à-Callière archaeology museum programs in Montréal, QC.
– The University of Calgary's archaeology education program and field school at Fish Creek Provincial Park in Calgary, AB.
– Wenaskewin Heritage Park's archaeology education program and field school near Saskatoon, SK.

The listed programs were developed across Canada, independently from one another and indeed, often in ignorance of one another, even within the same province. The excellence they exemplify, therefore, remains isolated in unrelated pockets, for reasons outlined previously. At a national level, there are only three groups through which public archaeology may be addressed: the Canadian Association of Provincial and Territorial Archaeologists (CAPTA), Parks Canada and the Canadian Archaeological Association. CAPTA is an organization in which only senior federal, provincial or territorial archaeologists may be members and in which policy is the focus of discussion. Parks Canada is a federal agency, and archaeologists working for it are federal government employees. CAA is the only group of the above three that has an open membership. A discussion of the impact of Parks Canada and the CAA on public archaeology in Canada follows because of their national perspectives.

The Impact of Parks Canada on Public Archaeology

In its *Guiding Principles*, Parks Canada (1994: 17) has included public programing in its mandate: The provision of accurate, comprehensive, and timely information is important in fostering awareness, appreciation, appropriate use, and understanding in encouraging public involvement and stewardship. This is achieved through such means as interpretation, communication, outreach, environmental education, citizenship and public participation programmes (*sic*) as well as through advisory committees.

Because of pending heritage legislation for federal lands and the federal program, known as the Historic Places Initiative (HPI), Parks Canada has recently consulted with various stakeholder groups, such as First Nations and numerous Canadian archaeological communities (Parks Canada 2003: 8–9). The database of historic and archaeological sites for the HPI will be managed by the Canadian Museum of Civilization (Department of Canadian Heritage, n.d.) but is intended to include information provided by each province and territory. The CAA has online information and public resources that will also link with the HPI.

A Heritage Outreach and Education Branch was created within Parks Canada. It is headquartered at the nation's capital, but has regional offices that are developing public programing and online resources about National Historic Sites and National Parks and in conjunction with the HPI (D. Rosset, personal communication, 2004).[3]

The Minister of Canadian Heritage held a Round Table Forum in February 2005 with 70 stakeholder groups in Canadian Heritage to set directions for Parks Canada for the next 2 years. From this came a list of directions to establish a "culture of conservation" in Canada. The list included the development of education programs and curricula on conservation for youth and community outreach; establishment of historical and ecological/conservation heritage observatory and a Heritage Conservancy Canada and the creation of partnerships with indigenous people (Parks Canada 2005).

Parks Canada is therefore establishing avenues through which public archaeology can be implemented in an inclusive manner that recognizes input from all Canadians. There remains, however, no national heritage legislation to guide its practices or safeguard archaeological heritage on federal lands and a more recent climate of fiscal restraint for government programing.

The Impact of the CAA on Public Archaeology

The CAA is the other noted national body in which public archaeology practices and concerns across Canada can be brought forward (Birch 2005: 10). However, the division of Canadian archaeology into various foci and interest groups has placed the CAA apart from most of the development of public archaeology and reduced its impact in this regard until recently. The principles of ethical conduct with aboriginal people that were previously mentioned were a positive step to include work with publics in the consciousness of CAA members. There have been committees with directors appointed by the CAA executive to discuss public archaeology work and to give awards for publications. These have been intermittent but reflect a dialogue within the CAA about the value of public education about archaeology.

The CAA had proposed objectives in its publications. Such objectives included:

1. To promote the increase and the dissemination or archaeological knowledge, specifically with reference to Canada, adjacent regions, and other areas of the world in which members of the association are working.
2. To promote active discourse and cooperation among archaeological societies and agencies and encourage archaeological research and conservation efforts.
3. To serve as the national association capable of promoting activities advantageous to archaeology and discouraging activities detrimental to archaeology (Burley 1994: 19).

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[3]Daniel Rosset was a former manager of Heritage Education and Interpretation at Parks Canada, Gatineau, Québec.

As well, there was recognition that the implementation of public archaeology objectives required outreach, rather than just the expression of lofty sentiments:

> We need more outreach and education programs as well as some readable accounts of the results of the millions of dollars spent…that will appeal to a public beyond professional archaeologists (Kelly 1994: 124).

Principles of Ethical Conduct in general were adopted at the annual conference in Whitehorse, Yukon Territory (CAA 1999), which spoke to the need to address archaeological work to various publics. The principles stated:

> A fundamental commitment to stewardship is the sharing of knowledge about archaeological topics to a broader public and to enlist public support for stewardship. Members of the CAA are encouraged to: communicate the results of archaeological work to a broad audience; encourage the public to support and involvement (*sic*) in archaeological stewardship; actively co-operate in stewardship of archaeological remains with aboriginal peoples; promote public interest in, and knowledge of, Canada's past; explain appropriate archaeological methods and techniques to interested people; support and be accessible to local archaeological and other heritage groups; and contribute to the CAA web page and promote, where appropriate, electronic publication of archaeological materials.

Since then, the CAA annual conferences have seen sessions devoted to Public Archaeology (Lea 2005), Oral Traditions [of First Nations] in Archaeology (Archer 2006), Indigenous Archaeology (Lyons and Reimer 2006), Community Archaeology (Lea 2006; Loring 2007), and archaeology from both archaeological and First Nations perspectives (Nargang 2008). These are initial moves to provide a national forum in which to discuss public archaeology.

The actions of the CAA have often been reactive, rather than proactive concerning public archaeology. Nonetheless, the CAA is acknowledging the accountability and responsibility that Canadian archaeology and its members in particular have to various publics. In that respect, they joined Parks Canada in beginning to embrace public archaeology as a mainstream practice in Canada and one that demands inclusive and reflective practice.

Internationally, Canada has been influenced by adherence to conventions and charters, such as those developed through UNESCO and ICOMOS. Canada developed its own ICOMOS charters – the Deschambault Charter of 1982 and the Appleton Charter of 1983 that call for the primacy of heritage when developing legislation and that outline standards to follow for designating national heritage (ICOMOS Canada 2005). Canada, therefore can engage in a discussion about issues related to public archaeology at both a national and international level. There remain important issues to be addressed, however.

Conclusion

Pokotylo's (2002: 110) study of Canadian attitudes about archaeology noted that 97.9% of Canadians said that archaeology was important to Canadian society. However, Canadians felt that their heritage was national and collective and incorporated the

heritage of particular groups, such as First Nations. This opinion diverges from a pluralistic one expressed in statements by archaeologists in Canada, such as in the CAA's Principles of Ethical Conduct with Aboriginal Peoples. Archaeologists in Canada appear to need to increase their outreach efforts to engage Canadians in dialogue about such areas of divergence in opinion. National fora continue to be required to facilitate dialogue in a country, where geography and history have created fragmented understandings about archaeology and its relation with various publics. Further, the actual implementation of national heritage legislation would allow Canada to protect its national archaeological heritage and to join in international discussions about archaeological heritage as a mature contributor.

Public archaeology in Canada developed in the latter half of the twentieth century, primarily due to the drive and determination of key individuals. Because of the fragmented and isolated milieu in which public archaeology was practised in Canada, the country has lagged behind other countries in embracing theoretical developments and best practice models for public archaeology. Further, the isolation left public archaeology vulnerable and powerless, in some respects to support the key individuals and the programs that were developed. Professional associations and affiliations from outside of Canada provided direction for the development of public archaeology theory and principles, as did consultation within Canada with First Nations. Pockets of excellence in public archaeology programing have developed across the country but are in the initial stages of finding a means to influence one another and engage in dialogue. The future for public archaeology in Canada holds promise, if it can develop a national voice and use this voice to contribute to global discussion of archaeological heritage.

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Chapter 6
From Object-Centered to People-Focused: Exploring a Gap Between Archaeologists and the Public in Contemporary Japan

Katsuyuki Okamura

Introduction

If the ultimate aim of public archaeology is to make archaeology more relevant to contemporary society, then one of its most important tasks is to critique the role of archaeologists as mediators between archaeology, and more generally, tangible cultural heritage, and the general public. This applies particularly to public archaeology in Japan, where more than 90% of all archaeologists work for local governments or foundations established by them and are often involved with issues directly relating to the public, such as educational activities.

The growth of archaeological survey in Japan was underpinned by postwar economic development and a national imperative for salvage excavations. Since the economic slowdown in the mid-1990s, many critical questions about Archaeological Heritage Management (AHM) and public archaeology have emerged. The subsequent long-term economic slump and expanding neoliberalism in politics have further complicated the situation, and as a result Japanese archaeology today seems to be at a stalemate.

I believe that the key to the revitalization of Japanese archaeology lies in archaeologists' relationship – or attitude – to society at large, particularly their ideological stance toward the public, rather than their individual skills and abilities. I wish to make this point clear in the present paper by first outlining the development of AHM in Japan after World War II; next, I analyze the current relationship between archaeology and the Japanese public; and finally, I discuss the prospects for the future of Japanese public archaeology.

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The Development of Japanese AHM

Since the development of Japanese AHM in the postwar era has already been described in detail elsewhere (Agency for Cultural Affairs 2001; Fawcett 1995: 237–241; Okamura 2000; Okamura and Matsuda 2010; Tanaka 1984; Tsuboi 1992; Tsude 1995: 298–299), only a general outline of it is provided here. During the first two decades of the postwar period, archaeological bodies, such as national research institutes, local museums, and universities, were responsible for conducting archaeological excavations. This situation changed in the 1960s, when archaeologists working for local government boards of education were in charge of rescue archaeological operations. The current national system of AHM has its origins in this period, when the nation's economy began to grow rapidly (Fig. 6.1). As archaeologists were increasingly employed and positioned at the local government level, an administrative system for managing what was legally defined as "buried cultural properties" and conducting rescue excavations gradually evolved, first at prefectural and then municipal levels under the national government's supervision.

In the mid-1970s, local governments began setting up units for managing and protecting cultural properties, and in some cases instituted self-governing foundations called "centers for buried cultural properties" (*maizo bunkazai senta*) that were in charge of excavations, analysis and storage of archaeological finds, and dissemination of archaeological knowledge and information (Agency for Cultural Affairs 2001: 272–273; Tsuboi 1992: 10). The reason for establishing these "semipublic" foundations was largely economic: local governments could avoid the financial burden of directly employing archaeologists, whose salaries were incorporated into the budgets the foundations presented to the developers for funding (Tanaka 1984: 83). The number of *maizo bunkazai tantou senmon shokuin* or specialists in charge of buried cultural properties employed in local governments or semipublic foundations rose from 8 in 1965 (Tsuboi 1992: 3) to a maximum of 7,111 in 1997 (Seino 2009: 41).

Today, even during a recession, approximately 9,000 rescue excavations are still carried out yearly across the country. These rescue excavations account for approximately 95% of all archaeological excavations conducted in Japan. All 47 of prefectural governments and over 65% of municipal governments (1,192 out of 1,834) employ archaeologists in charge of buried cultural properties. On the prefectural level, 1,120 archaeologists work for local governments and 1,122 for semipublic foundations. At the municipal level, 3,095 archaeologists work for local governments and 918 for semipublic foundations (Seino 2009: 41–44). These figures attest to the nationwide AHM operation today.

How has AHM been able to develop so rapidly in Japan? An important factor is the "polluter pays" principle that originated in the period when the Japanese economy was growing fast. The principle was first adopted in 1958, when rescue excavation was required in advance of the construction of the Meishin Expressway and financed by the developer, the Japan Public Highway Corporation (Agency for Cultural Affairs 2001: 268–269). Thereafter, the same principle came to be applied,
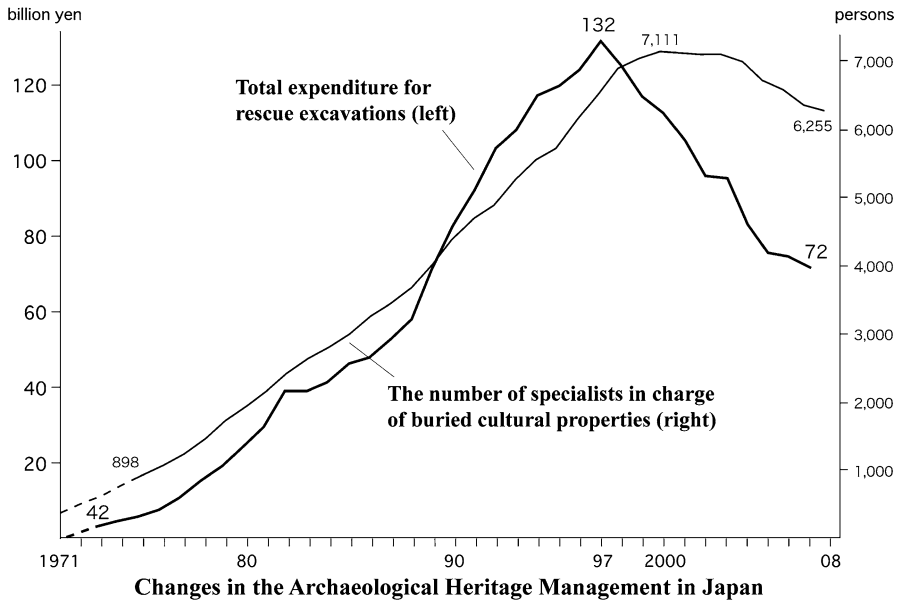
Fig. 6.1   A chart of Japanese AHM

through convention, to private developers as well. Although the polluter pays prin-
ciple has not been clearly stipulated in the Law for the Protection of Cultural
Properties (Tanaka 1984: 84), it has guaranteed a source of financial support for
AHM in Japan and has fundamentally helped its development.

It is interesting to note that the notion of buried cultural properties as the "com-
mon property of the nation," as defined by the Law for the Protection of Cultural
Properties, has been adopted by both the government and the developers in their
cooperation in rescue excavations. For the government, it has been important to
preserve archaeological materials – albeit mostly by record only – on the grounds
that they are legally relevant to *us*, namely, all Japanese. The developers, on the
other hand, have been funding rescue excavations not only for the promotion of a
socially committed corporate image of themselves, but also because of the need to
understand and respect the past of *our* ancestors, namely, the forefathers of the
Japanese people.

Financially supported by the polluter pays principle and technically aided by
state-of-the-art techniques of excavation, such as the use of conveyer belts and aerial
survey (Tsuboi 1992: 11–19), AHM in Japan has developed into a system of prompt
and efficient excavations; it has produced a massive amount of archaeological data,
including up to 2,000 site reports a year. It is worth remembering, however, that
AHM in Japan has always needed close cooperation with bureaucrats, and this has
resulted in the reproduction of a public administrative hierarchy. It can be said that
AHM in Japan has developed on the assumption that the traditional governmental
system will sustain itself.

Two Phases in the Relationship Between Archaeology and the Japanese Public

In terms of the relationship between archaeology and the Japanese public, the 60-year period after World War II can be divided into two phases, which reflect two contrasting economic and political conditions of Japanese postwar society. It might be possible to call the first phase the time of *engaged* archaeology, and the second the time of *consumed* archaeology – the first phase can be characterized by words, such as rational, active, and developing, and the second by words, such as conservative, passive, and developed.

A landmark event in the first phase was the excavation of the Tsukinowa tumulus in Okayama Prefecture in 1953. Reflecting the nationwide democratic movement in the early 1950s, 10,000 people, including archaeologists, historians, villagers, school teachers, and students, took part in this excavation (Fawcett 1995: 236; Kondo and Nakamura 2007; Yoshida 2006), which was, in a sense, a precursor of what would later be called "community archaeology" elsewhere in the world (Moser et al. 2002; Pyburn 2003; Schadla-Hall 2004; Start 1999). The excavation was a collaborative endeavor between researchers and villagers committed to scientifically clarifying the history of their locality and regarded as part of the nationwide movement called "The People's History Movement" (*Kokumin-teki Rekishigaku Undou*).

In the first phase, many members of the public across the country were actively interested in the preservation of archaeological sites endangered by development. For instance, in 1962, the movement to protect the ancient Heijo Palace site in Nara (a World Heritage Site since 1998) threatened by railway construction was supported by not only scholars, such as archaeologists and historians, but also many ordinary citizens. Their efforts to save the Palace evolved into a nationwide movement, and its success had a great impact on later public actions for site preservation. Marxist archaeologists and historians played a pivotal role in these actions (Fawcett 1995: 234–236), which deserve a reexamination and reevaluation from the viewpoint of public archaeology today (Okamura 2000: 56).

The second phase began in the 1970s. As a nationwide system of AHM incrementally developed, it became rare to see members of the public directly engaging with archaeology. While the professionalization of archaeology in AHM, on the one hand, removed the role of avocational and amateur archaeologists, on the other hand it rapidly increased the amount of information on archaeological discoveries available to the public. The discovery of elaborate seventh-century wall paintings in the Takamatsuzuka Tomb in Nara Prefecture in 1972 was an epochal event, which was reported on the front page of major national papers. The nationwide public interest in archaeology was further strengthened by the discovery of an iron sword at the Sakitama-Inariyama Tomb in Saitama Prefecture in 1978. An inscription on this sword mentions the fifth-century emperor Yuryaku alluding to his career and early state formation in Japan.

Since that time, the mass media has broadcast and published a variety of information on archaeology (Fawcett 1996: 60–62; Okamura 2000: 62; Tanaka 1984: 83) – and it has become more visible to the public, developing an enthusiastic following among nonprofessionals. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, successful preservation

and reconstruction of major archaeological sites, such as the Yayoi-period Yoshinogari site in Saga Prefecture (Okamura and Condon 1999: 66–67) and the Jomon-period Sannai Maruyama site in Aomori Prefecture (Habu and Fawcett 2008: 97–99), resulted in hundreds of thousands of people visiting them every year. This led many local governments to recognize the possibility of exploiting archaeological sites as a financial resource and carry out their reconstruction and presentation as tourist attractions.

Since the 1970s, archaeology has contributed to, and become part of, Japanese consumer culture because of the increase of media reports on archaeological discoveries as well as relevant publications, exhibitions, lectures, and tourism opportunities. Although the number of major archaeological discoveries has recently decreased because of the latest economic slump, it can be said that the Japanese public is still closely related to archaeology.

The Implications of AHM-Dominated Archaeology

It is no exaggeration to say that Japanese archaeology has gradually become dominated by AHM as the latter has developed and expanded since the mid-1960s. There are four implications from this: an inclination toward a cultural–historical approach to archaeology; the weakening of university training in archaeological research; a change in the meaning of being archaeologists; and an overemphasis on the standardization of preservation and utilization of archaeological materials. Each is briefly discussed below.

AHM does not necessarily require innovative theory and usually fits rather well with a traditional, cultural–historical approach to archaeology, for which meticulous recording of objects is of primary importance. The rapid development of AHM has made Japanese archaeology as a whole strongly draw on the typology of objects – particularly ceramics – for the establishment of detailed chronologies of different localities. This emphasis on "objects" has encouraged Japanese archaeologists to be more descriptive, cultural–historical, and empirical, rather than exploring the disciplinary or interdisciplinary potential of theory-driven archaeology (see Hodder 1997: 14–15).

The development of AHM has eclipsed the influence of universities in archaeology in two senses. First, more information on archaeological finds has become available in the AHM sector than in universities. Secondly, there has been an increasing demand for universities to train archaeology students in the practice of excavation rather than research. The rapid expansion of AHM has made students realize that it is possible to earn money by digging an archaeological site and recording finds. This situation has adversely affected the mission of universities to develop research in archaeology.

AHM tends to regard archaeological finds as "buried cultural properties," and by doing so prioritizes administration – or bureaucratic procedures – over research. In this context, skills and knowledge of archaeology are required only as a means of preserving remains and objects – mostly by record only – as cultural properties. For this reason, archaeologists working in the AHM sector have not been viewed, both

socially and by themselves, as "archaeologists" in the strict sense. They have instead been referred to as "specialists in charge of buried cultural properties" (*maizo bunka-zai tantou senmon shokuin*). Also related to this is the confusion caused by the similar pronunciation of the words "*koukogaku-sha*" (archaeologist) and "*kouko-gakusha*" (great scholar of archaeology). The second evokes the image of research specialists which does not fit well with the reality of the AHM sector, where the notion of public administration prevails. Presumably because of this, the word "*koukogaku-sha*" (archaeologist) has often not been used to describe those who work for AHM.

The meaning of doing archaeology has also changed. The word "archaeology" (*koukogaku*) conveys the image of a researcher committed to a personal quest, and as such is not consonant with officialdom associated with "cultural properties." Consequently, research is considered an individual pursuit and has virtually become taboo in publicly funded archaeology. This results in members of the public often feeling alienated from archaeological research.

The material remains, past cultures, and societies of Japan, a country 3,000 km in length, are obviously not homogeneous. Despite this, the Agency for Cultural Affairs suggests that the preservation and utilization of archaeological materials should follow standardized procedures respecting administrative hierarchy. For example, according to the Agency's policy of *maizou bunka-zai no hozon to katsuyo* (the preservation and utilization of buried cultural properties), which is currently used as administrative guidelines for AHM in Japan, the *hozon* (preservation) of archaeological remains is to be made through the establishment and maintenance of a system regulating rescue operations. If the preservation of archaeological remains is to be standardized, their *katsuyo* (utilization) inevitably tends to be standardized. Indeed, one can often find only specific types of *katsuyo*, such as the reconstruction of sites, installation of visitor centers and explanatory panels, organization of family and educational events, and display of finds, across Japan. Although this is also partly because most ancient archaeological remains in Japan are badly preserved and, therefore, cannot be physically used for multiple purposes, there is clearly an overemphasis on the standardization of the preservation and utilization of archaeological materials.

In sum, there seems to be a paradigm of object-centered – or cultural property-centered – archaeology in Japan which was created in the period of prosperity for AHM and has been maintained to date. It is important to remember that young Japanese archaeologists, in particular those under the age of 40, have only worked under this paradigm and would therefore find it difficult to imagine a different, alternative way of doing archaeology.

Culture Property-Centered Archaeology and the Belief that "We Are the Same"

Earlier, I stated that archaeology has become closely related to the Japanese public as a result of the development of AHM. But does this mean that archaeology has become more *relevant* to the Japanese public? This does not seem to be the case.

Fig. 6.2 A site explanation meeting in Osaka. Do archaeologists really understand what this mass gathering means, or do they simply satisfy themselves with the large number of attendants? (photo by author)

The large amount of publications and media reports on archaeology, the mass attendance at site explanation meetings following significant archaeological discoveries, and the presence of enthusiastic followers of archaeology might tempt archaeologists to think that what they do is indeed relevant to, and is supported by, a significant portion of the general public (Fig. 6.2). However, this impression is likely to be the result of their overconfidence or overoptimism caused by working in a socially closed environment. I believe that archaeology is not popularly enjoyed across the broad spectrum of Japanese public, but only by a small section of it.

In my view, the root cause of the above is the paradigm of AHM-dominated, cultural property-centered archaeology. This paradigm has generated archaeologists who are strongly concerned with "objects" but do not pay enough attention to people, who are, and can be, interested in those objects in various manners. The paradigm has also prevented archaeologists from explaining to the public what they as "archaeologists" do because of the distorted meaning of the term: as stated, about 90% of the Japanese archaeologists, namely, those working in the AHM sector, are not called as "archaeologists" but "specialists in charge of buried cultural properties."

To make the situation worse, there is no Japanese term that is equivalent to the English word "heritage." The term *bunka-zai* (cultural properties) is defined by laws and used in relation to governmental projects and administration. Because of this, the term *maizo bunka-zai* (buried cultural properties) also implies government involvement. When archaeological sites and artifacts are called *maizo bunka-zai*, they sound dry and detached, and do not evoke the notion of heritage. Thus, there is no term that both archaeologists and the members of the public can use to discuss how archaeology and cultural properties can be relevant to the lives of people today.

A similar problem exists with the *katsuyo* (utilization) of archaeological materials. Archaeologists working in the AHM sector are today under increasing pressure to utilize archaeological resources so that Japanese society at large can more benefit from them. However, at the core of this utilization seems to lie the notion of archaeological materials as "properties" rather than a means of engaging people in the exploration of the past. There is little consideration for the interests and concerns of the people living in the present in the current practice of utilization, which tends to treat archaeological materials as fetish objects. Is the question that really counts how archaeological materials can be used or what they can mean to the user, namely, the people? Unless the latter becomes more dominant, archaeology is unlikely to become more relevant to the Japanese public.

Ironically, although the Japanese public seems interested in knowing about the exciting and mysterious aspects of past human cultures, Japanese archaeologists tend to present a static, materialistic view of the past or present historical narratives with connotations of national identity and local pride. This is arguably because the vast majority of archaeologists feel that they serve the public in the sense of officialdom and, therefore, think that they need to exclude "adventure" elements from their portrayal of the past. Thus, although archaeological discoveries are still being made across the country on a daily basis, the current practice of archaeology is dominated by the unexciting concept of "cultural properties" in the eyes of the public.

I wish to suggest that the cultural property-centered paradigm in Japanese archaeology originates from a deeply rooted belief within Japanese society that "we are the same." This belief has exerted great influence on Japanese archaeology since the 1970s by turning the notion of buried cultural properties as "common property of the nation" into a legal and spiritual anchor of AHM. As argued, this notion has helped AHM resolve differences of opinions among the stakeholders of rescue excavations and encourage them all to contribute to the preservation of archaeological sites threatened by development. In this sense, national identity has been a sustaining force behind the growth of AHM in Japan. It is also important to note that archaeology thus carried out has resulted in reinforcing the idea that Japanese culture is, and has always been, homogeneous (Fawcett 1996: 76).

In reality, however, a close examination of the Japanese people reveals a great diversity in them, particularly in terms of culture, wealth, and ethnicity (Denoon et al. 1996). In view of this, one of the tasks for Japanese archaeology is to break away from the cultural property-centered paradigm and to adopt an approach that can address cultural diversity and complexity in both modern Japanese society and past societies in the Japanese archipelago.

Conclusion

It has been more than a decade since 1997, the year in which archaeological survey in Japan reached its peak. The profession has since seen a reduction in the employment of field archaeologists, and today only 3% of them are in their twenties (Watanabe 2008: 37). If this trend continues, archaeology in Japan will soon face a crisis. I believe that this crisis cannot be resolved unless archaeologists are *socially* positioned as the mediators between the public and the material remains of the past.

Looking back on the last 60 years of Japanese archaeology, one can learn that the treatment of archaeological resources as "cultural properties" has provided a means of resolving conflicts among the stakeholders of rescue excavations. It has also helped generate a steady demand for archaeologists working in the AHM sector. However, the notion of "cultural properties" essentially implies that there is value inherent in them which contradicts the idea increasingly embraced by theorists of cultural heritage management, that value is contingent and generated as a result of people's communication and negotiation (Avrami and Mason 2000; Darvill 1995; Pearson and Sullivan 1995). In this regard, the cultural property-centered or object-centered paradigm is not helpful in beginning a dialogue with the public on archaeology and, more generally, the past.

Archaeological materials never "speak by themselves," and their meaning and value are created by those who contemplate them. In view of this, public archaeologists in Japan need to shift their focus from objects to people, from the utilization of cultural properties to engagement with the public, so that society as a whole can attribute more meaning and value to archaeology.

Will it be difficult for the Japanese archaeologists to achieve this change? I do not think so. The entire profession of archaeology comprises individuals who, I am sure, felt excitement at their first experience of excavation. It is only a matter of making more effort to share that excitement with the public.

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Chapter 7
Public Archaeology in Korea: A Duet of Popularity and Nationalism

Oh Young Kwon and Moo Joong Kim

Introduction

Public archaeology is a relatively unfamiliar term that has yet to be widely used within the Korean archaeological community. There are, of course, a wide array of public lectures provided by various national and public museums, in addition to private museums and cultural heritage research institutes. The majority of these are educational lectures which deal with archaeology as well as history, ethnology, art history, and anthropology, and are often accompanied by field trip programs. However, it is only a limited percentage of the public that actually participates in such educational programs, and so there still exists a significant gap between the wider public and archaeological community.

The dramatic increase in land development – and consequently excavation, which has recently taken place, has brought about great conflict between developers and archaeologists regarding the preservation of sites (Shoda 2008). In some cases, small-scale renovations carried out on decrepit houses – which are merely humble attempts to achieve a better quality of life – have resulted in the discovery of important archaeological remains judged worthy of preservation, and the violation of property rights, which inevitably follows such decisions to preserve, have been met with collective resistance. There have even been extreme instances in which archaeological sites have been destroyed by angry residents as the excavation period becomes extended (Park 2000), and therefore the possibility of site preservation increases.

The decision to preserve archaeological sites is a matter which should be dealt with, above all, according to the policies of the government administrative unit in charge. However, there seems to be a growing consensus that archaeologists also

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have a responsible role to play, for they have been accused of excluding the public during the process of excavation and decision-making regarding the significance of sites. In other words, it has been suggested that archaeologists have not tried hard enough to make the public aware of the importance of archaeological discoveries.

It is, therefore, fortunate that this new millennium has witnessed attempts, on the part of the archaeological community and public museums, to develop a wide range of educational programs which may allow the public to jointly appreciate recent archaeological findings. The government has also begun to provide administrative support for such initiatives. The various exhibitions and cultural facilities provided by the recently reopened National Museum can be understood as part of this attempt to become a "museum for the public." In addition, the existence of a "Children's Museum" – a museum aimed solely at the public of the future – shows that the future of public archaeology in Korea is indeed bright.

Engagement with the Public

In Korea, the traditional way of engaging the public's interest in archaeology has been to popularize the discipline or to provide education programs. More recently, attempts have also been made to open up the discipline and promote the public's participation. Both of these strategies are now examined.

The Popularization of Archaeology and Its Use in Education Programs

National and public museums have played a central role in providing educational programs associated with archaeology or museums. The first of such attempts was the "Museum College" established in 1977 by the National Museum of Korea, the aim of which was to "enable the general public to cultivate a basic knowledge and appropriate understanding of our country's traditional culture and history, and to provide an opportunity for life-long education." This program has since offered, on an annual basis, approximately 50 lectures and museum education tours relevant to Korean history, anthropology, archaeology, and art history to around 400 participants, in addition to five excursions to ancient sites. Most of the participants are between 25 and 59 years old, and the program is, interestingly enough, limited to those members of the public who are able to take lectures of a Masters Degree level. Upon completing their education course, participants have the opportunity to act as museum guides or volunteer in the post-excavation work on excavated artifacts. Such museum colleges are being established by more and more institutions, including 11 regional national museums, city and provincial museums, as well as a number of university and private museums.

    A model example of such a museum college is the "Land Museum College." The Land Museum is distinctive in that it is run by the Korea Land Corporation, which is the largest government branch dealing with land development. The education program consists of two modules: the "general course" which examines the general aspects of Korean culture, and the "in-depth (specialist) course" for those who have completed the general course. Intensive lectures on archaeology, museum studies, cultural heritage studies, etc., are provided in the specialist course, and students are given an opportunity to be actively involved in excavations or post-excavation work on artifacts. The program offered by the Land Museum has thus been highly rated for its attempts to go beyond the mere transmission of knowledge and to generate the active participation of students in archaeological activities, thereby opening the doors to a new era of public archaeology.

Opening Up the Discipline and Promoting Participation

Members of the public who have completed museum education programs have not been limited only to the types of volunteer work mentioned above; the number of museum college graduates doing volunteer work with archaeological excavation units or university museums – washing, reconstructing, and drawing artifacts in the case of the latter – has gradually increased. In addition, the Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea, which is the main government branch that manages and oversees archaeological investigations, has undertaken an initiative to actively disseminate information to the public, such as on-site preliminary reports of key findings or excavation reports, through its homepage. The Cultural Heritage Administration has also encouraged archaeologists to host on-site excavation presentations for residents and developers, in addition to presentations for the advisory panel, so that a wide range of opinions may be drawn upon. As a result, in the case of important excavations, there has been an increased number of examples in which excavation presentations for residents are hosted alongside official presentations for the excavation advisory panel. These attempts may therefore be taken to illustrate introspection on the part of the archaeological community and government regarding previous attitudes which may have effectively alienated the public. Other attempts to engage the public include the excavation experience program carried out at a large Joseon period temple site and the children's drawing competition, which was hosted for families during an experimental archaeology session, where experimental casting was carried out on a bronze mold excavated from a Bronze Age burial. Finally, the Children's Museum, which is one of the key features of the newly reopened National Museum of Korea must also be mentioned. This exciting new attempt to engage the interests of children – who are the leaders of the future – consists of 57 "travel back in time" items which make it possible to experience the actual lives of prehistoric and ancient people, through hands-on activities, such as ink rubbings of artifacts, starting a fire and trying on ancient clothes.

The Characteristics of Public Archaeology in Korea

A Strong Nationalistic Trend

Archaeological research in Korea is closely associated with the study of ancient Korean history. To the general public, who are interested in their ancient past, archaeological discoveries are automatically imbued with historical meaning (Kim 2008). This is also the case for China (Kim 2009) and Japan (Okamura 2009), and therefore may be understood as a common feature of East Asian archaeology. The discovery of important sites and artifacts through archaeological excavations inevitably leads to discussions regarding their historical significance, in which the media play an important role. In this case, it is often difficult to avoid phrases, such as "the best," "the greatest," and "the first," and cynicism regarding this situation has given birth to the term "mass-communication archaeology" (An 2009).

The special programs on ancient history which air on television are often based on flimsy evidence. This trend is, of course, closely associated with nationalism. It may be suggested that the public's interest in archaeological discoveries is also fueled by nationalism. In addition, there have been attempts to push back the starting dates for the Korean Bronze Age and Three Kingdoms period based on recent AMS radiocarbon dating (Yi 2001: 30; Yi 2000: 64–65). This attempt has involved not only the academic community, but also the public, and therefore those who have shown objection have been criticized as being unpatriotic or adhering to the remnants of the old colonial historical approach.

It is often the case that illogical claims are backed up by "science." For example, a natural scientist has recently suggested that the Three Kingdoms of Korea – Goguryeo, Baekje, and Silla – were, in fact, located on the Chinese mainland. It was claimed that the solar and lunar eclipses mentioned in the records of the Three Kingdoms could only have been observed, according to computer calculations, on the Chinese mainland and not on the Korean peninsula (Park 1994). Such pseudo-archaeological claims often gain legitimacy under the guise of "science" and are published as books or made into television programs, thereby having a great impact on the public. It may be argued that such occurrences are fuelled by nationalism.

A Museum Audience of Children

A key feature of Korean museums is the large visitor numbers. There are many reasons for this, such as the fact that most museums are run by the government, and therefore admission costs very little or is free. A more important factor, however, is the fact that the majority of museum visitors consist of families, especially with young children. This is very different from the situation in Japan where most of the visitors are the elderly or mothers with their children. In Japan, the glorification of one's history is regarded as being closely related to a far-right historical perspective.

In Korea, however, the discourse of past history within a public context is seen as a natural occurrence, and to educate children about Korea's past history is encouraged as worthwhile. This can easily be understood on viewing the passion that the Korean public seems to have for the *Taegukgi* (national flag) and the national anthem.

Public Lectures and Housewives

Korea's rapid economic development, which has taken place since the 1960s, has brought about the growth of an urban middleclass. One of the most popular ways in which members of this materially prosperous middleclass could fulfill their cultural needs was by attending the public education lectures hosted by the National Museum. Indeed, to attend these public education lectures was seen as a symbol of the cultured social elite, and such courses were therefore regarded as an essential part of establishing one's social credentials. Since the 1990s, public and private museums throughout Korea have provided a wide variety of these educational lectures, and as a result, the public's interest in archaeology and art history – as opposed to history based on textual records or antiques – has increased greatly. As similar public education or adult education courses provided by university institutions have also come to include archaeology lectures, there has been a significant increase in the members of the public who are interested in, and better aware of, the discipline of archaeology.

The majority of this public consists of highly educated housewives in their thirties and forties. They are not merely passive pupils of a single course, but active students who attend a variety of different archaeology courses provided by a number of institutions and become involved in excavations or post-excavation work as a means of self-achievement and fulfillment. They are true volunteers, as opposed to the members of the public who were involved in part time paid work, and in this sense truly represent the opening up of the discipline to the wider population.

The "silver brigade" has also recently contributed to this trend. As society ages, a greater percentage of the elderly population has begun to enjoy good health and leisure, and this has allowed them to pursue interests and accomplishments which were not possible when they were younger. As a result of this, they have played an active role in defining the nature of public archaeology in Korea. Consequently, it may be said that the main consumers of public archaeology in Korea are housewives and the elderly.

The Notion That "Ours is the Best"

In Korea, there exists the concept of local history, which is the studying a region's history and culture from the perspective of that particular region. A positive aspect of local history is that it encourages community pride and can provide specific

details pertaining to the region's history, which may have been overlooked by historians. There is also a negative aspect, however, which is that local history tends to ignore wider, macro-historical processes and is therefore in danger of focusing shortsightedly on the idea that "ours is the best." The various local history volumes, which are published by regional governments and local authorities, thus illustrate both the positive and negative aspects of local history research.

As local history is an important resource in facilitating access to regional archaeological material, it is necessary that researchers of local history have a basic understanding of archaeology. However, the reality is that many of these local historians lack basic archaeological training, and therefore often end up making irrational and faulty interpretations. In particular, the conclusions that local historians tend to arrive at, based on the archaeological material, is that "our region is the best." In addition to such local histories, there are other groups of people who are also interested in the history of their region. However, these groups rarely have the opportunity to attend academic conferences, where they can keep up with recent archaeological debates and findings, nor do they have the opportunity for retraining.

Archaeology, Not "History of Gray Past"

In Korea, the term "*Sanggosa*," which can be translated roughly as "ancient history," is used, and although its temporal parameters have not been clearly defined, it is generally understood to refer to the prehistoric and early stages of the historic period.[1] The term brings with it, however, much conceptual baggage. It is associated with the idea of an ancient Korea which surpassed China in its greatness, of great national pride, of myth and mysticism, of the patriotism of the wise and elderly scholar, and of ancient texts which contain the secrets of the past. Unfortunately, within this context, careful archaeological studies carried out on actual archaeological evidence do not produce validation.

Studies of *Sanggosa*, or the "history of gray past," tend to rely not only on objective archaeological data, but also on certain unreliable textual sources. These studies are carried out by groups of alternative, amateur historians who tell the public that textual sources are superior to archaeological data. In the past year, however, over 1,000 archaeological excavations have taken place, resulting in an enormous amount of data which have played an important role in revising and refining well-established understanding of history. Given this situation, it becomes clear that attempts made on the part of *Sanggosa* researchers to prioritize textual sources over archaeological data are indeed problematic. Nevertheless, members of the public who are interested in the ancient past continue to be drawn to the claims of *Sanggosa* researchers.

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[1]In Korean archaeology and history, *Sanggosa* is a specific concept that contains the notion of a very ancient and mythical history extending back to the founding of the Korean people. Studies of *Sanggosa* are therefore susceptible to nationalistic agendas.

Conclusion

It is thus possible to suggest that, although not without its problems, the future of public archaeology in Korea is relatively bright. While it is true that the public are constantly bombarded by a flood of nationalistic messages, an increasingly large percentage of this public have retained a healthy attitude toward the history and culture of the past. As foreign travel becomes more frequent, more and more members of the public have been able to compare Korean culture with that of other regions. Consequently, they have gained an opportunity to acquire a more balanced understanding of history and culture which goes beyond a simplistic "ours is the best." It is indeed a positive step that members of the Korean public can now acknowledge the very basic fact that just as *our* culture and history are important, so are the culture and history of *other* countries.

The public's attitude toward material remains – cultural assets – in the ground has also matured, with artifacts no longer approached as antiques or in terms of their monetary value, but regarded as an important part of history (Choi 2009). Concomitantly, conflicts between the exercise of individual property rights and the need to preserve important archaeological sites have also decreased in intensity (Yoon 2009). It may be said that this change in the public's attitude is indeed welcome. In addition, given this situation, it can be argued that archaeologists, who until now have been content with excavating in the field or doing research, also have a responsibility to channel the public's interest in history and culture into a sounder direction.

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Chapter 8
Public Archaeology in Thailand

Rasmi Shoocongdej

Introduction

Archaeology, as part of cultural heritage management, has recently become very important for economic development in Thailand and similarly economically disadvantaged countries elsewhere in Southeast Asia (Bautista 2007; Fine Arts Department 1988; Paz 2007; Peleggi 2002; Shoocongdej 1992). This seems to be linked to the popularity and growth of tourism in the capitalist world of globalization. Consequently, there has been increased interest in the rescue, protection, conservation, and restoration of archaeological sites in Southeast Asian countries, especially for sites closely tied to the recent history of each nation. This paper seeks to explore the complexities in the relationship between archaeology and the public that have generated such trends in cultural heritage management in Thailand.

Over the last few decades, Thailand has boosted local economies through cultural heritage tourism. This has affected the practice of archaeology in Thailand in two ways. First, while the conservation and restoration of archaeological sites and their management for tourism have come to be considered a high priority, archaeological research and public education have become lower priorities. Second, archaeological surveys and excavations have increasingly been conducted by private companies under contract, with minimal public involvement and limited monitoring for the assurance of the quality of work. This is a worrying situation because, in the author's opinion, management of archaeological sites cannot be successfully implemented if research elements in archaeology are neglected. In general terms, the research of heritage sites should be valued as much as their conservation and restoration.

Another important phenomenon observed in the development of cultural heritage tourism in Thailand is the promotion of the concept of "Thai Cultural Heritage."

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Fig. 8.1 Map of Thailand. Highland Pang Mapha is indicated by the inset in the *upper left* of the map

This promotion is effectively state cultural propaganda aimed at conserving Thai culture (Charoenwongsa 2003; Nagavajara 2004), and as such excludes and marginalizes ethnic groups other than the Thais. There is a need to consider the implication of this when seeking to practice public archaeology in multiethnic areas. Admittedly, little attention has been paid thus far to the conflicting interests between Thai archaeologists and multiethnic communities, although, ironically enough, the conflicts between Western archaeologists and indigenous/Thai people have already been

discussed for some time. In the postcolonial era, Thai archaeologists need to be more self-critical and fulfill their social responsibilities by communicating the results of their research not only to academic audiences, but also to the broader public, in particular local communities including multiethnic ones.

Bearing these issues in mind, I shall examine the impact of globalization on archaeology in Thailand at the local level with the following three aims: (1) to review the authority and organization of Thai archaeology; (2) to give an overview of the practice of public archaeology in Thailand; and (3) to discuss the processes of communication between archaeologists and multiethnic communities in relation to heritage management. In order to address the third aim, a case study of the "archaeological heritage management" of the prehistoric sites in Highland Pang Mapha is presented. Highland Pang Mapha is a district in Mae Hong Son Province, northwestern Thailand, on the border between Thailand and Myanmar, where a number of different ethnic groups live (Fig. 8.1). The case study, based on the author's own experience of conducting research projects and practicing public archaeology, highlights the question as to how archaeologists could and should engage with multiethnic cultures affected by the growth of heritage tourism.

Definition of Terms

In this paper, the term "public archaeology" refers to the general responsibilities of archaeologists to the public, which include using archaeological knowledge to serve society and involving all interested and concerned communities in the process of archaeological practice.

Some archaeologists define the term differently as "archaeological/cultural heritage management" or "cultural resource management" (e.g., Darvill 2006: 410; Green 2008: 375; Tainter 2006: 435). According to Skeates (2000: 9–18), "archaeological heritage" can be defined in two general ways: "(f)irst, as the material culture of past societies that survives in the present; and second, as the process through which the material culture of past societies is re-evaluated and re-used in the present." Alternatively, others use the term more specifically to refer to "community archaeology." According to Moser and others (2002: 220), community archaeology incorporates "a range of strategies designed to facilitate the involvement of local people in the investigation and interpretation of the past." I shall use these terms under the general umbrella of "public archaeology."

The Authority and Organization of Archaeology in Thailand

In Thailand, the major institutions engaging in archaeological research and cultural heritage management are the Royal Thai Fine Arts Department (FAD) of the Ministry of Culture and universities. Two major departments within the FAD are

involved in archaeological heritage work: the Division of Archaeology and the National Museum. In addition, a growing number of private companies and other agencies have become involved in public archaeology over the past 2 decades.

The FAD Division of Archaeology is primarily responsible for conducting archaeological research and is in charge of the registration, restoration, and preservation of all archaeological sites in the country. In recent years, damage and destruction of cultural heritage resources has increased with the expansion of industry, urbanization, and tourism. Most archaeological work in Thailand, as elsewhere in the world, has therefore come to focus on salvage/rescue archaeology. The majority of the FAD budget is used to maintain and restore archaeological monuments, mostly those relating to Buddhism, and only a small amount of the budget remains for conducting genuine research projects. It would be possible to argue that at present the government uses archaeology to promote tourism, since the economic benefits from it are direct.

On the other hand, the universities that have archaeological programs (i.e., Chiang Mai University in northern Thailand, Khon Kean University in northeastern Thailand, Silpakorn University and Thammasat University in Bangkok), tend to give high priority to teaching archaeology to students and provide education to the general public. The Department of Archaeology at Silpakorn University is the only institution in Thailand that provides training in archaeology to PhD level. At other universities, archaeology is usually taught within a Department of History or Sociology and Anthropology. In a sense, the situation of the universities is not very different from that of the FAD, in that the focus of the educational system is to train people for state bureaucracy while research is a secondary consideration.

To the present day, decentralization of control over Thailand's cultural heritage has been a national policy. Since the 1997 Constitution, local administrative units have been responsible for the management of their local resources. As a result, the control of a number of archaeological heritage sites, not yet considered to be of national significance, has gradually been transferred to local authorities and communities. This move has affected the practice of archaeology. The FAD has recently reformed the archaeological administration in Thailand and assigned salvage archaeology and conservation projects to private companies and universities, with the consequence that there has been an increase in the practice of contract archaeology. However, the FAD still retains control over granting permission to conduct archaeological and conservation work. Currently, there are over 30 private companies working on salvage projects of various scales in Thailand.

