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Shared Knowledge, Shared Power

Engaging Local and Indigenous Heritage

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About the Editor

Veysel Apaydin completed his Ph.D. in cultural heritage at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London. His doctoral thesis (2015) evaluated political use of the past, identity construction and the relationship between heritage, education and attitudes towards heritage, taking modern-day Turkey as its case study. He worked as an archaeologist and heritage consultant in the United Kingdom and Turkey and has taught social research methods, heritage and museum studies and public archaeology courses at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London. He is also currently editor of the heritage section of the journal *Open Archaeology*.

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Chapter 1
Introduction: Approaches to Heritage and Communities

Veysel Apaydin

The last several decades have witnessed a rapid increase in the field of cultural heritage studies worldwide. This increase in the number of studies and in interest by the public as well as academics has effected substantial change in the understanding of heritage and approaches to heritage studies. This substantial change has also impacted the perception of communities, how to approach to past materials and protect them and how to share the knowledge of heritage. It has brought the issue of who has knowledge and how the value of heritage can be shared more effectively with communities who then ascribe meaning and value to heritage materials.

In this time, scholars have widely discussed and produced theories and practical ways to deal with these issues from different perspectives: the importance of education and archaeology (Corbishley 2011; Henson 2004), the ethics of cultural heritage (Ireland and Schofield 2015; Smith 2010; Hammilakis 2007), the interlinks between heritage and tourism (Chhabra 2010); critiques of colonial archaeology (McGuire 2008), the political use of the past (Smith 2006; Harrison 2013a) and use of nationalist approaches to archaeology and heritage (Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Meskell 1998), rights to knowledge (Atalay 2012; Nicholas and Bannister 2004), cultural heritage and intellectual property rights (Meskell and Pells 2005; Carman 2005; Nicholas and Bannister 2004; Smith 2004; Smith, Chap. 2, in this volume), the politics of objects in the museums (MacDonald 1998, 2013) and engaging with local and indigenous communities (Jameson 1997; Schadla-Hall 1999); Merriman 2004; Okamura and Matsuda 2011; Silberman 2007; Moshenska and Dhanjal 2011; Nevell and Redhead 2015; Moshenska 2017).

These research programmes and publications (and many more besides them) have challenged the past and current pitfalls in the cultural heritage studies and acknowledge the potential. However, there are still many issues centring on how to

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approach heritage materials, how to share knowledge and power and engage communities who in fact are the main generators of heritage materials as we are in the age of Anthropocene in which human is shaping all dynamics of culture and nature. Therefore, with this volume, I aim to bring different approaches to heritage and communities from various part of the world to understand both the heritage and the necessity of sharing knowledge and power as well as engaging with communities. Below I outline briefly the concept of understanding of heritage and its use and meaning as well as the construction of communities and the interlink between heritage and communities and briefly describe the papers in this volume.

Understanding of Heritage

In recent years, understanding of and approach to heritage and interpretation of heritage have been the subject considerably discussed. Academics, researchers and heritage practitioners in the field have interpreted heritage from their own perspective. Answers for the question of *what is heritage* or *what makes something heritage* have been widely addressed. In fact, these are difficult, problematic and complex questions as it is a very subjective in which every single individual, group and community could have interpreted heritage from a range of different perspectives. Although heritage is very difficult to define, being a very broad term that can contain anything valuable from people's past, heritage can be determined not simply as an artefact or site, but it as a process that uses objects and sites as vehicles for the transmission of ideas in order to satisfy various contemporary needs (Smith 2006). It is definitely a vehicle of communication, a means of transmission of ideas, values and knowledge that includes material, intangible and natural heritage. It is a product of the present yet drawing upon an assumed imaginary past and equally assumed imaginary future (Ashworth 2007: 2). Therefore, the definition and use of heritage change over a time (Ashworth et al. 2007). This is highly interlinked with the larger process by which societies and human nature which give meanings to things and change them over a time (Hall 1997: 61) are constructed, reconstructed, shaped and managed in the present as well as will be used as a resource in the future (Ashworth et al. 2007: 13).

Acting as a resource means heritage stores memories of people who ascribed values and meanings to it. In this respect, Harvey (2008: 21) argues that heritage may reflect both future and past as it contains memories that are represented by heritage. Therefore, it has a purpose that changes over time (Holtorf 2002: 28). The change is also not limited only with time period, but also this change varies from region to region and from communities to communities who ascribe different meanings and values to heritage and use it for diverse purposes. Every social group also perceives and evaluates past from a different perspective as they are culturally dissimilar (Murray 2004; Trigger 2006).

Uses and Meaning of Heritage

Although it is very difficult to define heritage, as it is very subjective and varies accordingly with the needs of individuals and communities, one certainty is that heritage as a discourse has always been the product of people who have generated and constructed and reconstructed with the requirements of people (Harvey 2001: 320). It is a cultural social practice, which has discourses (Smith 2006) rather than 'historical narrative' (Harvey 2007: 21). Foucault (1991) describes discourses as structures of skills that comprise the formation of information. According to Foucault, anything that encompasses knowledge is related to power; therefore, one can assume that heritage could also be seen as powerful objects or powerful discourses that have developed over time, because the objects and materials of the heritage have ascribed knowledge and meaning.

Because heritage has knowledge and meaning, its value also changes for individuals and groups as well as different cultures and societies. However, most importantly this change is highly linked to interpretation and value of heritage which is often linked to political ideology (Smith 2006, 2010, 2012). The meaning of heritage is developed over a time but as a result of social actions (Smith 2006; Byrne 2008; Harrison et al. 2008) which is also dependent on human interaction with culture and nature, as the definition and uses of heritage have been changed over a time (Ashworth et al. 2007). One of the main reasons for this change is that tangible, intangible or natural heritage which are ascribed positive values (Harrison 2013a: 5) loses its importance; therefore, they are 'forgotten' (Harrison 2013b) or ascribed diverse values, as in any periods, priorities and interaction of people and communities with cultural and natural heritage change because of the social and political transformations.

Construction of Communities

In addressing the understanding of heritage and its importance and use, I perhaps must also explore the related questions: *What is community*? *What is it made of? How are communities constructed?* These are perhaps some of the most difficult questions to answer in describing community. Anthropological studies give a broad definition as a group of people who share similar values and who are also protected by the same group of people in order to survive and continue their lives. These values also play an important role for their identity construction. These similar values indicate members of a group who share common aspects and distinguish them from others, as these values also construct 'boundaries' of one community to other as described by Cohen (1985). However, these boundaries, which are only related to values of a certain group of people, are not sufficient to describe every single aspect of a community, which may have considerable differentiations between their members. This brings the issue of variation in identity construction within communities, even in groups that broadly share the same values.

These variations could be based on ethnicity or socio-political structures or different social relationships with other members of the community such as kinship, etc. For instance, in the city of Kars in the east of Turkey, the local communities are formed of combinations of many different groups whose boundaries are shaped by ethnic and socio-political structures. These structures also determine their worldview and values (see Apaydin 2017). During the nation-building process, particularly in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, hegemonic powers aimed to cohere communities around ethnic values as proof the supremacy of one nation and excluding 'the others' (see Kohl and Fawcett 1995). In many cases, for instance, all around Europe, many communities were constructed around the value of ethnicity as well as religion, and tangible, intangible and natural heritage, which were linked to certain ethnic and religious groups, were used for propagation of this idea. For instance, during the Yugoslavian war in 1999, the boundaries of the conflict were shaped between two groups who were ethnically and religiously distinct to each other, and during the war, for both sides, the main targets were monumental heritage of other groups (see Bevan 2006).

The construction of communities is not always built around the ethnic and political and cultural values but also values of life experiences. For instance, in the past, during hunting and gathering, people may have had shared values that were centralized around a small group of people finding food for their survival, and following the hunting and gathering periods, agriculture played a great role in forming communities. Another example would be that of farmers today, as they are one of the communities who have shared life experience values. Of course, I am not suggesting that all farmers in the world make one community; they also distinguish themselves with many other aspects of their identities such as geographical boundaries. While a group of farmer in Scotland shares common values, others in the United States may share very different values.

A further well-known example might be the mining community, whose life experiences are very closely linked to their economy, and therefore their lives are dependent on it. However, it cannot be argued that every miner values and gives meaning to things in an identical fashion. For instance, miners in Manchester and Wales in the United Kingdom have a dissimilar identity construction although they also have many aspects in common. These dissimilarities vary from ethnic structure to language, geographical and lifestyle. That being said, all communities are formed by certain values that are shared by their members, while at the same time, every community also contains variation within themselves, with even the meaning of community differing among members; members of any given community may distinguish themselves with values other than those of the majority of community.

The definition of community is a very complex subject. This is one of the reasons that every single community should be considered in terms of its own aspects, structures and values. However, I can clearly argue one certain and common thing for any community, that is, the place where people have social relationships, build experiences and learn about life; it is 'where one learns and continues to practice how to be social' (Cohen 1985:15). This relationship and practice within the com-

munity further develop common values, which build elements of cultural heritage such as monuments, objects, songs, folklore and landscape.

As I have outlined the concepts of community and heritage above, it is clear that both terms are difficult to define and very abstract because the definitions of heritage and community are highly diverse and vary accordingly with social, political, cultural and geographic structures. However, what is certain is that these two concepts provide support to one another. Communities need to develop tangible or intangible heritage or ascribe meanings and values to natural heritage, which will help them to come together and create a sense of belonging that will also provide a resource to survive in a complex world. Therefore, we can understand that heritage is formed, shaped or constructed by communities by their current requirements and that community groups are described by their heritage (Crooke 2007) as it represents the identity of communities. This point also brings necessity of engaging and sharing the knowledge and power with communities as heritage practitioners and archaeologists dig into material cultures which already belong to local and indigenous communities.

Engaging and Sharing

As I have attempted to explain, the concepts of heritage and community are both directly linked to each other. However, heritage studies until a few decades ago exclusively studied the material culture of the past as part of an elite approach and completely neglected communities' rights to knowledge of their own heritage. Heritage practitioners and archaeologists neither shared this knowledge nor engaged with communities about their heritage. Communities were also mostly deprived from contributing to heritage and archaeological managements and studies. This kind of top-down approach was quite common in many parts of the world. However, the recent studies and research in the field have shown the importance of including the public in projects and that sharing the knowledge and power produced through heritage studies and archaeological works is quite significant for the protection and preservation of heritage materials; it has also finally been understood that excluding the public from heritage is unethical.

These are the main reasons that have encouraged me to publish another book in the field of cultural heritage and public engagement: to find answers for the questions of *how can heritage awareness be increased among the public? What are the best ways of sharing knowledge and power with communities?* And, finally, *how communities can be involved in heritage projects more effectively?* I aim to present a wide array of case studies from many parts of the world to answer these questions. This volume brings together the experiences and research of heritage practitioners, archaeologists and educators to explore new and unique approaches to heritage studies. In this volume, readers will find interesting and useful case studies applying many different approaches and methods in the field of heritage studies.

Smith et al. discuss cultural and intellectual property in relation to indigenous people in Australia and also point out the ethical importance of acknowledging indigenous people's contribution to heritage as well as heritage studies. Approaches to communities' engagement with heritage from a participatory or bottom-up perspective have become quite common and have successfully managed to include and engage local and indigenous communities with the heritage that they have contributed to developing. This important aspect of this field, sharing knowledge and power during the management of heritage sites, is presented by Apaydin, who brings three case studies and discusses the pitfalls and potentials of excluding and including communities around heritage sites in Turkey. Doyle focuses on the community engagement projects in Ireland and points out the interlinkage between communities and heritage and the importance of community interests through heritage services of Ireland. Likewise, Pastor brings out an excellent and an interesting case study from Roman Barcelona, Spain, by discussing the relationship between communities and place and its importance in communities' life as well as highlighting the differences between academics and communities in valuing heritage. Biggi et al. discuss the famous case study of Herculaneum from Italy, how sharing heritage sites can also contribute positively to communities' social and economic life through capacity-building projects, alongside how to increase heritage awareness among local communities.

Practice-based archaeological education at heritage sites has become one of the indispensable tools of research projects in any part of the world. This subdiscipline of heritage studies has rapidly increased in importance and became compulsory for archaeological projects and museums all over the world. In this volume, Jankovic and Michelic bring an interesting case study from a Neanderthal site project from Croatia, where not only archaeological education but also the importance of participatory heritage education programme by focusing on constructive learning in practice and its impact on local children is highlighted.

The rapid increase of use of technology has also impacted in the cultural heritage studies and public archaeology. Museum, archaeology and other heritage projects have begun to use technology to share knowledge of heritage with public. Using technology without doubt has also enabled heritage specialists to reach large numbers of people. Serlorenzi et al. examine one of the great digital heritage projects from Rome, Italy, by discussing the SITAR web platform project and its importance in sharing knowledge and giving opportunities to the public to access that knowledge. Likewise, the increase of using social media among the public has also encouraged heritage studies to use this platform more often and more effectively. In this volume, Hassett et al. bring probably the most interesting case study in the field of digital heritage engagement. They discuss the importance of the use of social media in engaging a wider public through the TrowelBlazers project, which has been developed with an online participatory approach in order to increase awareness and, critically, to emphasize the role of women in archaeology and to provide an impetus for a broader community participation with heritage. Finally, Moshenska reflects on issues and problems of community archaeology and heritage in theory and practice.

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Chapter 2
Intellectual Soup: On the Reformulation and Repatriation of Indigenous Knowledge

Claire Smith, Vincent Copley Sr, and Gary Jackson

Thou art rude, and dost not know the Spanish composition...
What is the Recipe? Name the ingredients.

Ben Jonson New Inne iv. ii. sig. E7v, Oxford English Dictionary

Vince's Story

My grandfather, Barney Warria, worked closely with the anthropologist Ronald Berndt when Berndt was a young man, about 18 years of age. After Berndt passed away in 1990, there was an embargo on his field notes for 30 years. We were moved off our lands in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, not long after British colonisers came to South Australia. We lost a lot of cultural knowledge. Native title came in and we needed access to Berndt's field notes to sort things out. There was some disagreement between Berndt and Tindale in terms of some of Tindale's genealogies, and we wanted to know whether our grandfather had been part of that. They did not want to give us access. It was a real battle. I couldn't understand it. Those notes are of conversations with *my* grandfather. I have a right to see what he said.

The situation described above is clearly unjust. This paper has been motivated by our combined response to the questions: How could such an unfair situation arise? Are other Indigenous people who are affected by similar restrictions on accessing knowledge that has been given to researchers by their forebears? What about non-Indigenous people? Does this affect them as well? Is there anything that can be done to remedy this situation, not only for Ngadjuri people (Fig. 2.1), but for others in similar situations?

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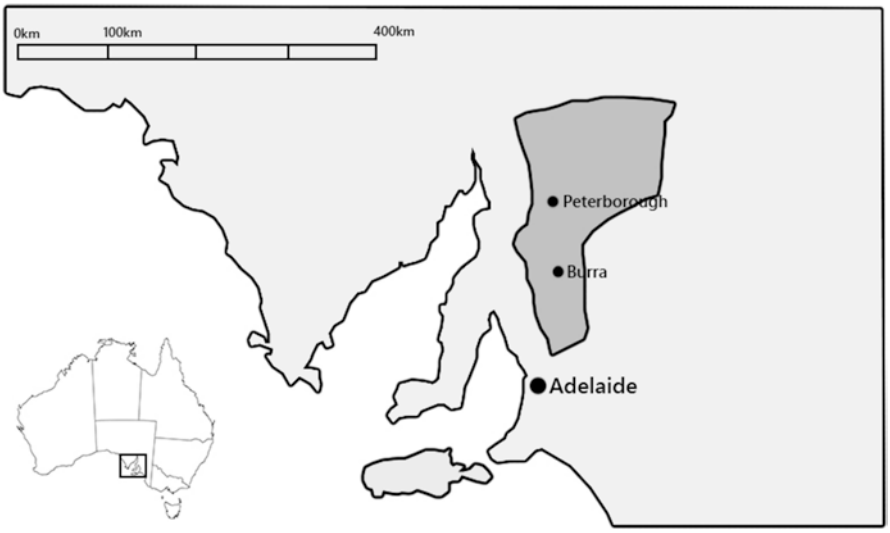

Fig. 2.1 The Location of Ngadjuri Lands (By Antoinette Hennessey, after Horton 1994)

What factors produced the situation in which Barney Warria's grandson, Vincent Copley senior, could not access field notes of conversations with his grandfather? The actual barrier was the embargo placed on the field notes, but what prompted the embargo? We can identify three principle factors. Firstly, the embargo was placed on Ronald Berndt's field materials by his wife, Catherine Berndt, after his death. At the time, she felt that the material might be used by government agencies to damage Aboriginal causes in some way (John Stanton, 2007 pers comm). This was before the Australian High Court passed the Mabo decision in June 1992, overturning the legal fiction of *terra nullius* that Australian lands belonged to no one prior to British colonisation (Mabo v Queensland (No2) (1992) 175 CLR 1). At the time the embargo was established, these native title rights had not been legally recognised, and Catherine Berndt could well have been justified in her fears of government.

Secondly, at the time the embargo was established, the differences between Indigenous and Western intellectual property were not widely recognised. Western conceptions of intellectual property located control of this property in creative activity that could be copyrighted, such as books, music scripts, designs and patents. Such constructions of intellectual property placed the control of materials in the hands of writers, publishers and other creative producers (WIPO 2004) and did not adequately protect Indigenous intellectual property:

> Western intellectual property rights systems create individual property rights, which can be subject to transactions, and which are designed to foster commercial and industrial growth. These systems are conceptually limited in their ability to afford recognition and protection of Indigenous intellectual property rights (Davis 1997).

At the time that it was placed, the embargo would have been viewed as a purely personal decision, rather than as a decision that should have been made in consultation with Aboriginal people.

Thirdly, there did not appear to be any need to consult with Ngadjuri people at the time the embargo was established as it was assumed by non-Aboriginal people that Ngadjuri people had died out in the Mid North of South Australia. Writing of the early 1850s, William Copley (1898:20) stated that 'Aboriginal people were very plentiful around the Burra in my school days, and the boys of both colours used to mix freely and play the same games'. In 1986 historian Ian Auhl (1986:43) wrote that 'little is left to remind us of the presence of the Ngadjuri, except a few legends'. In the late 1880s and early 1990s, the Australian government forcibly removed Ngadjuri people from their lands and to the mission sites, such as that at Port Pearce, as in other parts of Australia (e.g. Lydon 2009). Over time, many Ngadjuri people moved to the city of Adelaide. As they became immersed into a wider population that included other, often genealogically related, Aboriginal people, their recognition as a distinct Ngadjuri group faded. Non-Aboriginal people living in Ngadjuri lands assumed that the Ngadjuri had died out. The Ngadjuri were discussed in the past tense and even identified as an extinct group:

> The Ngadjuri were people of the Eucalyptus odorata scrub. In the early 1850s around Burra on the pastoral runs considerable numbers seem to have been employed as shepherds, wool scourers etc. when Europeans went off to the gold fields. But there are also report of this being a time when some sought to retaliate as European numbers fell. In any case in the later 1850s epidemics of measles and scarlatina and smallpox severely depleted the population. J.D. Wood 1878 'The Native Tribes of South Australia' says that the Aborigines around Burra were extinct. The remaining Ngadjuri retreated to the north and to hill country. It may be said that today none remain, but there are people who can claim Ngadjuri descent. (http://www.burrahistory.info/BurraAborigines.htm)

In contrast, Berndt maintained an active interest in Ngadjuri people. His actions influenced Vincent Copley senior to think about his own identity as a Ngadjuri man:

> I identified on my mother's side. My father died when I was two and I knew very little of him right, and I took all my stories and everything from my mother, who was a Narangga woman. And so all my history, thoughts and things revolved around Yorke Peninsula, Point Pearce … even to the point that Narangga—Yorke Peninsula was my land … until, I suppose, Native Title came into being … it started … people to think on both sides of their family .. And it eventually came out, and I think it came out through Professor Berndt, who rang me one day while I was working in the old department of Aboriginal affairs in Adelaide and said that my grandfather Barney Warrior had done a lot of good work with him and he was a very good friend of his and he had a photograph of him and he didn't know who to give it to. Somebody must have told him that I was a descendant of Barney Warrior and so he rang up and I said come in, and he came in, and he just came through the doors walked straight up to me, and put the photograph on the table. He said I didn't need anybody to introduce me, because he's your grandfather and he looks exactly like you, so I said well that's fine, but before I say anything else, he had turned on his heels and walked out the door and that's the last I seen of him (Birt and Copley 2005:252).

Set against a suite of social transformations relating to native title (see Smith and Morphy 2007), Ronald Berndt's actions prompted Vincent Copley senior to think in terms of his father's lands and fed into the process of Ngadjuri people returning to claim their country. It is ironic that Berndt's field notes later became a basis for contention.

In this paper, we provide a new lens through which to conceptualise cultural and intellectual property rights in relation to Indigenous knowledge by developing an analogy first put forward by Smith (2004a) of cooking an 'intellectual soup'. We argue that ethnographic research with Aboriginal[1] peoples involves a redrafting of knowledge, the creation of an 'intellectual soup' that arises from a reformulation of two intellectual traditions and bodies of knowledge. We contend that this reconfigured knowledge should be repatriated to Aboriginal communities and we discuss some of the implications for the other communities with whom archaeologists work. This paper emerges from an international conference in cultural and intellectual property issues, held on Ngadjuri lands, at Burra in the Mid North of South Australia, and a research collaboration between Ngadjuri people and academics at Flinders University that spans two decades, in occasionally trying circumstances (Fig. 2.2).

Fig. 2.2 Working together in Ngadjuri country

[1] We use the term 'Aboriginal' to refer to Ngadjuri people, or Australian Aboriginal people, as this is the term they use to describe themselves. We use the term 'Indigenous' to refer to Indigenous people worldwide, including Australian Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders.

Cultural and Intellectual Property

Worldwide archaeology has witnessed growing involvement on the part of descendant communities, for-profit companies and host governments in various aspects of the research process—everything from permitting excavations to claims over artefacts and research data (Ferguson et al. 2015; Nicholas and Markey 2015; Rimmer 2015). Controversies over cultural and intellectual property have emerged in the form of questions over ownership or access to the results of research (e.g. Anderson and Christen 2013) and the many claims that descendant communities (including Indigenous peoples) and others make on cultural knowledge and information. Increasingly, researchers have to adjust to restrictions from descendant communities and other stakeholders on access, use, or publication of other forms of knowledge (e.g. Jackson and Smith 2005). However, these groups have legitimate concerns about the exploitation of traditional knowledge. Concerns about claims to the ownership and use of cultural and intellectual property rights are rapidly emerging in all research disciplines and in many policy contexts, as the economic, scientific and cultural uses and values of traditional and Indigenous knowledge demand mounting attention.

Questions about rights to knowledge have been a growing focus of interest in archaeology since the seminal work undertaken by Isabel McBryde (1985) and Kehoe (1989) in the 1980s (e.g. Atalay 2012; Hamilakis 2007; Rowan and Baram 2004). This has prompted new interpretations of cultural property rights, which in turn have provoked major shifts in the policies and practices adopted by archaeologists, bioanthropologists, descendant communities, governments and museums around the world. One of the most influential publications in this area is Janke's (1999) study of Indigenous cultural and intellectual property issues. Table 2.1 outlines Janke's comprehensive categorisation of Indigenous cultural and intellectual property.

Table 2.1 Forms of Indigenous cultural and intellectual property

Literary, performing and artistic works (including music, dance, song, ceremonies, symbols, designs, narratives and poems)
Languages
Scientific, agricultural, technical and ecological knowledge (including cultigens, medicines and sustainable use of flora and fauna)
Spiritual knowledge
Moveable cultural property
Immovable cultural property (including sites of significance, sacred sites and burials)
Indigenous ancestral remains
Indigenous human genetic materials (including DNA and tissues)
Cultural environment resources (including minerals and species
Documentation of indigenous peoples' heritage in all forms of media (including scientific, ethnographic research reports, papers and books, films and sound recordings)

Adapted from Janke 199:11–2

Archaeological discussions of these issues have focused largely on issues of material or physical property, such as repatriation, museum and curation practices, the antiquities trade and heritage management (Bodenstein and Pagani 2014; Fforde et al. 2002; Jenkinson and Loring 2008; Lyons 2013; Soderland and Lilley 2015; Williams 2017). Markedly less attention has been given to the intangible intellectual aspects of archaeological research or cultural knowledge, although this promises to have as great, or greater, an influence on research and policy in the coming decades (Bell et al. 2013; Meskell and Pels 2005; Nicholas and Hollowell 2004). Cultural and intellectual property rights cut across geographic boundaries and encompass a wide range of disciplines. Stakeholders include industry, international organisations, community groups and individual researchers. Cultural and intellectual property issues are intertwined with cultural and national identity, moral and economic interests and academic freedom, and they are of increasing concern to the economic and cultural future of Indigenous peoples everywhere. Concerns about intangible heritage and cultural and intellectual property span diverse disciplines—from law, information technology and art to applied research ethics and human rights. These concerns are especially pertinent to archaeology, where scholars are deeply enmeshed in the policies and practices of cultural heritage. Cultural and intellectual property issues are intertwined with cultural and national identity, moral and economic interests, academic freedom and the public domain. Increasingly, they affect the economic and cultural future of Indigenous peoples everywhere. Work on cultural and intellectual property issues in cultural heritage encompass all of these realms. While the current paper is focused on a particular issue for a particular community, there are implications for research conducted with all stakeholders.

Making an Intellectual Soup, Reformulating Knowledge

What does cooking have to do with cultural intellectual property? In this paper, the preparation, cooking and consumption of a simple soup is used as an analogy for the reformulation of cultural and intellectual property—the production of an intellectual soup (Fig. 2.3). Motivated by Ngadjuri people's experiences, we use the hypothetical example of a researcher, such as Ronald Berndt, asking an Aboriginal Elder, such as Barney Warria, to teach them about culture. We assume that the Aboriginal Elder willingly shares their knowledge, has a basic understanding of the research process and is happy for the knowledge that they impart to be shared with others.

How does an intellectual soup get made? You need cooks, ingredients, a kitchen, cooking implements, a recipe and consumers; their academic equivalents are researcher and Aboriginal knowledge holder, data, research environment, research implements, research question and audience.

Fig. 2.3 Vincent Copley senior and Gary Jackson—making an intellectual soup (By Antoinette Hennessey)

The Cooks

The first essential component is a cook or cooks who have an interest in making a soup that will be consumed. The intellectual soups that emerge from ethnography, such as that conducted by Ronald Berndt with Barney Warria, require two cooks, one to provide the essential ingredients of Aboriginal knowledge (Barney Warria) and the other (Ronald Berndt) to provide essential ingredients relating to the method of production and the tastes of intended consumers. Both are trained in their respective systems of knowledge.

The Ingredients

The ingredients are the knowledge that each person brings to the intellectual soup. In our hypothetical scenario, the primary ingredients are Aboriginal knowledge and various forms of the cultural and intellectual property identified by Janke (1999:11–12). This is a relatively clear set of ingredients. What ingredients can the researcher bring to this? Their ingredients are important to creating the recipe. They might include theoretical concepts, analytical frameworks, comparative studies and archival research.

The Recipe

A cooking recipe is 'a statement of the ingredients and procedure required for making something, (now) esp. a dish in cookery' (Oxford English Dictionary 2016). In our academic scenario, the recipe is the research design, including any questions generated by the aims of the research. In most cases the recipe is primarily, but not solely, an academic product, as Aboriginal people can use their own knowledge to alter the recipe. For example, at the time that Berndt was interviewing Barney Warria, he was a young man, and Warria was in his 50s. It seems likely that Warria would have directed much of the conversation, shaping the research design. In addition, Aboriginal people routinely hold back information that they do not want public (Jackson and Smith 2005), and the recipe will have to be adjusted to deal with these omissions.

The Kitchen

A kitchen with equipment and a cooker is needed to turn ingredients into something that can nourish. The academic kitchen is the research environment, the place in which the product is created. While it is usually provided by a university or government employer, it can also be informed by the community. Community contributions to the research environment can include community offices, local library, or the provision of a research hut or a camping area. As with a commercial kitchen, the research kitchen is informed by the actions and views of others who share that environment, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal.

Cooking Implements

To make our simple soup, we need knives, peelers, graters, measuring devices and a hot plate. The tools of the academic kitchen include pen and paper, computer, books, internet access, cameras, tape recorders and vehicles. While these are normally provided by a university or government employer, they can also be provided by a community, particularly when the project is conceived as collaborative.

The Consumers

Soups are made to be consumed. Who is going to dine on our intellectual soup? At the time that Ronald Berndt was working with Barney Warria, academic products were consumed primarily by academics, with some publications aimed at the

general public (e.g. Berndt and Berndt 1988). Today, there are two new groups of consumers. The first is the Aboriginal people who now expect knowledge to be returned to their communities and to participate in the dissemination of the knowledge (Jackson and Smith 2005). They want to be able to consume the soup as well. This means creating variations of the soup product, such as plain English reports, videos and internet sites. The second new group of consumers is an international audience. In a contemporary and interconnected world, it becomes even more important to make a soup that can be consumed by a group of international, culturally diverse, palates. How does this affect what is cooked? Both soups and academic products are produced with particular consumers in mind. The academic paper, for example, might aim to address a question of international significance. This will affect data collection (ingredients) and analysis (the recipe). The researcher is best placed to know how international academic consumers are likely to accept the product presented at the table. They know which ingredients to emphasise and which to limit to suit the product to new consumer palates.

Finally, we have our intellectual soup! It has been constructed jointly by an Aboriginal person, such as Barney Warria, and a non-Aboriginal researcher, such as Ronald Berndt. This particular intellectual soup could not have been prepared without the input of both people. As such, it constitutes a reformulation of knowledge. The next question is: who owns the intellectual soup?

Who Owns the Soup? Repatriating Knowledge

One of the major implications from this paper is that knowledge should be repatriated to Indigenous communities. The intellectual soup described in this paper is a product of collaborative effort. It seems reasonable to conclude that all of the people who played a major role in contributing ingredients, shaping the recipe or providing facilities or equipment have some rights in that intellectual soup. The overriding rights, however, are those of the cooks, the people who shared and reformulated knowledge. From this viewpoint, any embargo on Berndt's notes would also have needed the consent of Barney Warria's descendants. Given that Berndt's field notes pertain to the wide range of Aboriginal people with whom he worked, it would be reasonable to argue that such an embargo also would require approval from those people. This approval was never given.

Moreover, given their involvement in knowledge creation, there is a strong case for repatriating this knowledge to Aboriginal communities. If both the Aboriginal knowledge holder and the researcher (whether non-Aboriginal or not) have rights in this intellectual soup, it follows that neither can waive the rights of the other. Consequently, there is an ethical responsibility for knowledge acquired through research to be repatriated to Indigenous communities. The appropriation and control of Indigenous cultural and intellectual property are increasingly shaping the character of research relations, policies and access to knowledge (Ferguson et al. 2015; Nicholas and Markey 2015; Rimmer 2015). An essential step in this process

is to conduct intensive case studies, such as that presented in this paper, and use specific community-related outcomes to generate state- and national-level policy recommendations that can be fed into the analysis of this issue worldwide.

