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Editors:
Kerry Massheder-Rigby & Dominic Walker

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AP:

Online Journal in Public Archaeology

Emerging Approaches to Public Archaeology

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INTRODUCTION
Emerging approaches to public archaeology

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The papers in this special volume originated in two separate sessions of the 2012 Theoretical Archaeology Group conference held at the University of Liverpool ('Decentering the discipline: archaeology and extra-archaeological communities' and 'New approaches to archaeological outreach, engagement and ownership'). Both recognised the momentum that the study and practice of public archaeology has gained in recent years, an observation supported by the fact that the lecture theatres were filled to capacity during the sessions. They offered an exploration of new ways of approaching some of the multitude of challenges posed towards public archaeologists, especially informed by the state of public archaeology in the United Kingdom, but also informed by and responding to broader debates.

Questions of ownership, authority and benefit emerged as primary concerns. These issues have seemingly produced greater impacts in countries with Indigenous communities, but are being increasingly explored in other countries (Beck and Somerville 2005; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Dalglish 2013; Nicholas *et al*. 2011; Okamura and Matsuda 2011; Waterton and Smith 2009). This has been aided by the rise of areas of study such as archaeologies of the contemporary past (e.g. Buchli and Lucas 2001; Graves-Brown *et al*. 2013; Harrison and Schofield 2010; Orser 2010; Schofield 2014); ethnographies of archaeology (e.g. Edgeworth 2006; Mortensen and Hollowell 2009); digital archaeology and museology (Kansa *et al*. 2011; Lake 2013; Parry 2010); and wider theoretical developments in museum and heritage studies (e.g. Marstine 2011; Waterton and Watson 2013). The notion of decentering was particularly debated in one of the sessions. This was forwarded as a concept that encapsulates many of the efforts of public archaeologists working under various labels (e.g. 'community', 'Indigenous'). It refers to the centering of previously marginal concerns, knowledges and perspectives held by various communities in addition to the more equitable distribution of benefits that accrue from archaeological work (Conkey 2005; Lyons *et al*. 2010; Silliman 2008; Wylie 2003, 2008).

The collection of five papers here offers a 'snapshot' of some of these complex and emergent discussions. They explore the epistemological and ethical challenges of engaging with extra-archaeological expertise; the authority of archaeologists and the archaeological discipline; disciplinary identity; the potentials and pitfalls of digital work; and, perhaps more fundamentally, the benefits and relevance of archaeology beyond the discipline itself.

Firstly, Donna Yates, explores the issues that arise through disciplinary labeling, informed by her own experience of transitioning from working in 'archaeology' to working in 'criminology'. Secondly, Paul Belford assesses theories of community archaeology by identifying concerns about the sustainability of partnerships between non-professional and professional participants. This is particularly informed by an ongoing public heritage project in Telford. Thirdly, Torgrim Sneve Guttormsen examines the dynamics of heritage production at Haugesund, a region believed to be the homeland of the Viking hero Harald Fairhair, the first king of Norway. The paper emphasises how a popular and commercial past enters into public debates and conflicts, and questions the role 'experts' play in local communities. Kerry Massheder-Rigby's paper questions whether there can be an informative research relationship between archaeology and oral history, particularly when studying late nineteenth and early twentieth century working-class housing. Finally, Dominic Walker surveys public archaeologists' varied uses of social media, highlighting three major factors that prevent the realisation of the more laudable aims of public archaeologists working online: inequities in internet access, the transference of pre-existing authority to online spaces, and the inequitable accrual of resources.

Throughout these papers, there is a sense that recent debates in public archaeology are not geared towards establishing archaeologists as silent experts with little or no authority. Instead, they are intended to establish other, perhaps 'extra-disciplinary', communities as equal participants or collaborators, expanding disciplinary boundaries and what it means to be an 'archaeologist' (Nicholas 2010; Silliman 2008). In many respects, attempts to decentre authority and practice can be considered a form of activism by taking a stand against the pernicious impacts of archaeology (Stottman 2010). This is opposed to the kind of public archaeology characterised by Dawdy (2009) as 'public-relations archaeology', wherein 'public engagement' and other methods are used in an attempt to prevent controversy and retain public support, but which ultimately bolster the authority of the discipline. Instead public archaeology demands hard work and a higher degree of socio-political, ethical and epistemological awareness to aid a shift towards a more effectively democratic and more broadly beneficial discipline. The papers included in this volume attempt to demonstrate such a shift.

Acknowledgements

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Lies, damned lies, and archaeologists: Antiquities trafficking research as criminology and the ethics of identification

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Abstract

By definition, our interactions with those that we consider to be 'extra-disciplinary' are predicated on our own self-identification as archaeologists. It isn't news that some stakeholders react negatively to archaeologists. To them, we are not neutral, well-meaning stewards of the past, but rather a competing group that doesn't compromise and stifles dissent by claiming a mandate on defining 'the public good'. How can I effectively engage with such groups when my identity as an archaeologist is unforgivable? Perhaps the archaeologist must leave archaeology.

This paper is about transitioning from a PhD in archaeology to a post doctoral fellowship in a criminology department. As part of the University of Glasgow's Trafficking Culture project, I study the looting of archaeological sites and the illicit trafficking of cultural property. For half a century archaeologists have clashed with antiquities intermediaries, collectors, and dealers leaving wounds and scars on both sides. These folks will not engage with an 'archaeologist', but they are willing to talk to a 'sociologist' or even a 'criminologist' which is how I now present myself. This paper will focus on the ethical issues of disciplinary labelling. What are the primary benefits of presenting myself as 'extra-archaeological'? Of not asserting archaeological expertise? Am I obliged to reveal my archaeological background? Does this change of discipline have a tangible effect on the research that I conduct? Do I protect cultural property or protect informants? Am I still an archaeologist?

Keywords

Discipline Boundaries, Criminology, Illicit Antiquities, Ethics

Working with people who don't like you

How does one develop any sort of useful partnership (or even civil exchange) with a stakeholder group that specifically hates 'archaeologists'? Although this may be a rare occurrence, when talking about 'decentering' the discipline of archaeology we must come to terms with the idea that some people will not be receptive to us specifically because of the implications of who we are and what we are perceived to stand for. The complications of working with people who hate us are, perhaps, most important under certain serious circumstances: 1) When the goal is to develop equitable and reasonable public policy; 2) When poor communication may lead to intentional and unintentional law-breaking and resulting penalties; 3) When disagreement may lead to the destruction of heritage sites; and 4) When livelihoods and even lives are threatened by the conflict. In other words, in situations where damages caused by conflict and distrust are severe and irreparable.

Coming to terms with the idea that other groups may have different interests, concerns, and needs than archaeologists and heritage professionals is a basic tenet of inclusive heritage management. In most cases, discussion of this topic takes the form of accepting, promoting, and preserving multiple narratives about the past, developing alternative heritage spaces, and fostering fora in which stakeholders can take the reins when it comes to present/past interaction. What we rarely discuss is how our own personal disciplinary identification affects our dealings with others. We should all consider what interacting with an 'archaeologist' means to the stakeholders we encounter. In many, if not most, situations I believe that the public would consider interacting with an archaeologist to be a positive experience. We have a good reputation in the popular media and are seen as interesting. Our claimed 'authority', however controversial that term may be, is respected and valued. Yet this is not always the case.

In this paper I will discuss the methodological problems associated with conducting sociological research on stakeholder groups who, broadly speaking, see archaeologists as representing a viewpoint that is contrary to their interests and values. Specifically, I will present a personal account of the ethical issues involved in not presenting oneself as an archaeologist, despite decades of archaeological training and participation in the archaeological mainstream. Does a nominal change of discipline affect the reactions of informants and interview subjects? Does so-called 'full disclosure' prevent us from doing meaningful research? Can an archaeologist ever really distance herself from her past?

Illicit antiquities research: an area where stakeholders hate archaeologists

One prominent area of focus that places archaeologists in a position to directly interact with stakeholders that hate them is illicit antiquities research. The looting of archaeological sites, the commercialisation of sellable artefacts and the transnational trade in these artefacts is complex and controversial. A number of groups involved in these practices see archaeological interests as diametrically opposed to their own and archaeologists as people who are trying to interfere with their ownership rights and their right to interact with the past as they see fit:

- Antiquities Dealers: They see the 'archaeological' position as fundamentally challenging their livelihood. They see archaeologists as attempting to reduce their social status by denouncing what they see as fair and ethical business practices and resent that we call them criminals. They feel that archaeologists question their role as experts in what they see as their own field. They accuse archaeologists of "prejudice, ill-will or simply ignorance" (Ede n.d.).
- Metal Detector Users: Especially in locations where metal detecting for artefacts is legal, metal detector users feel that archaeologists portray responsible hobbyists who work within the law as ethically questionable. There is a strong feeling that archaeologists are hoarding the past, keeping it from people who lack academic credentials, and excluding them from information that they sometimes helped to gather. They feel they have a deep personal interest in the past and enjoy the discovery process (Thomas 2012: 53). Furthermore, they feel quite rightly that the general public sees metal detecting as a socially acceptable pastime and that only archaeologists demonise it. Said one metal

detector user about archaeological perception of them: "we are the enemy unfortunately" (Thomas 2012: 55).

- Collectors: They feel that archaeologists falsely equate their socially-sanctioned hobby with criminal behaviour while challenging their valid love of the past. Furthermore, they believe that archaeologists are trying to get their legally and rightfully acquired property taken away from them. They sincerely believe that they are "preserving and expanding knowledge of the past" (White 1998: 170) and that the hostile environment that archaeologists are creating towards collecting is causing information to be lost as dealers withhold information that used to be shared (White 1998: 172).
- 'Looters': They may see archaeologists as threatening an income stream that, in cases of poverty, is one of the few avenues for earning money. In some locations archaeologists are seen as 'looting' the site for antiquities as well: taking them far away for personal gain and treating descendants like ignorant peasants (Matsuda 1998: 93). By supporting bans on non-archaeological digging, archaeologists can be accused of challenging the right of descendant communities to decide the fate of the material remains of their own past.

On top of these rather basic characterisations of various stakeholder groups, it is worth noting that most of these groups believe that all archaeologists are biased against them: that we hate them. If this is how several major stakeholder groups see us, and if they are at all correct about how archaeologists approach and interact with them, something is very wrong here. How, then, can we possibly conduct useful research towards effective and reasonable policy when simply saying "I am an archaeologist" shuts down an interview and makes a potential informant call their lawyer?

Can we 'decenter' certain research by not being an 'archaeologist'?