Another form of nongovernmental activity relating to archaeology began in the mid-1970s with the publication of journals for the general public, such as *Muang Boran* (*Ancient City Journal*) and *Silapa Watthanatham* (*Arts and Culture Journal*). Containing articles written by authors with backgrounds in archaeology or history, these journals have functioned as a medium for communication between professional archaeologists and the public. They have also facilitated public education in archaeology, art history, local culture, and history by organizing and supporting public talks, seminars, and other cultural activities.

Finally, there are a few informal groups of volunteers, amateur archaeologists, and cultural activists who support the FAD's efforts to stop the looting and destruction

of the archaeological and cultural resource. Thailand currently does not have a non-governmental organization (NGO) working for the protection of cultural heritage; this is rather surprising, given that there is a large number of NGOs working on environmental issues. The people of Thailand might well understand this situation as indicating that archaeology is monopolized by the Thai government and that issues relating to heritage or cultural destruction are not as urgent and serious as economic or environmental concerns that directly affect their lives.

The Practice of Public Archaeology in Thailand

There are two major practices of public archaeology that are worthy of discussion here: archaeological heritage tourism and community-based archaeology.

Public Archaeology as Archaeological Heritage Tourism

In the globalized world, the tourism industry in Thailand has grown rapidly since the 1980s, and heritage and cultural heritage have become major businesses and tourist attractions (Cohen 2001). In recent years, the promotion of mainstream "Thai" culture has been managed by the Tourist Authority of Thailand, which markets national heritage sites as tourist attractions (Charoenwongsa 2003). The tourism industry caters for the need of middle/upper-class tourists, both domestic and international, rather than local people, and as a result tends to romanticize the past.

Another impact of globalization has been the development of the concept of World Heritage, promoted by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Thailand has been active in advocating this concept that calls for universal rights to the past for all the peoples of the world. For example, Sukhothai World Heritage Site has achieved great publicity for archaeological heritage tourism (Faculty of Environment and Resource Studies 1991; Fine Arts Department 1988).

The promotion of archaeological heritage tourism has led to the establishment of festivals on the one hand and an increase in facilities at archaeological sites and surrounding areas on the other. This development of tourism, however, often seems superficial and lacking in knowledge based on in-depth research work (Shoocongdej 2007).

Archaeological heritage tourism targets both international and domestic tourists, who have obviously different interests. International tourists tend to visit only "landmark" sites that are well-promoted, such as developed historical parks or large monumental complexes near big towns (e.g., Chiang Mai, Sukhothai, Ayutthaya). They often miss other types of archaeological heritage sites, such as prehistoric or rock art sites. In contrast, domestic tourists tend to visit diverse types of archaeological sites throughout the country (Peleggi 2002: 69). It is important to note that

the amount of money spent on the development of tourism relating to archaeological sites differs between those located in urban and those in rural areas – more is spent on sites in urban areas.

A few years ago, the previous (Thanksin) government initiated one of their populist policies called "One Village/One Tourist Spot," with the aim of promoting the local economy at each village – heritage is no longer a free commodity! The idea of archaeology as a commercial product is a good example of the misuse of archaeological heritage. This is clearly illustrated in the case of Pratu Pha, a prehistoric rock art site in Lampang, northern Thailand. The local administrative organization failed to manage this site appropriately, as it rushed into responding to "One Village/One Tourist Spot" policy and built the infrastructure at the site before studying and understanding its archaeological nature. There was no involvement of local communities in the management of the site either, and, as a result the building at the site stands empty and abandoned today as the local communities have no sense of belonging to it.

To summarize, the central government agencies in Thailand still maintain central roles in archaeological heritage management and the promotion of tourism, despite the general move to decentralize their control. While sustainable heritage tourism has been promoted at the local and community levels over the past decades, these efforts are smaller in scale and will take more time before bearing fruit.

Public Archaeology as Community-Based Archaeology

As mentioned above, globalization has created the promotion of mass tourism. It is, however, worth remembering that localization, namely, the move to strengthen local/grassroots community organizations (Connors 2005), has at the same time emerged as a response to or a reaction against globalization. In the case of Thailand, two examples of localization were discussed earlier: the move authorized by the 1997 Constitution to decentralize control over the "Thai cultural heritage"; and the efforts to promote sustainable tourism through local communities.

Archaeology has been used to promote local cultures, identities, and ethnic pride by and for different ethnic groups (Vallibhodama 1989). The use of archaeology in the process of localization has obviously had a strong impact on the development of community-based archaeology and local/community museums throughout Thailand (Natapintu 2007; Prishanchit 2005; Santasombat 2001).

One of the most successful community archaeology projects in Thailand was undertaken at Pong Manao, a late prehistoric site (c. 3500–1000 BP) in Lopburi Province, central Thailand. Pong Manao is a cemetery site with multiple levels of cultural deposition; numerous skeletal remains and artifacts were discovered during excavations. The community archaeology project was started in 2000 when looters seriously disturbed the site. The majority of people living in Pong Manao are Thai, who recently migrated from central and northeast Thailand. The local Huai Khun Ram Sub-District Administrative Organization, which has central powers in terms of

decision-making and resource allocation in the subdistrict (covering approximately 10–15 villages), asked the Department of Archaeology at Silpakorn University to assist with the archaeological excavation and preservation of the site. Excavation was thus conducted over 4 years (2000–2004), which involved close collaboration between the local administrative organization, local people, and faculty members and students from Silpakorn University under the direction of Surapol Natapintu. The collaborative project led to the establishment of Ban Pong Manao Community Museum in the village temple after the end of the excavation. The museum exhibits photographs and archaeological artifacts from villagers' collections and looters' pits. The project also assisted in training local school children to become museum guides.

Another well-known community archaeology project was carried out at Ban Bo Soak in Nan Province, northern Thailand, by Sayan Prishanchit. Sayan's approach was slightly different from that of Surapol: he used archaeology as a tool for community development. Sayan's research focused on ceramic production in Nan Province, where he had worked for over 5 years. The majority of people living in Ban Bo Soak are northern Thai and are a relatively homogeneous ethnic group. The community archaeology project was implemented at historic ceramic production sites (c. sixteenth to seventeenth centuries AD). Unlike in Pong Manao, local people were involved in various project activities from its earliest stages, for example: survey; excavation; analysis; exhibition; the training of site guides; and building museums.

One of the project's noteworthy results was the establishment of a local museum in a house run by a local family. Sayan and villagers excavated ancient kilns in the village. When the excavation was completed, villagers built a museum near one of the kiln sites; the museum later received financial support from private companies and donations from visitors. At the museum, Sayan worked with elders and children to develop educational programs. This museum has become famous and is now a popular tourist spot in the province. As another important result of the project, the local administrative organization built a handicraft center as a tourist attraction for the village. Reconstructions of ancient technology can be seen by visitors to the center. Archaeologists assisted the administrative organization to develop heritage products relating to ceramics that were produced in the kilns.

In Thailand today, there are only a few community-based projects that are founded on archaeological research. This means that community archaeology is still at an early stage of development. It is worth pointing out that both projects discussed above involved collaboration with relatively homogeneous ethnic populations.

The Case Study of Ban Rai Rockshelter in Highland Pang Mapha

A summary of our research project and public archaeology activities carried out at Ban Rai in Highland Pang Mapha since 1998 is presented in the following sections. Highland Pang Mapha is a mountainous district in Mae Hong Son Province, northwestern Thailand, which is a borderland between Thailand, Myanmar, and the

Shan State. Due to the mountainous terrain, Pang Mapha is geographically isolated and it is still very economically disadvantaged in comparison to other districts in Thailand. Having a multiethnic population, including a number of migrants who come from Myanmar each year, and where many languages are spoken, this area has one of the lowest literacy rates in the country. Pang Mapha has long been the focus of government modernizing policies: these policies, forced on Thailand by international donor agencies, include opium eradication and the elimination of shifting cultivation.

The research project in Highland Pang Mapha, in which I also participated, began in 1998. Initially, there was admittedly very little interaction between archaeologists working for the project and local communities surrounding the sites, as the archaeological work consisted of field surveys in remote forests, and once excavation and analysis started the archaeologists were based at a field station for many years. There was also the problem of a language barrier, which made individuals on the team feel as if they were foreigners in their own country. Gradually, however, the significance of the input from local communities in protecting cultural resources in the area became apparent. This experience resulted in changing the author's view on archaeology and the practice of public archaeology, as discussed later.

Archaeological Research and Public Archaeology Projects in Highland Pang Mapha

Highland Pang Mapha is known to scientists as a natural laboratory because of the very rich biodiversity of its seasonal tropical environments. Yet, its archaeology was relatively poorly known by archaeologists as well as the Thai public for a long time; a notable exception was an American excavation at Spirit Cave in 1969, which focused on the origins of agriculture in Southeast Asia (Gorman 1970). The above situation began to change in 1998, when the *Cave Survey and Database System Project* was implemented in Mae Hong Son Province, although the project focused only on caves and rockshelters. During 2001–2006, the *Highland Archaeology Project in Pang Mapha* began a long-term, multidisciplinary research program in Pang Mapha, which addressed archaeology, physical and dental anthropology, dendrochronology, ethnoarchaeology, and GIS. The project was under the author's direction and involved a research team from the Faculty of Archaeology at Silpakorn University, the Faculty of Social Science at Chiang Mai University, and the Faculty of Environmental Studies and Natural Resources at Mahidol University. Ban Rai and Tham Lad rockshelters were excavated as part of the project.

When the *Highland Archaeology Project in Pang Mapha* ended in December 2006, there was much work to be done on artifact conservation and the protection and management of Ban Rai and Tham Lod rockshelters. Thus, from 2006 to 2008, the *Archaeological Heritage Management at Ban Rai and Tham Lod Rockshelters Project* was carried out with financial support from the US Ambassador's Funds for

Cultural Preservation 2006. This project consisted of the establishment of an education program, the conservation of artifacts, site management, the training of guides, exhibitions, and publications. In addition, the project assisted local communities in coping with the economic opportunities generated by tourism, which was, however, also endangering the integrity of fragile archaeological sites and threatening the tribal/cultural beliefs from which the original meanings of those sites derived. We created on-site educational resources and informed local people of alternative and sustainable ways of using their heritage. Although the project ended in March 2008, I carried out another project, the *Archaeological Exploration and Sustainable Heritage Management in Pai-Pang Mapha-Khun Yuam District, Mae Hong Son Province*, which began in 2007 and continued through 2009. This project is a continuation of the *Archaeological Heritage Management at Ban Rai and Tham Lod Rockshelters Project*, and its scope of activities has expanded to include nearby districts of Pai and Khun Yuam. The project examines the impact of globalization caused by the promotion of Thailand's tourism on this area. In particular, the project focuses on the effects of adventure tourism and eco-tourism on archaeological heritage management.

Ban Rai Village

Ban Rai is a small village in Highland Pang Mapha established about 40 years ago. The residents of the village consist of many ethnic groups, including northern Thai, Hmong, Lisu, Karen, and Shan. As in other parts of the region, the central Thai language is a medium for communication, although other languages are also widely spoken. The village is situated in a valley that is one of the most fertile areas in Highland Pang Mapha. Apart from paid labor, the sale of agricultural products is a major source of subsistence.

Ban Rai Rockshelter from a Scientific Perspective

The rockshelter is located near the top of a limestone cliff, under a large overhanging rock. The total area investigated by our test excavation was 140 m^2. The results of the excavation suggest that the site can be dated to the period between ca. 12500 and 2000 BP. The earliest cultural layers, dated to the late Pleistocene, ca. 12500–10250 BP, included fragments of faunal remains and lithic debris. In this period, the area was presumably used as a temporary camp site.

Skeletal remains of an elderly man were found dating from the succeeding period, the early Holocene (9720±50 BP). Rock art discovered along the eastern edge of the site represent both realistic and idealistic images, including human figures, animals, and a number of symbolic images, can be dated to the same period.

In the late Holocene, in the Iron Age (from c. 2500 BP to the ninth century AD), the rockshelter was used as a cemetery. In addition to skeletal materials, log coffins, faunal remains, pottery, beads, and iron implements dated to this period were recovered. The analysis of teeth from the burials suggests that the people buried in the log coffins shared similar traits with present-day Southeast Asian populations. Ban Rai rockshelter is the largest Iron Age log coffin cemetery found in Highland Pang Mapha.

Public Archaeology at Ban Rai Village and Rockshelter

Community Perspectives

Highland Pang Mapha has now become increasingly popular for eco- and adventure tourism among Thai and other visitors (Loethanawanit 2006). The number of tourists visiting the area has increased enormously over the past decade, and as a consequence a number of problems have arisen that are new to Pang Mapha, such as the sudden change of culture, the use of drugs, and human trafficking (Bechstedt and Legsomboon 2004).

While the author's research has proven many of the archaeological sites to have been burial sites and temples, tribal groups on the whole believe that these sites are the places of their tribal spirits. In the past years, some local communities prevented us from working at the sites, as they were afraid that someone in the village would suffer misfortune or die as a result of our research work. However, today their attitude has changed with the growth of the tourism industry. A number of remote villages have recently become accessible via roads and archaeological sites can now be used as tourist attractions.

Practice of Public Archaeology

Our excavation and research work at Ban Rai and Tham Lod rockshelters was completed in 2006, and since then we have been carrying out public archaeology activities through the *Archaeological Heritage Management at Ban Rai and Tham Lod Rockshelters Project* (2006–2008), and the *Archaeological Exploration and Sustainable Heritage Management in Pai-Pang Mapha-Khun Yuam District, Mae Hong Son Province* (2007–2009). The two important components of the activities are community involvement and public education campaigns.

For our projects, community involvement has been essential for the purpose of developing lines of communication with various ethnic groups in Ban Rai. The process of community involvement consists of three simultaneous steps: village

Fig. 8.2 Children's workshop "The Detectives of the Past" held at Ban Rai rockshelter (photo by author)

meetings; interviews; and recruitment. Monthly meetings are intended to give explanations to local people about the archaeology and the progress of our research work. Interviews have been conducted with local people in order to situate the "heritage with no ownership" within the present communities. More specifically, the following information has been collected through interviews: the history of each community (based on oral history); local people's perceptions of their natural and cultural heritage (e.g., folklore, belief, tribal medicine); their response to archaeological discoveries in their villages; and their opinions as to how the sites should be protected and managed. After several meetings and interviews, we identified groups of local people who are particularly interested in our projects. From these, we recruited children, teachers, and adults so that they could work with us, namely, archaeologists, in workshops (Fig. 8.2).

We have also designed and implemented various training programs for local children, adults, school teachers, and forestry officers. For example, six training programs were carried out in 2007, the themes of which were:

- "Tham Lod children and their awareness of the past" (for local children)
- "Curriculum development on local heritage in Ban Rai and Tham Lod villages" (for school teachers)
- "Archaeology in Tham Lod station" (for forestry officers)
- "Being a good host at Tham Lod village" and "Being a good host at Ban Rai village" (for local people in general)
- "Children guides for archaeological and cultural tourism at Ban Rai village" (for local children)

Candidates of "good hosts" were selected from the participants in the programs so that they could serve as representatives and guides for the village.

Our public education campaign has promoted the preservation and conservation of the local cultural and archaeological heritage. The campaign has consisted of many activities that include talks, publications (e.g., guide books, brochures, maps), guide training for children and adults, the establishment of a museum in collaboration with local people, an "Archaeology in the Arts" program for children, community photography, an art exhibition, and the training of local experts (children, adults, and schoolteachers) in archaeological heritage management. As a result, the local communities have been empowered to undertake heritage management and sustainable tourism. Importantly, this has taken place before the development of commercial tourism starts at Ban Rai village.

In collaboration with villagers, we have also established Ban Rai Local Museum at the village meeting hall as an information center for the village and Ban Rai rockshelter site. The museum explains the everyday lives, tools, crafts, and local products of the people who lived in Ban Rai in the past. There are also special exhibitions that show the history, tradition, rituals, food, and dress of the village. The Ban Rai museum/information center is one of the most significant results of the projects. The museum disseminates information on local history and multiethnic cultures and visitors can learn about the rich heritage of Ban Rai village in Highland Pang Mapha.

Our projects have been successful in two senses. First, Thai archaeologists involved in the projects have gained invaluable experience in working closely with multiethnic communities whose languages and cultures are very different from those of the majority Thai ethnic group. Second, the results of our archaeological research have become an important knowledge base for the local communities for managing their cultural resources.

Discussion

I discussed elsewhere (Shoocongdej 1992), the working relationship between Thai (and Southeast Asian) and foreign archaeologists, as well as the problems for archaeologists working in areas having diverse cultural traditions in Southeast Asia.

It is undeniable that the Western concept of studying the past has long been embraced in Thai archaeology, and consequently we, Thai archaeologists, have been consciously adopting rigorous scientific agendas in practicing our archaeological research. However, at the same time we have also been unconsciously perpetuating the colonialist and nationalist ideology by failing to consider the views of the past held by ethnic minority groups (e.g., the Mon, Khmer, and Laosian), and treating them as part of the "Thai national heritage." It is only in recent years that the situation has begun to change as the concept of community archaeology emerges in Thai archaeology. The essential point here is that there is no single appropriate way of practicing community archaeology. As illustrated by the examples of Pong Manao (Lopburi Province), Ban Bo Soak (Nan Province), and Ban Rai in Highland Pang Mapha (Mae Hong Son Province), communities in different regions have had different historical trajectories, and therefore community archaeology, the fundamental principle of which is to incorporate local views and voices into its agendas, needs to carefully attend to the local history and traditional knowledge of each community. In this regard, there are still many challenges for Thai archaeologists in implementing a community archaeology that truly meets the need of "the public": we need to overcome the colonialist ideology that underpins our research practice and also learn what other agendas (e.g., education, health, and economy) could exist in each community, where we seek to study the past. Changing our perspectives to this effect will certainly take time, but a gradual change is better than no change.

With the great importance and potential of community archaeology for Thai archaeologists thus recognized, two observations can now be made of the current situation of heritage tourism and public archaeology in Thailand. Firstly, it is evident that public archaeology in Thailand has developed in response to the global economy, in particular the growth of global heritage tourism. However, there are differences in the approaches to heritage management adopted by the state and those taken at community levels. The FAD, a national government agency, focuses on "nationally significant heritage sites" and "world heritage sites," rather than archaeological sites of smaller scales, especially prehistoric ones. What the FAD does is, in essence, *official* management of heritage sites. In this regard, Highland Pang Mapha is neither nationally significant nor a "world heritage site," and is therefore beyond the scope of the state's heritage tourism development; it is an example of "unofficial" management of a heritage site by a local community. The state promotes mass tourism featuring "Thai heritage," which is mostly concerned with sites located in towns. This implies that little "official" attention has been paid to archaeological sites in multiethnic or rural areas. In contrast, community-based archaeology can put more emphasis on working at the grassroots level and empower socially marginalized people through education, conservation, and implementing local guide training programs for sustainable community tourism.

Secondly, although many tourists, both Thai and international, are willing to learn more about the Thai heritage sites they visit, most of the sites at present provide only brief and generic information on their historical and cultural contexts. This is an unfortunate situation, since on-site education could be a powerful tool to make Thai visitors aware of their histories and identities and to help international

visitors to appreciate and learn about Thai cultures. In order to improve the quality of information provided to tourists, there is a need to enhance the quality of archaeological research at each site first, as it is the only source of information. There is also a need to establish a system for channeling the information thus gained from research to those who are responsible for site management.

Based on this understanding, some evaluations of the three different public archaeology projects in Thailand are presented in this paper: the projects at Pang Manao, Ban Bo Soak, and Ban Rai. The project at Pong Manao and Ban Bo Soak developed in response to the needs of rural Thai communities that wanted to promote local tourism in their villages in accordance with the policy of the central government. Villagers of Pong Manao asked for assistance from archaeologists to excavate a looter's trench. At Ban Bo Soak, archaeologists conducted a research project focusing on ceramic kiln sites and encouraged local people to join the project. In both instances, archaeologists were aware of the potential of the sites for the development of tourism; they thus prepared local people for sustainable tourism while conducting archaeological research.

The project at Pong Manao is, in a sense, a model case of managing a heritage site for the development of tourism through community involvement. The on-site community museum was established at the completion of the archaeological excavation and a guide-training program for local people was implemented. Local people, although recent migrants to the area, came to feel proud of having a well-known heritage site in their village.

The project at Ban Bo Soak was slightly different from that at Pong Manao in that villagers already had a strong sense of the ancient settlement history of their community, represented by the historic kilns situated in the village, and it was therefore easier for them to feel historically connected with the sites. The excavation was carried out in a residential area and the villagers gradually learned about the sites, which today they can explain to visitors.

These two projects of community-based archaeology demonstrate the economic value of archaeological heritage, which could generate income for local communities. Social value of heritage was also strongly recognized in both projects, as a result of which the local communities have taken pride in the past of their villages.

Our public archaeology projects at Ban Rai village and rockshelter were again different from the projects at Pang Manao and Ban Bo Soak in that they took place in an area that has more multiethnic populations and is less economically developed. Our work at Ban Rai began as a long-term scientific research project with specific research objectives. When the archaeological research was almost complete, we decided to move the focus of the succeeding project to communication and collaboration with the local communities. A two-way dialogue was thus established, which allowed us, archaeologists, and the tribal communities to share experiences and expertise with each other. Our research team learned much about the local cultures and knowledge from those communities. The two-way communication enhanced the interpretation and presentation of Ban Rai heritage in a meaningful, collaborative way. Even though the local communities did not have a history that is

directly associated with Ban Rai rockshelter, the site has now assumed scientific, social, and economic value for them. In other words, the communities have learned how to use archaeology for their own economic benefits by negotiating local knowledge and beliefs.

The three public archaeology projects demonstrate that long-term archaeological research is necessary for the development of sustainable heritage tourism at the local level. In this sense, community archaeology is very useful because it addresses archaeological research, community involvement, and public education all at the same time. In order to carry out community archaeology, however, it is essential to gain the trust of local communities first and foremost; archaeologists should not simply arrive, excavate, and leave. It is worth remembering that the dissemination of archaeological information concerning each site rests with the archaeologist, who is responsible for making it available and accessible to both academics and the public.

Conclusion

In the globalized era, archaeology has been extensively used in Thailand for the development of heritage tourism. The promotion of heritage sites tends to be aimed at the mass market and package tourism, while the conservation and restoration of archaeological heritage sites have been managed by the central government for the development of heritage tourism. Archaeological sites should, however, be managed not only for tourism, but also for public education, the promotion of the importance of understanding the human past, and the enhancement of the quality of life of local communities. To this end, close collaboration between archaeologists and local communities is essential.

The practice of public archaeology in each local community is far more complex than is generally assumed. An approach that works in one situation does not work in another – each approach must be developed based on a thorough understanding of individual cultural and historical contexts.

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Chapter 9
Archaeology in a Multicultural and Multiethnic Nation Under Construction: The Case of New Caledonia (Southern Melanesia)

Christophe Sand, Jacques Bolé, and André Ouetcho

Introduction

The region forming Island Melanesia is located in the southwestern Pacific. It stretches from the large island of New Guinea in the northwest to the archipelago of Fiji in the east, at the border of western Polynesia. The islands forming the north of Melanesia were settled more than 30,000 years ago, well before the southern and eastern parts of Melanesia, the islands of which were discovered and settled by Lapita sailors only about 3,000 years ago (Kirch 2000). These seafaring groups, partly of Southeast Asian origins, introduced Austronesian traditions to the Pacific. Over the succeeding millennia, each founding settler society developed, transformed, and adapted to the later arrival of new groups, which allowed the evolution of unique traditions and languages. When this part of Oceania was first "discovered" by Europeans in the seventeenth/eighteenth centuries (Spriggs 1997), they were exposed to a unique and unparalleled cultural diversity in the archipelagos of Island Melanesia. Depending on the perspective considered, the arrival of Christian missionaries and western settlers in the numerous islands of the Pacific in the nineteenth century can be analyzed on a spectrum from an "invasion" of foreigners to merely the arrival of "new canoes" on the beaches of Oceania.

Europeans tried to understand the origins of the indigenous societies they were facing, often in terms of a simple relation of "savages-civilized," followed by the colonial processes of the nineteenth century. As early as the second half of the nineteenth century in some cases, the use of archaeology has unfortunately rapidly obscured the topic of indigenous history. The main reason for this is that the basic process of archaeological study, both in its objectives and its methods, is not readily

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applied to traditional societies, bound up as it is conceptually in the evolution of European thinking. It is directly linked to the scientific developments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the growth of centralized nations. Never before in human history, the usefulness of studying past remains, linked to an overall political objective, had been expressed in such a clear way (Renfrew and Bahn 1996: 19–36; Schnapp 1993: 333–371). Consequently, researchers using archaeology in the colonial context of the Pacific during the first part of the twentieth century have often tried, purposefully or not, to minimize the historical rights of the indigenous populations. In a very simplistic analysis of material remains as distinctive markers of "cultures," they repeatedly promoted the hypothesis of the presence of "older" and more advanced "civilizations" in the islands, which had been "invaded" by the forefathers of the indigenous groups, before a sort of symbolic return of "civilization" with the arrival of Europeans (Trotter and McCulloch 1971: 60).

Fortunately, over the last half century this simplistic scenario, stemming from old-fashioned ideas of cultural hierarchy in human societies, has progressively been abandoned, mainly through the progress of scientific research. The development of a professional body of Pacific archaeologists has placed Oceanic history and prehistory into a new perspective (Bellwood 1978; White and O'Connell 1982). Concomitantly, the advent of new independent nations in the region, leading to administrative control of research permits by indigenous leaders, has in the last decades prompted a progressive shift in archaeological policies, with the creation of local research institutions and the promotion of an "indigenous archaeology" (Bedford et al. 1999; Nicholas and Andrews 1997; Spriggs 1997).

In this paper, we would like to discuss the complexity of the topic of archaeology in a decolonizing context, by presenting a case study on New Caledonia, the southernmost archipelago of Island Melanesia. While settled by Austronesian groups over 3,000 years ago (Sand et al. 2008b), the main island of the group was put on a western world map only in 1774, after Captain James Cook "discovered" the northern tip of "Grande Terre" and named it in reference to Scotland (Beaglehole 1961). In the mid-nineteenth century, France took over what was the last large archipelago of the region without malaria, soon to create a convict colony, which led to the arrival of over 30,000 convicts, as well as a whole series of free settlers and military troops (Barbancon 2003). The French colonial power had to take land from the indigenous Kanak groups by force in order to settle the newcomers as farmers and cattle raisers, causing numerous small- and larger-scale wars and rebellions, prompting the creation of indigenous reserves (Dauphiné 1989; Saussol 1979). From the end of the nineteenth century, the development of mainly nickel and chrome mining, led to the importation of other working forces from Java, Vietnam, Japan, and Vanuatu, as well as Polynesia, creating new settler groups in the archipelago (De Deckker 1994). The progressive claim for indigenous Kanak rights and independence led in the mid-1980s to an unnamed civil war between the two principal communities of the archipelago. With the signing of a peace treaty in 1988, a period of shared economic development commenced, with local political control and the recognition of indigenous rights and culture (Angleviel 2003). In 1998, a new political agreement between the different opposing groups living in the archipelago and France has

pushed the question of independence to around 2015. At the beginning of this new millennium, New Caledonia is in the unique position of being a decolonizing Pacific country comprising a multicultural society of just over 250,000 people.

Not surprisingly, undertaking archaeology and writing about the long-term history of the archipelago has become a complex business, as there is such a diversified historical and cultural background, sharing for only one decade the political objective to "create a unified nation." Since the creation of our local Department of Archaeology in 1991, transformed into a proper Institute of Archaeology in 2009, to our small archaeological group it has appeared that it would be unethical not to recognize that any in-depth work fulfilled in this context is necessarily profoundly influenced by the thoughts, beliefs, and pressures of political parties promoting opposite long-term objectives (Sand et al. 2006a). In what follows, a discussion around these overall questions is presented. In its first part, the paper rapidly summarizes the history of archaeological research in New Caledonia. Developing our arguments, in the second part we propound a broad description of the philosophy of the cultural chronology developed by our archaeological research team and how this diversified picture of the islands' past is perceived today by a multicultural and multiethnic society. Case studies help to show how the public reacts to archaeology and archaeological sites and allow, in the concluding remarks, an analysis of the role of archaeologists in the promotion of a common past.

The Evolving Perception of the Past Through Archaeology

The question of the origins of the various "races" observed by westerners in the Pacific was only addressed in any detail at the very end of the period of "mutual discovery," in the eighteenth century by European navigators, such as James Cook (Kirch 2000: 12–14). The division of the Pacific into three large cultural regions at the beginning of the nineteenth century by Dumont-D'Urville, namely, Melanesia, Polynesia, and Micronesia, was meant to set a more understandable picture of the cultural diversity of Oceania, by applying the simple theory of hierarchy of races to the region. Accordingly, the "black" region of Melanesia had been settled first by "older" races, the more advanced "light" Polynesian races having arrived later in the eastern Pacific (Clark 2003). New Caledonia was placed without question in Melanesia, without having to endure the question of cultural affiliation experienced by the neighboring archipelago of Fiji, balancing for decades between Melanesia and Polynesia. It is not surprising though that after the colonization of the New Caledonian archipelago in 1853 by France, the majority of newcomers saw, above all, the black "inferior natives" (Sarazin 1924) as a barrier to the colonial project of "civilization" they were undertaking. Nonetheless, this did not prevent a number of early observers – missionaries, sailors, soldiers, administrators – to record a whole set of annotations on the lifestyles and cultural traditions of the Kanaks (Lambert 1900; Leenhardt 1930), as the indigenous people of New Caledonia name themselves today. In a context of a small but harsh colonial settlement, rendered even

more difficult in New Caledonia by the convict system, mainstream scientific ideas from the western world were applied indiscriminately to the island by local amateur prehistorians. Progressively, inherently racist but well-constructed theories presented these "uncivilized" natives as only the "most recent" invaders before historic times. They were credited with causing cultural decline before the arrival – or return – of "civilization," brought by western colonization. These theories flourished in the colonies, be they African, Asian, or Oceanian, making it possible to deny the native populations any rights over past history (Pels 1997; Schlanger 2002). This scenario started to be applied to the past of New Caledonia by the turn of the twentieth century (Archambault 1901). From then on, all the authors studying the archaeology of the archipelago tried to refute any link between the native Kanak societies and all the "stunning" archaeological remains that could be found in the islands: petroglyphs, monumental structures, complex decorated pottery types, etc. Instead, writers favored the accepted theory of "succession of races" and racial cultural hierarchy (Avias 1953; Brou 1970). To sum up, the colonial officials serving in New Caledonia followed the theories of racial differentiation developed at the end of the nineteenth century by some western schools of thought, unquestioningly.

Though it may seem unusual in a larger world context, the idea of a "succession of races" in the long history of the New Caledonian archipelago has prevailed as the commonly accepted archaeological thesis in the general public for nearly a century and remains the favored scenario for older generations. Nevertheless, starting in the early 1950s, a first generation of professional archaeologists began to redefine these interpretations by introducing to the region scientific archaeological methods (Gifford and Shutler 1956). During the 1960s, developing controlled stratigraphic excavations, they mainly endeavored to identify the characteristics of the first human settlements in the region (Golson 1959). The premier achievement of researchers in this field was to discover, for example, that there had been a "community of culture" spanning the Melanesian/Polynesian divide 3,000 years ago, during the Lapita settlement (Golson 1961). Although these scientific results were becoming well known, the few amateur archaeologists working in New Caledonia still preferred, until the middle of the 1970s, to favor the idea that the cultural chronology was defined by two or more waves of populations in New Caledonia before European settlement (cf. Brou 1977).

Significantly, until the 1970s, public involvement in local archaeology was nonexistent, mainly due to the fact that the colonial system did not promote any development of local historical thought (be it precolonial or colonial), the archipelago being for many just a continuation of the French motherland. As a paradox, this local absence of interest in the archipelago's archaeological past was taking place while numerous anthropological studies were conducted on indigenous Kanak social structures, with the recording of local oral traditions on past histories. During this process, numerous traditional objects were collected for museums and private collections overseas, while at the same time, the innumerable structural remains visible in the landscape of the islands were often considered by non-indigenous researchers as having no significance in their own right. Colonial rulers and European

settlers perceived clearly that these remains could one day become problematic, as they were visible marks of the achievements and though of the historic rights of the indigenous inhabitants. Not surprisingly, a number of Kanak archaeological sites were purposefully destroyed during the twentieth century to "erase" any trace of older settlement. But the destruction of remains did not concern only indigenous remains. A great number of the architectural remains of colonial nineteenth-century prisons, fortified camps, forced settlement locations, and other sites were linked to the history of convictism in New Caledonia. To "turn the page" of a shameful past of convict origins, the descendents of prisoners wanted to remove the architectural remains in the landscape that reminded them of that past. Understandably though, this ambiguous historical connection to the past led in many instances to processes of voluntary destruction by colonial settlers and authorities of not only precolonial, but also colonial structures in order to cancel out definitively traces of bitter or problematic testimonies. Destruction of sites was most often conducted without any real involvement and no clear process by which the local population could object or express concern.

From the 1970s onward, changes took place markedly, as archaeological research in New Caledonia became heavily influenced by a growing process of native political awakening. Kanak leaders progressively constructed, for political purposes, a globalizing discourse on their precolonial past, in a process that has been described elsewhere in relation to similar cases, by researchers like Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) and Keesing (1989) as an "invention of traditions." As a result, a new concept of the past evolved during this period, linked to the emergence of increasingly assertive identity claims by a new generation of Kanaks – the idea of the "first native occupant" (Collective 1983). In order to allow the shaping of group unity among the native Kanak chiefdoms, a process of inclusive leveling of the overall "traditional past" into a homogeneous image was put in place. This conceptual discourse about the past, that emerged as part of a wider political claim for indigenous recognition and independence, was collectively agreed on by the native population. The concept of precolonial history as forming one single chronological block, did not take into account the evolutionary dynamics of history that characterize all human societies, but had the aim of legitimatizing the preexistence of an indigenous history in New Caledonia, before the arrival of westerners. As a consequence, this process effectively canceled time depth, for example putting Lapita pottery produced 3,000 years ago and complex horticultural traditions that developed only a 1,000 years ago in one single cultural and temporal box (Bensa 1990).

This new perception of the past still remains at the core of Kanak discourse and legitimacy (Dahlem 1997; Woudjo 2004) as much as the concept of "succession of races" was at the core of colonial claims, and has put archaeological remains and archaeological research as a whole, into a new perspective (Sand et al. 2008a). Two perceptions of the New Caledonian past continue to coexist side by side, one relying on western scientific concepts of time and space, the other clearly rooted in a form of traditional perception of the past and positioned within the anticolonial movement of first nations.

The Current Situation

From 1984 to 1988, the progressive development of violence leading to a political crisis similar to a latent civil war in New Caledonia, linked to a claim for Kanak independence, prevented any significant archaeological research. In June 1988, the signing of the Matignon Accords opened up an unexpected era of peace, with the desire and will of different communities living in the archipelago to adjust to a more shared economy and political decision-making (Cugola 2003). After 10 years of economic development and the unprecedented involvement of the Kanak political leaders in the running of public services through the creation of autonomous Provinces, a new political agreement was signed in 1998 in Noumea. In the preamble of the accord, the local political authorities and the French Government acknowledged the "shadows and lights" of the colonial period, a prerequisite to the "creation of a common destiny" for New Caledonian citizens, before a vote on self-determination.

Although the significance is often not recognized, the concept of history plays a key role in the evolutionary processes taking place in New Caledonia over the last 30 years. In the last 20 years, one of the main achievements of the school curriculum was to introduce, for the first time, a detailed program on the history of New Caledonia. The first official schoolbook resulting from this political decision was written by a group of local historians from different cultural backgrounds (Collective 1992). It started with a text on the archaeological past written by archaeologists, before presenting in detail the traditional Kanak society, through texts written by Kanaks. In 2005, new school programs were drafted, which emphasized again the specificities of Kanak culture in the history curriculum. By contrast to the book of the 1990s, no Kanak historian wanted this time to contribute to the texts (Collective 2007). This sad example highlights the existence of two divergent political discourses persisting in New Caledonia about the presentation of the past. It demonstrates the problems inherent in regrouping into a homogeneous social framework, in the course of only one generation, the various cultural groups stemming from New Caledonia's colonial history.

The involvement of our local team since the early 1990s can only be understood in relation to this larger political and historical situation (Sand et al. 2008a). Unsurprisingly, the archaeological discourse we have developed over the last two decades proposes a structuring of the past that has a unifying goal (Sand 1995). We emphasize that in the course of the last three millennia since the first Lapita settlement, representing some hundred generations, the populations that lived on the Melanesian islands experienced social developments and cultural changes over time. The long-term history of each group was punctuated by local adaptations to various island environments, by the transformation and evolution of cultural and political traditions through time, sometimes influenced by the arrival of new canoes, as well as by intensification dynamics of social systems during certain periods (Sand et al. 2003). The past of Oceanian societies was therefore far from static but necessarily evolutionary, with each island establishing external contacts

while developing at the same time internal adaptation and transformation skills. Schematically, this archaeological presentation of the past proposed by our team can be positioned midway between the simplistic and often racist theory of the "succession of races" canvassed during colonial times and the idealized image of the immobile "cold" society of the "first occupant," promoted as part of the Kanak political awakening.

The model is far from being merely a scientific reconstruction of the past through archaeological analysis. Clearly, we have not undertaken a simple analytical route in developing our proposed chronology, promoting a dynamic history. We have deliberately placed our work within the context of conscious participation in the emergence of a "common history" for New Caledonian citizens. Consequently, by highlighting – through this discursive process of evolutionary chronology – the changes the archipelago witnessed in the prehistoric and traditional past, colonial history, despite its connotations, fits in as a component of "long term" dynamics. Indeed, the colonial past can, through this process, leave the dangerous shores of a "mistake of history," a concept that has so negatively affected the way historical studies of postindependent nations have developed, and would irredeemably condemn the descendents of the European, Asian, and Pacific colonial settlers of New Caledonia to a shameful erasing of their local past.

Unsurprisingly, this "new" presentation of the archaeological past of New Caledonia leads to regular criticism, as it contradicts certain mindsets inherited from previous periods (Sand et al. 2004a). Deliberately, as local archaeologists, we contribute to the emergence of a public vision of the past that is partially "manipulated," through our text. Over the past two decades, we have specifically put our archaeological discoveries rapidly into the public domain; our work has entered the public arena through the media (radio, television, newspapers), popular books, and small-scale conferences on the archaeology of New Caledonia in cultural centers, villages, and to tribes and so forth. The hidden remains, testimony of the past of the archipelago, have slowly become familiar to everyone, media entering each and every house, even in the most remote valley tribes. This change in public that access to archaeological information has affected the political sphere and has prompted the provincial institutions in charge of cultural heritage to start surveys of their archaeological remains, as well as to organize conservation programs on heritage sites, be they indigenous or colonial.

Creating Visible Links with the Past

Public awareness is one way to raise the profile of past remains and archaeology in people. However, in a region like Oceania where culture revolves around human interactions and exchanges, the most effective way to integrate progressively a "new" past, is by involving the participation of the population. Three examples can be rapidly summarized here in general chronological order.

Lapita and Kanak Ancestry

One of the main questions asked of the archaeologists is to "prove" that the ancestors of the Kanaks were the "first settlers" of the archipelago. Archaeological and linguistic data make it clear that there is an unbroken continuity between the first Lapita arrivals about 3,000 years ago in southern Melanesia and the traditional indigenous societies first seen by European explorers over 200 years ago, even acknowledging the existence of later canoe landings in the course of the cultural chronology (Kirch 2000; Spriggs 1997). But to relay in multiple forms, this scientific evidence was, for a long time, met with suspicion in New Caledonia by the Kanaks, as well as non-Kanaks. Each group was dissatisfied with a "first settlement scenario" too complex to fit simple claims (Sand et al. 2008b). In order to acknowledge the historical legitimacy of the indigenous Kanak population in the deep past and make it explicit, non-archaeologists of the Pacific needed to be involved to validate the argument. To achieve this, we used the 50th anniversary celebrations of the first excavation on the eponymous site of Lapita in 1952. In early August 2002 we organized, as part of an international archaeology conference, a gathering on the archaeological site, located on the northwest coast of Grande Terre (Sand 2003). For this purpose, the New Caledonian Government invited to the cultural encounter the Kanak chiefdoms representatives as well as indigenous representatives of the western Pacific, where Lapita pottery had been discovered. In front of archaeologists working in the Pacific, Pacific Islanders not only from Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, New Caledonia, Fiji, but also from Tonga, Samoa, Wallis and Futuna in western Polynesia shared gifts and customary exchanges (Fig. 9.1). They reenacted, in front of television cameras, a cultural link intended to illustrate the historical connection between present-day Melanesians and the highly decorated Lapita pottery produced 3,000 years ago (Sand 2003). Since that day, questions about the existence of a preindigenous population in New Caledonia have significantly diminished in the European community, and the reluctance of Kanak leaders for a Lapita identity has rapidly been replaced by a political decision to construct a regional Lapita Museum in the Northern Province capital of Koné, where the eponymous archaeological site is located.

Promoting Public Access to Former Heritage Sites

With the change in public perception about the archipelagos' past and a new interest in heritage, over the last two decades demands for direct access to cultural sites for tourism have developed. After battling against public opposition, in the 1980s, descendents of European settlers succeeded to open some colonial nineteenth-century sites to tourists, clearly to lay claim to their own historical rights in New Caledonia (Cormier 1997). A number of heritage sites, ranking from convict prisons to former colonial properties and mining villages, have been opened to public access, sometimes with well-organized displays. The administrative transfer of these projects to public services since the 1990s has allowed the commencement of architectural conservation programs and archaeological studies on the most significant sites.

Fig. 9.1 The honorable Albert Tu'ivanuavou Vaea, a member of the Royal family of the Kingdom of Tonga in western Polynesia, presenting a traditional tapa cloth to the Kanak chiefdom on whose land the archaeological site of Lapita is located, during a ceremony on August 1, 2002 (photo by Jacques Bolé)

The situation is markedly different for former traditional Kanak sites, as numerous cultural and customary problems, leading to resistances in the community, make any regular visits to the sites difficult to organize. This appears as a paradox, as public demand for public access to traditional Kanak sites is increasing steadily, linked to the augmentation of tourism in the hinterlands and a new interest in sharing cultural links. To address this issue in a direct way, our team proposed to undertake a project of restoration of a former Kanak habitation site that oral traditions described as abandoned in the mid-nineteenth century, in one of the main valleys of the east coast of Grande Terre. Unsurprisingly, it took 7 years for the political authorities of the Northern Province to finalize a first general agreement with the local Kanak tribe. The first step was to exchange local custom gifts between the different participants involved in the project and to fulfill the lifting of the traditional taboo protecting the site. The fieldwork consisted of cleaning the scrub from the old Kanak village remains, composed of house mounds, pathways, and horticultural structures. The main raised house mounds, whose edges had eroded, were partially reerected. Archaeological excavations allowed the site to be put into chronological context, which showed a good fit with data from oral traditions about the sequence of site foundation and abandonment. As a last step, a special type of soft grass, indicated by the elders as having been used in the past on these sites, was planted (Sand et al. 2004b;

Fig. 9.2 Young children of multicultural and ethnic origins, excavating an archaeological site in New Caledonia, during a "heritage class" (photo by Christophe Sand)

Sand et al. 2009). In parallel, a tourist program was defined independently by the tribe, involving not only a visit to this archaeological site, but also excursions to nearby cultural and natural sites. A disagreement with another tribe around land issues and cash return has emerged just before the opening of the heritage site, and awaits resolution before the project can start.

Heritage and the Citizens of Tomorrow

Our last example focuses on raising awareness in schoolchildren of their local heritage, through the creation of "heritage classes" embedded in the teaching curriculum of selected schools. This specific teaching scheme allows a whole class to spend 1 week on an excavation, be it on a prehistoric or a historic site (Sand et al. 2006b). For the first time in the history of the archipelago, through this program we have been able to present future generations of New Caledonian citizens with direct contact with past remains, through digging (Fig. 9.2). The results obtained have exceeded all our expectations. To our great surprise, we have witnessed young children

of European descent claiming the prehistoric remains as part of their history because the remains come out of the soil of "their island." At the same time, Kanak children have repeatedly claimed, during the excavation process, an historic link to the colonial remains of convicts, for exactly the same reason. It must be said that these reactions have caused older generations bitter confusion more than once. With hindsight, these children are expressing with their own words the emergence of a process of "creation of a common destiny" across the different cultural communities of the New Caledonian archipelago, as defined in the political agreement of 1998.

Concluding Remarks

To summarize the complexity of such a multifaceted subject as the archaeology of New Caledonia and its connection to its peoples in a few pages is necessarily restrictive. Obviously, any work in the field of social sciences remains influenced, consciously or unconsciously, by its specific political and social framework. Within the continuing process of decolonization in Oceania, this topic takes on a distinctive nature. A recurring question faces local field archaeologists, in a Pacific region that is "reinventing" its traditions to face the challenges of globalization. The question revolves around this dilemma: is it archaeologists' role to provide the civil society of their archipelago with historical data, offering a vision that is culturally constructive and socially useful, but which at the same time is undeniably politically "manipulated"? As the preceding pages have tried to make clear, for our team the answer to this question in our archipelago is very definitely affirmative.