The information collected by ethnographers can be of critical importance to Aboriginal people who are seeking forgotten knowledge about their pasts. It is important to identify the social and geographic locales in which Indigenous knowledge resides. As McClellan and Tanner (2011) emphasise, knowledge discovery from Indigenous cultural collections can be a powerful tool for empowering Indigenous communities. The location of information currently held in archival repositories, museums, private collections and in oral histories will enhance Ngadjuri knowledge of country and provide data for interpretative materials for heritage tourism. As the Ngadjuri 'recapture' cultural knowledge, they are better placed to assert their identity within the region. This recaptured knowledge also provides a basis for educating the wider community. The knowledge that was locked away from Ngadjuri was also locked away from the wider population.

If intellectual property is jointly owned, it follows that it should be subject to joint control. This is the point at which some archaeologists become wary. The issue of Indigenous control over research is controversial in archaeological circles, bringing up the spectre of potential censorship, the possibility that published results may not fully reflect what was discovered (Kuper 2003) and critical scrutiny of whether Indigenous perspectives should be privileged in the heritage management of increasingly diverse populations (Holtorf 2009). Our own position is that all research is subject to limitations, and, from this perspective, Indigenous control is simply another limitation that needs to be acknowledged. Moreover, the fact that research results are skewed needs to be acknowledged, and this does not go hand in hand with presenting false results. However, we acknowledge that the situation becomes more complicated when dealing with increasingly heterogeneous populations and a progressively wide array of stakeholders with an interest in the management of heritage sites and places.

A related point concerns long relationships and slow cooking. Elsewhere (Jackson and Smith 2005; Smith and Jackson 2008), we have conveyed the views of Aboriginal Elders at Barunga that researchers should develop long-term relationships with Aboriginal communities (see also Isaacson and Ford 2005). Relationships as well as some recipes can be improved by slow cooking. The benefits of long-term relationships are richer, deeper interpretations and a greater capacity to make social change:

> Archaeology can be a tool of empowerment by Indigenous peoples as well as archaeologists. Working in long-term relationships of trust with Indigenous peoples archaeologists can re-shape their discipline into one that will produce profound benefits for the people with whom they work. They can help Indigenous cultures survive (Isaacson and Ford 2005: 364).

The benefits of long-term relationships and the cocreation of knowledge from community-based participatory research are demonstrated in several parts of the world: in Canada, in work undertaken by Stephen Loring with the Innu people

(Loring 2008; Loring et al. 2003; Loring and Ashini 2000), David Denton with the James Bay Cree (Denton 2001; Bibeau et al. 2015), Tom Andrews with the Dogrib (Andrews and Zoe 1997) and Natasha Lyons with the Inuvialuit (2013); in Australia, in Amy Roberts' collaboration with the Mannum (Roberts and Campbell 2012; Roberts et al. 2014; Roberts et al. 2015) and Narungga (Fowler et al. 2015; Roberts et al. 2014) Aboriginal Communities in South Australia, in Claire Smith and Gary Jackson's partnership with the Barunga groups of communities (Smith et al. 1995; Smith 2004b; Jackson and Smith 2005), in Mick Morrison and Darlene McNaughton's work with Aboriginal people from western Cape York Peninsula (Morrison et al. 2012; Morrison and Shepherd 2013; McNaughton et al. 2016) and in Sally May's collaboration with people from Gubalanya (May et al. 2005; May 2009; Wright et al. 2014); and in the United States, in TJ Ferguson and Chip Colwell's collaborations with Hopi and Zuni people (e.g. Colwell and Ferguson 2014; Ferguson et al. 1993; Hedquist et al. 2014, 2015; Hoerig et al. 2015). In these cases archaeologists and Indigenous people collaborate on research design, fieldwork and the publication of results. Ferguson et al. (2015) argue for the intellectual benefits that arise for the management of archaeological resources and for both a humanistic and scientific understandings of the past (Ferguson et al. 2015).

Discussion

Who has rights to the information recovered from past peoples—archaeologists who retrieve the information, modern inhabitants of the land where the information originated, or the descendants of the original creators of traditional knowledge systems and the archaeological record? How archaeologists respond to cultural and intellectual property rights issues has the potential to transform archaeology and its relations with stakeholders in positive ways or to seriously constrain the search for more equitable and productive relationships. It is important that researchers and Aboriginal people work collaboratively across a range of projects, while protecting the cultural and intellectual property rights of a particular community. Case studies such as that presented in this paper are essential not only because they help communities develop practical measures to deal with their particular cultural and intellectual property rights challenges but also because they can contribute to the development of policy at a meta-level. Such studies contribute to new understandings of cultural and intellectual property rights, both in Australia and internationally.

At an international level, discussions are moving beyond 'Who owns the past?' to examine the diverse and divergent uses of past knowledge systems and who does and does not benefit (Atalya 2012; Nicholas and Hollowell 2004). One proposal that has been put forward by some Aboriginal people is that results of research are rightfully the property of Indigenous peoples. However, our view is that the intellectual property arising from research is owned jointly, since neither party could have created this outcome entirely by themselves. All of the people who provided

ingredients or expertise have rights in the intellectual soup. Fundamentally, there is an ethical issue, as recognised in Nicholas and Bannister's call for a co-stewardship of the future:

> There must be recognition of ethical obligations at both the individual and the collective level. Adopting participatory research approaches, supporting meaningful collaboration with Indigenous colleagues, sharing decision making responsibilities and benefits in research processes and outcomes, and working cooperatively with all those who have an interest in Indigenous cultural heritage will be key to identifying, understanding, and addressing the conflicts that may arise in claiming ownership of the past (Nicholas and Bannister 2004: 342).

The issues raised in this paper concerning who has a right to control intellectual property is complicated by the process of publication as this can involve transferring intellectual property to a publisher (Mahama 2012; WIPO 2008). If we accept the premise that these works are joint intellectual property, such transfers are called into question: is it moral or even legal to sign over someone else's intellectual property?

This paper is part of wider research involving the longitudinal mapping of the micro-dynamics of knowledge transfer. Most knowledge mapping has focused on the development of global and freely accessible maps of science or general knowledge (e.g. Shiffrin and Borner 2004), though some important work has concentrated on the protections required by Indigenous groups (Nakata and David 2010; Nijrain 2012; Mukurtu 2012; Williams 2017), often in the area of ecological knowledge and biodiversity (e.g. Adenle 2012; Janke 2009). However, we have not yet attempted to map longitudinally the transfer, use and codification of Indigenous knowledge for the colonial period from contact to the present—to understand over an extended period of time why, when and where particular knowledge became accepted. Such an understanding is critical to interpreting the intangible aspects of cultural heritage, something that is important to archaeological analyses in the present. Moreover, among Indigenous Australians there is a movement away from shared histories, as depicted by Harrison (2004) and Byrne and Nugent (2004) to a stricter regime of Indigenous control over Indigenous cultural knowledge. As Nijrain (2012) points out, knowledge management is increasingly polarised due to its value in knowledge creation, codification and transfer and the development of knowledge capability. This matter becomes even more urgent in the digital age, which offers both threats and opportunities for the distribution of Indigenous knowledge (Anderson and Christen 2013; Bell et al. 2013; Hennessey et al. 2013; Mukurtu 2012), as part of a broader movement toward digital public archaeology (see Griffith et al. 2015).

Contemporary archaeological research is focusing on the ethics of archaeological practice, especially in terms of copyrighting the past (Nicholas and Bannister 2004; Anderson and Christen 2013); the repatriation of human remains and artefacts (Davies and Galloway 2008; Wilson 2009); the decolonisation of appropriated pasts (Bodenstein and Pagani 2014; McNiven and Russell 2005; O'Neal 2015; Silliman 2005; Smith 2012; Smith and Wobst 2005); who benefits from research (Atalya 2012; Smith and Jackson 2008); and tracing hidden or invisible histories (Hardy 2010; Sommer 2010). Integral to this process is understanding how cultural knowl-

edge has been retained and transmitted within both Indigenous and Western cultures and, by extension, the complex interplay of historical factors that have contributed to contemporary cultural and intellectual property issues. An important aspect of this process is the identification of 'forgotten knowledge':

> Forgotten knowledge can be found not only in living communities but also in the many hundreds of ethnographies that were written in the 19th and early 20th century in places as far distant as Siberia and Tasmania. Many of these lie unused and gathering dust in remote corners of libraries today often in non-mainstream languages. This forgotten knowledge could be exceptionally valuable but is largely not included as part of modern critical analysis or debate (Domañska et al. 2006).

There is much work to be done. Firstly, we need to understand the processes by which Indigenous knowledge becomes codified—not simply in relation to whether it is found in documents but also in terms of its general acceptance—and to identify the points when particular knowledge became codified. Questions here include: What forms of cultural knowledge have been passed on or reformulated, and what has been lost or hidden? Who possesses what knowledge in the present, and how did they obtain that knowledge? What are the barriers and enablers to Indigenous access to this knowledge? How does the locale of knowledge reflect changing conceptualisations of 'traditional' or 'authentic' knowledge? What processes underlie the movement of knowledge from personal or experiential to codified? What role do researchers play in the process of creating codifying Indigenous histories? What information is codified through this process? What forms of knowledge are missing, or neglected, as part of this process?

Once, the holders of Ngadjuri knowledge were Ngadjuri people. Today, this knowledge is dispersed, socially and geographically. Over the last 120 years, it has fragmented and scattered down a multitude of paths. Some is held in government archives, some in museums, some in researcher's diaries, some in the oral histories, diaries and letters of farming families and some with Ngadjuri people themselves. While there are many forms of knowledge, not all knowledge is of equal value, and not all knowledge is accessible. It is important to chart the transfer, use and codification of Indigenous knowledge from first contact to the present. Such research can identify the social and geographic locales in which that knowledge now resides and interrogate its division into authorised and unauthorised, official and nonofficial and authentic and inauthentic knowledge.

The intellectual soup described in this paper could not have been prepared without the input of either an Aboriginal knowledge holder, such as Barney Warria, or a researcher, such as Ronald Berndt. This intellectual soup required input from two sources at a number of levels: the researcher and Aboriginal knowledge holder (the cooks); the recipe, shaped by two intersecting worldviews (the recipe); an academic research environment informed by Aboriginal communities (the kitchen); equipment for data collection (kitchen implements); and the audiences that are increasingly both public and academic (the consumers). This intellectual soup may take a range of forms—field notes, academic papers, a book. When it takes this material form, it is identified primarily with the researcher. We contend, however, that these

products of research are the intellectual property of both the researcher and the Aboriginal person—that they constitute joint intellectual property.

Ronald Berndt and his wife Catherine worked with a number of Aboriginal groups. For many years, the Ngadjuri and other Aboriginal groups fought to gain access to Ronald Berndt's field notes. While this issue has been resolved, this was not a straightforward process. Some Aboriginal groups got access to the field notes before others. Ngadjuri man, Vincent Branson stated that:

> One other Aboriginal group was given the okay to look at the Berndt material but we were still fighting to get access. That group went to Perth to see the material. It should have been a joint visit. We were worried that there was Ngadjuri men's business recorded in the field notes and they had access to this information and we didn't (Vincent Branson, 2017 pers. comm.)

In 2017 the situation for the Ngadjuri is very different to what it was once. Over the last 20 years, Ngadjuri people have made a concerted effort to reconnect to their lands in Mid North region of South Australia and to redress the knowledge that was lost through their removal to missions in the early colonial era. In one of the ironic traits of history, the Australian government has supported this reconnecting with country through the national Indigenous Heritage Program, promoting Ngadjuri connection to country and enhancing the protection and preservation of heritage sites in the region. Working at all levels Ngadjuri people have increased public awareness of the Mid North as their traditional lands. This process has included stakeholder consultations, public meetings, and annual field schools run in collaboration with Flinders University. Material acknowledgements of Ngadjuri traditional ownership of these lands are apparent in interpretative signs at rest stops along the Stuart Highway and other public signs (Fig. 2.4).

Fig. 2.4 Public signs acknowledging Ngadjuri culture and lands

Discussion

This paper contributes to discussions by archaeologists, Indigenous communities and other stakeholders who are seeking to develop more equitable and successful resolutions and policies regarding cultural and intellectual property issues. We hope the conceptual framework that we have outlined in this paper will help others to constructively negotiate cultural and intellectual property issues, foster positive relationships and adversarial or exploitative situations. While the case study discussed in this paper is that of an Australian Aboriginal group, these issues have wider applicability, in terms of both Indigenous peoples and wider communities. The kind of displacement that the Ngadjuri endured has occurred throughout the world and is still occurring in many countries, especially in parts of South Asia (Asian Human Rights Commission 2012) and South America (Palmer 2010). There is no doubt that many of the descendants of these people will be following a similar process to that of the Ngadjuri, as they re-establish connections with their traditional country.

The issues discussed in this paper have relevance to many disciplines and to the wide range of projects that are undertaken with Indigenous peoples. The concerns of many Indigenous people are expressed by Ishmael Hope, the lead writer for *Never Alone (Kisima Ingitchuna)*, a video game which enacts the quest of an Iñupiati girl, Nuna, as she seeks the cultural knowledge that will save her village from a catastrophic blizzard. In a YouTube interview, Hope states:

> A lot of times, as native people, we get denied creative and intellectual agency and it can be very unconscious and I think how this can play out is that with a thing like this people may give the agency, the ability to discern and to make choices intellectually and think something through and to be self-conscious and conscious. The media often gives that to the video game developers and so they say – it's like they say 'Well, the Iñupiat culture want to preserve their culture and they shared their culture with the team' that has the actual intellectual and creative agency … You can say that you have an equal collaboration but most times that doesn't actually happen. Most times, only enough is done to show that there has been some interaction and collaboration … that is the level of superficiality that you have, almost across the board, with almost all media, whenever they are working with any kind of native content. And this [*Never Alone*] was a different story. (Ishmael Hope, 24 June, 2005, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HFcQkNIUe1E)

Our final point is that while international conventions and studies have produced key declarations, charters and issues papers, in any given situation, the success of cultural and intellectual property measures is dependent on the affected artist or 'owner' being aware of their rights and then having the option to consent (or not) to the use of their material (Mahama 2012). This situation is often complicated in Indigenous groups by the fact that 'ownership' of knowledge is not an inalienable, individual property but instead a property of groups of people (e.g. families, clans or language groups). Furthermore, it is a property of groups that even today may have a high degree of illiteracy and little means to access the written protocols, policies or documents that foreground these issues. In some cases, knowledge of the existence of such protocols is the business of dedicated Indigenous organisations

responsible for mediating between Indigenous groups and the non-Indigenous researchers who seek to work with them. Irrespective of such systems, it is up to the researcher to genuinely locate the inputs into each intellectual soup and to recognise Indigenous and/or community rights in that soup. The recognition and the shared control of cultural and intellectual property lie at the heart of the delicate balance between research, creative outcomes and Indigenous cultural survival.

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Chapter 3
Who Knows What? Inclusivity Versus Exclusivity in the Interactions of Heritage and Local-Indigenous Communities

Veysel Apaydin

Introduction

Over the last 20 years, archaeology and heritage disciplines have witnessed an incredible increase in legislation that aims to promote the involvement of communities with the heritage sites that they live near. UNESCO has made compulsory the involvement of communities for decision-making related to heritage sites during the selection process of listing official World Heritage Sites. This compulsory criterion also includes intangible heritage, as stated in the Convention for Safeguarding the Intangible Heritage. Cultural heritage both tangible and intangible is a process of communities' relationships with their environment including nature and history, and this helps in constructing their sense of belonging and therefore their identity to continue and exist in this world (UNESCO 2003; Silberman and Purser 2012).

Having considered the many legal obligations that have been developed such as by UNESCO and other international bodies, most archaeological attempts at involving communities with archaeological and heritage sites and providing them with the possibility of engaging with their history have not been successful. In other words, they have not been effective, and therefore, most of communities have been excluded from their local heritage. The main reason for this is that the many archaeological projects have had quite top-down approaches in spite of the fact that, in theory, those projects aimed to involve local communities with heritage sites. Those top-down approaches, which have still the lingering influence of colonialism, as in the case of US archaeologists who had an imperialist relationship with archaeology of Mexico (McGuire 2008:9), have excluded communities from archaeological and heritage sites with which they have historical relationships and memories. Similar approaches

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have been used by ethnic Turkish archaeologists who have worked in many parts of Turkey and particularly in southeast Turkey, where the population is mainly Kurdish, and local and indigenous communities are mostly considered as labor force but nothing else.

Consciously or unconsciously, these approaches have imposed certain understandings on communities and attempted to change the values and meanings of heritage sites for communities who are supposed to be part of the process of building the heritage. Heritage practitioners and archaeologists reconstructed the meanings and value of objects and material culture, which are the result of the processes of human life, and changed their meaning and value over time. However, this process is supposed to be led through communities, who have direct relationship with the site, rather than heritage practitioners and archaeologists who only study the past.

In recent years, participatory approachesexcluded from, particularly in community archaeology, have become more common (see Merriman 2004; Okamura and Matsuda 2011) and inclusive at the point of interpreting the material culture of the past; for example, the multivocal approaches at Çatalhöyük (McGuire 2008; Hodder 1999; Meskell 1998). However, in spite of these attempts at involving communities with heritage sites, most of them have neglected the social, political, and economic backgrounds of the local communities. Moreover, these projects have used similar methodologies for socially, ethnically, politically, and economically dissimilar communities during education programs or community archaeology projects. Most importantly, the voice of the communities not only has been neglected but also their knowledge, relationship with the place, and potentiality for interpretation is undermined and oversimplified, because of, as I argue, continuation of a top-down approach. The oversimplification of local knowledge does not prevent a top-down approach and resulting exclusion of communities from the archaeological and heritage sites.

This paper will examine the entanglements of communities in heritage sites/places and the pitfalls and potentials of excluding and including communities from local heritage by focusing on local voices from the communities of Çatalhöyük, Ani, and Hattuşa. This paper, then, symbolizes a more developed consideration of the notion and meaning of the place and the interrelation between communities and places not only at a theoretical level but also at a praxis level, rather than previous ambiguous references to study of heritage and its relationship to communities.

This paper argues that every single individual has knowledge, which is developed through daily life and can have great influence and contribution for any stage of managing of heritage sites. Below, I will briefly discuss the relationship of communities with places (in this paper I will use the term “place” instead of “heritage sites” because I argue that although the site/place was constructed in the past, they still have significant role in current communities’ social and natural environments) and then give an overview of the archaeology of three sites and associated communities, and finally I will discuss the pitfalls and potentials of excluding and including communities in heritage sites by interpreting local voices.

The Entanglement of Communities in Places

Communities are distinct from each other because of different ways of living, traditions, and ways of thinking, which are dissimilar as a result of different formation process of both communities and individuals that are constructed by the many various aspects of diverse social and natural environments in which they live. Cohen (1985: 12) states that every single community has something in common and that this also distinguishes them from the other communities. This is also the result of living in different sociopolitical and natural environments. For instance, people in the Kars region in east Turkey live on the high steppes at 3000 m altitude, and most of the time of the year, locals struggle with heavy snow which makes difficult for them to find grazing areas for the animals that form the basis for their subsistence. In addition, Kars is a border city with Armenia, and this makes their lives more difficult because of ongoing political disputes between two countries and pressure of nationalism over an ownership land issues. By contrast, the communities of Konya live on plains, the natural environment is not that difficult as Kars, and they are wealthier than Kars and do not have the same political problems and pressure. Both regions' people have different conditions and circumstances that shape them and also make "boundaries" (Cohen 1985) between them. The boundaries are important because it is the arbitrary of the identities and distinguishes communities from each other (see Barth 1969).

The communities also make great effort to keep these boundaries because they are symbolically significant. Although the meaning of symbols may sometimes vary among the community members, it is important to keep alive the meanings of these symbols (Cohen 1985: 15) to carry onto communities' existence as a group. For instance, I discussed elsewhere (Apaydin 2017) that the communities around the place Çatalhöyük are very conservative, and religious values represent their symbolic boundaries and community consciousness; therefore, the community itself is quite strict in order to keep these values alive (see Apaydin 2017).

Describing or defining communities, and their values and boundaries, is difficult, but it is evident that all those aspects of communities also describe their "habitus," and every habitus also differs from each other. Bourdieu (2005: 43) describes this concept as "habitus as a system of dispositions, that is of permanent manners of being, seeing, acting and thinking, or a system of long-lasting (rather than permanent) schemes or schemata or structures of perception, conception and action". Particularly, "seeing, acting, and thinking" occur after a long-lasting relationship of every individual and community with their social and natural environment, and this is different for every group and community. This is because they all have different and distinct thinking processes because of their unique habitus, which produces different histories and pasts. Therefore, place, time, and space in fact reflect and form the people's worldview, their perception of any matter that is related to life as well as to interpretations of the past and heritage. As Rüsen (2007:2) points out:

> …. the past as a matter of experience and interpretation, offers a totally different impression of diversity and multifariousness. Difference in space and time is overwhelming. We experience a permanent change of views on the essential nature of what history is about. Accordingly, the representation of the past in the cultural orientation of human life reflects this difference and variety to such a degree that it is difficult to identify one specific form as essentially historical.

The "experience" and "interpretation" depend on the people's relationship with their environments and the places where they live; this relationship is built through generations and contains memories. Through every community's long-lasting relationship with their habitus, which includes places such as home, house, farming areas, material culture, past materials, etc., they ascribe values and memories and also gain practical but elaborate knowledge about their habitus. This also develops life capacity, as Geertz (1973: 58–59) conceptualizes every mind as having this capacity. For instance, in the case of the communities of Çatalhöyük, Ani, and Hattuşa, even though most of the locals do not have a high level of education (Apaydin 2017), people do have knowledge of things developed through life experiences, tradition, and everyday life, where the human mind has been engaged actively (Dewey 1934). The relationship of place, things, and communities is quite entangling historically, as Hodder (2016: 9) argues: "the overall inter-dependence of human and things and focuses more on the double bind, the tension between dependence or reliance between human and things, and the dependency or constraint between human and things; thus entanglement is the dialectic of dependence and dependency between human and things". In this ordering, place requires people to have developed this capacity and people and communities need places to survive.

Additionally, the material culture of the past, and this could be a place, objects, house, etc., has also import for current communities (Byrne 2002). Anything that comes from the past cannot be thought of separately from communities (Harrison 2004). Therefore, I argue that cultures have a continuity, in other words past cultures also have an impact on present and future societies' cultures and material life, and in this manner, communities' local knowledge develops not only in the present but also historically. This important knowledge should not be underestimated and should be given sufficient importance because this knowledge already exists within local communities who inherit it from previous generations and then develop and practice it in their daily life (Fig. 3.1).

Contextual Overview of the Heritage Places and Communities

This section of the paper aims to give a brief overview of the archaeology and history of heritage in Çatalhöyük, Ani, and Hattusa and the social-political background and economic structure of the communities that surround them (Fig. 3.1). The places and communities have not been randomly selected but were chosen after a

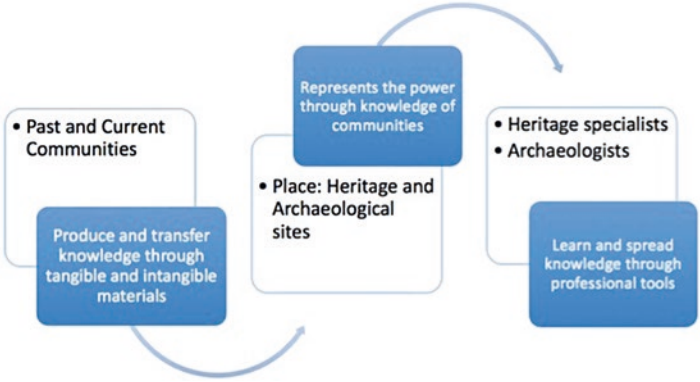

Fig. 3.1 The relationship of communities and heritage places and the place of archaeologists and heritage specialists

pilot study exposed all three places and communities as distinct from each other in terms of the social and natural environment that has shaped their worldview and the relationship that they have had with the places they live nearby. This relationship has also produced "indigenous knowledge" or, in other words, "local knowledge."

Çatalhöyük and Communities

The Neolithic place Çatalhöyük is located on the Konya plain in south central Turkey, about 50 km from the center of Konya (Fig. 3.2). The place has significant complex structure and status as one of the earliest Neolithic sites in Near East. It has unique characteristics such as figurines and paintings on the wall of the houses. It is suggested that the special art and singular features are indicative of the complex social and political organization of the settlement (Mellaart 1967) and, for the Neolithic period, continuous occupation. The construction plan of the houses of Çatalhöyük is also unique; all houses were attached to each other. These buildings generally have large main rooms with an oven and hearth, entrance by ladder from the roof, and substantial subfloor burials. Apart from the burying dead inside the houses, the structure of houses was very similar to the vernacular architecture of villages of Central Turkey until a few decades ago.

The site sheds light on many questions regarding the Anatolian Neolithic and also aids in understanding humanity in the transitional period when people settled down from hunting and gathering to domestic life (Düring 2006:159). Radiocarbon analyses have indicated that the stratigraphic occupation of Çatalhöyük during the Neolithic ranges from 7300 to 6000 cal BC (Hodder 2006). Because of the unique characteristics of Çatalhöyük (see Düring 2006, 2011), the site was included in the World Heritage list by UNESCO in 2012.

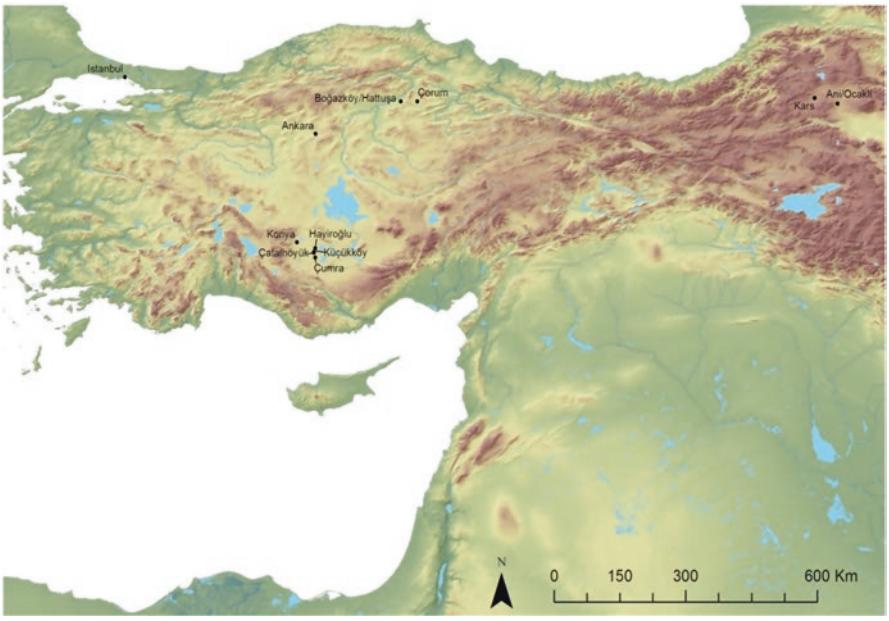

Fig. 3.2 Locations of the heritage places and associated communities

On the other hand, the communities around Çatalhöyük and in the Konya region are conservative, as are the most communities in Turkey in rural areas. The Konya region is probably one of the most conservative regions of Turkey, and most of the city population practices Islam very observantly by going to mosque and praying everyday (see Shankland 1999). The city is also historically quite significant for Islam as it has many historical mosques and shrines of significant religious leaders (see Shankland 2004); these monuments also have an important place in communities' habitus.

Ani and Communities

On the other hand, the relationship of communities with place completely differs at the site of Ani, which is located on the border of modern Turkey and Armenia in Kars (Fig. 3.2). The place contains a considerable amount of Seljuk, Islamic, Arabic, Persian, and Georgian heritage. However, the place is only famous for its Medieval Armenian architectural heritage, particularly for its churches (see Strzygowski 1918; Cowe 2001; Manuelian-Der 2001) constructed during the tenth century when it was the capital of the Armenian Kingdom. The place encompasses three main areas; citadel, main city, and suburb areas/caves. It is one of the largest cities of the medieval period in the region. It was argued that the population of the city was

around 100,000, with 10,000 dwellings (Manuelian Der 2001: 7). This shows that the city was massive and even bigger than many current towns or cities in the region.

The communities around Ani and Kars region consist of mainly Turkish inhabitants and those from the Kurdish minority today. However, it was one of the most multicultural regions of Turkey up until first quarter of twentieth century. The census in 1897 indicates that there were many cultural and ethnic communities that used to live in the region including Armenians, Greek (Rum), Yezidi, Assyrians, Syrians, Malakans (Molakans), Dukhobor, and Khakhollor (see Akcayoz et al. 2007). However, following Ethnic Cleansing of Armenians in 1915 and the war between Russia and the Ottoman Empire in 1918, Turks took the control of region. It was affected by the large assimilation and forced migration policies which "purified" the region, leaving it depopulated except for largely the Turks, Kurds, Azerbaijani, and Turkmen (people from the Caucasus) who still live in the region (see Apaydin 2017; Yeğen 2009). In contrast to the Çatalhöyük region, Islamic traditions do not shape the social structure of the region. However, a strong impact of nationalism and state ideology can be felt everywhere. This is a large factor in affecting the understanding of the past by local people.

Hattuşa and Communities

The place has a significant role as well for the communities around Hattuşa, which is located in the northwest of Turkey in the city of Çorum. The place used to be capital of Hittites in the second millennium BC. The ancient place can be divided into two districts: the lower or old city of the Hittites and the upper city that represents the newer part of the city (see Seeher 2002). Both parts contain significant amount of domestic houses, palaces, temples, and storage areas for the products of agriculture that are indicative of the high social and political complexity of the place. The place is also important for its clay cuneiform tablets that have been found (Neve 1996; Seeher 2002).

Boğazköy (alternately, Boğazkale), which is right next to the heritage place Hattuşa, is the closest town and occupied by inhabitants of Turkish origin. The region is quite rural, and Boğazköy/Boğazkale residents live far away from the city of Çorum. There is no similar effect of religion as there is around Çatalhöyük. However, the region is mostly dominated by nationalists. In the early years of the Turkish Republic, Hittites and their archaeological sites were given great importance because they were considered to be the ancestors of the Turks; this was used to claim ownership rights of the land of Turkey, and Hittite culture was well publicized to the public as Hittite symbols were used in the emblem of state banks and factories (Apaydin 2017). This without doubt has made a definitive impact on people's consciousness. Similarly to the ancient residences of Hattuşa, current communities are also farmers as well as doing small amounts of animal husbandry, on which the local's economy depends, in addition to small amount of tourism.

Exclusion: "A Dangerous Method"

As I discussed above value, meaning and understanding of life differs because of different social and natural environments as well as educational and economic backgrounds that construct people.

In the case of communities of Ani, as I described above, although entire communities were moved to this area during the restructuring process of the region, over a hundred years ago, they become part of the place and constructed a new form of relationship with place and ascribed memories to it. The relationship of the communities of the modern village at Ani, Ocaklı, which is the closest settlement and in fact nested within Ani, is actually stronger than the communities around Çatalhöyük. Up until 1950s the current communities of the village used to live in the caves which are located underneath Ani; as one of the oldest residents of the modern village recalls:

> […] we used to live in the cave of Ani, and then the state forced us to move and establish a village here […]

Therefore, the place is actually part of local communities who ascribed meaning, value, and developed memories over time with the place. Instead of getting benefit of the local knowledge of the place, which locals have had historical relationship, and in fact have contributed to value of the place, their experiences and understanding of the place have been neglected, and they are consciously or unconsciously isolated from their local heritage.