"Interdisciplinary" is currently one of academia's favourite buzz words. Linking science, social science, humanities, and arts has become a standard element in many funding calls and novel scholarship, it can be argued, requires these novel connections. This is seen as "a parallel of the wider societal interest in holistic perspectives that do not reduce human experience to a single dimension of descriptors" (Aboelela *et al*. 2006: 330), indeed a move towards 'decentering' every discipline for the greater good of all involved. Generally speaking, disciplinary identity can be defined by what it excludes (e.g. I am an archaeologist so I do not dig up dinosaur bones; that is what palaeontologists do), or by how they are related to or positioned near other disciplines (e.g. describing how archaeology and palaeontology interrelate and thus describing each) (Massey 1999: 6). Discussing this web of interrelation, then, could allow scholars to transcend false barriers and become interdisciplinary.

Yet "it is hopelessly utopian to imagine that we could in one moment blow the whole disciplinary structure apart" (Massey 1999: 5). Disciplinary boundaries are entrenched in the structure of our research institutions and, indeed, in the structure of our own identities regarding our work. "Disciplines are given tangible form and defined boundaries in the basic units or departments of universities and their role in the shaping of the substance of academic identities is there reinforced" (Henkel 2005: 158). Despite talk of transcendence, despite buzzwords, our academic identities are often strongly self-defined and the disciplinary constraints placed upon us by research institutions are often insurmountable. Furthermore, 'interdisciplinary research' is poorly defined in academic literature to the point where some question the ability of funding agencies and researchers themselves to both identify it and take advantage of it to further their goals (Aboelela *et al*. 2006: 329).

I have three degrees, all of them focused on some aspect of archaeology and granted by archaeology departments. I have participated in numerous archaeological digs, I have worked for the US Army and a UK County Council in archaeological positions, and I have helped write several basic archaeological textbooks. In other words, being an archaeologist is who I am, it is part of my identity. However, at the moment I am employed by a criminology department to conduct 'sociological' research on the illicit trafficking of antiquities out of Latin America (see Trafficking Culture 2013). At the university that employs me, archaeology is considered to be in 'Arts' and sociology/criminology is considered to be in 'Social and Political Sciences'; I am not in the same school as the archaeology department. This physical separation from the formal discipline of archaeology puts me in a unique position to reevaluate the effect that calling myself an archaeologist could have on the practicalities of my research.

Fuller (1991: 302) states that "disciplines mark the point where methods are institutionalized, or, so to speak, the word is made flesh". A move away from disciplinary archaeology and the research norms of an archaeology department allows for the introduction of a diverse methodological and theoretical toolkit. Previously, illicit antiquities research has been conducted under the aegis of either heritage or legal research and has suffered from a lack of cross-disciplinary work. To study this phenomenon from a criminological standpoint significantly expands upon our ability to address this complex issue. Broadly speaking, criminological research models are based on learning why people deviate from established social and legal norms regarding criminality and criminal behaviour. This is a key aspect of understanding looting and antiquities trafficking, but it is not within the normal archaeological research skill set. A significant amount of criminological research has focused on subjects that are directly relevant to illicit antiquities research: crime and poverty, corruption, white collar crime, desistance, regulatory theory, etc. Much of this research is focused on producing results that both aid in the development of effective policy and establish what we mean exactly by the term 'effective policy'. This is exactly what prior research into the illicit trafficking of cultural property has lacked.

Practically speaking, I am in a position where I can honestly present myself as a sociological researcher without mentioning an archaeological past. This has a direct impact on both my ability to conduct field research and how I can approach potential funding sources. In both cases I am now able to use a compelling vocabulary of serious-sounding buzz words. Phrases like 'trans-national organised crime' and 'global criminal networks' simply sound sexier than 'heritage studies', 'illicit antiquities', or even 'archaeological site looting'. Saying that I am conducting 'criminological research' sounds infinitely more *serious* than 'archaeological research' and saying that I am conducting 'sociological research' sounds infinitely more nondescript. A move away from the mentioning of archaeology places the researcher in a different conceptual place in the mind of whoever is being spoken to. This is true for the general public and I believe that it is true for the previously mentioned stakeholders who believe (perhaps correctly) that most archaeologists are out to get them. Perhaps interacting with these stakeholders without archaeological baggage is the only way to incorporate their views into our research. I wonder if it is the only way to decenter in a manner that includes them.

But is it right to not tell people that I am an archaeologist?

In planning my approach to potential informants and interviewees during the course of my project on illicit antiquities trafficking, I have become keenly aware of the potential benefits of not volunteering details of my archaeological past. A clear benefit of presenting myself as a sociological researcher to various stakeholders is that I am less of a threat during initial contact. In a situation where all archaeologists are perceived of as being 'out to get' the stakeholder, as a sociologist I may have a chance to explain myself, my research, and my motivations without being immediately denied access. In many respects my views are quite practical and moderate: I think most illicit antiquities regulation does not work for anyone and I would like to see a situation where all stakeholders are satisfied or at least feel that their concerns have been listened to. Not being an archaeologist may lead to initial dialogue and, eventually, to trust. If I am a sociologist the informant may feel that I do not have an obvious 'side' or 'stake' in the issue. The livelihood of an archaeologist is tied to preservation of and access to archaeological sites and other stakeholders know this. The livelihood of a sociologist is much more opaque. The informant might feel a level of comfort with a sociological researcher that they cannot feel with an archaeologist as the sociologist is not fighting for their profession, they are researching a phenomenon.

Another possible benefit of not presenting oneself as an archaeologist in this situation is that interviewees may be more likely to share valuable and important information. When interviewing stakeholders over controversial topics that have both ethical and legal implications there are often two types of responses: the 'correct' response and the honest response. There is a big difference between "I would never deal in illicit or illegal antiquities" and "I would never knowingly deal in a stolen antiquity but I don't really dig too deeply because I would rather not know". The first is the 'correct' response, the on-the-record response, the response given to an archaeologist on 'the other side'. The second is the honest response, the response that is actually useful when it comes to understanding how the market for antiquities works, how people justify their actions, and how they see the extent of the law and the justifiability of low- and high-level law breaking. We will never develop effective regulation and, indeed, never decenter this research if we only get the 'correct' response.

Finally, I wonder if the removal of the perceived 'us vs. them' barrier of being an archaeologist will allow for the clarification of the personal expectations of the researcher to the stakeholder being approached. This is part of being given the opportunity to explain motivations, ideas, and biases rather than being painted with the same broad brush, being assigned a belief system based on disciplinary allegiance to archaeology. I wonder if this might slowly humanise archaeology to those who feel we are the enemy.

But is this truly inclusive or is this a relationship based on a lie? There are drawbacks to withholding exactly who I am.

One clear drawback to presenting myself as either a sociologist or a criminologist is that it obscures my allegiances. Simply put, do I protect my informants or do I protect cultural property?

Ethically, criminologists are meant to report blatant and obvious criminal acts that they witness to the authorities in accordance with the law. However, there are various disciplinary actions that can be taken to avoid this. For example, the British Society of Criminologist's Code of Ethics states that criminologists must be upfront with their interviewees about the bounds of confidentiality and that "[o]ffers of confidentiality may sometimes be overridden by law: researchers should therefore consider the circumstances in which they might be required to divulge information to legal or other authorities, and make such circumstances clear to participants when seeking their informed consent" (British Society of Criminology n.d.). In practice 'informed consent' means that criminologists can either tell interviewees the sort of things they should not say before they say them or to not ask questions which would require legal action on the part of the researcher (Buckland and Wincup 2009; Johnston 2005: 61). Informed consent is a perennial problem in criminological research: the nature of speaking to criminals (who themselves are often in difficult situations) and the danger inherent in what they say makes the trust in clearly communicated consent both necessary and nearly impossible.

Yet, this level of trust is critical and much of our understanding of crime and criminals is based on discussions that are predicated on not reporting described actions to the authorities. Criminologists report actively resisting all orders to turn over research documents to authorities and facing allegations of obstruction by protecting their sources (e.g. Wolfgang 1981: 351–353). Sources, then, are seen as the vital resource, the path to understanding greater criminality. As such, they must be preserved. But I am an archaeologist at heart and I do sincerely want to protect cultural heritage from destruction. I am not sure I will be able to professionally ingest information about site looting and antiquities trafficking loopholes without eventually getting the authorities involved at some point. I am not sure I can refrain from asking the questions that I want answers to. An anonymous tip? Who knows, but it is a difficult position to be in. Thus far, I have kept my mouth shut and I have not asked.

Another drawback is that informants might feel as if they have been tricked. Although the goal is 'more informed' and 'more inclusive' research, this research may lead to policy recommendations and publications that some groups still do not like. Will finding out later that I am an archaeologist lead to increased accusations of unreasonable bias? Will such a situation increase the divide between archaeologists and these groups? Will it make matters worse?

Finally, I wonder if by presenting myself as either a sociologist or a criminologist I would be bending the truth for my own benefit. I really am not a criminologist: it is not what I am trained as and it is not what I think of myself as. However, experience shows that for whatever reason, interviewees are willing to say wild things to criminologists (especially criminologists that tell the interviewees that they are writing books about them) and it would be better for my research if interviewees say wild things. It would be better for me if they admitted to major crimes, if they detailed entire criminal networks, and if they go significantly farther than they normally would in an interview. In a way, this may be a case of the researcher avoiding the issue for results.

In practice

This line of research has only just begun. However, there have been a few occasions where I have tested introducing myself as a sociologist rather than an archaeologist to a potential informant. The following is one of those occasions. Please note that some details of this section have been purposefully obscured to protect the identity of my informant. Interestingly, the informant did not request his identity be protected: is this because I was not an archaeologist? There is no clear way for me to know.

In mid-2012 I became interested in the story of the looting of a particular Maya temple façade while conducting research for the Trafficking Culture website (Freidel 2000: 24; Yates 2012). Through a series of careful emails to other archaeologists I ended up with nearly fifty scanned slides of the temple being looted in the 1960s (Trafficking Culture 2012). The slides show three men (one clearly not from Central America) removing the façade and preparing it for transport. The person who supplied me with the slides suggested that I contact the man in the photo before using them. As it turned out, the man in the photo has been involved in a number of dubious dealings involving not just antiquities but other illicit items as well. It was through a newspaper article from the 1970s, public housing records, and an old newsletter for an interest group devoted to these other illicit items that I located an email address for him.