The new perceptions about collective links to the past – a consequence of archaeological study and text – are structuring the emergence of new "founding myths" in the local population of New Caledonia (Sand et al. 2008a). These appear to be meeting an urgent need to bring together, in a common future, people of multiple origins that make up the contemporaneous population of our archipelago. Evidently, this approach, which complements scientific research whose objectives are ultimately mostly focused on the issues of key specialists, can be considered as simply a new phase in the "invention of traditions" process that is still shaping New Caledonian identities. Out of its context, this process might appear too simplistic, but in a wider perspective, it clearly follows the general course of "national identity building" that European countries experienced in their process of nation building during the nineteenth century (Kaeser 2000), although the link is not yet explicitly acknowledged. Simply said, the people of New Caledonia are asking what historical symbols can unite the different ethnic and cultural groups, in order to shape the foundation of a common future based on shared roots – real or fictitious. In this context of unnamed nation building, the examples proposed in this paper have tried to show that for the general public each new political context can be associated with a specific way of relating to history, and consequently, at analyzing archaeological results. Outside of its specific contemporary historical context, it is not possible to understand the present-day "dynamic and evolutionary" discourse on the past that our team has

advocated for the past of our archipelago during the last two decades (Sand et al.
2008b). This contextual history is part of a wider emphasis on defining "roots," new
ways to see the cultural heritage of the archipelago – in a context where the idea of
a "common future" tries with difficulty to find its way among the various ethnic and
cultural communities sharing the archipelago. Nation building of the last two centu-
ries has shown repeatedly the need for a "shared past" in order for diverse cultural
groups to find ways to agree on a political future, unfolding within a "shared des-
tiny." The process is underway right now in New Caledonia, and archaeologists are
involved as active participants in this "history in the making."

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Chapter 10
Digging on Contested Grounds: Archaeology and the Commemoration of Slavery on Gorée Island, Senegal

Ibrahima Thiaw

Introduction

Gorée is one of the earliest Afro-European settlements off the coast of Western Africa (Fig. 10.1). This small island of only 17 hectares is one of the most controversial sites on the West African Atlantic coast. Over the past few decades, it has grown in popularity to become a site, where fragmented bodies of memories cluster and battle over the nature and significance of the Atlantic slave trade. It is a forum where popular culture competes and clashes with historical scholarship over the production and dissemination of knowledge on the infamous Atlantic slave trade.

Early European appraisals of the history of Gorée operated under the umbrella of colonial assumptions and interests, and as such were primarily concerned with European chartered companies, directors and personnel, European governors, and traders (Cariou 1966; Cultru 1910; Delcourt 1952; Machat 1906). These narratives focused on European colonial experiences in the island and their impact on the making of colonial and postcolonial society. The narratives essentially relied on a "parched documentary landscape" (Cohen and Odhiambo 1989: 16), in which non-European identities were barely visible.

It is only after independence in the 1960s that Senegalese, Africans, and African diasporas entered the debate; their arguments have often focused on the central role played by Gorée in the creation of global history from the fifteenth century, a role that was marked by the tragedy of the Atlantic slave trade. The emphasis on the trauma caused to black Africans in the New World by the Atlantic slave trade was quickly embraced by a popular culture whose memories of the tensions in colonial society were still fresh. This perspective developed and spread particularly from the heritage site in the island known as the Maison des Esclaves, or Slave House, which

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Fig. 10.1 Gorée Island, Senegal (photo by author)

has since played a critical role in engaging the public and countering the earlier Eurocentric narratives (Samb 1997). Yet, the contradictions within African societies and the extent to which domestic slavery was equally disruptive have generally been silenced (Thiaw 2008).

Our research project in Gorée was designed to break with both Eurocentric and counter-Eurocentric perspectives. It uses both archaeological and textual sources but rejects that either has an exclusive authority. The primary aim of the project was to clarify the role of power in the construction of the past and to scrutinize related evidence (archives, popular narratives, and material culture) from all sides of the power divide to explore how past practices have shaped "present sensibilities and possibilities" (Stahl et al. 2004: 96).

In particular, archaeological material evidence is used to evaluate the role of different identities inhabiting the island, including those traditionally marginalized in classic historical sources. Archaeological endeavor was conceived to provide a forum for greater equality and to become a venue for a more democratic knowledge by lending a voice to the voiceless and the disenfranchised.

Based on the results of our research project, this paper explores how groups of different races, ethnicities, nationalities, genders, and classes identify, appropriate, and consume archaeological remains and material culture in general in Gorée. In contrast to modern commemorations that purport to base their claims on fundamentally static power relationships between various groups, this paper seeks to demonstrate how these groups were actually caught in shifting power relationships. The first section of the paper examines the memory war in Gorée and shows how particular

sites, buildings, and features have been utilized by different identities to claim specific parcels of the island's past. These claims dwell generally on racial, gender, and class differences, but are also caught in modern economic power relationships that confer power and voice to some social groups while other groups, including indigenous slave descendents remain voiceless (Thiaw 2008). The second section of the paper explores the possibilities of writing a more inclusive history of the island on the basis of archaeological material evidence, which potentially makes it possible to transcend the old and present divisions, to find a place in history for all.

Archaeology, Commemorations, and Memory War in Gorée

As in most of sub-Saharan Africa, archaeology in Senegal is limited to the activities of a small initiated minority, basically a few professionals and their students in academia, museums, and other administrative cultural heritage offices. The closest local intellectual endeavor to archaeology is history, and therefore concerns about the archaeological past in many areas have been formulated from the standpoint of historians who tend to confuse archaeology with the remote prehistorical or proto-historical past, inaccessible in documentary and oral records. In Senegambia (the region encompassing the modern nations of Senegal and the Gambia), two patterns of public interest in the archaeological past have been noted: a limited or absent interest in prehistorical and proto-historical sites that are unclaimed and uncontested; and a greater consideration for historical sites for which an oral or written record is available and whose past is generally intensely claimed and contested (Thiaw 2003a).

The island of Gorée fits the second pattern, as it appears to be a forum where knowledge is shaped by the development of international tourism, the inscription of the island on the UNESCO World Heritage List, the production of scientific discourses, popular and historical narratives, each with its own marketing strategy, literature, and audience. Slavery and the slave trade dominate both historical and popular narratives, but the debate is often articulated in terms that are too general and is construed dogmatically (Roux 1996; Samb 1997).

The Gorean public has a different understanding of what archaeology is and does, but links with and interpretations of archaeological sites, architectural ruins and historic buildings, houses, and features are intensely claimed and negotiated (Samb 1997). As an urban setting with over five centuries of exposure to European writing, Gorée is also an African island with a culture of oral traditions. While most islanders were curious about our research project, many were soon disappointed by the "useless" bits of archaeological materials we collected. However, the excavation of human remains during the 2002 season received considerable attention and a myriad of conflicting interpretations. As a result, it was necessary to be extremely cautious in dealing with similar material evidence in the following season. For many Senegalese students, the project was the first opportunity to participate in or visit an archaeological excavation. Site tours were offered to many groups as part of our public outreach activities.

European travel to Gorée could be interpreted as a search for exotics, but perhaps also as a means to reconnect with a glorious colonial past. According to historical sources, Gorée entered the European sphere of influence in the fifteenth century, and that experience left profound scars on Gorean physical and cultural landscapes (Delcourt 1952). It is the memory of that legacy that still attracts European tourists who come to the island to rediscover old European architecture, European influences on dress style, language, diet, and material culture. European encounters that marked the history of the island are commemorated today in the form of street and building names, often at the expense of other non-European identities.

In Gorée, slavery is commemorated at heritage sites, such as the Maison des Esclaves, the Rue des Dungeons, and the Quartier Bambara (also known as the Bambara Slave Quarter). The Maison des Esclaves displays narratives detailing the lives of anonymous slaves for export who experienced captivity in West African slave warehouses, "the middle passage," the trauma of exile, the horror of plantation life in the Americas, gruesome death, survival, and extraordinary success stories in the present day. Over the years, the Maison des Esclaves has become a site of pilgrimage for the uprooted African diaspora in the Americas. Today, Gorée and its Maison des Esclaves are the most popular sites for national guests to Senegal to visit, and as such are an extraordinary source of revenue for Senegalese national tourism. At the same time, they are also places where many come to mourn or apologize for the loss of human lives forced into the Atlantic through the mythical "Door of no Return." Slaves supposedly passed through this door when they trod on African soil for the last time prior to their shipment to the New World (Fig. 10.2). Yet, census records surviving from the mid-eighteenth century in fact attest to the predominance of domestic slaves in the island, in particular females, as opposed to slaves for export. The life experiences of these domestic slaves have been largely silenced in popular narratives regarding the past of Gorée. Instead, modern commemorations tend to focus only on Afro-descendant diasporas, a local elite minority of *signares* (free African or Afro-European women), and European expatriates.

The Maison des Esclaves was built between 1780 and 1784 by Nicolas Pépin, the son of a rich *signare* named Catherine Baudet. Nicolas and his heiress Anacola may have owned domestic slaves, but there is little evidence to date to suggest that they were involved in large-scale trans-Atlantic trading in slaves. Therefore, the Maison des Esclaves in reality seems more suited to commemorate domestic slavery than large-scale export traffic.

The Rue des Dungeons, in contrast, recalls confinement and indicates the presence of slavery for export in the island, rather than domestic slavery. Late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century maps of Gorée show the presence of dungeons that were clearly associated with the confinement of slaves to be exported (Benoist 1997; Thilmans 1997). On the other hand, the Quartier Bambara was probably linked to domestic slavery, in the context of a segregated settlement; it is delineated on early eighteenth-century maps, but by the mid-eighteenth century racial boundaries in the settlement were considerably reduced (Thiaw 2008).

The development of postcolonial narratives in the 1960s did not suppress the commemorations of European colonists who had written the history of the island.

Fig. 10.2 The "Door of no Return" at the Maison des Esclaves or Slave House (photo by author)

Both the victims (slaves) and their alleged oppressors (Europeans, Afro-Europeans, and *signares*) were promoted. This ambivalent discourse was typical of the Senghorian regime in the early years of independence (Thiaw 2003a). African, European, and mixed-blood identities in Gorée were all celebrated, though in different ways and for different audiences. The development of postcolonial narratives to counter European-centered perspectives has in effect given greater visibility to the Afro-descendant diasporas and the *signares* at the expense of indigenous slave descendants who are still silenced, both locally and globally.

Archaeology for All and a Place in History

Unlike most discourses on Gorée, our research project aimed at examining the pre-European settlement, early contacts with Europeans, and the progressive incorporation of Gorée into the market economy of the Atlantic world. The focus of our research was to write an inclusive history that considers the contributions of all who came to the island, including those traditionally marginalized in textual and oral records.

Our archaeological research since 2001 has accumulated important data on the material culture and settlement of the island that has yielded insights into people's everyday lives and cultural interactions. Significant differences were noted in material remains,

chronology, the use and transformation of space, trade, subsistence and artisanal craft, and access to resources (Thiaw 2003c). While a strong French and European influence is generally perceptible in post-eighteenth-century deposits, our research questioned the nature, impact, and extent of European presence on the island prior to that period. Some of the findings of our research, which highlight the hybridity of different interests and identities that have characterized the history of Gorée, are summarized below.

The First African Settlement

At some time in the late first and early second millennium AD, a group of African sailors, probably from the Cap Vert peninsula, colonized the small island of Gorée. They settled permanently in the northwestern part of the island, where deeply stratified deposits representing their activities survive (Thiaw 2003c). Fish caught from coral reefs and sandy environments formed an important part of their diet, although domesticated animals, including cattle, goat, cat, and dog, and wild resources, such as rats and birds, were also consumed. The amount of fish consumed increased slightly by the eighteenth century. This change was probably due to technological innovations, in particular more sophisticated fishing nets and boats introduced by Europeans, which were present on the coast of Senegambia at that time (Lien 2003).

It is not clear whether the colonizers produced their own pottery or imported it from the mainland. Although no significant source of clay has been found on the island, pottery was dominant in the cultural remains recovered thus far. If pottery was manufactured on the island, it is probable that clay was imported from the interior. Pottery was used not only for cooking and storage, but also ritual practices. It is likely that many small vessels and *cymbium* shells containing miniature pots were manufactured for ritual purposes; these enigmatic features presumably represented an important marker of cultural identity, possibly attributable to coastal people prior to Islamization. Pottery forms and motifs shared similarities with those of the same period from the adjacent region inland (Descamps 1982; Thiaw 2003b). Corbeil et al. (1948) suggest that the production of this type of pottery coincided with the arrival and settlement of fishing communities on the island in the first centuries AD. The striking similarities between the pottery found in Gorée and that from the adjacent mainland indicate that the island was incorporated into and belonged to the same sphere of interaction as the mainland.

Gorée in the Atlantic World

Until the eighteenth century, the settlement in Gorée was still confined to the northwestern part of the island. It is commonly accepted that Portuguese seamen reached the Cap Vert peninsula and sighted Gorée around 1445, but never settled permanently in the island. Documentary sources indicate that they built a small church on the island to bury their companions who died on other parts of the West African coast. However, cultural remains or ruins attributable to the Portuguese have not been identified.

Some Portuguese sources claim that the island was not inhabited when the Portuguese seamen arrived there in the mid-fifteenth century, as they only sighted goats with long ears (de Zurara 1960). This leads to the question of what had happened to the earlier African settlers whose cultural debris has been unmistakably identified in the archaeological record. A clue to this question is that the layers between the pre-fifteenth-century African settlement and deposits containing material evidence of the contact with Europeans are characterized by massive termite nests, which may suggest occupation abandonment sometime around AD 1500 (Thiaw 2003c). If this is the case, then why did the African settlers abandon the island by that time?

Among many Senegalese coastal cultures, the ocean is a mysterious world where no one ventures without proper incantations, prayers, and sacrifices. Coastal people are reputed to be exceptional seafarers and fishermen, and a large part of their subsistence and ritual activities today are oriented toward the ocean. Given this, one might argue that the arrival of Portuguese seamen from unknown horizons beyond the deep waters, perhaps implying access to more powerful spirits, was so disturbing to the first occupants of the island that they chose to leave Gorée. There is little evidence of how long elapsed between the Portuguese first sighting of the island and its actual exploration, and it is possible that the Goreans observed them first and left the island before the Portuguese set foot on it. To date, there is no recognizable evidence of physical contact, or conflict between the two groups in the archaeological record. The fact that the Portuguese used Gorée as a burial ground may reinforce the hypothesis that the island was perceived to have become a place haunted by spirits from the deep waters of the ocean. There seems to have been a reluctance to inhabit Gorée until the arrival of the Dutch in 1627/1628.

Although today the religions of Islam and Christianity are strongly ingrained in the island, many Goreans also worship Maam Kuumba Castel, a water spirit possibly originating from earlier encounters with Europeans. Among the Wolof and Lebou populations, *Maam* refers to the spirit or the ancestor. Kuumba is a common local name, and Castel or Kastel is a Dutch word that designates the site perched atop the hill flanking the island at its southern end, where one of the Dutch strongholds, Fort Orange, was built. No excavation has taken place at the Castel as it is considered that the basaltic crust here would not facilitate the survival of cultural debris. Archaeological fieldwork in and around the area of Fort Nassau, on the lowland in the northwestern part of the island, revealed very few artifacts pertaining to the Dutch period of occupation. However, the fact that the Castel was incorporated into the local belief system is in itself an important legacy of Dutch cultural influence.

The Dutch claim to have purchased the island from a local fisherman from the interior with trinkets and a handful of nails (Boilat 1984 [1853]). They established the first European settlement on the island and built two forts: Fort Nassau in the northwestern part of the island and Fort Orange atop the Castel in the south. They gave the island the name Gorée, meaning good harbor, and occupied it until 1677, when they were ousted by the French. From an archaeological viewpoint, two important historical questions arise from the Dutch occupation. Firstly, why was Fort Nassau established exactly on top of the previous African settlement? Secondly,

why was only little material evidence of the Dutch occupation found in the course of several test excavations? That this locale had already been cleared by the first African settlers may explain in part why the Dutch built their fort there. Furthermore, the fact that the island was abandoned by African settlers prior to the arrival of the Dutch suggests that the bulk of trading activities may have been taking place elsewhere on the mainland.

Despite its access to fish and other maritime foodstuffs, Gorée as a whole is a barren island that depends on the adjacent mainland for water and food supplies. Certainly, the Dutch and later European settlers relied on the mainland for their supplies. This suggests that, excluding European materials used for domestic needs and other perishable remains which leave no visible trace in the archaeological record, the domestic debris left by the Dutch was in part indistinguishable from those of African settlers.

A more significant European presence appears in assemblages dated to the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a time when the island was under French control. By the second half of the eighteenth century, Gorée was mainly in French hands with interludes of British occupation in 1758–1763, 1779–1783, and 1804–1817. Although the British occupied the island for a much shorter period than the French, both had a profound impact on its landscape, the architecture, and material record. They contributed equally, along with multiple African identities, American, and other European nationalities, to the formation and development of a transnational identity on the island.

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, European trade goods, such as ceramics, nails, various metal artifacts, construction materials, and other items, including glass beads, gunflints, shotguns, wine, beer, liquor, glass perfume bottles, and tobacco pipes, grew considerably in the artifactual inventory throughout the island. The ubiquity of European imports, especially by the nineteenth century, signifies greater access to Gorée from Europe. This period is clearly marked by the development of new tastes for European imports, the variety of which suggests increased consumer choice in the island. However, in many cases European imports were adapted to African social needs and worldview. For example, a metal object recovered from one of the excavations and containing seven laterite nodules, two charcoal fragments, and possibly an old piece of folded paper was reminiscent of the miniature pots found in pre-European contexts (Thiaw 2008).

Archaeological records show that the consumption of locally manufactured pottery was predominant prior to the fifteenth century; it continued in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but decreased by over 50% while the amount of contemporary European ceramics in the assemblage grew. Despite that, the inland region of Senegambia continued to supply the growing multinational and multiracial population of Gorée with water and foodstuffs in exchange for European luxuries. African foodstuffs were processed in the African way, but in a manner that met the growing transnational tastes of Gorée. Boilat (1984 [1853]) noted that *signares* preferred to eat with a spoon while sitting on a mat on the floor in a group around the same bowl, probably with their domestic slaves. In contrast, Afro-European males adopted European eating habits, using a table. It is likely that the European plates found in

archaeological assemblages may have been class-related. The success of the *signares* has less to do with the adoption of European manners than their capacity to accommodate and adapt to them, enabling Europeans to feel more at home. In this regard, the acquisition of European material culture may have been very instrumental in reducing European culture shock while introducing it to the local way of life, a practice that is central to modern Senegalese hospitality known in Wolof as *teranga*.

Some trade imports had a major impact on the daily lives of the Goreans. Traces of alcoholic beverages, for instance, were recovered in most excavations, which suggest large-scale imports and consumption on the island. A case of alcohol poisoning caused by lead particles present in wine sold on the island is reported to have affected several people. Conflicts instigated by drunken men were also common, especially among the military personnel.

By the second half of the eighteenth century, Gorée grew rapidly as an urban settlement. This has important social implications, such as problems of security, supply, sanitation, public hygiene, and refuse disposal. Cases of theft and imprisonment were frequent. These problems were sources of profound social tension between different identity groups on the one hand, and with the colonial authorities on the other.

Architecture became an important marker of social identity. Building structures using hard materials (*en dur*, in French), such as stone or brick, was often considered a European influence and was associated with the elite. In contrast, straw or mud huts were considered African, and hence lower status (Hinchman 2006: 174). Although the number of houses *en dur* grew in the mid-eighteenth to twentieth centuries, several of them were reported to be in ruins by the late-nineteenth century onward. Many houses *en dur* became unstable, posed safety problems, and turned into sources of conflict between neighbors, islanders, and the colonial government. Such problems suggest that the permanence associated with European architecture was more imaginary than real. It is likely that in the initial phase of contact, African slaves who undertook most of the labor, including masonry were more accustomed to working in wattle and daub or straw architecture, rather than with stone or bricks. As Hinchman (2006: 182) pointed out, the so-called Gorean colonial architecture that emphasized European influences in fact "reveals the touch of workers and craftsmen, but not of an architect." The majority of these skilled craftsmen and laborers were domestic slaves, who left their imprints on the Gorean landscape and in the activities of everyday life.

Discussion: For an Inclusive History of the Island of Gorée

As shown above, the history of Gorée has been characterized by the multiple interests of groups with differing social status, as well as racial, cultural, and national identities. Over the years, each of these different identities has developed a selective commemorative agenda, which at the same time silences the experiences and memories of others. The question is: how to appreciate and commemorate the experiences and contributions of all, without marginalizing any? While race and power

have profoundly shaped the patterns of modern commemorations, they also mask the complex history of everyday life that was often marked by intense tensions and by negotiations between different identities jointly inhabiting the island. It is important that commemoration be appreciated on the basis of a lived past, as opposed to an imagined past. Although both are intertwined in a way that is difficult to disentangle, the materiality of the archaeological evidence forces inclusiveness, which can therefore foster new dialogues between different actors as they engage with archaeology and archaeologists.

In this endeavor, it is useful to consider and confront various kinds of evidence. Our research has cross-checked oral, written, and material sources in order to gain insight into everyday interactions among various identities in the island and their memories. While oral and written sources yield insights into historical conjectures, archaeological sources are suited to provide a material empirical basis to historical actions and patterns of behavior (Stahl 2001). Although all of the lived past does not leave visible material traces, fragments of it do. These traces could illuminate the experiences of all those who have lived in Gorée, including those marginalized by oral traditions and written documents. Archaeological sources also have the unique potential to transcend time barriers and examine both pre- and postcontact experiences in the island to evaluate the nature and patterns of changes and to delineate historical trajectories in a long-term perspective.

The development of the Atlantic system resulted in the formation of not only an African diaspora in the Americas, but also an African diaspora in Africa. Both were uprooted and held in bondage, though in different ways, and both shared the fate of a people whose freedom and dignity was confiscated. While most identities enumerated in present-day narratives have memories linked to Gorée, the nature, pattern, and timing of their contributions to the Gorean lived past is generally more complex. Available archaeological evidence suggests that Africans, not Portuguese, were the first settlers on Gorée. The Portuguese arrived much later and may have considerably disrupted the lives of earlier African settlers. The paucity of cultural debris traceable to the Portuguese and Dutch colonists suggests that their impact on the history of Gorée has been perhaps overstated in European written documents. European influences became archaeologically more visible with the French and British colonization period that began in the eighteenth century. The island was then a transnational urban center, home to multiple African and European identities, mixed-bloods, free and enslaved men and women.

Although in recent years there has been a growing interest in academic research on *signares*, Afro-Europeans, anonymous export slaves, and slavery in the Senegambia, domestic slaves are still excluded in modern commemorations (Barry 1998; Boulègue 1989; Brooks 1976, 2003; Curtin 1969; Mark 2002), and remain a "people without history" (Wolf 1982). Slavery is recognized in modern Senegambia (Klein 1989), although modern usage of the term "slave" does not truly index real slaves or slave descendants, but rather designates anyone acting without honor and dignity. The sociological implications of this are immense and somewhat unveil contradictions in the popular narrative of the Maison des Esclaves, which appears to be an elitist discourse tapping into the growing tourism industry but remaining

disconnected from the cultural realities of past and present everyday life on the island. The goal of our archaeological program in Gorée was intentionally to break with this tradition.

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Chapter 11
The Heritage Uncertainty Principle: Excavating Air Raid Shelters from the Second World War

Heather Burke, Alice Gorman, Ken Mayes, and Darren Renshaw

Introduction

For the last few years, archaeologists at Flinders University, Adelaide, and staff at a former military hospital have been on the trail of an elusive structure: a subterranean air raid shelter (or series of shelters) built in 1942 to protect the lives of doctors, nurses, and their soldier patients in the event of a Japanese air raid. The search has attracted enormous public interest, as well as the attention of conspiracy theorists, convinced that the air raid shelters conceal military surplus and other secrets. The project has involved professional archaeologists, students, hospital staff, patients, veterans, and members of the local residential community. However, despite the investment of resources in documentary research, oral history collection, geophysical survey, and excavation, archaeology has revealed few material traces of the shelters, stranding them largely in people's imagination.

This is not necessarily a negative. In the uncertainty of their absence, the shelters generate stories with egalitarian ease: everyone's recollection has an equal chance of being right. Every person who approaches the archaeologists or hospital administrators has something to offer the project. The process of inviting stories has deepened the connections people feel to the hospital and the place, reconnecting them to the wartime landscape of Adelaide. Unlike northern Australia, Adelaide never suffered air raids, and so the shelters remained unused for their original purpose. Enhanced by a public archaeology program in the present, the archaeological quest for the missing air raid shelters has created a "heritage community" of disparate people, united by their common desire to see these much-remembered and imagined structures.

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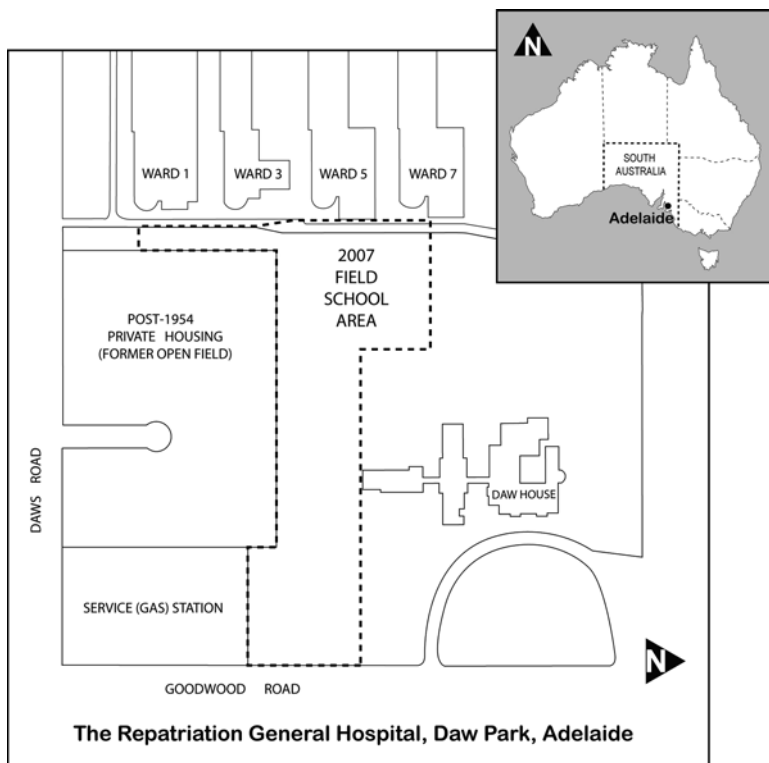
Fig. 11.1 The location of the Repatriation General Hospital and the Field School site

In Australia, the advent of legislation protecting Aboriginal material culture and requiring consultation with Aboriginal communities, coupled with Aboriginal critiques of colonial research practice, has created a robust and genuinely community-oriented archaeology, still contentious and under constant renegotiation, but indicative of far-reaching changes to the traditional power structures of archaeology. Historical archaeologists, dealing primarily with the material culture of European and other settlers in Australia, have had less incentive to engage with the community as equal partners. In part, this is because the ethical dilemmas of investigating other cultures in colonial societies are largely absent (Greer et al. 2002: 267). In part, it is also due to a general acceptance by the Euro–Australian community of the expertise of archaeologists supported by their institutional authority. But, as Greer et al. (2002) point out, communities are increasingly challenging this authority in the process of assigning significance to places in heritage management. In this paper, we explore some of the facets of doing archaeology in the community through the air raid shelter project at the Repatriation General Hospital ("the Repat") in Adelaide (Fig. 11.1). Wartime experiences created potent memories and new communities from fractures in the social order; our project can be seen as linking communities of the past and present through individual and social memories.

Theorizing Community Archaeology

In the archaeological literature, community archaeology and public archaeology tend to be used interchangeably; however, they are not necessarily the same thing. The term "public" is often used to describe an extension to an otherwise "pure" academic endeavor. In keeping with the notions of pollution that "pure" implies, it also carries connotations of the vernacular. "Public," in this sense, sets up a dichotomy between academic and popular that highlights the standard arc toward professionalization followed by many disciplines throughout the twentieth century. It was not until the advent of systematic heritage legislation in the 1960s and a concomitant increase in the number of academy-trained archaeologists working as public servants in the employ of federal, state, and local governments that the practice of archaeology was forced to shift outside its academic context. As a result, early cultural heritage management practice in Australia was the first activity to be labeled "public archaeology" (e.g., Sullivan 1984: v; Witter 1979), tapping into the necessity for public service archaeologists to interact with a nonspecialist client base. This tag was short-lived, however – perhaps because the tensions between professionally warranted archaeologists as stewards of a government-protected past and the people who variously desired to use, collect, or demolish that past only served to highlight the divide. More than three decades later "public archaeology" still implies a deliberate attempt to bridge a schism and could be interpreted as a "dumbing down" of archaeology to appeal to the masses.

Community archaeology, on the other hand, is slightly different: an archaeology where the research agenda is driven by the community. But what exactly is the community? Early sociological literature equated communities with residence in a geographic location, and compared rural or premodern communities (often theorized as ideal) with urban communities in which kinship was no longer a defining factor (e.g., Wirth 1964 [1938]). In Marxian theory, the capitalist social order alienates people from themselves and from the community (Megill 1970: 390): powerful economic and industrial forces operate against the formation and maintenance of communities at the local scale (Baumann 2001:144; Kaufman 1959: 8). According to Nisbet (1953: 7), this decline "has made ours an age of frustration, anxiety, disintegration, instability, breakdown, and collapse" – in other words, the postmodern condition.

For Appadurai (1996), one of the main symptoms of this decline is a growing sense of rootlessness as modern identities become less territorialized and the uncertainties of globalization break down formerly entrenched relationships with place. Within postmodernity, the development of faster transportation and telecommunications have exponentially expanded the space in which communities can exist (Kaufman 1959: 9), transforming this space into something outside of a literal geography. The opportunities this creates encourage people to live increasingly imagined lives, tempered by an imaginary sense of locality and distance (Appadurai 1996). There is a strong element of contemporary identity which reaches out to the past for its direction, but within this framework it is just as likely to be an "invented nostalgia," a connection to a past that never existed. In this context, anything which strengthens

communities and their relationship to place is seen as having social benefits in terms of individual well-being.

The importance of common action and collective goals emerges as a central facet in many explorations of community. Where groups form to protect or highlight local heritage, collective action is clearly important. But action is not necessarily a critical factor in the communities which emerge around archaeological activity in a local heritage place. People may have a shared attachment to a place or a memory, they may influence each other's understandings of the past, and they may value the support provided by the shared experience; but the communities which archaeologists identify as their clients do not fit easily into the classical sociological definition. In undertaking the air raid shelter project, we found ourselves examining how the community was constituted by the collective act of remembering.

The History of the Air Raid Shelters at the Repat

Plans for a new Military Hospital in Adelaide, South Australia, began in 1940. Located in a largely domestic and agricultural suburb, the Repat was not in an area considered "vulnerable" – that designation was reserved for the city center and the more heavily industrialized areas to the north. Even so, the Repat was identified as a hospital for air raid casualties, and had a responsibility to protect its staff and patients. Most air raid precautions fell under the heading of passive air defense (PAD) – any means for protection or the prevention of injury that did not involve attack. The Commonwealth committee responsible for all military base hospitals around Australia considered Passive Defence late in 1941, and decided on a standard set of regulations, including, among other things, slit trenches for patients and staff, adequate drainage for trenches and emergency lighting (Hospital Administration Committee 1941–1942).

By January 1942, construction of air raid shelters at the Repat was imminent, although not immediate, since a general shortage of labor complicated matters. The builders and architects had been having a great deal of difficulty finding labor for the work already commissioned: it was wartime, many able-bodied men had enlisted, and only "natural-born British subjects of good character" were permitted to be employed on "Secret Defence Works" (AP567/1 1941/4). By the middle of March, it was decided that the only possible course was to use the military's own engineering services. The shelters were subsequently built by military labor in late March 1942. The Lieutenant Maintenance Officer further elaborated on their construction: "[c]onditions were that the Architect was to supply Trestles (88 in all), the necessary roof timbers and 300 sheets of Galvanised Corrugated Iron, for riveting. This material has been delivered. The Garrison Engineer to supply all labor, curved iron for the roofs and the necessary sandbags" (105 Adelaide Military Hospital War Diary, App. I, McWaters to Laybourne-Smith, 24/3/42). No other information on the construction of the shelters has been located: both sets of architectural drawings for the trenches are missing from the archived set of hospital plans originally held
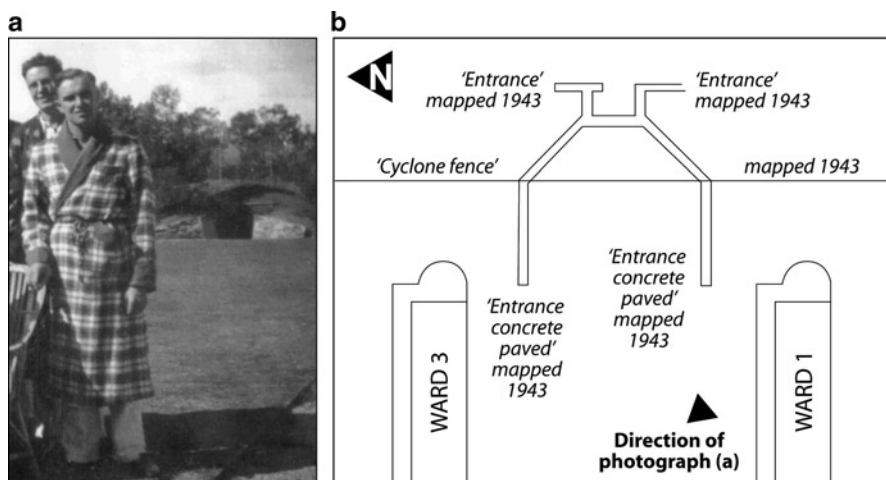
Fig. 11.2 (**a**) The only known photograph of the air raid shelters, c1942, showing the entrance between Wards 1 and 3; (**b**) The only known plan of the shelters showing the trench layout

by Works and Services (which otherwise are complete), and, although the architect refers to a letter describing their construction when enquiring how much they cost (NAA D618/99 M127, Laybourne-Smith to LeMessurier, 14/3/42), this, too, is absent from the file.

Clearly, none of the extant written descriptions refer to anything other than a covered trench: there is mention neither of reinforced concrete nor of internal fittings. The only known photograph (Fig. 11.2a) of the shelters shows one entrance between Wards 1 and 3 to have outwardly flaring concrete walls supported by sandbagged retaining walls, with the whole feature covered by a low earth mound. A set of 1943 surveyor's sketches show the shelter as a long U-shaped trench accessed via two concrete paved entrances behind the wards, with two smaller trenches providing rear exits (Sketch Book 1180 of Property and Survey Branch of the E&WS, GRG53/166, Unit 48) (Fig. 11.2b). The bulk of the trench system is located east of the wards and behind the then-new cyclone fence cordoning off the open field. No other connecting rooms or trenches are shown.

Little is known of the ultimate fate of the shelters. There is no documentary evidence for their removal or demolition, or the disposal of any contents. Given that the trenches presented constant problems of drainage and undesirable behavior (immediately after their construction the shelters had become the focus for "a congregation of undesirables" engaging in "drinking and unseemly conduct with…women" [105 Adelaide Military Hospital War Diary, AWM 52 11/2/20, 14/4/42]), it is unlikely that they would have been left open beyond their immediate use during wartime. An oral history recorded with a former earth moving contractor noted that in "around 1960" he had been responsible for delivering truckloads of fill to the area of the entrances, and later a D4 dozer and driver. Since his responsibility ended at

this point, he was unaware of exactly what the bulldozer driver did, but assumed that he had been employed to push dirt into or over the entrances. A close reading of aerial photographs of the shelter area suggests that they were still visible up until at least 1950, but that after 1958 no obvious surface features remained. It seems likely that the entrance paths to the shelters were bulldozed to the fence line when this area was landscaped sometime between 1949 and 1958. While the entrances were definitely on hospital-owned land, the bulk of the shelter complex lay in the adjoining field. The sale of this land for private housing from 1954 onward caused further, and finally total, obliteration of any surface traces of the air raid shelters.

The Archaeology of the Air Raid Shelters

The archaeological program at the Repat combined a range of techniques in search of the air raid shelters. Following detailed geophysical survey, seven trenches were excavated by hand, six excavated using a backhoe, and a further nine locations probed using a high-pressure water drill. The excavations were incorporated into an 8-day field school that was open to the staff and patients of the Repat, as well as the general public. More than 40 students participated in the field school and between 80 and 100 visitors became involved in the week-long archaeological program.

Despite the scale of excavations, and the depth of both the backhoe excavations and drill holes (over 2 m), only one trench (Trench 7) revealed any traces of the shelters. This was located at the rear of Wards 1 and 3, in a location initially excavated in 2004. This location revealed one of the original shelter entrances, the very same entrance as in Fig. 11.2. Trench 7 revealed a sloping concrete path running west–east, leading to two low, L-shaped retaining walls. Beyond the path was a gravel floor overlying a thin lens of builder's sand. The walls of the shelter were largely formed from the natural hard clay subsoil into which a timber framework had been placed, although only one section of this remained *in situ* at the edge of the path (Fig. 11.3). We infer that the interior floor of the shelter tunnel was timber, possibly slatted to enable water to drain through the layer of gravel to the bottom layer of sand. The tunnel walls were approximately 1.8 m (6 ft) high, and clearly continued east under the fence line of the adjoining property.

We know from historical documents that the trenches were constructed from a framework of jarrah overlain by corrugated iron, with curved corrugated iron sheets for the roof. The archaeology of Trench 7 clearly showed that any such superstructure had been completely removed prior to the trench being backfilled, at least on the hospital side of the fence. We also know from the historical record that air raid shelters in southern Australia were an extremely short-lived phenomenon. In August 1942, after a flurry of shelter-building across southern Australia that had only begun in late 1941, the Prime Minister ordered no more shelters be built and any projects to construct them stopped so that resources could be focussed on the more vulnerable northern part of the country (Lazzarini 1944).

Fig. 11.3 The only material traces of the air raid shelters: a concrete path, low retaining walls and the remnant of a single jarrah beam

Oral Histories of the Air Raid Shelters

Since the inception of the Repat project, we have collected more than 25 oral histories relating to the air raid shelters. There are three sets of oral histories that reflect a range of interactions with the site: the first from people who played in the air raid shelters as children in the 1940s and whose memories are filtered through the perceptions of childhood; the second from original staff of the Repat who worked there in its first three decades of operation (i.e., 1941–1943, and the late 1950s–1970); and the third from current or recently retired staff who worked at the Repat after 1970. A fourth set of interviews revealed former staff with no knowledge of the shelters, although some had stories of other supposed underground areas in the hospital. There is not enough space here to detail the components of each oral history, nor the many points at which they united and diverged. Suffice it to say that the earliest accounts of the shelters – remembered by those who had played there as children – described dark tunnels, sometimes with branching corridors and possibly interconnecting, with shelving and/or benches along the walls. The tunnels and entrances were located at the rear of the wards, although some informants also described rear entrances/exits slightly further to the east in what was then an open field.

The account of a former orderly employed at the Repat between 1941 and 1943, who was given the task of searching the air raid shelters for Absent Without Leave (AWL) patients, i.e., patients who had left the wards without permission, is the earliest account of an adult's experience. He remembered the existence of only one shelter which he described as very dark, about 8-feet wide and resembling a dugout. Other early staff did not encounter the shelters until the 1950s, and recount exploring the complex in more detail. A former gardener and groundskeeper who began work at the Repat in 1958 described two entrances: one between Wards 1/3 and one between Wards 5/7. The 5/7 entrance was sealed by a metal door flanked by brickwork, with a ramp that descended into the tunnels. To him the tunnels seemed to be set deep underground, with kerosene lanterns still hanging from the ceiling. Another former orderly who worked at the Repat after the war and up until the 1970s described four separate shelters – one per ward block and without connecting tunnels in between – although he himself only entered "a couple." He described each as a long tunnel, again with kerosene lights inside. The most unusual oral history from this period was provided by another former nurse who recounted entering the shelters in the early 1950s. His story described an extensive complex made of reinforced concrete, containing an underground operating complex with at least two fully set up theaters and two wards – one for recovery and one for a general ward, with a few beds in each.

All respondents with direct knowledge of the site described the shelters as consisting of a tunnel, or network of tunnels, with junctions and turns, and at least two entrances marked by low earth mounds. As generalized as this is, this is the most reliable evidence to come from the oral history program, since there is widespread agreement from the earliest accounts through to the latest and irrespective of the age of the informants when they encountered the site. Any attempt to flesh out details beyond this, however, immediately raises inconsistencies.

In terms of construction materials, for example, accounts (in chronological order) ranged from timber, or dirt reinforced with timber, to reinforced concrete, concrete and brick, and curved concrete. While many early accounts referred only to small moveable items or fixtures inside the shelters, two oral histories referred to an underground operating theater, although only one informant described seeing this for himself. The other recounted this as a story that had been told to him, describing an area with two old-fashioned fixed operating tables, and brighter lighting than the rest of the complex. While there is only one claim for an eyewitness to an operating theater, three other interviewees referred personally and separately to seeing beds inside the air raid shelters. One described these as "more like stretchers," some of which were moveable, others fixed, while another described seeing steel-framed bunk beds, bed pans, bottles, and instruments inside a shelter between Wards 1/3, when routine maintenance work accidentally broke through a buried brick wall. All other references to the contents of the shelters are anecdotal stories circulated among hospital staff rather than direct observations. One former nurse, for example, related stories told to him by older staff:

> We were told very clearly by some of the older senior nurses when I first started here that if needs be they could use them [the underground operating theaters] because everything was set up, the instruments, the trolleys, the trays were all there. Apparently when they were

sealed all the instruments had been covered in grease, wrapped in oiled cloth and put above whatever height so they could all just be taken off, … there would be no rust, they'd just be cleaned and used (Repat Interview #1, 24/8/05).

By the time current staff became aware of the site, no one had any direct experience of the shelters, although stories about their size, form, and content were still circulating. All of these later oral histories essentially describe the hospital folklore that has been constructed around the site, showing how the details have changed while the core of the story remains. These accounts describe three shelters, with entrances between Wards 1/3, 3/5, and 5/7, a rear tunnel located as far east as Goodwood Road and encountered during construction for the Service (Gas) Station on the corner of Daws and Goodwood Roads, with areas designed to accommodate 300 beds and containing a fully equipped surgical suite. Lined with corrugated iron and with curved ceilings, the shelters were also described in these interviews as being reinforced with concrete. One account described the shelter as having electricity, but with lights that only came on when the door was closed, analogous to the door of a refrigerator. The most extreme account came from a female former nurse who was interviewed during the field school. Her oral history referred to a shelter made from stainless steel, with an 8-in. thick stainless steel door, "compact with food and bedding … So you could always grab a blanket and curl up … it was … just huge inside" (Repat Interview #25, 23/9/07). According to her, the entrance was wide enough to accommodate 5–6 people abreast, with a wooden floor, an 8-in. thick stainless steel door operated by a push button, and air vents to circulate fresh air.

Most of the elements of these later oral histories do not tie into any known information from documentary or archaeological sources. In addition, many are highly unlikely given what we know about the circumstances of the shelters' construction and use. During the war, for example, stainless steel was an extremely valuable material in great demand for the munitions industry, and it is highly unlikely that it would have been used in any part of an expedient and quickly constructed air raid shelter at the Repat. Furthermore, given that PAD measures were deliberately incorporated into the construction of both the above-ground operating theater and the wards (the theater in particular was designed with a splinter proof wall and ceiling protection), there would have been no need to duplicate such facilities underground. Combined with this, the chronic shortage of labor throughout the Repat's construction would have made the installation of an underground operating theater impossible, and there is certainly no paper trail for such a feature in any expenditure records.

There are several other interesting patterns to the oral histories. Some aspects can be matched to what we know of the shelters from historical documents, such as the use of timbering, the location of the entrances, the mounding above the entrances, the directions of the tunnels, the junctions and right angles, and the interconnection of the tunnels into a U or H shape. Despite this, the accounts clearly become more elaborate over time. Early accounts from the 1940s describe only tunnels of dirt and timber with limited, if any, contents. The first mention of alternative construction materials arises in the early 1950s, along with mention of the fully functional underground operating theater. The operating theater story that resurfaces again as hearsay in the late 1950s/early 1960s has become a fixture of Repat lore by the 1970s

and 1980s, only to be further elaborated in response to the archaeological excavation in 2007. Most interestingly, at least three eyewitnesses claimed to have seen beds or other equipment inside the shelters. Given that these particular stories come from three separate people, they cannot be immediately discounted as hearsay, and it is not possible at this stage to reconcile the content of these stories with either the historical documents or the archaeological evidence.

Does the Truth Matter?

In one sense, it is possible to argue that some facets of the oral histories cannot be true in any objective sense (i.e., the use of stainless steel for walls and doors), while others must be considered highly unlikely (an underground operating room and underground wards for 300 patients). In another, it is also true that local narratives such as these tell us less about objective history and "more about how people construct their sense of place and cultural identity" (Bird 2002: 526). In this sense, people do not necessarily believe the stories (at least not in the literal sense this usually implies, i.e., by having seen or experienced it themselves), but nevertheless use them to constitute a small thread in the complex construction of their cultural identity (Bird 2002: 543). This is particularly important when those identities are tied to places, since one definition of a sense of place is a collective memory and tradition in the locality (Featherstone 1993: 177). These stories bind members of the same community together: once they begin to hear the stories, they are becoming a member of that community; when they begin to pass them on to others, they are consolidating their place within it (Lippard 1997: 50).