The current community of Ani's economy is dependent on animal husbandry, and it is quite significant for their economy. The place of Ani is located next to village and has been used as a grazing area for villagers since they settled down almost hundred years ago (Apaydin 2017). The site also has memories for the locals: it is where they gathered for social meetings, used to go for walks, or spend some time out of the village. Therefore, they experienced the "practical sense" (Bourdieu 1990) of the place as their own landscape. However, the archaeological site has been fenced off and isolated from villagers, and they are no longer allowed to take their animals for grazing. Fencing the place in fact is not only a physical barrier but has created a physiological barrier between the place and the communities as well as damaged their economy. It is also right on the border of Armenia and Turkey which makes even more restriction on locals' life. For instance, one of the local members of the Ani/Ocakli village points out the importance of Ani for their animal husbandry:

> "Animal husbandry is the most important income for us; I mean most of the villagers' survival depends on animal husbandry. The only productive place to feed our animals was the land of Ani. However, since it was declared a protected area, officials built fences all around Ani. Nobody asked us about it. Since then we can't take our animals and there are not any other grazing areas for us. This issue has affected our economy and animal husbandry in the village."

I asked local people the question: "can you describe your priorities?" Almost everyone raised the issue of grazing areas. It is one of the primary issues in their lives that needs to be solved. However, the development of the heritage protection plan and policies and legislation regarding heritage sites in Turkey is taken centrally by the ministry (see Baraldi et al. 2013). Legislation has been developed without consideration of the thoughts and needs of the locals as part of this top-down approach. One of the risks of top-down approaches around heritage and archaeology places, such as in the case of Ani, is that it may lead to conflicts between the locals and the heritage place and may result in more heritage destruction. It is important to realize that the main protection for heritage sites comes from local people (Pearson and Sullivan 1995). They are the natural guardians of heritage sites. One of the main reasons that Ani still has much standing architecture is that people have always surrounded it, although destruction, looting, and plundering were/are seen in the past and today. On the other hand, the negative impact on local economies may have lead many people to move cities, which in fact may result in depopulation and complete isolation of heritage places from their local owners.

In spite of the fact that the local people have a personal relationship with the place of Ani, most of the local people have also pointed the lack of communication of archaeologists and say they are never informed anything about the excavations and restorations of the site.

Though not at the same level, exclusion of a large portion of the community can still be seen at Çatalhöyük. The project has employed some of the locals from the villages and uniquely given some of the women from the villages the opportunity to engage with local heritage by employing them (see Atalay 2012). Although the Çatalhöyük excavation is open to any member of the public and welcomes locals to come, visit, and take part in the activities arranged by the archaeologists, there has a gap developed between community members, the place, and the archaeologists. Although the excavation areas and dig house are located in the middle of the local's farming areas, though out of the village, archaeologists have isolated themselves and have no communication with local community members.

The exclusion of communities at Çatalhöyük is also not only physical but also psychological, and this exclusion can be seen from the perceptions of the community members. One of the local community members, who has a relatively high level of formal education for the village, describes this:

> "[…] before the excavation began here, or afterwards, nobody has come to explain the project to us, neither from the excavation project nor the museum in Konya. I mean that nobody has asked about our view … Therefore, nobody has knowledge about the work at Çatalhöyük. Probably all members of our community have seen Çatalhöyük, but they have no idea what kind of archaeology is done there. People only hear from each other, mostly incorrect information […]"

In fact, the Çatalhöyük Research Project organizes a 1-day festival every year, and all community members are invited to the site and dig house. Lectures and site tours are given to local community members, and community archaeology projects are carried out (see Atalay 2012). However, as it can be seen from the above anecdote of the local villager, this is not sufficient, and it needs to be shifted in a systematic

and effective way. As the local villager points out, nobody comes and talks to them about Çatalhöyük, and nobody asks their view about what can be done for Çatalhöyük. This is an indication of a top-down approach, one that does not interact with the locals and excludes them from the decision-making process about the place. One of the other local villagers' comments also supports this:

> "We are only invited there once a year during the one-day Çatalhöyük Festival. During the festival they give us food and drink and some music and a talk about the site. However, this is not enough at all. If the people of the village are to get involved in every stage of the project, people will have more knowledge and awareness of Çatalhöyük and then protect it."

The exclusion process can also be seen during inscription of Çatalhöyük to UNESCO World Heritage list. Most community members stated that they didn't even know about this process until it was listed, and they were not included in the process. During the inscription process, there was collaboration between site team, ministry, council, and the muhtar (local governor; see Human 2015). However, this does not mean that a participatory and bottom-up approach was practiced during the inscription process. Ordinary people were still excluded, as one of the other members of the village relates:

> "[…] recently Çatalhöyük has been included in the World Heritage List by UNESCO. There were many meetings and stuff but we were not really asked about things. Our participation was completely ignored, some specialists, archaeologists, people from the council and from the Ministry decided how things should be. In fact, they came just once and talked briefly to some of us."

It is important not only to inform local community members but also to get their views regarding management of the heritage place, because of locals' practical relationship with the place over a time. In the past, when Islamic burials were exposed on the Çatalhöyük mount, the views and advice of the locals were taken and considered, and then the remains were re-buried according to locals' tradition. This is a great but rare example, and this should be systematic for every stages of managing the place.

A key aspect of locals' livelihoods is that they are farmers; this shapes their daily life, in addition to Islamic traditions (Apaydin 2017). In this situation the natural environment is also important, as they have a strong relationship with nature through farming. The region in fact is the largest farming areas of Turkey; this is also indicative that it was not a coincidence; one of the first locations for farming was developed at Neolithic Çatalhöyük. Locals' knowledge has developed through one-to-one relationship with their natural environment, and they have the sophisticated knowledge of things that surround them. Nakashima et al. (2000: 12) explain:

> "human societies all across the globe have developed rich sets of experiences and explanations relating to the environments they live in … They encompass the sophisticated arrays of information, understandings and interpretations that guide human societies around the globe in their innumerable interactions with the natural milieu: in agriculture and animal husbandry; hunting, fishing and gathering; struggles against disease and injury; naming and explanation of natural phenomena; and strategies to cope with fluctuating environments."

There are also other similarities between the prehistoric settlement of Çatalhöyük and the current villages. One of the most striking is their mud brick houses, with the versions built by the modern villagers ethnographically researched and put into practice at the place with the inclusion of local members. Mud brick was used at the villages up until a few decades ago and in a similar matter and techniques to the ancient construction. For instance, seasonal plastering of the houses was held periodically for maintaining the houses at the village as similar to Neolithic settlement of Çatalhöyük. Mud brick house construction can still be seen in some of the villages of central and southeast Anatolia (see Cekul 2012). Community members are aware of this:

> "[…] in the case of the mud brick houses, we can interpret them much more effectively than archaeologists. It has been a tradition here. We know how to build and use mud brick houses."

Additionally, local community members emphasize how the communication of archaeologists with local members is important, as the commenter feels the locals "don't even see them [the archaeologists]." This is also a danger for foreign and western educated Turkish archaeologists in the case of Çatalhöyük, because archaeologists come to place only couple of months or a year to study. The place is actually part of local people whose permission has not been asked, but all decisions regarding the heritage place are made by central government. In contrast, the communities have long historical relationships with the place as it is part of their daily life. The result of excluding communities from their local heritage, I argue, is that the heritage place is taking a large and important role in their livelihoods and has made local communities "other," changing the meaning and value of the place for their daily life.

In contrast to Çatalhöyük and Ani, the case of Hattuşa shows how locals can be included with their local heritage and how communication between archaeologists and locals can actually have an impact on locals' perception as well as increasing heritage awareness.

Inclusion: "A Beautiful Mind"

Being included in something, such as a sport team, group of friends, or other social structures, is something positive and is pleasant for most people. Including communities in their local heritage shouldn't be different than any of those, and similarly such inclusivity must be natural, as needed, and necessary for archaeologists or heritage specialists to appreciate communities' involvement in any stages of managing archaeological or heritage places.

The communities around Hattuşa have a strong relationship, very similar to that of the community around the heritage place, Ani. This is because firstly, the area of heritage place is very large and occupies half of habitus of local people including the valley and stream that they use and where they graze their animals; and secondly the place and community's current residential area are quite nested inside each other.

Although Hattuşa was used as a grazing area for the locals up until it was declared to be a protected area and fenced, similar to Ani, the locals' involvement with the place continues through activities such as working at the site, getting economic benefit from tourism, or working as a specialist with archaeology team. In the case of Hattuşa, the entanglement of communities in place has changed over time as in many other heritage places. However, in contrast to Ani and Çatalhöyük, communities at Hattuşa have been able to take part and ascribe meanings and values to this changing process. This is quite significant because heritage is created, shaped, and managed in the present; in other words, the meanings are loaded on heritage in the present and also used as a resource (Ashworth et al. 2007: 13). So, how have communities around the Hattuşa taken part in the management of the place? And how are they included in their local heritage? How is their local knowledge paid attention too and used?

In contrast to Ani and Çatalhöyük, systematic research has continued for hundred years at the Hattuşa. During this period many generations of the local community have worked at the site as laborers, not only for a couple of months but also longer periods of 5–6 months (Apaydin 2017). The local communities' inclusion results in sustainable benefit from the site. For instance, one of the local members describes the benefit and involvement as a laborer:

> "My father used to work in the excavations long ago; his insurance and pensions were paid for the by the excavation project that helped him to retire … my father became a stone mason during the excavation and he also worked during the reconstruction of the city walls … he taught me this job. It is a family profession now … we used to get jobs offered from nearby sites."

In this example, one can clearly be seen that locals were not used only as laborers, but also their local knowledge was included into interpretation of the place; as the respondent explains that his father also took part during the reconstruction of city walls of the Hattuşa. The architectural structure of Hittite cities is mostly based on stone, and Hittites were specialists in stone masonry. This was not very different in the modern villages up until a few decades ago, and most of the architecture of the villages in this region is constructed by using stones and mud brick (see Cekul 2012); villagers know well how to use the stones and their proper functions. Because local community members were not excluded, their local knowledge is taken and used as well alongside their contribution to the reconstruction of the place, which is also the reinterpretation stage.

In fact, the involvement of the locals with place, taking into account their local knowledge, is not limited to stone masonry. Pottery making was quite common in ancient and prehistoric periods, and many archaeological sites, including Hattuşa, provide large amount of pottery remains because the nature and environment that they lived in was. Unsurprisingly, these thousands of years of tradition can still be seen in the region, in fact in the modern town of Boğazköy/Boğazkale. For generations, local people have made similar pots and used them in their daily life. Many locals know every stages of making, using, and preserving them. The archaeological research project has employed one of the local as ceramic specialists and in process-

ing the ceramic finds from excavations. The project is not only using locals as a labor force but also training them and giving them an opportunity to be involved with the place and the objects, providing a one-to-one opportunity to interpret them. This is one of the main reasons that the locals' heritage awareness is quite high compared to the locals of Ani and Çatalhöyük. Additionally they have a local museum, which provides an opportunity for feeling and seeing the objects of their local heritage.

Because of having high level of involvement with the heritage place and research team, local people actually improved their local knowledge, and this opened other economic sources of income for locals who developed multiple-related skills. For instance, many locals learned how to carve stones and make imitations of artifacts which are sold to tourists. One of the local members explains:

> […] I have been stone carving and selling the products for almost 15 years now. I carve the stones during the low tourist season of the year and sell them during the high season […]"

Developing opportunities to generate income and providing training in new skills also encourage local people to get more involved with the heritage place rather than make them "other" and prevent psychological and physical barrier between the place and locals. However, one of the main reasons for this high involvement as well as the interest of locals in the place, in addition to the memories which are significant for daily life, is that there is also high level of communication between local members of the community and archaeologists of the research project, in contrast to Ani and Çatalhöyük. This has resulted from not exclusion but inclusion of local communities. In addition to contributing knowledge from the local community, locals have been offered many ways of engaging with their local heritage place; they have contributed to development and management stage of their local environment in person.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have tried to justify why local communities should not and cannot be excluded from their local heritage that is in fact part of their social and natural environment and has great significance. This without doubt also must be brought to bear on the issues of cultural and intellectual property (see Smith et al. Chap. 2; Meskell and Pels 2005; Carman 2005; Nicholas and Bannister 2004; Smith 2004) and the right to knowledge (Nicholas and Hollowell 2004) which are largely discussed in the case of indigenous communities. Drawing upon such research, I approach to this issue from a similar perspective but bring a different theoretical and practical context. Although I discussed three ancient places which seem far away from modern local communities in space, time, and theory, I have demonstrated through the views and comments of local people themselves and their relationships and continuity of material culture that the local communities are still strongly interlinked with these places.

This relationship, in fact, is not different from that of the human and natural environments, which cannot be thought of as "separate spheres" but rather as being "very much dialectically interlinked" (see Pálsson 1999: 63) which "actually support each other" (Hollingshead 1940: 359) in existence and continuity. In the beginning of this paper, I argued that cultures have continuity, and this produces tangible and intangible heritage, which is a process wherein their meanings and values change overtime. However, this process is more akin to Marxian dialectics (see Marx 1961), and each individual aspect of this relationship will always need the other.

The place of Ani's past goes back thousands of years, and many civilizations occupied, had different relationships with, and ascribed different meanings and values to the place and therefore contributed to continuation of the "heritage process." On the other hand, occupation of earlier sites such as Çatalhöyük and Hattuşa did not continue into modern times, but many cultural aspects of life, such as farming, mud brick houses, or stone masonry, continued up until today with the current local communities. In the example of these three places, we can see the large role of a heritage landscape for local communities' livelihood and the strong links between them and their social and natural environment. Therefore, local communities shouldn't be excluded but should be included in any stages of management of the places, and local communities ought to be the one who decides for future of their heritage.

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Chapter 4
Community Archaeology in Ireland: Less Mitigator, More Mediator?

Ian W. Doyle

Introduction

Almost every townland and parish in Ireland contains a monument, be it a prehistoric burial or a ruined medieval parish church with a functioning cemetery, a medieval castle or a monument from the more recent past such as a lime kiln or old forge. The wider Irish landscape contains 120,000 known archaeological sites/monuments which are protected by the National Monuments Act 1930–2013. Of these, settlement enclosures from the early medieval period (400–1100 AD) make up some 47,000 of all known monuments. Significant documentation associated with the society that developed the early medieval settlement pattern exists and provides important opportunities for multidisciplinary research projects. Important landscapes dating from the prehistoric period are also present, such as the Brú na Bóinne World Heritage Site and other passage tomb complexes such as those at Loughcrew, also in Co Meath, and Carrowkeel and Carrowmore in Co. Sligo. A range of prehistoric monuments such as tombs, settlements and cairns dot the landscape. Many Irish towns date from the medieval period (1100–1600 AD) and possess historic building stock, medieval and later religious buildings and, in many cases, stratified, waterlogged, archaeological deposits.

Such a resource, which is often described as finite and non-renewable, poses challenges for sustainable management, especially in the face of fluctuating economic cycles as experienced by the Republic of Ireland in recent years. The Irish economy enjoyed an exceptional period of growth from 1994 through to the mid-2000s. However, in keeping with the global crisis, the Irish Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI) has described the Irish fiscal experience since 2008 as having 'been truly exceptional, involving the worst economic crisis in Ireland since

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the Second World War. The legacy effects of the crisis include a dramatic increase in the indebtedness of the state as well as an exceptionally high level of unemployment' (ESRI 2013, v). Such a challenging environment has had difficult consequences for the archaeological profession, but it has also led to some notable developments in relation to the development of a community-focused form of archaeological practice.

In Ireland the National Monuments Act (1930–2013) puts in place a strong legislative framework for protection (Cody 2009). The legal provisions under the act include fines for the illegal alteration or removal of monuments, and all archaeological excavations can only be carried out under licence granted by the state. Licences control the use of detection devices (metal detecting for archaeological objects is strictly controlled), and prosecutions have been made for illegal treasure hunting. At the time of writing, a new bill to replace the existing act is being drafted, and it is hoped it will be enacted in 2018. A register of archaeological monuments, known as the Record of Monuments and Places, which is afforded legal protection by the state, is maintained by the Archaeological Survey of Ireland (www.archaeology.ie). It presents all known archaeological monuments in a publicly available online GIS format with standard classifications, short descriptions and choice of backgrounds (e.g. modern mapping, historic mapping and aerial photography).

This paper looks at a range of not-for-profit community archaeology projects in Ireland, some of which the author has been involved in through a day-to-day role in working for a state organisation, the Heritage Council of Ireland. The Council was set up in 1995 by national government to provide policy and proposals for Ireland's heritage and has a strong role in supporting heritage projects through grant aid with an organisational culture of developing and supporting community engagement in heritage projects. As the Council's role is advisory to the minister, the day-to-day responsibility of administering and implementing archaeological legislation rests with the Department of Culture, Heritage and the Gaeltacht. The Heritage Council has a staff of 15, and such a small number has necessitated a culture of working in partnership with government departments, local government and local communities.

The Role of Communities

As a result of the development of digital online resources, information on the location of archaeological monuments is now readily available. When supplemented with other free online resources such as Google or Bing satellite imagery and historic mapping and photography, a major opportunity exists for communities and individuals to examine any chosen area. While such a wealth of information is freely available, mechanisms to encourage engagement have largely been lacking. For example, archaeological excavation is not permitted except under licence to the state by trained professionals. Traditional field-walking projects for lithic artefacts have not been widely practiced in Ireland, and as mentioned above, metal detecting

for archaeological objects is illegal in Ireland without a permit (again normally granted to professionals engaged in archaeological projects). Opportunities for the interested public are generally provided by historical and archaeological societies who organise lectures and field trips but rarely data collection or surveying. It is worth stating that such a regime is not widely criticised, and unlike in other jurisdictions, the adoption of the Council of Europe Valletta Convention for the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage was not widely debated or challenged.

The emergence of a professionalised form of archaeological practice is in keeping with many other European countries and in Ireland can be traced back to the 1930 National Monuments Act which introduced a system of licencing for archaeological excavations. Reacting to such a trend in 1984, the Anglo-Irish essayist Hubert Butler (1900–1991) pointed towards what he saw as the marginalisation of the 'lay pretender' in a piece entitled 'Lament for archaeology' (Butler 1985). In his essay Butler argued that the professionalisation of the discipline in Ireland edged out the role of learned local societies and amateur involvement and ushered in an 'age of the institution and the expert'. The latter aspect of Butler's polemic, the centrality of the state and the academy, is difficult to argue with as archaeological practice became essentially driven by state bodies, academic research and professional practitioners but with significant outreach activities in many cases. Yet has this changed?

A Pen Picture of the Archaeological Profession in Ireland

It is an understatement to point out that the Irish archaeological profession has experienced significant change in the past two decades. The development of the polluter pays principle in Irish archaeology from the 1990s saw growing numbers of archaeological excavations in cities like Dublin, Cork and Waterford and with this the development of groups of mobile and generally young private sector archaeologists. In parallel, the 1980s and 1990s saw the setting up of local archaeological surveys managed by archaeologists but staffed by trainees from the local community and funded under unemployment relief initiatives. Several surveys were published using such a model, and these contributed to the development of a national archaeological record. Crucially, some of these surveys developed strong local links with surrounding communities and highlighted the importance of archaeology as a local resource.

From the mid-1990s, economic prosperity enabled growth in the archaeological profession such that a survey of Irish archaeology in 2002 found that there were approximately 650 archaeologists employed on the island of Ireland. Of these 77% were employed in predevelopment archaeological roles, 11% in the public service, 9% in academia and 3% in the museums sector. In 2007 Ireland participated in the EU-funded Discovering the Archaeologists of Europe (DISCO) project. This survey was undertaken at the height of the Irish economic boom ('the Celtic Tiger') which saw the development of new infrastructure such as roads, pipelines, as well

as housing and industrial developments (McDermott and La Piscopia 2008). At the time it was estimated that there were 1635 archaeologists working in Ireland. A clear indicator of the scale of the economic collapse is that when surveyed again in 2013, as part of a new DISCO project, this figure had collapsed to 338 which represents an 80% decrease from 2007 (Cleary and McCullagh 2014). The bulk of these decreases happened in the predevelopment archaeological sector, yet the state services have seen the loss of contract staff, the redeployment of archaeological staff to non-heritage roles and in many cases vacancies not being filled. The other consequence has been the curtailment and in some cases the cessation of state funding supports such as grants for heritage projects.

Undoubtedly, it has been a challenging period for the Irish archaeological profession. During the economic boom, archaeological practice typically had a three-point relationship between the developer, the regulator in the form of government and the professional archaeologist, whether as practitioner or private company. Since then, there has been a growing interest in community involvement in archaeological heritage projects, in particular from archaeologists previously employed in predevelopment funded projects. While the motivation for such a shift has been questioned by some (Horning and Brannon 2012, 14), it can be seen as positive.

Given the requirements of Ireland's archaeological legislation, the involvement of trained archaeological expertise in projects is essential. This, it is argued, produces a distinctive form of community archaeological practice which will be explored in a number of case studies presented below. Marshall's (2002, 216) assertion that 'sometimes it is the community which chooses the archaeologist' is also borne out in many of the studies presented below.

A parallel phenomenon internationally has been the broadening of inclusivity and participation in cultural heritage (Hudson and James 2007). This perhaps is best represented in documents such as the Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter or the Council of Europe Faro Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage to Society. Both of these documents highlight the need for greater public involvement in the opportunities and challenges which cultural heritage presents and represent a move away from an expert-dominated view. In particular, the Burra Charter articulates a set of values that recognises that different individuals and groups might perceive cultural heritage in different ways. Equally, there is a recognition that such charters were written explicitly with disenfranchised local groups (indigenous peoples) in mind, and while such groups are not immediately obvious in Europe, so too were local communities often ignored about decisions relating to heritage which were taken by government bureaucracies (Willems 2014, 109). While Ireland has yet to ratify the Faro Convention and the Burra Charter is not a key element of the archaeological curriculum, participation, communication and public engagement are becoming more and more understood as basic elements of practice.

Sense of Place and Models of Community Archaeology

A recurring attraction of heritage for a local community is the sense of time depth or the understanding of place that it can contribute. Few localities are without a monument such as a ruinous medieval church and cemetery or a prehistoric monument. While a sense of exact chronological or archaeological context may be weak in the locality about such monuments, there is frequently a sense of value and more often than not a body of tradition or folklore. In Ireland this is normally referred to as a sense of place. Attempts to define it are numerous, yet perhaps the most widely known is that by the Nobel Laureate and poet Seamus Heaney (1939–2013). Much of his work was firmly rooted in the rural landscape of his early years, and it embodies a strong grasp of place. In an essay on this subject, Heaney (1980) wrote 'I think there are two ways in which place is known and cherished....One is lived, illiterate and unconscious, the other learned, literate and conscious….It is this...equable marriage between the geographic country and the country of the mind...that constitutes the sense of place.....'.[1] Such a definition opens a role for archaeology and heritage in place making, i.e. to marry that lived and unconscious sense of the landscape with knowledge and understanding (e.g. time depth, past experiences) gained through investigation. Such a point has also been developed by Isherwood (2011, 12–13) who argues that it is not just a simple process of the archaeologist bringing knowledge to the locals but that it may be complex and time-consuming and may result in an increased sense of place brought about by increased understanding of value. Nonetheless, the central element of Isherwood's framework for community archaeology is the idea of place (Fig. 4.1).

Isherwood's model is useful for considering community projects; however, it could be added to by identifying beneficial outcomes. Many modern democracies have long realised that it is impossible to care for all aspects of heritage using the traditional model of state-owned and maintained properties. This has led to calls to

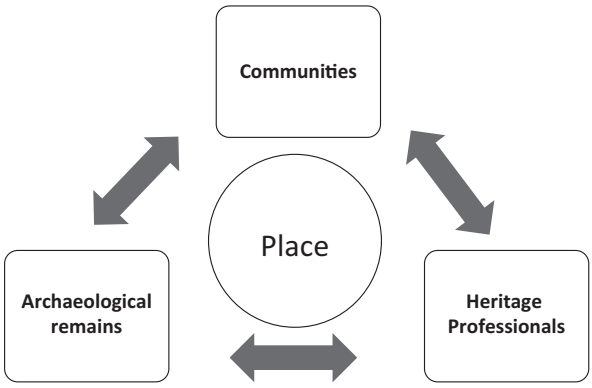

Fig. 4.1 Isherwood's (2011) framework for community archaeology

[1] From Seamus Heaney 'A Sense of Place' in *Preoccupation: Selected Prose 1968–1978*.

Table 4.1 Four key thresholds for levels of public participation in archaeology (Kador 2014)

Level		Description
1	Basic level	Archaeological outreach activities and open days
2	Public archaeology	Archaeology carried out intentionally in the public eye, without major intellectual and labour input, no public involvement in decision-making about project direction
3	Towards community archaeology	Active engagement with communities (local or communities of interest). Project designed and planned by professional archaeologists, publication and presentation rests with the project director
4	Community-based archaeology	Members of the public who are not professionally trained archaeologists have a large degree of control over all aspects of the planning and running of the project, including the right to publish and present their work

explore new models of governance and management of archaeological monuments (H2020 Expert Group 2014). As will be shown in a number of case studies below, partnership between professionals and energetic communities offers an alternative of local care and management. In such a scenario, the reach of the state is extended. However, this should not be seen as a simple act of the state divesting itself of responsibilities, as training, mentoring, monitoring and the building of capacity and, indeed, trust, are vital if such an approach is to work. In so doing there is an opportunity for engaged communities working actively together which feeds into agendas about cohesive communities and place making. Finally, the archaeological profession's aspect of the model is that through working in partnership on community-orientated projects, a more public-facing profession can emerge which is less mitigator and more mediator.

A recurrent feature of the literature on community archaeological projects is one of varying interpretations as to what this actually means. Defining community is a difficult issue, but some consensus has emerged about communities of place and communities of interest (Marshall 2002, 215–6; Isherwood 2011, 14–5). However, despite this, the definitions of community archaeological projects still remain quite opaque. For the purposes of this paper, the four thresholds devised by Kador (2014, 35–6) are presented here as Table 4.1. Such an approach offers a general framework to assess the scale of community involvement in archaeological projects by examining the degree of public involvement, where the decision-making power rests and ownership of the right to disseminate information.

Some Projects in Ireland

Rindoon, Co. Roscommon, is a deserted medieval settlement located on a promontory in Lough Ree (Figs. 4.2 and 4.3). During the early thirteenth century, the Anglo-Normans founded this town and constructed a royal castle as a means to

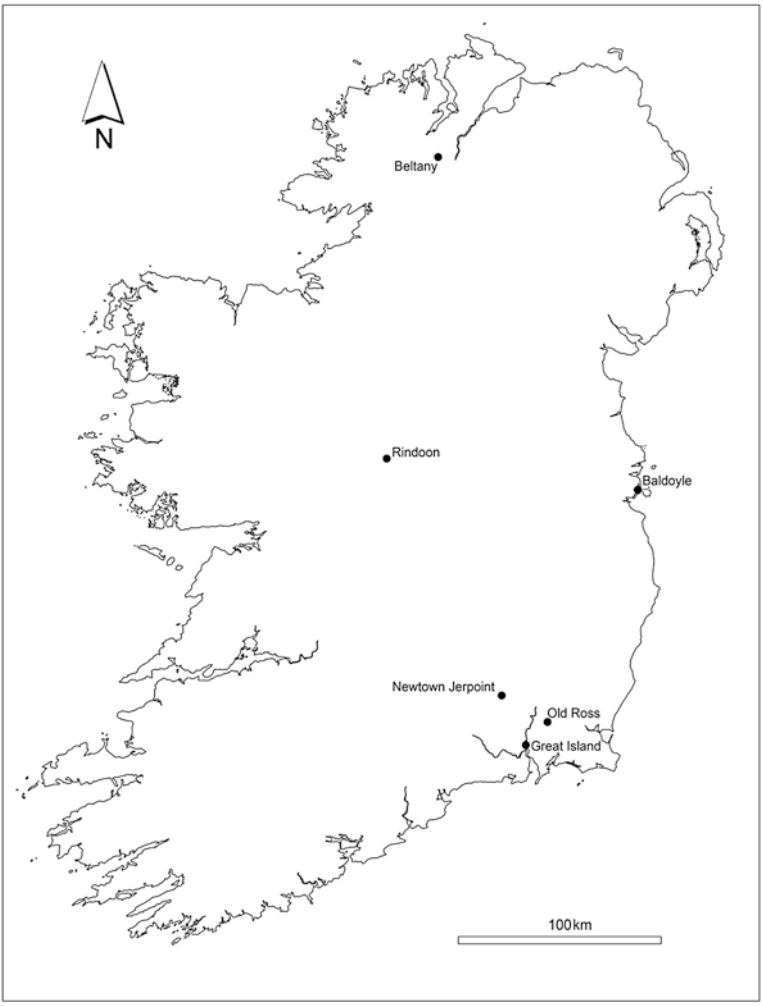

Fig. 4.2 The location of the case studies in community archaeology in Ireland

conquer Gaelic Irish territory west of the river Shannon. The settlement ultimately failed due to ongoing conflict, but its remains today consist of a length of medieval town wall with a gatehouse and towers, a ruinous royal castle, a harbour, a hospital and a parish church as well as the earthwork remains of several house sites (Barry 1987, 173–75). The entire complex is in private ownership and is actively farmed mainly for grazing sheep and cattle. In 1997 the Heritage Council completed a management plan on the complex which included policies for conservation works and educational opportunities. Unfortunately, very little of this plan was implemented, and the main recommendations involving the conservation of vulnerable masonry remains were not fulfilled. In 2009 a local resident began to champion the need for

Fig. 4.3 An open day at the deserted medieval settlement of Rindoon, Co. Roscommon, where the local community group invited the government minister responsible for heritage to come and see their work (Ian Doyle)

conservation works at Rindoon and engaged the local historical society on this very issue. An application was made to join the Heritage Council's Irish Walled Towns Network, and several successful grant applications were made during 2010–2013 to the Heritage Council seeking support for conservation works on the medieval defences and the other medieval buildings. By working in partnership with their local government council, the local group drew down funding of €280,000 from the Heritage Council. These monies were spent on conservation works to the masonry remains and for professional advice relating to engineering, archaeology and architecture. Other monies were also sourced by the group to enable interpretation, underwater archaeological investigation, geophysical survey and community-led open days. This complex now receives approximately 8000 visitors per year due in part to a public trail which allows access via a scenic lakeside walk.[2] Where does it sit in terms of community-based archaeology? It is probably more appropriate to call it community-based conservation or management but obviously within the institutional framework of the state's heritage services, as very little excavation work was carried out. Nonetheless, the community engaged the expertise, and both sought and managed the funding, as such it can plausibly be considered to be high on Kador's scale of community involvement though it may not be a precise fit in terms of the kind of project and the type of public offering.

[2] http://www.discoverireland.ie/activities-adventure/rinn-duin-castle-loop/83648 accessed 22nd March 2016.

Fig. 4.4 The Sliabh Coillte Heritage Group carrying out geophysical survey in the centre of the Kilmokea early-medieval ecclesiastical enclosure in Co. Wexford under the tutelage of a geophysicist (Sliabh Coillte Heritage Group)

A second project is that run by the Sliabh Coillte Heritage Group in Co. Wexford, which is located in the southeast of Ireland (Fig. 4.4). This group engaged a geophysicist to begin the survey of an early-medieval ecclesiastical enclosure at Kilmokea in Great Island townland. Prior to this they had run Heritage Week tours of their locality and visits to local monuments. With their geophysicist they acquired lidar imagery of the surrounding locality and began to identify previously unknown monuments. Their resistivity and magnetometer surveys of the Kilmokea enclosure found previously unknown evidence for the subdivision of the space and identified a previously unknown building (Flynn and Grennan 2016). These surveys were carried out as training exercises for the group and as open days for visitors during Heritage Week. The Sliabh Coillte group funded this work out of their own resources. The group has made several presentations both locally, further afield in Ireland and abroad. While not a traditional excavation project, this project constitutes a new model in Ireland of community-driven archaeological survey and discovery and can be considered as reaching point 4 on Kador's framework.