After discussion with my research group, it was decided that I would contact him. I would explain that I was a sociology researcher looking into the movement of Maya antiquities in the 1960s and 1970s; I had come across these photos that I would like to use on my website; I would like him to confirm what was going on in the photos; and I would love to interview him sometime if the chance arose. I indicated that I was writing a book on the subject as, I was told by my criminologist colleagues, “people like that sort of thing; they respond to it”. All of this is true, yet I did not reveal any aspect of my archaeological past. Essentially I was asking this person, a person with sophisticated knowledge about how archaeologists view what he has done, to admit to actions that were likely illegal in one country and dubious in another and to authenticate photographs of this activity.

The results were instantaneous and positive. He confirmed what was happening in the photos, asked for copies of them which I provided (he said he has not seen them in decades), said he would love to be interviewed, and even volunteered information about certain looting activity that he participated in at what is now a UNESCO World Heritage Site including whose collection the objects are now in. I could not have asked for more: and I didn’t!

The question I am left with is: did the informant reveal interesting and relevant information because I did not identify myself as an archaeologist, or would he have told me such things anyway? I suspect the former but the latter is certainly a possibility.

Final thoughts

I think that the way forward in illicit antiquities research is not to retreat further into archaeology and heritage research: not to build a wall around us, define ourselves as a stakeholder group, and to only interact in that way. I think the way forward is in cross-disciplinary regulatory and policy research: fields that have not historically been associated with archaeology. Furthermore, I think that people with archaeological backgrounds must move in these directions. Why don’t we just get criminologists to do this type of research? Because we still have the specialist knowledge.

The specialist knowledge of the archaeologist is vital to understanding and explaining some of the more important aspects of heritage crime, heritage site protection, and the different types of value that can be applied to material culture. I have seen serious papers and books written about illicit antiquities by specialists from other fields describe classes of artefacts entirely incorrectly, or explained the ever-holy idea of 'context' in a way that betrays that they do not understand the meaning of their own explanation. Seemingly simple questions such as "what is an artefact?" and "what is an antiquity?" are answered in ways that most archaeologists would disagree with. Such definitional issues are exactly the sort of things that compromise otherwise-good legislation and regulation. We are the ones that need to develop new skills and, perhaps, forget old prejudices (or at least tuck them away).

But to do so, at least in the circumstances of my research, requires soul searching, identity challenges, and, arguably, deception. How I portray my own disciplinary identity is an ethical question that does not have an easy answer. I fear that this may not be decentering, but rather deflecting the discipline. We will see how it goes.

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Sustainability in community archaeology

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Abstract

This paper considers the rise of community archaeology in England and Wales, its relationships with other branches of archaeology, and its long-term sustainability. Possible meanings of sustainability are discussed from an international and interdisciplinary perspective, before questions of social, intellectual and economic sustainability in community archaeology are considered. It is argued that true sustainability for community archaeology will only be possible if research outcomes and public benefit are considered as being of equal value.

Keywords

Community, Sustainability, Theory, Public Archaeology

Community archaeology in England and Wales has developed rapidly in the last two decades—and particularly so in the last ten years. In so doing it has moved beyond conventional outreach to embrace radical approaches which attempt to empower non-professionals in all sorts of ways. The term 'community archaeology' is therefore itself problematic, since it is open to a wide range of definitions. Although finding a definition of the term is not the primary aim of this paper, it is nevertheless necessary to consider some of the issues at the outset. For many projects it is not necessarily possible to identify a 'community', and in many cases we are not doing what most people might consider 'archaeology'.

The word 'community' often implies something that is derived from place, and of course by their very nature all archaeology projects are rooted in a particular location. However in many cases the non-professional participants in these projects are not actually from the place that is the subject of study. One popular archaeological resource for community projects, for example, is industrial housing which was demolished in the mid-twentieth century during slum clearance. This sort of archaeology is relatively straightforward, accessible and fun. Frequently, however, any former local community has been dispersed, and perhaps even died. The modern communities which may now surround these former places, and which tend to get involved in the archaeology, are composed of entirely different people. Rarely do the old and new communities overlap (Figure 1). Former residents may visit a site, but their engagement with the material evidence is more limited. Instead for them the act of excavation is an observed performance which acts as a springboard for memory. Such former residents are much more interested in looking at old photographs, scanning the census returns to find dimly-remembered names, and talking to each other perhaps for the first time in over forty years. Meanwhile another community, the majority of whom have moved into an area rather than having been born there, are the ones actually excavating the site.

Figure 1. Different communities. Barbara Whitney stands on the floor of the laundry she had used as a child, during the excavation of industrial housing at Hinkshay (Shropshire, UK). This is a rare example of the overlap between different 'heritage communities'. Most of the former residents stayed off site looking at old photographs and reminiscing (right background); excavation participants were all incomers (photograph by Paul Belford, copyright).

Of course there are (and always have been) other communities not rooted in a sense of place. Some of these might be seen as elite groups, such as academics. Other communities might be stakeholders such as funders, regulatory authorities and so on; or people who have travelled long distances at their own expense to become involved with the work as archaeology students or volunteers. Yet other communities might engage with the project through online content, such as social media or blogging. These groups are still communities, even if they do not share a common physical location. The 'Faro Convention' (see below) identifies such groups as 'heritage communities'. These consist "of people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations" and recognises that such communities may consist of experts and non-experts, professionals and non-professionals (Council of Europe 2005: Articles 2, 12).

It is also the case that a lot of the work undertaken as part of community projects is not what non-professionals might perceive to be 'archaeology' (Kenny 2010; Simpson and Williams 2008). Most archaeologists regard activities such as map regression analysis, archive research and genealogy as components of the archaeological toolbox, but many non-professionals will see these as 'local history' or 'family history'. However these can be much more accessible activities for non-professionals—particularly for those who are excluded from fieldwork by various physical factors.

So community archaeology involves rather disparate groups of people who may or may not share a geographical association, and also involves a wide variety of techniques which may be more or less 'archaeological'. Thus in this paper the term will be used in its broadest possible sense, to mean any archaeological endeavour which engages non-professionals in some form.

Participation and sustainability

Aside from its relationship to other branches of archaeology—which will be addressed below—the theory and practice of community archaeology must also be situated within other areas of intellectual and public policy discourse. Two closely connected strands have particular relevance here: philosophies of public participation, and concepts of sustainability.

Scholarly consideration of how public participation actually happens (and does not happen) began in the 1960s with the emergence of civil rights movements in the United States and elsewhere. One of the most influential pieces of work was Sherry Arnstein's (1969) 'ladder of citizen participation' (Figure 2). There are eight 'rungs' on the ladder, representing three levels of participation. Arnstein herself made the point that this is a very simplified expression of the situation. In her terms, neither the 'powerless citizens' nor the 'power-holders' are homogenous blocs: both groups contain "a host of divergent points of view, significant cleavages, competing vested interests, and splintered subgroups" (Arnstein 1969: 220). The extent to which any particular action tends towards the top or the bottom of the ladder may also be a function of the motives behind it.

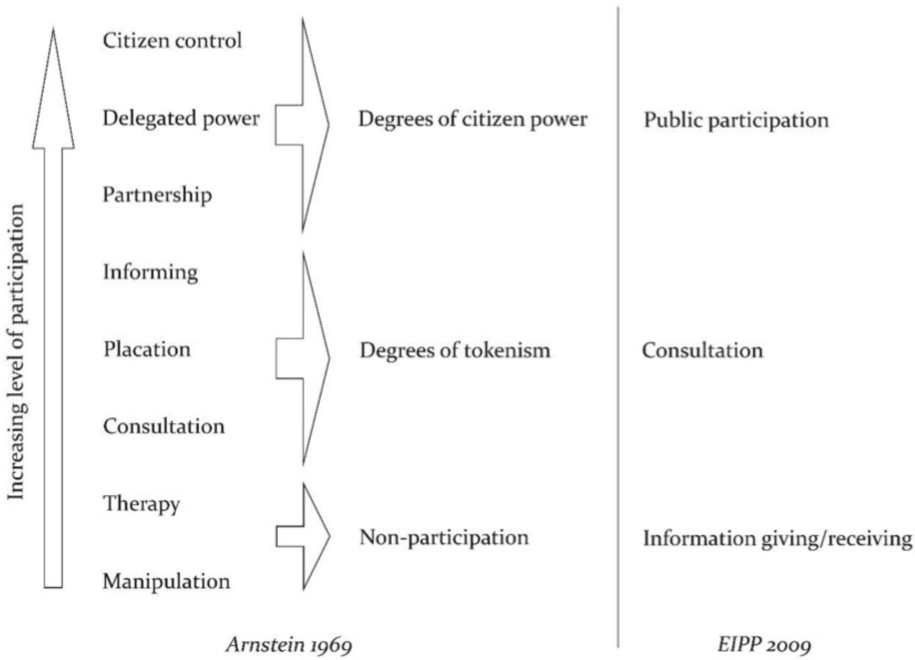

Figure 2. Degrees of citizen participation, after Arnstein (1969) and EIPP (2009).

Very few community archaeology projects or activities have consciously set out to be ‘manipulative’ or ‘therapeutic’ in Arnstein’s sense—although there may well be some aspects of heritage interpretation that could be included in those areas. Certainly, even well-intentioned work will not be successful when the heritage professionals who design it make no allowances for their own cultural background (McDavid 2007: 108). Some public heritage projects aspire to be near the top of this ladder. Perhaps Sedgeford is the most obvious example of this sort of aspiration, although it has not always been consistently achieved there (Faulkner 2009: 53). However, the reality is that most public heritage tends to hover around the ‘tokenistic middle’ of Arnstein’s ladder (Belford 2011: 53). In many cases, as discussed below, it may not even be desirable to try and go beyond ‘partnership’.

Arnstein’s work continues to be influential in guiding discussions about public participation at a policy level. Archon Fung, Professor of Public Policy at Harvard, has looked closely at the role of various stakeholders in the operation of local political governance and urban democracy. From this work he developed the apparently oxymoronic theory of ‘accountable autonomy’ (Fung 2001, 2007). This is “a conception of centralized action that counter-intuitively bolsters local capability without improperly and destructively encroaching upon it” (Fung 2004: 2). In application, ‘accountable autonomy’ attempts to create civic structures that sit between centralised ‘power-holders’ at the bottom of Arnstein’s ladder and the ‘powerless citizens’ at the top. Following Fung, the European Institute for Public Participation set out a three-tier model for public participation in public policy- and decision-making. This they defined as a ‘deliberative process’, namely a process of thoughtful discussion based on the giving and receiving of reasons for choices; thus “interested or affected citizens, civil society organisations, and government actors are involved in policy-making before a political decision is taken” (EIPP 2009: 6). Their three tiers were, from top to bottom, ‘Information giving and receiving’, ‘Consultation’ and ‘Participation’ (Figure 2).