A key means by which narratives continue to have effect is through their performance: being told and retold, often with accompanying tests, ordeals, or journeys that transform the generic elements of the narrative into individual personal experiences (Bird 2002) – what Bird refers to as "the legend trip." The same former nurse who recounted stories told to him by older staff recounts a classic version of the legend trip:

> I didn't go in there because he was telling me terrible stories. … [y]ou wouldn't believe the sort of stories we used to get told – [that] there are probably some bodies here from the war, [that] this is where they put the people [who] died that shouldn't in surgery, all these sort of things that they tell young people when they first start in a hospital. And you never really knew what was true and what wasn't, and you didn't want to really take the chance, just in case there were some bodies! Stories that we were told when I first started here from the orderlies that had been here included that … there were four theaters down there, [and] the corridors were wide enough to hold a hospital bed and have another hospital bed pass them at a push. That there were ancillary rooms as well, that they were all fully equipped with instruments for surgery, with trolleys, supposedly [they] had kerosene lanterns, I think, rather than any electricity … They could hold 300 and something patients between three units at any one time (Repat Interview #1, 24/8/05).

It is important to note that stories of the shelters do not stand alone: one thing that the oral history program clearly revealed was the volume and extent of stories referring to a range of underground places at the Repat. We collected numerous references to tunnels between buildings, underground storage areas, secret holding cells,

underfloor sleeping areas, and hidden cache locations. These are enduring aspects of hospital folklore that create a subterranean "hidden" Repat to mirror the functions of the everyday workplace. Repat staff members Ken Mayes and Darren Renshaw personally followed up each of these leads, as well as investigating every possible hatch or manhole noted across the Repat complex. None proved positive: reputed "tunnels" turned out to be stormwater drains, "cellars" were exposed as crawlspaces for service access, and many areas claimed to have entry hatches showed no signs of any underfloor features. If tunnels had been installed, it is reasonable to assume that they would have been built before or during the main construction phase (1940–1942) and therefore would be indicated on existing plans and specifications. With the exception of Laybourne-Smith's plans for the shelters, all construction specifications for the Repat have been located and none show any evidence for underground areas. Tunneling would also have involved considerable expense and labor, neither of which is present in any expenditure reports. Despite their proliferation and resilience, none of these stories could be substantiated as true.

Memory

The archaeology of the two World Wars has perhaps engaged with memory more than any other kind of archaeology, although much of this has been concerned with memorials and other commemorative places (e.g., Blades 2003; Saunders 2001, 2003). In a sense, air raid shelters, like all passive defense measures, are a memorial to the civilian survivors so often overlooked in standard treatments of war. Air raid shelters reflect a common home front experience: fear of attack, the inability to fight back, the reliance on reaction, and the drawing of civilians – by definition noncombatants – into the arena of war. As such, they were an acute focus of community interest at the time of their construction and helped link people through shared fear – people interviewed for the Repat project recalled many civilian defensive projects across Adelaide, as well as a general sense of unease about what could happen once Japan entered the war. This original home front community is dwindling, however, as the personal experience of WWII recedes ever farther from the present. Increasingly, the shelters are becoming the focus for a different kind of community, united in the construction of memories about these structures rather than the actual experience of them.

There is a burgeoning interest in the operation of memory at the individual and community level, particularly "social memory" or "collective memory" as first defined by Halbwachs (1992 [1925]). Halbwachs argued that individual memory did not exist outside the social contexts that allowed it to be recalled, *contra* the Freudian idea of the unconscious as a repository for all past experiences (Olick 1999: 335). Social memory is inevitably bound up with the constitution of communities and their identity. The processes behind the construction of collective memory and its many social manifestations range along a continuum, from authorized public memory (orthodox memories from recognized authorities), to social memory (vernacular memories created spontaneously within a group of people), and social myth (memories of events that never occurred) (Delle 2008). We know from contemporary

sociologies of memory (e.g., Degnen 2005), anthropologies of landscape (e.g., Ingold 1993) and archaeologies of identity (e.g., Delle 2008) that absence can be as potent as presence. As Kuchler (2001: 62) argues, "we still customarily conceptualise the memorial's value as residing in the object or parts of the object, rather than the mental resources created through the object's disappearance."

A key factor here is that the veracity of memories is not at stake; there does not need to be an actual experience to realize memory. As Kansteiner points out (2002: 189), millions of North Americans share a limited range of stories and images from the Holocaust despite their lack of direct experience. Kelly (1995) has explored the intersection of memory with place:

> Places are held in sites by personal and common values, and by the maintenance of those values over time, as memory. As remembered, places are thus conserved … This conservation is at root psychological and, in a social sense, memorial. But if places are held inside us, they are not solipsistic, since they can be held in common. At a given threshold, our commonly-held places become communities … (Kelly 1995: 142).

Degnen's (2005) work in the English village of Dodworth is particularly relevant to our experience with the air raid shelter project. In talking to the "Doduthers," she became aware of the importance of places that no longer existed as effective landmarks for remembering people and events in the "memory talk" of the village. She found herself able, even as the villagers, to move through space with an awareness of an alternate yet present landscape of people and places which were invisible until invoked by the memory talk. Degnen's wide-ranging exploration of memory, place, and identity highlights the value that Western culture typically places on presence rather than absence: "The irony here is how absences and erasures, which are inversions of physical and present, become loci of memory, *or*, *rather*, *remain as* loci of memory, despite their connection to the physical reality being interrupted" (Degnen 2005: 740–741, emphasis added). What Degnen did not consider were the memories that were also social myths: the imaginative elaborations continually woven around absent places and invisible things. Social myth is the vehicle through which memories do, indeed, "*become*" loci, while also connecting to the loci that "remain" through social and public memory.

Delle's (2008) experience with the Underground Railroad is even more pertinent. Like the tunnels that are supposed to exist beneath the Repatriation Hospital, the Underground Railroad has generated countless stories of secret rooms and subterranean access ways. Delle's excavations at the Parvin homestead in Pennsylvania proved that no such tunnels existed; nonetheless, the story had such a hold on the local community's imagination that unrelated archaeological features uncovered during the excavations were co-opted to support the social myth. One of the main strengths of social myth is that it has little problem surviving in the face of contradictory evidence (Delle 2008), causing the Underground Railroad to exist simultaneously in all three forms of collective memory: through the authorized histories that have become the accepted narrative (public memory); through the spontaneous social memories preserved by descendant communities (social memory); and through the folklore that persists despite all evidence to the contrary (social myth). In a similar vein, the Repat's air raid shelters occupy more than one niche. The orthodox memory

of the shelters is their raw and streamlined trench shelter form: the simple galvanized iron and timber trenches that can be reconstructed from the documents and archaeological evidence. As social memory, the trench shelters embody the collective experience of those who lived, worked, and played in the Repat landscape during WWII, although in this realm the form and content becomes less fixed and immutable. At the same time, certain elements of the shelters have become pure social myth: their size, stainless steel or reinforced concrete construction materials, operating theater(s), and recovery wards all appear to be wholly imaginary. Paradoxically, it is these elements of social myth that have the most impressive durability, one that field work, compounded by the inability of archaeology directly to contradict them, and the many documented oral histories that elaborate them, have probably only served to reinforce, rather than diminish.

Conclusions

Why do the air raid shelters seem to invite the telling of stories? At a local level, it may be connected to the particular type of community epitomized by the Repat. Hospitals, as Blankenship and Elling observe (1962), support separate, semi-isolated communities:

> Each is the hub of a network of loyalties, commitments, and values which are specific to it … [with] volunteers, staunch adherents in the community, loyal workers, and devoted doctors, nurses and board members. This type of commitment … is generated by the organization itself as a cooperative, purposeful system with minimum reference to the larger community and power structure (Blankenship and Elling 1962: 267).

Analysis of oral histories shows that the shelters were far from forgotten in the aftermath of the war. Stories about them circulated among staff who joined the Repat much later, contributing to a sense of community that extended beyond the initial military constitution of the hospital into the present day civilian community. After the war, as the hospital became centered on veterans and the process of repatriation, connections to the past became more and more central to the process of defining its identity. The invented nostalgia generated across 60 years of Repat culture became a vehicle for constructing a popular cultural sense of place that bonded people to each other and to their workplace locality.

At a more general level, memory is vital to all forms of conceptualizing heritage, and the values given to the past in the present. If Appadurai's assessment of the fragmentation inherent in modern communities is accurate, then one of the key factors in strengthening a sense of community is fortifying their relationship to place. Irrespective of whether this involves "real" social memory or the invented nostalgia of social myth, community archaeology has the potential to forge such ties in a way that few other practices can. In this sense, then, social myth is as vital a force for community strength as any other kind of commemorative practice, although its distance from the orthodoxy of the archaeological past brings back echoes of the academic/public divide. Darvill refers to this very personal structure of knowledge

as contemplative knowledge: "beliefs and understandings that provide a basis for attachment to a place, time or event and … which contribute to a sense of identity and a place in the world" (Darvill 2007: 449, 451). He notes that people often are completely uninterested in other categories of knowledge, such as narrative knowledge, typified by the big picture truths of archaeology. Instead, people seek a different experience for their own personal reasons, however much we might wish to tell them otherwise or have them believe a different story. We echo Delle (2008) when asking, should archaeologists debunk such social myths when they function to unite communities?

Invisible, undiscovered, the Repat's air raid shelters have become a symbol that produces multiple meanings for many different people. Like the Loch Ness monster, the myth of the air raid shelters has been sustained by rare and contradictory sightings: we are left with the task of defining their character from half-remembered glimpses and parts that must then stand in for the whole. When certainty is removed, places can shift freely into social myth, as they become tied to the creative process of "dwelling in the landscape" (Ingold 1993) and the ways in which stories "allow listeners to place themselves in *relation* to specific features of the landscape, in such a way that the meanings may be revealed or disclosed. Stories help to open up the world, not to cloak it" (Ingold 1993: 171, emphasis in original). From this perspective, the presence of actual air raid shelters is not vital for demonstrating the success of the project. The void left by the shelters is the space where we can value the contributions of all equally. The shelters conceal Schrödinger's cat, at this moment neither alive nor dead. To excavate the shelter categorically would be to collapse the wave function of memories, stories, images, into a single particle: measurable certainly, but ultimately less rich, and perhaps less meaningful, than the state of uncertainty.

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Chapter 12
Archaeology Dreaming: Postapartheid Urban Imaginaries and the Remains of the Prestwich Street Dead[1]

Nick Shepherd

"All that is buried is not dead"

– Olive Schreiner, *The Story of an African Farm*

Ten years and more after the political transition of 1994 South African archaeologists found themselves at the center of a divisive and bitterly contested public dispute.[2] At stake was the fate of an early colonial burial site in Prestwich Street, Green Point, a rapidly gentrifying district of Cape Town close to the Waterfront, the city's glitzy international zone. The Prestwich Street exhumation has been a moment of truth for South African archaeology. It is also – in my telling – a story of failure and of lost opportunities. That is, a failure in a quite specific sense on the part of the heritage managers in the newly reconstituted South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA), and in a general sense on the part of the discipline of archaeology in South Africa.

Archaeologists generally defended the exhumations in the name of a notion of instrumentalist science, distanced from broader issues of culture and society. They tended to be resentful of public intrusion into what they construed as a contractual relation with the developer, and a technical exercise in recovering the "facts in the

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ground." For their part, SAHRA's heritage managers showed little political will to take on entrenched interests in the city, or creativity in acknowledging the trauma of both the deep and more recent pasts. Instead they opted for a narrow, and at times questionable, interpretation of the heritage legislation. Both archaeologists and key SAHRA officials acted with a concerted, at times bewildering disregard for broader discourses of restitution and reconciliation, as though archaeology takes place outside of history, or as though the unrequited yearnings and energies of the past are an inconvenience to heritage managers that must be neutralized, instead of being the very stuff and substance of the making of the new nation.

Writing in a special issue of the journal *Public Culture* focused on Johannesburg, Achille Mbembe says: "Our sense of urban totality has been fractured – hence the juxtaposition of different images, memories of a past rejected or fantasized. Specific historical objects are ripped out of their context even as the state busily tries to memorialize and museumize, to build new monuments and historic landscapes that are supposed to bring together different fragments of the nation" (Mbembe 2004: 404). According to Svetlana Boym: "In cities in transition the porosity is particularly visible; it turns the whole city into an experimental art exhibit, a place of continuous improvisations …" (Boym 2001: 77). Porosity, continuous improvization, fractured urban experience, objects ripped from their contexts, fragments of the nation, the unquiet and resurfaced dead, a useful set of notions to take with us as we consider the case of the Prestwich Street dead.

Time-Line Prestwich Street

Green Point is a part of Cape Town strategically located between the central business district and the new waterfront development at Cape Town's harbor. For much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it lay outside the formal boundaries of the settlement, a marginal zone which was the site of the gallows and place of torture, situated on a prominent sand dune. It was also the site of a number of graveyards, including the graveyards of the Dutch Reformed Church and the military, and of numerous undocumented, informal burials. Those buried outside the official burial grounds would have made up a cross section of the underclasses of colonial Cape Town: slaves, free-blacks, artisans, fishermen, sailors, maids, washerwomen and their children, as well as executed criminals, suicide deaths, paupers, and unidentified victims of shipwrecks (Hart 2003). In the 1820s, Green Point was subdivided and sold as real estate, in time becoming part of the densely built urban core. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, black and colored residents of Green Point were forcibly removed, and relocated to the bleak townships of the Cape Flats, a series of events which have entered popular imagination via the fate of the residents of District Six, on the other side of the city. Green Point is currently undergoing a process of rapid gentrification, driven by escalating property prices. For many former residents, this means that even as the political space has opened up in which they might reacquire property in the city center, so they face new forms of economic exclusion.

In mid-May 2003, in the course of construction activities at a city block in Green Point bordered by Prestwich Street, human bones were discovered. The developer, Ari Estathiou of Styleprops Ltd., notified the SAHRA in accordance with the newly passed National Heritage Resources Act (Act No. 25 of 1999), and construction was halted. Also in terms of the Act, the developer appointed the Archaeology Contracts Office (ACO), a University of Cape Town affiliated contract archaeology unit to do the archaeological investigation. The ACO applied for and was issued a permit by SAHRA for a "rescue exhumation of human remains" (SAHRA 2003b). This was not the first such exhumation in Green Point. In 1994, the ACO had been involved in the excavation of an unmarked burial site in Cobern Street, a short distance away (Cox 1999). The Act provides for a 60-day notification period and for a public consultation process. Antonia Malan, a UCT-based historical archaeologist, was contracted by the ACO to run the public consultation process, which she did in the name of the Cultural Sites and Resources Forum (CSRF), an advocacy organization with a track record of involvement in heritage issues. The SAHRA is the national statutory body in charge of the protection and management of heritage resources in South Africa, and replaces the apartheid-era National Monuments Council.

On the 11 June, exhumation of the bodies began. Seven weeks later, on the 29 July, a public meeting was held at St Stephen's Church in central Cape Town. At this point, the remains of approximately 500 individuals had been exhumed. Most bodies were shallowly buried without grave markers or coffins. Earlier burials were intercut by later ones. The site was fenced with wire-link fencing and was open to public view. Estimates of the total number of bodies stood at 1,000 (up from an initial estimate of 200), on the 1,200 m^2 site. In the mean time, a Special Focus Reference Group (SFRG) had been set up, mainly of UCT-based archaeologists and human biologists. Malan and the SFRG framed the agenda for the public meeting in terms of consultations regarding the relocation of the bodies and the memorialization of the site. Judith Sealy, an archaeologist on the SFRG, presented a proposal which she envisaged reinterment of the bodies "in individual caskets, in a crypt or mausoleum." This would be a place where "one could honor the dead" while allowing "access to the skeletons for careful, respectful, scientific study, by bona fide researchers" (Sealy 2003).

The public response was angry. The minutes of the first public meeting record "[a] general feeling of dissatisfaction, disquiet and disrespect" (Malan 2003). Questions were asked as to why the demolition permit had been approved without the requirement of an archaeological survey, why the exhumations had continued through the 60-day notification period, and why the first public meeting had come so late in the process. Opposition to the exhumations came from several quarters: community leaders, many of whom had been active in the struggle against apartheid; Christian and Muslim spiritual leaders; academics from the historically black University of the Western Cape (UWC); heritage-sector NGOs; and Khoisan representatives. Zuleiga Worth, who identifies herself as a Muslim Capetonian, said "I went to school at Prestwich Street Primary School. We grew up with haunted places; we lived on haunted ground. We knew there were burial grounds there." "My question to the City is, how did this happen?" (Malan 2003: 5) Joe Marx said: "These bones

are not unknown, they're known. These people were descendants of people in the Cape." (Malan 2003: 6) Zenzile Khoisan said: "… these archaeologists, all they want to do is to dust off the bones and check them out with their scientific tests and to put them in the cupboard!" Storming out of the hall he shouted: "Stop robbing graves! Stop robbing graves!" (Malan 2003: 6).

On 1 August 2003, SAHRA announced an "interim cessation" of archaeological activity on the site until 18 August, to allow for a wider process of public consultation. This was later extended to 31 August. On 16 August, the CSRF convened a second public meeting. It also collected submissions by telephone, e-mail and fax as part of its mandate of public consultation. Just over 100 submissions were collected. Mavis Smallberg from Robben Island Museum said "my strong suggestion is to cover up the graves … Apart [from] the recently renamed Slave Lodge, there is no other public space that respectfully marks or memorializes the presence of slaves and the poor in Cape Town society … Only scientists are going to benefit from picking over these bones – of what purpose and use is it to the various communities to which the dead belong to know what they ate 150 years ago or where they came from?" (Smallberg 2003). Imam Davids wrote on behalf of the Retreat Muslim Forum to say "[we] view the work and approach of the CSRF, based at UCT, with dismay …" (Davids 2003).

On the other side, there was a sharp reaction against those who had been critical of the process, and against the growing antiexhumation lobby. A comment by the UCT-based human biologist, Alan Morris, is logged as follows: "Members of public/ prominent academics (especially UWC) suggested development stop and site is made into memorial. They have totally misjudged the reason for having a public process. NOT opportunity to control development of the city, but IS opportunity to join process of memorialisation … don't let pseudo-politicians benefit at [our expense]" (Malan 2003: 4).

On 9 August, the synod of the Cape Town diocese of the Anglican Church, under the leadership of Archbishop Njongonkulu Ndungane, the successor to Desmond Tutu, unanimously passed a resolution condemning the exhumations and calling for "[the] appropriate institutions and organizations to be guided by African values and customs with regard to exhumations, burials and cemeteries," and for "[our] government, though its heritage agency … to maintain the integrity of the site as that of a cemetery" (Wheeder 2003).

On 29 August, SAHRA convened a third public meeting at St Andrew's Church in Green Point "to wind up the public participation process" (SAHRA 2003a). The verbatim transcript of the meeting records a number of comments from the floor. An unnamed respondent said: "There is this kind of sense that it is a *fait accompli*. There were 60 days. The 60 days are over, now it's will the developer be kind enough to us. Now to me this is not about the developer. This is about those people lying there and the people that were part, historically, of that community … [the interests of the developer] must be of secondary importance. The same with the archaeologists as well … they have a social responsibility first before they have a responsibility towards the developer" (SAHRA 2003b: 15–16). Another respondent

said "there are multiple implications for this burial ground and its naked openness in the center of the city … in this city there's never been a willingness to take up [the issue of genocide and the] destruction of human communities that were brought from across the globe … This is an opportunity to get to the bottom of that and time means different things to different people, institutions, stakeholders. Time for the dead – we need to consider what that means" (SAHRA 2003b: 17–18).

Michael Wheeder, who was later to play a central role in the Hands Off Prestwich Street Ad Hoc Committee, said:

> Many of us of slave descent cannot say "here's my birth certificate." We are part of the great unwashed of Cape Town … The black people, we rush into town on the taxis and we need to rush out of town. At a time many decades ago we lived and loved and labored here. Nothing [reminds us of that history] … and so leave [the site] as a memorial to Mr. Gonzalez that lived there, Mrs. de Smidt that lived there. The poor of the area – the fishermen, the domestic workers, the people that swept the streets here. Memorialize that. Leave the bones there … That is a site they have owned for the first time in their lives *het hulle stukkie grond* (they have a little piece of ground). Leave them in that ground. Why find now in the gentility of this new dispensation a place which they have no connection with? (SAHRA 2003b: 18–19).

On 1 September, despite a clear weight of opinion at the third public meeting opposed to the exhumations, Pumla Madiba, the CEO of SAHRA, announced a resumption of archaeological work at the site. In a statement to the press, she said: "[out] of respect the skeletons will be moved." She said: "Many of the people who objected were highly emotional and did not give real reasons why the skeletons should not be relocated (*sic*)" (Kassiem 2003: 1).

On 4 September, the Hands Off Prestwich Street Ad Hoc Committee (HOC) was launched. At this point, opposition to the exhumations shifted outside the officially mandated process of public consultation, to civil society and the politics of mass action. On 12 September, the Hands Off Committee lodged an appeal with SAHRA calling for a halt to the exhumations and "a full and extended process of community consultation" (HOC 2003). The appeal document notes that "[for] a large section of Cape Town's community, whose existence and dignity has for so long been denied, the discovery and continued preservation of the Prestwich Street burial ground can symbolically restore their memory and identity." It continues "[the] needs of archaeology as a science seem to have been given precedence over other needs: the needs of community socio-cultural history, of collective remembering and of acknowledging the pain and trauma related to the site and this history that gave rise to its existence." In opposing the exhumations, it argues that "[exhumation] makes impossible a whole range of people's identifications with that specific physical space in the city. Such a removal echoes, albeit unintentionally, the apartheid regime's forced removals from the same area" (HOC 2003: 8).

The 23 October was set as the date for a tribunal hearing to consider the appeal. In the run up to the hearing the Hands Off Committee organized regular candle-lit vigils at the Prestwich Street site on Sunday evenings. A billboard was erected outside St George's Cathedral, a symbolic site of antiapartheid protest, with the slogan: "Stop the exhumations! Stop the humiliation!" Lunchtime pickets were held in the

city center. On 19th November, the SAHRA-convened Appeals Committee handed down a written ruling. The excavation permit awarded to the ACO was revalidated and the rights of the developer upheld. The Hands Off Committee reconvened as the Prestwich Place Project Committee (PPPC) to launch an appeal directly to the Minister of Arts and Culture. A letter of appeal was lodged with the Ministry on 12 January 2004. Supporting documents call upon the Minister to expropriate the site and "to conserve Prestwich Place as a National Heritage Site" and a site of conscience (PPPC 2003). The vision of the PPPC was to preserve the Prestwich Street site as a *vrijplaats*, an open space for memory and identity. The term is Christian Ernsten's, a graduate student in the Center for African Studies at the University of Cape Town who followed events closely. He writes: "The Dutch word means something in between the English 'shelter' and 'free zone,' a space of security and creativity at the same time" (Ernsten 2006).

By this stage, all of the human remains on the original site had been exhumed and were in temporary storage in Napier House, a building on the adjacent block, itself to be demolished as part of the Prestwich Place development. During the SAHRA appeal process, the ACO had applied for permits to disinter human remains believed to occur under West Street, and the adjacent block containing Napier House. This was expected to result in the exposure of a further 800–1,000 bodies. On 21 April 2004 – Freedom Day in South Africa – the remains were ceremonially transferred from Napier House to the mortuary of Woodstock Day Hospital, on the other side of the city. Some of the remains were carried in procession through the city center in eleven flag-draped boxes, one for each of the official language groups in the country. Muslim, Christian, and Jewish religious leaders blessed the remains in a ceremony at the site prior to the procession. On 22 July, the developer was informed that the appeal to the Minister had been dismissed and that construction activities on the site could continue. Terry Lester of the PPPC was reported to be "deeply saddened." He said: "We're acting the whore in this instance, bowing down to the god of development and selling a segment of our history" (Gosling 2004: 1).

Subsequently, the focus of attention has shifted to issues of memorialization and access. On 6 April 2005, two of Morris's graduate students, Jacqui Friedling and Thabang Manyaapelo, made a presentation to a combined meeting of SAHRA and the PPPC as part of an application to conduct basic anatomical research on the Prestwich Street remains. Their application was turned down, mainly on the basis of a negative response form the PPPC. In response, Friedling said: "SAHRA has denied all South Africans the right to know about their heritage … The information we can get from these bones will make these people come alive again" (Gosling 2005).

Points of Fracture

A starting point for my own reading of these events is the notion that Prestwich Street constitutes a "point of fracture" (Edwards 2001; Hayes et al. 2001) through which might be glimpsed the working out of a range of forces and interests in

postapartheid society. These forces and interests have not only to do with issues of culture, identity, and memory, but also with issues of citizenship, the possibilities and limitations of participatory politics, and the emergent shape and nature of a postapartheid public sphere. In this sense, there is more at stake than the ultimate provenience of the Prestwich Street dead, important as this is as an issue. It is through the unfolding of events around Prestwich Street that we catch the drift of contemporary practices and guiding ideas, that we descry the future.

A number of interesting divisions emerged, as it were, at the sharp end of the trowel at Prestwich Street. One was in the different institutional responses of the two public universities most closely tied to events, the historically black University of the Western Cape and the historically white University of Cape Town. UCT-based scholars were generally proexhumation. In the early days of work on-site, the institution championed the excavation as a research opportunity. UCT provided most of the specialists that sat on the SAHRA-appointed SFRG. More recently, Alan Morris has become the most widely quoted UCT-based scholar in the public media on the matter of Prestwich Street (for example, in a statement in September 2005 describing the HOC/PPPC as a "small, very vociferous, very bitter" group) (Gosling 2005). UWC, on the other hand, has been a significant source of support for the HOC, as well as being the institutional base for the majority of scholars critical of the handling of the site by SAHRA and the ACO. In part, this reflects disciplinary differences. UCT's response was led by archaeologists and human biologists. At UWC, which has no department of archaeology, the response was led by historians in the Department of History and the Institute for Historical Research.

As well as differences between institutions, there were significant differences within institutions, with key individuals playing a role in determining institutional responses in different periods. A close reading of the transcript shows the extent to which Janette Deacon, a trained archaeologist and chair of the relevant permitting committee, and Mary Leslie, the head of archaeology at SAHRA, were responsible for orienting SAHRA's institutional response in the crucial period leading up to the first public meeting. Two features of this response are of particular significance. The first is the manner in which the notion of total exhumation came to be accepted by SAHRA and the SFRG at an early date not only as a preferred option, but as a given. This was despite the fact that the National Heritage Resources Act explicitly provides for the possibility of nonexhumation in the case of contested sites. The second is what has been termed the "archaeologising" of the research process around Prestwich Street: that is, the extent to which the problem was framed as an archaeological one, to the exclusion of other methodologies and forms of investigation, notable social history, and oral history.

Finally, a number of tensions emerged between national and regional heritage priorities which are instructive to the extent that they cut to the heart of issues of race and class at play in the events around Prestwich Street. It has been suggested that one of the reasons why the PPPC failed in its appeal to the Minister was that this was seen as a "Cape" issue, tied to Colored identity politics. In a South African context, the notion of Coloredness denotes a complex amalgamation of creole or mestizo identities, with the descendants of Khoisan groups and people imported as

slaves from the Dutch possessions at Batavia. The creolized nature of identity politics at the Cape, much like the hybrid nature of Prestwich Street site, with its hotchpotch of the urban poor, is in tension with national heritage priorities articulated in terms of "Africanisation," and accounts of essentialized (black) African cultural histories. Thus, it is relevant that most of the archaeological contractors and students who worked on the site are white, and that many of the activists of the HOC are colored, just as it is relevant that the CEO of SAHRA at the time and the Minster of Arts and Culture are black and that the developer is white. However, rather than finding in the events a simple fable of racial antagonism, they arguably represent a more complex convergence between new (black) and historical (white) elites, and the continued marginalization of black and colored urban working class histories.

More generally, they speak of a conception of heritage in postapartheid South Africa which remains essentialized around the inverted terms and tropes of colonial discourse: in which the "blackness" of "Africa" replaces the whiteness of apartheid. Part of the value of Prestwich Street – a value whose loss we may only see clearly in the years to come – was in reminding us of the essential nature of Cape Town as a creolized and cosmopolitan place, an entrepot and incipient world city in the globalism of colonialism. It was this conception of Cape Town that was replaced by the apartheid conception of the *moederstad* (mother city), a little bit of Europe on the dark tip of Africa. And it was the practice of forced removals, like the forced removals that affected the black former residents of Green Point, that gave form to this conception.

Rival Languages of Concern

Perhaps more than anything else, Prestwich Street presents itself as a struggle over language. We encounter Prestwich Street through a substantial, and growing, archive, which takes the form of records, minutes, reports, transcripts, submissions, film recordings, photographs, reminiscences, e-mail exchanges, and so on.[3] One thinks of the different theaters or spheres of performance through which events were played out: the theater of excavation, framed by the wire-link fence, with its crowd of curious onlookers; the theater of public consultation, with its more or less conscious echoes of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission process; the theater of street protest, with its more or less conscious echoes of the antiapartheid movement.

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[3]Part of the story of Prestwich Street is the story of the dispersal and proliferation of sources. At the same time, the status of these sources is ambiguous, existing as they do in a semipublic domain, or in a public/private domain. I would like to place on record my appreciation of the role played by Antonia Malan, and by Andre van der Merwe, the Project Facilitator acting for the developer, in allowing substantial access to their personal archives on Prestwich Street. SAHRA, a publicly accountable body, only allowed me to copy material from their archive after protracted negotiations, and after I had signed a release form saying that I would not use the material to "perjure" the organization or its representatives.

At an early stage, two distinct and opposed discourses emerged: on the one hand, the institutionally situated heritage management discourse of the proexhumation lobby; on the other hand, a nascent or emergent public heritage discourse based on an empathetic identification with the dead, and the needs of social restitution and reconciliation. Each, in turn, gave rise to what might be termed rival languages of concern. Those arguing for exhumation did so on the basis of the scientific value of the remains as a source to access "hidden histories." The proposal circulated by the SFRG at the first public meeting states: "These skeletons are also – literally – our history, the ordinary people of Cape Town, whose lives are not written in the official documents of the time. They did not leave possessions or archives. If we want to recover their history, then one of the most powerful ways to do so is through the study of their skeletons" (Sealy 2003: 1). In this case, the semantic slide from "our history" to "their history" is instructive.

A number of tropes emerged and were recycled by archaeologists throughout the process. At the second public meeting, Belinda Mutti, an archaeologist, argued in favor of exhumation "to give history back to the people" (Malan 2003: 12). Liesbet Schiettecatte argued that "[leaving] bones leaves information unknown. Studying them brings them back to life …" (Malan 2003: 13). Mary Patrick argued to "[continue the] exhumation – otherwise half a story is being told" (Malan 2003: 13). At a public level, this desire to "give history back to the people" and "bring the bones to life" was mediated by the technical discourse of cultural resource management, with its rituals of "public consultation," and its circumscribed notions of value, need, and interest. The double valency given to notions of "respect" and "dignity" by SAHRA and others had its counterpart in a pragmatic language focused on "real reasons," "sensible decisions," and the fact that "life must go on."

In opposition to this discourse, the Hands Off Committee emphasized the language of memory and personal reminiscence. They sought to articulate an alternative set of values (African values, spiritual values), and alternative notions of space/time (the notion of the site as a heritage site or a site of conscience; and in one memorable intervention, the notion of "time for the dead"). They insisted on recalling a more recent past of apartheid and forced removals, as well as a deep past of slavery and colonialism. More generally, they sought to insert the events at Prestwich Street into a prevailing debate in postapartheid society around notions of truth, reconciliation, and restitution. Building on this, it is possible to observe a number of instructive convergences in the events around Prestwich Street. The first is a convergence between the practices of troping that I have described and a positivist conception of archaeology as science, resulting in the production of observable data and "information." The notion of history that emerges – the history that is to be "given back to the people" – becomes severely curtailed, as essentially archaeological data relating to the provenience of the burials and physical, chemical, and anthropometric measurements of the bones themselves.

A second convergence is between the discourse of cultural resource management and a political strategy of containment. Particularly instructive in this case, I would argue, was the manner in which the language and practices of CRM actively discouraged the emergence of radically new identities and refigurings of the public

sphere, through a narrowed conception of need, interest, value, and the mechanics of public participation. The notion of "heritage" that emerges is itself narrowed and ambivalent, internally divided between the promise of individual restitution and reconciliation and the practice of restricted access and bureaucratized control.

For myself, writing as an archaeologist in South Africa with a position on Prestwich Street that is different from the majority of my colleagues, in that I have been opposed to the exhumations, and supportive of the arguments of the HOC, what has interested me most in the events around Prestwich Street has been the glimmer of an alternative set of possibilities – of "newness" – present in the discourse of the HOC. Prestwich Street encourages us to revisit and reexamine core disciplinary practices and ideas, and to consider alternative ways of knowing the archaeological past, and approaching the problematics of heritage and memory in postapartheid society. It raises the possibility of alternative archaeologies, even of alternative epistemologies. We associate archaeology with a radical – a prying – "will to knowledge," every excavation a mini-enactment of the Enlightenment injunction to know, to uncover. Prestwich Street makes the argument for an alternative kind of archaeology: an archaeology of silence, of secrecy, of closure (rather than disclosure). Adapting a term from Derrida, the archaeologist Keisuke Sato has written of "archi-violence" as the violence done against sites and remains in the process of archaeological investigation (Sato 2006). This violence is physical and material, but it is also disciplinary and epistemological, the violence of certain methodologies and of certain ways of knowing.

How has the archi-violence of Prestwich Street differentially affected the communities of the living and the dead? In what sense do physical and chemical measurements of human remains and notes on their provenience constitute history, and more specifically a history which is "given back to the people" as "their history"? Are there cases in which the current of sympathy between the living and the imagined community of the dead might be more profound in the absence of such information? How do we mediate between the multiple possible ways of "knowing the past" in the case of a site like Prestwich Street, beyond simply asserting the priority of archaeology as science? As archaeologists in the postcolony how do we take account of the discipline's own history – its gaps and silences, its unexamined practices – in formulating our approach? Do we enter the debate from the perspective of the priority of positivist science, flourished like a banner before us, or more modestly, as belated arrivals at a society-wide discussion on science, citizenship, and accountability? The events around Prestwich Street raise a tangle of epistemological and ontological issues, but these resolve themselves around a simple set of questions: Are the bones of the Prestwich Street dead artifacts? Or are they ancestors? And under what conditions might they be both?

In an immediate sense, there were a number of things at stake at Prestwich Street, and not the least of these is the nature of archaeology as a discipline in the postcolony. The surfacing of the buried dead is always experienced as a traumatic moment, as an eruption into the fabric of the present of the past in its most literal and inescapable aspect. But it is also a moment that takes us to our deepest selves and, socially speaking, confronts us with profound energies. In a transitional social context (and

what society is not in transition?), these are among the energies that transform us and the society of which we are a part, that aid us in our task of "becoming." Perhaps, after all, Prestwich Street describes what the historian Premesh Lalu has called a "history of the present" (rather than a history of the future). By this, he means that the condition of postcoloniality requires a form of history that constantly interrupts and unsettles the present, especially the narratives of the "nation" (Lalu and Harris 1996). Swirling, heterodox, contested: the energies of the Prestwich Street dead are still among us. For the living, the task becomes how to interpret these energies as a force for the good rather than as a threat, how they might be harnessed to generate not only heat but light, and a greater understanding of the place in which we find ourselves as fellow citizens who stand on opposite sides of a divided history.

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Chapter 13
Archaeology by the (Far) East in the West: What Do Local People Think If Japanese Archaeologists Excavate the "Villa of Augustus" in Italy?

Akira Matsuda

Introduction

Since archaeology was established as a discrete field of study, a certain proportion of archaeological excavations have always been carried out by "foreigners," or experts from outside the country where the material remains to be investigated lie. With the progress of globalization, an increasing number of archaeologists have crossed borders for their work, and today it is no longer unusual for them to go abroad to initiate and undertake an excavation project.

Rationales for these international projects are usually presented in scientific terms: for example, the importance of studying specific types of structures or objects that can be found only in certain parts of the world. Here, the question of where archaeologists come from is often disregarded, and instead there is a corresponding emphasis on the universal significance of understanding the past of humanity. From this viewpoint, the "internationality" of the excavation project is to be welcomed on the ground that it leads to a broadening of the perspective of archaeological studies.

Postcolonial critiques of archaeological practice, however, have strongly challenged the underlying premises of the international excavation project. They contend that the supposedly impartial and innocent character of the project is often based on the political and economic inequality between the host country and the archaeologists' country of origin, and that it thus contributes to perpetuating the exploitation of the past of the dominated by the dominant on the global scale. For example, Gero (2006: 128) argues:

> There are very few instances in which archaeological teams from a wealthy country undertake work in a host country that is equally or more wealthy than itself. More often, foreign archaeological research is undertaken in host countries that have considerably less wealth and fewer scientific resources. Why should this be so, and is this an acceptable agreement?

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These critiques have made archaeologists leading excavation projects abroad more conscious of the potentially exploitative nature of their work. As a result, a number of international excavation projects today include elements of "public archaeology" that promote archaeologists' engagement with the people of the locality. While public archaeology here often means simple outreach activities, such as the dissemination of information about the excavation to the local population, in some cases archaeologists go further and seek to examine how people of the locality understand the site under investigation (Jones 2004; Shankland 1996, 2000), or design the agenda of the project itself in collaboration with them (Green et al. 2001; Moser et al. 2002). In general, international excavation projects now seek to achieve more communication and collaboration with local people than ever.

Such initiatives in public archaeology are based on the assumption that they can improve the relationship between local people and foreign archaeologists, and thus mitigate the exploitative nature of the international excavation project. While this assumption seems theoretically correct and ethically praiseworthy, it is worth pointing out that it essentially derives from archaeologists' self-critical reflection, rather than what local people themselves feel and think about the international excavation project. What is missing here is the in-depth understanding of how people react to a situation in which material remains located in their everyday environment are excavated by foreign archaeologists.

I sought to gain this understanding tentatively through a case study of the excavation of a Roman site called the "Villa of Augustus" in Somma Vesuviana, Italy. The excavation has been carried out by a team from the University of Tokyo since 2002, and I have been working as a member of this Japanese team since 2003. From 2003 to 2008, I conducted several surveys aimed at examining various ways in which people living in Somma Vesuviana (hereafter "local people") engaged with the archaeology of the site. The objective of one survey was to clarify what local people thought of the fact that the excavation was being carried out by Japanese archaeologists. In what follows, I shall first briefly describe the excavation project and explain the methods adopted for the survey, and then present its results to critique the nature of the international excavation project.

The Excavation of the Villa of Augustus and the Methodology of the Survey

The site of the Villa of Augustus (hereafter "the Villa") is located on the northern slope of Mt Vesuvius (Fig. 13.1). The first excavation of the Villa was undertaken in the 1930s, and it brought to light the remains of a monumental building and precious objects of the Imperial Period (Della Corte 1932). Examining these finds in relation to the Roman literary sources, the director of the excavation, Matteo Della Corte, formulated a hypothesis that the first Roman emperor Augustus (63 BC–AD 14) died in the building, and that it was subsequently converted into a temple dedicated to him and thereafter buried by the eruption of Mt Vesuvius in AD 79
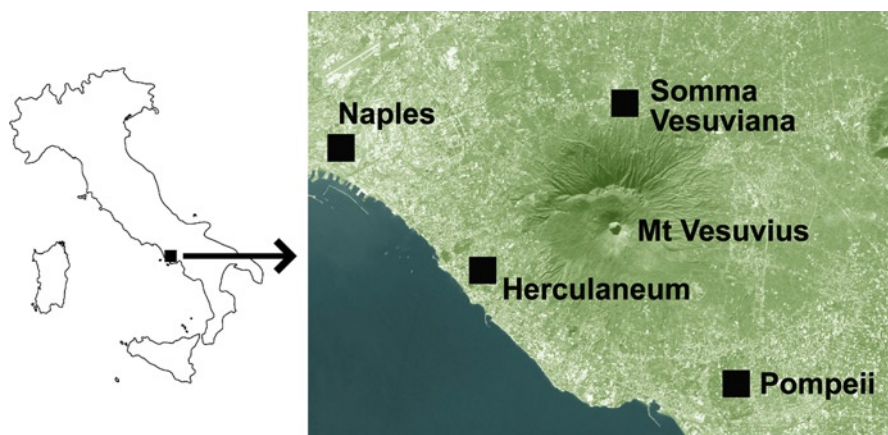
Fig. 13.1 Location of Somma Vesuviana

(Della Corte 1936 [1933]). Following this hypothesis, local people soon began calling the site the "Villa of Augustus (*Villa di Augusto*)."

Although the first excavation created sensation in Italian and international academia (Angrisani 1935, 1937), it soon ran out of funds and was suspended in 1935, and the entire site was backfilled in 1939 (D'Avino 1979). Despite several attempts to reinvestigate the Villa after the Second World War, the land remained under agriculture until the summer of 2002, when a team from the University of Tokyo finally reopened the excavation. The new excavation team, directed by classical archaeologist and art historian Aoyagi Masanori, was granted a 5-year permit for the excavation (renewed for a further 5 years in 2007), from the Italian Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Activities (*Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali*), and its work has been overseen by the Archaeological Superintendency for the Provinces of Naples and Caserta (*Soprintendenza Archeologica per le province di Napoli e Caserta*). The excavation is still ongoing at the time of writing (Fig. 13.2). During the course of the past excavation seasons, it has become clear that the buried building cannot be considered a villa in architectural terms and that it was built in about the second to third centuries AD, abandoned in the late fifth century AD (Aoyagi et al. 2006: 94; Aoyagi et al. 2007; De Simone 2009), and then buried by several eruptions in and after the late Roman period (Kaneko et al. 2005).

The current excavation team consists of 5–10 Japanese archaeologists, students, and volunteers, and 2–5 Italian archaeologists and conservators. All the Italians except one come from neighboring towns. There are also 3–8 Italian workers, all coming from nearby towns (though none from Somma Vesuviana), who undertake mechanical and manual digging, the installation of scaffolding, and the disposal of soil. The workers come to the excavation early in the morning and leave for home immediately after work, and therefore have little interaction with the local people of Somma Vesuviana.

Fig. 13.2 General view of the excavation of the Villa of Augustus in 2004 (Photo by courtesy of the Archaeological Mission of the University of Tokyo)

During the two months of the excavation season each year, the Japanese team members live in a leased residence located on the outskirts of Somma Vesuviana. They travel to and from there by car every morning and evening, except on weekends when they do not normally work at the site. Apart from when shopping in the local supermarkets after work, most members do not see many local people on weekdays. On weekends, some go to the town center for shopping or to take the train to visit Naples, Pompeii, Herculaneum and other places. The members occasionally dine in local restaurants in the town.

In principle, the excavation is closed to the public for the reason of safety and the risk of looting. However, the team has organized Open Days for the excavation each season since 2003, during which the site is opened to the public for a few days and visitors are given interpretations of the Villa and the excavation work. At the Open Days in the 2003–2010 seasons, well over 1,500 visitors, most of them from Somma Vesuviana, attended each time (Fig. 13.3). Given the population of the town, approximately 34,000, the number of visitors has been high.

The survey I conducted in relation to this excavation consisted of a visitor questionnaire and semi-structured interviews. During the Open Days in 2003 and 2004, I placed hundreds of questionnaire sheets containing several open-ended questions in one section of the site, and visitors completed them on a voluntary basis. 314 of 1,775 visitors in 2003 and 371 of 2,148 visitors in 2004 filled in the questionnaire, meaning that approximately 1 out of every 5–6 visitors completed it each year. Visitors' responses to one of the questions, "What do you think about the fact that we, Japanese archaeologists, are working at the Villa?" are examined later.

Fig. 13.3 Open Day at the Villa of Augustus excavation in 2003 (Photo by courtesy of the Archaeological Mission of the University of Tokyo)

To explore in more depth what local people thought of the Japanese archaeologists excavating the Villa, I posed the same question to 12 residents of Somma Vesuviana representing different sex and age groups in semi-structured interviews in summer/autumn 2006. I interviewed seven of the interviewees, to whom I was introduced by local informants, at their homes. The informants remained present throughout the interview so that the interviewees could feel relaxed and ready to elaborate their answers. I then interviewed seven visitors to the excavation on the site during the Open Days in 2006.

Data collected from the questionnaire and the interviews were in Italian, and they are presented in English translation later. In quotations from interviews, round brackets are used to indicate words added by the author to fill in supposedly missing words, and square brackets are used to indicate comments and notes added by the author to help understand the meaning of the original statement. Double dashes (––) are used for pauses and incomplete sentences in interviews, and ellipses (…) for omitted words, edited for brevity.

Visitors' Views on the Japanese Archaeologists Excavating the Villa

636 visitors expressed their views on the excavation being carried out by Japanese archaeologists through their responses to the questionnaire. By excluding 23 irrelevant responses, dividing long responses into several elements, integrating identical

and similar responses/elements, and making initial categorization, 64 categories of response were established. These categories were further divided into three groups: those in favor of the Japanese excavation project, those showing negative views on the project, and others (Table 13.1). In Table 13.1, each category is accompanied by a score that is an indicator of how frequently visitors referred to responses under that category.

Table 13.1 64 categories of response to the question "What do you think about the fact that we, Japanese archaeologists, are working at the Villa?"