Other projects designed with a community focus include the Old Ross Research Project (Thorp), also in Co. Wexford. Old Ross is the location of a well-documented Anglo-Norman manor complex dating from the later twelfth century. Visible above-ground remains include a substantial motte earthwork fortification, and a short

distance away is the site of the former medieval church. As this is an intensively farmed landscape, few other traces of any medieval settlement were thought to exist. In 2012 an archaeologist from this part of Ireland applied to the Heritage Council for funding to develop a community-focused archaeological research project on Old Ross. The use of lidar and geophysical surveys revealed the bailey enclosure associated with the motte, and the presence of this was verified by geophysical survey. All of this was presented to the local community in a series of information evenings which set out new information from the archaeologists and in return received feedback from the local community (Marshall and McMorran 2016). A programme of field walking was developed to involve the local residents, and this led to the recovery of a small assemblage of medieval and postmedieval pottery. In Kador's framework, this project can be seen as between 2 and 3, as control and design rested with the archaeologists involved.

A further medieval complex that has been presented to the public is that of Newtown Jerpoint, Co. Kilkenny. In 2007 the Heritage Council and a range of national and local partners produced a Conservation Plan for this deserted medieval borough. As with Old Ross, an exceptional series of medieval manorial accounts survived, mainly from the fourteenth century, while the archaeological remains consisted of a thirteenth-century church with later modifications, as well as the remains of a late-medieval tower. Crucially an extensive area of earthworks survived which are still legible as the remains of house sites, plot boundaries and two converging roadways which lead to the site of a now collapsed medieval bridge. These were brought to view through aerial photography and terrestrial and lidar survey. During the drafting of the Conservation Plan, the then landowner/farmer sold his interest in the property to new owners, and a new relationship had to be worked out. Over a period of several years, a new relationship developed with the owners, and their appreciation for the heritage of the site grew to the extent that in 2012 the complex was opened to the public as a visitor attraction branded as Jerpoint Park (jerpointpark.com). This site now receives approximately 10,000 visitors per year and operates as a small tourism enterprise for the landowners and their family (Fig. 4.5). Leaving aside the opening of the complex as a tourism amenity, the Conservation Plan had presented a range of policies for the historic fabric of the church and the landowners in partnership with a conservation engineer, archaeologist and a stone mason embarked upon repairs to the fabric of the church. These repairs are ongoing, resulting in conservation works to the masonry of the church.

While the monies for conservation repairs came from government funding schemes largely through the Heritage Council, the landowners have invested considerable time and energy in presenting, interpreting and marketing the complex. As with Rindoon, while this does not fit Kador's framework precisely as it is more of a heritage tourism and conservation project, it does illustrate the variation in community involvement and the key role of the non-expert public.

While the examples above have all related to medieval or early medieval periods, there have been some notable community projects involving prehistoric monuments. The Beltany stone circle in Co. Donegal is made up of 64 stones and is located on Beltany Hill which rises to 100 m in height and affords extensive views

Fig. 4.5 The landowner gives a tour to visitors at the site of Newtown Jerpoint deserted medieval settlement in Co. Kilkenny (Ian Doyle)

over the surrounding landscape. Typically, stone circles such as Beltany date from the later Bronze Age in Ireland (1400–800 BC), yet there has been a suggestion of earlier prehistoric activity at Beltany, perhaps from the Neolithic. In 2004, a local community group sought support from the Heritage Council to carry out geophysical surveys in and around the monument. They engaged a geophysicist with experience of working with community groups (including the Sliabh Coillte group). Two seasons of geophysical survey found evidence of considerable disturbance inside the monument, which tallied with historical reports of treasure hunting during the late nineteenth century. The findings of the surveys were communicated through well-attended information evenings organised by the local community. Once again the project displays a pattern of the curious community which seeks funding, then engages a specialist and then organises the communication of the results. While it is difficult to discern tangible results from initiatives such as this, it is possible to point to a rise in local pride and an increased sense of appreciation for such monuments. In Kador's framework, this can be placed between 3 and 4.

The final project is a community excavation project, an account of which was published in an international peer-reviewed journal (Duffy 2014). The Grassroots Archaeology Project was set up to uncover the remains of a cropmark enclosure located in the midst of a 1970s housing estate in Baldoyle, a suburb of Dublin. The project was devised and delivered by a locally based unemployed archaeologist in partnership with his professional colleagues. The engaging paper details the tribulations of engaging the community in what seems like a remote past

in a suburb with little perceived sense of heritage beyond the 1970s. Voluntary labour from the local community was found at the onset to be impractical due to health and safety requirements, yet ironically the physical barriers of fencing became a means to communicate and attract interest as they formed a useful means to display information. Children were found to be a key means to integrate the local community through school visits and through the location of the excavation close to a football pitch. Referring to Smith's Authorised Heritage Discourse (Smith 2006, 29–34), the paper concludes that the project took its place within the 'dominant heritage discourse prevalent in Ireland with no quantifiable relinquishment of project ownership to the local community' (Duffy 2014, 199). While this is accurate and inevitable given the legal requirements for professional archaeologists to carry out excavations in Ireland, the project did mark a new development in archaeological investigation by being willing to commit honest self-appraisal in print on the process of the project rather than on what was or was not found archaeologically. On Kador's framework, it scores 2–3, and perhaps the inherent weakness in the design of the project was that the desire to discover the cropmark archaeological feature came directly from a professional archaeologist, albeit one locally based, rather than upwards from the community itself.

Towards a Conclusion

So what do these six case studies tell us about the state of community archaeology in Ireland at present? Table 4.2 presents the six cases as set out above and seeks to examine the main characteristics of each project in an approach loosely informed by human resource development frameworks (Brockbank 1999).

Under the heading of mission, it can be seen that these projects, with the exception of one, are firmly conceived as not-for-profit research, engagement or conservation in focus. To some extent this reflects the projects that the writer is most familiar with, which are largely those funded by the Heritage Council, e.g. excavation projects are typically not funded by the Council. In the general sense of funding, with the exception of one entirely self-funded project, there is a dependency on funding from government sources, namely, from the Heritage Council or the Royal Irish Academy. However, other resources are also utilised, and considerable amounts of unpaid and voluntary time are contributed. Communications both internally to projects as well as externally are considerably helped by the use of social media but also open days, site tours and events organised during Heritage Week. At the time of writing, three of these projects have produced a peer-reviewed paper in an archaeological publication.

The heading of expertise shows the broad engagement of expertise needed to deliver successful projects. Accordingly, what could be termed traditional models of either 'top-down' or 'bottom-up' forms of projects are not so readily apparent. As remarked above, this is largely due to the administrative and legal requirements inherent in Irish archaeological practice that mean professional expertise is

Table 4.2 Archaeological heritage projects

	Rindoon Co. Roscommon	Sliabh Coillte, Co. Wexford	Old Ross, Co. Wexford	Newtown Jerpoint, Co. Kilkenny	Grassroots, Co. Dublin	Beltany, Co. Donegal
Mission	Tourism, conservation, research	Research, curiosity	Research	Tourism, conservation	Research, excavation, engagement	Community development, tourism
	Non-profit	Non-profit	Non-profit		Non-profit	Non-profit
Funding	Heritage Council, local authority, DAHG	Own community funds and time	Heritage Council	Heritage Council	Royal Irish Academy	Heritage Council
	Voluntary time	Voluntary time	Voluntary time	Voluntary time	Voluntary time	Voluntary time
Communications	Local journal, Facebook page, trip advisor, Heritage Week events	Local meetings, Heritage Week events, Facebook page	Local meetings with community, Heritage Week events	Website and Facebook page, trip advisor	Facebook page, peer-reviewed papers, open days, site tours, media coverage, Heritage Week events	Website, open nights
Expertise engaged	Architect, engineer, archaeologist	Geophysicist	Archaeology, remote survey, field walking	Engineer, architect, archaeologist	Geophysicist, archaeologists, local historians	Geophysicist
Structure	Formally constituted heritage society	Informal network of interested amateur researchers	No formal structure beyond project team	Husband and wife landowners	No formal structure beyond project team	Raphoe Community Action Group Ltd company
Leadership	Committee of local history society but one particular local champion	Local postman and neighbours	One archaeologist in particular	Husband and wife	Professional archaeologist	Board of directors, one particular Beltany champion
Kador's framework	3–4	4	2–3	3–4	2–3	3–4

necessary. Moreover, the technical aspects of geophysics, for example, do require the sourcing of skills which are generally external to most community groups. Nonetheless, there is a 'bottom-up' element clearly present in projects such as at Rindoon where it was the agitation of the local community to see the complex conserved and presented which acted as a powerful catalyst for action on the part of the state. Equally, the Sliabh Coillte project is driven by the curiosity of the community and their desire to learn about the monuments in their landscape. Notably, where the impetus comes from the community, there is higher attainment on Kador's framework. It is worth pointing out the resonance with Selman's (2004) paper on the scale of community involvement in the management of cultural landscapes where the more successful model of engagement involves shared control, participatory methods, responsibility sharing and commitment and accountability of stakeholders or in other words, in a more nuanced point somewhere in the middle of top-down or bottom-up extremities.

Looking at projects under the lens of structure, it appears that there are varied ways of structuring project teams either formally or loosely. These vary between a constituted company set up for community development and a local historical society, an informal network of neighbours or an archaeological team, probably modelled on experience derived from a traditional excavation. However, if we seek evidence of leadership, a clear pattern emerges. All projects share one particular champion, who is capable of mobilising and maintaining support for the project. Such a role initially might appear to be at odds with any community ethos, yet put simply all endeavours require some element of personal vision and dedication; perhaps the key issue is the ability to mobilise support and to seek to maintain it in the face of what could be termed volunteer fatigue after a number of years of effort.

Conclusion

This paper presents a selection of community-focused archaeological projects in Ireland encountered by the writer in the course of routine work or interaction with colleagues. There are many other projects ongoing in Ireland which are not reflected here and which may alter the picture presented. Nonetheless, a picture does emerge of the archaeological profession in Ireland seeking ways to demonstrate the relevance of their skills in the aftermath of the economic boom, but also that there are highly capable communities interested in learning more about the landscape they inhabit. This intersection of archaeological knowledge, community energy and a sense of place is, if done in a sustainable manner and with respect for all involved, a powerful means by which archaeology can contribute to society. Risks to such practice appear mainly in the form of diminishing state resources or an unwillingness to see local communities as genuine stakeholders in archaeological practice.

While the case studies described here are not being set out as having attained perfection, they do present a set of case studies for comparison, discussion and as a form of emerging practice.

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Chapter 5
Shaping Community Heritage Synergies Between Roman Barcelona Spaces and the Gothic Neighborhood

Ana Pastor Pérez

Introduction

> *Heritage is never merely conserved or protected; it is modified –both enhanced and degraded- by each new generation.*
>
> David Lowenthal

Archaeological spaces located in urban contexts have nowadays the potential of becoming tourist attractions and important centers of cultural consumerism. Yet, in addition to an economic impact, these sites also have the potential to foster social cohesion, democratic practices, and emancipatory political projects. This is partly hindered by the standard practice followed by official apparatuses by which these decide what to preserve for future generations, usually not involving local communities into decision-making plans. I would like to argue that these practices should ideally converge with comprehensive management plans focused on preventive conservation attached to the public use of heritage sites. Indeed, as several authors have recently emphasize, the fostering of the social capital should be an explicit aim of any heritage institution, being the cultural heritage a medium, tool, or space for enhancing and developing it (Murzyn-Kupisz and Działek 2013). The research we present in this paper aims at exemplifying how, by doing a sort of *ethnography of heritage*, we open windows to observe (or delineate) spaces of discordance between dominant powers such as archaeological administrations or museums and the local residents, reversing into new strategies to develop in its context (Hamilakis 2011). This article focuses in the relation between a specific heritage project in the Gothic Quarter (from now on *Barri Gòtic*) in Barcelona – *Pla Bàrcino* (Comissió de Cultura Coneixement Creativitat i Innovació 2012) – and the local communities living in this area. Specifically, we will analyze and propose how the relation between institutional heritage interventions and the public could be dialogical and constructive

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instead of oppositional. Moreover, we argue that by introducing the concept of community values in heritage management and conservation practices, we can open avenues to transform the urban heritage in a sustainable tool for social cohesion, empowerment, and well-being.

In Spain, pressed by a growing economical crisis, the relationship among stakeholders, institutions, sponsors, or specialists has changed during the last years (Querol and Castillo 2013). Investments in the cultural field have substantially decreased in the last 5 years or so with its impact in society's cultural practices. The culture tax increased to the 21% at Spain in 2012 (year of the last publishing of the *Cultural Satellite Account of the Culture in Spain* wrote by the Subsecretary of Culture) which has been transformed into an impoverishment of the cultural sectors and its consequent loss of cultural capital in society. For Spanish heritage expert M.A. Querol, a characteristic of any cultural asset is that its purpose is social. In other words, their values can be enjoyed by the entire society or is senseless considered as a cultural heritage (Querol 2010: 13). In this sense, the role of archaeology as a cultural product is undoubtedly beneficial. Archaeological sites (re)construct the past, and every visitor will construct their own vision of this past resulting in a creative and emotional process; there is a fascination attached to the material past related to the development of heritage tourism and "heritage industry" (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009; Vizcaíno Estevan 2013). However, in our case study located in an urban context, there are some specificities related to the logics of urban development and capitalist growth (Harvey 2003). In other words, in urban centers, there is a clear dichotomy between the enhanced archaeological spaces (some of them integrated in public and private buildings) that coexist with usually disturbing excavations in the process of excavation inside an *overtouristified* space, a situation that generates inhabitant's discomfort. The *Barri Gòtic* local community enjoys the fact of being in one of the most commoditized area of the city, for it could be said that they are living in a *theme park* (Cócola Gant 2011, 2014). Despite so, in most cases, people living in the area are passive guests of their own heritage.

Context: *Barri Gòtic* and *Pla Bàrcino*

This research examines one of the oldest neighbors of Barcelona, the *Barri Gòtic*, placed in the district of *Ciutat Vella*, an area with the highest concentration of Roman ruins in Barcelona. *Bàrcino* (Roman denomination of Barcelona) was a Roman Augustan foundation which dates from the second century B.C. Restaurants and tourist shops are the most common features in this area, remodeled in the nineteenth century in the French Gothic style (Cócola Gant 2011, 2014).

The area has a mixed social demography, consisting mostly of adult and elderly people with multicultural origins, as is the case in other central neighbors of Barcelona, such as *Raval* and *Poble-Sec*. The so-called minority spaces are urban spaces that are architecturally and socially formed by the presence of migrants and, in our case, second- or third-generation foreigners (Turner and Tomer 2013: 191).

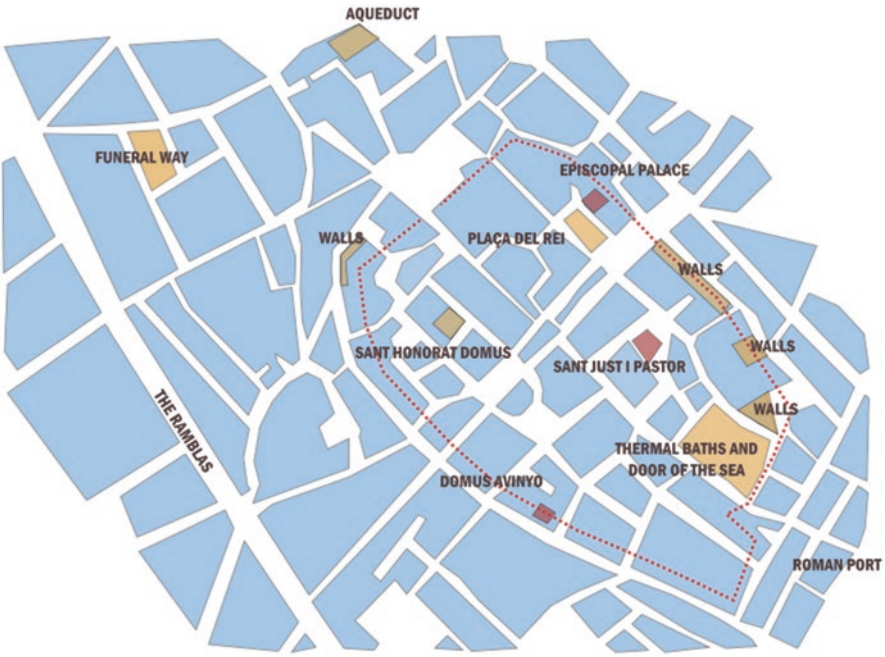

Fig. 5.1 *Pla Bàrcino* spaces in *Barri Gòtic*. The darker spaces have been opened recently to the public or are included in current remodeling plans ®Ana Pastor

Authors who examine the role of heritage preservation in urban areas with high number of people of different cultural backgrounds have emphasized how in these contexts heritage spaces have a value by themselves and not in connection to a specific ethnic group or historical moment; that is, values are not fixed but continually renegotiated. In the case of *Barri Gòtic*, we should add *tourists* as another category of (temporary) residents that coexist with locals and migrants, pointing out that if we are not facing up a "minority space," but we are in front of an impersonal space with a remarkably touristic identity, a space that has been created to promote consumption (Cócola Gant 2012). It is in this context that we will analyze the deployment of the *Pla Bàrcino*.

Since 2012, the *Pla Bàrcino* has had four main objectives intended to motivate, promote, facilitate, enhance, and make accessible the Roman heritage. These objectives unfolded in three lines of action related to museological spaces (Fig. 5.1), planned excavations, and research documentation that have resulted in three transversal projects: *Smart Bàrcino*[1] (an intelligent map of the Roman city that shows and keeps itineraries), *Bàrcino Accessible* (an improvement plan for disabled people

[1] In Spanish and Catalan is also called "Smart Barcino."

Fig. 5.2 MUHBA. *Plaça del Rei* (*left up, left down*), *Pati Llimona* (*right up*) and re-constructed aqueduct at *Plaça Nova* (*right down*). Different Roman, medieval and contemporary musealized spaces ®Ana Pastor

and new strategies for revitalization and diffusion), and the enhancement of the Archaeological Chart of Barcelona[2] (Miró i Alaix 2016).

It should be noted that Barcelona's Roman spaces are managed by two agencies: the History Museum of Barcelona (MUHBA[3]) and the Archaeological Service of Barcelona (*Servei d'arqueologia de Barcelona*), both located in the *Barri Gòtic*. This bicephalic management can be seen as a possible handicap for the organization and accessibility of archaeological spaces, but on the other hand, it may also add a diversity of perspectives in the process of valuing the archaeological sites. As in other urban contexts, in Barcelona, the archaeological landscape has changed throughout the years with the natural growth of the city, and in some cases, it has disappeared, becoming musealized/isolated spaces or being embedded in other buildings as part of the process of urban development (Fig. 5.2).

[2] http://cartaarqueologica.bcn.cat/ (Accessed 2 March 2015).

[3] Since its foundation in 1943, the MUHBA has set the benchmarks for urban archaeology. With over 3100 square meters exposed, until the opening in September 2013, it was the most visited archaeological site in town.

The Role of Local Communities' Organizations

In western societies, there exists a willingness to manage heritage assets for transmission to future generations. This phenomena in the urban context is materialized in the daily life where "movement is constrained by physical passageways and barriers as well as by the invisible delimitations that shunt people into distinct locales on the basis of ethnicity, gender, age, and social status" (Smith 2014:308). Community-based projects in heritage are becoming more popular due to an augment of funding programs (injection of funds from the EU and UN) and also the increase of result's visibility, thanks to specialized journals and web pages among other media. This goal to empower societies is usually attached to weak and poor areas or communities where identity could be reinforced through "self-knowledge" and is less frequent in urban areas. Stepping back to management phases, we are more in favor to include community in the cultural good hosting but analyzing in depth the characteristics of societies (environment, positive externalities, cultural capital) for whom these plans are created (Ruiz Martínez and Pastor Pérez 2015).

The *Associació de Veïns del Barri Gòtic*[4]and the *Assemblea de Veïns de la Plaça de la Vila de Madrid*[5] are the two local organizations that have collaborated in this research. Personal interviews carried out with the heads of these associations have furnished information and personal perspectives that often conflict with the institutional and more formal political discourses about heritage and cultural policies. The impact of neighborhood associations in urban planning strategies, especially since the early moments of democracy, has been systematically studied in Barcelona (Parés et al. 2012; Domingo and Bonet 1998), but nobody has paid enough attention to how social movements have specifically impacted heritage management policies (Fig. 5.3).

In this sense, it could be said that for local contexts the will of the neighborhood plays a determinant role to transform their heritage relics into encounter spaces to develop common projects (Prats 2012), but in the *Gòtic* case, this process has been always lead by the public entities and not citizens (Garcés et al. 2009). Researchers such us Murzyn-Kupisz and Działek (2013) propose the concept of "community hubs" to describe spaces where trust is built and social networks are created, a concept that we think can be applied also to our case. This research will identify ways to improve our knowledge about how to integrate community perception and use of the urban archaeological heritage structures to point the fact of participative and inclusive processes in the role of conservation.

[4] http://avbarrigotic.blogspot.com.es/ (Accessed 16 March 2016).

[5] http://bcn2.wordpress.com/ (Accessed 27 July 2014).

Fig. 5.3 Result of an action led by schoolchildren and teachers from the Angel Baixeras Primary School: The action aimed to reclaim an archaeological space in the *Barri Gòtic* as a playground. February 2015

Risk Management as a Community Tool: An Approach to New Values in Heritage

More than 10 years ago, David Lowenthal, reflected about the conservation of cultural heritage, and the argued that it was essential to breach the walls that divide academia from active life and that a heritage that is disjoined from ongoing life cannot enlist popular support, pointing to the fact that conservation needs everywhere outrun stewardship resources (Lowenthal 2000). In this case, we cannot dismiss the approach of experts like Laurajane Smith with her vision about an "authorized heritage discourse" (Smith 2006) or Joel Taylor that appeals to an embodiment related with communication and interaction where "heritage cannot be understood by viewing isolated periods" (Taylor 2015:75). However, the methodological aspects of how we could approach this existing divide between academia and active life has not been clearly defined. The role of archaeological conservator in heritage management is focused in establishing priorities for their maintenance plans, using a wide number of values/criteria that have been identified, defined, and used in the recent years (Carver 1996; Clark 2006; Frey 2007; Labadi 2007; Vafadari et al. 2012; De la Torre 2013, 2014; Fouseki and Sakka 2013). In a general sense,

cultural values are attached to objects and spaces that communities recognize as their own (as belonging to their history or religion) being intersected with other transversal identities as cuisine, dancing, or music that confirm their historical memory (Niglio 2014).

As mentioned earlier, the *Barri Gòtic* is a multicultural setting that counts with groups at risk of marginalization. Since 2005, the MUHBA has conducted integration activities with local education centers. One is the *Patrimonia'm* program, which seeks to "*improve social cohesion, dissemination of the heritage of the city, promoting the values of citizenship and establishing connections between landmarks and local communities*" (Garcés et al. 2009: 123). This connection is achieved through educational activities highlighting different life experiences (living history) of the students in the vicinity of the walls. Participants finally became guides for other students and their families disseminating their experiences and knowledge, enhancing their *sense of belonging* through establishing a close connection between heritage and communities. In the same vein, considering equity as a form of cultural capital, the promotion and inclusion of the community should be understood as social actions (Harrison 2010). Likewise when we work improving cultural development activities, we are influencing the community, making a more inclusive society in terms of migration and gender creating positive externalities that may also impact on economic matters. In our point, it is clear that the inclusion of participation strategies in urban dialogues can create new forms of coexistences (Turner and Tomer 2013), but for this, we need to develop new inclusive methodologies of implementing and evaluating public participation. Risk management plans have also an economical dimension when treatment's options are analyzed in order to help money saving; in this sense, these strategies might help to describe economic benefits for stakeholders. In addition to apply these synergies to develop preventive conservation strategies, we have studied new ways to approach to society's perception and needs regarding heritage.

First Step: Public Indicators

Community participation is also related with participative policies in cultural spaces which mean that the installations and accessibility, among others, will play a determinant role on inhabitant's heritage perception. Adapting the management indicators proposed by Tresserras (Juan-Tresserras 2006) as "public indicators," we can valorize public cultural sites based on their facilities, interpretative media, accessibility, services offered, and community participation. In this research, these indicators are applied to the archaeological sites included in the *Pla Bàrcino*. Punctuations go from one to five according to our own chart criteria and were obtained after a systematic study of each cultural space (Table 5.1). With this data, we can create a chart (Fig. 5.4) and a value pie (Fig. 5.5) that will approach us to the perception/value of use/enjoyability that neighbors have of their Roman heritage. If we contrast this information with the one collected in a survey (asking which Roman spaces are

Table 5.1 Public indicators

	1	2	3	4	5
Installations/quality	No access or access restricted to authorized personnel	Integrated in a building or urban space with access difficulties	Integrated in the urban landscape with easy access and easy understanding	Adapted to the general public but with certain shortcomings: WC, ramps, decks	Musealized and adapted to all audiences
Interpretative media	No information	Information on press or website	General information panels, academic publications, brochures	Specific information panels, guided sporadic visits, QR	Regular guided tours, audiovisual recreation, audio guides, brackets, newsletters tailored to all audiences
Accessibility/opening hours/gratuity[a]	No access	Opening prior appointment or very restricted excluding weekends	Free access to structures for being unprotected	Opening restricted to mornings or evenings and weekends	Wide opening hours (mornings, evenings, and weekends)
			Poor illumination during evening and night hours		
			Only open spaces in a given season		
Services offered	No services	Services in the area where the property is situated: resort of utmost importance	Minimum services: sale of publications and tourist information	Services related to centers or institutions comanaged space, temporary exhibitions	Many services: book shop cafe, restaurant, cloakroom, information in several languages, temporary exhibitions
Community participation	No participation	Information to the community through neighborhood associations or civic centers	Community information through specific activities designed for them	Offering of services aimed specifically at the local community. Decision-making	Participation of local community in the management of spaces

[a]All the spaces of *Pla Bàrcino* have reduced prices and are free for various groups (retired, jobless, disabled) as well as offering free days to all visitors. It is necessary to highlight that this data was collected in 2013 and there have been several changes in schedules and prices.

	Facilities	Interpretative Media	Accessibility	Services Offered	Community Particip.	Indicators Score	Score 1-5
PLAÇA DEL REI	5	5	5	5	2	22	4,4
DOCKSIDE THERMAL BATHS	5	5	2	4	3	19	3,8
DOOR OF THE SEA	5	5	2	4	3	19	3,8
TEMPLE OF AUGUSTUS	4	4	4	3	2	17	3,4
ROMAN FUNERAL WAY (NECROPOLIS VILA DE MADRID)	5	4	2	3	2	16	3,2
EPISCOPAL ENSEMBLE	5	4	2	3	1	15	3
THE DOMUS SANT HONORAT	4	4	2	3	1	14	2,8
ROMAN WALL	3	3	3	2	2	13	2,6
AQUEDUCTS	2	2	3	1	2	10	2
THE DOMUS STREET AVINYO	2	2	1	1	1	7	1,4
ROMAN PORT	1	2	1	1	1	6	1,2
EXACAVATIONS SANT JUST I PASTOR	1	2	1	1	1	6	1,2

MUSEALIZED SPACES
NON MUSEALIZED

Fig. 5.4 Public indicators chart for *Pla Bàrcino* spaces ®Ana Pastor

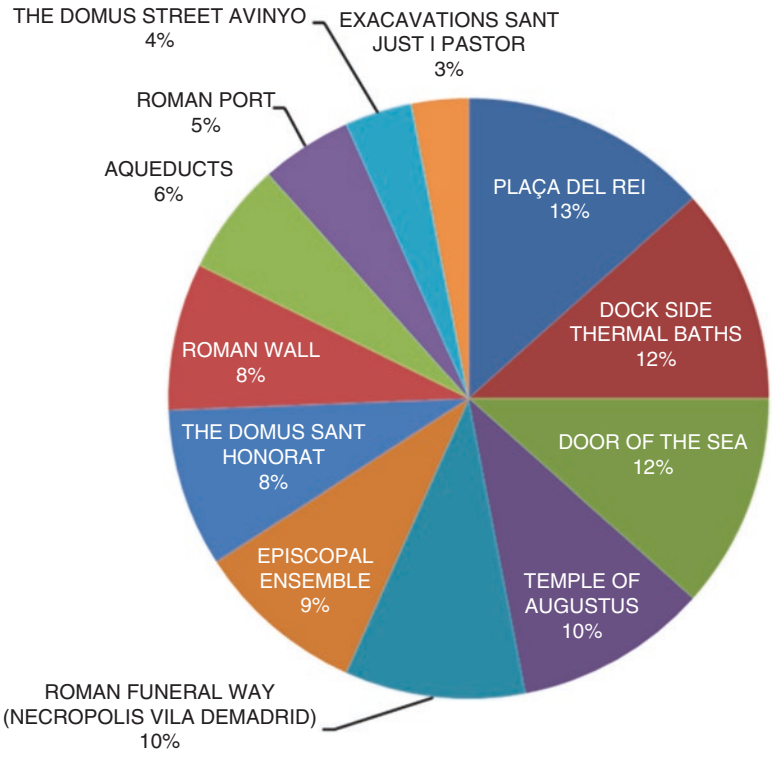

Fig. 5.5 Evaluation of *Bàrcino* spaces according to Public Indicators showed on a value pie ®Ana Pastor

the most visited by them) developed in the neighbors associations (Fig. 5.6), we can remark that in both cases, the musealized spaces are the most appreciated by community, with the exception of the Roman walls, that even if their punctuation is not high, it has a significant presence in local people's lives (from an 8% using

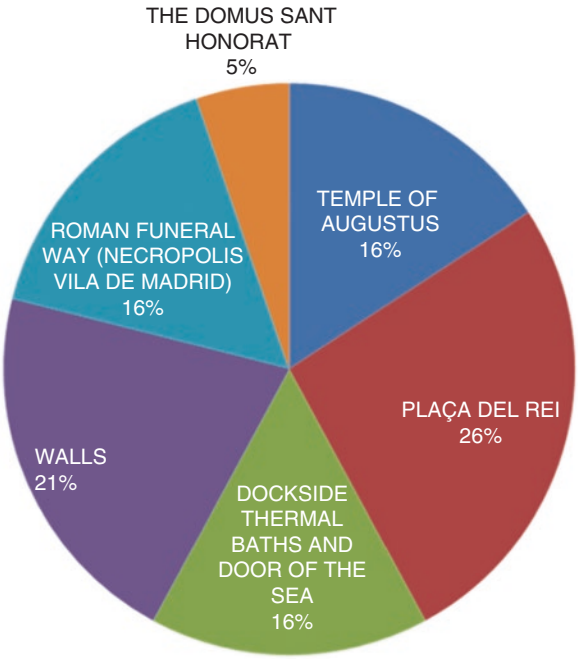

Fig. 5.6 Local community most visited *Bàrcino* spaces. Data collected by a survey developed by the author ®Ana Pastor

indicators we step into a 21% in the survey). Those indicators will help us to define a new group of values which will help us to include community's needs on management decisions, like we will introduce on next paragraphs.