Returning specifically to cultural heritage, Laurajane Smith has used the term ‘authorized heritage discourse’ to describe the ways in which heritage is deployed by the dominant social, religious, political or ethnic groups in any given society to reinforce their position (Smith 2006). In Arnstein’s terms, these are the ‘power-holders'. In apparent contrast to such hegemonic heritage (often, but not always, sponsored by the state) is the idea of resistant, or perhaps 'unauthorized', heritage—equating very loosely to Arnstein's 'powerless citizens'. Tensions between authorized and unauthorized heritage (both in the past and in the present) have often been expressed in simple binary terms: colonizer versus colonized, indigenous versus outsider, elite versus underclass, professional versus amateur. However these relationships are rarely straightforward dichotomies. This broader work in the field of public policy is therefore very helpful in enabling us in the cultural heritage sector to develop systems and processes which reflect the nuances inherent in society—nuances which we recognise from the archaeological record, but which we sometimes find difficult to translate into theoretical and methodological approaches.

The connection between participation and sustainability has been recognised for a long time. Indeed the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment at Stockholm began to consider the notion of what is now widely termed 'sustainable development', although the phrase itself did not appear until the first United Nations 'Earth Summit' at Rio twenty years later (UNEP 1972, 1992). The 'Rio Declaration' recognises the importance of public participation in sustainable development:

> "Environmental issues are best handled with the participation of all concerned citizens, at the relevant level... each individual shall have... the opportunity to participate in decision-making processes. States shall facilitate and encourage public awareness and participation by making information widely available..." (UNEP 1992: Principle 10)

The 1998 'Aarhus Convention' built on the 'Rio Declaration' and made an explicit link between environmental and human rights: sustainable development can only be achieved through the involvement of all stakeholders. This quite radical document is structured on three 'pillars': public access to information about the environment, civic participation in certain decisions with environmental relevance, and access to courts of law or tribunals (UNECE 1998). Although primarily framed with reference to the natural environment, there is a great deal in these documents of relevance to the historic environment. Indeed planning legislation in force in England and Wales between 1990 and 2010 famously described archaeology as “a finite and non-renewable resource” (DoE 1990). This language is directly derived from the 1972 ‘Stockholm Declaration’, which states that “non-renewable resources... must be employed in such a way as to guard against the danger of their future exhaustion and to ensure that benefits from such employment are shared by all mankind” (UNEP 1972: Principle 5).

As noted above, cultural heritage is specifically addressed by the ‘Faro Convention’, drafted by the Council of Europe in 2005. Public participation and sustainability are closely bound together by this document. For example in Section II, Article 7 deals with ‘cultural heritage and dialogue’, Article 8 with ‘environment, heritage and quality of life’, and Article 9 addresses ‘sustainable use of the cultural heritage’ (Council of Europe 2005). Section III deals with the ‘shared responsibility for cultural heritage and public participation’; the definition of ‘heritage communities’ is very broad, as noted above, and literally ‘everyone’ is encouraged to “participate in... the process of identification, study, interpretation, protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural heritage” (Council of Europe 2005: Article 12). It goes on to make particular mention of voluntary organisations and the improvement of public access. The ‘Faro Convention’ is a tremendously useful document which engages with the different cultural values which are applied to heritage, and essentially democratises production and dissemination of information. Regrettably the UK has still not ratified the ‘Faro Convention’. Nevertheless, the theoretical desirability of widening public participation is enshrined in international agreements and treaties which concern themselves in very concrete ways with sustainability in various forms.

In terms of community archaeology—or public heritage—sustainability can be regarded as a mechanism by which a sometimes rather vague and diffuse local enthusiasm for ‘heritage’ can be transformed into a really solid and focused local understanding of, and care for, the historic environment. Community archaeology must achieve social sustainability, intellectual sustainability and economic sustainability if it is to be of lasting value both within the archaeological profession and outside it. All three types of sustainability are interdependent.

Social sustainability

Social sustainability in its widest sense is an interesting concept, which is still very much an emerging field, in contrast to environmental or economic sustainability. Social sustainability can be defined as:

> "Development (and/or growth) that is compatible with harmonious evolution of civil society, fostering an environment conductive to the compatible cohabitation of culturally and socially diverse groups while at the same time encouraging social integration, with improvements in the quality of life for all segments of the population." (Polese and Stren 2000: 15–16)

Thus, social sustainability is about managing the tensions that emerge between economic efficiency and social integration. The concept of social sustainability has mostly been applied to urban design and the physical environment—trying to enhance civil society, cultural diversity and social integration. This is where archaeology is already making a significant contribution.

Indeed there is a long history in the UK of engagement with the historic environment by people who are not historic environment professionals. The amateur archaeological society has proved an enduring element since the nineteenth century, and many continue to make significant contributions both to research and to outreach. For example in England, the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne (established 1813), the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society (established 1846), and the Sussex Archaeological Society (established 1846) each have a lengthy record of producing academic journals and monographs, and also have impressive portfolios of historic properties and museums.

Archaeology's popular appeal further developed in the mid-twentieth century by those who had a determination to make archaeology interesting and accessible to a wide audience, such as Sir Mortimer Wheeler and Glyn Daniel. A strong extra-mural teaching tradition in British universities peaked during the post-war period, and early 'rescue' excavations during urban redevelopment in the 1960s and 1970s were often reliant on amateur expertise. Two things happened in the late 1980s and early 1990s which changed the formerly close relationship between professionalised heritage and public heritage. The first was the inclusion of archaeology and the historic environment in the planning process, which has led to the increasing professionalisation of archaeology (Aitchison 2012). The second was the widening gulf between academic archaeology and other branches of the discipline. This partly resulted from structural changes to the Higher Education sector which substantially reduced opportunities for mature part-time students and extra-mural teaching.

Despite these obstacles, the role of the non-professional in British archaeology has remained a significant one. Indeed the last decade has seen something of a resurgence, as community archaeology has boldly expanded into new areas with an agenda of social inclusion and personal development. This agenda has sometimes developed as projects themselves have evolved. Rachael Kiddey's homeless heritage projects in Bristol and York are a case in point; this work has achieved some quite remarkable transformations in the lives of the project participants precisely because there was no formalised set of objectives and outcomes, and because the project allowed itself to be shaped by the non-professional colleagues who were involved (Schofield and Kiddey 2011). Of all recent community archaeology projects in the UK, Rachael's are arguably nearest the top of Arnstein's ladder.

Other more formally-designed projects may appear to be further down Arnstein's ladder as a result of the complexities surrounding the involvement of certain groups; nevertheless these have also achieved some remarkable personal and social outcomes. Operation Nightingale and its associated projects were designed "to utilise both the technical and social aspects of field archaeology in the recovery and skill development" of injured soldiers, and have delivered impressive results (DAG 2012; Hilts 2012). In Wales, separate projects by the Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust and Cadw have worked with young offenders both inside and outside prison, in partnership with the Wales Probation Trust (Britnell 2013; Pudney 2013). Also based in Wales, but ranging widely across the UK, the 'Guerilla Archaeology' team have successfully engaged festival audiences with a unique blend of shamanism and science.

These sorts of projects have certainly broadened the scope of community archaeology, and it must be remembered that more conventional projects continue to have an important social role. However achieving sustainability is another matter. This point can be illustrated by three projects in England and Wales, all on slightly different points on a spectrum of sustainability.

West Bromwich is a socially and economically deprived part of the West Midlands. A project here was commissioned and funded by Sandwell Metropolitan Borough Council, and undertaken by Nexus Heritage. This provided a programme of community archaeology at the former Manor House, which included the training of local non-professional volunteers, the provision of archaeological experiences for schools, and public open days. At the same time the project had clear set of research aims. This was firmly 'top down'. Nevertheless a structured programme of archaeological training produced positive results on several levels. The adult volunteers were able to equip themselves with a range of new skills in fieldwork and post-excavation, and were then able to deploy those skills in working with school groups. The school groups themselves undertook a range of activities including map regression, historic building analysis, landscape survey, finds processing and cataloguing, and—of course—excavation (Figure 3). Excavation also included recording, with some success in introducing nine year olds to context sheets and the principles of stratigraphy. This wide range of tasks meant that those less inclined to get muddy also experienced aspects of the archaeological repertoire, and became aware of the great variety of activities that the discipline consists of. These activities provoked discussions of the meaning of place, the nature of change through time, and an awareness of the significance of all sorts of heritage. However there was no capacity in either organisation to develop follow-up projects, and there has been no opportunity to sustain that community's engagement with heritage.

The Telford Town Park project began similarly as a formal 'top down' piece of work in 2010; commissioned and partly funded by Telford and Wrekin Council, as part of the lottery-funded 'Parks for People' project and again undertaken by Nexus Heritage. A week-long excavation provided a participatory experienced designed by heritage professionals (Belford 2011). However, with the support of the local authority, subsequent phases of fieldwork evolved a more equal relationship between professional and non-professional participants. Despite limited resources, a series of events enabled a wide range of archaeological sites and landscapes to be investigated and recorded, and in conjunction with the local archaeological society (Wrekin Historical Group) volunteers began to get involved with research, post-excavation and publication. The project also began to develop an independence which initially seemed very promising; however without the ongoing support of the local authority, and continuing professional engagement, there was a hiatus in activity before further funding was obtained for another stage of the project in 2013 (Gerry Wait, pers. comm.).

Figure 3. Social sustainability. Scenes from the community archaeology project in West Bromwich (West Midlands, UK). Adults and school children alike became aware of the range of activities which comprise archaeology, and began to develop a sense of place (photographs by Paul Belford, reproduced courtesy of Nexus Heritage).

Figure 4. Social and intellectual sustainability. Participants in the Telford Town Park project (Shropshire, UK), undertaking recording and survey as well as excavation (photographs by Paul Belford, reproduced courtesy of Nexus Heritage).