Group		Categories of response	Score
+	1	Good/wonderful	270
	2	Thanks!	51
	3	Ok	47
	4	You (excavation team) are great	40
	5	Useful for us; it allows us to discover our roots	31
	6	Good job/work/skill	29
	7	Collaboration/cooperation is good	25
	8	Good for us (the town, the region, etc.), in general	24
	9	Please continue; we hope to see more things	19
	10	Otherwise, we would not have seen this; you are salvaging this site	18
	11	Good that someone is interested in this/has finally started this	15
	12	Interesting	13
	13	Nice that foreigners are interested in this	10
	14	Culture/archaeology has no borders	10
	15	Only you can do this; it must be Japanese who do it	8
	16	The Villa belongs to everyone	8
	17	Cultural exchange is good	8
	18	I feel honored	7
	19	Better than Italians/people in Somma Vesuviana doing it; you know better than us	7
	20	Must be supported/encouraged	5
	21	Thanks to you, everyone can know about it	5
	22	Great Japanese people/culture	4
	23	"Who works" is not important!	4
	24	You are having a great experience	3
	25	Good for both you and us	3
	26	Good way to know another culture	2
	27	Hope that you will help us in the future as well	2
	28	Courageous decision	2
	29	You are welcome	2
	30	Right that other nations are helping our country	1
	31	Cultural potential of Naples	1
	32	I am convinced that this (the excavation), will get to the end	1
	33	You are nice	1
	34	Hope that the Region and the Ministry help you	1
	35	We trust Japanese technology	1

(continued)

Table 13.1 (continued)

Group		Categories of response	Score
	36	Good for Italy	1
	37	Foreign teams often need to intervene to carry out culturally good work	1
	38	I trust you	1
	39	Important that other peoples discover the Roman culture	1
	40	Instructive	1
—	41	It is a risk	1
	42	It is a defeat for Somma Vesuviana	1
Others	43	We/our counterparts do not do as much; Italy did not know how to do it	16
	44	Shame that Italians/people in Somma Vesuviana did not do it	14
	45	Would be better if Italians were working as well	10
	46	Incredible; I am amazed	9
	47	Nothing; I do not know	5
	48	There must have been much work involved	4
	49	I would like to participate in the excavation work with you	3
	50	Strange	3
	51	Need to employ local people	2
	52	Started too late	2
	53	You are lucky	2
	54	Italy and Campania must be embarrassed	1
	55	We could have done the excavation earlier	1
	56	We (people in Somma Vesuviana) were not able to do this as you are doing now	1
	57	An example of efficiency that must encourage the Archaeological Superintendency and the Ministries to invest more in archaeology	1
	58	You must do it for our town	1
	59	Can I help you?	1
	60	Thanks to our Authority!	1
	61	Thanks Prof De Simone!	1
	62	Better you than nothing	1
	63	You speak our language well	1
	64	Every archaeologist must continuously communicate with local people, and therefore the opening of the site is welcome	1
		Total	766

The categories of response in favor of the Japanese excavation project are indicated by "+," and those showing negative views on the project by "—"

The great majority of the responses were in favor of the Japanese excavation project: the total score for the responses favorable to the project was 683, 2 for the responses showing negative views on the project, and 81 for the other responses. Since the questionnaire was filled in on a voluntary basis, statistical validity of the scores cannot be claimed; the respondents were likely to be more interested in the excavation than the average visitor and therefore give more favorable responses. Nevertheless, the results clearly indicate that most visitors had positive opinions on the Japanese project.

Most of the favorable responses were addressed in simple and general manner: for example, "Good/wonderful" (No.1), "Thanks!" (No.2), and "Ok" (No.3). Some visitors, however, approved of the project on the ground that it would bring benefits to specific geographical areas that they considered as *theirs*; for instance, the excavation was judged good for the town of Somma Vesuviana, the region of Campania (No.8), and the nation of Italy (No.36). It could be argued that the visitors giving these answers understood the Japanese excavation project in relation to their local place, which was defined elastically.

Although not associated directly with specific geographical space, several other favorable responses could also be interpreted as related to the local. The responses of the categories, "Useful for us; it allows us to discover our roots" (No.5), "Otherwise we would not have seen this; you are salvaging this site" (No.10), and "Good that someone is interested in this/has finally started this" (No.11), all expressed support for the Japanese excavation project on the ground that it would be beneficial to local people and/or the local place.

Some visitors welcomed the global nature of the project. For example, the interest of foreigners, namely, non-Italians, in the excavation was judged "nice" (No.13). Those who made the responses, "Right that other nations are helping our country" (No.30), "To carry out culturally good work, foreign teams often need to intervene" (No.37), and "Important that other peoples discover Roman culture" (No.39), could also be considered to express their willingness to accept the non-Italian initiative in the excavation. A more open-minded attitude to the project could be read in the responses "Culture/archaeology has no borders" (No.14), "The Villa belongs to everyone" (No.16) and, "Who works is not important!" (No.23). The idea underlying these responses would be that the Villa belongs to everyone in the world, and therefore there is no problem with a foreign team undertaking its excavation. Despite the positive tone of those responses, whether they meant that a foreign team is better than an Italian/local team needs to be carefully considered, as discussed later.

There were also visitors who expressed their specific support for the Japanese team by stating, "Only you can do this; it must be Japanese who do it (No.15)," "Better than Italians/people in Somma Vesuviana doing it; you know better than us" (No.19), "Great Japanese people/culture" (No.22) and, "We trust Japanese technology" (No.35). While the responses of the last two categories (No.22 and 35) were likely to be simply compliments addressed to the team, those of the first two categories (No.15 and 19) deserve some attention, as they seem to imply that the Japanese archaeologists were preferred over the Italian/local archaeologists. As argued later, the motive for expressing such preference for the Japanese archaeologists needs to be interpreted in consideration of the respondents' opinions on Italian/local archaeologists.

The only two unfavorable responses, "It's a risk" (No.41) and "It is a defeat for Somma Vesuviana" (No.42), were mentioned by one person each. Several responses classified as "others" could potentially also be judged to be against the Japanese excavation project: for example, "Strange" (No.50) and "Started too late" (No.52). However, additional information would be needed to make such judgment.

Of particular importance are the following six categories of response classified within the "others" group: "We/our counterparts do not do as much; Italy did not

know how to do it" (No.43), "Shame that Italians/people in Somma Vesuviana did not do it" (No.44), "Italy and Campania must be embarrassed" (No.54), "We could have done the excavation earlier" (No.55), "We (people in Somma Vesuviana) were not able to do this as you are doing now" (No.56), and "An example of efficiency that must encourage the Archaeological Superintendency and the Ministries to invest more in archaeology" (No.57). One could read in these responses a sense of shame and/or embarrassment due to the comparison between the Japanese archaeologists and their Italian/local counterparts. It should be noted that the legitimacy of the Japanese excavation project itself was not challenged here. Rather, the respondents expressed their dissatisfaction with the fact that the initiative of the excavation had not been taken by Italian/local archaeologists. In other words, by giving these responses the respondents expressed their desire that more-local archaeologists should be working on the excavation.

Local people's preference for more-local archaeologists to work on the excavation could be understood in terms of their identification with the Villa; they regarded the site as *theirs*, and therefore wished that it was investigated by archaeologists with whom they were as familiar as possible. Because of this underlying desire, the excavation being carried out by Japanese archaeologists – the least-local archaeologists – was likely to arouse the respondents' desire to see more-local archaeologists/people working on the excavation. It is interesting to note that these "more-local archaeologists/people" could in fact be defined in several different ways; indeed, in the responses of the above six categories, the Japanese archaeologists were contrasted with archaeologists/people from Italy, Campania, and Somma Vesuviana, all of whom were deemed local.

In view of the above, how could those responses specifically advocating the Japanese team be understood? Although it is theoretically possible that the respondents really preferred Japanese archaeologists over their Italian/local counterparts, taking into consideration the sense of shame and embarrassment expressed by other visitors, it would be more logical to think that their preference for Japanese archaeologists was actually an indirect manifestation of their dissatisfaction with the fact that Italian/local archaeologists had not been able to initiate the excavation by themselves. In this sense, it would be prudent not to take the responses, "Only you can do this; it must be Japanese who do it (No.15)" and "Better than Italians/people in Somma Vesuviana doing it; you know better than us" (No.19), as literally meaning that Japanese archaeologists were the ideal choice for the respondents. Rather, those responses were likely to express the respondents' frustration with the reality that Italian/local archaeologists, who should ideally be their best choice, were not actually excavating the Villa.

When the preference to see local archaeologists/people in the excavation project was more strongly expressed, visitors gave responses such as, "Would be better if Italians were working as well" (No.45), and "Need to employ local people" (No.51). However, it is important to recognize that these responses did not disapprove of the Japanese excavation project itself, but rather expressed a desire that Japanese archaeologists should not work only by themselves but together with local archaeologists/people, be they Italians, Neapolitans, or residents of Somma Vesuviana.

Considering local people's desire to see local archaeologists/people working in the excavation project, one can understand why some visitors welcomed the collaboration between Japanese and local archaeologists/people by stating: "Collaboration/cooperation is good" (No.7), and "Good for both you and us" (No.25). The two unique responses, "Thanks to our Authority!" (No.60), and "Thanks Prof De Simone!" (No.61), mentioned by one visitor each, could also be explained with the same logic; the respondents did not think that the excavation was being directed by Japanese archaeologists alone, but by their own authorities, presumably the Archaeological Superintendency, or in close collaboration with local archaeologists, such as De Simone.

From the responses examined above, it would be possible to conclude that the great majority of visitors were in favor of the Japanese excavation project. While some visitors approved of the project on the ground that it was beneficial to the locality, be it the town of Somma Vesuviana, the Neapolitan area, the region of Campania, or the nation of Italy, others advocated it by arguing that the Villa belongs to everyone in the world or by emphasizing their strong support for the Japanese team. However, none of these reasons explains whether the situation of Japanese archaeologists excavating the Villa was ideal. Rather, in view of the visitors' expression of a sense of shame and/or embarrassment and of the desire to see more-local archaeologists/people involved in the project, as well as their opinions favorable to the collaboration between Japanese and local archaeologists/people, it can be suggested that many visitors thought that the project should ideally be run by local archaeologists. In this sense, their support for the Japanese excavation seemed grounded on, and in part due to, the fact that Italian/local archaeologists alone would not have been able to reopen the excavation. Although mentioned only by one visitor, "Better you than nothing" (No.62), might in fact have been the cynical translation of what most visitors thought deep down in their minds.

Interviewees' Opinions on the Japanese Archaeologists Excavating the Villa

In the in-depth interviews, I asked 12 local people (A, B, C, D, E, F, and G interviewed at their homes; H, I, J, K, and L interviewed at the excavation) what they thought of the excavation being carried out by Japanese archaeologists. With the exception of one interviewee (G), who simply stated, "It is a good thing (*Che sia una buona cosa*)," without further elaborating his response, the other 11 interviewees responded by explaining their views on the project in detail. These views can be categorized into several groups, each of which is examined in turn.

Three interviewees (A, B, and H) approved of the Japanese excavation project on the ground that archaeological excavation can be an international venture. For example, one interviewee (A) argued that different people excavate in different countries.

Author: "What do you think of the fact that it is Japanese archaeologists who are doing the excavation of the Villa? Please answer honestly."

Interviewee A: "For me, it's the same (whoever does the excavation)."

Author: "Honestly?"

Interviewee A: "Yes, for me, it's the same. I mean, it's not for Italians because I'm Italian or because you're Japanese. People might come from-- Germans, I don't know, Americans (might come to Italy to do an excavation). For me, it's the same. You [i.e. Japanese archaeologists] are now making a discovery (at the Villa). It's fine. Like Italians come to live in Japan, or go to Australia. Or, they go to Egypt to make discoveries. It's global. For me, it's the same. There is no difference."

The other two interviewees (B and H) expressed their support for the Japanese excavation project more straightforwardly. When advocating – rather than accepting – the project, they mentioned that Italians also go to Egypt for archaeological work.

Author: "What do you think of the fact that it is Japanese archaeologists who are doing the excavation of the Villa? Please answer honestly."

Interviewee B: "I'm pleased. Whether it's Japanese or Italians (does not matter to me). In fact, Italians work in Egypt. There is a museum run by Italians there. They [i.e. Egyptians] too are happy with this museum. It's international cultural heritage, isn't it? So, whether it [i.e. the excavation of the Villa] is done by Japanese or Italians, for me, it doesn't change anything."

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Author: "What do you think of the fact that it is Japanese archaeologists who are doing the excavation of the Villa? Please answer honestly."

Interviewee H: "Great pleasure. Well, great pleasure because each people--. Italians excavated in--. Well, Germans, (went to) Troy (for excavation). Italians went to Egypt (for excavation). Each people bring in new things of their culture to these excavations. It's something very nice."

The three interviewees thus expressed their acceptance or advocacy of the Japanese excavation project by stressing the global nature of archaeological excavation.

Five interviewees (C, D, I, J, and K) supported the Japanese excavation project by arguing that the Japanese archaeologists were more competent than Italian archaeologists, or that the Italians had not been or would not be able to undertake the excavation of the Villa. Below are shown the relevant parts of the answers given by each interviewee to the question: "What do you think of the fact that it is Japanese archaeologists who are doing the excavation of the Villa?"

"Very fine. Italians had never thought about it [i.e. to carry out the excavation of the Villa]. This is really amazing. Italians had never thought about it, and so, now come the Japanese. … I'm not interested whether it's Italians or Japanese (who are doing the excavation). Japanese are more practical." (Interviewee C)

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"I should not say this, but I'm honest. If it [i.e. the excavation] was in Italian hands, who knows how much it'd cost! [laughter]" (Interviewee D)

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Interviewee I: "We're immensely lucky that you're here and it's not Italians!"
Author: "But you really don't need to be polite."
Interviewee I: "No, no, no. I'm very honest. … I've recognized Japanese archaeo-
                   logists as very serious. They carry on this excavation (of the Villa)
                   with much seriousness and passion, although it's in a very distant
                   country (for them)."

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"I'm very happy that it's not Italians (who are doing the excavation) … in the sense that we're in good hands, I believe. Honestly, better, it's better like this." (Interviewee J)

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Interviewee K: "(It's fine because) You're a little more expert (than Italian
                  archaeologists)."
Author: "But there are also very skilful Italian archaeologists."
Interviewee K: "Yes, but--, I know it. But, honestly, you're more, a little more--,
                  with accuracy, let's say. If you say "We will do this," it's done [i.e.
                  it will actually be done]."

Although the remarks shown above appear to indicate that Japanese archaeologists were preferred over Italian archaeologists, this interpretation needs to be made on a comparative basis, by considering the interviewee's views on Italian archaeologists. Here, it is important to note that all five interviewees expressed, in one way or another, negative opinions about their compatriot Italian archaeologists. Thus, just as with the visitors supporting the Japanese team, the five interviewees' advocacy of the Japanese excavation project was likely to reflect their dissatisfaction with the fact that Italian archaeologists were not doing the excavation by themselves.

Negative opinions about Italian archaeologists were more clearly observed in the statements of two other interviewees (E and F). One of them (F) said that she was happy with the Japanese excavation project, and then laughed at Italian/local archaeologists with rather sarcastic words.

"I'm happy (with the Japanese excavation project) because … it's a nice thing. However, I would say, look, (there are) many people and many scholars here [i.e. locally available]. And (nevertheless) Japanese did it! [laughter]"

(Interviewee F).

The other interviewee (E) initially expressed her strong dissatisfaction with the foreign initiative in the excavation project, and then regretted that Italians were not doing the excavation by themselves.

"For a sense of belonging, the presence of Japanese, Chinese, Australians, is disturbing. But it's not disturbing for racism. Please don't take me wrong. It's disturbing because I think even we could do certain things. And this indicates once again the incapacity--, not knowing how to do things, not wanting to do things, for political reasons. This results in delegating (someone else to do things). And so, thank God, the Japanese exist (for excavating the Villa)."

(Interviewee E).

That she thanked the Japanese team at the end of the above statement suggests that her dissatisfaction with the excavation project was not addressed to the Japanese archaeologists but to the fact that Italian archaeologists/people had not initiated the excavation by themselves.

Another interviewee (L) expressed her discontent with the non-Italian initiative in the project more straightforwardly.

Author: "What do you think of the fact that it is Japanese archaeologists who are doing the excavation of the Villa? Please answer honestly."

Interviewee L: "Well--, honestly?"

Author: "Honestly, honestly."

Interviewee L: "Honestly, I'm not very--, Say, I'm not very convinced of this, despite all the love I have for the Japanese people. I think the problem is--. Well, anyway, we Italians do excavations abroad. So, from this point of view, this [i.e. the excavation of the Villa] can be seen as a kind of intercultural exchange. However, I believe--, well, the Italian state should look for money for the-- (excavation). It'd be more appropriate if it [i.e. the excavation of the Villa] were entrusted to Italians, Italian scholars."

It was clear that she wished that Italians, in particular the Italian state, made a greater commitment to the excavation of the Villa.

A point of particular interest should be noted in the last two interviews (E and L); both interviewees stated that they were dissatisfied with the non-Italian initiative in the excavation project, without mentioning anything specifically against the Japanese team. This implies that they recognized the Japanese project not so much in terms of the contrast between the West and the East as in light of the distinction between Italy (local) and the rest of the world (non-local). It follows that, theoretically speaking, even if the project had been run by non-Italian Western archaeologists – say British, German, or American archaeologists – the interviewees still would not have been fully satisfied.

In relation to the above, another point deserves attention in the statement of the second interviewee (L). When saying that Italian archaeologists also excavate abroad, she clearly accepted that archaeological excavation could be an international venture; she stated that it was possible to see the Japanese excavation project positively as an "intercultural exchange." However, despite this understanding she was still not convinced of the necessity of having Japanese archaeologists for the excavation of the Villa. In view of this, her opinion could be cynically translated as follows: it is acceptable that her compatriot archaeologists go abroad for excavation, but it is not acceptable that foreign archaeologists come to her local place for excavation. This contradiction represents a typical problem in the argument that emphasizes the global nature of archaeological work to justify an international excavation project.

To summarize, most of the 12 interviewees, like the great majority of visitors to the site, were in support of the Japanese excavation project, albeit with different degrees of welcoming tone. The two commonly cited reasons for this support were the global nature of the archaeological excavation and the competence of Japanese archaeologists. Both reasons, however, begged a more fundamental question as to whether it was really desirable that Japanese, hence non-local, archaeologists should excavate the Villa despite the presence of Italian/local archaeologists. The two interviewees who expressed their dissatisfaction with the non-Italian initiative in the excavation project, in a sense, raised this question directly.

It can be argued that the advocacy expressed by most of the interviewees for the Japanese project was likely to reflect, to some degree or other, their dissatisfaction with the fact that Italian/local archaeologists had not been able to initiate the excavation by themselves. Few, if any, interviewees would have disagreed that it would be better if Italian/local archaeologists could – in a practical sense – and would – in a theoretical sense – excavate the Villa.

Conclusion

The results of the visitor questionnaire and the in-depth interviews suggest that local people generally think that the Villa should ideally be excavated by the local archaeologist. While this "local archaeologist" may be defined differently in different contexts – he or she may be from the same country, region, subregion or town – it is true to say that "more-local archaeologists" are generally preferred over "less-local archaeologists." In this regard, foreign archaeologists are "the least-local archaeologists" and therefore "the least desirable archaeologists" to work on a site for people living nearby.

This, however, does not mean that local people can never be satisfied with the international excavation project. As reported above, even though many local people in Somma Vesuviana seemed to wish that Italian archaeologists had initiated the excavation of the Villa, most were still in favor of, and in support of, the current excavation being undertaken by Japanese archaeologists. It is worth stressing that "least desirable" is not the same as "undesirable," and that there are many possibilities and opportunities for archaeologists excavating abroad to establish a good relationship with local people, and to make them feel satisfied with the project.

What does all this signify for archaeologists seeking to engage with local people in an international excavation project? The most important thing to remember is the general preference of local people for "more-local archaeologists" to excavate a site in their locality. This should oblige archaeologists to accept that they will never be able to fully satisfy local people. However, it will also encourage them to constantly make efforts to make local people as satisfied as possible with the archaeological work undertaken. The relationship between local people and non-local archaeologist is never even, and this very fact necessitates that archaeologists working in an international excavation project need to communicate, negotiate, and collaborate with local people even more assiduously and attentively.

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Chapter 14
Meaning-Making Process of Cultural Heritage in Jordan: The Local Communities, the Contexts, and the Archaeological Sites in the Citadel of Amman

Shatha Abu-Khafajah

Introduction

In this paper, the meaning of the cultural heritage in the citadel of Amman is investigated, by understanding the relationships through which individuals, as well as local communities, interpret the time and place of the past. It is suggested that values and meanings individuals ascribe to the past derive importance from being a reflection of individuals' contexts. What is meaningful in one context might be meaningless in another. Throughout the process in which meanings are ascribed to archaeological sites, the archaeological remains are transformed into entities that reflect the context of the local communities. Through this process, archaeological sites are transformed from being merely material of the past into cultural heritage having relevance to local communities' contemporary contexts and cultures.

Amman is the current capital of Jordan, and this paper investigates the process(es) involved in understanding archaeological sites in the citadel of Amman, in terms of cultural heritage. The focus is the process(es) through which differing meanings for sites in the citadel are developed in response to the local community, its contexts, experiences, memories, and stories. The accounts provided by the local community result from in-depth interviews with 19 male and female members of the local community.

The interviews were undertaken by the author during fieldwork in the summer of 2004. The questions were asked in Arabic, which is the national language of Jordan, and the responses were then translated to English[1] and used in this paper.[2]

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[1] The translation of the interviews from Arabic to English was done by the author.

[2] In the interest of protecting respondents, the author has replaced the respondents' genuine names with unreal ones.

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The Citadel: General Background

The citadel mountain or *Jabal al Qal'a* is one of the seven mountains that make up the city of Amman (Zayadine et al. 2000). To the south of the citadel mountain is the city center of Amman which is marked by the Umayyad[3] congregational mosque that was originally built in the eighth century AD and rebuilt in 1923 (Zayadine et al. 2000). The citadel is part of a dynamic contemporary context that is also steeped in the past. It is believed that the citadel was continuously occupied from the Early Bronze period (Zayadine et al. 2000). The Jordan Antiquities Database and Information System (JADIS) shows that archaeological excavations in the citadel started in 1930s. However, it was in the 1990s that major restoration work was conducted, mainly by foreign agencies.

For the purposes of this paper, the citadel is divided into three zones. Each zone represents an area where a certain agency is conducting archaeological work. The first two zones are referred to as the upper citadel as they are on the top of the citadel mountain while the third one is the lower citadel that lies in the southeast slope of the citadel mountain.

The first zone represents the Umayyad architectural remains, dated to the eighth century AD: the throne hall, the palace, the mosque, and the cistern. The Spanish Archaeological Mission in Jordan started excavating the Umayyad area in 1993, and in 1998 the *Excavation and Restoration of the Umayyad Monuments of the Citadel of Amman* project began, with financial and technical support from the Spanish government (Ministry of Planning 1998). Although the project involves different levels of intervention in all the Umayyad architectural remains in the citadel, it is the restoration work at the throne hall that has captured the attention of the local community. The throne hall is part of the palace, but since the local community usually calls it the palace, in the following sections of this paper, it is referred to as such. Technical intervention at the palace consisted mainly of restoring the walls and constructing a wooden dome to replace the original masonry one, which no longer exists. Figure 14.1 shows an external view of the palace (throne hall).

The second zone includes a Byzantine church that is dated to the fifth century AD and the Roman temple of Hercules that is dated to the first century BC. Excavation and conservation work in this zone has been carried out by the American Center for Oriental Research (ACOR). In 1993, ACOR completed the restoration work in the temple by reconstructing three columns in the east and north elevations of the temple (Kanellopoulos 1994), shown in Fig. 14.2. While many features of the ancient city were lost during the urban expansion in the city center in 1980s (Palumbo et al. 1993), the Roman amphitheater and the nymphaeum (i.e., a Roman water feature) still exist.

The third zone represents the southeast slope of the citadel mountain. The work in this area has been carried out by the Department of Antiquities of Jordan (DAJ) and consists mainly of excavation, documentation, and consolidation of the archaeological sites in that area. These sites have been identified as domestic

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[3]In reference to the Muslim Umayyad dynasty which governed the region constituting modern Jordan during AD 661 and 750.

Fig. 14.1 The reconstructed palace (throne hall) in the Umayyad area (Photo by author)

Fig. 14.2 The Roman temple at the citadel, looking east (Photo by author)
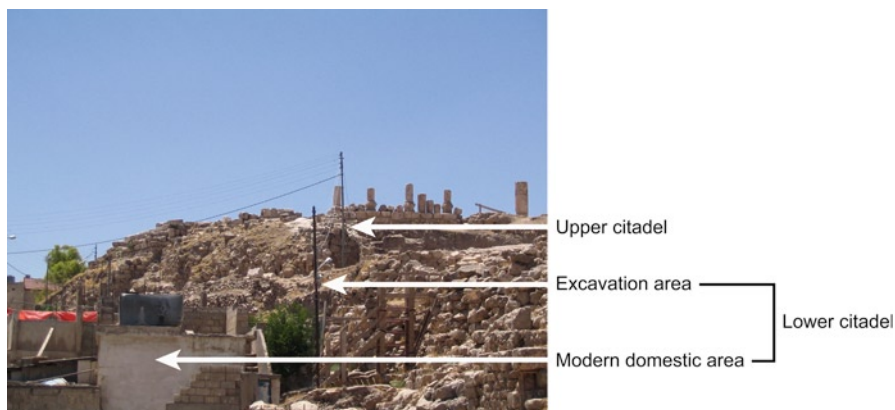
Fig. 14.3 The upper and the lower citadel, looking west (Photo by author)

Fig. 14.4 The archaeological sites in the lower citadel (Photo by author)

structures, dated to the Byzantine and Umayyad periods. The modern houses of the citadel, where most of the respondents live, are adjacent to these sites. Figure 14.3 shows the lower citadel, the ancient site, and the modern houses of the citadel, together with some of the Roman sites in zone 2 while Fig. 14.4 shows the archaeological site within the lower citadel.

Meaning and Use of Archaeological Sites in the Citadel

As part of its policy to encourage tourism in Jordan, the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MoTA) tends to invest in archaeological sites with a view to increasing Government revenue from tourism by "[introducing] new events and a more sophisticated entertainment package" (Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities 2004). Following this strategy, the temple and the palace of the upper citadel are available for hire for events, such as private or public parties and concerts.

The understanding of archaeological sites by the local community in the citadel is deeply influenced by the MoTA policy of investment. The policy of managing monumental sites in the citadel, to introduce a "sophisticated entertainment package" encouraging tourism, resulted in two major perceptions of the citadel among the respondents in this study. On the one hand, some respondents related their accounts of the monuments to the sites that MoTA used for tourist purposes, which are, the palace and the temple. For majority of the respondents, these monuments are the only important sites in the citadel while the other sites are considered as *kharabat* (ruins). On the other hand, some of the respondents clearly drew on their own experiences, memories, and stories to understand the citadel, and considered the citadel a place with historical depth, rather than selected monuments managed as tourist attractions. The following sections explore the processes through which an understanding of the citadel is shaped through contemporary context, as well as experience, of the local community.

Culture, Arts, and Archaeology in the Citadel

The main questions in the interview conducted with the local community of the citadel were as follows:

- What can you tell me about the *athar*[4] (archaeological sites)?
- What do you know about them?
- Do you talk with each other about those *athar*?
- If you do, what do you think?
- Do you think the *athar* are part of your culture and heritage?

The way the words "culture" and "arts" were applied to archaeological sites in the citadel by the respondents was interesting, as it provides an insight into their understanding of archaeological sites and the transformation of them into cultural heritage. On the one hand, the word *hadarah* in Arabic is the literal meaning of culture. It is mainly used to indicate the tangible aspects of life as well as a certain group of people or a period of time, such as the Roman culture, the ancient Egyptian culture,

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[4] The word *athar* is an Arabic word, which means archaeological sites. Throughout the text, Arabic words are written in italic using English letters.

and the Arab culture. The synonym of the word *hadarah* is *thakafah*, a word that is generally used to refer to education and general knowledge. It is also used to indicate culture in its intangible forms, such as behavior, thoughts, attitudes, and beliefs.

On the other hand, the word *funoon* in Arabic is used to indicate arts, mostly performing arts. The two words, *thakafah* and *funoon*, are closely associated with each other to describe festive events conducted at archaeological sites. For example, the first annual festival in Jordan was in 1981 in the Roman city of Jerash, and is referred to as *Mahrajan Jerash ll Thakafah wal Funoon* (Jerash Festival for Culture and Arts). This perception of culture and arts ties in with the MoTA policy on tourism outlined above. Association between the concepts of culture and arts, and the notion of cultural heritage, is demonstrated in the following views expressed by respondents in the citadel. For example, Reem, a 24-year-old female, emphasized the correspondence between culture and arts, and monumental sites:

> *Al-hadarah* [culture] is about *thakafah* [knowledge] *and funoon* [arts] … the songs and plays we watch on TV, the festivals we have in Jerash … when they say *thakafah wa funoon* [culture and arts] I think of people singing and dancing in, for example, Jerash or in the temple here … They [the Government] want to change the *athar* into cultural heritage through these projects.

Similarly, Rania, a 19-year-old female, perceived the palace and the temple as the only places in the citadel that are worth visiting. She stated that "if there is anything cultural in here then it would be the temple … and the palace." For Rania, the importance of these two monuments was derived from "the fame of the artists … and the important people who come here, sometimes people from the ruling family … attend the parties in the palace." Although Rania had not attended any of these events, her account was dominated by one event that took place in the palace:

> The most exciting thing I remember is that once I saw workers from the Marriott Hotel, you know, a very élite hotel, preparing for a party in the palace … There were vans with the Marriott name written all over them. They put tables with candles in the backyard, candles, flowers, tablecloths … They kicked us out because it was private … There was a piano, a big black one. Can you imagine that? A piano in here … I wish they'd let us stay.

The type of event conducted in the palace came under scrutiny in 2004. As stated above, the restoration project of the Umayyad area was sponsored, both financially and technically, by the Spanish government. This sponsorship gave the Spanish Embassy the authority to dictate how the palace was used. An angry reaction to this use of the palace followed the Spanish Ambassador's unannounced visit to the citadel on January 1, 2004. The visit came after the use of the Umayyad area for a New Year party. The graffiti on the actual monument and trash left following the party were still visible when the Ambassador visited the citadel. As Fig. 14.5 shows, heavy equipment for the sound system used at the party was installed on the restored steps that lead from the palace front courtyard into the mosque.

In the light of an agreement between the Spanish Embassy and MoTA, the Umayyad area is not to be used for such purposes again. However, as the author's observation of the citadel and communication with the local community demonstrate, some festive events are still conducted in the Umayyad area. For example, Ahmad,

Fig. 14.5 Heavy equipment for the sound system used in the Umayyad area (Photo by author)

a 22-year-old male, commented on the continuous use of the palace for festive events by saying that:

> There was a rumor that no parties are to take place in here, you know, where the new dome is. There were complaints that the people left the site full of rubbish after the New Year party, and some said the young people there were taking drugs … we could not sleep that night of course … but almost every night, all the summer, there is a party there … lots of Mercedes cars … come to the citadel, and park here and there, inside and outside [the archaeological region of the citadel], the streets become full of Mercedes cars, the latest model, and they have parties … They have never stopped having parties, but the music you hear now is different, something like you hear in old western movies … before that, it was all … [Arabic songs].

The music to which Ahmad referred came from classical music events, which the author heard about during her observation of the citadel. This event took place in the evening, after the archaeological area was closed to the public. It was a private party, and there was no public advertisement of the event in the newspapers or at the main entrance of the citadel. One can conclude that such events take place in the palace, even after the intervention of the Spanish Ambassador, but are restricted to those of a "high culture" nature, such as opera or classical music events. Therefore, the use of the Umayyad area has become restricted to specific events that are believed to have a less adverse impact on the archaeological site, and reflect the cultural context of the citadel. This shift in the type of event implies excluding some people and including others. This is expressed in Ahmad's emphasis on modern Mercedes cars, which are considered in Jordan a measure of wealth and power.

Through the influence of festive activities, a mythical image of the citadel in the past has been constructed. In this image, the upper citadel is considered a place originally built for the rich and the powerful while the lower citadel is perceived as the place where the poor lived and worked. For example, Umm-Ali, a 50-year-old female, in her account of the temple, stated that:

> This is a temple as I understand, I believe it is, but what did they do in the temple? They probably sang and danced, you know, people in here indulged themselves, [while] people down in the theater and around it worked hard as slaves.

The rejection of festive events by most of the respondents could be due to the fact that these activities are considered, in the first place, as being inappropriate in the light of the social and political context of the region. For example, many respondents express their anger at the way these parties were conducted. In this regard, Mariam, a 68-year-old female, highlighted the contrast between the activities conducted in the upper citadel and the contemporary social and political context of the region. She stated that:

> It is a shame that the government changed our heritage into dancing stages, especially in such a difficult time. People are being killed in Palestine and Iraq all the time … and here we are, singing and dancing and pretending that we are safe.

Such feelings of anger and rejection found resonance with the Government when it cancelled the annual *Jerash Festivals for Cultures and Arts* for the year 2006. The cancellation was justified as being a response to the war in Lebanon in 2006 (Al Rai Newspaper 2006).

Other respondents remarked that the events are a source of disturbance and that they are imposed on the local community of the citadel. For example, Wedad, a 43-year-old female, emphasized the social context of the citadel, which was disregarded by the organizers of festive events in the upper citadel. Such marginalization of the local community initiated the alienation of people from archaeological sites as evident in the following Wedad's account:

> Those who organize the parties forget that there are people living in the area. It is not only the stones. They must look beyond that and see that there are houses and families and people and students living in the citadel too, it is not like Jerash, void of people. But they don't care; all that matters is that here is another *athar*, use it to bring money for the Government.

However, those attending the festive events in the temple give a different account: Asma and Abu-Saleem. Asma, a 35-year-old female, observed that "*athar* adds to the prestige of the party … *athar* bestows charm to the presence of [the singer]." Thus, for her, the archaeological site becomes reduced to a background for the event. In a similar vein, Abu-Saleem, a 42-year-old male, considered that the citadel very similar to any other archaeological site that is used to hold festivals, either in Jordan or elsewhere: "here is like Jerash and like Ba'albak [another festival that is conducted in the ancient city of Ba'albak in Lebanon] … they are all places of summer festivals." These accounts lead to the conclusion that the current use of the citadel neutralizes the temporal depth of these sites. It reduces them to a dramatic background of ruins for organized events and festivals, and thus alienates them from

the contemporary context and daily life of the local community in the citadel specifically and in Jordan in general. As the past is considered romantic, the views of Asma and Abu-Saleem are tied up with nostalgic engagement. In the following section, the traditional type of engagement demonstrated by respondents from the citadel is investigated.

The Lower Citadel vs. the Upper Citadel

Apparently, the archaeological sites of the lower citadel have less aesthetic value than those of the upper citadel. For those whose perception of the archaeological sites is totally influenced by the festive events, the lower citadel triggers almost no interest. Salma, a 22-year-old female, commented on this area as follows:

> These *athar* [archaeological sites] look wrong … I mean ugly … if the Government … makes it look like the *athar* over there [in the upper citadel], it will give it a better image, you can say a cultural image which one can be proud of in front of the foreigners. These ruins are, I don't know, I don't think the Government will keep them, they might bury them and make a car park or a garden to serve the *athar* there [the upper citadel].

For Salma, the architectural remains of the lower citadel represented the "uncultured" side of Jordan in comparison to the upper citadel. It is only through dramatic intervention, similar to that conducted in the upper citadel, through which the "uncultured" place of the lower citadel can be transformed into a "cultured" one. However, Salma doubted that the Government would intervene in this part of the citadel as it lacked beauty and monumentality, or "the charm of archaeology" to use Asma's words, found in the upper citadel. The line of argument established by Salma, focused on monumentality and beauty in archaeological sites as fundamental elements in producing cultural heritage, reflected the art historical approach in perception and evaluation of cultural heritage. It was shared among other respondents, for example, Umm-Ali who concluded her account by stating that:

> What the Government did … 'fixing' the *kharabat* [ruins] I mean, is something cultural. I think this is culture … they make it beautiful and they make the tourists come to it and they make it, as they say, *turath* [heritage]. It is hard to do the same in these *kharabat* [referring to the lower citadel] … it is ordinary and simple. No tourists will go there ever.

In the above accounts, aesthetic value plays a decisive role in determining what can be defined as cultural heritage and what can be defined as *kharabat* (ruins). The aesthetic value is considered as a prerequisite for a tourist attraction. Thus, the meaning constituted for the archaeological sites is assigned with art historical values, such as monumentality and aestheticism. To the respondents, archaeological sites in this account are divorced from their social context, and represented as meaningful only if they are "capable" of attracting tourists.

Differing accounts of archaeology as influenced by the contemporary context of Jordan, as well as the Arab region, are reported by some respondents. The political situation in Iraq and Palestine, and its adverse social and economic consequences on Jordan appeared to influence many of the respondents' perceptions

of archaeological sites. Besides Mariam and Wedad's accounts presented above, Mohamed, a 23-year-old male, replied to the first question of the interview "what can you tell me about the *athar* in the citadel?" by stating that "the *athar* means the remains of something that are meant to remind people of the past, like the citadel and also like Iraq, what Iraq looks like today, ruined and destroyed, this is what I can tell you about *athar* in general."

This perception of *athar* was also demonstrated in a remark made by Wajeeh, a 35-year-old male, that:

> [The Americans] are changing Iraq into *athar*, in few years they might rebuild it the way they built the *athar* here [pointing at the temple that was partially reconstructed by the ACOR]; they make *athar*, and then they rebuild it again, interesting game, they have fun in our past and our present and we have no future.

This perception of archaeological sites is highly influenced by the contemporary political context. In this sense, archaeology is "made" and "unmade" by the foreign powers operating in the region in the past as well as the present. There is a clear association with destruction that is in turn associated with foreign hegemony.

Wajeeh expressed admiration of the architectural remains in the lower citadel, particularly the doorjamb stones. His account involved mental engagement with the people of the past and the techniques they used to manage their lives. However, when his arguments included the upper citadel, his perception of archaeology was negative and based on foreign hegemony of the material of the past. Similar engagement with the lower citadel is discussed in the following section, which explores the way the past and its material is perceived and used by the respondents to establish attachment to the archaeological sites.

The Human Factor and the Meaning-Making Process at the Citadel

The human factor in relation to the past, that is the way ancient people lived on what are now archaeological sites, and the implications of this life for contemporary people is evident in many accounts. For example, Abdul-Rahman, a 40-year-old male, explained that the importance of the archaeological sites in the citadel lay "in the lives lived in them, in the people and their daily routine." In this account, the ordinary lives of lay people are the essential components of any culture. He explained that:

> If you just study the temple up there, or the theater, Amman will be just a foreign city, something that non-Arabs built in our land. You need to look further than that, you need to see the people who lived here … imagine them. How ordinary people lived in the past and the present. [Addressing the author] Do not be another person who comes to study the columns [referring to the temple] and the dome [referring to the palace] … There are other important things that one like you should study … I am glad there are people interested in what we, the lay people, want to say about *athar*.

For Abdul-Rahman, the sense of attachment of the local community to the citadel and archaeological sites within their geographic context dwindled as they faced the

glory of the restored temple and the hegemony of the new dome of the palace. Focusing on these places emphasized the separation and difference of the adjacent ordinary sites, highlighting the past as monumental and the marginalization of the ordinary people. This observation was made explicit in the statement of Abu-Hashim, a 75-year-old male, regarding the levels of intervention conducted in the upper citadel:

> For the Government, it is business, just like building a hotel or a restaurant. People don't appreciate things just because they are beautiful, tourists do. That is why the Government built the *athar* here. People appreciate things that can inspire them and that tell a story about people like them, but this is not important for the Government, they want tourists to come and spend money in the hotels in Amman, so they build something that make them stay. Those who already live here are not important, it does not matter what they think of the *athar*, or what they want the Government to do in them.

Interestingly, Abu-Hashim distinguished between the interests of tourists and the local community's interest in the past. In his account, while tourists appreciate specific values in an archaeological site, the local community experiences the same site as part of their contemporary context and daily life. Similarly, Mohamed observed that the purpose of restoration projects in the citadel, and more specifically at the Roman temple, is to convey a message that has a political implication to the public. In Mohamed's account:

> There always have been, and there always will be, élites who govern 'you', in the past, in the present, and as long as these columns stand … The Government uses the citadel as opium … it encourages people to indulge themselves in trivial matters, you know, singing, dancing … and to leave the important things, the things that really matter, for its people [who are in power].

As Abu-Hashim and Mohamed deployed the monumental sites in the citadel to express their points of view about the Government, as well as issues of power and hegemony, Mefleh, a 50-year-old male, diverted attention from the temple and the palace into the lower citadel. He provided an insight into an archaeology that is based on empowering the lay people, both in the past and the present:

> It is the mob who forms the base of any power, the base of the temple and the palace in this citadel. And it is up to that base to keep what is built above it or to destroy it. As in any revolution, when the base moved, everything that stood over it collapsed. I am sure you know about the French Revolution … People who lived here were the base, they were the important part, but look at them now. I mean where they lived [the lower citadel]. Contrary to what is going on up there [pointing at the temple], it is left without any [restoration] work … Who can complain about that? No one, no one! But this is, in my opinion, what the genuine *turath* [heritage] is about … It is about the base.

This enlightening interpretation of the lower citadel reflects discourses of power and hegemony in reference to the current use of archaeological sites in the citadel. Similarly, Mariam saw that although lay people contributed to the construction of the monuments in the upper citadel, only the remains of the powerful in the upper citadel are preserved by the Government:

> Many things are wrong, but sometimes you find indications of huge corruption in small [trivial] things … why any money should be put in building the history while the country is full of poor, very poor people … why all this money is put up there [pointing at the upper

citadel] and nothing in here [the lower citadel], although any one with the smallest mind will know that before you protect the top you have to protect the base, why?

This perception of the lower citadel in comparison to the upper citadel tallies with Mefleh's argument discussed above about the "genuine heritage" as being interrelated to lay people of the past and the present. The correspondence of the two accounts is important as it proves that not only educated people, such as Mefleh are capable of critical engagement with the past and its use by the Government, but also people with less education, such as Mariam who left school when she was 15 years old. The capacity of people to express implicitly the current political situation and the hegemony of the Government using archaeological sites turned these sites into meaning-laden places. Such use of archaeological sites enriches the process of giving meaning to these sites by interweaving them with their contemporary contexts.

Cultural Memories and the Meaning-Making Process at the Citadel

An alternative account to those represented above was provided by respondents who had experienced the citadel during the first half of the twentieth century, and those who are closely related to people who lived during that period, retaining the memories and stories their parents and grandparents had about the citadel during that time. Unlike the accounts developed in the light of the activities held in the temple and the palace, these reports reflect people's experiences, memories, and stories of Amman during a critical social and political period of time.

In many accounts, archaeological sites were referred to as arenas for collective activities that served the social and political contexts of the people. Sometimes, as in the Roman theater during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the places acted as a public *suq* (market) where people exchanged goods. At other times, they were the places, where demonstrators got together to protest against the British mandate in the first half of the twentieth century. Recalling the social and political contexts that shaped and reshaped the differing meanings of the citadel is evident in the following accounts. For example, the British military headquarters in the citadel, in a building which is currently used as the National Museum of Jordan, is part of the political context of the citadel that is inextricably linked to some of its contemporary meaning. In this sense, the citadel, by including the British headquarters, was an arena for the lay people to express their rejection of the colonizer.

Abu-Nart, a 63-year-old male, recalled:

Whenever I go to the citadel nowadays, I remember people getting together at some friend's house and listening to the radio, to Berlin's station I guess, I was ten, eleven years old … listen in full secrecy … and I remember the demonstrations the old people used to arrange, people from the different places used to come to the citadel for these demonstrations.

Abu-Nart's vague childhood memories were fed by stories told to him by his father and elderly relatives. Despite the end of British colonialism, such incidents

are still crucial for the constitution of meaning for elderly people in relation to archaeological sites in the citadel. In this sense, Awwad stated that "the citadel, despite the new things that were added to it [the partial reconstruction of the temple, and the reconstruction of the dome of the palace], is still about protestation against the colonizer." Similarly, Abu-Hashim recalled:

> The citadel … before they built it, and when the English were here, the young men, the elderly and the children, all the males used to gather in the citadel and march down to the theater whenever something happened in Palestine or Cairo or Syria. People used to listen to the radio, and if something important happened, in a few minutes they would be out walking to the citadel and the soldiers faced them.

As well as being a place to express anger and protestation, this was also an arena for national and private celebrations. Ayoub, for example, remembered that:

> In the 50s and 60s, the celebrations of *eid el-fetr and eid-el-adha* [the two main feasts in Islam] used to start in al-Husaini mosque with the feast prayers and expand into the theater which used to be decorated for these occasions … and if the weather was good, people used to have picnics, and go out with their families up to the citadel, it used to be very green in spring, and people used to sit on stones, you don't see them anymore.

Another place in the citadel that is essential to the process of making meaning is a "sacred" cave called *kahf al-fakeer* (the poor cave), where a saint is believed to be buried. People, particularly women, used to visit this cave to ask for the blessings of the saint. Despite its fame among the elderly respondents, the cave disappeared among the increasing number of houses in the citadel mountain, and the last visit by Umm-Maher, a 75-year-old female, to that cave was at least 20 years ago, according to her account. Mefleh asserted that:

> Although I did not believe that this cave is as important as some women claim, I think leaving it to disappear among the new houses is another example of what is important and what is not when it comes to the past. My mother went to that cave, and maybe all the old women and mothers of the citadel did, but it is not part of the citadel anymore, because the citadel is about the big buildings now [in reference to the temple and the palace in the upper citadel], the rest is not important, many of the people you will meet will tell you about things that are not important [for the Government].