Heritage Values: From Contextual Values to Community Values

Why using a renew (Carver 1996, 2003) concept of *Community Values*? Community values were conceptualized with the intention of bringing the heritage assets to their owners, that is, citizens and local communities of the territory. We will compare them with some *academic values* that were usually chosen by experts among some comparative exercises developed during teaching courses (Table 5.2). The goal was to broaden the perception people have of what belongs to them (sense of belonging) attached to Burra Charter's social values (ICOMOS Australia 2013), introducing *functionality*, *accessibility*, and *inclusiveness* like values themselves.

The Getty Conservation Institute in Los Angeles has played a reference role since the beginning of the twenty-first century in heritage values studies (Mason and De la Torre 1998; Avrami et al. 2000; De la Torre 2013, 2014;). In turn, the literature on heritage values is multifarious and is accompanied of a specific vocabulary that may vary with the author and geographical frame of work (Labadi 2007; Clark 2009;

Table 5.2 In this chart (inspired in De la Torre 2013), we can observe heritage values evolution

Burra charter ICOMOS 1998	Contextual Cohen and Fernández 2012	Community Carver 1996	Academic Pastor 2014–2015	Community Pastor 2014
Aesthetic	Aesthetic	Local style	Aesthetic	Aesthetic
Historic	Historic	Political	Historic	Historic
Scientific	Scientific	Minority	Scientific	Scientific
Social	Social/spiritual	Amenity	Social	Accessibility
Spiritual	Rarity		Symbolic/spiritual	Symbolicity
Politic	Nature/unicity		Unicity	Unicity
National			Educational	Functionality
Cultural			Economic	Inclusiveness

Oosterbeek 2010; Araoz 2011; Demas 2013); therefore, we decided to create a group of values adapted to our work. Authors like Turner and Tomer use the term *stakeholders* instead of neighborhood or neighbors in the sense that individuals that share a physical space sometimes don't have the same needs (Turner and Tomer 2013:191). We can also identify these "community values" as "stakeholder's values" which can be also applied and studied using maps of stakeholders for different purposes (Querol and Castillo 2013). Regarding authors such as De la Torre (2013), heritage places are neutral until we apply to them a cultural value, and in the same time, they got the status of heritage. In the case of Barcelona, we should analyze how the benefits associated with this valorization investment in a given space will improve local community's needs (Ballart 1997; Poulios 2010).

This kind of efforts of inserting social perception/values into management plans, and in our specific case using value diagrams, is relatively novel in the Hispanic-American archaeological heritage plans. Authors such as Cohen and Fernández (Cohen and Fernández Reguera 2013:27) established three categories for assets held in museums in Colombia, *works of greater importance* (essential and unique universally), *objects of medium importance* (rare items of regional or local importance), and *minor objects* (their importance is restricted to a small group of people), categories of values relating to contexts previously narrated by visitors. We have named these values the "contextual values" because there is a build frame of contexts that change. Through these three categories, diagrams were produced by types of objects assembled in groups, introducing public perception in a given space-time inside value pies for risks assessments. In the author's words:

> Another problem that arises from inadequate assessment of museum collections is the transfer of its cultural values into economical value. On many occasions, both types of assessment are not compatible, especially when something is confused with the other -the valuation and-the commercial value – (Cohen and Fernández Reguera 2013 p. 12)

Community values integrate this contextual aim in the sense that they are extremely attached to a concrete social context and could be mainly classified into intrinsic (historical, scientific, aesthetic, and uniqueness) and extrinsic (functionality,

accessibility, inclusiveness, and symbolicity). In 2013 James O. Young wrote about the cognitive value that can be extrinsic and intrinsic, attached to finds. In his own words, "*when a find has an intrinsic value it is valued as a source of knowledge that is valuable for its own sake*" (Young 2013:28). For the case of extrinsic value he says "*Some archaeological finds possess extrinsic value because they promote rational thought and undermine prejudice*" (Young 2013:28). Based in this cognitive process,[6] and in the past works we have defined, these new values then could be modified and used in all the variants we could need to each case even if they have been created to be applied into urban archaeological spaces (Table 5.2). Some of the values described are well defined in literature, and we will not describe them in this paper (Clark 2009; Drury and McPherson 2008; De la Torre 2002). We will focus on explaining where we want to arrive when we talk about functionality, accessibility, and inclusiveness.

– *Functionality* is viewed here as an indicator of instrumental value associated with the use of consumption, embracing the possibilities that an object or space has to generate a profit from economics or society. This could also encompass the economic aspect of this recovery, and as David Throsby indicates, we can move toward an association of cultural values, with the return thereof (economic value) when you consider the cultural capital (Throsby 2001a, b; Murzyn-Kupisz and Działek 2013). For determining it, we need to analyze the use of the space and consumerism surveys.

– *Accessibility* refers to the ease with which users access to cultural products and how they decode the information that conveys them. To collect and identify this data, we can be guided by the set of public indicators that we have explained before. As much easier is for the community to have access to their heritage and to a greater number of services, higher will be the importance of this asset in accessibility terms. In this context, it is important to evaluate also to the capacity of transmission of the objects or assemblages (if they are well exposed, if the restorations are legible, etc.). In recent studies like the one developed by Iwona Szmelter (Cracovia, Poland) appeared two relevant terms "integrating value" (cultural-historic values) and "social access value" (socioeconomic values) both attached to a reflexive society. The author is recognizing here the importance of developing strategies where integration could not be understood without accessibility (Szmelter 2013).

– *Inclusiveness* as refered to in the list of values would assess the entire role that the space plays in improving quality of life for the inhabitants thereof. This inclusion can be measured through surveys of residents or through participation statistics of those organizations that have developed cultural activities with inhabitants.

[6] After some exercises in heritage valorization developed during the academic course in Archaeology at Universidad the Barcelona (guided by the author at Barcelona, Spain) and a Seminar developed in Complutense University (guided by the author at Madrid, Spain) we defined some Academic Values. Scholars are aware of local communities needs but they are mostly guided by aesthetic, historic or scientific values in their approach to heritage valorization.

This could lead to the development of an index of inclusivity, but aspects must be treated separately to facilitate our work.

Applying these community values we attempt to address the social, economic and cultural dimensions related to a social and economic benefit due to functional and inclusive aspects related to the availability of studied goods. They keep an inherent bequest value associated with the existence value, proposed by Bruno Frey (2007), as its application to conservation, like we will see on our case study is linked to the survival of the same for future generations.

Case Study: The Roman Funeral Way Space of Barcelona

The Risk Management Cycle

Current theoretical frameworks toward preventive conservation of urban archaeological sites will be reviewed here to develop new strategies through a methodology that already exists: the "*Risk Management Cycle (ICCROM-CCI*-ICN)[7]." This process has five consecutive steps and two continuous processes (Fig. 5.7). The first step is to contextualize the study followed by the risk assessment that is divided into identification, analysis, treatment, and an evaluation process. Our research focuses on this stage of the cycle that will determine results for the next steps; here is where community values make a difference. During this contextual phase, a statement of significance takes place[8] which translates into an assessment of the importance of place, attributing or assessing a number of cultural characteristics. It is a first approach of enhancement and development of heritage in a quantitative way (Avrami et al. 2000). In the archaeological field as in other dimensions of heritage, the objects not only have an intrinsic value, but they are associated with each other, turning into a common discourse. The importance of assessing the relationship among the objects themselves and how this relation interacts and affects public sentiments is a factor we should consider in order to improve the overall management of risks. Here, experts might fight against falling into an individual identification of spaces meaning isolating them as cultural heritage sets and missing thus its contextual values associated with the community (forgetting, e.g., their collective identities, in this case the neighborhood, city, or nation). In archaeology, we have to remark the excellent works carried out recently in Petra (Jordan) (Michalski and Pedersoli 2009; Vafadari et al. 2012).

[7] Risk management is organized through a technical rule inspired by the Australia/New Zealand Standard for Risk Management Cycle (AS/NZ ISO 31000: 2009) http://sherq.org/31000.pdf (Accessed 10 September 2014).

[8] Related with the concept of "Cultural Significance" mentioned in the Burra Charter (ICOMOS-Australia) of 1999 and revised recently in 2013 http://australia.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/The-Burra-Charter-2013-Adopted-31.10.2013.pdf (Accessed 3 March 2015).

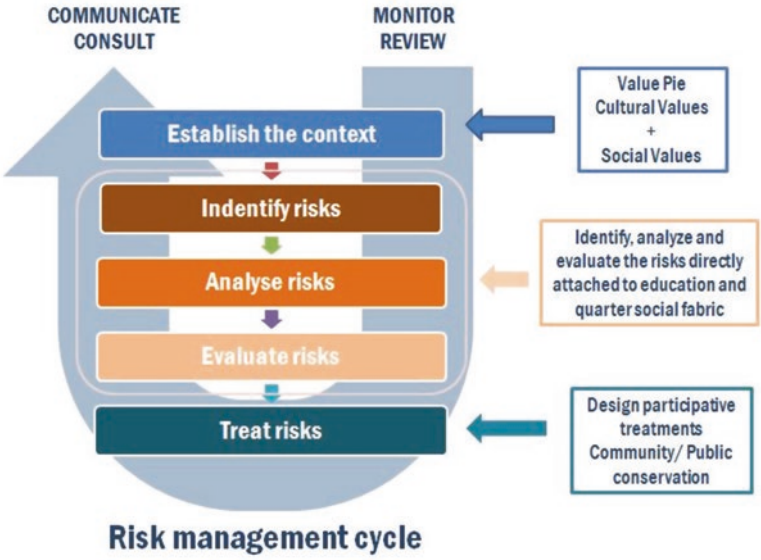

Fig. 5.7 The risk management cycle ®CCI-ICCROM-ICN. Revised by the author

Vila de Madrid Square

The importance of analyzing the urban social fabric associated with the context is essential when drawing up the chart values for conservation of heritage. They have commonly been defined and assessed by academic professionals who follow a series of criteria based in the international charts or agreements (archaeologist, conservators, restorers, or heritage managers). These valuations are usually related to the authenticity (Nara's Document[9] of 1994) and continue to be based in historic, aesthetic, or scientific facts that are not always relevant to the citizens or neighbors, betraying in most cases the dialogue between authorities and neighborhood associations and entities.

The context of study here is the square called *Plaça de la Vila de Madrid* located in the Gothic quarter of Barcelona (Fig. 5.8). In order to establish its values, we divided it in three spaces which are related to its use by the community: patrimonial set, gardens, and playground (Fig. 5.9).

To organize our valuing spaces, we have taken into account all the elements that surround the area, such as perimeter fences or the gateway that has been identified as a separate element of the fence because they connote a different perception being the access to the whole set: heritage set and gardens. We built two different value pies, one using the academic and other the community values (Fig. 5.10).

[9] http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf (Accessed 1 March 2015).

Fig. 5.8 Roman funeral way at *Plaça de la Vila de Madrid* 2014 ®Ana Pastor

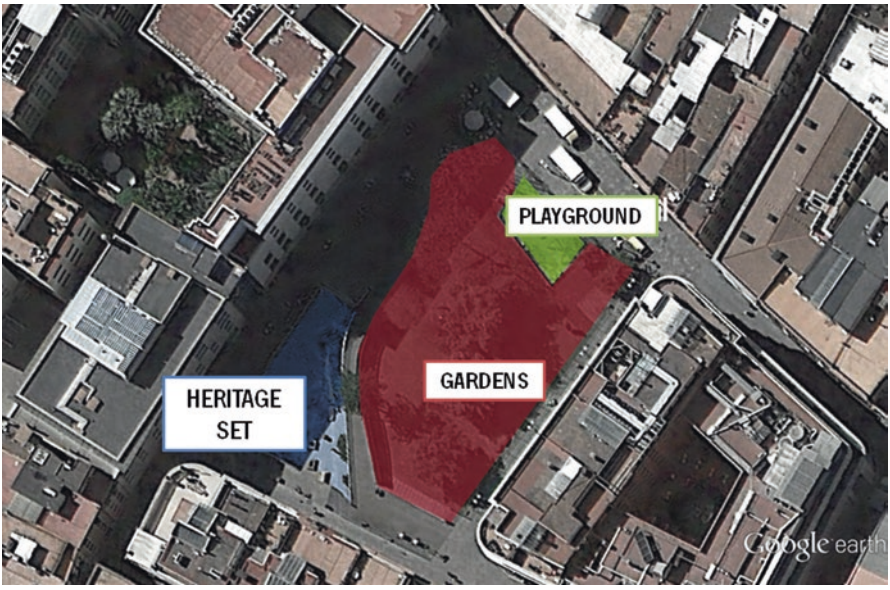

Fig. 5.9 Space divided in three major sets to accurate values

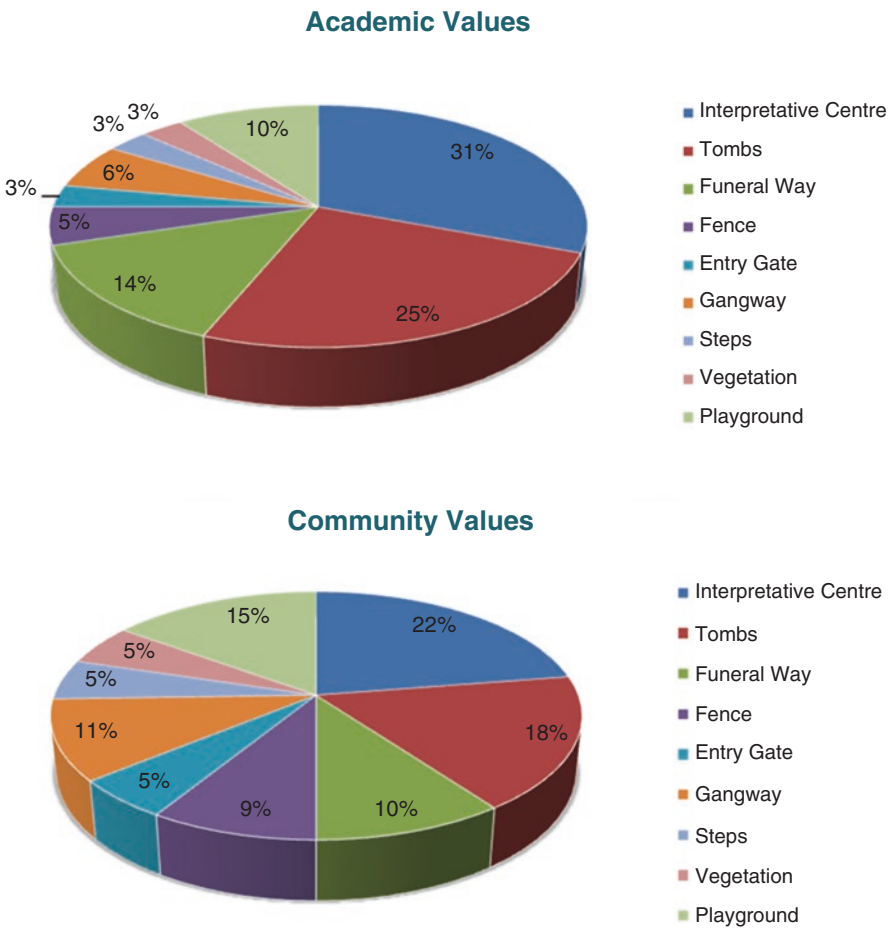

Fig. 5.10 Value pies according to the settled spaces

For the case of community values, the nesting of groups through the use of different indicators has varied: the heritage set lose relevance; it would remain an important part of the context, but indicators of accessibility or functionality would give more prominence to the natural area and leisure park because there is a policy of inclusion among the dwellers and the interpretive center. Considering all the analysis, we can deduce that community values downplay what we would call the archaeological heritage itself, giving a greater role to the context surrounding it. But with which criteria have we built this value pies? I have used also different percentages of each type of values according to a research based in participative observation, focus groups, and surveys (Fig. 5.11).

In order to know how these different values have a real appliance in conservation plans, four model risks have been chosen in order to analyze their impact using both

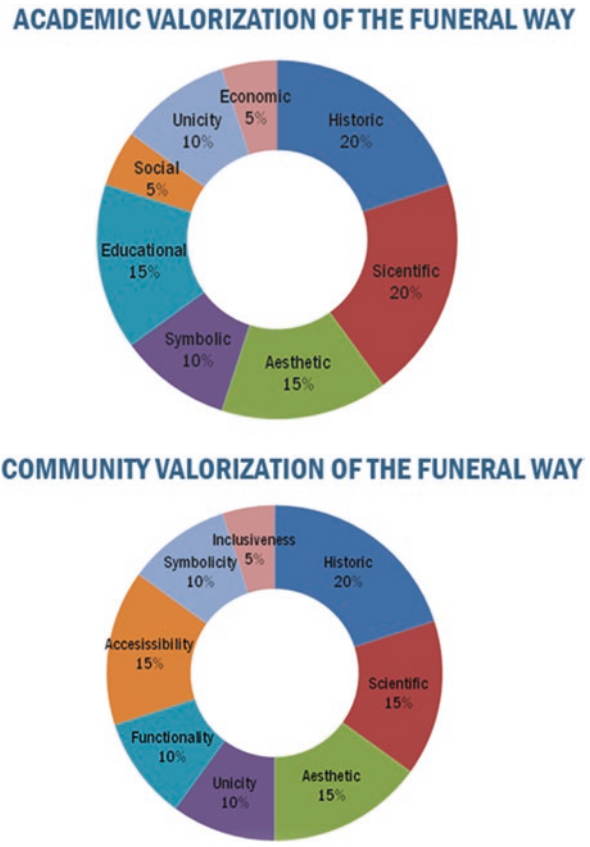

Fig. 5.11 Value pies used to establish the context of the *risk management plan* reflecting academic and community values. Differences between both charts will define risk prevention strategies and treatments ®Ana Pastor

kind of values and assessing them attending to "set affected" (Fig. 5.12) and "loss to each object" (Fig. 5.13) as is used in the CCI-ICCROM-ICN methodology for collections. The risks selected for this study case were: garbage launching against the tombs (open air space), lack of security at the interpretation center, demonstrations (that usually took place in a major street placed next to the square), and urines in fences (that may cause a problem in visitors to watch the funeral complex and also to the fences itself made in steel and glass).

For the first classification, it can be identified that in both cases, "garbage launching" remains as the first risk followed by "urines in fences"; it is possible to see that while the academic values reveal that the "lack of security" must be prioritized in order to conserve the asset (Figs. 5.12 and 5.13), community values indicate that "demonstrations" could be a major risk (influenced by the higher percentage of damage that could affect the garden and moreover the playground). Regarding the second classification here proposed linked to the loss of object, for the community, the risk of "urines in fences" is higher than the risk of "garbage launching." For the inhabitants, the fences have a very useful function not only as a safeguarding element (Fig. 5.14) but as a place for watching the space from different perspectives

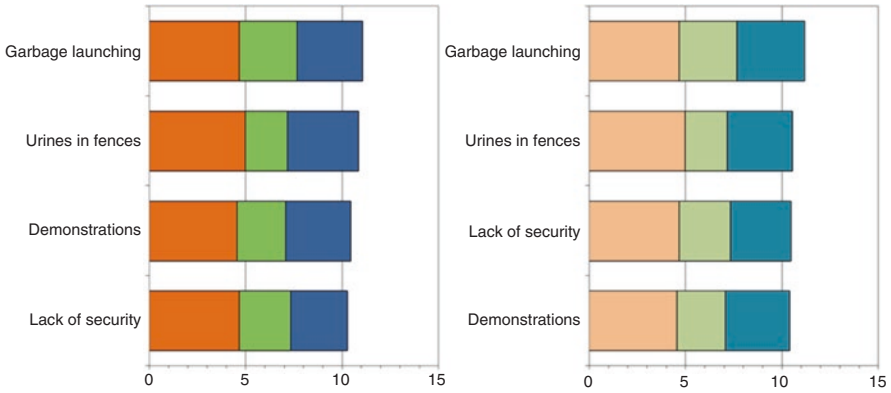

Fig. 5.12 Classification of risks according to the "set affected" (orange color). On the left community values and on the right academic values approach. Blue is the "loss of object" and green "percentage of set affected"

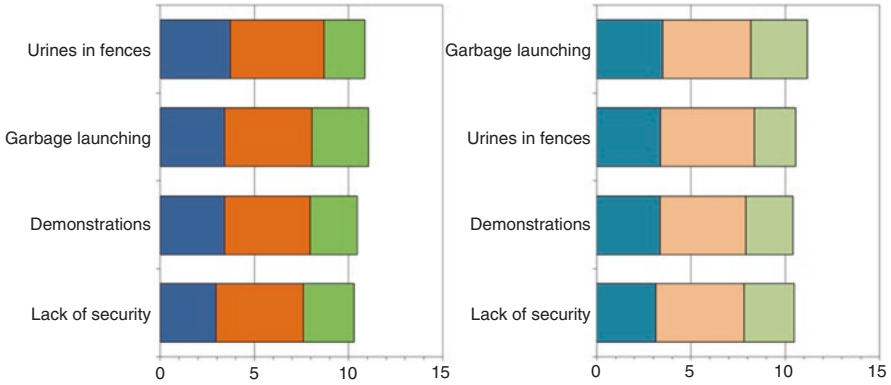

Fig. 5.13 Classification of risks according to the "loss of object" (blue color). On the left community values and on the right academic values approach. Orange is the "set/collection affected" and green "percentage of set affected"

and also as a place to meet and socialize. In terms of accessibility or inclusiveness, fences could have a higher value than the tombs themselves. Although the graph shows minimal differences, when we develop an entire *comprehensive risk plan* (that could include more than 30 risks attached to each set), these differences may become more visible. It has to be considered that we have just chosen here four risks associated with theft and vandalism, which are primarily affecting the whole of today (the graves are not covered but are part of the recreation of what the Romans called sepulchral way so would be meaningless fill this field). Above all, this research sample reveals the power of using new inclusive categories in assessing our value pies. The next step in the risk management cycle would be "treatment," and

Fig. 5.14 Cristal fences at the funeral way with public chairs behind ®Ana Pastor

our proposal will be directed to involve the community in the task of safeguarding heritage to arrive further (social/community conservation). A higher value of inclusiveness will reduce the magnitude of many of these risks, while the community would be more aware of detecting them as we will shortly introduce on the next section.

Local Communities as a Preventive and Curative Conservation Tool

As Yvonne Marshall suggested, sometimes *community archaeology* has been confused with a cultural resource management or asset management rather than being regarded as an academic discipline in itself (Marshall 2002:213), but for our case, some premises of this discipline will become useful to apply them to the practice of risk management. Supposedly, when the community participates in archaeological campaigns, this activity modifies the values associated with that space and their relationship with the past (Low 2003; Simpson 2008, 2010; Almansa and Belay 2011; Pétursdóttir 2013). In order to apply our previous results in preventive conservation and risk management, we think that the development of *community restoration plans* is the key to optimize treatments in these urban spaces in the future. Designing an archaeological community project placed in today's *Bàrcino* spaces in

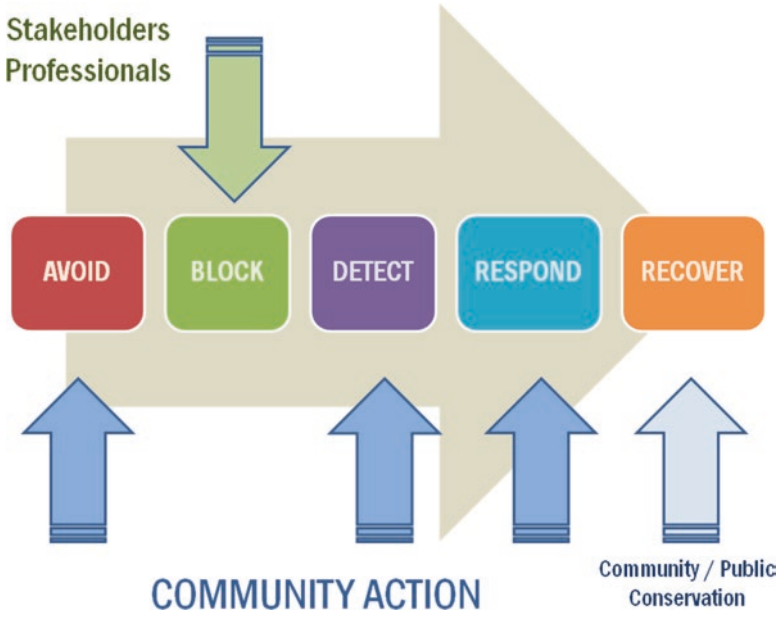

Fig. 5.15 The five *stages of control* defined for the *Risk Management* methodology can include local community participation ®Ana Pastor

excavation process will trigger desired actions linked with preventive conservation. We can discover how community could be involved in the five steps of control that the risks methodology points out for monitoring: the local communities can indirectly avoid, detect, and respond to damage (Fig. 5.15). If we develop also community conservation actions, the community will play also its role directly in the last step: recover.

Conclusions

This study outlined a framework to insert comprehensive preventive conservation strategies into heritage management plans applied to archaeological urban spaces. The results of this study reveal differences that occur when a context is discussed including the relationship with the community and how these changes influence future prevention and conservation strategies. The *Barri Gòtic* is clearly a multilayered area that in the last century has seen how its character was modified in order to improve a claim for visitors and economic interests and where the heritage legal protection is not well defined or homogeneous applied in different levels to specific buildings and not in an *associative view* understanding the area as a whole (Armitage and Irons 2013; Santos 2013).

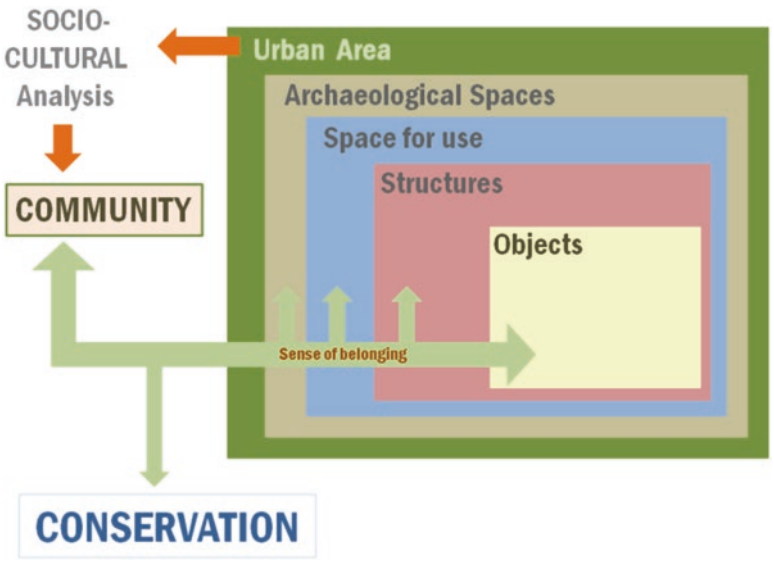

Fig. 5.16 Schema with different layers of approach to heritage sets under study when *developing risk management plans* ®Ana Pastor based on Michalski and Pedersoli (2009)

Risk management methodology uses heritage valorization assessments (value pie) in order to detect and attach risk magnitudes to different layers of context, and that is why I have carried on a strength research in heritage values. This methodology was created for its use in collections and is being increasingly used in archaeology with its difficulties attached to sets constantly changing. A perceived gap in the literature in terms of integral plans of preventive conservation in the field of archaeology has been one of the impulses for conducting this study, which seeks to provide a starting point to new strategies associated with safeguarding urban archaeological sites and how its management could contribute to both quality of life and conservation (Veldpaus and Pereira Roders 2013:13). Our work can be resumed in a multilayered approach graphic (Fig. 5.16).

The sense of visual coherence, conserving the past while maintaining a unified ambience must be taken into account; "layers of history can be maintained by accommodating new development that keeps an area alive and useful while managing to retail its traditional character and appearance" (Shipley and Snyder 2013:309). On the following steps, sensorial effects also must be studied and will be useful for conservation policies: the ones derived from the presumption of perdurability against a perceived risk of destruction or, in our case, transformations attached to a national imagination that may confuse the sense of place in community (Hamilakis 2013). Including society's perception and enjoyment of their urban archaeological sites into the decision-making process may help authorities to trace new strategies for increasing social benefits attached to an increasing of this *sense of belonging*. I encourage professionals to include sociologist, anthropologist, economists, and

urbanism experts in their decision-making process, impact evaluation, and monitoring. Needless to say that to give voice to the people that inhabit urban spaces is something that has been done since the mid-twentieth century in some countries (Domingo and Bonet 1998) guided by disciplines such as community or public archaeology.

The attempt to measure local community's heritage use and perception will always be necessary when using community values in conservation plans, so interviews and surveys must be taken into account when applying this methodology (Castillo Mena 2010, 2015; Pastor Pérez and Ruiz Martínez 2016). One of the facts that this research highlights is the need of an inclusion of conservation techniques into community archaeological projects throughout the spaces. The creation of new plans focused on self-sustainability and intelligent investments in the management of public spaces can improve the relationship between governments and citizens. With our research, we seek to open a new avenue of knowledge and work to improve the already existing tools applied in archaeological heritage management and conservation resources. We have tried to embrace the cultural, social, and economic dimension drawing patterns for a new way of valuing the assets through new indicators: the functionality, accessibility, and inclusiveness. This has been applied to a context, the Roman *Bàrcino* spaces and the *Barri Gòtic*, but whose data can be extrapolated to more areas in the future.

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Chapter 6
The Herculaneum Centre: The Reciprocal Benefits Gained from Building Capacities for Cultural Heritage Among Institutions and Communities

Christian Biggi, Bianca Capasso, and Francesca Del Duca

Introduction

This paper describes capacity-building experiences gained over the last 7 years in the modern Italian town of Ercolano, best known as being home to the archaeological site of Herculaneum. While various publications have examined the efforts of the Herculaneum Conservation Project, this paper will instead focus on the wide range of capacity-building initiatives that were conceived and organized by the Herculaneum Centre to support and expand on-site efforts.[1] Their focus was primarily on awareness raising and promoting the participation of the local and international communities in safeguarding Ercolano's rich archaeological and broader cultural heritage with a view to harnessing long-term benefits for the heritage itself but also for the community surrounding the site.

The Italian management system for cultural heritage is potentially inspirational; heritage management is enshrined in the 1947 Italian Constitution, with culture perceived as having a contribution to make to modern society through new research and understanding, while its protection is guaranteed by the State. Article 9 declares that: 'The Republic promotes the development of culture and scientific and technical research. It safeguards landscape and the historical and artistic heritage of the Nation' (Senato della Repubblica 1947). This short article is the foundation on which all further heritage legislation has ultimately been based since the

[1] The Herculaneum Centre is the main operational initiative of the Associazione Herculaneum, a no-profit association with a specific agenda for cultural heritage; it was created in 2006 uniting the local heritage authority, the local municipality and the British School at Rome as a representative of the international research community. See section below on governance.

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mid-twentieth century. Unfortunately, more often than not, reality on the ground is less inspiring (Pesaresi et al. forthcoming).

This article will focus on one significant gap that has been identified among the many challenges facing heritage management in twenty-first-century Italy: the gap between the institutions responsible in various ways for heritage management and conservation and other stakeholders, in particular, communities. A series of considerations make Herculaneum and Ercolano an interesting test bed for examining how this gap between institutions and other stakeholders, in particular, local community groups, might be overcome. The archaeological site, conveying an outstanding universal value as a unique testimony to a past civilization,[2] is dramatically located between a volcano and the sea. The site is 15–25 m below the modern town,[3] in close proximity to the densely inhabited neighbourhoods forming its medieval centre. These are some of the most vibrant and interesting areas of modern Ercolano but also some of the most complex in terms of socio-economic disadvantages and long-term failure of institutions to address them.