Closer still to developing a sustainable approach was a project undertaken at undertaken at Tomen y Rhoddwyd, an earthwork motte-and-bailey castle in mid- Wales. This privately-owned site was under threat from vegetation growth and animal burrowing; with funding from Cadw, the Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust developed a wide-ranging community-based project which included training in environmental conservation, archaeological survey and heritage interpretation for over 100 people representing 18 different groups and organisations (Figure 5). As well as Cadw and the Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust, key project stakeholders included half a dozen local archaeology societies and the local authority. Perhaps more significantly for wider public engagement, the conservation work was tied into training provided by the local agricultural college (Llysfasi), and members of the local Young Farmers' Club were also involved (Grant *et al*. 2014). The majority of Welsh Scheduled Ancient Monuments lie on agricultural land, the communities that own, work on and around these monuments being vital partners in the management of the archaeological resource. This project was particularly successful in engaging with the local agricultural community who are now keen to extend this approach to other sites.

Social sustainability in community archaeology can only be achieved by non- professionals; and is probably most likely to be successful when the participants are not drawn from the margins, but from the mainstream majority of property-owning, tax-paying and law-abiding citizens. This is not to say that community archaeology should only involve such people, but for projects to be sustainable over the long term they need to be at the core. They have a great deal of potential power and influence on heritage—maybe not individually, but certainly collectively. Social sustainability can then transform participants' enthusiasm for specific local heritage into a broader understanding and concern for national and even international heritage. They can then become advocates to help professionals sustain other aspects of the discipline.

Figure 5. Economic sustainability. Crowdfunding is one possible route for developing projects independently of public- or private-sector bodies; the Netherlands-based CommonSites is an organisation with an ethical approach to connecting projects, funders and communities.

Intellectual sustainability

Intellectual sustainability is the reason why it is probably never going to be possible, or even desirable, for community archaeology to reach the top of Arnstein's ladder. Broadly, intellectual sustainability can be defined as the ability to actually do archaeology properly. If community projects do not do this, then archaeologists are failing in their duty to protect the 'finite and non-renewable resource'. Some professionals and academics still perceive community archaeology as having limited research value and lacking theoretical rigour in day-to-day practice; others see it as a threat to an already precarious profession. (Indeed during discussion at the TAG conference at which this paper was presented, precisely these points were articulated from the floor by one member of the audience). There are two main areas in which intellectual sustainability needs to be achieved: practice and theory.

In practical terms, data collection needs to be rigorous, and it needs to comply with professional standards and guidance. Project planning and execution needs to be informed by current research questions—both locally and nationally, and indeed internationally. Projects need to have access to appropriate specialist input where necessary; they need to collate, publish and disseminate their findings in a coherent and intelligible form. Moreover this needs to be accessible to all of the communities noted above—not just the 'local' community (whoever they are), but stakeholders, funders and the wider archaeological community—in the language of Faro, the various 'heritage communities'.

Critics of community archaeology (or indeed any non-professional engagement with archaeology) argue that it is not able to do many of these things. In this author's experience some of these criticisms can be valid, and particularly for the more 'bottom up' projects where individuals may not always listen to professional or academic advice, and in some cases actively avoid doing so. Many volunteers prefer 'digging' and are often reluctant—or ill-equipped—to engage with other aspects of the archaeological process, such as context sheets or report-writing. Finds go unreported and archiving can leave something to be desired. Professional archaeologists therefore have a responsibility to ensure that this does not happen. People need to be equipped with the right skills; most of the volunteers encountered by this author are extremely enthusiastic about learning those skills, and respond well to structured training programmes. Again, such training is only successful over the longer-term—a two-week excavation where a professional organisation is 'parachuted in' is unlikely to achieve sustainability.

In addition, what we might call the 'community sector' needs to engage in robust and open debate with the other sectors of the discipline. British archaeology is often characterised as being polarised between 'professionals' and 'academics' (Bradley 2006; Fulford 2011). Community archaeology sits somewhere in between; it is a nice bit of public relations for the field unit and their client, or a means of achieving 'impact' in the Research Excellence Framework. Conversely, professionals or academics provide a mechanism for peer review of community projects. However community archaeology can only be sustainable if it acts as an equal partner to the professional and academic elements of the discipline. In other words, there is an 'archaeological triangle'—an equilateral triangle—of professional, academic and community archaeology. The three sides of the triangle need to work much more closely than they perhaps do in some cases at the moment. Community archaeology needs to be much more proactive in demonstrating that it does actually achieve meaningful research outputs, and can make contributions to archaeological theory. The two things go hand-in-hand: the practice of public heritage requires continuous and reflexive theoretical input at all stages and at all levels, and as a result can generate useful research—as well as the social benefits which one might expect.

Ensuring that there are sufficient resources to carry through projects to post- excavation and proper publication is an important consideration, but relatively straightforward. Engaging non-professionals with archaeological theory, and enabling community archaeology to make a valid contribution to theoretical debate, is more challenging. Certainly non-professional participants in public heritage projects may not be familiar with the canon of archaeological theory. Nevertheless, in this author's experience they do bring a number of interesting philosophical positions to bear on the work being undertaken. There is continuous dialogue on- and off-site about the rationale behind archaeological method and the role of the past in the present. Different perspectives open up as a result—something which can sometimes only happen by 'doing' rather than 'thinking'.

In this setting the notion of 'grounded theory' is a useful one. Grounded theory describes 'the discovery of theory from data systematically obtained from... research' (Glaser and Strauss 1967: 2). The two originators of the theory—Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss—later diverged in their views on what the theory was, and, following this schism a more nuanced version, 'Constructivist Grounded Theory' emerged. Thus:

> "...by adopting a constructivist grounded theory approach, the researcher can move grounded theory methods further into the realm of interpretive social science... without assuming the existence of a unidimensional external reality." (Charmaz 2006: 521)

This is quite a useful development, since it creates a middle way which allows both inductive and deductive approaches to theory and data. It allows for the fact that both data collection and theory formulation may be influenced by the background, perspectives and values of the researchers; moreover it allows simultaneous consideration of singular and multiple realities, as well as multiple perspectives on these realities.

In application, one of the key aspects of grounded theory is that it requires the 'literature review' stage of research to be undertaken after the data collection. Of course the project has a broad idea of what we are looking for and where it is, but detailed historical research, map regression and so on does not begin until after the fieldwork has taken place. This approach works very well with non-professional participants: the bulk of primary and secondary research has been undertaken after the various fieldwork phases—and much of that by the volunteers themselves. Inspired by their fieldwork experience they may spend many days in the archives, or searching other resources, at a level of detail and with a degree of persistence that is beyond the time and patience of the professional archaeologist. The result is that the project accumulates a vast range of unpublished and privately published research material which would otherwise be completely unobtainable.

Taking up the notion from grounded theory of multidimensional realities, community archaeology is a fascinating medium through which to explore 'symmetrical archaeology'. Symmetrical archaeology represents something of a swinging back of the pendulum from extreme post-processualism. Its promoters have argued that archaeology has moved too far from things; thus:

> "...symmetrical archaeology attends, not to how 'individuals' get on in the world, but rather to how a distributed collective, an entanglement of humans and things, negotiates a complex web of interactions with a diversity of other entities (whether materials, things, or our fellow creatures)." (Witmore 2007: 547)

Symmetrical archaeology therefore recognises that "thought and action, ideas and materials, past and present are thoroughly mixed ontologically" (Olsen 2003: 90). Thus things are actors as much as humans. This is a particularly important concept for the practice of community archaeology, and perhaps the most interesting aspect of this is the ontological mixture of past and present. Several authors have been making the point for some time that the past exists today (Latour 1996; Lucas 2008; Olivier 2004; Olsen 2003;

Shanks 2012; Witmore 2007). The present contains a residual past, or rather multiple residual pasts, which provide the material with which archaeologists engage. In other words:

> "...historic time should not be viewed as the "empty and homogenous" time of historicism—the time of dates, chronologies and periods—but on the contrary as the full and heterogeneous time of the fusion between present and the past." (Olivier 2004: 204)

Indeed Olivier has taken this a step further by proposing the abandonment of linear time—or what he calls 'historicist time'—by arguing that archaeology is a form of memory, rather than history. This memory is a material memory, which is continuously involved in modern life and is given new meanings according to new circumstances (Olivier 2004). Thus the past exists in the present, and researching the past is actually nothing more than studying the materiality of the present. Moreover, the past is ephemeral—the act of doing archaeology creates 'events' (Lucas 2008). These events transform the material remains of the past, thus keeping them alive. Precisely these concepts are routinely discussed by participants on community archaeology projects. Admittedly, such discussions are not informed by reference to the works cited here; nevertheless the significance of the project as a transformative event, the ephemerality of the remains of the past in the present, and the importance of material memory are at the forefront of participants' minds.

It is also the case that these sorts of discussions—as well as much more basic questions, such as 'why?'—are challenges to the archaeological orthodoxy. Sometimes, we may find that we have been doing things or thinking about things as archaeologists without always understanding 'why'. Thus there is the potential—as yet largely unrealised—for community archaeology to make significant theoretical impact on the other two sides of the archaeological triangle. Certainly, if community archaeology cannot deliver intellectual sustainability, then its social role becomes its primary function—and if its primary function is its social role then fewer people will want to join in.

Economic sustainability

Economic sustainability is perhaps the most difficult type of sustainability for community archaeology to attain. Community archaeology is more expensive than other forms of archaeology. Social and intellectual sustainability must be paid for. It is essential to explain to potential funders why training volunteers is important, and why professional post-excavation and reporting to professional standards is essential. Hitherto most community archaeology projects have relied on public funding of one sort or another—local authorities or state agencies, grants from Research Councils, and of course the marvellous Heritage Lottery Fund. So far this has been sustainable—although again, such funding will only continue in the future if both the social and intellectual benefits of what we do are made clear to the various stakeholders. Nevertheless, the community archaeology sector needs to increase the diversity of its funding sources.

This paper is written during a period of Coalition government (elected 2010). Its policies are shaped by two closely linked forces: a natural ideological inclination to reduce the role of the state, and an 'austerity' approach to public spending intended to reduce national debt as a proportion of GDP (HM Government 2010). Some areas such as health and education have been protected from the most serious reductions in funding, which inevitably means that other areas have been subject to greater pressures. Heritage and the arts have seen particular reductions (DCMS 2011). This has already affected state heritage agencies and local authorities, and the depletion of public-sector historic environment services will also continue to have an impact on commercial archaeology, which is itself suffering as a consequence of the economic downturn.

However, the notion of sustainability is actually a key component of current planning policy and guidance. The National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) was introduced in 2012 and replaced previous legislation; its ethos of 'sustainable development' initially caused concern within the historic environment professions (DCLG 2012). However—in part thanks to extensive lobbying during the drafting stage—NPPF is considerably more benign than initially feared, and contains much that is encouraging for community archaeology. Thus it makes clear that planners should take into account "the wider social, cultural, economic and environmental benefits that conservation of the historic environment can bring", and stresses the "positive contribution that conservation of heritage assets can make to sustainable communities" (DCLG 2012: paragraphs 126, 131).