Conclusion

The in-depth interviews conducted with respondents from the local community of the citadel regarding the archaeological sites adjacent to their houses provide a unique insight into the varying meanings of these sites, and the processes through which these meanings are constituted. In many of the respondents' accounts, the archaeological sites are transformed from mere monuments and ruins into something relevant to the contemporary social and political contexts, as well as being related to personal experiences and memories.

Most of the respondents in this study show strong engagement with the archaeological sites. This engagement resulted in meanings and values which differ significantly

from those provided by conventional evaluation of cultural heritage. Archaeological sites are laden with meaning. Local communities' engagement with archaeological sites and the alternative cultural values and meanings resulted from this engagement are worthy of the evaluation by the Government – a step that can only be achieved if scholars in Jordan value the way in which the local communities engage with archaeological sites and reflect on them.

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Chapter 15
The Excluded Past in Jordanian Formal Primary Education: The Introduction of Archaeology

Arwa Badran

Introduction

In recent years, debates surrounding the origins of modern humans have increasingly looked towards the Levant as "one of the most important corridors for the dispersal of humans [from Africa] into Eurasia" (Akazawa et al. 2002: 2). Archaeological evidence unearthed in the Levant, most famously in the Jordan Valley, suggests a human occupation dating back approximately one and a half million years (Belmaker et al. 2002). Archaeological surveys and excavations carried out in Jordan during the past century, yielded thousands of archaeological sites, such as early settlements, Biblical sites, Graeco-Roman cities, and Crusader and Muslim castles. In fact, an examination of aerial photographs taken in 1953 revealed approximately 25,000 archaeological sites in the western half of Jordan (Kennedy and Bewley 1998). These sites provide valuable insights into the beliefs, values, and ways of living of past communities residing in the geographical area of Jordan.

This ancient past is largely excluded from Jordanian formal primary education, where historical narratives focus primarily on the advent and spread of Islam in the sixth and seventh centuries AD and the modern history of Jordan in the twentieth century (Table 15.1). Divorced from these narratives, a number of archaeological sites are presented accompanied by brief descriptions emphasizing a deep-rooted past and the economic benefit of archaeology within tourism. The presentation of archaeological sites also highlights links to Arab and Islamic pasts. Accordingly, the value of using of archaeology and its interpretation to teach about the past is poorly recognized.

This paper investigates the reasons behind the exclusion of the past and archaeology in the Jordanian citizenship curriculum at the primary level. In addition, suggestions

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Table 15.1 Chronology of human settlement and major events in Jordan. The dark shaded areas are the time periods emphasized by the primary citizenship curriculum historical narratives. There are approximately eight pages about Arabs and non-Arabs who settled in and around the Arab Peninsula before Islam. Those have been mostly omitted in the new revised curriculum

Period	Dates (c.)
Palaeolithic	At least 1500000 BC–17500 BC
Epipalaeolithic	17500 BC–8500 BC
Neolithic	8500 BC–4500 BC
Chalcolithic	4500 BC–3200 BC
Early bronze	3200 BC–2000 BC
Middle bronze	2000 BC–1500 BC
Late bronze	1500 BC–1200 BC
Iron age	1200 BC–332 BC
Persian period	594 BC–331 BC
Hellenistic period	311 BC–63 BC
Nabataean period	312 BC–AD 106
Roman period	63 BC–AD 330
Byzantine period	AD 330–AD 640
The Prophet and the early Caliphates	AD 570–AD 661
Umayyad period	AD 661–AD 750
Abbasid period	AD 750–AD 950
Fatimid period	AD 969–AD 1171
Crusader period	AD 1100–AD 1291
Ayyubid period	AD 1174–AD 1263
Mamluk period	AD 1263–AD 1516
Ottoman period	AD 1516–AD 1916
Modern age (The Great Arab Revolt and the Hashemite rule)	AD 1916 present

are made as to how this can be improved. This review is part of a larger investigation of the potential for integrating archaeological museums in formal primary education in Jordan, undertaken by the author towards a doctorate. Intensive fieldwork has been carried out mainly in 2005. It involved an examination of curriculum textbooks and undertaking interviews with museum curators, teachers, and decision-makers in the education and heritage sectors. The data from the interviews are used in this paper, while maintaining the anonymity of the interviewees to hide their identity and ensure greater honesty of responses.

It is worth mentioning that this investigation was largely undertaken shortly before the Citizenship Curriculum was revised and rewritten over the period of 3 years, 2005–2007. An examination of the new curriculum by the researcher revealed that changes have occurred in terms of the textbook sizes and design, in the style of writing, and a few additions and omissions. Nonetheless, the content of the textbooks in relation to the teaching of the past remained largely unchanged. As in the old curriculum, the new curriculum focuses on Arab, Islamic, and modern history and highlights the benefits of archaeological heritage within tourism.

One interesting omission from the new curriculum over the old, is the few pages that narrated the history of Arabs and non-Arabs who settled in and around the Arab Peninsula before Islam. Furthermore, the number of pages dedicated to archaeology within tourism has increased.

Background

While some early research highlighted the excluded past in formal education (e.g. Clarke 1943; Husayn, 1938 cited in Meital 2006), the mechanisms of such exclusion were only identified in the late 1980s (MacKenzie and Stone 1990: 1). There is now a body of research showing how and why the past has been excluded in formal education, spanning the past three decades (Al-Husban et al. 2006; Antiquity 2000; Henson et al. 2004; Hodder and Doughty 2007; Mazel and Stewart 1987; Smardz and Smith 2000; Stone and MacKenzie 1990; Stone and Molyneaux 1994; Torsti 2007; Wang 2005).

Research into the excluded past was precipitated by a growing awareness amongst archaeologists of the inevitable "subjectivity" of their discipline. An increasing number of archaeologists during the 1980s began to stress that knowledge of the past is a contemporary interpretation influenced by social and political factors, and hence, not "objective" (see e.g. Hodder 1984; Lowenthal 1985; Trigger 1989). These views were part of groundbreaking developments in archaeology, rejecting the positivist outlook on the interpretation of the past of the "New Archaeology" (Johnson 1999: 98–102). Doubts amongst those opposing New Archaeology were strengthened as it became apparent that archaeology as an anthropological science cannot be detached from the present and or aspire to value-free interpretation (Shanks and Hodder 1995). These challenges formed new approaches to the interpretation of material evidence and became known as Postprocessual Archaeology (later Interpretive Archaeology), a founding argument of which was that there is no objective "true" interpretation or one correct method of investigation, rather variations of approaches and perspectives (Renfrew and Bahn 2004: 45).

While recognizing that their views might be subjective, a growing body of archaeologists took on the responsibility to investigate and challenge subjectivity and the political manipulation of the past, and to share with the public the role of archaeology in uncovering and interpreting the past using the available evidence (Ucko 1990). Thus, rather than seeking an "objective" truth about the past, archaeology has become the means to enhance public understanding of the past by engaging with evidence and being open to multiple interpretations. The use of archaeology to enhance teaching of the past in formal education has been equally emphasized, arguing that it can develop children's understanding and critical skills in relation to interpretation (e.g. Dahiya 1994; Metcalf 2002: 173; Stone 2004: 3). Furthermore, it has been suggested that archaeology can be used to support moral education by teaching pupils about the importance of respecting

and preserving their heritage, as well as concepts of cultural diversity, tolerance, and the commonality of humans and their values (e.g. Moe 2000; Pyburn 2000). In fact, archaeological education, through its active and engaging nature, involves experiencing evidence from the past, and is considered vital for serving children's interests and learning needs (Davis 2005: 4; Dewey 1959 [1899]; Smardz and Smith 2000).

The debates amongst western archaeologists regarding the "subjectivity" of their discipline and their responsibility towards public education seem absent in the contemporary local archaeological community in Jordan, if not the Arab world in general. This is despite some early recognition amongst intellectuals in the Arab world of the excluded past in formal education and the use of archaeology. Meital (2006) examined the construction of national histories in Egypt during the first half of the twentieth century and highlighted the role of Taha Husayn, an influential Egyptian scholar of the time, in criticizing the interpretation of the past in formal education, which supported the legitimacy of the monarchy. By examining several of Husayn's works, specifically *The Future of Culture in Egypt* published in 1938, Meital (2006: 258) indicates Husayn's belief in the importance of recognizing ancient archaeological resources that have shaped Egyptian life and acknowledging their significant potential in the defining of the cultural and national identity of the people of Egypt. Similarly, Iraqi scholars have also resisted the single state interpretation of the past in the education system. They advocated an interpretation of a past in formal education that celebrates the diversity of the population of Iraq, instead of the state nationalistic narratives (Bashkin 2006). Although the use of archaeology was not mentioned, the importance of students' interpretations in challenging the presentation of the past in formal education was highlighted. Bashkin (2006: 362) provides a valuable analysis of the writing of the Iraqi novelist Ayyub, indicating his advocacy of independent inquiry, which can result in the exposure of students to resources relating to the past outside the classroom, which are often more imaginative and interesting compared to the "state" version of the past.

Recently, investigations into the excluded past in formal education in Jordan have been carried out by few western and local archaeologists (e.g. Al-Husban et al. 2006; Maffi 2002). The majority of research in this area, however, has been dominated by western and local political researchers aiming to expose nationalistic agendas underpinning the manipulation of the past using various state apparatus, including formal education (Anderson 2002; Al-Mahadin 2007; Lynch 1999; Massad 2001; Sayigh 1991). To the best of the author's knowledge, no research has so far identified the rationale, other than political manipulation, for the past to be excluded in Jordanian formal education or explored the potential within the local heritage sector to introducing archaeology in formal education. This research takes a new and significant step towards investigating the issues discussed above, seeking to contribute to local research and enhancement of the teaching of the past in Jordanian formal education. Furthermore, the case study of Jordan is potentially beneficial to similar research in the Arab region and internationally.

The Excluded Past in the Jordanian Primary Citizenship Curriculum

The Jordanian primary citizenship curriculum (Years 1–5, Ages 6–10) incorporates social, personal, and health education, as well as the subjects of history and geography.[1] The curriculum is produced under the supervision of the Ministry of Education through its Curriculum Directorate. The curriculum is compulsory in all schools in Jordan. Pupils attend 2–3 citizenship lessons per week, and the Ministry's textbooks are the main resource used in classroom teaching (Primary Teachers, personal communication 2005).

In this curriculum, the past is presented in two ways: as historical narratives and as presentations of archaeological sites. The historical narratives focus primarily on the beginning and spread of Islam and the establishment of Jordan in the twentieth century. Those two periods represent a small proportion of the region's past (Table 15.1).

In terms of the archaeological sites, they are largely presented in pictures accompanied by a short descriptive text. The presentation of archaeological heritage is used mainly to highlight three phenomena: the great past civilizations that existed in what is known today as "the Arab World," the deep-rooted past in the geographical area of Jordan, and the importance of archaeology within tourism. Usually, if any of the archaeological sites have links to an Arab or Islamic pasts, those links are highlighted and expanded upon. These phenomena are illustrated in the following three examples selected from the citizenship curriculum textbooks at the primary level.

Example 1: The Archaeological Heritage Highlighting Great Past Civilizations in the Current Arab Region

In the Citizenship Curriculum textbook at year 3 (Age 8), there is a lesson about the unity of the Arab World in language, religion, and history that has pictures and names of famous archaeological site in the region ('Ayyad, et al. 2003b: 30). A picture of the Umayyad Palace on the Citadel in Amman, the capital of Jordan, is presented alongside famous religious and non-religious sites in the Arab world such as the Dome of the Rock, Sphinx, and Ishtar Gate. The accompanying text indicates that these remains speak of the greatness of the ancestors' art and architecture, and tells the story of one history for a united Arab nation. A similar setting of pictures is also

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[1] Until the beginning of the 1990s, the Jordanian educational ladder at school level was divided into three stages, primary (Years 1–6, Ages 6–11), preparatory (Years 7–9, Ages 12–14), and secondary (Years 10–12, Ages 15–18). At present, while maintaining the same content and progression in the curriculum, the three stages are combined into two, compulsory education (Years 1–10) and high school (Years 11 and 12) (DH, personal communication 2005). The teaching of the past in the first 5 years at school (primary level) is covered by the citizenship curriculum.

included in a lesson about the geography of the Arab world in the Citizenship Curriculum textbook at year 5 (Age 10) (Khleifat et al. 2003a: 110–111). It states that great civilizations existed in this region due to its strategic location and rich environment. It refers to the Arab Nabataeans, the founders of Petra.

In this example, the archaeological heritage in the Arab world is used to emphasize the unity of the Arab countries in terms of their rich history. Certain sites in Jordan that have an Islamic or Arabic past were selected. Petra, for example, was built by the Nabataeans, who were Arab tribes that migrated out of Arabia, so offering the deep-rooted Arab ancestry desired to consolidate an Arabic identity for Jordan. The presentation of Petra, along with archaeological sites in other Arab countries, is an attempt to strengthen Jordan's position as a member of the Arab world.

Example 2: The Archaeological Heritage Highlighting a Deep-Rooted Past in Jordan

The Citizenship Curriculum textbooks at years 3 and 4 (Ages 8–9) include lessons that introduce Jordan "The Homeland". They show pictures and names of archaeological sites indicating that these remains are left by humans who settled in Jordan since ancient times ('Ayyad et al. 2003a: 10–11; Al-Habahbeh et al. 2003: 27). The Citizenship Curriculum textbook at year 5 (Age 10) presents archaeological sites as part of a lesson about the cultural history of Jordan (Khleifat et al. 2003b: 123–138). The first chapter of the textbook presents religious shrines followed by a chapter about the history of Amman and some of its archaeological sites. The history of Amman begins with the Ammonites in the second and first centuries BC who founded the city. It then sheds light on the Islamic Umayyad conquest in the seventh century AD and the prosperity that followed. While these periods are dealt with in length, the next thousand years are summarized in a couple of sentences leading to the twentieth-century arrival of the Hashemite family and the present social and economic prosperity of the city. The third chapter sheds light on the archaeological site of Azraq Castle in the east of Jordan. It refers strictly to three periods of that site: the early Islamic caliphate, followed by the Umayyad period, and finally the great Arab revolt against the Ottomans during the First World War.

This example shows that a number of archaeological sites were presented to highlight the longevity of occupation and culture in Jordan. Some sites, however, were presented alongside a historical narrative that only focused upon certain pasts. The history of Amman is selected to represent the cultural history of Jordan. The narrative begins in the second century BC highlighting the etymology of the capital's name. It then draws particular attention to two periods; the Umayyad conquest of Amman in the seventh century and the prosperity that followed and the arrival of the Hashemite family in the twentieth century and prosperity of Amman. Similar attention to Umayyad and Hashemite rules is paid in the text about Azraq Castle site.

Maffi (2002: 219) argued that the Umayyad heritage has been highly promoted within the management of the archaeological heritage in Jordan. She refers to the attention drawn to the management of the Islamic citadel in Amman, a site that demonstrates the importance of the ancient city as an administrative and political center during the Umayyad period. Maffi (2002: 219) suggests that the reasons for this, from the point of view of national ideology, are twofold. First, it gives Amman (and therefore Jordan?) a historical depth linked to a significant period of time under the Umayyad rule (Amman fell into decline after the Abbasid dynasty moved the center of power to Baghdad). Second, it strengthens "a supposed genealogical and political relationship" between the Hashemite royal family and the Umayyad dynasty, a concept often mentioned in official discourse.

Example 3: The Archaeological Heritage Generating Income Through Tourism

The Citizenship Curriculum at year 4 (Age 9) includes a lesson about the economic resources in Jordan. It presents pictures of archaeological site accompanied by descriptive text that highlights their importance for generating income within tourism (Al-Habahbeh et al. 2003: 79–95). A description of Jerash archaeological site, for example, reads as follows: "What is the importance of tourism and archaeology in Jerash?… Jerash is an ancient Roman city that comprises of many archaeological landmarks like the Southern Theatre, the Colonnaded Street, and Hadrian's Triumphal Arch. The government holds the annual Jerash Cultural Festival in the summer…" (Al-Habahbeh et al. 2003: 87). Only in two cases, the events which occurred on these sites were narrated. One event was about the Muslim leader Saladin using Ajloun Castle as a military base during the Crusades, while the other was about the famous Battle of Mu'tah that occurred during the early Islamic period near Karak Castle.

The attention given to the benefits of archaeological sites in a tourist context is clear in this example. Furthermore, all the archaeological sites are presented with basic information and a random list of archaeological features that pupils might find difficult to comprehend. It was interesting to find that only events linked to Arabic or Islamic pasts were mentioned in the text about the sites.

The above examples demonstrate which pasts are emphasized and which pasts are omitted in the Jordanian formal primary education. They also show that reference to archaeology in the interpretation of the past is lacking. While it is important that pupils appreciate their Islamic and Arab pasts and values, develop greater belonging to their country, and recognize the importance of the tourism industry, there are also many other lessons that could be learned from the past and its remains. Undoubtedly, the opportunity to increase pupil understanding of the past as a rich resource, of how past communities lived, and most importantly, the basic idea of how the past is interpreted, seems to be lost.

Reasons for the Exclusion of the Past in Formal Education in Jordan

MacKenzie and Stone (1990: 3) identified four factors in the exclusion of the past in formal education, which are: a crowded curriculum, a past that is perceived as having no immediate relevance or bearing on the present day, political manipulation, and the ignorance of teachers. Taking these four factors as a framework, the exclusion of the past in Jordanian formal primary education was investigated, and the opportunity was taken to identify additional factors specific to Jordan. While recognizing the various contributions towards investigating the excluded past, MacKenzie and Stone's (1990) perspective is useful due to its rich and comprehensive identification of the rationale for the excluded past in formal education, based on various contributions from around the world. Despite improvements suggested by recent research, the excluded past and the rationale behind it persist today (e.g. Antiquity 2000; Doughty and Hodder 2007; Henson 2004; Metcalf 2002; Smardz and Smith 2000; Wang 2005).

A Crowded Curriculum or a Matter of Priorities

The investigation began by examining whether a crowded curriculum is a significant reason for the exclusion of the past in primary citizenship education in Jordan. Although the curriculum appeared crowded, none of the individuals involved in curriculum production, interviewed by the researcher, raised this as an issue behind selecting or ignoring certain pasts. The range of topics and space allocated in the citizenship curriculum textbooks, years 1–5 (Ages 6–10), were also considered to assess whether the curriculum is actually crowded. This examination revealed that the curriculum is overloaded in terms of the repetition of the history of modern Jordan and the arrival of Islam in each school year. Moreover, some 20 pages in a 127 page-textbook at year 4 (Age 9) depict a repeated pattern of pictures of archaeological sites along with brief texts linked to tourism (Table 15.2).[2] In that respect, the curriculum is crowded with repetition, which is considered as "favorable" because pupils have to be familiar with their country first (DH, personal communication 2005). Therefore, it seems that it is not a crowded curriculum that lies behind the excluded past, but rather the priority of what should be taught about the past due to its relevance to present needs and values (see below).

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[2] In the new revised curriculum, there are 25 pages about tourism in an 82 page-textbook at year four (Al Shdeifat et al. 2006) depicting a repeated pattern of pictures of archaeological sites with brief text.

Table 15.2 An estimated distribution of topics related to the teaching of the past in the primary citizenship curriculum in Jordan

The past in primary formal education in Jordan	Year 1 (Age 6)	Year 2 (Age 7)	Year 3 (Age 8)	Year 4 (Age 9)	Year 5 (Age 10)	Total pages
Pre-Arab and Islamic past in and around the Arab Peninsula	–	–	–	–	8	8
Arabs before Islam	–	–	–	1	12	13
History of Islam	15	27	47	3	51	143
History of modern Jordan	5	13	16	38	6	78
Archaeological heritage (emphasizing tourism)	–	–	4	20	–	24
Presenting archaeological sites in Jordan and the Arab World	–	1	5	3	6	14
Heritage preservation	–	–	–	–	–	–
Archaeological evidence and interpretation	–	–	–	–	–	–

The (Ir)relevance of the Past to the Present Day

Excluding the past in formal education, on the basis that it has no bearing on the present day or is irrelevant to the present needs (see MacKenzie and Stone 1990: 3), was further investigated within the Jordanian context. An examination of the philosophy of education, which underpins the curriculum, illustrated that despite its reference to the importance of "openness to other cultures," it is still largely focused on adherence to Arab, Islamic heritage, and Jordanian values and beliefs defined by this heritage. Therefore, the past in Jordanian formal education is in fact very important and very relevant if it relates to an Arab or Islamic past that reinforces Jordanian values and beliefs.

Archaeology is also very important and relevant as an economic resource in relation to tourism. Tourism is the second most significant source of income of foreign currency, being approximately 10–12% of the income of the local economy (Al-Hadidi 2004: 7; ZH, personal communication 2005). According to statistics generated in the 1980s and 1990s, 80% of visitors to Jordan come for the antiquities and heritage first (ZH, personal communication 2005). Tourism as a resource is given great attention, along with services and foreign aid, as it provides a major boost to the limited resources of Jordan (ZH, personal communication 2005).

Hence, while the Arab and Islamic past and the benefits of archaeology for tourism are perceived important and relevant to the present social needs and values, other pasts and the use of archaeology to teach about past life seem to be irrelevant, and therefore excluded. The exclusion of pasts that are deemed irrelevant is more prevalent in relation to prehistory. Considering the expanse of time between prehistory and the present and the anonymity of prehistoric peoples, its use for building historical ties to construct identities and nurture nationalism becomes more difficult. Consequently, prehistory has been generally less recognized in formal education (Hodder and Doughty 2007).

Political Manipulation

The past has been used to serve ideological purposes in formal education by governments worldwide, which seek to construct an identity that unifies the society to support the state nationalistic agendas (Phillips 2000: 11). Research shows that Jordan is no exception. The interpretation of the past in the Jordanian education system has been, since its establishment, underpinned by political ideologies of Arabism and Islam seeking to construct and consolidate a Jordanian identity (Anderson 2002; Al-Husban et al. 2006; Al-Mahadin 2007; Lynch 1999; Massad 2001).

For a young state like Jordan, whose borders were drawn and rulers appointed by British officials during and after World War I, the construction of Jordanian identity was a crucial process for legitimizing and stabilizing the nation state and its regime. Before Jordan was established in 1921, the Levant area was divided into districts under Ottoman rule that lasted for 400 years. In 1916, the Arabs, led by the Sheriff of Mecca Hussein bin Talal of the Hashemite family, revolted and successfully overthrew the Ottomans. Following the Arab revolt, the Arab region was divided into states recognized and protected under the Sykes-Pico agreement signed by the British and the French governments. The British took responsibility for the newly formed state of Transjordan and it was handed over to Emir (later king) Abdullah, the son of Hussein. With the help of the British, Abdullah began establishing Transjordan with ambitions to create a greater Syria, under which the divided Arab states could be united (Sayigh 1991: 169).

During the initial years of establishing the new state and up until the 1970s, Abdullah, and later his son, King Hussein, sought to defend the legitimacy of the Hashemite rule and the Jordanian entity, firstly to the population of Transjordan (later Jordan) and secondly to the neighboring Arab countries (Lynch 1999; Sayigh 1991). Such legitimization depended chiefly on developing a Jordanian identity based on "shared ideology, history, and social culture" (Sayigh 1991: 168). Official history in particular was inculcated through political speeches, in law, the media, museums, and school textbooks, effectively playing an important role in constructing a Jordanian identity under a Hashemite rule (cf. Anderson 2002; Al-Mahadin 2007; Maffi 2002; Massad 2001; Sayigh 1991).

In pursuit of his ambitions to create an Arab unity, Abdullah supported Arab nationalist discourse in the region (Lynch 1999: 24), which emphasized cultural, religious, and linguistic unity in the face of fragmentation and colonization. Arab nationalism was important in gaining recognition for the new state by Arab neighboring states. Such a task proved difficult until the 1950s, a decade after Jordan's independence, as establishing a new state closely linked with western interests was not popular in an already fragmented Arab region struggling against colonial powers (Sayigh 1991: 169). Parallel to the process of consolidating the entity of Jordan, Abdullah had to legitimize his rule to the population of the new state as well. While Abdullah worked towards setting government structure, a police force, and establishing laws, he also sought to consolidate his rule by forming internal alliances and suppressing a number of internal revolts (Sayigh 1991: 168). Abdullah (and later

King Hussein) had also consolidated his legitimacy to rule based on Hashemite descent from The Prophet and their leadership in the Great Arab Revolt during the First World War under the banner of Arab nationalism (Anderson 2002: 9).

The legitimization of the entity of Jordan and the throne continued during the reign of King Hussein, despite being threatened by the changing nature of the Palestinian–Jordanian relationships (Al-Mahadin 2007; Lynch 1999; Massad 2001; Sayigh 1991). The proportion of Palestinians in Jordan increased after the first wave of Palestinian refugees in 1948, followed by an influx due to the unification/annexation of the eastern territories of Palestine (West Bank) with Jordan (East Bank) in 1952 and the second wave of Palestinian refugees in 1967. Along with this flux in the demographic composition of the population in Jordan and the rise of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) in the 1960s, doubts were expressed regarding the Ruler's claim to be representative of a Jordanian population that was largely Palestinian (Massad 2001: 13). The legitimacy of the throne fell under further pressure after Jordan's loss of the West Bank to Israel in the 1967 war and the relocation of the Palestinian Resistance Movement (PRM) to Jordan to strike Israeli targets. Conflicts began to arise between the PRM and the Jordanian Government, precipitated by a number of factors, mainly the question of power over internal matters (Massad 2001; Sayigh 1991). Consequently, a war broke out between the two opposing sides in September 1970, after which the PRM left its bases in Jordan. As a result, the entity and throne of Jordan emerged stronger and more confident than ever before.

Although Jordan has obtained national and international recognition since its political formation (Al-Mahadin 2007: 314) and the throne is no longer under threat (Lynch 1999; Sayigh 1991), the past in formal education remains a tool used to nurture Arab nationalism and support the Hashemite rule. Aside from the historical narratives that focus on Islamic pasts and modern history, the examples discussed earlier illustrate the use of the archaeological heritage for nationalistic agendas, such as Petra to emphasize deep-rooted Arab heritage and the Umayyad Islamic past to highlight Hashemite ancestral links.

These concepts are embedded at the roots of curriculum production. Curricula and textbooks are written "in conformity" with the philosophy of education (Jaradat and Abu Sheikha 1992: 15; Olaimat and Olaimat 2004: 70). The philosophy of education emerges from the Jordanian constitution, the principles of the Great Arab Revolt, the national Jordanian experience, and the Arab-Islamic civilization. At its base underlined are the notions of faith in the Arab nation and Islamic values; links between Jordan and the Arab world by the declaration of Jordan as a Hashemite Arab state; its people as an entity inseparable to that of the Arab Nation (see Jaradat and Abu Sheikha 1992: 7–8).

The Ignorance of Teachers

A factor in this investigation was whether teachers played a part in the exclusion of the past in formal primary education in Jordan, through their ignorance about

Table 15.3 The teachers' expectations of their pupils' learning outcomes when teaching about the archaeological heritage

School	Descriptive information	Tourism	Belonging	Interpretation
1	✓	–	–	–
2	✓	✓	✓	–
3	✓	–	✓	–
4	✓	✓	–	–
5	✓	✓	–	–
6	✓	✓	–	✓
7	–	✓	–	–
8	–	–	✓	✓
9	–	✓	–	–
10	–	–	✓	–
11	✓	✓	–	–
12	✓	✓	–	–
13	–	–	✓	–
14	–	✓	–	–
15	✓	–	–	✓
16	–	✓	–	–

archaeology (see MacKenzie and Stone 1990: 3). The term "ignorance" is used here in its nonpejorative sense – teachers' lack of grounding in archaeology as a discipline. As well as interviewing decision-makers in the Ministry of Education regarding training and resources, the author interviewed 20 teachers from 16 public and private schools, selected randomly from eight districts covered by the Ministry's Regional Governorates.[3] The intention was to investigate the teaching of the past in the classroom, as well as the training and resources available for teachers within the education system.

Results show that teachers adhere strictly to the curriculum textbooks. Only teachers in 3 schools out of 16 explained to their pupils the use of evidence in interpreting the past or showed awareness of pupils' enhanced understanding of the past when interacting with material evidence. Teachers in over half of the schools expect pupils to learn basic and descriptive information (Table 15.3). For younger pupils aged 6–8, teachers expected them to "… differentiate between pictures [of various sites]… the picture of Petra, Jerash, the Roman Amphitheatre…" (Teacher C, school 3, 2005). For older pupils aged 9–10, teachers expected pupils to learn about the archaeological heritage in more detail, such as "where the sites are located in Jordan, who built them… to know information about it [the site] and to be able to describe it…" (Teacher P, school 12, 2005). In five schools, teachers expected that as pupils learn about archaeological sites, their attachment to these places and belonging to

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[3] The number of teachers is higher than the number of schools because the author took the opportunity to interview more than one teacher, if available, in some schools to get better insight into the issues under investigation. Each school was considered one voice because teachers answered collectively and their responses could not be counted.

their country develops and strengthened, and will continue to do so as they grow up. In 10 out of 16 schools, teachers expected their pupils to appreciate the importance of archaeological sites for generating income through tourism. The following interview provides closer insight into the expectations of teachers regarding learning outcomes of pupils:

Researcher:	"What do you expect them to understand when you teach them about the archaeological heritage?"
Teacher F, school 4:	"To understand the location of the archaeological site, who built it, which period of time…"
Researcher:	"Do you feel that they understand the importance of the archaeological heritage?"
Teacher F, school 4:	"Of course, [they understand] our duty towards preservation because it [the archaeological heritage] is an important economic resource…"

It appears from the teachers' responses that the excluded past in the textbooks is reinforced by their classroom teaching. Moreover, although teachers have repeatedly referred to their pupils' natural interest in archaeology, the use of archaeology to inform the interpretation of the past is lacking in the classroom. One reason for a teacher-based exclusion of the past (and archaeology) could be that they are diligent in teaching the past as presented (and excluded) in the Ministry of Education textbooks. Opportunities to use other resources, if available, to support classroom teaching are limited by the compulsion to use the Ministry's textbooks in all schools.

None of the teachers are aware of any other resources that they can use in their teaching about the past. The *World Heritage in Young Hands* produced by UNESCO (2003), for example, is a promising resource that should be accessible to teachers. However, considering that it is distributed to the 95 school members of the Associated School Project (LN, personal communication 2005) out of at least 5,500 schools in Jordan, its availability to teachers across the country is quite limited. Other beneficial resources that teachers can use is *Introducing Young People to Heritage Site Management and Protection: A Practical Guide for Secondary School Teachers in the Arab Region* produced Jointly by UNESCO and ICCROM (2006). However, this guide targets secondary school teachers, and hence it remains unsuitable for primary school teachers in Jordan.

Some teachers have made personal efforts to step beyond the prescribed curriculum. In fact, one teacher used prehistory to explain to her pupils the origins of food cooking. However, she provided an interpretation of the past that was highly inaccurate:

> Our lesson was about cooking and why it makes food better to digest and more delicious. So I started explaining about how the fire started at a time when they [Stone Age human beings] used to eat raw meat and find it difficult to chew. A spark started a fire in the woods and animals were burned… So they ate some of these animals and they found that the taste is different from raw meat. Surely their stomach used to hurt, but they did not know why until they ate the cooked food and their stomach digested it more quickly. (Teacher D, school 3, 2005)

It seems that teaching an inaccurate interpretation of the past is not only related to the lack of guiding resources, but also to a lack of experience in archaeology.

By investigating teachers' qualifications, it appeared that their backgrounds are in history, social studies, Arabic or English literature, geography, sports science, or education. None of the teachers had a degree in archaeology. Furthermore, archaeology as a tool to teach about the past has not been mentioned to them, either as part of their degrees or as part of any training carried out by the Ministry of Education. In that respect, the ignorance of teachers is linked to the lack of skill development opportunities and guiding resources within the education system as a whole.

Curriculum Producers: Archaeology Misunderstood

This research revealed that curriculum producers played a significant role in excluding the past in formal education in Jordan; to the best knowledge of the researcher, this reason has not been clearly identified by Stone and MacKenzie (1990) nor has it been thoroughly investigated within the international context. Those involved in the production of the curriculum recognized that certain pasts, referring to prehistory or ancient civilizations, were excluded. They expressed that as these pasts were difficult for children to understand, they were excluded (DH, personal communication 2005). The same reason was given for not including archaeology, referring specifically to the difficulty children would have in understanding excavation techniques and the periods of time to which the findings are dated (DH and AF, personal communication 2005).

The lack of recognition of prehistory and the non-use of archaeology in education could be predominantly linked to a lack of understanding within the education system of how both can be used to teach children about the past and its interpretation. When curriculum producers referred to the difficulty of archaeology, they mentioned "techniques of excavation", "pottery dating" and "what archaeology students study at university". Curriculum producers would seem to have failed to recognize that archaeology can actually be used to teach children about the past in an engaging and simple way, which suits their needs and interests. In fact, teaching about how humans lived in prehistoric times, their tools, clothes and homes, is a suitable subject for pupils at primary level because of its "simplistic" nature, which children can relate to and be interested in, particularly considering their instinct to discover the world around them (Dewey 1959 [1899]). Moreover, prehistory can be used to teach pupils about the common past of all humans (Clarke 1943; Hodder and Doughty 2007).

The lack of recognition of prehistory and the failure to engage with archaeology in primary education could also reflect the strong presence of historians and other social sciences backgrounds and the complete lack of archaeologists amongst the curriculum production team. In fact, it was found during this investigation that there are no archaeologists working within the primary citizenship curriculum production structure, beginning with the Board of Education, the main decision-making group that ratifies the curriculum, to the Curriculum Directorate and its appointed national

teams that set the curriculum framework and broad guidelines, and the individual authors involved in the actual writing of the textbooks.[4]

Conclusion: Introducing Archaeology into Formal Education

Significant opportunities for pupils in Jordan to appreciate the full extent of the richness of the past and gain access to its interpretation are missed, while archaeology continues to be effectively excluded from the curriculum. By identifying reasons for the excluded past in Jordanian primary education – the priority of teaching certain pasts due to their relevance to the present social needs and values; the ideological use of the past; the ignorance of teachers (linked to limited access to resources and training); and the curriculum producers lack of recognition for the benefits of archaeological education – it is possible to suggest improvements.

Research indicates that a key factor to the introduction of archaeology in formal education is for archaeologists to work with educators, whose major influence on the course of the educational process cannot be denied (Henson et al. 2004; Jameson 1997; Smardz and Smith 2000; Stone and MacKenzie 1990). Nonetheless, this research has found that the involvment of the public heritage sector in Jordan in enhancing the teaching of the past in formal education has been inadequate. Archaeology in Jordan is run by central government that is the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MoTA) and its Department of Antiquities (DoA). MoTA works towards managing, developing, monitoring, promoting and marketing tourism (Law of Tourism 1988, amended in 1998: article 3), and DoA takes responsibility for the excavation, discovery, survey, presentation, preservation and administration of antiquities (Law of Antiquities of 1988, amended in 2004: article 3). Archaeological education for the public and in formal education are lacking in their policies, strategies and resource allocation. Moreover, their collaboration with the education sector towards introducing archaeology and enhancing the teaching of the past in the curriculum is limited and ineffective. While there might be some initiatives providing archaeological education by DoA, they are not effective in reaching schoolchildren. For instance, an archaeology magazine, *Athar*, is published annually by DoA including short reports of interest to the public, information about museums and a section for youngsters. Only 100 copies are received by the Ministry of Education, out of the total of 1,000 published and distributed free of charge to other parties, such as libraries (RR, personal communication 2006). Moreover, DoA established an Archaeological Awareness Division (AAD), which although it worked closely with schools during the 1990s, is now understaffed and to large extent inactive. There is also a lack of educational provision in formal education by the ten archaeological

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[4] The head of the Archaeology Department at the University of Jordan began collaborating in 2006 with the head of the Humanities Department at the Ministry's Curriculum Directorate and has been involved in authoring the History of Ancient Civilization textbook at level seven.

Fig. 15.1 Making bread the Roman way. Jerash museum educational activity (Photo courtesy of Jerash Museum curator Iman Owais, 2005)

museums administered by DoA. Education policies, education staff, educational resources, educational programs and education facilities in museums are almost absent. There are promising educational activities for schools carried out by one of these museums, the Jerash Archaeological Museum, which has set a very good example of the potential of museums in Jordan to enhance pupils' understanding of the past in formal education. One of their successful activities was "Making bread the Roman way", which involved baking bread in a specially designed Roman-style oven that is still used today (EO personal communication 2005) (Fig. 15.1).

The public heritage sector in Jordan has great potential to enhance the teaching of the past in schools, by working with the education sector towards introducing archaeology in formal education. As a start, archaeological education should be recognized in their visions, strategies, staff training, and financial resource. The public heritage sector should also consider working with the curriculum production team and help in revising textbooks to enhance the presentation of the past and introduce archaeology. Schools and teachers would benefit greatly if archaeological education programs, designed to teach pupils about the interpretation of the past, are provided on archaeological sites and in museums. Additionally, educational resources and training should be provided for teachers to assist them in understanding and using archaeology in their teaching. The public heritage sector should encourage archaeological museums to start providing regular archaeological

education for schools, following the model of Jerash museum. In addition, collaboration with private heritage societies that have been working towards introducing archaeology in formal education (e.g. the Jordanian Heritage Development Society, the Friends of Archaeology and Heritage Society) would also be of benefit in the sharing of experiences and resources. If the past is to be appreciated and the archaeological heritage protected, archaeology has to be shared with the public, starting with the youngest schoolchildren.

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Chapter 16
The Educational Purpose of Archaeology: A Personal View from the United Kingdom

Donald Henson

The United Kingdom (UK) has a very rich historic environment. Everywhere we go, we see remains of the past all around us; where we live, work, and travel. Archaeology concerns itself with all physical traces of the human past, and therefore archaeology in Britain covers upstanding buildings, roads, and field boundaries just as much as ruins and buried sites. Dwellings and shops built in the 1960s are archaeological evidence in the same way as ruined medieval monasteries, Roman forts, and prehistoric burials. Many people often take for granted the landscapes they walk through and seldom explicitly recognize the depth of time involved in what they can see. In London, we can stand at the new Millennium Bridge with our backs toward the former Bankside power station, built after the Second World War and walk across straight toward St Paul's Cathedral, built after 1675 (Fig. 16.1). In the space of perhaps 250 m, we can walk through 300 years of history. Many towns and villages throughout Britain have similar time depth to their streetscapes, and few even more depth of time than this. A city like York is dominated by its medieval Minster (cathedral), with the current structure built 800 years ago. Yet, although most people who live in and visit the city are aware of the building as old, there is no real sense of what that 800 years means; of how many lives have been spent in the Minster's shadow, nor of the Minster as a historic building since it is still in use as a Christian church. What are consciously accepted as old and historic are often those parts of the historic environment that are consciously marketed as such. From the World Heritage Sites at Stonehenge and Hadrian's Wall to the faint traces of Bronze Age field systems 3,000 years old, the ruined and abandoned past is obvious. Sometimes, what seems to be old is not old. Right next to the Bankside power station is the reconstructed Globe Theatre a faithfully done creation, representing what the builders' think the original Globe Theatre of the 1590s would have looked like (Fig. 16.2). The original

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Fig. 16.1 St Paul's Cathedral across the millennia, London (Photo by author)

Fig. 16.2 The Globe Theatre, London (Photo by author)

site where the real Globe once stood is now a car park under an eighteenth-century housing block, about 200 m away. Of course, old buildings can survive in a new guise. The Bankside power station has been reborn as Tate Modern, an art gallery devoted to modern art; the ultimate in a renewable, ahistoric material culture. Past and present form an intricate, ever-changing, and interwoven tapestry in British life.

This rich heritage is one of our greatest economic assets. Tourists do not come to Britain for our climate or our golden sandy beaches. They come to us for our past, whether genuine or reconstructed. Often what they come for is an imaginary past as seen in films or preserved in mythic stereotypes, or an iconic past of key sites like the Tower of London, Ironbridge or Edinburgh Castle. More subtly, it is the pattern of streets, the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century stone buildings in the towns, the patterns of fields and villages in the rural landscapes that provide a reassurance that Britain is old and a place where change happens only slowly (itself arguably a myth).

However that heritage is always under threat from new building, erosion, and most of all for our prehistoric past from farming. Protection against the loss of valuable archaeology lies in the hands of archaeologists based in local authorities (counties and sometimes districts in England, in four large trusts in Wales, and in groups of local councils in Scotland). These will keep an eye out for potential destruction and if necessary insist as part of planning permission that the archaeology should be conserved or investigated. Any archaeological work that needs to be done will be put out to tender by the developer and archaeological companies will bid for contracts to do the work. Funding for this work is provided by the developers. Yet, there is never enough money to cope with the size of the historic environment and many developers complain about having to pay for archaeological work to be done in the first place.

Of course, archaeology is more than just saving sites from destruction. It is also about making people aware of their past and helping them to understand it. Public interest in the past is enormous. There are perhaps 15,000 people studying archaeology courses in education, more than 2,000 local heritage groups and societies (over 200,000 people), 900,000 members of English Heritage, 3,500,000 members of the National Trust, up to 10,000,000 people may regularly watch TV programs on history, archaeology and heritage, and, according to a opinion survey in 2003 (Robinson and Kaur-Ballagan 2004), 62% of the population visited historic institutions or sites during the year. In another survey in 2000, 87% of people said the past played an important part in cultural life of the country (English Heritage 2000). It is the archaeologists in Britain who are the essential middle layer between heritage and the interested public. Our upstanding and visibly obvious heritage of buildings and sites goes back 6,000 years. Very few people know much about it or could even recognize the right dates for what they see. Fewer will know much about the activities that took place in the buildings they see, or about the lives of people who built and used them. We are the mediators who give people this knowledge and understanding (Fig. 16.3).

heritage → research → archaeological knowledge → publication/display → people

Fig. 16.3 The heritage chain

Successful mediation involves listening carefully to the other side to find out what they want to see and hear. We then have the choice whether to simply provide what the public say they want, or to give them what we think they should have. The past serves some deep-seated needs and wants within people (Lowenthal 1988), and we need to negotiate our relationship with them. The past may have become part of popular culture (Holtorf 2005), but does that mean that archaeology has to be populist in its approach? One of the great communicators in archaeology, Sir Mortimer Wheeler, was never afraid of using popular media like television, nor of creating good narratives as a way of communicating with an audience, yet he was also careful never to abdicate his responsibilities to the archaeological discipline and its evidence.

However, archaeologists also have a more self-serving reason to engage with the public than simply responding to demand. The Council for British Archaeology (CBA) was founded in 1944, and one of its first acts was to set up a subcommittee to produce a report on archaeological education. At a time when there were very few employed archaeologists, there was a great need to secure state funding for the discipline. In a democratic society, it is essential to have strong public support as a way of persuading politicians to provide such funding, and the CBA stated this very clearly in the report of the subcommittee:

> Furthermore it may be urged that unless a larger section of the British public is brought to take an intelligent interest in archaeology, our science will continue to be handicapped by ignorance, apathy and obstructionism in the post-war world and to find difficulty in obtaining state or other financial assistance for research. It is therefore of the utmost importance to the Council to promote archaeological studies in general education. (Dobson et al. 1944)

Thirty one years later, Professor John Evans became the Chairman of the new CBA Education Board, as well as becoming Director of the Institute of Archaeology in London. In his inaugural lecture as Director, he not only provided a restatement of the need for archaeological education, but also raised the issue of what archaeology contributed to society.

> Despite its great and growing popularity it seems to me that archaeology is still a widely misunderstood subject (not least by some of its friends, and even of its practitioners), and as a result of this it is still far from having achieved the place, either in formal education or in the general consciousness of society, to which its achievements, and its relevance to our human condition, entitle it. (Evans 1975)

Moving on another thirty one years, what John Evans said still has a great deal of force. Archaeology is greatly misunderstood.

Why has archaeology not yet achieved the recognition it deserves? It could be argued that this is because of the educational model adopted for its transmission to the public. It is understandable that archaeology often comes to public attention through its discoveries. Tutankhamen, Ötzi, the terracotta warriors, for example, are all spectacular. The main product of archaeology is the sites that people can visit and the artifacts they go to see in a museum. The past is then seen as something that is made up of tangible facts we can know about. The archaeologist is the expert specialist who can tell people about the minute details of stone tools or big developments like human evolution. Our teaching and presentational practice reflect this. We tell people about the past. We present our finds and our narratives assuming they
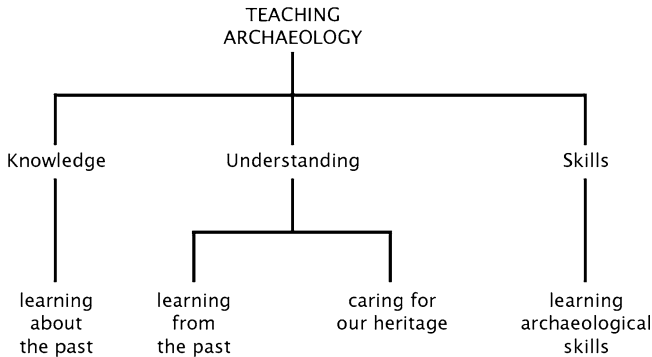
Fig. 16.4 An archaeological education

will be absorbed into people's minds and enrich their knowledge of the world. Modern archaeological theory has challenged this model. However, much of the theoretical debates in archaeology have focused on how we do archaeology and how we interpret our findings – epistemology and hermeneutics – rather than why we do archaeology in the first place (as in the debates between the New Archaeology and postmodern approaches, e.g., Gamble 2001; Hodder 1986; Yoffee and Sherratt 1993). Only politically committed archaeologists whose perspectives derive from a critique of modern western society have sought to explore potential uses for archaeology (e.g., Shanks and Tilley 1987). We seldom give people a sense of what the purpose is for our work; why they should be bothered to listen to us. In other words, we have failed to explain why archaeology matters, and if it does not matter then we can hardly complain if our discipline has failed to achieve what we see as its rightful place in society.