Recent research on cultural heritage management systems around the world has highlighted that all too often management systems lack an institutional mandate to work with other stakeholders (Wijesuriya et al. 2013: 56–57). This is particularly unfortunate given that there is a great need for strong links between heritage and modern society, as never before, given a dramatic global increase in the pressures on, and expectations of, cultural heritage. This is certainly the case of the *soprintendenze archeologiche*, the local heritage authorities responsible for archaeology in Italy. The legal framework for Italian heritage management does not describe a remit for them either to identify the broad range of interest groups that could potentially contribute to heritage management or to analyse the complexity of the contemporary context in which archaeological sites are often found. As a result, local communities, who are often best placed to offer support due to a strong sense of connection to the heritage but also due to physical proximity, are frequently the most excluded stakeholder, even while they are most deserving of socio-economic and other benefits from 'their' heritage.

Capacity Development in the Heritage Sector

Given the widespread use of the terms 'capacity building' and 'capacity development', as well as different interpretations of what they mean, it is useful to define briefly the context in which the Herculaneum Centre's work has been grounded.

[2] Herculaneum is part of the serial UNESCO World Heritage property known as the Archaeological Areas of Pompei, Herculaneum and Torre Annunziata inscribed in 1997.

[3] The height difference corresponds to the volcanic material that covered Roman Herculaneum during the AD 79 eruption of Mount Vesuvius, some of which was removed by archaeologists to reveal the ancient town during the twentieth-century excavation campaigns that created the archaeological site that can be seen today.

Significant work on capacity development within the heritage sector has been carried out by the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) and the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) as advisory bodies for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), leading to the publication of a Capacity Building Strategy (World Heritage Committee 2011). While this work focused on World Heritage properties, there is an explicit aim to ensure that this strategy will 'support capacity building activities for heritage conservation in general'. This means that it offers not only an intellectual framework suitable for many heritage places, including Herculaneum as part of a serial World Heritage property. The strategy is of particular interest given the recognition that heritage can have 'a substantial contribution to make to sustainable development and the well-being of communities', and therefore 'its protection is a concern for a larger group of individuals and organizations, not just those with direct responsibilities for its conservation and management' (World Heritage Committee 2011: 2).

It is significant that the UNESCO strategy has promoted a 'paradigm shift to step beyond conventional training to embrace a capacity building approach' (World Heritage Committee 2011: 3), as this recognizes that many activities and experiences which aid the development of capacities go beyond traditional educational initiatives. Furthermore, heritage capacities are perceived to reside in three areas:

- Practitioners (including individuals and groups who directly intervene in the conservation and management of World Heritage properties)
- Institutions (including State Party heritage organizations, NGOs, the World Heritage Committee, Advisory Bodies and others institutions that have a responsibility for the enabling environment for management and conservation)
- Communities and Networks (including local communities living on or near properties as well as the larger networks that nurture them) (World Heritage Committee 2011: 5)

The strategy promotes working with individual people and groups who represent these three areas (practitioners, institutions, communities/networks). According to need their existing capacities can be built upon, or new ones can be developed in a particular direction. It is important to note that it is a people-based form of change and depends upon a much more holistic understanding of what can constitute an effective learning environment for each type of audience.

Initially, the Herculaneum Centre intuitively sought to work with such diverse audiences and diverse learning environments to meet needs within these three areas, and this later developed in a more structured way. Examples of this are given below. It is to be noted that those capacity-building activities that manage to build bridges between two or three of these audiences are those that have proven to have the most significant and lasting results, as will be seen.

Case Study: Ancient Herculaneum and Modern Ercolano

The work of the Herculaneum Centre in the ancient town of Herculaneum and the modern town of Ercolano explored in this paper took place over a 7-year period from 2007.[4] As will be seen, its impact has been significant, thanks to the Herculaneum Centre's work complementing other significant heritage initiatives, such as the Herculaneum Conservation Project,[5] and building on existing strengths, such as changes initiated by two very determined and supportive local mayors and emerging examples of local active citizenship. This case study is fertile ground for analysis since Herculaneum, as a public-owned and public-run archaeological site with the difficulties it has faced, raises many concerns common to heritage places throughout the Mediterranean and beyond, where rigid and inflexible management systems can isolate heritage from its context (Thompson 2007). The successful use of both the modern and ancient towns as an open-air classroom for numerous courses and workshops is testimony to the relevance of the themes it raises. Indeed, the heritage practitioners and community representatives working in other realities, and involved in Herculaneum programmes, were the first to recognize the re-applicability of the Herculaneum Centre model, particularly in the southern and eastern Mediterranean. The interest lies particularly in the model of building bridges between civic society and institutions focused on cultural heritage so as to gradually:

- Shift society's perception and contribution to heritage.
- Shift the perception and contribution of heritage institutions in terms of their obligations to society/communities.
- Promote new approaches for creating/strengthening capacities so that positive and negative change can be managed at and around heritage places.
- Thereby better secure heritage a central role in the sustainable development of the territories in which they lie.

So what makes Ercolano significant? Modern Ercolano is best known for lying over the remains of the Roman town of Herculaneum, which was destroyed by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in AD 79 at the same time as sister site Pompeii (Figs. 6.1 and 6.2). The volcanic material which buried the ancient town has allowed the extraordinary preservation of its houses, shops and public buildings, in some cases, up to four floors. This remarkable preservation extends to the decorative features, wooden structural elements, furniture, human remains and significant amounts of foodstuffs, ranging from loaves of bread to fruit.

[4] For more information on the Herculaneum Centre, see Biggi (forthcoming, 2011) and Court et al. (2011).

[5] The *Herculaneum Conservation Project* is an initiative of the Packard Humanities Institute (and its Italian arm, the Istituto Packard per i Beni Culturali) in collaboration with the Soprintendenza Speciale per Pompei, Ercolano e Stabia; a third partner – the British School at Rome – was also involved from 2004 to 2014. See www.herculaneum.org; Wallace-Hadrill et al. (2007) and Camardo et al. (2012).

Figs. 6.1 and 6.2 Modern Ercolano is a dense town located at the foot of Mount Vesuvius on the Bay of Naples (*left*), it is home to the ancient city of Herculaneum (*right*) (Images: Kate Cook/Firefly; Sarah Court/HCP)

Ercolano today is a town with a residential population of over 54,000 people that is rich in other natural and cultural sites. Its territory extends from the sea up to the volcanic crater and is recognized as a UNESCO Man and the Biosphere reserve. The main route for visitor access to the Mount Vesuvius National Park and a large part of the park itself lies in Ercolano, an extraordinarily rich area in terms of biodiversity and geology, and the town also houses the world's oldest volcanic observatory. Significant built heritage can be found in the historic centre, which developed from the medieval settlement of Resina, now home to tangible and intangible heritage related to diverse attributes, such as a vibrant vintage clothes market and the Basilica of Pugliano. In addition, the portion of the historic Naples-Calabria road known as the Golden Mile is home to 122 eighteenth-century villas (of which 22 are in Ercolano); they are linked to and influenced by the rediscovery of this Roman town in the early 1700s.

The major excavation campaign at Herculaneum waited until the early twentieth century, when, in the political context of Italian Fascism, an efficient system of excavation, conservation and presentation to the public was established. It is interesting to note that much of the workforce involved in this campaign were local residents, creating immediate links between the community and their emerging heritage. Indeed Herculaneum was relatively well maintained until the second half of the twentieth century, when, despite the heritage authority enjoying financial autonomy and generous ticket income from the Vesuvian sites, a gradual collapse of the management system and the steady retirement of the once stable maintenance team of skilled workers meant that the site suffered from escalating decay. Many of the Roman houses eventually closed to the public due to risk of collapse, with mosaics disaggregating and frescoes detaching from the walls and roofs and floor plates in danger of caving in.

The reality of Herculaneum's management is that there had been a system in place that was penalized by financial and human resource limitations (the latter is still true today) that did not correspond with the needs of the site coupled with top-down decision-making (Thompson 2007). There is also a division in the Italian system whereby heritage is protected and managed by local *soprintendenze* which generally fall under the Ministry of Culture, whereas enhancement and promotional activities are the responsibility of regional and town councils, with problematic coordination between the two (Pesaresi et al. forthcoming). Even today Italian management frameworks for cultural heritage still fail to reflect the evolved international thinking of recent years regarding the need to conserve cultural values (not just the material expression of the past) with the involvement of those who hold these values, e.g. the many local and international stakeholders who could contribute to heritage and draw benefits from it.

The Launch of the Herculaneum Centre and Its Mission

Fortunately, in 2001 the Herculaneum Conservation Project (HCP) was launched: a public-private partnership between a private philanthropic foundation and the local heritage authority. This initiative involved the private partner contributing operational capacity to respond to site needs – human, not just financial, resources – and characterized by year-round continuity and a broad interdisciplinary scope, including conservator-restorers, archaeologists, architects, project managers, IT specialists, structural engineers, experts in water management, etc. This soon led to a site-wide campaign of conservation works in the areas at risk aimed at reducing decay and its causes to a minimum, with investment in vital infrastructure, such as replacing shelters and roofs, reinstating the water drainage system, etc. Over time, HCP's focus has shifted from the capital investment phase aimed at making the site manageable to ongoing work to develop more resilient management models for the long-term care of the archaeological site.

The HCP specialists, many of them local and present on site all year round, became aware of the negative repercussions of the increasing distance between the institutions involved in heritage management and other stakeholders, in particular, the local community and other interest groups. However, HCP was conceived as a series of temporary partnerships with specific goals for improving the site and its physical relationship to the modern town, to then leave the *Soprintendenza* empowered to face the future better. Rebuilding engagement with the local community in a lasting way demanded a greater sense of commitment and steadfastness in a governance model that spoke of permanent alliances and a cross-sectorial interest in dialogue about heritage. This was all the more important given the extreme socio-economic issues facing Ercolano and the dramatic isolation of the heritage system from the surrounding community. This was both in:

– *Physical terms*: high boundary walls and collapsing modern buildings hindered views to a site that was already difficult to see recessed in its man-made canyon, while high ticket prices with no reductions for local residents meant that many community members felt excluded from visiting.
– *Operational terms*: the number of local residents involved in the site's conservation and management had dropped off as fast as the EU pressure to tender works took force from the 1980s onwards.

An opportunity emerged on the back of major renovation work of an early twentieth-century villa (relatively close to and with historic links to the archaeological site) in the context of the URBAN Programme for the regeneration of the city of Ercolano with European funding. A proposal for a strategic 3-year programme to launch the Herculaneum Centre attracted €840,000 of public funding from the Italian Ministry of Culture. HCP specialists worked closely with Ercolano's dedicated URBAN Office in the preparation of the winning proposal, structuring activities and proposing that the Centre was created as a long-term cultural association to create a forum for exchange between civic authorities, heritage authorities and other stakeholders long into the future.[6]

The Centre's mission was to identify and build on existing heritage capacities and develop new ones by carrying out activities, testing and refining them not just at the archaeological site but also within the modern town and beyond. Its aim was to raise awareness of Ercolano's heritage, with specific reference to Herculaneum's cultural values, its diverse significance for different audiences, its fragility and the need for conservation and new forms of support. Right from its inception, the Centre used the high levels of interest in the ancient site of Herculaneum (including new archaeological and conservation knowledge, its preservation and management) as a catalyst to encourage wider interest in the array of natural and cultural heritage in the local area. Over the next 7-year period, that public funding was complemented by raising over €200,000 from additional sources of funding, as well as a similar amount in terms of organizational, logistical and specialist support in kind.[7]

Governance

Significantly, the 'founding partners' of the cultural association (*Associazione Herculaneum*) driving the Herculaneum Centre initiative were the two local players:

– *Comune di Ercolano*, the town council, which represents the local community

[6] HCP's Sarah Court and Jane Thompson worked together with Massimo Iovino, who led the URBAN Office at the time, to author the successful funding application for the Herculaneum Centre launch programme.

[7] In particular, Prof. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, as Director and then President, and Sarah Court as activities coordinator were provided by the Herculaneum Conservation Project.

– *Soprintendenza Speciale di Pompei, Ercolano e Stabia* (at the time called *Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei*), the local heritage authority, which represents local heritage and the wider heritage sector

They then invited a partner representing interest groups in the international community to join them: the British School at Rome, an international research institute with a long interest in the Vesuvian sites, and for the period 2004–2014, it was also the operative arm of the Herculaneum Conservation Project. It was deemed important that the President of the *Associazione Herculaneum* carried the prestige and neutrality of the international community[8] and instead the board membership of the Council reflected the multiple stakeholders and intersectorial richness that was to be at the heart of the Centre's work.[9]

Many other partners were brought on board in a variety of ways:

– In the form of direct partnership agreements (the case of ICCROM, multiple local and international universities, NGOs like the UK's 'Friends of Herculaneum Society')
– Thanks to the Centre's participation in broader inter-institutional programmes (the European Union multilateral projects, HCP collaborations, etc.)
– Within agreements for the provision of specialist support for meetings, workshops and continuous professional development (e.g. the World Heritage Centre, Getty Conservation Institute), also targeting audiences outside of the heritage sector (training providers for mid-career teachers)
– In the form of joint ventures with a host of local stakeholders (e.g. local associations, schools, small businesses, young people, local residents, etc.)

Thanks above all to alliances with local partners the Centre worked towards bridging the gap between local and international institutions and the community residing around the archaeological site by building on existing strengths in relationships in both directions. Often the Centre's most significant contributions to heritage engagement, social cohesion, identity and active citizenship within a complex social fabric have been the most modest in financial terms: their effectiveness resided in uniting interest groups who normally have no possibility for contact (Fig. 6.3).

[8] Presidents of the *Associazione Herculaneum*: Prof. Dieter Mertins 2007–2012 and Prof. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill 2012-ongoing.

[9] Council board members in the period 2007–2015 have included Emma Buondonno, Maria Paola Guidobaldi, Sophie Hay, Ugo Ignorato, Massimo Iovino, Luigi Luciani and Jane Thompson.

Fig. 6.3 Local residents and participants of an international workshop on archaeological shelters unite for a *tammurriata*, celebrating local music traditions in the heart of the dense residential area alongside the archaeological site, an event conceived and organized by the Herculaneum Centre on behalf of the HCP/Getty Conservation Institute partnership (Images: Eleanor Murkett/HCP)

'Business as Usual' for the Herculaneum Centre

The following section offers an overview of the Centre's activities in an attempt to illustrate in concrete terms some of the work carried out in the past few years but also how scope, thematic emphasis and complexity varied. Many of them have taken place within the partnerships mentioned above:

1. Working with *community groups and networks* by which it is hoped to shift civil society's perception of and contribution to heritage (Figs. 6.4, 6.5, 6.6, and 6.7).
   Capacity building for teachers and learners:
   - Locally
   - Providing a capacity-building programme[10] for 10 teachers from 5 local schools and involving 100 children as 'young ambassadors' for heritage, raising awareness among new generations and also influencing family and friends.
   - Internationally
   - Implementing an EU-funded project for capacity-building teachers in Italy and Turkey so that they are better able to insert activities related to local heritage places within school curricula.
   - Providing content for various professional development and learning initiatives for high schools in New South Wales, Australia, where over 20,000 students each year study the management and conservation of Vesuvian sites, using Herculaneum as a case study.

   Communication projects to enhance understanding of cultural values and promote awareness of cultural heritage vulnerabilities to new audiences:

[10] Led for the Herculaneum Centre by Lidia Vignola

Figs. 6.4, 6.5, 6.6, and 6.7 Working with community groups included (clockwise): working with teachers and students from five local schools, the creation of a documentary on Herculaneum with film-maker Marcellino De Baggis, an oral history project that focused on heritage themes such as the memories of former site workers and a multisensory trail that was tested with local members of the Italian Union for the Blind and Partially Sighted. (Images: Circolo Didattico Iaccarino/Herculaneum Centre; Sarah Court/HCP; Alessandra De Vita/HCP Bianca Capasso/Herculaneum Centre)

- Supporting the creation of the documentary: 'Herculaneum, Diaries of Darkness and Light' by film-maker Marcellino De Baggis to raise awareness of Herculaneum and the need for its conservation; it won three international prizes.
- Organizing and contributing to various cultural and artistic projects that raise awareness of Ercolano's heritage among the general public, such as five exhibitions on Ercolano/Herculaneum's cultural heritage, hosting national and international TV crews in Ercolano for programmes commissioned by RAI, the BBC, Der Spiegel, National Geographic, Discovery Channel, etc.

Intersectorial and intergenerational bridge building at a local level:

- Working with senior citizens in an oral history project;[11] tapping into local knowledge of the archaeological site's excavation, restoration and public use; remembering former links between the community and their heritage and pro-

[11] Led for the Herculaneum Centre by Paola Matafora

Figs. 6.8 and 6.9 Working with institutions: the Herculaneum Centre supported a UNESCO reactive monitoring mission by bringing together community spokespeople for site visits with the inspectors and institutional representatives (left); a visit for the European Commission cluster looking at social inclusion included a visit organized by the Herculaneum Centre but led by local children (right). (Image: Francesca Del Duca/Herculaneum Centre; Tsao Cevoli)

moting intergenerational exchange. This led to the creation of an audio-visual archive and two documentaries and gave a significant contribution to the conservation programme at the site.

Harnessing sustainable forms of tourism and enhancing understanding of cultural values outside the World Heritage site:

- Visitors from over 70 different countries around the world have come to Ercolano and the site of Herculaneum specifically to participate in Herculaneum Centre activities. They have all stayed locally, with most being encouraged to book into family-run bed and breakfast accommodation in Ercolano; an average of over 500 people a year have booked through the Herculaneum Centre thanks to this initiative which aims to promote local hospitality for visitors and economic advantages for local community members.
- Partnering the project 'Benvenuti al Sud', aimed at creating a web portal for sustainable tourism created from a grass-roots network.

Building intellectual capacities for heritage:

- Supporting universities/researchers and tapping into additional intellectual/financial resources, raising the profile of Ercolano's heritage and its need for protection and gaining new knowledge of the heritage to interest and involve other interest groups.
- Offering internship opportunities in collaboration with HCP and various universities, in particular the University of Naples 'Federico II'; supporting visiting students, researchers and interest groups; as well as granting annual research awards, thanks to the financial support of the Friends of Herculaneum Society.

Interpretation initiatives targeting neglected audiences and communicating heritage values and vulnerabilities:

Figs. 6.10 and 6.11 Working with heritage practitioners has meant organizing capacity-building initiatives for groups ranging from new public officials from the local heritage authority through to international participants of ICCROM courses (Images: Sarah Court/HCP; Valerie Magar)

- Developing a multi-sensorial trail around Herculaneum suitable for visually impaired people but also any visitor who would like a different kind of experience of the site, downloadable as free audio or text files. This trail was created with the support of the Unione Italiana Ciechi e Ipovedenti.

2. Working with a range of institutions with a particular emphasis on the perception and contribution of cultural heritage to society and communities and the reciprocal benefits to be harnessed (Figs. 6.8 and 6.9).

   Capacity building for heritage sector institutions:

   - Working with the local heritage authority, e.g. providing capacity-building opportunities for new public officials, providing activities that go beyond their strict mandate, such as visits, courses, schools activities, events, etc.
   - Supporting World Heritage processes, such as the preparation of management plans, helping organize a UNESCO Pompeii Stakeholders' Meeting, etc.

   Capacity building for institutions with a broader civic mandate:

   - Working with regional/town councils, providing specialist heritage input into local programming, bridging with the heritage authorities with regard to shared responsibilities and promoting Ercolano as a sustainable tourism destination.
   - Hosting the European Commission's Cluster on Access and Social Inclusion in Lifelong Learning in order to illustrate how heritage has been used as a tool to support social and cultural inclusion within Ercolano.
   - Contributing to the planning of participatory cultural heritage initiatives within strategic programming for Ercolano's urban regeneration by the town council, primarily using European Funding.

3. Working with practitioners in the heritage sector, providing capacity-building opportunities using Ercolano/Herculaneum as an 'open-air' classroom for continuous professional development and building peer-learning networks across the Mediterranean and beyond (Figs. 6.10 and 6.11).

For local heritage practitioners:

- Assisting with capacity building for new professionals employed at Pompeii to provide an introduction to the experience of the Herculaneum Conservation Project.

For heritage practitioners from the international community:

- Hosting capacity-building initiatives at Herculaneum for mid-career professionals, such as ICCROM's courses on the Conservation of Built Heritage and the various initiatives for the MOSAIKON programme.
- Organizing specific international capacity-building workshops for heritage practitioners, such as the Heritage Site Management Practices workshop organized in collaboration with ICCROM and the symposium on Protective Shelters for Archaeological Sites, funded by the Getty Foundation.

For the international academic community:

- Organizing various workshops on conservation and management themes for young archaeologists from 7 different countries and 19 institutions.

For all heritage audiences:

- Publishing (or facilitating others to do so) various professional and general articles on the Herculaneum experience, as well as a forthcoming joint volume with ICCROM on 'Heritage Site Management Practices'.

Interestingly, the experience gained at Herculaneum has shown that it is when these three categories of activities are combined that the most meaningful results have been gained. All too often the different stakeholders rarely come together on equal footing, yet when representatives of institutions and heritage practitioners meet with local community members and interest groups, 'magic' happens, indirect benefits of actions augment and the results tend to be greater than the sum of the parts. An example of this will be illustrated below.

Initiatives that provide opportunities for, or link to, audiences from all three areas in which heritage capacities reside, as identified in the World Heritage Capacity Building Strategy, are not easy to create. However, they can prove to be the best way to address those weaknesses in heritage management systems that are unlikely to be addressed swiftly by legal and institutional reforms, even if much more remains to be done to understand fully how to bring diverse audiences together successfully.

A 'Special' Long-Term Project: The Via Mare Project

This final section describes a specific initiative involving the Herculaneum Centre in support of a larger project instigated by the Herculaneum Conservation Project, the Comune di Ercolano and the *Soprintendenza* and carried forward in conjunction

with other partners.[12] A regeneration project has been developed for the Via Mare neighbourhood,[13] a specific residential district adjoining the archaeological site that faces great socio-economic disadvantages despite being located directly next to a World Heritage property, from which it draws no benefits. This example shows how a relatively modest contribution by the Herculaneum Centre (working with a budget of little more than €30,000) is significantly influencing the outcomes of a more ambitious initiative whose gross financial value is 5.6 million euros thanks to EU funding and Packard Humanities Institute support through its new Italian foundation.

The Herculaneum Centre was invited to accompany the local residents, while large-scale actions of the public institutions and private partners move forward. The overall aim of this first phase of the Via Mare project was to transform an abandoned lot of land between the archaeological site and the residential neighbourhood, using this as a catalyst to regenerate a significant neighbourhood of the modern town with the creation of new public spaces. The hope is that the new open park/*piazza* areas will provide shared spaces that unite visitors and the local community in unprecedented ways. While the final project will slightly extend the archaeological park, it is hoped that it will act to encourage visitors to leave the archaeological area and explore new routes through the modern town to experience other heritage assets. It is also hoped that local residents will finally perceive the advantages of living so close to a site of international importance in a variety of ways:

– Enjoying new civic spaces themselves
– Taking advantage of new economic opportunities arising from the presence of visitors in a previously isolated neighbourhood
– Also finding new ways to contribute to the safeguarding and enhancement of what is also their heritage

In addition, the heritage authorities will turn a problematic area on the edge of the archaeological site (half-excavated Roman structures emerging from unstable escarpments with precarious ruinous modern buildings above) into its most important viewing point. From the new park and raised *piazza,* it will finally be possible for visitors and local residents alike to view the World Heritage site in the context of the entire Bay of Naples from Capri to Ischia.

[12] The Via Mare Project was formalized in an agreement signed in January 2014 by: Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo; Ministro per la Coesione territoriale/Dipartimento per lo Sviluppo e la Coesione economica; Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Pompei, Ercolano e Stabia; Soprintendenza Beni Arch. e Paesaggistici di Napoli e Provincia; Comune di Ercolano; and Istituto Packard per i Beni Culturali (since 2013 the operative arm of the Herculaneum Conservation Project).

[13] The overall initiative has been coordinated by architect Paola Pesaresi from the Herculaneum Conservation Project on appointment by the Istituto Packard per i Beni Culturali. She has also headed the design team for the two phases of works: extending the site area and liberating unused land units or dangerous properties for collective benefits, urban regeneration of the areas released and the adjacent Via Mare road. For more information on the Via Mare project, see: Biggi et al. (2014), Mollo et al. (2012), and Court and Biggi 2010.

Figs. 6.12 and 6.13 Early steps in building relationships with residents in Via Mare included formal and informal meetings, as well as initiatives – such as a clean-up of the street – that addressed concerns that were priorities for the local community (Images: Sarah Court/HCP; Francesca Del Duca/Herculaneum Centre)

The Centre's task was to bring together a range of stakeholders, build networks and help the institutions overcome their limited mandate for working with the local community. Above all, it was vital to flank the Via Mare residents in the most delicate phase when only the short-term disadvantages of the physical changes to their neighbourhood were in sight (e.g. compulsory planning orders taking away a small number of homes, dusty work sites, road blocks, etc.), and it was difficult to have faith in the longer-term benefits. Fortunately, earlier consultation meetings organized by the Herculaneum Centre had created the foundations for a working relationship with local residents and demonstrated a willingness to listen to their concerns, even when not directly related to heritage issues (Figs. 6.12 and 6.13). In order to develop relationships further and build trust in an area where institutions are perceived not to deliver their promises, it was necessary to guarantee a regular presence of Herculaneum Centre consultants in the area. This was in part facilitated by organizing events and activities in Via Mare (e.g. Fig. 6.3), in the margins of which regular contact was maintained with residents.

Working with local community members so that difficult decisions, such as compulsory planning orders, are accepted voluntarily is not at all easy. All stages of the process needed to be accompanied with meetings, discussion and, above all, a series of positive activities involving local residents that built on existing strengths, interests and sense of identity. Community suggestions needed to be adopted, even when they went beyond the heritage, so that they both felt their concerns and interests were heard and so that positive relationships could be built on mutual respect and trust (Figs. 6.14, 6.15, 6.16, and 6.17).

In parallel to working with the local residents, other dialogues took place with practitioners working at the archaeological site and indeed with various institutions at local and national levels. As they saw the positive repercussions of early work

Figs. 6.14, 6.15, 6.16, and 6.17 The Herculaneum Centre brought together local associations with Neapolitan graffiti artists to work with children resident in Via Mare to transform an abandoned lot into a multipurpose space in the heart of the neighbourhood that is used for football and to host events. Relationships were built with residents in the margins of this project that facilitated dialogue for the wider initiative for the regeneration of this neighbourhood (Images: Radio Siani)

with residents and perceived that the Via Mare community attitudes have been shifted by the Centre's contribution, there were some very positive developments at an institutional level. In fact, it was recognized that the Centre together with HCP had helped create the conditions to make it possible to sign the overall inter-institutional framework agreement for the initiative in January 2014. Moreover, though not a signatory of the agreement, continuity in the Herculaneum Centre's contribution in guaranteeing community dialogue was identified as one of the pre-conditions for the success of the initiative in all phases. This is an unprecedented move and suggests that the initiative as a whole has influenced institutional perceptions of community involvement in heritage.

As always, the difficulties can often be the most interesting aspect from which to learn. Marrying the speed and unknowns of institutional procedures with the expectations of a local community was one of the biggest challenges. Broader financial difficulties of the Herculaneum Centre as the economic crisis took its toll on donors meant that some of the key Via Mare phases caught the Centre when it was most under pressure in other ways. Even with limited time and human resources margins, the Centre managed to deliver genuine community involvement and empowerment in all planning stages. Work is being done to try and achieve the same kind of

support throughout the implementation stages, currently through HCP and hopefully soon flanked once again by the Centre. Progress to date has already obtained significant results, and work is afoot to measure more effectively the reciprocal benefits harnessed for the heritage and all its stakeholders in the planning phase and also to inform approaches for the outstanding phase. Much work still remains to be done, but evidence to date suggests that the approach is without doubt worthwhile and a 'win/win' scenario for all those involved.

The above account of the Via Mare project perhaps fails to bring to the fore the most significant consideration. It was because of the *neutral informal environment for exchange* created by the Herculaneum Centre's governance model, enriched by diverse (also international) viewpoints, that the Mayor and the Superintendent (head of the local heritage authority) began to think 'outside the box' and embrace the ideas put forward by the HCP team for the pioneering Via Mare initiative.

Broader Impacts of the Herculaneum Centre's Work

The Herculaneum Centre has not been the main driver of change in approaches to cultural heritage and its role in society but has acted as a catalyst, where possible building on existing strengths or empowering others who were not aware of the capacities they had. It is a sign of success if the Herculaneum Centre has been able to take a less prominent role in many areas in recent times. It is difficult to measure the impact of the Centre's approach, but perhaps a qualitative assessment can be made of the mushrooming growth in the number of local community associations (cultural and other) and active citizenship initiatives over the last 7 years.[14] They are undoubtedly a testimony that grass-roots initiatives, not just heritage institutions and civic authorities, can shape how communities can become involved when a favourable and unthreatening environment for dialogue is created. Here perhaps is the key to the Centre's role.[15]

Similarly, the interest of the heritage authorities in HCP's audience development and community assets research, and work to build interest and consensus around cultural values, would have been unthinkable a decade ago. For all too long the importance of understanding the relationship between heritage and local residents, visitors, non-visitors and other interest groups was lost on many public heritage officers who perceived heritage as a resource primarily for academics who studied them.

This paper began by suggesting that the Herculaneum Centre could be a potentially influential model for shifting society's perception of and contribution to

[14] Radio Siani, the Associazione Antiracket Ercolano, the Coop Mercato di Resina, the Forum Giovani and a local branch of Legambiente are just some examples.

[15] A sign that this way of working might be adopted and adapted elsewhere can be found in the inspiration that the Via Mare approach served for a series of initiatives involving community members in local heritage in the Somerstown neighbourhood of Portsmouth; see: Court (2015).

heritage. It has also been a demonstration of an opposite shift in perception by the institutions involved in heritage, in terms of their obligations to ensure that heritage contributes to civil society and the communities that surround it. It might be concluded that the work of the Herculaneum Centre has been a vital form of capacity building that goes beyond mere training for practitioners, which is all too often how the term 'capacity building' is misapplied. Many of the decisions made and actions taken were intuitive, but with hindsight they seem to validate approaches to capacity building in other sectors (e.g. UNDP 2006), whereby capacities reside in three areas and that is the basis for targeting audiences, shaping learning environments correspondingly and securing lasting enhancement of capacities as a result. If capacity building of heritage practitioners and the institutions they operate within is the only area addressed, there is a risk that:

– Positive change will not be enduring.
– Important reciprocal benefits for heritage and society alike will not be harnessed.
– Heritage will not find its rightful place in contemporary society and modern discourse and will remain a burden on society, a luxury benefitting few, rather than a core resource contributing to wider sustainable development.

This model of bridging between audiences according to where capacities reside is perhaps of wider interest precisely because it does not attempt to change existing institutional frameworks, but work with them, reinforcing and compensating for them. It is relevant for many countries, and not only in the Mediterranean, that have top-heavy and relatively unresponsive national public heritage management systems hostile to change and that struggle to build bridges locally. It is a model that deserves further testing and particular attention dedicated to measuring impacts over time, an aspect regrettably neglected back in 2006 since it was never imagined that the work of the Centre would have such wide and lasting repercussions.