Public archaeology doesn't mean 'public-sector' archaeology. We are all 'the public'—individual archaeologists, the organisations we work for, the developers who pay our fees, the banks who pay the developers, the pension funds who invest in the banks. Certainly there have been some very successful community archaeology projects which have been privately funded. One prominent recent example is that of Hungate—a substantial developer-funded excavation undertaken by the York Archaeological Trust. This had a significant community archaeology component built in, including work with disadvantaged and socially excluded groups. Clearly Hungate is an exceptional case. However there is considerable potential to develop more projects along these sorts of lines. There is also scope to work back up the chain. Indeed this author has been fortunate enough to deliver a community archaeology project that was funded by a bank (Belford 2007). Corporate Social Responsibility is certainly an avenue to explore for supporting community archaeology in the future. Heritage needs to be central to everyone's understanding of the world, and that will not happen if we stay on the margins by relying on public funding.

At the other end of the scale, it is also possible to seek funding from individuals. Some community archaeology projects charge their participants. However this is very difficult for small-scale projects; the fees can never reflect the full cost, and so some underlying subsidy is required. It is possible to benefit from some support in kind. There is also the possibility of crowdfunding. For example the Telford Town Park project was undertaken in partnership with a social enterprise based in the Netherlands called CommonSites (Figure 5). Their ambition is "to stimulate creative, ethical and sustainable heritage practices" (CommonSites 2014); they provide a web-based platform to encourage open relationships between their partners doing the archaeology, the communities they are working with, and potential funders.

Conclusion

Community archaeology is about enabling non-professionals to meaningfully engage with archaeology. This works both ways. Non-professional participants gain a great deal from their involvement in archaeological projects—not just knowledge about a particular time and place, but also a wide range of skills, improvements in physical and mental health, the development of social networks, and the ability to look at the world in different ways. Moreover, non-professional participants have real potential to enhance the archaeological 'product' and change the way professionals think about heritage.

The social benefits of archaeology are increasingly widely recognised. However to achieve sustainability community archaeology must stand up and be counted as an equal partner to academic and commercial archaeology. Indeed, neither academic nor commercial archaeology are themselves sustainable without community archaeology, for community archaeology nurtures public support for heritage in its widest sense—and it is only with public support that any form of archaeology will continue.

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Branding local heritage and popularising a remote past: The example of Haugesund in Western Norway

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Abstract

Since the national romantic era, the Haugesund region of Norway has been associated with patriotism and heroism as it is believed to be the homeland of the Viking hero Harald Fairhair, the first king of Norway. In the arrival hall at the airport outside Haugesund the passengers are today faced with the following words: "Welcome to the Homeland of the Viking Kings". The slogan refers to official regional attraction strategies based on a late modern Viking enthusiasm, used in efforts to increase local identity, to enchant a visitor market and to brand the region, in short, to create pride and glory. In this paper, dynamics of heritage production at Haugesund are examined by emphasising how a popular and commercial past ("the experience society") mediates public debates and conflicts, thus questioning the function experts within the field of archaeology and the cultural heritage management have in local communities.

Keywords

Heritage Values, National Monuments, Popularisation, Viking Kings, Norway

Introduction

One of the main topics addressed at the session *Decentering the Discipline? Archaeology and Extra-Archaeological Communities* at the British TAG in 2012 was public uses of the past and how various communities construct 'their' heritage. In this article, I explore what 'extra-archaeological community' means with regard to public interpretations and uses of archaeological sites. The phrase 'extra' has connotations of something that is second to, an extension to or something as opposed to professional archaeology. This brings to mind the distinction between authorised and unauthorised heritage discourses and the critique that heritage studies tend to focus on the dominant, official or state discourses whereas competing counter-discourses, the everyday or 'popular' discourses, tend to be overlooked (Smith 2006). It could be argued that the heritage literature pays too much attention to the formative processes of professional culture versus community culture, and is less concerned about agency (Dessingué 2010). A discursive distinction between the archaeological profession and the community could be too simple if it does not take into account the dynamic heritagisation processes at work in local societies. I will approach this topic by emphasising how academic knowledge and practices as well as popular interpretations of a remote past become resources for commercial and political rhetorics about the past and are intervened by how local societies ascribe heritage values.

Studies of collective memories or 'roots' associated with a remote past, and more specifically with heroic myths, is a topic in memory studies that intervenes with studies of public archaeology (Holtorf 2005: 3–5). Remote heroes (kings, commanders) and events described in the Norse sagas are vital elements in modern and late modern rhetorics of the past. In this article, the memorial tradition of the Norwegian national father figure King Harald Fairhair becomes a focal point in examining heritage practices. The Norse story of the Viking King Harald Fairhair is associated with various archaeological sites where national monuments are erected and commemorations are performed. The grand discussion about national monuments and commemorations however has been how a remote past with glorious ancestors represents ethno-nationalist ideologies (e.g. Gillis 1994; Nora 1998 [1992]; Shnirelman 2003; Spillman 1997). This article takes another approach by examining local initiatives and motives of using a heroic past in local development strategies and ownership of the past. While the discussion of a remote heroic past has been centered on ethnicity, less attention is paid to the intimate relationship between political uses and the cultural production derived from a popularised and commercialised past. The celebrations of a Viking heritage at the town of Haugesund in western Norway will serve as a specific case study for examining these local heritagisation processes at work in a local context.

National monuments at archaeological sites for constructing symbolic images

Myths and legends about ancient peoples (Gauls, Saxons, Vikings, Highlanders, etc.) and heroes (kings, commanders, etc.) are deep-rooted encounters for the cultural production of homeland myths, historic narratives and symbolic places or landscapes associated with 'the memory of the Nation' (Finlay 1997; Kristiansen 1993; Pomian 1996 [1992]; Thiesse 2010). During the nationalist movements in the nineteenth century, interfaces of nation and memory were evident in how monuments at historic places such as the Vercingétorix memorial in Alesia (erected in 1865 by Napoleon III) and the Hermann memorial in Detmold (Hermannsdenkmal, erected in 1875 by Kaiser Wilhelm I) brought together symbolic elements of the native landscape with its mythic history (Holtorf and Williams 2006: 243–245; Schama 1996: 109–118). Similar symbolic monuments were erected in the Scandinavian countries. In nineteenth century Scandinavia, efforts of strengthening national identity by using heroic Viking rhetorics were particularly evident in periods of war and national injuries, for instance by the Swedes when they lost Finland to Russia in 1809 (Ustvedt 2004: 253) and by the Danes when they lost Schleswig-Holstein to the Germans in 1864 (Kristiansen 1993: 20–23; van der Schriek and van der Schriek 2011).

In Norway, a similar monument tradition occurred as the result of the struggle for national independence during the nineteenth century. A useful narrative character for legitimating this struggle was King Harald Fairhair, one of the most celebrated heroes derived from the Icelandic medieval saga Heimskringla (the Kings' Sagas) written by Snorri Sturluson (1178/79–1241). In Norwegian commemoration practices, King Harald the First, alias Harald Fairhair, is a heroic narrative character disseminating a foundation story of Norway becoming an independent nation. Several archaeological sites associated with King Harald Fairhair have been used in commemorations celebrating the nation, from the nineteenth century, which culminated in the constitution of the national assembly in 1814 and the reestablishment of the Norwegian crown in 1905, to the present day. King Harald Fairhair is, as the name indicates, a poetic expression of a heroic Viking character that pertains to modern myth constructions. On the basis of this commemorative tradition, a national monument devoted to Harald Fairhair was erected in 1872 at a prehistoric grave mound site in the outskirts of Haugesund, a town situated at the Atlantic shore within the western Norwegian county of Rogaland (Figure 1).

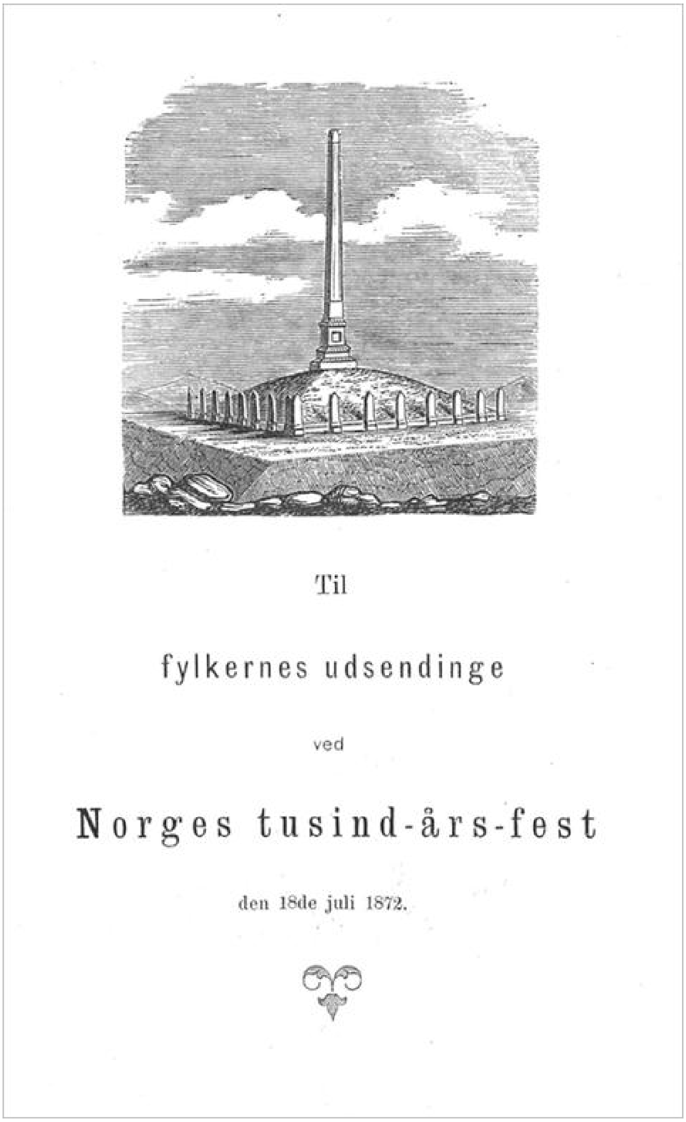

Figure 1. From the cover of the invitation to the thousand year anniversary (Source: original program for Festlighederne ved Afsløringen af Mindesmærket den 18 de Juli 1872. Haugesund, 1872).