Archaeological education in the widest sense is a means of reaching out, of communicating with people. This often takes place within the formal constraints of a school curriculum or university course, and can also happen in less formal situations as part of our site displays, museum exhibitions, and public events. Good archaeological education should include the imparting of knowledge, increasing people's understanding and the development of their own skills (Fig. 16.4). In spite of the developments in modern archaeological theory, which reflect postmodernist approaches to knowledge as being contingent on current and ever-changing perspectives, there is a body of knowledge in archaeology. People can learn about the past. Christopher Hawkes's famous ladder of inference (Hawkes 1954) may be in need of repair, yet there is still a great deal of truth in the idea that we can know a great deal about past technology and even economy. We can know, and infer, something about past society, but know only a little about religious practice but even less about spiritual beliefs. Archaeologists can often tell us what-happened-when, albeit with a degree of fuzziness at the edges. However, this is not all archaeology has to offer. The past is there not only for our amusement, but also as part of a store of wisdom on which we can draw to help inform our lives and our decisions for the future. A nineteenth-century Prime Minister, William Gladstone, made the point in

a speech in 1879, saying that "… the errors of former times are recorded for our instruction, in order that we may avoid their repetition …" (Gladstone 1879). He may have been referring to past written histories but nevertheless his view can apply to all the past, however recovered. To learn from the past is fundamentally a political act, and perhaps this is why archaeologists as scholars have been wary about stating this openly as a reason for their existence. Learning from the past is much more challenging than simply describing the past. This is where archaeology shows its relevance to the present. Yet, how often do archaeologists actually stand up and say how what they do helps us understand the present. The World Archaeological Congress (WAC) has been a notable exception, providing a forum for politically engaged archaeology (Gero 1999, 2000; Shepherd 2005). However, it is hard to think in Britain of archaeologists who are providing public voices on issues like human rights, asylum seekers or environmental change.

What can we learn through archaeology? There are perhaps four broad themes that we can explore. First, archaeology is the study of the past, and that means the study of time. The archaeological record provides snapshots of human behavior at successive points in time. Through this, we can provide insights into how human behavior has changed over long time periods. An example might be the development of hierarchy and social stratification in human society, or the different roles of women and men which can throw into relief our assumptions about our own society today. Second, archaeologists study the whole of human life, and it is immediately apparent that the world has seen an enormous variety in forms of cultural expression and human behavior. At a time when increasing global transport and communications are reducing variety, preserving the knowledge of different ways of doing things is valuable in itself. From this, we can learn to appreciate difference and perhaps use the past as inspiration for creating new forms of expression (such as ancient forms inspiring modern pottery), or rediscover past technologies that could be updated for the modern world: for example, irrigation systems. Our modern world is a product of the industrial revolution and is a very recent development in human history. Third, given that most human life has occurred in economies bound to the natural world much more closely than we are now, it is inevitable that archaeologists also study the changing relationships that people have had with their natural environment. The impact of early farming on vegetation and soils and the impact of changing climate on human settlement are important subjects of archaeological study. What could be more relevant at a time of global climate change? Finally, to study the human past is to study ourselves; to realize what it is that makes us human, and that we all share an ultimately common humanity. There have been archaeologists, and still are, who are seduced by nationalist and racist ideologies, and use their archaeology to bolster extreme views. However, the greatest thing we can learn from our past is that we share a common identity. Underneath the varied patterns of human culture, lies a basic unity of behavior and shared experiences. At a time when our television news screens deliver an almost daily diet of inhumanity by people to each other; this is surely something worth stating over and over again.

The utility of archaeology goes further than helping inform our social and political ideas. The remains of the past still exist in the UK as part of the present, a

historic environment. This is a heritage belonging to all who live in the UK. It forms the space within which they live and work. Enabling people to care for that heritage should be an important part of our work as archaeologists. The buildings, streets, and fields where we live form an important part of our identity, as do the style and type of artifacts, art and designs we surround ourselves with. The relationship of the past to our identity is a complex one. In the UK, there need not be a direct inherited sense of creation or ownership of the past. There is no necessary connection between the culture and identity of the English of today and of the people who built Stonehenge, yet most people would recognize Stonehenge as an iconic part of England's heritage. More importantly, most people have a local attachment to where they live, which helps give them a strong sense of identity. This is important in a country like the UK, where there are strong differences between regions within a small area. The varied historic environment is a strong contributor toward the sense of place, and toward making places attractive to live in. In a MORI opinion survey taken in 2003, 82% of people asked said that the buildings in their local area were important parts of their heritage (Robinson and Kaur-Ballagan 2004). That heritage often has economic value. Tourist income forms a large part of the UK's national income. Over 4% of the working population work directly in tourism, the UK attracts 32 million of foreign visitors a year, and the economic value of tourism was £16.3 billion (VisitBritain 2009). Heritage conservation can be an important basis for economic regeneration. For example, a run-down area of the northern English town of Hartlepool is the site of the early nineteenth-century warship HMS Trincomalee. The restoration of the warship provided 750,000 man-hours of local skilled employment, £8 million was spent in the local economy during the restoration, and the ship attracts 350,000 visitors a year to the area (Catling 2004).

Of course, archaeologists use a wide range of skills in their work. These are valuable in their own right and can give people a sense of empowerment and involvement. For example, we can teach people about the need for evidence to back up knowledge and ideas, and about how to analyze evidence. We can teach how to manage heritage and resolve conflicts over its use. By giving people archaeological investigation skills, we enable them to take part for themselves. Anyone can run an archaeological excavation in England, Scotland, and Wales. There are no licenses needed, and the only official permission needed is for excavation on Scheduled Ancient Monuments. Provided the landowner agrees, amateur archaeological groups can, and do, run their own excavations and research projects. The CBA has as its slogan "archaeology for all," and its mission is to support wider public participation in archaeology. Archaeology is not just excavation though. People can learn to look at, analyze, and understand for themselves urban and rural landscapes they live in. This helps to create a lively sense of community among them, nurtures a strong pride in their identities and localities, and provides the historic environment with champions who care deeply about its maintenance and future. The MORI poll of 2003 found 92% of people thought that it was important to keep historic features wherever possible when trying to improve villages, towns, and cities (Robinson and Kaur-Ballagan 2004). There are many hundreds of local archaeological societies, metal detecting clubs, and heritage groups. There are also growing numbers

of community archaeologists to help support these. There may be less than 6,000 professional archaeologists in the UK, but there are many more people involved as amateurs actively engaged in archaeological research or managing heritage.

The professional archaeologists have the skills, equipment, expertise, and knowledge. They also can listen to what the people have to say about their heritage. We are invaders into their territory. The heritage we investigate is not national – it is local. The meaning of that heritage comes from the feelings of the people who live and work in it and near it. We need to listen and ask them what they think we should be preserving and investigating. The amateurs have enthusiasm, local knowledge, and often their own nonarchaeological skills which are of immense value. They also have their own attitudes to the past, and their notions as to what that past was like. They may also have ideas about the place of heritage that may be at odds with that of the archaeologists. For example, although Britain is a largely Christian country, there are growing numbers of people who call themselves pagans, following what they believe to be an older strand of spirituality more akin to pre-Christian religious beliefs. For these groups, prehistoric sites like stone circles are places they hold as sacred, with a meaning in their religion. This is most likely not the same as the original meaning of those sites to the original builders, but as archaeologists we should respect how people see and use sites in the present.

However, this does raise a complex issue. As archaeologists, we deal with physical evidence from the past and seek to make sense of it to reveal as much as we can of the past lives and behaviors of those who left that evidence behind. In spite of the postmodernist attacks on scientific and scholarly methods, very few archaeologists would accept a position of complete hermeneutic relativism (Johnson 1999: chapter 11), even those who espoused philosophical idealism (Collingwood 1994 [1946]) or its later offspring contextual archaeology (Hodder 1986). However, postmodern attitudes have permeated widely through the discipline and have become hotly debated (e.g., Holtorf 2000; McManamon 2000a, b). If we cannot be certain about an interpretation of the past or of a site, and if there may be more than one possible interpretation of the evidence, it does not mean that all interpretations are potentially valid. In the case of the modern pagans, it is their use of the sites that is respected, rather than their interpretations of the sites. No archaeologist would surely accept the views of Erich von Däniken in the 1970s that ancient sites were created by alien astronauts. Likewise, the work of Dan Brown in writing *The Da Vinci Code* of 2003 cannot be accepted as history but is a work of fiction. If archaeology and heritage management are to mean anything, then they must mean a respect for the evidence. By respecting the evidence of physical remains, we respect the people who left those remains behind. They can no longer tell their story directly to us, but their lives continue to have meaning through the work we do in seeking to understand their societies. In our own way, we commemorate them when we investigate their sites. By conserving and managing their remains, we keep alive their memory and provide monuments to untold generations of men, women, and children. Archaeological education should enable people today to connect with people in the past. This connection will be one of respect, not of misuse, if that connection is made with a proper appreciation for the limitations of the evidence. If people's

understanding of the past respects that evidence, then people will be giving due respect to the people who left that evidence behind. In the UK, the Pagan Federation is member of the Ancient Sacred Landscape Network (ASLaN). The ASLaN charter promotes physical respect for sacred sites in a way which enables them to be conserved for future generations. Most archaeologists would not share their interpretations of prehistoric ritual and belief, and yet they would work with them to promote heritage conservation. In the UK, we are lucky in that we do not face problems of conflicting claims of "ownership" of sites or remains by indigenous peoples, whose mythical pasts are very real and alive to them, and an essential part of their cultural identities. As archaeologists, we must find ways of accepting alternative claims while at the same time insisting on the validity of the past in its own right. It was Sir Mortimer Wheeler who said the archaeologist excavates people not things (Wheeler 1954).

> (T)he archaeological excavator is not digging up things, he is digging up people; however, much he may analyze and tabulate and dessicate (*sic*) his discoveries in the laboratory, the ultimate appeal across the ages, whether the time-interval be 500 or 500,000 years, is from mind to intelligent mind, from man to sentient man. (Wheeler 1954: 17)

To respect the evidence is to respect the people who created it. That should be the ultimate aim for archaeologists, and it should also be a worthy aim for the people who live with the remains of the past today. If what we do as archaeologists is to study people and places in the past, we do this for people in places in the present. There is no contradiction in this, and yet many archaeologists forget this to their shame.

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Chapter 17
The Role of Archaeology and Its Challenges in Japanese School Education: The Curriculum and History Textbooks

Shuseki Murata

Introduction

Prior to World War II, history education in Japanese schools was centered on the Emperor. History textbooks began by describing the myth regarding the birth of the Japanese nation, which was closely related to the origin of the imperial family. After Japan was defeated in World War II, the nationalist bias in its history education was re-examined. Evidence-based learning, instead of the mythology of the nation, was emphasized, and archaeological data came to play a fundamental role.

From the late 1950s, Japan experienced rapid economic growth. Large-scale development and construction work took place throughout the country and, as a result, the amount of archaeological excavations increased. Accordingly, a series of new archaeological findings found their way into history textbooks.

Rapid economic growth came to an end in the mid-1970s. With Japan gradually engulfed in ever faster globalization, its school education system came under increasing pressure to transform itself. Educational reform thus began in the late 1970s, which was characterized by two major elements: neoliberalism that stressed competition among, and self-responsibility of, individuals, and nationalism that emphasized patriotism and public duties. Both school curricula and history textbooks have since been strongly affected by these concepts. This educational reform is still ongoing, and one of its recent outcomes is the revision of Japan's Fundamental Law of Education in December 2006. The Law, which outlines the principles of the Japanese education system, was revised for the first time since its establishment in 1946.

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In this paper, I wish to examine Japan's educational reform since the late 1970s in relation to the school curriculum and history textbooks. Through this examination, the role of archaeology and the challenges it faces within Japan's school education today is critiqued and discussed.

An Overview of the Transition of the Japanese School Curriculum

Currently, school education in Japan is mandatory for 6 years at elementary school, 3 years at junior high school, and optional for a further 3 years at senior high school. According to the Basic School Surveys conducted annually by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (formerly known as the Ministry of Education), 97.7% of all junior high school graduates continued onto senior high school in March 2007. After graduating from senior high schools, students decide whether to take a job or further their education at universities, junior colleges or vocational schools.

The curricula for elementary, junior high, and senior high schools are based on the curriculum guidelines set out previously by the Ministry of Education, and currently by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology. When the first of these guidelines were published in 1947, they were presented as a "draft proposal (*shian*)" and were not considered to be legally binding. However, the phrase "draft proposal" disappeared from the second guidelines published in 1955, and in 1958 the Ministry of Education published the third guidelines through official gazettes and they thus came to assume a legal status. The guidelines have since been revised approximately every decade.

According to the current guidelines, the sixth grade students at elementary school study Japanese history as part of their Social Studies classes; in junior high school, it is studied in relation to world history as part of the history section of Social Studies. In high school, world history is a compulsory subject in the study of geography and history, and students study it together with a choice of either Japanese history or geography.

In the late 1950s, under the strict control of the Ministry of Education, the primary aim of the school curriculum was to ensure that every student could acquire a certain level of knowledge. Yet in the 1960s and early 1970s, the percentage of students going on to high schools and universities significantly increased. As competition in school entrance exams intensified, the existing curriculum came under increasing criticism, being labeled as cramming or fact-obsessed. With the end of Japan's rapid economic growth in the mid-1970s and the ever faster economic globalization of the 1980s and 1990s, there was an increasing recognition in the Japanese business world that it was more important to develop the capacity of a limited number of students who could eventually contribute to Japan's global competitiveness than to educate a large number of students in a uniform manner (Japan Federation of Employers' Associations 1995). Reflecting this new trend, neoliberal

educational reform was pursued from the late 1970s onwards. This reform resulted in the reduction of class hours, the increase of elective subjects, the diversification of teaching subjects and entrance exam systems, and the expansion of the school choice system through the easing of school zoning rules.

"Relaxed Education" and the Reduction of Class Hours

As shown in Table 17.1, the amount of class hours were progressively reduced from the late 1970s, following the so-called policy of "relaxed education (*yutori kyouiku*)." In the revised 1989 curriculum guidelines, the study of the Jomon Neolithic culture (c. 13000 to 300 BC), which chronologically precedes the Yayoi culture based on full-scale agriculture (c. 300 BC to AD 300), was eliminated from the sixth grade Social Studies program at elementary school. In the revised 1998 curriculum guidelines, the teaching of ancient civilizations that did not closely relate to Japanese history, such as Greece and Rome, was suspended in the history section of Social Studies at junior high school.

The same period in Japan saw the establishment of a system of rescue excavations by local governments, which led to a significant increase in archaeological investigations across the nation and, as a result, to important discoveries that many thought should be incorporated into the school curriculum. For example, in the late 1980s, the rescue excavation at the Yoshinogari archaeological site in Saga Prefecture brought to light a large-scale moated settlement dated to the Yayoi period. In the early 1990s, the Sannai Maruyama site in Aomori Prefecture was investigated before the construction of a baseball stadium, leading to the discovery of a giant settlement dating back to the Jomon period.

The curriculum guidelines since the 1950s have emphasized the importance of experience-based learning through the use of museums and other facilities, and have consistently recommended that archaeological sites and objects should be used as educational tools. Results and findings of archaeological excavations have thus come to be mentioned more frequently in textbooks. However, while archaeological

Table 17.1 History class hours per year as specified in the curriculum guidelines

Year of revision [a]	1958	1968 [b]	1977	1989	1998	2008
Elementary school	140	140	105	105	100	105
Junior high school	175	175	140	140 [c]	105	130

Note: "Elementary school" indicates the unit hours (1 unit hour = 45 min) of Social Studies classes in the sixth grade at elementary schools, and "Junior high school" indicates the unit hours (1 unit hour = 50 min) of the history section of Social Studies

[a] "Year of revision" indicates the year in which the revised curriculum guidelines were published. The 1958 guidelines took effect in the same year of its publication (1958) while the other guidelines came into effect three to four years after their publication

[b] In 1968, only the elementary school curriculum guidelines were revised. In the following year, the junior high school curriculum guidelines were revised

[c] The 1989 junior high school guidelines stated that each school could reduce the number of annual class hours to 128 if necessary

findings increased and archaeological study became more specialized from the late 1970s to the 1990s, the reduction of class hours continued. As a result, it became difficult for elementary and junior high schools to utilize archaeological findings for their classes (Furuichi 2004).

Concerns Over the Decline of Student's Learning Abilities and Changing Educational Policies

Gradually, the successive reduction of class hours generated public concern about children's declining learning abilities. Finally, in 2002, only a few years after the announcement of further reductions of class hours through the revised 1998 curriculum guidelines, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology switched its education policy from "relaxed education" to "the enhancement of students' learning abilities (*gakuryoku no koujyou*)" through the publication of the Proposal for Improving Learning Ability, or the so-called Encouraging Learning (*Manabi no Susume*). This new policy was strengthened further in March 2008 with the proposal of new curriculum guidelines, which recommended the increase of class hours for the first time in 30 years. According to this proposal, the teaching of the Jomon culture would be reintroduced into the sixth grade Social Studies program at elementary school.

Japan's educational policies in recent years appear to be wavering between relaxed education and education for the enhancement of students' learning abilities. This inconsistency is closely related to, and probably due to, the lack of evaluation of each of the policies thus far adopted. More fundamentally, there has never been a clear consensus as to what type of learning ability students should be equipped with, and whether students' learning abilities are really deteriorating at all.

The Neoliberal Deregulation in Educational Policies and the Widening Gap Between Schools

Since the late 1970s, neoliberal reform emphasizing competition among, and self-responsibility of, individuals has been pursued in many aspects of Japanese politics. Government rules and regulations that once underpinned the national welfare system have been abolished or simplified, public institutions have been privatized, and public services for which the government was previously accountable have become increasingly subject to market mechanisms. This trend seems to have intensified since the early 1990s, with the end of the Cold War and the burst of the Japanese bubble economy.

In school education, taught subjects and entrance exam systems have been diversified, and the school zoning rules that used to be in place to ensure equal educational opportunity for all children has been eased for the purpose of providing more freedom to choose schools. The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science,

and Technology and local education authorities have explained that this policy is not intended to widen the disparity between schools but to help children select schools according to their individual characters. In line of this policy, the establishment of "unique schools (*tokushokuaru gakkou*)" has been advocated alongside the expansion of school zones. The unique schools thus established are characterized by the adoption of "integrated studies (*sougou gakka*)," the combination of junior and senior high schools, and the introduction of credit systems, and/or the teaching of highly specialized subjects and courses. In terms of history education, for example, Nara Prefectural Ikaruga High School set up a History and Culture Course in 1996 as part of its Comprehensive Program. In 2005, this school was merged with Nara Prefectural Katagiri High School and became Horyuji Kokusai High School, in which an independent program, History and Culture, was introduced. Located in a region rich in historical and cultural resources such as Horyuji Temple, Horyuji Kokusai High School is unique in offering as part of its History and Culture program classes specializing in Nara Studies,[1] archaeology and hands-on sessions in collaboration with local research institutes and museums. Meanwhile, in 2003, Nagasaki Prefectural Iki High School, located in Iki Island, set up a Harunotsuji History and Culture Course as part of its Comprehensive Program. The course took advantage of the presence on the island of the major archaeological site of Harunotsuji, which is believed to have been the political center of a small state in the Yayoi period. The history class in this program provides introductory lessons in archaeology as well as on-site activities at the Harunotsuji site.

It is no simple task to find teachers, facilities, and equipment that suit the characteristics of each of these unique schools. In Japan, where the standard number of students per class is 40, far greater than in the USA and Europe where a class tends to have 20–30 students, the burden on the teacher to manage a class is great. Even worse, the ongoing neoliberal reform in Japanese politics advocates small government, as a result of which the national budget for education is likely to be reduced. Attempts to establish unique schools under these conditions could result in widening the gap between schools that can afford to do so and those that cannot. The disparity between schools is thus likely to be reproduced on an expanded scale. As mentioned, the reduction of class hours may well result in the weakening of the standard of education that should be guaranteed to every pupil. In other words, it might detract from the national minimum of the Japanese people. As the diversification of school systems and the expansion of school zones have taken place simultaneously, children and parents are now under pressure to compete for education offered at good schools. This pressure might create a situation in which wealthier and more capable children are able to receive better education while others are excluded from adequate education. Thus, educational disparity might well be further aggravated.

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[1] Nara Studies are studies on various aspects of the history, tradition, architecture and culture of the city of Nara.

Nationalist Trends in Postwar School Education Policies

What made Japan's nationalism distinctive before and during the war was that the Emperor, granted mythological authority, stood as the spiritual and cultural pillar of the nation. This situation was manifest even in school education; the "Imperial Prescript on Education (*Kyouiku Chokugo*)", issued in 1890, emphasized loyalty and patriotism, and the first thing that pupils learned in history education was the myths relating to the origin of the imperial lineage. This form of nationalism in education was renounced in the process of postwar democratization, but nationalism based on patriotism and public duties persisted and has survived even to this day.

The Ikeda-Robertson Talks[2] of 1953 confirmed that the nurturing of patriotism was a means for strengthening Japanese national defense. In 1967, the National Foundation Day (February 11), based on the mythological establishment of the nation, was declared a public holiday despite opposition by a number of archaeologists and other scholars. In the meantime, it became a *de facto* convention that the Ministry of Education asked for amendments to the contents of school textbooks. In 1982, revisions made in Social Studies textbooks describing Japan's recent wars caused diplomatic tensions with the Chinese and Korean governments.

Nationalist policies in school education were maintained even after the start of neoliberal educational reform in the late 1970s. For example, the government kept control of school education through the curriculum guidelines and the system of textbook authorization. The hoisting of the national flag and the singing of the national anthem at official school events also became mandatory.

In the 1990s, nationalism in school education took a new turn. In 1996, the Japanese Society of History Textbook Reform (JSHTR) was established. Later, in 2001, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology approved a Social Studies textbook for junior high school compiled by members of JSHTR (Nishio et al. 2001), a book which caused great public concern because of its strong nationalist and ethnocentric descriptions of Japanese history.

Meanwhile, the National Commission on Educational Reform, a private advisory body reporting to the prime minister, suggested the revision of the Fundamental Law of Education in 2000. This move created momentum for the revision of the law, particularly from conservative politicians. After deliberations in the Central Education Council and the Diet, the law was finally revised in 2006. The new law emphasized the nation's authority to control education rather than the people's right to receive it. Its validity has been the subject of nationwide debates (Murata 2005).

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[2] The Ikeda-Robertson Talks were held at the United States Department of State in October 1953 between Ikeda Hayato, a special envoy of the then Japanese Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida, and Walter Robertson, the US Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs. During the talks it was agreed that Japanese self-defence capabilities should be gradually strengthened.

The Description of Japan's Ancient History
in JSHTR's History Textbook

Since its establishment in 1996, JSHTR has publicly criticized existing history textbooks in Japan for "inculcating self-hatred in children (*jigyakuteki*)" (Fujioka and Kenkyuukai 1996; Nishio 1999; Nishio and Fujioka 1997). The Social Studies textbook for junior high school compiled by JSHTR members has thus far been reviewed twice during the Ministry's textbook screening process in 2001 and 2005. Over 100 comments and suggestions for modification were given at each screening, and the textbook was revised accordingly and then approved and published (Fujioka et al. 2005; Nishio et al. 2001). Although few schools have actually adopted this textbook, its impact on Japanese society has been significant due to the massive campaign JSHTR launched for its promotion with the help of celebrities and its publisher, as well as the active involvement of politicians (Ogushi et al. 2000).

While the textbook's description of recent Japanese–Korean–Chinese relations and warfare has often received the most public attention, its description of the primeval and ancient periods in Japan is also noteworthy in two regards. First, the textbook stresses the uniqueness and independence of ancient Japanese culture. Some members of JSHTR called the Jomon culture "the civilization of forests and spring water (*mori to iwashimizu no bunmei*)" and emphasized the advanced level of its technology, the typical example of which is the invention of ceramic pottery. In its 2001 edition, the textbook originally described the Jomon culture as a "civilization". Although this wording was altered following suggestions given at the Ministry's screening, the published version still emphasized the venerability of the Jomon culture and the high standards of living enjoyed by the Jomon people (Nishio et al. 2001: 23–25). The 2001 edition also stressed the continuity of the Yayoi culture from the Jomon culture (Nishio et al. 2001: 29). Further, it stated that the description of Japan in the third-century Chinese history book, *Gishi-wajinden (Legend of the People of Wa)*, was "not necessarily accurate" (Nishio et al. 2001: 33).

In Japan, the Jomon culture tends to be described as unique on the grounds of the use of ceramic pottery in its very early stages as well as the nonexistence of full-scale agriculture or farming despite its Neolithic nature. In contrast, the Yayoi culture, which showed evidence of the beginning of wet-rice agriculture and the production of metal tools, is usually related to Japan's exposure to Korean and Chinese cultures. Presumably for this reason, JSHTR's history textbook placed stronger emphasis on the Jomon culture – it can be more easily utilized to stress the uniqueness of Japanese culture than the Yayoi culture.

Overall, JSHTR's history textbook seems to refer to the results of archaeological studies for the purpose of emphasizing the uniqueness and independence of Japanese culture. Although it appears less so in the revised 2005 edition, there are still remarks in it that stress the invalidity of China's Sino-centrism and the inaccuracy of *Gishi-wajinden* (Fujioka et al. 2005: 26–27). As for its description of Japanese foreign diplomacy during the seventh and eighth centuries, the period in which Japan's governmental system was established, the 2001 edition emphasizes the independence of Japan's

Yamato regime, which did not adopt the system of serving the Chinese Emperor (Nishio et al. 2001: 44–45). This description echoes the description in the same edition of Japan's diplomacy in later periods, and as such seems to help justify Japan's invasion of China and its colonial rule of Taiwan and Korea in modern times. These characteristics are maintained in the revised 2005 edition (Fujioka et al. 2005: 36–37).

The second characteristic of the description in the JSHTR textbook of the primeval and ancient periods in Japan is its emphasis on Japanese mythology. The oldest myths in Japan are considered to be those included in the ancient history books *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters) and *Nihonshoki* (The Chronicles of Japan), completed in the eighth century AD. Although both *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki* explain the origin myth of Japan, most Japanese historians concur that this myth has nothing to do with historical fact. The reading of *Nihonshoki* requires particular attention, as it is considered to have been compiled under the political influence of the Yamato regime, which had sought to adopt the governmental system from China's Tang Dynasty – the Yamato regime might have produced the book with a view to justifying its rule over Japan.

The 2001 version of JSHTR's history textbook devotes more pages to this Japanese mythology than textbooks produced by other publishers. It also mentions myths not only in relation to the eighth-century Japanese culture, but also the Yayoi culture (pre-third century AD) as well as the Kofun culture (pre-sixth century AD); thus, the reader may well have an impression that these myths are based on older historical facts (Nishio et al. 2001: 30–31, 36, 42–43). Although this characteristic is somewhat weakened in the revised 2005 edition, it still mentions Japanese mythology, for example in relation to the Kofun culture (e.g. Fujioka et al. 2005: 30).

What underlies such characteristics of the textbook is the aim of JSHTR itself, which is to advocate ethnocentrism in Japan. However, from a broader perspective, the national curriculum guidelines have also shown the same tendency to emphasize the uniqueness and independence of Japanese culture and link the history of the state formation of Japan to its mythology. Since the 1950s, these guidelines have demanded that history education should refer to myths and folklore along with archaeological finds and historical sites. It is, therefore, unsurprising that history textbooks produced by other publishers also make reference to Japanese mythology in their descriptions of the Yayoi and Kofun cultures. Admittedly, such mythology constitutes an invaluable part of Japanese cultural heritage, and studying it is important for an understanding of the worldview of the ancient Japanese population. However, it is worth remembering that the myths recorded in *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki* are likely to reflect the thoughts and cultures of those who sought to establish a centralized system of Japanese government in the seventh and eighth centuries. Therefore, careful consideration is required when mentioning them in history education.

The Revision of the Fundamental Law of Education

Japan's Fundamental Law of Education, established in 1946 in close association with the Japanese Constitution, remained unchanged for several decades. Its original principles were clearly expressed in the preamble to the law, which stated that

"We shall esteem individual dignity and endeavor to bring up people who love truth and peace, while education which aims at the creation of culture general and rich in individuality shall be spread far and wide" (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology, n.d.).

In postwar Japan, in the political context of the termination of state suppression of thought and speech, the archaeological study of Japan's past developed rapidly, in particular thanks to the discoveries of the Toro archaeological site in Shizuoka Prefecture and the excavation of the Tsukinowa tumulus in Okayama Prefecture (Fawcett 1995). This development was promoted not only by archaeologists working at universities and research institutions, but also by amateur archaeologists, such as elementary, junior and senior high school teachers, and local historians (Kondo 1960). Attempts were also then made by archaeologists to produce senior high school history textbooks (Asano et al. 1972).

The revision of the Fundamental Law of Education in 2006 drastically changed this situation. The law now came to express moral ideals that had not previously been conceived, for example: "to foster an attitude to respect our traditions and culture, love the country and region that nurtured them, together with respect for other countries and a desire to contribute to world peace and the development of the international community" (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology, n.d.). The revision of the law coincided with the government's move to adopt the Basic Promotion Plan for Education (*Kyouikushinkou Kihon Keikaku*), which set out to strengthen state authority in education. As shown above, Japanese school education, particularly at elementary and junior high school, had been strongly controlled by the state – even before the revision of the law – through the regulation and implementation of the curriculum guidelines. The revision of the Fundamental Law of Education is likely to further intensify such state control of education.

The Bizarre Fusion of Nationalism and Neoliberalism

As discussed above, there has been a bizarre fusion of nationalism and neoliberalism in Japanese education policy in recent years. JSHTR's actions, as well as the revision of the Fundamental Law of Education, seem to indicate an increasingly nationalist trend in Japanese education. However, educational reform since the late 1970s has been characterized by neoliberalism. Theoretically, nationalism and neoliberalism are incompatible. The former tends to demand strong government control on various aspects of social activities and pursues the collective interests of the nation, while the latter seeks to reduce government control as much as possible and maximizes the interests of individuals who are the beneficiaries of free competition. The increasing nationalism currently seen in Japanese school education should not be considered simplistically as a return to pre-WWII conditions but rather as an attempt to cope with the social problems created by the government's neoliberal educational policies. Neoliberal educational policies inevitably widen the disparity between schools – and also students – and consequently contribute to the weakening of social unity in each community, alongside the marginalization of certain types of

people – often the weak – from the nation. Since it is difficult for the state to govern the nation in such conditions, the need arises for it to control education and maintain the unification of the Japanese people by the use of power.

This mutually complementary relationship between nationalism and neoliberalism has been pointed out by Saito (2000), a journalist who interviewed members of the Central Educational Council (established by the Japanese government), and also by Hirota, a scholar of social pedagogy, in his analysis of the relationship between education, individualization, and globalization (Hirota 2004).

What Role for Archaeology in School Education Today?

Two final remarks are pertinent in connection to the role that archaeology should play in school education and the challenges it faces in the current socio-political context. First, there seems to be an urgent need to restore the close connection between schools and local communities, and school education based on archaeology could play an important role in this process. Schools in Japan are currently faced with two major problems: the widening gap between schools that has been caused by neoliberal educational policies, and the continued lowering of the birth rate since the 1970s. The unpopularity of some schools and the declining number of students in general are sometimes used as justification for abolishing and merging schools. The situation is particularly serious in some rural areas, where schools have completely disappeared.

Measures must be taken swiftly to redress the negative effects of neoliberal education policies, and it should be of primary importance to improve the general conditions of education, by securing sufficient numbers of teachers and equipping schools with adequate facilities. In doing so, extra attention must be paid to strengthening – or better, recovering – the connection between schools and local communities. Every community has its own history and culture. Making use of local cultural heritage in school education is essential for re-establishing the tie between schools and the community, and archaeology and archaeological findings are a key to this process. This situation, however, should neither lead to a cramming style of education nor overemphasis on the uniqueness of each school and locality, as is the case with the current policy for the establishment of unique schools.

The use of local cultural heritage as educational material requires that archaeologists and school teachers work together. Given the specialization of each study subject and the ever greater amount of tasks schools are expected to carry out in contemporary society, this challenge will not be easy. However, it is worth noting that some schools have been successful in designing and implementing classes that effectively make use of archaeological materials and museums (Abe 2005; Kuga 2002; Yoshihisa 2001). Active research is needed to determine what role archaeology can – or should – play to bring up children in collaboration with local communities, and involve local people in the creation of a distinctive local culture of general appeal.

Secondly, archaeology should be utilized to emphasize the relativity of the concept of the nation-state. JSHTR's history textbook and the revised Fundamental Law of Education are both based on the assumption that fixed, solid nation-states exist. However, the nation-state is a modern construct. With economic and cultural globalization occurring at an increasing pace, it is no longer possible to structure school education in terms of inculcating national identity. In this respect, archaeology, which studies various past cultures and societies (including those preceding the emergence of modern nations), could play a vital role in making the concept of the nation-state relative. It is, however, worth remembering that the mindset of archaeologists and history teachers itself may well be biased by the conceptual framework of the nation-state – because no one living in contemporary society is free from its influence. In this regard, some recent attempts to overcome this conceptual framework by drawing on cognitive archaeology should be welcomed (Matsugi 2007).

Neither nationalist nor neoliberal education is sustainable. Archaeology should play a more active role in school education in order to help children learn and understand a variety of human cultures, without being restricted by parochial nationalism and ethnocentrism. If thoughtfully utilized in education, archaeology could help children – hence, us – find a way to develop a society that is free from neoliberal competition and obsession with self-responsibility.

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Chapter 18
Multivocality in Multimedia: Collaborative Archaeology and the Potential of Cyberspace

Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh, T.J. Ferguson, and Douglas W. Gann

Introduction

In recent years, archaeologists have paid increasing attention to how knowledge of the past is constructed, particularly as Native communities have begun to challenge practices that uphold the researcher as the ultimate arbitrator of the truth. The concept of "multivocality" provides scholars one means to create alternative archaeologies that do not eschew scientific principles while respecting Native values of history. Moving beyond traditional epistemological stances, however, may also entail moving beyond traditional methods of presenting the archaeological past.

This essay discusses a collaborative archaeology project carried out in Arizona's San Pedro Valley with four Native American tribes: Hopi, San Carlos Apache, Tohono O'odham, and Zuni. The project entailed 3 years of ethnohistoric research, followed by efforts to develop an Internet site that presents the ways in which one cultural landscape is infused with multiple – complementary and contesting – viewpoints. As a case study, we consider what this embryonic Web site says about the potential of cyberspace for presenting alternative archaeologies grounded in a critical multivocality.

With the development of cultural resource management (CRM) in the USA in the 1970s, with its focus on research conducted in the public interest, archaeologists have become increasingly interested in finding ways to share the process and results of their research with a wide range of communities. CRM has also flourished outside of the USA, and thus emerging forms of public-oriented programs constitute a global phenomenon (Cleere 1984; Creamer 1990; Lertrit 2000; Palumbo et al. 1995). This general approach to working with the range of publics interested in the material

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remains of the past has now mushroomed into a field of connected though distinct practices, including "public archaeology" (Gadsby and Chidester 2007; McGimsey 1972; Merriman 2004), "community archaeology" (Marshall 2002; Mullins 2007), "applied archaeology" (Downum and Price 1999; Shackel 2004), "Indigenous archaeology" (Atalay 2006; Smith and Wobst 2005; Watkins 2000), and "collaborative archaeology" (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Kerber 2006). While we see no need at this juncture to unite these varied approaches, we nonetheless note that "multivocality" is a common concept to these practices, a useful means of hearing the voices of all those who have a stake in the past.

Despite exciting new forms of public outreach, CRM in the USA largely remains a technical means of identifying and assessing heritage properties and mitigating damage to them through research, while public archaeology, when done, tends towards a "let the public see what we are doing" kind of approach. While we can cite several clear exceptions (Leone et al. 1987; McDavid 2002; Swidler et al. 2000), in the main, public-oriented archaeology in the USA has yet to take the more fully reflexive and engaged modes that have been attempted elsewhere (Bender et al. 2007; Hodder 2003). Our work in the USA is a link to some of these more global trends, one American example that contributes towards shaping a more coherent approach that can be employed globally, irrespective of national borders.

In Theory

Over the last several decades, scholars have become attuned to the ways in which archaeology is used, valued, and debated outside of the discipline. In the USA, controversies, such as those involving the disposition of the Kennewick Man/Ancient One, illustrate that scientists are not the only group that cares about how archaeological remains created in the past are treated and used in the present (Downey 2000; Watkins 2005). The "contested past" extends far beyond Native North America, from the looting of Iraq (Garen 2006) to the Bamiyan Buddhas' destruction (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2003), the pagan celebrations at Stonehenge (Chippindale 1986), the feud over the Parthenon marbles (Hamilakis 1999), and to the riot over Ayodhya (Bernbeck and Pollock 1996). These examples demonstrate that the contested past is often not about the past per se, but rather about control and power in the social and political present.

With the recognition that archaeologists are just one of many stakeholders, scholars have begun to explore how collaboration provides the means to transcend the contested past. Much of this work addresses how archaeologists and anthropologists have long fostered misrepresentations, and acknowledging that researchers do not necessarily have a privileged view into the past (Thomas 2000). As Robert W. Preucel and his colleagues (2006: 186) have written, "Museums are embarking upon a long journey to confront their own challenge … to redress their history of representing Indian cultures as 'primitive,' 'static,' and 'dying.' We must devise new ways of

representing indigenous peoples that acknowledge their vitality, resilience, and ongoing struggles to gain political standing. … we cannot make this journey alone; rather, we must make it in partnership with indigenous peoples."

As archaeologists seek new partnerships with stakeholders, they face the challenge of finding new ways of listening and sharing different perspectives. This challenge, in essence, revolves around the concept of multivocality. The literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin (1984: 18) popularized this term to express how Fyodor Dostoevsky's work "is constructed not as the whole of a single consciousness, absorbing other consciousnesses as objects into itself, but as a whole formed by the interaction of several consciousnesses, none of which entirely becomes an object for the other." As Bakhtin explains, multivocality is not a mere celebration of different views, but a means to embrace creative tension when different voices come together. Multivocality here is thus no simple plurality, but an *engagement* of different voices arising together to tell a whole and complex story.

An approach of multivocality should be open to all views, but it is not an "anything goes" approach; it does not mean the end of science. We can still evaluate interpretations of the past even as we acknowledge that scientific modes of knowledge production are not the only legitimate means of arriving at the "truth" (Whiteley 2002; Wiget 1982; Zimmerman 2008). The validity of multivocality does necessarily come from a perfect synthesis of different voices, but rather from the internal coherency of each narrative and how each narrative contributes to our overall understanding of past worlds (Atalay 2008). Andrea Smith (2004: 254) explains that any act of looking backwards in time necessarily involves incorporating different viewpoints because, as she writes: "everyday discourses about the past, like discourse on other subjects, should also contain multiple perspectives and voices. In fact, narratives about the past may be especially dialogic. Not only do subgroups of each society share a multitude of stories and perspectives on the past, but in looking back individuals are also necessarily addressing previous themes and prior points of view. Hence, other voices (or Bakhtin's 'words of others') may be even more prevalent in reminiscences than in other kinds of discourse."

Multivocality in archaeology is inherently more anthropological than an approach that strictly depends on natural science methodologies. Opening up multiple narratives of history entails a broader approach that aspires to understand both the past and the values that communities have for the past in their present discourse and construction of identity. Incorporating these different views necessitates valuing inclusivity. We hear different voices when we engage in a genuine and respectful dialogue with others. Thus, multivocality not only fosters a more holistic anthropological archaeology, but also a more ethical approach, because it is grounded in the virtues we want to cultivate through our work (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2004, 2006b).

In sum, multivocality is an important part of collaborative archaeology because it recognizes that narratives of the past are inherently dialogic and multivocal. It is deeply anthropological because it seeks to understand not only the past, but also the significance of the past to people today. Finally, it involves genuine and respectful dialogue, not the mere use of other people's histories for scientific ends.

In Practice

The San Pedro Valley of southern Arizona is a persistent place, home to generations of Native peoples over the last 13,000 years. Some of the earliest sites in the USA are found in the San Pedro Valley, the vestiges of Paleoindians who hunted mammoths, bison, and other big game animals (Haynes and Huckell 2007). These peoples were followed by other native groups in the Archaic Period who began crafting ceramics and cultivating corn, beans, and squash. These developments led to village life, and the archaeological cultures known as the Hohokam, Salado, and Ancestral Puebloans (Doelle 1995). The first Spanish entrada, of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado in 1540, likely traversed through the valley and in subsequent centuries this region formed a crucial frontier in the northward expansion of the Spanish and Mexican empires (Flint and Flint 1997). European colonialism greatly impacted local Native groups, including the Sobaipuri, Manso, and Suma, establishing the foundations of Euro–American and Indian social relations (Spicer 1962). When Arizona became part of the USA in 1848, the birth of the "American West" was played out in the San Pedro Valley, where Apaches sought to defend a revered homeland and American settlers sought to civilize a country they believed rightly theirs.

Throughout the 1990s, the nonprofit Center for Desert Archaeology (CDA) in Tucson, Arizona, conducted an archaeological survey of the San Pedro Valley, where it actively pursued educational and preservation programs (Doelle and Clark 2003). While the CDA archaeologists learned a lot about the valley's past from a scientific perspective, they recognized that they knew relatively little about the region's traditional history. The CDA thus sought to learn more about how descendant communities conceive of their ancestors, the cultural values these communities have for ancestral villages, and the historical narratives embedded in tribal traditions. All of these topics were all recognized as important elements in a humanistic understanding of the past and as significant variables in an equitable management of heritage sites in the future. This realization led the CDA to develop the San Pedro Ethnohistory Project, a 3-year study funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, and conducted in close collaboration with the Hopi, San Carlos and White Mountain Apache, Tohono O'odham, and Zuni tribes.

The research involved four methodologies: "place-based" interviews, which entailed taking groups of cultural advisors to archaeological sites to talk about land and history; semistructured interviews that took place on tribal reservations with elders and other tribal colleagues who could not participate in the field work; studies of museum collections that hold artifacts excavated from the region (Fig. 18.1); and meetings and review sessions to ensure that the work was proceeding respectfully and equitably. The research products from this work included a scholarly book (Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006), numerous articles (e.g., Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2006a), and a 16-page full-color magazine devoted to the study (Ferguson et al. 2004). Four thousand copies of the magazine were produced, with 1,000 going to each tribe for free distribution among its members, while

Fig. 18.1 Apache elders Larry Mallow Sr. (*left*) and Jeanette Cassa examine ceramics from the San Pedro Valley at the Arizona State Museum (photo by Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh)

hundreds of more copies went to those living in the San Pedro Valley today so that they could better understand the tribal histories and values of their home.

At the end of the project, our Native colleagues expressed their satisfaction about the outcomes, but they challenged us to imagine how we could reach an even wider audience, particularly Native American youth, in a way that went beyond standard texts. (Even with the color magazine, we recognized that only a subset of the public will ever sit down to read about the valley.) We briefly considered producing a video, but dismissed this idea because of its costs and limited reach, since many TV education shows are seen only a handful of times. We then began exploring the idea of a multimedia and interactive Web site.

After informally surveying the Internet, we determined that there are six basic kinds of Web sites that concern archaeology: virtual digs, information sharing (e.g., *Archaeology Magazine*), commercial pursuits (e.g., eBay), database management, educational sites, and blogs. None of the sites we found when we conducted this search embodied the kind of dynamic, multivocal approach to archaeology that we pursued in the research phase of the San Pedro Ethnohistory Project. And none of the sites employed the range of media strategies available on the Internet to provide a sense of place, the richness of an elder telling an ancient story, or a translation of complex archaeological data into lessons that are easily understandable. Furthermore, we found that the vast majority of educational sites are geared towards school children instead of the broader adult public or specific tribal, underserved communities.

From our perspective, there is a clear need for ongoing public education and dialogue about Native American history and archaeology. Most Americans today remain fundamentally uninformed about the events, people, and processes that led to the American Southwest's contemporary social and political landscape (Bataille 2001). Native Americans are often perceived to be inconsequential to America's past, peoples near extinction. Modern reservations lead the public to think that these land holdings are timeless entities rather than the result of expedient nineteenth and twentieth century political policy. Countless books and articles *about* but not *by* Native Americans have further fostered misconceptions about Indian culture, lifeways, and worldviews. For many, stereotypes supplant understanding. This can be seen anecdotally in the San Pedro Valley, where the few representations of Native Americans are restricted to life-size wooden carvings of Indians in front of convenience stores and streets named after far-away tribes, like Choctaw Drive and Sioux Avenue (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2009). Devon Mihesuah (1996) has eloquently described the persistence of false Native American stereotypes in the USA, ranging from representations of Indians as being all alike to being godless with no religion. Recent surveys also suggest that the general public misunderstands archaeology and how scientists come to understand the ancient past. A Harris Interactive poll, for example, demonstrated that 8% of Americans associate archaeology with ancient cultures while 52% primarily associate the field with digging, bones, and dinosaurs (Ramos and Duganne 2000).