While the experiences recounted in this chapter are still very much work in progress and the Centre's future is uncertain due to financial constraints, it is hoped that these 7 years of success in Ercolano might encourage others to take this bridging model forward, studying it, testing and improving it further.

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Chapter 7
Get'em While They're Young: Advances in Participatory Heritage Education in Croatia

Ivor Janković and Sanjin Mihelić

Introduction

We all know from our own lives that certain things, experiences and memories from our youth are strongly imprinted on us. Our childhood summers seemed longer and brighter than those of today. The thing is that during the tender age of prepuberty and near-adulthood, we are driven by experiences, and those experiences tend to stay with us to the old age. It does not matter what we do in our professional lives as adults and that very few of us became people we dreamt about becoming as children. However, those memories we keep often leave us with warm feelings towards certain aspects of other people's professions and world in general. It is thus crucial to introduce things we care about as professionals into everyone's lives during their childhoods. Most people will not grow up to become professional archaeologists, but that does not matter. Imagine a world where lawyers, economists, politicians and people of any profession have kind memories when someone brings up the topic of archaeology. Does this sound far-fetched? Possibly, but certainly not unimaginable. People care about things they understand at some level, especially if they are emotionally attached to them. Therefore, the goal is rather simple: Let us help them make good memories. This is the basic idea behind our attempt to involve children and younger people in certain aspects of archaeology – as the title of the paper puts it: Get them while they are young.

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Target Group, Main Goals and Work in Progress

The public educational system in Croatia is similar in most aspects to the EU system. At present we have the primary education (primary school), which lasts for 8 years (~ages 7–14); the secondary school (high school), which lasts for 4 years (~ages 14–18); and the higher education (university) (3 + 2 + 3 years according to the present system at most universities in Croatia). Our main target group consists of higher grades of the elementary school (sixth to eighth grade, ~ages 12–14) and the secondary school children. Of course, this does not mean that younger children cannot be included in some ways and at some levels (Table 7.1).

The reasoning behind the chosen target group is based on past experiences in interactions with young audiences and personal experiences as parents (ours, but also our colleagues'). Further, it follows Piaget's (1952) stages of mental development arguments that from around age 11, we see full development of operational skills and logical thinking in practice. As we are well aware, the beginning of puberty marks an important preadolescent period in our lives. It is the age when we leave the sheltered childhood and start entering the phase when we make our own choices. These choices are often in fields that are new and have not been presented to us by our close family members. In that way, the choices and experiences became a part of us in a novel way – we made them. This is a big step towards independence, and as such, the experiences we gain from these choices are very important and long lasting. Further, young people will often come home and talk to their parents and people they live with about new things and experiences, things that they have discovered on their own. This tender age is, as most parents know well, the age when children stop listening to their parents (for better or worse), and it is the moment when parents should start listening to their children. Imagine if your child comes home and starts talking excitedly about archaeological work that is being done in the neighbourhood, saying that there is a chance that she or he can be involved in it! Any good parent will listen to her or his child, hopefully being happy that something so positive excites their offspring. And if we manage to involve the children in our project(s), most parents will also listen, become involved, support the project or at least have an idea that something good and positive is going on in the area. In short, involving local community through children will result in much stronger bonds to the community itself (that is not to say that other, more common forms of involving the local community should not be carried out simultaneously).

Table 7.1 Number of students enrolled in higher grades of elementary schools in Croatia (data by the Croatian Bureau of Statistics)

Year	Sixth grade	Seventh grade	Eighth grade
2007/2008	48,120	47,846	46,210
2008/2009	49,852	48,159	47,414
2009/2010	48,423	49,894	47,524
2010/2011	46,063	48,417	49,421
2011/2012	43,753	46,123	47,825

So, having this in mind, we tried to define our goals and set a workable plan, concentrating on two main goals: first, to promote the understanding of the human past, based on archaeological evidence, both on local and broader level and, second, to actively involve children (and through their involvement their parents as well) into activities related to archaeological heritage.

The best way to reach our goals, we believe, is through two modes or rather two phases:

1. A passive phase, in which children are introduced to the subject or specific topic through public lectures, exhibitions, popular and age-appropriate publications and other forms of media. This type of public interaction is already relatively well established in our profession, but it should not be considered as the end of our public involvement. Rather, if possible, it should be followed by the second phase.
2. An active phase, in which children become participants in the process. This can be done through in situ workshops and lectures with an emphasis on why and specifically how we do what we do, followed by hands-on approach which involves the basic introduction to fieldwork activities and presentation of daily finds, and again followed by their participation in various and age-appropriate field and/or laboratory work activities under the supervision of professional archaeologists. Theoretical basis of this hands-on approach has been discussed by many authors and researchers and follows from constructivist idea that learning is an active process in which knowledge is constructed through an active dialogue between teacher and learner (Bruner 1966). Likewise, learners need to have an active role in the learning process (Kintsch 2009). Following the reasoning emphasized by Vygotsky (1978), we noted the importance of interaction of children between themselves, as well as their interaction with instructors and teachers.

Once we have outlined the basics of our aims, i.e. main goals, the target group and modes/phases, we set down to test them in practice. Over the years, like most professional archaeologists, we have been involved in many small-scale projects and one-time events that all had in common making public more aware of archaeology (from public lectures, exhibitions, various media appearances, etc.). Additionally, in the last several years, we have purposely chosen to target younger audience, an effort that comes to the fore in the projects of science popularization by the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb and the Institute of Anthropological Research, such as Archaeological Encounters (Mihelić and Janković 2015) (Fig. 7.1).

The results and feedback we got from this type of involvement were precisely what got us thinking of setting up a way to involve young people in our future scientific and professional projects from the start and as an integral part of them. One idea and project we started several years ago is based mainly on our professional scientific interest as prehistoric archaeologists and is entitled The Neanderthal Trail (Mihelić and Janković 2010; Janković et al. 2011). The basic idea is to make the Neanderthal heritage, the finds and sites, live in the present, for everyone's benefit. The main beneficiary of the project is tourism, but it also includes various

Fig. 7.1 School children from Korenica participating in an excavation organizer as a part of the Archaeological Encounters Project (Photo by N. Šegvić)

other aspects that allow almost everyone who wishes to participate at some level, to be included. The first part of the project started with the exhibition in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. We published the accompanying book (Janković et al. 2011), gave several public lectures and workshops and even made a two-part documentary for the Croatian national television network. It gave us great pleasure that this first phase already resulted in great public interest. This, we thought, was a good starting point and something to build on.

Therefore, we chose an actual Neanderthal or Mousterian site located in Dalmatia, the coastal region of Croatia, as a place to test our goals. Systematic excavations of this important archaeological site were conducted by Professor Ivor Karavanić from the Department of Archaeology, University of Zagreb, between 1995 and 2005 (Karavanić 2000; Janković and Karavanić 2007; Karavanić et al. 2008). Both co-authors of this paper were involved in this work from the start (as students, and later as professional archaeologists, therefore the site holds a special place in our hearts). When we first started with excavations, even though the local Kaštela Municipal Museum, archaeologists and local authorities (and several enthusiasts) gave us every support and help, local community and people were quite unaware of the importance of the nearby site, and most of them dismissed our work as something not important to them. However, over the years, we have witnessed a change in the attitude of the local community. After constant efforts of Professor

Karavanić and people from the local museum, media announcements and various other forms of publicizing of our work, the locals now happily embrace the site as part of their legacy and cultural heritage. We thought this is a good opportunity to add to the scientific work and go one step further. In collaboration with the local Kaštela Municipal Museum, a 3-day event was organized in 2010, starting with public lectures and followed by in situ workshops (Fig. 7.2). We involved local schools and teachers, as well as tourist agencies, and led the whole group of people to the site, where several activities took place (Fig. 7.3). We organized several lectures in situ, with an emphasis on who these ancient inhabitants of the region were and how and when they lived and in what kind of environment, followed by a brief introduction to archaeological field work at the site and what we can gain from it. We were very pleased with the feedback from various people that participated – from adults of various backgrounds and trades to children – all quite excited about it all. Additionally, with the help of the local Kaštela Climbing Club, the environs of the site were promoted as a novice-level climbing ground, adding another feature of interest for prospective visitors interested in outdoor activities (Fig. 7.4).

Although we all enjoyed being a part of the event, the main goal was to actively incorporate the local community and help them make this a yearly event. Through sharing of our knowledge and experience, we tried to familiarize local teachers, tourist workers and agencies and other people that were a part of the event with the

Fig. 7.2 An introduction to the cultural significance of the Mujina Pećina site (Photo by I. Janković)

Fig. 7.3 A promotional poster for the Mujina Pećina Days in 2010 (Design by S. Škrinjarić)

site and its various aspects. In this way after the event is over, we have someone to pass on the knowledge on the site to local community and everyone interested. At appropriate times, teachers can take schoolchildren to the site, giving them a deeper and experience-based insight into their local past. Likewise, local tourist agencies can include the site into their tourist offer and give tours. All this led to a rise in the interest for the site and its heritage but also allowed it to live in the present. The event, entitled The Mujina Pećina Days, proved to be successful, and since then it

Fig. 7.4 A sport side to a Neanderthal site with a little help from the Kaštela Climbing Club (Photo by S. Mihelić)

was organized several times (we are proud to say that our involvement in these subsequent events was minimal and mostly a result of the local community, which was precisely our goal).

Having this in mind, when we started the archaeological work at the Bukovac cave, a Palaeolithic site located in the Gorski Kotar region of Croatia, we came somewhat prepared. We gave several public talks and lectures before the start of the excavations, followed by workshops and even in situ talks during excavations. It needs to be said that the local government and community were a big support for the project from the start, and locals (adults and children alike) were very enthusiastic

that the scientific work was being done in their community. Almost daily we had visitors at the site, and we were more than happy to explain what we were doing. Also, several times we had organized visits from schools and local community, and our work became a small but integral part of the local yearly event entitled the Lujzijana Fairy Tale, run by the local Lujzijana NGO, which focuses on the heritage of and along the Lujzijana road, an historical thoroughfare connecting most of the major settlements and landscapes of the Gorski Kotar region. In our experience, most smaller communities are more than happy to be included in the events that are connected to their heritage and are proud to take active role at various levels of participation (Figs. 7.5 and 7.6).

Current Work and Future Challenges

Encouraged by our modest yet important (for us anyway) success, we thought the time is right to fully test our aforementioned goals. Therefore, when we applied for funding for the archaeological investigation in the Lim channel, Istria, we made these goals an integral part of the project itself. A 3-year project entitled Archaeological Investigations into the Late Pleistocene and Early Holocene of the

Fig. 7.5 A hands-on introduction to Neanderthal anatomy at the Lujzijana event (Photo by S. Mihelić)

Fig. 7.6 I. Karavanić demonstrating the manufacture of Palaeolithic tools (Photo by I. Kostešić)

Lim Channel, Istria (ARCHAEOLIM), funded by the Croatian Science Foundation, started in summer 2014. From the start, we wanted to prepare the ground for popularization of the project and specifically, to include children. In agreement with the local school in the nearby town of Vrsar, we organized a field laboratory in their premises, and before the start of this year's excavation at the sites, we will start with public lectures for local people and schools, preparing the ground for the second phase. During this year's field season, we plan to have school children and interested public visit the sites and give them presentations involving a hands-on approach, followed by the laboratory work in which they will themselves become active participants in the process of unearthing history, or in this case, prehistory. Some nice recent examples that are focused on learning by doing are seen in the Cultural Rucksack programme Hunters in the Stone Age, where children are involved in various activities in order to "experience" what was like to live in the Stone Age (Willumsen 2015), and similar programmes initiated by the Cultural Heritage Management Office of Oslo (Hauge 2015), Veien Cultural Heritage Park in Norway (Nielsen 2015) and the Children's Limyra Project in Turkey (Kuban 2015).

So after all this has been said and hopefully done, what are the expected results and benefits? We believe there are numerous and long-lasting benefits that can come out of this, starting with better understanding and better appreciation of archaeology

and archaeological heritage that in itself benefits everyone, no matter what profession one pursues in their adult life, resulting in the sense of "...our past", instead of something abstract that other people (i.e. archaeologists) do. Further, the involvement of parents through their children, specifically people from local communities in which we do field work, is crucial to our job. Furthermore, once we leave the site, we can know that we have friendly eyes that will keep a close watch over what is now understood as a part of their legacy, thus integrating archaeology into everyone's lives.

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Chapter 8
The SITAR Project: Web Platform for Archaeological Knowledge Sharing

Mirella Serlorenzi, Federica Lamonaca, and Stefania Picciola

Introduction

SITAR (Archaeological Territorial Informative System of Rome) is a project of the Special Superintendence for the Archaeological Heritage of Rome, a branch office of the Italian Ministry for Cultural Heritage, which was born in 2007 on purpose to be the first archaeological cadastre of Rome. This is a precious information tool for recording and knowledge of the archaeological evidences and monuments of the City, in which data can be shared and consulted by different user profiles, administrations, professionals, scholars and the citizens.

In this paper we present what the SITAR Project is; we introduce its information technology architecture and finally all the new social applications developed to get people involved into the SITAR Project. Along with the preservation and the reproducibility of archaeological knowledge, one of the main goals is to go towards a real comprehension and consciousness of Rome together with citizens' contribution.[1]

The SITAR Project

Public administration has recently shown an increasing attention to the public and its involvement in the knowledge and preservation of the material past of the City in which they live. SITAR has been thought as the perfect tool to represent all the structures and excavations of Rome in order to establish a comprehensive and

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updated database in line of the protection of the archaeological sources (Serlorenzi and De Tommasi 2011, *in press*; Serlorenzi and Leoni 2015; Serlorenzi and Jovine 2013; Serlorenzi et al. 2012, *in press*; Serlorenzi 2011). As well-known, Rome symbolizes a *unicum* into the world cultural panorama; in fact its cultural, historical, archaeological and artistic richness make the City one of the undisputed heritages of mankind.

The secret wish of all is to see how Rome once was, what its monuments looked like during its period of great splendour, the Roman Age, but also in the times before and in the future. To make the fantasy come true, the SITAR Project makes it possible to investigate the evolution of the historical landscape from the first anthropization to nowadays with scientific rigour, by using the most upgraded technologies developed in the humanitarian field. Into the SITAR web platform converge all the various documentations carried out by all different offices, focused on the study and the preservation of the archaeological and historical heritage of Rome. In this way SITAR is a multi-tasking tool useful for the organization of the available scientific and administrative data from the urban area of Rome, which are important to study and analyse the development and changes of the settled spaces of Rome. Speaking of numbers and quantities, SITAR has recorded 18.000 data with 150.000 attachments made of drawings, scientific publications, etc.

The first phase consists in acquiring, processing and archiving data and documents (through archive and bibliographic research, documentation of excavation, cartography and historical photography, etc.); then we select useful data to describe and represent the identified findings and to make the data available at the public. They are easily accessible and editable through the web GIS platform, according to the degree of interaction with the system itself. In order to ensure their quality and reliability, the Soprintendenza guarantees the data published, using a system of role-based access control (Leoni 2011); for what concern open data, the Soprintendenza is coming up with the best strategy to allow all the users to have access to archaeological data, according to the law and copyright (Serlorenzi et al. in press). In SITAR is collected the archaeological documentation of ruins, archaeological excavation and monuments both visible and not, along with geological levels and contemporary burying levels (Fig. 8.1). Moreover, thanks to some specific levels, it is possible to rebuild the hypothesis of original phases of monuments, starting from the archaeological data leading to archaeological interpretation.

For people SITAR is a precious tool to increase their knowledge of the culture and history of different areas of the City, so that archaeological heritage can be appreciated and felt by citizens as part of the urban fabric. In this way what is now seen as an archaeological "risk" can be changed into a cultural potential. In our opinion the spread of knowledge towards every "suburbs" is the real challenge to be overcome if we want to set more liveable cities up where cultural values of each place is marked, felt and recognised. The knowledge of the ancient stratification of the *Urbe* is the precondition to understand the developmental shapes of a metropolis like Rome and to give guidelines for its growth in a respectful way towards the above and underground heritage. This is based on the metric codification and historical analysis of the findings, but it entails a data sharing among the various

Fig. 8.1 Interpretation and reconstruction of the ancient landscape starting from the archaeological excavation

institutions working in the archaeological field. This *modus operandi* can really work if only the citizenship plays a role as an actor too in defence of historical heritage (Fig. 8.2).

The main point is to understand the importance of 131 with people who live in the territory and to involve them instead of exclude them in the discussion of archaeological problems; this can be a useful cultural instrument helping for a correct town-planning development. The point is to establish a relationship with contemporary society and to return those values of identity to all citizens and in particular to local communities (Manacorda 2014; Montanari 2014; Vannini et al. 2014; Ricci 2006).

To believe that to make visible the archaeological remains means to show their real meaning is a mistake of naivety. The risk is that people could ignore the value of historical evidence that many "ruins" preserve, if nothing will be done to avoid it, such as using common language that brings to light the significance of those remains, so that they can be understandable to visitors for real. A central role in the decoding process is played by our ability to communicate the cultural heritage and to help those who are not experts in archaeology to imagine what the original aspect of remains was and put them in their historical context.

To understand how this "heritage can be shared by helping people to feel it friendly" means that its "value can increase the intellectual capital of the people and, consequently, it can improve the quality of the community's life" (Manacorda and Montella 2014: 79–83).

Fig. 8.2 The SITAR platform to increase knowledge of cultural heritage

To be even more conscious of the public dissemination of archaeological research, we should develop cultural projects that clearly show the public opinion the scientific procedures and the purpose of each historical and anthropological research (Manacorda 2007 L 83).

The Logical Levels of SITAR

The SITAR Project has been thought of as a tool to organize the data, starting with a general description of the archaeological investigation, through the census and analysis of the findings, until to the synthesis and interpretation of historical and archaeological evidence. At the same time, SITAR can make the information recorded available to a wide audience (professionals, scholars, citizens, etc.) in a clear and accessible way.

The logical structure of the SITAR consists of four primary information levels, which make possible to archive data, to organize and systematize the various types of information from different sources (archaeological emergency or preventive excavations, surveys, core sample, scientific publications, epigraphic documents, historical sources and so on) within a single database in few and very flexible geo-spatial features classes (De Tommasi et al. 2011).

The records contain different levels of detail, from the most general (Origine Informativa) that have metadata investigation to those (Partizione Archeologica)

which allow to describe more in detail every archaeological finding. Furthermore there is a special record for interpretation (Unità Archeologica) of complex or monument, conventionally identified by the logical union of many PA, which analysed together can lead to a new reconstructive hypothesis. Finally there is a record (Decreti di Tutela) for the protection of cultural heritage.

The records that correspond to the logical levels are:

– Origine Informativa (OI): This record collects all administrative, topographical and technical data of the archaeological and/or geo-archaeological finding (Fig. 8.3). This record identifies the area where the investigation is. The record stores all the information related to the archaeological investigation, for example, the digging quantity, the research director and his/her collaborators, the costs, the methodology of research, the reliability for the localization of the investigation area, a short description of the archaeological work and the bibliography.
– Partizione Archeologica (PA): Every PA comes directly from its OI; this is the scientific description of the archaeological findings even if fragmentary, always identified by the binomial of chronological and functional criteria (Fig. 8.4).

Recording PA allows to check the current status of the archaeological investigations and to start an early analytical study of the chronological phases.

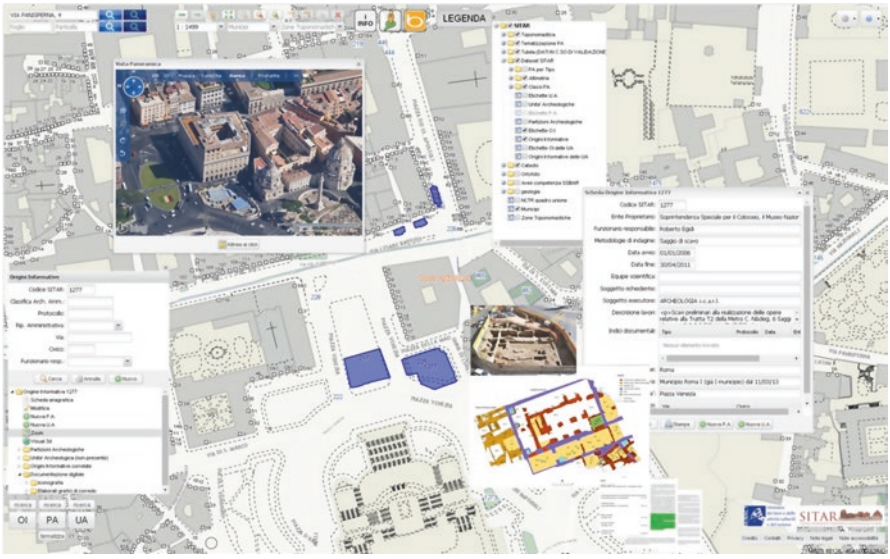

Fig. 8.3 Origine Informativa: the record, the localization of the investigation area and the documentation uploaded on WebGIS SITAR

Fig. 8.4 Partizione Archeologica: the record, the localization of the archaeological findings and the documentation uploaded on WebGIS SITAR

– Unità Archeologica (UA): This is an instrument to synthesize the many archaeological data from the Partizione Archeologica records and to give these findings an interpretation of the historical and topographical context. The UA tells the story of ancient monuments or archaeological sites and their original and modern area, describing the construction, the abandonment and the degradation of each monument, through all the historical changes.
– Decreti di Tutela (DT.): This record is an instrument of law constraints which punctually preserve important monuments. These are landscape protection measures, as well as archaeological and monumental, representing the intermediate level between a real protection of ancient heritage and a wider planning for the exploitation of urban and extra-urban territory. This is the task of several institutions working together, like the Ministry of Cultural Heritage, local authorities, associations and citizens.

All these records are attached to all kinds of documents made during archaeological excavations, such as scientific reports, photos, daily report, graphics documentation, etc. (in formats .pdf, .dwg, .tiff, .jpg, etc.). The creation of records and the geo-referencing of the archaeological investigations are based on all these kinds of documents.

Thanks to its modular logical architecture, the system is highly adaptable and ready for interoperability and data exchange with new and up-to-date systems of the offices working on the territory and also with universities or other research institutes.

SITAR Knowledge Base: A Tool for Interaction and Dissemination of SITAR

The idea of sharing along with a better and easier access to knowledge of cultural heritage answers the question of new approaches, methods, innovations and communications of archaeological and historical heritage, in order to offer the community the opportunity of being active part of the project. How is that possible?

The Soprintendenza, as we said before, strongly believe in sharing archaeological knowledge with all types of users, allowing them to download the information according to the policy of open data so to do, at the same time, town and the territory a service. For this reason, it has been through a knowledge-based platform linked to the SITAR Project,[2] where people who do not work in the field of archaeology can use the system and browse documents, such as ancient photographs which can testify the past of Rome. This idea is part of a wider international scene, following the guidelines of public archaeology (Bonacchi 2014; Vannini et al. 2014; Vannini 2011) in which (archaeological) communication is more than simple disclosure: Actually it is a complex cultural process which stimulates the active participation of citizens, for example, through the creation of a strong bond between land and their inhabits. The SITAR knowledge base is a useful web environment thought for everyone who wants to know what the SITAR Project really is, to use its tools and applications and to interact through means of ongoing feedbacks (forum, questionnaires, surveys and direct e-mails to the Soprintendenza; Fig. 8.5).

To develop that kind of interactive web environment, we used the famous framework open-source Moodle (https://moodle.org/about/), which is very helpful thanks to its conceptual and technological approach studied to give a broad support to e-learning activities in many school, training and lifelong learning contexts. In this way we have a virtual space which can mediate and link the institutions, the Soprintendenza and the users, starting a dialogue and a relationship between themselves. The idea is to use a platform that animates the partnerships, the exchange of information and the interaction with SITAR; this information system represents a meeting point between the Soprintendenza that preserves and organizes public data and everyone who needs to use those data. To achieve this goal, the SITAR knowledge base is designed as a real interactive platform enabled to lead users into the web navigation, even with movies, text documents and video tutorial which support them in browsing WebGIS. To allow all kinds of users to use the platform, there is also a video in LIS (Italian Sign Language), which explains the project.

Looking in detail at the platform, there are three main resources designed according to the user: a general and introductory section addressed to a wide audience (which does not require users to sign up) and two in-depth more specialized sections, based on an advanced profiling of SITAR's users, which require the

[2] The SITAR knowledge base is currently been replaced with a new and more advanced web platform that maintains the same conceptual principles: http://www.archeositarproject.it/.

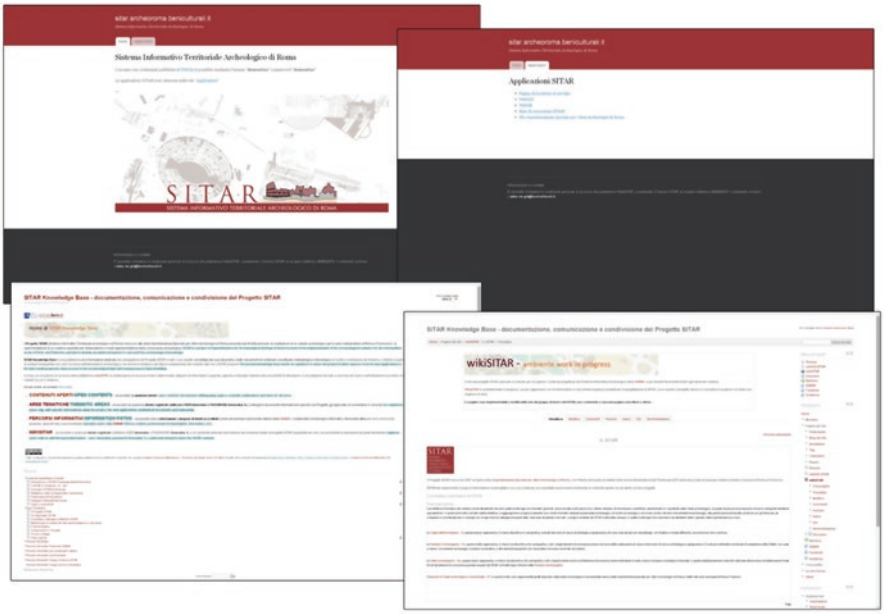

Fig. 8.5 SITAR Project's home page, WebGIS's home page, tools' home page, knowledge base's home page and wiki's home page

registration.[3] "Open Content" section collects the introductory documents about SITAR Project's history and scientific contributions of the SITAR work team (papers, presentations, posters, etc.); "Thematic Areas" section organizes the plurality of information and documents related to the SITAR Project by topics, including the technology models of information systems, practical applications, case studies, administrative aspects (institutional collaborations, internships, work experience, etc.) and laws (guidelines, ministerial decrees, etc.); "Information Paths" section responds to the specific needs of every SITAR user, with dedicated learning paths and a self-training approach (Fig. 8.6).

In addition to links that lead to WebGIS and WebDB applications, there is a WIKI environment that shows users the complete list of documents in a more friendly way.

Finally there is a very social section which contains 3D reconstructions, storytelling, video, movies, interviews and documentaries, to get people to an even more deep knowledge of the monuments and their historical context and in which they can upload photographs or documentations about the City.

The SITAR knowledge-based platform is the first step towards the creation of a platform of shared knowledge able to offer the community services of in-depth

[3] The organization of the sections and the routes of information knowledge base are perfectly in line with the webSITAR's licences.

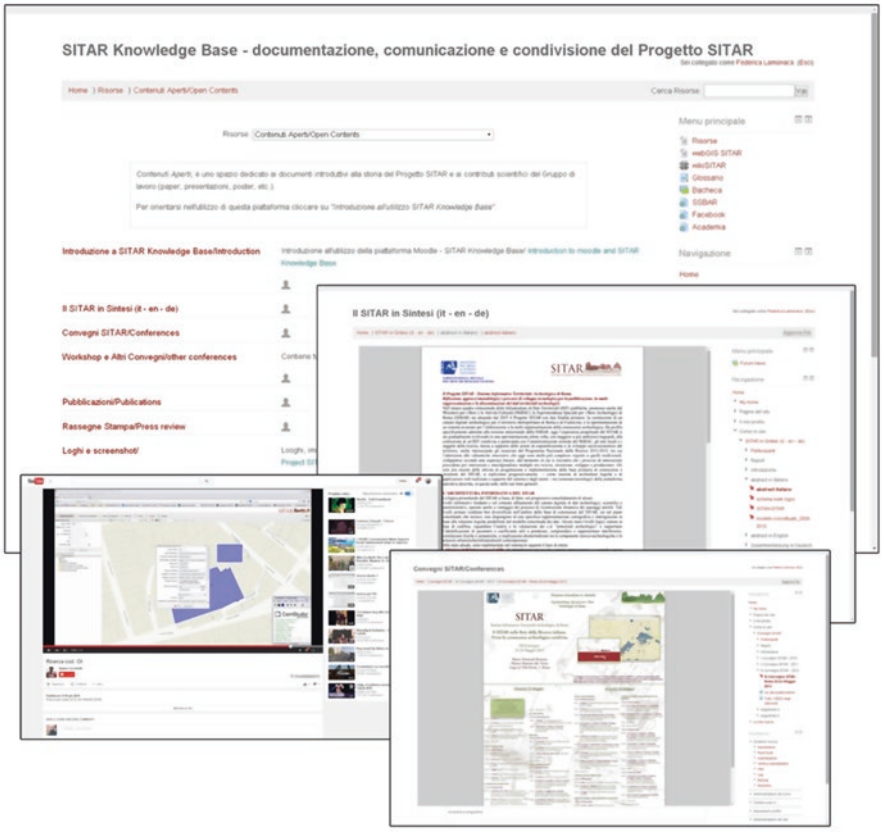

Fig. 8.6 Some examples of several documents that you can find on the SITAR knowledge base

knowledge of the monuments of Rome for professional utility up to tourism, which can also lead to an interdisciplinary and interactive reconstruction of the eternal City.

We strongly believe that involving citizens should be part of the activities of protection and promotion of cultural heritage, because it can also lead to a strong identity construction (Carver 2003).[4] For what the public archaeology concerns, one of the possible strategies for cultural institutions, for the Soprintendenza in our case, is to show themselves to the public as a cultural element of great appeal, able to educate the citizens and where the citizenship can play an active role, in order to share the destiny of our cultural heritage.

[4] It's very important, for example, the case of the Afro-American's cemetery finding in New York City. The area was safeguarded and became the first underground site protected in New York thanks to the interest of the Afro-American community.

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Chapter 9
TrowelBlazers: Accidentally Crowdsourcing an Archive of Women in Archaeology

Brenna Hassett, Suzanne Pilaar Birch, Victoria Herridge, and Rebecca Wragg Sykes

Introduction

The TrowelBlazers project (www.trowelblazers.com) is very much a successful example of a public-led experiment in participatory archaeology. The discussion that follows details the experience of running this kind of digitally based platform for archaeological content and reflects the organic structure and origins of the project. TrowelBlazers was never specifically designed to meet set goals of engagement, outreach, or participation, so its success merits some consideration. The origin of the project actually lies with a shared sense of outrage at the invisibility of women in science, both within the academy and in larger popular culture; the decision to compile a short series of images and biographic details which would push back against this invisibility was made first over Twitter and then through an email exchange fuelled by the very real frustrations of four female early career researchers, namely, the authors of this chapter. Our project does, however, rather coincidentally reflect one of the major concerns of our peer group of online archaeological activists: the use of digital material and social media to develop an engaged and participatory community (Morgan and Eve 2012; Pilaar Birch 2013b; Richardson 2013). The TrowelBlazers project benefitted from an awareness of the principles and interest in the discussion, both online and in person, of the burgeoning field of digital public archaeology (Richardson 2013) but must be considered slightly

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retrograde at inception because we did not intentionally set out to encourage public participation beyond sharing largely image-based content.