Haugesund had all the 'ingredients' for the making of a heroic past. The region had several large ancient grave mounds and is mentioned in the King's Saga as the area where Harald Fairhair lived and died. Even the place name 'Haugesund' ('The Strait of Mounds') tickled the imagination for those living in and visiting the area about the greatness of the past that could be hidden in the soil. On the basis of interpretations of the King's Saga, historians and archaeologists of the late nineteenth century believed that Harald Fairhair was buried in a grave mound at the farm Gardå in the vicinity of Haugesund. This interpretation was, however, uttered already in the 1680s by the historian Thormod Torfæus (1636–1719) who lived in the area, and the idea of Gardå as 'a site of Kings' Mounds' was well-known local knowledge during the eighteenth and the nineteenth century. The romantic image of 'Harald's Mound' in poems and visual art had vital importance for the construction of Haugesund as a heritage place associated with Harald Fairhair. The term 'Haugalandet' ('the Land of Mounds') was originally an expression used in a national romantic poem called *Harald's Mound* (Haraldshaugen) written by Ivar Aasen (1813–1896) in 1852, where the poetic imagination of 'Haugalandet' expressed the characteristic landscape around the royal mound at Gardå (Østensjø 1958: 289). The poetic imagination of 'Haugalandet' was part of a national political program where the primary goal was to gain acknowledgement of the value of Norwegian language and culture. The idea was that by carving out a powerful poetic expression of an ancestral landscape, the character of a real and independent nation would become visualised and legitimised. The landscape image of Harald's Mound fitted well with the romantic idea of Haugesund as 'the Land of Kings', thereby as a symbolic memorial site of the nation.

The academic-poetic discourse of 'Harald's Mound' in the late nineteenth century paved the way for the construction of a memorial monument on the ancient site. The Harald monument at Haugesund was erected in connection with the millennium jubilee that took place on the 18th of July 1872. The jubilee was celebrated all around Norway, not at least in the capital Christiania (today Oslo) where a romantic statue of Harald Fairhair was temporarily erected in front of the Parliament Building. The theme of the jubilee was the battle of Hafrsfjord, which apparently happened in 872

AD, when King Harald Fairhair managed to establish a nationwide kingdom by military force. The symbolic elements of the monument were federation and unity, whereas a circle of stones symbolising the old Norse counties called ‘fylker’ enclosed a huge obelisk that symbolised Harald’s achievement and thereby the paternal foundation of Norway. Although Norway at this time was in a political union with Sweden, the leading motive of the jubilee was parliamentary ideas which gave the centralised administration in Christiania the opportunity to promote a connection between the newly established Norwegian national assembly (established in 1814) and a nationwide periphery.

The transformation of the archaeological site outside Haugesund into a memorial site of the nation was created on the basis of academic knowledge that served a poetic imagination of the place, which in turn created a symbolic image that could be consumed by the public. The symbolic image defined a cultural capital, a cultural resource, of which the local community in Haugesund was very well aware of the benefits.

Romanticism and local patriotism becomes a commodity

The very idea behind the construction of a Harald memorial and the arrangement of the millennium celebration held in 1872 was launched in 1863 by the Haugesund patriot, ship owner, local politician and businessman Ludolf Johan Kramer Antonius Eide (1821–1908) who managed to create enthusiasm for the project among his fellow citizens in Haugesund (Østensjø 1958). The initiators of the jubilee were commercial entrepreneurs in the city of Haugesund who believed that such an event would create prosperity and wealth for the city and its hinterland. The national motive for the jubilee was in other words a secondary motivational factor for these local entrepreneurs.

The commercial uses of King Harald Fairhair were evident at the celebration day in 1872 which gave Haugesund both national and international attention. At the celebration day, the 4,000 inhabitants of Haugesund hosted about 20,000 visitors that gave the commercial community a great income. Visitors could buy, for example, ‘Haraldcigars', stoneware with engravings of the Harald monument, and Harald amulets (Østensjø 1958: 297, 303–304). Commercial uses of the past were, in other words, the main motivation for the local community, and here national politics became instrumental tools for gaining attention and to attract a visitor and buyer market. The local patriotic goal was to put Haugesund on the world map. As such, the idea of the past as commodity was a vital driving force for a local memorial practice based on King Harald Fairhair. In the 1870s, Haugesund was a new 'Klondike-town' that had grown out of the boom caused by lucrative fishery exports, among others to England. Harald Fairhair could as a brand promote their position in the market. This is also evident during the twentieth century where the Viking hero Harald Fairhair was branded in several ways: as slogans for sardines, milk, soda pops, and other products (Figure 2). The positive character associated with Harald Fairhair—representing braveness, strength, healthy climate, etc. —defined a vast consumer culture.

Figure 2. Harald Fairhair used as advertising for sardines from Haugesund (after Bjørnson 2004: 196).

During the twentieth century the commemoration practice at Haugesund had created a symbolic image on the basis of Harald Fairhair which was used as a branded icon. During the process, the Harald monument was enrolled as part of this branded icon. As recently expressed by the mayor of Haugesund, the so-called 'Harald silhouette' is a significant regional trademark.

> The Harald's Mound has become a symbol of Haugesund, and 'the Harald silhouette' has become a trademark for the town. [...] For Haugesund it [the Harald monument] also symbolises something important in our own local history: The struggle to be seen and respected in a perpetual competition with larger and older neighbouring cities in the north and south [...] Our 'father of the town' Ludolf Eide, who more than any other early understood how important it was to build a cultural town in the Haugesund, had already in 1863 conceived the idea of a national monument on the Harald's Mound [...] As we approach the festival month of August, we feel confident that Ludolf Eide's assessment is more appropriate than ever. [...] The festival contributes to the comfort and cohesion locally. The festival has become a part of our Haugesundian identity (Steen, Jr. 2008, author's translation).

The so-called 'Harald silhouette' is a regional trademark depicting a common identity and prosperity for people sharing a promised land visualised with a landscape at sunrise. In addition, the monument has become an icon symbolising people and enterprises located in the Haugesund-region called 'Haugalandet', the Land of Mounds. The 'Harald silhouette' is today an image with iconic status which is used by local associations and arrangements for a variety of purposes. In sum, the iconic image of the Harald monument has become a heritage in its own right, and among other things, expressed as a motive on the Haugesund folk costume which was designed in 2001 (Oddenes 2001). The 'Harald silhouette' constitutes a vital symbol for the region as a whole, where the idea of the region is associated with enterprises within a commercial region.

In the arrival hall at Karmøy airport outside Haugesund the passengers are today greeted with the words, "Welcome to the

Homeland of the Viking Kings", and as expressed in similar terms at the website *Visit Haugesund* (Visit Haugesund 2013), the land 'Haugalandet' has become synonymous with a commercial region with numerous tourist attractions. The modern myth of Harald Fairhair constitutes a central part in this regional imagery (Figure 3). The regional image of 'Haugalandet', the Land of Mounds, is first and almost defined by a heritage where a homeland myth based on Harald Fairhair—the land of Kings—is synonymous with a Viking heritage. In a Norwegian context, other Viking regions compete in being similar commercialised regions. It is a regional romanticism that applies to late modern experience society within the scope of the heritage industry and which is based on popular uses of the Viking concept in general and Harald Fairhair in particular.

Figure 3. The 'Harald silhouette' on the website *Visit Haugesund* (http://www.visithaugesund.no).

The strong, brave and resolute character of Harald Fairhair disseminates a 'good story' which is embraced by popular culture, and as an expression of populism the heroic story has gained positive connotations in commercial and political rhetorics as well. Today, King Harald Fairhair is associated with several archaeological sites where modern monuments and theme parks (obelisks, towers, sculptures, 'reconstructions' of ancient houses/villages) are constructed and where various commemorative practices (jubilees, rallies, festivals) are being performed. The Viking hero Harald Fairhair has become part of a vital re-enactment culture, which is evident in, among other things, a memorial park in central Haugesund with the erection of a statue of Harald Fairhair (Johannessen 2012), the performance of a Harald musical (Amble 2001), the building of 'the largest' Viking ship in the world (Vikingkings 2013), the establishment of a theme park based on the Viking concept, and a historic centre where the mythology of King Harald is disseminated (Vikinggarden 2013). The main initiators behind these commemorative projects in the Haugesund region today are, as it was in the 1870s, local commercial entrepreneurs who are nourished by local patriotism. The local community in this context comprises educated, economic and politically powerful local elites who appeal to fellow townsmen, their own. These actors are very well aware of the potential of using 'their' heritage as a prosperous resource for economic growth and community development. Archaeologists have in different ways approached this local enthusiasm.

Archaeological research communities in clashes

At present, a large archaeological research excavation has started at Avaldsnes, the ancient Kings Farm just outside Haugesund (Kulturhistorisk Museum 2013). The excavations could gain knowledge that can be discussed against the written medieval sources, as well as gaining knowledge on the multiple and long term uses of the area. However, the project has been criticised for being in control of local commercial interests which forward a stereotypical popular image of the past whereas their main goal for financing the project is to find the remnants of King Harald, which would be sensational and would apply to a lucrative consumer market. In this public discussion, journalists (Gundersen

2010; Hadland 2007) as well as archaeologists (Christophersen 2011; Skre 2011) have been participating. The debate has also provoked a fierce debate between archaeologists who support private funding and the proponents of state funded cultural heritage management. The private investors have attacked the heritage management sector arguing that they excavate on the basis of a rigid management practice, thus neglecting public interests. The local investors argue that people are not interested in cooking pits; they want an archaeology that is sensational and which can generate economic income for the region. Their opponents ask on the other hand the rhetorical question: What kind of archaeology and cultural heritage will future generations get if these practices are exclusively governed by commercial interests?

The government-owned regional museum institution at Haugesund has in accordance with this critical approach addressed the potential of using the Harald monument and the forthcoming national jubilee in 2014 as an educational tool for debating patriotism and social inclusion. They argue that the local public uses of the past is favouring and promoting a romantic memory culture which excludes social groups and thereby mismatches a national program based on multiculturalism. According to their newly established Facebook campaign (Norges riksmonument mot 2014 2010), the museum argues for a replacement of regional romanticism with a subaltern theme by disseminating how non-nationalist ideas and minority groups have been excluded in the dominant romantic memorial tradition associated with King Harald Fairhair. In this context, the local museum represents a critical voice, a counter discourse, to the romantic, favourable attitudes to cultural heritage that characterises the local uses of the past in Haugesund and which many archaeologists also favour. As such, the museum acts as a minority that struggles to be heard in the dominant locally-based romantic patriotic heritage discourse. It is tempting to ask who the ‘extra-archaeological community’ is in this context. The museum institution seems to be the ‘extra’ or ‘added’ component viewed against the dominant romantic patriotic discourse within the community of Haugesund. The archaeological society seems very much divided in how to approach the romantic patriotic approach that is so significant in the local society of Haugesund.