Yet, the strong and abiding interest of the public in Southwestern archaeology and Native American history and culture is also clear. Heritage tourism has exploded in the last decade, particularly in the American Southwest with its many Native communities and archaeological parks. A recent survey conducted by the Arizona Humanities Council, for example, found that 59% of the people who come to Arizona visit historic sites (Arizona Office of Tourism 2006) and a recent report by the University of Arizona noted that in 2000 almost 93 million Americans sought out heritage-related activities while vacationing (Leones and Dunn 1999). The continuing popularity of authors such as Tony Hillerman and movies such as *The New World* also illustrate the enduring fascination with Native America. The Harris Interactive poll noted above also indicates that 90% of the American public believes that students should learn about archaeology in school. The seminal study of Rosenzweig and Thalen (1998: 12) confirm that Americans are deeply invested in our collective past, but they dislike the "nation-centered accounts they were forced to memorize and regurgitate in school." Americans, the authors argue, want history they can explore on their own terms, without excessive mediation from scholars; they want history to transport them back to the times when events were unfolding; they want history to open up their world to new voices and experiences.

The primary goal of the San Pedro Internet Project was to extend and transform the original research program into an education project that reaches a national public audience, Native American communities, and those living along the San Pedro Valley today. More specifically, our aims included: encouraging young tribal members to learn about the past from their elders; strengthening alliances with educational and cultural organizations; correcting public confusion about Indian culture

and history; fostering critical thinking about history; providing a venue of public education for tourists who visit Indian lands; cultivating an appreciation for the desert land, water, plants, and wildlife; and expanding a collaborative and multivocal archaeology with new technologies.

In the fall of 2004, we received a Planning Grant from the Southwestern Foundation for Education and Historical Preservation to prepare an NEH Special Projects grant application. With this financial support, we conducted a 2-day workshop with tribal participants and project personnel, created a preliminary proof-of-concept Web site, held preparatory meetings among project scholars, and traveled to meet with our Native American colleagues. Over the course of 2 days, a group of tribal cultural advisors, scholars, and professionals met to create the overall vision for the SPEIP. The workshop was headed by Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson, who have worked extensively with the tribes, and Douglas Gann, whose expertise includes digital technologies and heritage interpretation. This group was joined by a Hopi multimedia graphic designer (Gerald Dawavendewa), a specialist in online curriculum development (Sara P. Chavarria), and a specialist in multimedia education projects (Neil Markowitz).

The next year we received an NEH Special Projects Planning Grant to expand our original concept, continue our collaboration, conduct three focus groups, and prepare an NEH Implementation Grant. For this phase of the planning process, we decided to refocus the proof-of-concept Web site on just one tribe (Hopi), with the archaeological perspective providing a counterpoint. With limited planning funds, this approach of depth over breadth allows us to illustrate what could be done with all four tribes when full funding is provided. In early November, Ferguson and Gann conducted 16 interviews of Hopi tribal members; planning meetings were held with the staff of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office; and collaborative work continued with Dawavendewa. Later in November, we held planning meetings with our Zuni, San Carlos Apache, and Tohono O'odham colleagues. A draft of the proof-of-concept Web site was completed in December 2005 and reviewed by the project participants and the CDA staff and advisors. In January 2006, Chavarria held three focus groups with students at the University of Arizona, adults at the Benson Public Library, and Tohono O'odham tribal members at the Venito Garcia Library. Based on the quantitative and qualitative feedback from these focus groups, the proof-of-concept Web site was revised and reviewed again by our tribal colleagues, project staff, and CDA personnel, along with the finalized grant proposal.

Unfortunately, despite all these efforts, our implementation grant was not funded so Internet site has yet to be completed. We think the successes of the project to date include the active participation and partnership between an archaeological organization and Native American communities, and making substantive strides towards showing how projects can be mutually beneficial for scholars and Indigenous peoples. Additionally, we think that the Internet is an ideal vehicle to provide a multivocal perspective on the San Pedro Valley. The use of Native designs, wiki dialogues (software that allows users to create, edit, and link Web pages easily to create a collaborative Web site), audio and video interviews in both English and Native languages, photography, instructional text, interactive features, and Native
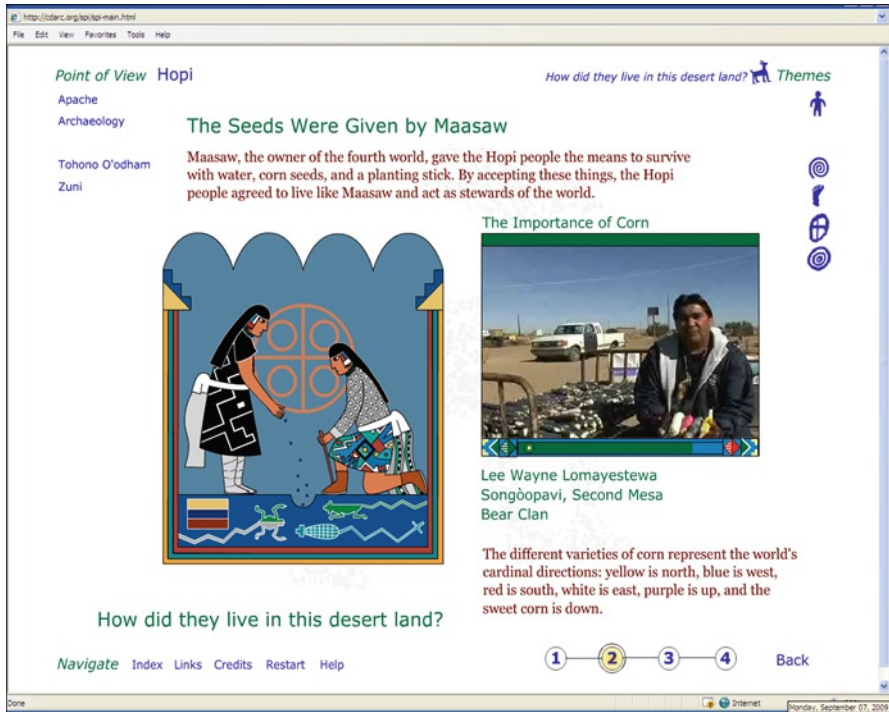
Fig. 18.2 A screen shot of a page explaining Hopi beliefs about corn (designed by Gerald Dawavendewa and Doug Gann)

music all combine to effectively show that the valley has not one history but many histories, not one voice but many voices (Fig. 18.2). However, this is a task with few, if any, precedents, so one of the main challenges is to come up with a user interface that is intuitive and simple yet conveys the complexity of the cultural landscape and historical perspectives.

Conclusion

From this project, we have come to see how collaboration cultivates multivocality. That is, by working with descendant communities, we are compelled to seek out and hear their stories, new stories about the past. In turn, multimedia has the unmatched potential to not only disseminate multivocal knowledge, but also regenerate it. That is, through mechanisms, such as wikis and enthralling Internet videos, by reaching Native youth and those living among the ruins of past cultures, the Internet uniquely provides the opportunity to invigorate a public conversation about archaeology and American Indian history.

Alison Wylie (1995: 258) has observed that "Colonial or neocolonial domination [is] marked by a sustained and deliberate delegitimation of the historical consciousness of those whose heritage and identity are in question, sometimes including the systematic erasure of their historical presence." Thus, to undo archaeology's colonial inheritance we must seek to create projects that are defined by a sustained and deliberate *legitimization* of the historical consciousness of those whose heritage and identity are in question. Through the theoretical approach of a collaborative multivocality and the methodological approach of multimedia, we thus seek to create humanistic perspectives of the past, explore the mechanisms of domination in history, and to alter the political economy of scholarly research. The lessons learned here, we hope, will be of interest to public, community, applied, indigenous, and collaborative archaeologies alike.

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Chapter 19
Looking for an Identity: Archaeologists, Local Communities, and Public Archaeology in Peru

Daniel Dante Saucedo-Segami

Introduction

In Peru, public archaeology has not yet been firmly established as a field of archaeological study. There is no formal education in the field, although there are diplomas or master's courses focusing on Cultural Resource Management and undergraduate courses on museum studies and ethical issues relating to archaeology. Traditionally, most of the efforts to disseminate information about archaeological discoveries and theories to the general public have been made through school textbooks, newspapers, and exhibitions in local museums and archaeologists have seldom been in direct contact with the public; their studies have usually been discussed only in specialist circles.

Today, however, archaeologists in Peru have an increasing interest in engaging with the public, and there are a growing number of examples that can be considered oriented towards public archaeology. In this paper, I wish to present a few examples taken from the north coast of Peru to illustrate the attempts Peruvian archaeologists are making to reach and address the public. What becomes clear from these examples is that archaeologists and the public share the same interest in the past; revaluing and reconstructing their identity, be it locally, regionally, or nationally.

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Background of Public Archaeology in Peru

About the Term "Public Archaeology"

In Peru, many people are likely to consider the word "public" (*pública* in Spanish) in "public archaeology" as something opposite to "private." When the word is used in the sense of "audience" (*público* in Spanish), it is probably closer to the meaning of public archaeology as intended by archaeologists in English-speaking countries. In this sense, the most adequate translation of "public archaeology" in Peru might be "archaeology towards the public" (*arquelogía para el público*) – and this phrase seems to represent the usual approach taken by archaeologists seeking to engage with the public, as the examples below demonstrate.

Gradual Increase of Archaeologists' Engagement with Local Communities

In order to understand how Peruvian archaeologists have become interested in public engagement, it is useful to briefly review the history of archaeological projects in Peru. Castillo and Holmquist (2006) introduce us to a good example for the north coast region. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the priority of archaeological projects was to collect data for the investigation of past societies. Most of the projects in this period were directed by foreign researchers, who returned to their countries after finishing the field season. In the following period, large-scale projects took place, but most of them were still concerned only with research about the past, and there was virtually no interaction between archaeologists and the public.

However, from about the late 1940s to the late 1980s, archaeologists grew in number and began receiving more formal education, with many of them following postgraduate programs abroad. Cultural Resource Management and museum studies were introduced by these archaeologists on returning to Peru, and they sought to apply these new principles to their field practice. In terms of interaction with the public, Peruvian archaeologists had obvious advantages over their foreign colleagues because they were able to spend more time in the field and were more familiar with the traditions and customs of many local communities.

The 1990s in Peru followed a long political, economic, and social crisis, which had generated a socioeconomic divide between the capital city, Lima, and the provinces. There was a nation-wide interest in developing rural areas to narrow down the divide, and in this context Peruvian archaeologists started seriously considering how to make archaeology beneficial to local communities, most of which still lacked basic infrastructure (including education). Thus, the integration of archaeology and the development of local heritage tourism became an important task for archaeologists.

Fig. 19.1 Map of the north coast of peru showing the places mentioned in the text

Change in the Public Perception of Archaeology: The Discovery of the Royal Sipán Tombs

As tourism became an important industry in many areas of Peru, long-term archaeological projects, often codirected by foreign and Peruvian archaeologists, increased the presentation of their results to the public through the media. These media emphasized the potential of developing heritage tourism based on archaeological resources and stressed the importance of protecting sites against looting. The impact of such media coverage on the public perception of archaeology was significant, especially when "great discoveries" were concerned. The case of the discovery of the Royal Sipán Tombs was a case in point (Fig. 19.1). Map of the north coast of Peru showing the places mentioned in the text.

The north coast of Peru, where the Tombs were located, has been considered as one of the most interesting areas for archaeological study in the country since the establishment of Peruvian archaeology (Bawden 1996), and the remains of prehispanic sites

representing Cupisnique, Viru, Mochica, Gallinazo, Sicán, Lambayeque, Chimú, and many other cultures are still visible today. However, looting of archaeological sites was a common practice in this region over the centuries; in particular, gold and silver ornaments and fineline-painted ceramic vessels were extensively plundered for different reasons (Gündüz 2001; Ramirez 1996). The expansion of agricultural fields and the illegal appropriation of land also threatened many ancient temples and cemeteries.

Despite this situation, there was a lack of support from the central government for the protection of archaeological sites. The underlying problem was the scarcity of information available to local people about the importance of these sites; only those contracted as workers for excavation projects were able to acquire some knowledge about them. There was thus a psychological distance between past societies as evidenced by the archaeological sites and the modern population living near these sites. Indeed, local people often did not consider archaeological sites as useful; they were sometimes even regarded as an obstacle to development.

The discovery of the Royal Tombs of Sipán in 1989 greatly changed this situation (Alva 1999). The discovery was made after a disagreement amongst looters who were plundering an elite tomb of the Mochica Culture (c. AD 100–700). When the police intervened, local archaeologist Walter Alva was called to examine the looted objects. Consequently, excavation of the site started as rescue research, which led to the discovery of the richest and most complex tombs in South America. The discovery brought about a significant growth in the interest of the media and the general public in archaeology as well as the development of heritage tourism in the region. One of the indicators of this development was the opening of the Royal Tombs of Sipán Museum in 2002 in Lambayeque city, near the original site; the objects recovered from the tombs were stored in the museum.[1] The discovery even changed the public attitude to archaeology in Lima, where an exhibition of the recovered objects was held. The exhibition was successful and was taken abroad afterward.

Interaction between archaeologists and the public

Archaeological discoveries, such as that of the Royal Tombs of Sipán, have contributed to a change of the public perception of archaeology over the last few decades. There has been a realization that archaeology can be used for the development of tourism and, ultimately, the economy. Consequently, archaeological projects in Peru have come to be situated between academic objectives and the expectations of the public. What is at stake today is to develop communication between archaeologists and the public – indeed, a number of projects are seeking to fulfill this new challenge.

Below, three examples that can be related to Public Archaeology's objectives are presented: the Sicán National Museum; the San Jose de Moro Archaeological Project; and *Arkeos*, the electronic journal of archaeology from the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú (PUCP).

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[1] The Royal Tombs of Sipán Museum and the Sicán National Museum were the first large-scale museums built outside Lima.

The Sicán National Museum

The Sicán National Museum was established in the year 2001 following the discovery of two rich elite tombs of the Sicán culture (c. AD 1000–1200) during an excavation directed by Japanese archaeologist, Izumi Shimada. The museum was constructed in Ferreñafe city, near the excavation site. The museum aims to present the objects from the tombs and also to show the way of life of people of the Sicán culture, their beliefs, and technical developments. By carrying out these aims, the museum seeks to reconstruct – or better, recreate – the "Muchik Identity" (Elera and Curay 2005).

The "Muchik Identity" refers to the sociocultural identity of the people who lived on the north coast of Peru, which is believed to have effectively disappeared at the beginning of the 20th century. The museum seeks to recover, preserve, and promote the Muchik Identity by linking its characteristics to present local communities. By highlighting the cultural connection between past and present, the museum aims to revalue and protect the remains of the Sicán and succeeding cultures as part of local people's identity (Elera and Curay 2005). Interaction between archaeologists and local communities has been essential for this process.

The Sicán National Museum is different from previous museums in Peru in several aspects. Most importantly, it functions both as a tourist attraction and as an educational and research institution (Museo Nacional Sicán 2005); this characteristic has given it an identity of a "local museum," where local people take part in its activities – such as temporary exhibitions on recent archaeological research, the rescue of past craft production techniques, and local modern art – so that they can contribute to the promotion of local cultural activities (Fig. 19.2). These activities are undertaken with the support of the local community, regional and local government, and archaeologists. The museum also hosts conferences on the regional culture and festivals with folkloric dances and music.

The museum has developed an educational program that aims to emphasize the importance of regional identities through education and schooling (Museo Nacional Sicán 2005). Archaeologists involved in this program first inform local school teachers of the cultural link between past and present societies. Consideration is given here as to how to coordinate classroom activities and school visits to the museum; such planning contrasts with similar programs previously implemented at other museums in Peru, in which teachers needed to make plans for classes and museum visits by themselves and interacted with archaeologists only at conferences organized exclusively for them.

The steering group (*patronato*) is another interesting characteristic of the museum. This group is made up of archaeologists, intellectuals, and teachers from the local community. The main objective of the group is the same as that of the museum – the protection and promotion of the local identity – but it functions as an outward facing manifestation of the museum and engages in activities aiming to reinforce the identity of local communities. One example of such activities is the

Fig. 19.2 Local representation of the Lord of Sicán (photo courtesy of Sicán National Museum Archives)

"Cultural Festival for the Identity of Ferreñafe," which is organized with the help of the city hall and takes place for a week showing different cultural aspects of Ferreñafe city (Fig. 19.3). The steering group also helps people living near archaeological sites to develop self-sustainable tourism, which is expected to increase the economy of the region and at the same time contributes to the preservation of the local traditions and customs (Museo Nacional Sicán 2005).

It can be argued that the Sicán National Museum presents a model for future museums in Peru. Museums should involve local communities in their activities, especially in the planning and decision-making process. Although this objective requires persistence and hard work, the results tend to be of great benefit to both local communities and archaeologists, since the interaction of the two parties allows the integration of tourism and heritage protection.

The San Jose de Moro Archaeological Project

The site of San Jose de Moro is located in the town of the same name, in the province of La Libertad; the modern town was built over the site. The site was one of the most important settlements in the Jequetepeque valley, representing the Mochica

Fig. 19.3 Cultural festival for the identity of Ferreñafe (photo courtesy of Sicán National Museum Archives)

culture (Castillo and Donnan 1993). Many elite tombs in this area have been looted as they often contain fine ceramic vessels and metal ornaments.

The research project at this site (directed by Peruvian archaeologist Luis Jaime Castillo) has developed an interesting integration between archaeology and the local community. Since 1991, the project has focused on a Mochica cemetery and its surrounding ceremonial structures. Archaeologists and the local population have worked together from the beginning of the project: residents of the town have been employed as workers in the excavation, many of whom used to be *huaqueros*, (tomb looters). Meanwhile, after the excavation of two rich tombs of elite women, local people's interest in archaeology increased, and they started to identify with the Mochica past. Archaeologists facilitated this process by explaining the results of the excavation constantly to the local community.

The archaeological project became more of a feature in the town's development after the planning and building of an open-air Modular Museum System (Castillo and Holmquist 2006). This system showed the process and results of the archaeological excavation through open-air modules installed at various places in the town. The modules consisted of explanatory panels that showed the progress of the excavation. All of them were made with local materials, and the modules were economical and easy to maintain. One module was specially made for children so that they could experiment with an archaeological excavation. Additionally, one of the important aims of the open-air Modular Museum System was to encourage visitors to visit not

only the excavátion site but also the town. As a result of such visits, local people had the opportunity to offer their products and handicrafts inspired by Mochica culture for sale.

The role of the archaeologists involved in the project was to inform local people of archaeological findings and also to stimulate the local economy by creating new job opportunities relating to heritage tourism. Their enthusiasm was shared by local authorities and the population of the nearest city, Chepén; a large statue of one of the elite women found in the tombs was produced and installed at the entrance of the city to welcome visitors. Further, a representation of a burial ceremony made by local children was presented on the site on July 28th (during Independence Day festivities), and there was even a cultural association made up of local amateurs, who have since endeavored to examine various representations of the Mochica culture.

A significant result of the project is local people's identification with the archaeology of the site of San Jose de Moro. Archaeologists helped them rebuild connections with their ancestors, and thus facilitated the development of their identity based on their past culture. Through this interaction, local people have come to understand the value of the remains beneath their houses and learned to appreciate and protect them.

Arkeos, the Electronic Journal of Archaeology of PUCP

One of the biggest problems in Peruvian archaeology is the lack of publications for the general public. Two factors account for this lack. The first is the excessive cost of printing and publishing; in a country where books may cost as much as half of the monthly budget of a family, it is difficult to make archaeological publications reach the public. The second factor is that most books on archaeology are written in specialized language; this factor largely occurs because the readers of these books tend to be archaeologists themselves, and also because most archaeologists do not have the skills for communication with the general public.

In order to tackle this problem, some archaeologists have started to explore other means of communication with the public, particularly the Internet (Childs 2002; Saucedo-Segami 2006) *Arkeos*, the electronic archaeological journal of PUCP launched in March 2006, was one such attempt (Saucedo-Segami 2010).[2] *Arkeos* was conceived as an open arena for students studying archaeology at *Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú* (PUCP) so that they could develop writing skills and also experience direct communication with the public. The journal allows for interaction between archaeologists and the general public in two ways: readers can leave comments for both article authors and the editorial committee, and there is a section where a range of specialists in archaeology can leave their email addresses so that interested readers can contact them.

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[2]The website address is: http://mileto.pucp.edu.pe/arkeos.

The journal reflects PUCP's interdisciplinary activities. Its graphics are designed by computer engineers at the university while its contents are managed by undergraduate and graduate students of the archaeology department. Interaction with specialists from different disciplines allows archaeologists accessing the journal to acquire various types of research information. The journal plans to expand this characteristic by inviting more "nonarchaeological specialists" to publish articles.

Another characteristic of the journal is its quality as a "virtual" forum. Since archaeological discoveries are made almost every week in Peru, information on them can be uploaded quickly onto *Arkeos* and then become accessible to a wide audience – in this regard, the Internet has many advantages over traditional paper media because of its rapid communication capacity and also the availability and popularity of many cheap Internet cafes throughout Peru. By publishing online, *Arkeos* is able to reach physically remote places instantly, and even places outside of Peru.[3] Furthermore, since access to the journal is free of charge and it is published by open-source software, it is a low-cost project.

Feedback has become an increasingly interesting element of *Arkeos*. In its five years online, the journal received many positive comments from different readers, both in and outside of Peru. Most comments from Peruvian readers are characterized by a sense of pride in Peruvian heritage, and they often request the publication of more detailed information. Therefore, by running the journal, archaeologists are helping to construct the identities of local and regional communities. Although this situation was not conceived as main objective of the journal, according to the feedback received it is clear that *Arkeos* is contributing to the construction of Peruvian national identity based on archaeology.

Conclusion: Toward Peruvian Public Archaeology

The three examples presented above suggest that there are many possibilities for public archaeology in Peru. The example of the Sicán National Museum demonstrates how it is possible for museums to work closely with local communities. Local people's active participation in museum activities gives them an opportunity to connect past and present societies in their locality. It also allows archaeologists and the local population to share ideas and projects. The museums should no longer be a place to exhibit objects but need to become a living representation of the past.

The archaeological project of San Jose de Moro, meanwhile, shows how an ongoing excavation can be used to foster collaboration between archaeologists and the local community. By making use of local workers to create a moveable Modular Museum System, archaeologists can spread archaeological knowledge to local people in an effective manner, and also facilitate their active participation in the reconstruction of their past. The construction of the modules with local materials and techniques

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[3]*Arkeos* is accessed about 1,000 times per month.

helps to maintain a visual harmony with the surrounding environment, and their wide distribution in the town allows local people to interact with visitors. Finally, *Arkeos* shows the possibility of building a "virtual" interactive space, offering an economical and dynamic way of reaching a wider audience.

From these examples, it is possible to identify the role of archaeology and archaeologists in Peru in the reconstruction of local, regional, and national identities through communication of archaeological knowledge to the public. In places where these identities are not well conceived, local populations tend not to appreciate or value archaeology and archaeological sites. Looting and the destruction of archaeological remains are often common, and even socially accepted. In order to change this situation, it is necessary for archaeologists to build a relationship of trust with local communities. Once this relationship is achieved, local communities seek to better understand their past and become the stewards of their culture, be it local, regional, or national.

Some suggestions can be made for successfully building such a relationship of trust. First, looting of archaeological sites should not be seen simply as an activity for economic gain, since it is often related to a lack of self-identification with the past and a low level of consciousness and knowledge of the heritage environment. Heritage protection and community development are strongly related activities, and archaeologists can help to foster them so as to improve economy and access to education in local communities.

In the author's view, working with local communities at any stage of the development of archaeological research should be compulsory. Showing the process and methodology of archaeology to the public and explaining to them the importance of keeping archaeological contexts intact for archaeological research would be the first step. By engaging with local communities, archaeologists can encourage them to consider why heritage protection is important, and how it can be used responsibly to strengthen the economy of the community through tourism and related activities.

Secondly, interacting with communities should also be a key feature in international archaeological projects. For decades, many of these did not seek to collaborate with local communities. International archaeologists undertaking research in countries (like Peru) where there are large economic differentials should be aware of their responsibility to help improve the quality of life of the people from whom they gather information and who live locally to the archaeological sites they work at. Sharing information with local communities should be as important as any analysis of archaeological materials.

Thirdly, archaeologists should receive more training to help them communicate and interact with local communities. The lack of formal university education on the theory and skills of public engagement might well result in the next generation of archaeologists still being unprepared for such tasks. There is an urgent need to develop courses and classes on public archaeology at the university level. Also, there should be a network for sharing the experiences of different public archaeology projects. The workings and results of each project should be made widely available so that other archaeologists can learn from such experiences.

Up until now, what has happened in Peru might not be called "public archaeology" as defined elsewhere in the world, but it has essentially shared the same objectives and achievements. Today, many Peruvian archaeologists show a stronger interest in public engagement than ever, and this trend is likely to continue in the future. From the examples examined, it is clear that there is a significant role that archaeology and archaeologists in Peru can, and should, play in the construction of local, regional, and national identities, in addition to working with local communities to promote and protect archaeological heritage. The high level of public interest in archaeological resources should be made use of in relation to future projects in Peru, but archaeologists need to be more prepared and active in engaging with the public.

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Chapter 20
Sharing the Pleasure of Excavation: The Public Archaeology Program at the Miharashidai Site, Japan

Makoto Muraki

Introduction

In Japan, a great majority of archaeological work is carried out by archaeologists belonging to local government and semipublic archaeological units in the realm of rescue archaeology. These archaeologists are accountable to the public for their work, and as such often share one common interest: how to make archaeology more accessible to the public. This interest has brought about a number of public archaeology programs aiming to promote archaeological education for the general public. For example, public presentation of an archaeological site in the course of excavation work, known as *genchi setsumeikai* or *gensetsu*, has been an established practice in Japan for several decades. Another popular practice – which is the subject of discussion in this paper – is participatory excavations, in which members of the public can take part to experiment with archaeological fieldwork.

While there is no doubt that participatory excavations have contributed to increasing public interest in archaeology, some of their aspects are admittedly in need of improvement. For example, the one-sided relationship between archaeologists and participants in these excavations has been noted in some cases; archaeologists tend to impose their views upon the participants in the name of education, rather than encouraging them to make their own interpretations of the past. A more general problem is the lack of methodology guiding the organization of participatory excavations; this has made an evaluation of the effectiveness and outcome of each excavation difficult, and as a result, there has been little concerted effort to improve the quality of participatory excavations.

As a first step to change this situation, in this paper I offer a tentative evaluation of the participatory excavation program at the Miharashidai site. The evaluation

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consists of two sections. I first present the background, procedure, and characteristics of the program, and then analyze its current situation and problems, especially in terms of the relationship between archaeologists and participants. Since this program is well-known in Japanese as the "citizens' excavation (*shimin-hakkutsu*)," I use this term for the remainder of this paper.

The Development of the Citizens' Excavation at the Miharashidai Site

The Miharashidai site is situated on a hilltop located in the southern part of Nagoya city, in the central part of Japan. The site has been identified as a moated village of the late Yayoi period (first to third century AD). The first agricultural societies were formed in most parts of Japan in the Yayoi period, and they evolved towards state formation in its late period. The moated village at the Miharashidai site is considered to reflect conflict among the neighboring settlements during this state formation process. The village had a dwelling area of 30,000 m^2, most of which is in Kasadera Park today. Situated in the municipal park, this site has been free from the threat of urban development.

Forty-seven excavations have thus far been conducted at the site; they have unearthed two ditches that originally surrounded the dwelling area, over 200 pit dwellings and three tombs, all of which are dated to the late Yayoi period. Pit burials from the medieval period and the remains of a WWII anti-aircraft battery have also been identified.

Although the Yayoi settlement was identified before WWII, no systematic research was conducted for some time. After the war, the area around the site was earmarked to be developed as a municipal park. Local researchers and amateur archaeologists then insisted that the site should be investigated during the development of the park, and as a result, research excavation was carried out for several seasons and confirmed that the site was well-preserved. The Nagoya City government consequently decided to develop the park as an historic site, and excavation has since been conducted every year.

In the tenth season of excavations, local people, in particular junior high and high school students guided by their teachers, began to take part in the excavation. Archaeologists of the Nagoya City Board of Education saw this as an opportunity to interest the participants in archaeology and local and regional history, and started to organize educational activities for them. This marked the beginning of the public archaeology program at the Miharashidai site. Two major objectives were established for the program, which have been retained to date: to reveal and understand the late Yayoi settlement by excavation, and to utilize the excavation for the education of the participants. In 1979, the Miharashidai Archaeological Museum opened at the site, and the program was implemented as part of the museum activities.

The change in the orientation of the excavation during the tenth season seems to have been influenced by the preceding excavation of the Tsukinowa tumulus in

Okayama Prefecture (hereafter referred to as the "Tsukinowa excavation"), which was the earliest attempt to involve ordinary citizens in archaeological investigation in Japan. In order to better understand the public archaeology program at the Miharashidai site, it is worthwhile to briefly reviewing the Tsukinowa excavation.

The Tsukinowa tumulus, built in the Kofun period (early fifth century AD), was excavated in 1953 by approximately 10,000 people, including archaeologists, teachers, students, and local people. The excavation was intended to challenge the emperor-centered view of Japanese history that had prevailed before and during WWII; every participant was encouraged to critically assess the archaeology of the site and uncover an "unbiased" history of the region and Japan (Yoshida, 1984).

Although today some aspects of the Tsukinowa excavation are criticized,[1] most of such criticism diminishes when considering the particular socio-political context of Japan in the 1950s, when the nation was still recovering from the damage caused by WWII. It is clear that the Tsukinowa excavation set the precedent for public archaeology in Japan – the archaeologists involved established a close relationship with local people, investigated local and regional history together with them, and achieved significant results that were deemed of high quality from an academic point of view. It could be argued that public archaeology in Japan started from this singular excavation.

While the citizens' excavation at the Miharashidai site is similar to the Tsukinowa excavation in several aspects, differences between them should also be noted. For example, the citizens' excavation is organized by a municipal Board of Education (of Nagoya City) and, therefore, places a strong emphasis on education. The Tsukinowa excavation was an extremely intensive venture that reflected the specific socio-political conditions of the early 1950s, and is unlikely to happen again. However, it is possible to consider the citizens' excavation as a successor to the Tsukinowa excavation, as it is one of the few large-scale participatory excavations undertaken in Japan today.

The Public Archaeology Program at the Miharashidai Site

The Objectives of the Program

The public archaeology program at the Miharashidai site has both research and educational objectives. As research, it aims to clarify the original form of the Yayoi village, the daily lives of its inhabitants, and the changes that occurred to them in the course of time. Since the village was a core settlement of a large area, understanding how it functioned as a society significantly contributes to the reconstruction of the local and regional history.

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[1] For example, there is a criticism that, although local ethnic minority groups such as Koreans took part in the Tsukinowa excavation, their views were not taken into consideration in the process of reconstructing the past, and the framework of nationalist history was therefore reaffirmed (Kokuni 2003).

As an educational activity, the program seeks to generate interest in the cultural properties of their localities with the participants and to encourage them to consider how those properties should be preserved. By involving them in archaeological research and developing their understanding of archaeological methodology, the program ultimately aims to empower them to explore local and regional history by themselves. This educational aspect is becoming increasingly important, as the number of "beginners" participating in the program is growing.

The Schedule of the Program

Every year, archaeologists draw up a plan of excavation in consideration of research agendas. At present, one important agenda item is to clarify the burial area that is already partly visible on the site and examine its relationship with the settlement, as this would help understand the social organization of a village society in the state formation period in Japan.

The program runs for 25 days every summer. Although the participants consist mostly of junior high school students and adults with no previous experience in archaeology, there are usually also a good number of experienced adults who can help them. While students are required to attend the program for two or three consecutive days, adults can decide how long they take part. On average, participants attend 4–5 days, which means that each day different people take part in the program. The participants are divided into several working groups during the program; a typical group consists of an archaeologist, a few experienced adults, and several adult beginners and junior high school students.

Before the excavation starts, the participants attend a preparatory study meeting, in which archaeologists explain the principles and methods of an archaeological excavation, as well as general issues relating to the Yayoi period and the site. The explanation stresses that excavation is effectively site destruction and the participants therefore need to be careful in digging the Miharashidai site. Usually, additional study meetings are held during the course of the excavation. Prior to the start of the excavation, an exhibition is held at the Miharashidai Archaeological Museum, which is helpful in informing the participants of the site as well as the history of the citizens' excavation. The excavation starts when the junior high schools break for the summer vacation.

In the first week of the excavation, layers containing artifacts are excavated. In the following 3 weeks, the excavation concentrates on the identification of architectural structures. In the last week, identified structures are mapped and photographed. Near the termination of the excavation, a public presentation of the site is held so that visitors can learn about the new findings of the season; the participants, not archaeologists, are encouraged to make this presentation. Finally, the site is reburied so the structures are protected. Postexcavation work was not originally included in the program, but recently a monthly course has been initiated in which the participants engage in postexcavation processing and analyses of finds.

A Typical Day During the Program

In the morning, a meeting is held with all the participants to review the results of the excavation already confirmed and to decide the plan for the day. Thereafter, the excavation starts with participants working in separate working groups. Work allocation is made in consideration of who would be the appropriate person for each task; in principle, any task may be allocated to any participant, regardless of his/her previous experience in archaeological excavation. While digging, participants may find potsherds, stone tools, and remains of architectural structures. The experience of a real, scrupulous archaeological excavation is considered to be an indispensable part of the program.

The day is concluded with a final meeting, in which each working group discusses the results of their work, and then move on to discussions with other groups. The participants mutually ask questions about their interpretation of finds and the results of the excavation. Archaeologists give suggestions, advice, and instructions to the participants, but try to encourage them to build up their own thoughts.

Activities to Facilitate Enjoyable Learning

The program needs to be educationally effective and, at the same time, attractive and enjoyable for the participants. It is, therefore, important to ensure that the participants, as a team, can enjoy the process of understanding the site and its archaeology. Two activities are organized to this end. The first is the publication of a daily excavation newspaper, in which the participants express their feelings and thoughts about the site and their work, and archaeologists then comment on them and summarize the progress of the excavation. Since only a few people take part in the excavation for the whole season, this newspaper has an important role in facilitating communication between participants and archaeologists, as well as among the participants.

A *senryu* contest is also organized in the program. *Senryu* is a 17-syllable humorous Japanese poem. Every participant composes and submits some ten *senryu* in which they describe the program and their thoughts about it. Despite the common perception that *senryu* is rather old-fashioned, young people seem to enjoy making them. This has proved a very popular element of the program and adds to the sharing of pleasure between archaeologists and the participants in the excavation.

The Characteristics of the Program

There are many public outreach activities carried out at various archaeological sites in Japan. Compared to them, the public archaeology program at the Miharashidai can be said to be distinctive in the following three aspects.

First, the long duration of the program, 25 days, allows the participants to experience any part of the process of the excavation. This means that any members of the public can engage in archaeological investigation according to their interests and skills. Thanks to this policy, there are a number of adult participants in the program – this is significant, bearing in mind that other public archaeology programs in Japan are mostly designed for children and students, and the elderly are often excluded from them.

Second, the relatively long period of the program creates many opportunities for archaeologists and participants to communicate with each other; indeed, the program is designed to foster this communication. This advantage is obvious when considering that 1-day participatory excavations often result in archaeologists giving instructions to the participants one-sidedly, with little time left for dialogues between them. Since many participants in the program at the Miharashidai site attend the excavation for 4 or 5 days, they have enough time to reflect on the site in depth, formulate relevant questions, and in some cases even make suggestions about the excavation. This also means that the archaeologists involved have enough time to give explanation to, and have discussions with, the participants. Such communication is beneficial for both parties; the participants can understand the importance of what they are doing while the archaeologists can learn what the participants want to know (Potter, 1997). In addition, the archaeologists can gain the skills to synthesize the results of excavation by explaining them regularly to the participants in a plain manner.

One of the fruits of this close relationship between archaeologists and the participants is the investigation of a WWII anti-aircraft battery base located in the site (Fig. 20.1). Initially, archaeologists did not pay much attention to the ruins of this base. However, following discussions with one participant who had been stationed at another battery during WWII, the investigation of the anti-aircraft battery became part of the research program. Thus, the Miharashidai site, which has traditionally been known as a settlement of the Yayoi period, is today also recognized as a WWII-related site – this demonstrates that the participants' voices are an essential element of the program.

Third, by working together with archaeologists in a real excavation, the participants in the program can learn that even archaeologists sometimes make mistakes in identifying and interpreting archaeological features. At the Miharashidai site, material remains of different periods are often found in a single layer, and because of this archaeologists occasionally misinterpret them. As any archaeologist would know, such mistakes are rather common in a normal excavation, and they are rectified in the due course of the excavation. These mistakes, however, are usually unknown to the public, who are only informed of the final results of excavation, and not of the processes for reaching them.

By sharing the process of trial and error involved in archaeological investigation, the participants in the program can learn that the results of an excavation are not unquestionable facts but open to further investigation and interpretation. This further leads them to develop their "media literacy" in relation to archaeology, which is important because the media reports on archaeological findings are frequent and

Fig. 20.1 Investigation around the remains of the WWII anti-aircraft battery base

popular in Japan – those who have the experience of a real archaeological excavation become able to understand reported findings within the interpretive context. This "literacy" also allows them to critically assess archaeological exhibitions in museums – this is of importance because these exhibitions often do not make explicit that archaeological interpretations are mostly hypothetical (Fawcett, 1996). The public archaeology program at the Miharashidai site thus helps the participants to learn to evaluate archaeological information, and by doing so challenges the idea that only archaeologists can offer an account of the past and the public merely consume it (Tilley, 1989). The participants are encouraged to critique, and even sometimes doubt, archaeology-related information provided through the media or museum exhibitions.

The Current Situation of the Program and Problems

In order to examine the effectiveness of the program, we receive feedback from the participants by means of a questionnaire every year. The responses suggest several aspects of the program that are in need of improvement.

For example, most participants state that they are satisfied with the program, but some beginners complain that it is hard for them to follow discussions between
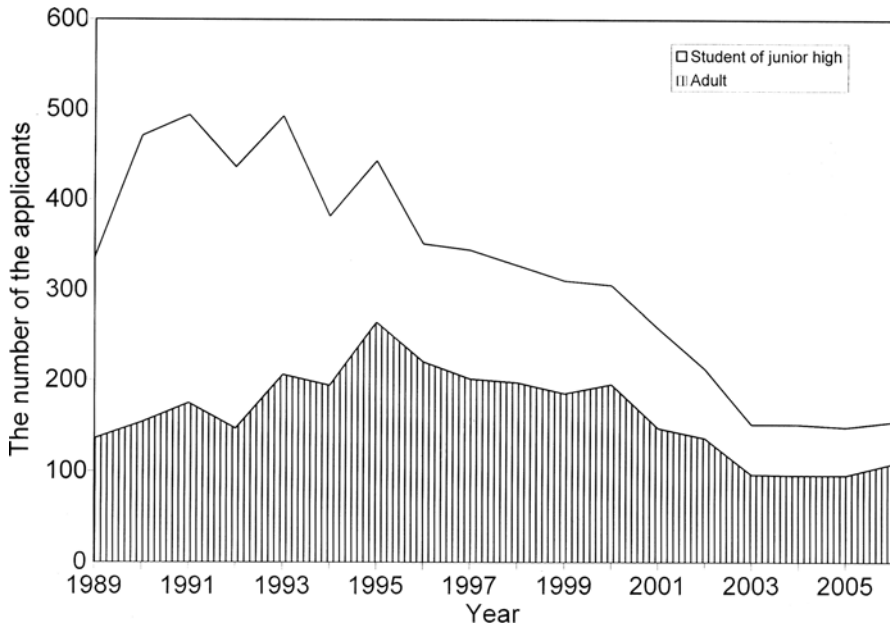
Fig. 20.2 The number of applicants to the public archaeology program at the Miharashidai site

archaeologists and experienced participants. This is a rather difficult problem to solve because one of the objectives of the program is to accomplish high-quality archaeological research, for which expertise cannot be relinquished. However, it is worth remembering that if some participants feel isolated in the excavation, there is often some failure in communication. Despite the difficulty of satisfying all the participants with varying backgrounds, there should always be efforts to foster more dialogues among them.

Another problem is that many participants express satisfaction in taking part in the actual excavation, but only a few appear to go on to learn more about archaeology or local or regional history. This means that, despite the satisfaction of most of the participants, the program has yet to achieve its original objective. There is a need to find effective ways of arousing the interests of the participants to learn, instead of just experiencing an excavation.

The recent decline in the number of applicants to the program, especially after the late 1990s, is also a concern (Fig. 20.2). This decline is presumably related, at least in part, to the Japanese economy over the same period. In the early 1990s, there were many rescue excavations undertaken in Japan, thanks to an economic boom, and as a result archaeology received a lot of media attention; there was then a corresponding increase in the number of applicants for the program. The start of recessions in the mid-1990s, however, reduced the amount of rescue excavations undertaken, and there was then a decrease in the number of applicants to the program. Another factor may well be the revelation of the fabrication

of Lower and Middle Paleolithic sites by a famous amateur archaeologist in 2000, which caused a devastating blow to Japanese archaeology. This scandal strongly worsened the public perception of archaeology, and might well have also discouraged a substantial number of potential applicants from being involved in the public archaeology program at the Miharashidai site. Whatever the reason may be, the fall in the number of applicants means that there has been a failure to either retain regular participants or attract new participants. More promotion of the program seems necessary.

In terms of the contents of the program, it could be argued that they are too excavation-centered because the participants can engage only little in postexcavation work, such as the processing and analysis of the finds of the excavation. Admittedly, the implementation of a postexcavation program is not very easy because it tends to attract few participants, in particular beginners, and nevertheless requires a lot of time for its organization. However, there should probably be more efforts to incorporate postexcavation work into the program because proper archaeological investigation cannot be accomplished without it. The recently initiated postexcavation course seems to be a step in the right direction for the development of the program.

Some criticisms against the program should also be acknowledged. A common one is that the citizens' excavation at the Miharashidai site lacks the precision needed for quality archaeological research because many beginners take part in it. While this claim cannot be rejected completely, it is worth stressing that many measures are taken to ensure that no participant excavates the site irresponsibly. As mentioned, a preparatory study meeting is held before each excavation season so that the participants can learn about the principles of archaeological excavation. During the excavation, the participants constantly receive advice and suggestions from archaeologists and experienced participants. It should also be remembered that the excavation allows for sufficient time to conduct research activities as it is not a "rescue" operation. A good example of this is the investigation of the remains of a WWII anti-aircraft battery, which would not have been viable in rescue excavation.

Another common criticism is that the program may encourage the participants to loot other archaeological sites; indeed, visitors to the museum who do not participate in the program often ask about the monetary value of the excavated materials. However, one of the aims of the program is to encourage the participants to consider the protection and preservation of archaeological sites. The program, therefore, stresses that looting devalues archaeological materials as it destroys the information that could otherwise be retrieved from them. Fortunately, the Miharashidai site has never been looted. This may be partly because the site represents a rather ordinary Yayoi settlement, and the excavation has thus far retrieved only few precious materials such as bronze. The participants in the program can therefore quickly realize that the rumors that archaeological sites are full of highly valuable objects are incorrect. By working in a real archaeological excavation, the participants learn that archaeology is not merely about the discovery of valuable artifacts.

The Future of the Program: Between Tradition and Renovation

The public archaeology program at the Miharashidai site has run for over 30 years. While it has developed in practical and managerial terms, its main focus has firmly stayed on archaeological research and education. Meanwhile, the surroundings of the Miharashidai site have greatly changed. Initially, the site was surrounded by paddy fields. Today, it is in the middle of a residential area.

In the early days of the program, it seemed rather easy for the participants to empathetically engage with the Miharashidai site because of the popular belief that prototypical Japanese society was shaped in the Yayoi period with the start of rice production – the idyllic paddy fields around the site were likely to evoke an image of the Yayoi period, and therefore the participants could feel that they were unveiling the history of their ancestors by excavating the Miharashidai site. However, the changed surroundings of the site no longer allow the participants today to easily create imaginative connections between the past and the present of the locality.

The participants' attitude to the past also seems to have changed. Judging from the early records of the program, early participants were eager to learn about local and regional history through the archaeology of the site. Nowadays, the participants appear to be more interested in the history with which they can personally empathize – in other words, personalized histories[2] – or, otherwise, national history, which has become a powerful historical framework underpinned by a widespread belief that "the Japanese identity" can be traced back in the past.[3] Archaeologist, in fact, are likely to have contributed to the latter, as they have tended to relate local archaeological sites to nationally recognized sites, assuming that they have something in common (Fawcett, 1996).

That the participants in the program have become less interested in learning about local or regional history from the archaeology of the Miharashidai site implies that the program is today less successful in attaining one of its original objectives. However, in the meanwhile, the program has begun playing a new role, such as the improvement of the participants' media literacy in the field of archaeology. In view of this, it might be possible to argue that the program will need further to adapt its goals to the new, changing circumstances.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have discussed the strengths and weaknesses of the public archaeology program at the Miharashidai site. Although having some areas in which improvement seems necessary, the program overall could be considered to be at the forefront of public archaeology in Japan.

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[2] This phenomenon can be observed on the national level; for example, the increasing popularity of exhibitions on the recent past, such as the *Showa* period.

[3] This can be attested by phrases such as "the oldest in Japan" or "the largest in Japan" that frequently appear in media reports on archaeology even when Japan is not the main focus of the reports.

In most public archaeology programs in Japan, archaeologists tend to impose their views on participants in the name of education. However, in order that archaeological education is successful, it is essential to establish a close relationship and two-way communication between archaeologists and participants. The experiences gained at the Miharashidai site over the last few decades suggest that such a relationship has positive effects for both parties – archaeologists can make archaeological research more relevant to the public, and the participants can learn the skills to learn about archaeology, history, and the past by themselves, enjoyably. This is why public participation in archaeological excavation – or sharing the pleasure of excavation – is important.

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