What began as a light-hearted commitment to publicising overlooked contributions from women to the trowel-wielding disciplines of archaeology, geology, and palaeontology has led to a level of engagement and participation that has allowed us to build a platform combining community activism and academic research with crowdsourced content. In the space of 4 years, our punning neologism 'TrowelBlazers' has become a recognisable noun and, more importantly, 'trowelblazing' an active verb in use among the wider community made up of students, academics, commercial sector workers, and museum professionals in the earth sciences as well as a much broader group consisting of the interested public. Our original single-author blogging collective has morphed into a public, crowdsourced archive, with guest posts submitted from the students of individual women, from their friends and family, from historians of the earth sciences, from museum and archival professionals, and from others with an interest in some specific aspect of local or individual history. It is the nature of this unexpected participatory element that we want to detail in this chapter. At the time of writing, TrowelBlazers has over 120 biographic posts on the lives and work of women, with several thousand followers on different social media platforms, and is actively participating in both mainstream media and academic dialogues about roles and images of women in archaeology, geology, and palaeontology (e.g. Hassett et al. 2014; Pilaar Birch 2013a). It is partially in deference to our accidental success that this chapter discusses the origins, ethos, and management of the project alongside the challenges and occasional unexpected issues raised in crowdsourcing an archaeological archive.

Origin Stories

TrowelBlazers started life, appropriately, as a conversation on social media (Twitter). Four early career academics who had intermittently worked or corresponded with each other, largely through digital means, found a shared interest in the individual stories we each had to tell about women who had worked in our disciplines and affected our own research but were little known in the standard histories. As an example, one of the authors (VH), who studies island dwarfing in elephant species, was intimately familiar with the work of Dorothea Bate. Dorothea Bate had rather infamously walked into the Natural History Museum at the age of 19 and refused to leave without a position (Scindler 2005); she is one of the few female figures in a sea of starch-collared men in the rows of annual staff photos that line the walls of the palaeontology building of the institution to this day. Though by all accounts a tremendous personality, her research was the reason that she had come to VH's, and by extension our, attention. In recounting her story, VH launched a series of reminiscences of other pioneering women among us all, and the idea for TrowelBlazers was born.

After a goodly amount of back-and-forth between the four authors on Twitter and some rapid-fire, poorly spelled emails, the TrowelBlazers project was launched as a

Tumblr image blog in May of 2013 (http://trowelblazers.tumblr.com/). We began with a simple, celebratory principle and a two-word manifesto: reset imaginations (Herridge 2013a). Our initial idea was to publicise stories of women who we knew of through our own academic or institutional histories, with an emphasis on using their portraits to show them as real people, and real scientists, rather than abstracted female anomalies in the march of male scientific progress. Some consideration was made in the several weeks prior to launch about the type of social media we would use and how we would manage it; we had originally planned for a week's worth of daily posts. Accordingly, alongside the Tumblr blog, we launched a Twitter profile and new email account, which soon prompted the institution of a time-delimited rotating captaincy of our burgeoning anarchic collective. While each of us had several ideas for posts for this new blog, we largely expected that the initial interest in images of women in science past would die down, much as the furore around any Internet craze eventually does, and that we would be left with a slow-burning side project collecting biographies.

The timing of our project was largely fortuitous, though the influence of a rising zeitgeist of interest in women's contributions to science cannot be discounted. One of our first collaborations was post to outline our manifesto on the ScienceGrrl blog (www.sciencegrrl.co.uk), a grass-roots membership organisation that now includes regional chapters and actively campaigns at government level to redress the balance of gender in science education and practice. This set the tone for our future work: highly collaborative and highly proactive in involving ourselves with like-minded organisations and individuals. While TrowelBlazers prides itself on the breadth of its archive, it has always been clear to us that our role is not to be passive purveyors of content. Constant engagement with relevant networks through Twitter, Tumblr, Facebook, email, conference participation, blogging, public talks, and public comments on the issues that matter to us is key to maintaining our audience, our relevance, and our own interest in the project.

First, Do No Harm

While the idea for TrowelBlazers came together organically, some aspects of the project were considered in advance of the launch. First and foremost, we were concerned that our site must meet a 'gold standard' for image attribution and reuse permission, an otherwise frequently amorphous concept on social media (see, e.g., Association of Research Libraries 2012). Our academic work has instilled an appreciation for the importance of attribution of ownership and recognition of previous research, which, while not unheard of in the world of digital content, is not necessarily the standard to which most popular non-commercial sites hold themselves (see, for instance, the issues raised in Wild 2013; this seems to have been fully addressed in 2016). For each image we reproduce, our policy is to identify the image owner and to contact them directly for permission to reproduce the image on our blog. This early decision has proven to be prescient and in fact underpins much of

our success in generating participation from a wider community. By actively establishing lines of communication with archives, institutions, private individuals, and friends and family of featured TrowelBlazers, we have created both a network of active contributors and sources of enormous support and inspiration. The most frequent response to an enquiry to reproduce an image is enthusiasm, which is both gratifying and critical to constructing the visual narrative that our project is dedicated to publicising. Often, collection managers or individuals who we have contacted about a particular woman's work will provide biographic details we would not have uncovered on our own or, as has been the case many times, provide clues to other unsuspected trowelblazing women (Wragg Sykes et al. 2013).

Practicalities of Participation: Why This Sort of Thing Shouldn't Work

One of the most interesting things to come from the experience of starting TrowelBlazers has been a baptism-by-fire approach to learning how to initiate and manage social media engagement. Of our team of four, none is a specialist in the nebulous black arts variously referred to as digital archaeology, public archaeology, or any combination of those terms (Richardson 2013). Certainly none of us has been formally trained in science communication, a term that seems to have taken on formal, institutionalised undertones implying both a designed message, considered delivery, and a target consumer (OST/Wellcome Trust Report 2000), though this appears to be changing in modern practice (e.g. Jasanoff 2014). Our largest failing (from the perspective of skill sets required to run a digital public science communication archive) is that we are in no way professional communicators of science, archival researchers, or experts in public archaeology. In addition, piddling in comparison to these academic and training-related shortcomings are our more personal difficulties with managing multiple social media feeds, archival research, image permission inquiries, writing, and editing, as well as initiating collaborations and special projects *alongside* managing our day jobs and personal lives across three different time zones, and of course, the residual need for sleep. We'll discuss each of these in turn in reference to lessons we have learned along the way and in the order where their importance became apparent to us.

This Is Not Your Job

At the inception of this project, the founding members of TrowelBlazers could easily be described as early career researchers (ECR). For us, this refers to the period following completion of the doctoral thesis but prior to securing a permanent or potentially permanent academic position. However, many organisations have

different criteria for defining ECR status; these are frequently limited by years since completing a PhD; for example, the Leverhulme Trust, which funds ECR postdoctoral fellowships in the UK, has a limit of 5 years. The job of an ECR is largely to continue to be an ECR through constant application to funding bodies, advertised research positions on other investigators' projects, and to eventually gain enough momentum through publication and research to achieve a permanent academic position. All four of us held positions as postdoctoral researchers, two in traditional university departments (Brown and Bordeaux) and two within the research arm of a large public institution, the Natural History Museum of London. While our research interests cover a broad variety of subjects, the main direction of our academic work is in archaeology and palaeontology, with some of our interests converging in the Quaternary Period, in the Neolithic Period, and in teeth (both humans and animals). As full-time employees with necessarily high pressure to produce academic output, the motivation for any side project that was not immediately related to our current research areas had to be sufficiently large. The fact that we all feel personal connections with the women we research and publish about is instrumental; we are driven by passion.

We Are Not Professional Science Communicators

Science communication is a relatively new field that encompasses the public information dissemination aspects of what in archaeology has traditionally been called outreach (c.f. Jameson and Baugher 2007). Science communication is also an increasingly formal practice, codified and set into institutional agendas in order to deliver value, in the form of information about scientific activity, to the public (Jucan and Jucan 2014; Wehrmann and Dijkstra 2014). Despite the relative youth of the field, there is an extensive literature on the methods and pedagogy of how science is best brought to public attention (Bauer 2014; Wehrmann and Dijkstra 2014; Wiegold 2001). From the perspective of the disciplines that three of the TrowelBlazers principles come from (archaeology), there are also established best practices, the method and theory of which largely fall under the heading of public or community archaeology (Merriman 2004; Richardson 2013). It is reasonable to class our initial awareness of these formal structures as fleeting, grading to total obliviousness, with the exception of VH. While we all have experience of presenting our research work to a mixed range of ages and have all been active in exploring digital means of communicating research, VH has previously been employed a professional science communicator and considers herself to be a science communication practitioner. VH has had considerable training in how to spark interest or drive engagement among this wider audience and expertise in science communication as practised in the 'hard' sciences as a general public might understand the category. While each member of our group has a strong record of participation in traditional communication methods such as public talks, none of the authors had extensive training in the archival or historiographic research skills that the TrowelBlazers project depends

on, and while conversant with new avenues for digital communication (Hassett 2011; Pilaar Birch 2013b; Wragg Sykes 2012), we have not necessarily always pursued these in the spirit of critical academic enquiry. In setting up our project, we did not consult the considerable case history of successful outreach and engagement present within archaeology because, in all honesty, we did not intend to *do* outreach.[1]

We Are Not Archivists

While it may be fair to describe the TrowelBlazers principles as academic researchers with a strong interest in disciplinary history, we do not possess the training or expertise in historical collections of professional archivists (or historians of science.) The curation of the information and particularly the images that are so critical to our project is the realm of the specialist. We have not approached the telling of the various TrowelBlazers personal biographies in the same way as would be possible if we held detailed archives for each woman. Creating an in-depth biography for each of the women we feature is unfortunately beyond our time capacity but, more importantly, does not follow our vision of the TrowelBlazers project. We deliberately write and edit biographies to be light-hearted and brief, with emphasis on striking impressions as well as actual visual content. Our project doesn't seek to duplicate the outstanding personal biographies that can be found, for example, in the Breaking Ground project initiated by Barbara Lesko and Martha Joukowsky (http://www.brown.edu/Research/Breaking_Ground/introduction) which highlights women's contributions to 'Old World' archaeology and has also resulted in an important published volume (Cohen and Joukowsky 2004). Instead, we seek to find as many women as possible contributing to the fields of archaeology, geology, and palaeontology and to place their work into the wider networked context of other trowelblazing women.

Why This Totally Works

This Is Not Our Job…This Is Our Passion. And We Are Not Alone

All four members of TrowelBlazers are active users and participants in larger digital networks and communities in their own right. Most of us maintain personal blogs or websites detailing research, and all are active in discussions of both personal and

[1] Such as the Thames Discovery Programme, which offers training to volunteers from the interested public to record and interpret the history of the Thames River (www.thamesdiscovery.org).

professional issues on Twitter. This allows us to be connected with a much wider web of early career researchers, interested individuals, and institutional bodies who actively participate in digital conversations about the issues that we care most about. Being part of these larger conversations on social media means that when we discuss issues that are relevant to us, we are much more likely to be heard and garner a response because we are working within already established networks of linked interests. It has been obvious from the inception of the TrowelBlazers project that our main avenue for sharing our enthusiasm is also the road by which like-minded individuals find us. When we find out about a new TrowelBlazer we might add to the archive, we begin a conversation, either on social media platforms such as Twitter or via email with colleagues or friends or the institution that likely holds relevant archival material.

How Participation Works

TrowelBlazers began as a Tumblr blog. Tumblr is a blog platform that allows limited post formatting and is geared towards visual image sharing. It generally offers less textual context for images than a standard blog, with interaction driven to a large part by readers 'reblogging' images to their own accounts (Rifkin 2013). When we launched on May 10, 2013, our posts featured a single image, followed by roughly 200 word biographies. As of the end of 2014, the TrowelBlazers Tumblr (http://trowelblazers.tumblr.com) had 106 posts and 4342 followers. However, our use of Tumblr as a platform has been unconventional. We did not follow or reblog from other sites but rather used the Tumblr as a standard 'blog', to which traffic can be directed. This to some level reflects the TrowelBlazer team's own varied knowledge and familiarity with different social media platforms. Despite our inexpert use of the format, our page garnered more than 25,000 pageviews in the period from our launch in May 2013 to our move to a full blog (a .com address hosted on WordPress) in November of 2013, with the biggest driver of traffic being Twitter links, followed closely by direct referrals (both at around 2500). In May of 2014, we launched an entirely new website with multiple pages and a more accessible, searchable archive. This has had nearly 32,000 unique pageviews, 12,000 of which were unique visitors. Nearly 30% are return visitors, and people look at more than two pages on average. We still update the Tumblr and have also experimentally opened accounts on Ello, Pinterest, and Instagram. However, activity on Ello remains sporadic and is largely unmaintained, and while the Pinterest and Instagram accounts are updated less frequently, engagement with these is in the very low hundreds (Pinterest averages 180 views per month; Instagram has less than 300 followers).

We also have an increasingly large group of users who come to our content via Facebook. At the time of writing, the TrowelBlazers Facebook page has over 5000 'likes' or followers (www.facebook.com/TrowelBlazers). There has been a sharp uptick in the amount of engagement on Facebook (liking and sharing posts) after an initial rush as people found our page in May and June of 2014, coinciding with the announcement of two commercial products, both toys (Fig. 9.1). Our most shared

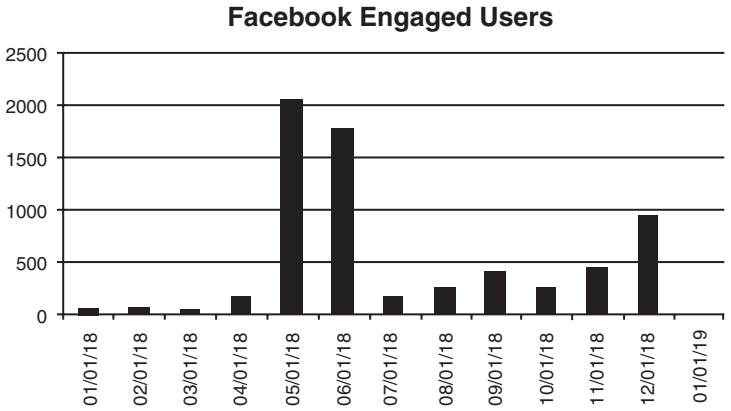

Fig. 9.1 Facebook engagement, including 'likes' and 'shares'. Spikes in May and June come from our initial publicity drive, while interest in later months is driven particularly by toy campaigns. In addition, we have recently begun posting on Pinterest (www.pinterest.com/trowelblazers) and Instagram (http://instagram.com/trowelblazers), both image-based microblogging sites

posts on Facebook are in celebration of the 'Lego Research Institute' figurine set (https://ideas.lego.com/projects/15401), which features female scientists, including a palaeontologist, and the announcement of the release of the new 'Fossil Hunter' Lottie Doll (http://www.lottie.com/) for which TrowelBlazers consulted (without fee or financial incentive). Engagement (sharing, liking, commenting) with our Facebook content is much higher with posts centring on organic campaigns that encourage people to contribute images or support to a particular cause. While our Facebook audience does not actively contribute nearly as many images or as much content to these campaigns, the more active engagement with posts of this type is highly reflective of 'hashtag activism', the prompting of an engaged social media response to a single issue by identifying comments using a single phrase, preceded by the '#' character that acts as a tagging mechanism on platforms such as Twitter and Facebook (Bruns and Burgess 2011). This points to a very interesting trend in our overall engagement in that, even when people do not actively contribute content to our site themselves, they are more likely to engage and share content that has been created as a 'public' or group response to an issue that is important to them. This has been clearly seen with our high levels of engagement for posts celebrating women doing fieldwork, supporting a schoolgirl against gendered marketing of children's shoes, and participation in activist events such as International Women's Day.

Twitter has been and remains the spiritual home of TrowelBlazers (http://twitter.com/trowelblazers), which reflects the conversational nature of our project and our origins. Engagement with our site and with our content tends to follow energetic discussions between our official account, our personal accounts, and followers of either or both (Fig. 9.2). It has certainly been our experience that what begins as a public discussion can easily segue into a more nuanced, longer form of conversation

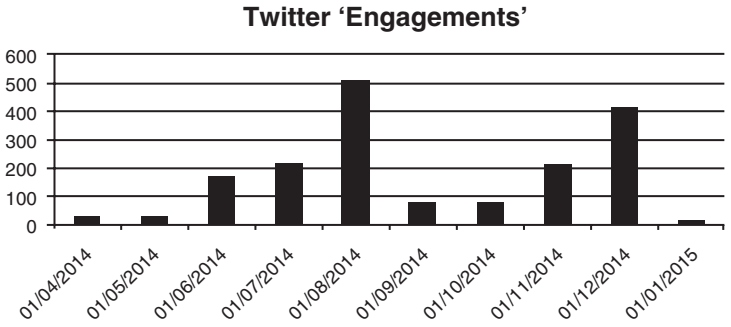

Fig. 9.2 Amount of interaction from the @TrowelBlazers Twitter account with other users, given as 'engagements' which are defined by the Twitter API as direct replies, retweets, or mentions of our username on the Twitter site

that then results in some tangible output – new information, nominations for TrowelBlazer status, or, in the best cases, new guest post submissions. The time dedicated towards this interaction is likely to be the largest single factor in creating a truly crowdsourced archive. At the time of writing, the Twitter account has 3370 followers, with an active core of users who frequently post and respond to our shared content – approximately 15.5% of our tweets are replies to other users or conversations between members of the group. It is interesting to note that although TrowelBlazers is an explicitly feminist project discussing the history of women in science, our followers and contributors are split fairly even by gender, as identified through the limited binary form by Twitter (56% female, 44% male; assessed at the end of the 2014 calendar year).

We Are Not Professional Science Communicators… But We Are Scientists

While we cannot dedicate ourselves to archival research in the same way that a formal academic historian might, we have found that our light-touch approach allows us to work with institutions and archivists who are using this material for more in-depth research, with less danger of overlap. Instead of concentrating on researching individual trowelblazers independently, we have focused on developing working relationships with a wide variety of institutions and archives so that we are able to quickly identify women in these fields, as well as their relationships. One of the most remarkable things about the TrowelBlazers archive is that, by crowdsourcing both nominations of women to feature and guest posts, we are able to springboard from identifying one trowelblazing woman to identifying several within a network as a larger resource of collective memory and awareness is called upon. This allows for a truly participatory public archaeology, as the participating public is integral to

our ability to identify and interrogate trowelblazing women. We work with students, academics, museum professionals, archivists, collections managers, feminists, women's historians, historians of the earth sciences, and most importantly mentees, family, and colleagues of the trowelblazing women themselves to draw in a public which is generally interested in science and women's history but by no means embedded in these professions. There are a great many women that we feature which we would not have known about if it weren't for the active responses to our posts. We also have learned about relationships between women through the archival evidence, where we have gone looking for one woman's story and found several, or through suggestions from Twitter, our website, or even friends and colleagues. By acting as a node for the public to communicate their own interests, we have facilitated connections between different users and managed to identify or at least explore the histories of objects, images, and memories of several otherwise unconnected women (Pilaar Birch 2013a).

These interconnected lives have become the basis for our own increasing interest in these archaeological networks. VH has constructed an impressive visualisation of one such network of women, connected through professional contacts between associates of Dorothy Garrod, the first female professor of archaeology in the UK (Fig. 9.3). Her network contains literally hundreds of names, and we feel that this illustrates an important point often missed in the history of any discipline; while women may have faced particular obstacles that made their full participation in academia impossible or almost impossible in the past, they still made use of social and professional networks comprised of peers and mentors. These networks appear

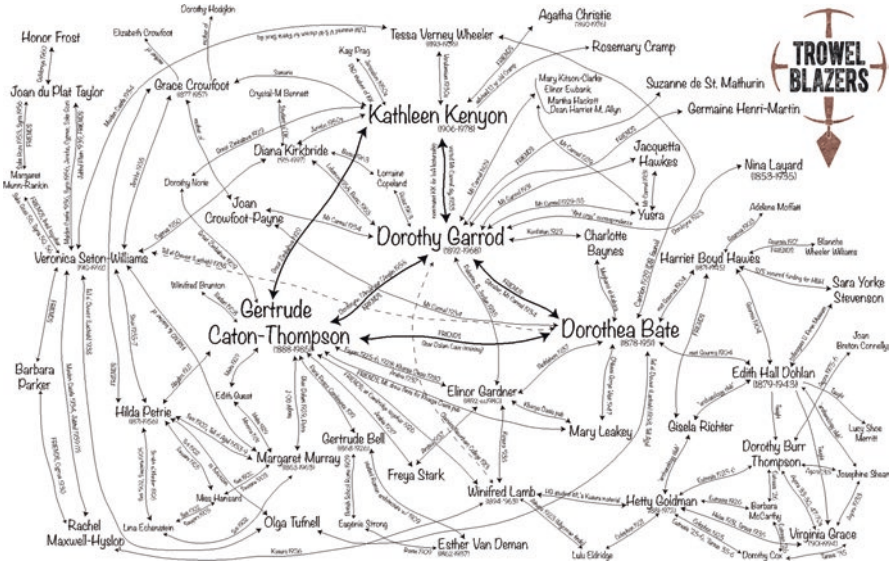

Fig. 9.3 A very incomplete network of early-twentieth-century pioneering women archaeologists (Herridge 2013b)

to have been as critical in the past as they are today, including examples of very early interdisciplinary collaboration (e.g. Caton-Thompson and Gardner 1932), echoed in academic partnerships between ourselves, and we hope to continue to foster awareness of and support for networks of women in the sciences.

We Are Not Archivists... But This Is Not Your Grandmother's Archive

TrowelBlazers is more than an archival project. We take tremendous pride in providing accurate biographies of trowelblazing women and adhere strictly to our policy of least harm in working closely with archival sources and copyright holders to ensure that our site uses images with permission and does not infringe on the work of other researchers or authors. However, the TrowelBlazers project is not limited to our web offering. We are each active in widening participation and outreach activities in our own field and bring a strong drive to campaign for equality in academic opportunity to the project. We very much welcome the opportunity to counter the prevailing visual narrative of archaeology, geology, palaeontology, and indeed most of academia as the preserve of a particular gender or skin colour. To this end TrowelBlazers is active in a number of arenas beyond our notional remit as a collection of inspirational biographies and images of women in old-fashioned hats. We have written articles for and been featured on mainstream media outlets (Herridge 2014; Pilaar Birch 2013a; Wragg Sykes 2013); we have engaged in entertaining and inspirational outreach activities aimed at children (collaborations with Jump! Magazine, performance artist Bryony Kimmings, and the Cambridge Science Festival); we have spoken to wider audiences as diverse as the Sceptics in the Pub and the UK Women's Institute; and of course, we have tried to communicate our experience and learn from our peers through academic conferences and discussion panels.

Conclusion

Compared to better funded efforts, the TrowelBlazers project has been successful in garnering a considerably larger amount of public participation than the amount of time or resources budgeted might be expected to deliver, and all this despite the lack of both formal project planning and training in outreach or public science communication. Though we started out as a 'blog', we have largely avoided the potential pitfalls of subject-specific blogging (see, for instance, the special issue edited by Morgan and Winters 2015) by opening authorship to the wider public and working hard to sustain a two-way communication with our audience and contributors through a variety of platforms. We attribute the success of the archive to our active

engagement with a wide variety of digital media, mainstream media, and real-life formal and informal talks. As individuals, the TrowelBlazers principles participated in a larger digital network linking ECRs, interested individuals, academic and research institutions as well as education and science communication professionals. These networks have been critical for facilitating participation in the TrowelBlazers project beyond amassing 'clicks' or 'likes'. These networks have allowed active engagement with any individual who wishes to contribute to our archive. The unplanned 'backflow' of interest has organically changed our operating model, from a four-author blog on the subject of the history of women in archaeology, geology, and palaeontology to a crowdsourced archive of #TrowelBlazing women with the majority of our content now submitted by members of the public and edited (or 'curated') by us. Our core mission statement of resetting imaginations resonates with a large enough section of the public that, given time and server space, we hope to eventually replace the moustaches and pith helmets of popular imagination with more than just the occasional flash of skirt.

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Chapter 10
Epilogue: Some Reflections on Community Archaeology and Heritage

Gabriel Moshenska

The growth of community archaeology as a field of practice and scholarship is one of the most positive developments in archaeology in the past decade. The landscape has changed considerably since 2006 when I convened a conference on community archaeology at UCL, the first event of its kind in the UK (see Moshenska and Dhanjal 2012). There are now more dedicated professional roles for community archaeologists within the sector, distinct funding streams and an international *Journal of Community Archaeology and Heritage* (Thomas et al. 2014). The papers in this volume represent a sample of the richness and variety of work taking place worldwide, building upon a variety of professional, public, academic and statutory foundations. They are also remarkable for shedding light on specific moments and places: It is notable that the growth of 'hybrid' approaches to non-professional involvement in Irish archaeology emerged in the period of economic austerity following the collapse of the 'Celtic Tiger', as the numbers of professional archaeologists plummeted. The long-term economic deprivation affecting the site of Herculaneum provides the background for capacity-building work aimed at securing the long-term sustainability of the sites, a concern shared with heritage sites worldwide and an area where examples of successful practice can most usefully be shared. The study of engagement with different aspects of archaeological heritage in Barcelona highlights the important point that public engagement with heritage can be a barometer of individuals' and communities' wider cultural, social and civic engagement or lack thereof. It is also good to see the digital aspects of public archaeology represented, and the TrowelBlazers project's concept of responsible online image use as research praxis is particularly illuminating.

Amidst the contemporary flowering of community archaeology and heritage, there are strands that trouble me: I am particularly concerned with the urge to theorise and with the growing body of writing that seeks to impose or extract theoretical

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frameworks at a fairly high degree of abstraction. Surely, community archaeology should serve stakeholder communities, not academic careers. I am not convinced that the intellectual capital generated by pay-walled, jargon-heavy academic publications can trickle down to stakeholders in any meaningful way.

Is this a reasonable criticism? Not entirely. If community archaeology is to thrive as a specialism, it must conform to some professional conventions, and if it is to grow within the academic sector, it needs to offer something to potential practitioners, as McAnany and Rowe (2015: 6) note: 'Young professional archaeologists … actively seek new models of research that will be more inclusive while, at the same time, allow them to reach traditional benchmarks for academic success and tenure'. The model of community engagement as activism, conducted as unpaid or poorly paid labour by a dedicated few, is untenable and undesirable (and to a considerable extent, imaginary). Instead, I will make a more cautious argument: that any theoretical approach to community archaeology and heritage should be theory with a small 't', operating at a concrete level of contextual specificity without extravagant claims of universality (for relevant critiques, see Tarlow 2001; Moshenska 2008).

The extreme diversity that characterises community archaeology and heritage is illustrated and embodied in this volume, as well as many of the most illuminating and productive tensions. These include the divisions between different concepts of the term 'community' (e.g. rural and urban; defined by ethnicity, interest, demographics or geography), between working practices and ethics in settler-colonial societies and non-settler-colonial societies with fundamentally different formulations of concepts such as 'indigeneity' and between nation states with very different legal and administrative approaches to public engagement in archaeology.

At this point, it is worth turning to the idea of collaborative research as an 'Intellectual Soup' cooked up by Smith et al. in their chapter in which the (whole, inclusive) project team are the chefs, the research site is the kitchen, the research aims or questions are the recipe and the various audiences are the consumers. I would argue that there is no single rule or set of overarching principles that can be applied universally, to any combination of recipe, ingredients, chefs and customers, and result in a decent intellectual (or culinary) soup. As Apaydin's introduction reminds us, there is too much specificity and diversity in community archaeology to generalise meaningfully, although his efforts to break these down somewhat into broad categories is an interesting and worthwhile enterprise.

There is sometimes a sense in the academic side of community archaeology that (like teenage sex) the ones who talk about it the most are not necessarily the ones actually doing it. The urge to generalise and theorise in these circumstances is driven by academic pressures: A report on a community archaeology project will most likely be published in a less esteemed journal than a paper expounding a bold and radical theoretical approach, with the project report relegated to a case study of the broader principle. On such foundations are careers built, but it is worth asking whether the academic and wider cultural capital generated by successful community archaeology projects might not be more equitably distributed, as Smith et al. argue should be the case for the intellectual capital.

Should community archaeology be a theory-free zone? Of course not, and it does no good to the discipline if we maintain the idea of theory as something distinguishable from practice/praxis, or as a decadent, extravagant afterthought. In arguing against theoretical models that overgeneralise and seek to universalise, I draw on Stuart Hall's perceptive analysis of Gramsci's Marxism. Hall notes that '[Gramsci] was constantly using "theory" to illuminate concrete historical cases or political questions; or thinking large concepts in terms of their application to concrete and specific situations. Consequently, Gramsci's work often appears almost too concrete: too historically specific' (1986: 6). Scholars and followers of Gramsci's ideas have tried, as Hall puts it, 'to raise them to a higher level of conceptual generality-the exalted level at which "theoretical ideas" are supposed to function' (1986: 7). Hall points out that not all abstract concepts are equal: Some are applicable at very high levels of abstractions, others only at a lower, more concrete level. Drawing on this critique, I would argue that the most productive theoretical interventions and outcomes of community archaeology are likely to be at this lower level of abstraction, with a commensurately higher degree of specificity and a narrower scope of applicability.

What sorts of theoretical frameworks are most likely to be of value in community archaeology? I would hesitate to prescribe any specific schools of thought, but I believe that a great deal more can be borrowed productively from neighbouring fields of activity. Already a number of useful concepts focusing on definitions of community and collective identity have been derived from sociology and international development, the latter particularly by community archaeologists working in post-colonial and settler-colonial environments. I think further insights into the formation and dynamics of stakeholder communities can be derived from the non-profit and NGO world, in particular the work of civil society groups representing marginalised communities. While there are issues concerning representativeness and accountability, these organisations and networks offer models for how communities can self-organise effectively to advocate for their shared interests. Another point of connection is with the arts and cultural sectors which continue to struggle with social and economic questions of public value, state subsidy, widening participation and social inclusion (e.g. Doeser 2016): community archaeologists can learn much from these debates and perhaps contribute as well.

One of the most valuable roles and notable successes of the relatively new *Journal of Community Archaeology and Heritage* mentioned earlier is in providing a forum for the sharing of experiences, examples of best practice, innovations, successes and failures. This form of discourse is vital to the healthy development of a growing subdiscipline, particularly as community archaeology becomes an increasingly global concern (see, e.g., Schmidt and Pikirayi 2016). The expansion of these discussions and their growing intellectual and ethical stature is an overwhelmingly positive ongoing development, and the present volume is a notable contribution to this process.

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Errata to: Shared Knowledge, Shared Power

Veysel Apaydin

Errata to:
V. Apaydin (ed.), *Shared Knowledge, Shared Power*, SpringerBriefs in Archaeology, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-68652-3

This book was inadvertently published with errors in Chapters 2 and 5. The same has been corrected in the book.

The following reference is incorrect in Chapter 2.

Kehoe, A. (1989). The ghost dance: Ethnohistory and revitalization. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston.

This reference has been replaced to read as:

Kehoe, A. B. (1989). Contextualizing archaeology. In A. Christenson (Ed.), *Tracing archaeology's past* (pp. 97–106). Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

In Chapter 5, the name of the author Pérez, A.P. was corrected to read as Pastor Pérez, A.

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