Is there a third way?

The heritagisation processes at Haugesund reflect general trends where commemorations have become democratised, secularised, privatised, commercialised and contested in the local matrix, where "the role of the state has become more discreet, more a matter of instigation than of control" (Nora 1998 [1992]: 614). Taking this further, democratic plural uses of cultural heritage require a critical analysis of how memory is at work within the local matrix, not only on a national and international scale (Ashworth *et al*. 2007: 27). The example from Haugesund shows that the branding of Harald Fairhair and the Viking concept in general partake in commercialised regional struggles. In these struggles, aspects of exclusion/inclusion become evident by how competing regions brand their past and compete in being attractive for a visitor market. Today, regional administrative bodies have become a structuring condition for how the discipline of archaeology is practiced and how heritage is defined. The competitive character of regions and their claims of the past bring into question the role of national and international political frameworks in local heritage strategies, and thereby how academic research communities and the cultural heritage management sector maintains and serves local heritage projects and programs.

Is there a third way, an approach that goes beyond local and national heritage frameworks? In Haugesund, the romantic Viking approach seems to favour heroism, thus neglecting heritage issues associated with, for instance, atrocity. Haugesund has also more to offer for the public than just a romanticised Viking heritage. The most central question in the romantic commemoration practice about Harald Fairhair has been where he had his homeland in order to gain ownership of the story. The challenge for Haugesund is to keep in mind that the sunrise is not limited to a local horizon. Based on this argument, a cosmopolitan approach, a world citizenship perspective could be a valuable resource for people experiencing the heritage of Haugesund. Cosmopolitan heritage discourses are directed towards an expanded concept of identity, which includes a concept of the 'others'' otherness (see Delanty 2012). It pertains to aspects of humankind or more supra-national considerations, as I understand the concept. I will illustrate this with an example.

In the 1870s, the left-wing politicians were against the idea that Parliament should participate in the funding of the construction of a Harald monument in 1872 (Krag 1999). They asked: Why should we celebrate a brutal conqueror's will to power? They continued rhetorically: Is this totalitarian act worth celebrating as representing parliamentary ideas and democracy? The history of and the memorial theme about Harald Fairhair extracts, in other words, a discussion about democracy and parliamentary ideals, and state processes founded on the political will to power by violence and military forces. This public theme is, however, not a priority in local exhibitions and commemoration practices in the area. Issues of citizenship and state formations could serve as a dialogic platform in local historic centres and other public forums, where the history and heritage of Harald Fairhair are disseminated for instance in the light of the 'Arab Spring' or similar processes of democratisation in other parts of the world which we as global citizens experience today.

Conclusion

In this article, the dynamics of heritage production were examined by emphasising how a popular and commercial past becomes the means for public debates and conflicts, thus questioning the function experts within the field of archaeology and cultural heritage management have in local communities. The memorial tradition in the Haugesund region in western Norway, which has taken place at archaeological sites associated with the Viking hero and the first king of Norway, Harald Fairhair, have been examined. The memorial tradition reveals a two-sided discursive content where a commercialised discourse based on local patriotism and romanticism is privileged, whereas an educational discourse based on cultural pluralism within a national and international interpretative framework is marginalised. The function of archaeologists and heritage management within these two discursive fields were discussed, and a third way based on a cosmopolitan heritage approach was proposed as an alternative way for how a Viking heritage could gain value in local societies.

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Digging up memories:
Collaborations between archaeology and oral history to investigate the industrial housing experience

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Abstract

This paper forms part of a wider PhD project exploring whether there can be an informative research relationship between archaeology and oral history. Its focus is on the working class housing experience in the North of England during the Industrial Revolution period. Oral history as a discipline applied within archaeological investigation is growing in popularity and in application in the UK as a form of 'community archaeology'. Evidence suggests that there is potential for combining the memories of oral history testimonies and the physical archaeological evidence from excavation to enhance our understanding of an event, person, time and place. However, establishing what evidence of the housing experience survives in an archaeological context and what survives in memory is crucial to the success of a combined investigative approach. This paper will use the example of The Public Archaeology Programme of the site Dixon's Blazes as a relevant example in which to explore this, with evidence of sanitation, overcrowding and architecture surviving in both.

Keywords

Oral History, Memory, Public Archaeology, Housing Experience, Glasgow

Introduction

Over recent years archaeology has developed into an increasingly scientific and specialised/professionalised method of collecting the material evidence of the past. Therefore personal memories, local myths and community traditions often go unresearched and unrecorded by archaeologists. However with the recent economic downturn affecting developer-financed, commercial archaeological projects, and the growth in funded heritage themed investigations there is now greater room than ever for oral history to be included as part of the archaeological process. This has resulted in an increased community involvement in archaeology in the form of oral history, and particularly memories related to place (Moshenska 2007). The memories of oral history participants provide a more personal and private interpretation of the archaeology uncovered during excavation. This has been particularly relevant to the exploration, remembrance and memorialisation of traumatic events in individuals' lives (Andrews *et al*. 2006).

The fields of archaeology, anthropology, history and geography are becoming increasingly aware of the value of place-based memories to interpret, confirm and provide an alternative account of the physical evidence collected during excavation. Whilst combining oral history and archaeology has been relatively slow to develop in the United Kingdom, elsewhere, particularly with regards to Indigenous communities, it is a more prevalent approach. Oral history is a unique way in which we can further involve the past and current community and the wider public in archaeological practice and interpretation. In this paper I argue that place-based memories of a site can enhance our understanding of the archaeology uncovered during excavation and that there should be a provision within archaeological investigations to include an oral history project.

Background

The combined investigative approach of using oral history and archaeology to explore place-based communities is an accepted interdisciplinary practice in Indigenous archaeology. Indigenous communities have enthusiastically set the research agenda and taken control of investigating their heritage. One such project involved the Inuit Elders of Hudson Bay, Canada, working in collaboration with non-Indigenous archaeologists to investigate Inuit memories of community, place and traditions. The project found that the combined yet equal investigative approach of archaeology and oral history increased awareness of how place defined identities and community values (Lyons *et al*. 2010). Another promising investigation involved a research partnership between the Yarrawarra Aboriginal Corporation and the University of New England in Australia to investigate the conversations that can occur within interdisciplinary interpretation of place-based archaeological evidence and memories (Beck and Somerville 2005).

The interdisciplinary approach to investigate place has been applied within UK archaeology to a lesser extent. One such investigation used landscape archaeology and oral history to investigate farming practices in Devon (Riley and Harvey 2005). The importance of this investigation lies in the fact that the oral history provided the farming community with a voice, and evidence in the form of memories were recorded when otherwise they would be lost.

Although oral history can enable communities to contribute to and collaborate with archaeological practice, there are recognised concerns regarding its validity as a source. Subjectivity, memory, authenticity, bias, nostalgia, the subject's agenda and the subject's ability to communicate must all be considered. The importance of oral history, and its ability to collect information about the past, is not necessarily a tool for the collection of facts alone, but is equally concerned with recording emotional responses and personal experiences. The successful use of oral history is dependent upon our acknowledgement and acceptance that the information collected may not be an account of what actually happened, or what an area was actually like, but what people thought happened or what people thought an area was like. If we are prepared to minimise and accept the risks of receiving and applying evidence from memories to archaeological investigations then, potentially, a fuller picture of the past emerges.

Oral history and the housing experience

Using oral history in conjunction with archaeology to construct a place-based history is a particularly intriguing concept. Memories can be located in an attachment to one's home and community. Using oral history to provide insight into the changing use of space in a place, how events changed a place and its inhabitants, and place attachment and identity, could contribute a great deal to the conclusions of archaeological site reports. This could be particularly beneficial to Post Industrial Revolution era domestic sites. However, the question of when oral history becomes oral tradition is relevant. It may be that memories beyond one's lifetime are no longer oral histories but ought to be categorised as oral tradition. This affects my research as archaeological evidence may pre-date oral histories. Focusing oral histories on place rather than time period means full use can be made of the evidence from both archaeology and oral history.

There are a number of examples where oral history has been used with great success as a source of evidence in archaeological excavations of Post Industrial Revolution housing within the United Kingdom.

1. The Coalbrookdale Historical Archaeology Research and Training Programme excavation and oral history project at the Upper Forge, Coalbrookdale used oral history as part of a programme to investigate Nineteenth Century domestic properties on an industrial site in 2001 and 2002 (Belford 2003, Belford and Ross 2004).

2. In 2003, the Alderley Sandhills project run by the School of Art History and Archaeology of the University of Manchester and the Aggregates Levy Sustainability Fund used an oral history project as a complementary means to understand the role of industrialisation on working class life in the rural North alongside the excavations of the Hagg Cottages (Casella and Croucher 2010).

3. From 2006, the York Archaeological Trust excavation at Hungate, York instigated an oral history project to provide an opportunity to collect further memories of those who lived within the Hungate community (Wilson 2007), and to follow up on an earlier oral history project that collected place-based memories of Hungate, a neighbourhood historically labelled as a slum (Mayne 2011).

4. In 2009, community archaeologists from Nottingham County Council led a community excavation at Wharf Green in the Village of Jacksdale in Nottinghamshire. The project excavated a row of Ironworkers cottages and conducted an oral history project (Gillott 2010).

All the above-mentioned studies provide examples of excavations and oral history projects being used together to investigate Post Industrial Revolution era housing. They identify the potential in the combined investigative approach to explore place-based memories of the housing experience, that is, how the physical features of a domestic property impacted the experience of its residents. One example of the combined investigative approach being particularly successful in increasing our understanding of the Post Industrial Revolution era housing experience is that of the M74 Road Completion Project in Glasgow, particularly with regards to the Lower English Buildings site.

The M74 Road Completion Project and Public Archaeology Programme

The M74 Road Completion Project in Glasgow was undertaken between 2007 and 2008. It involved a number of ex-industrial sites being excavated by Headland Archaeology and Pre-construct Archaeology (HAPCA) on behalf of Transport Scotland. The sites were a group of former dwellings and workshops in South Laurieston, Gorbals referred to within the project as the 'tenement site'; Govan Iron Works and its associated workers' housing; and Caledonian Pottery in Rutherglen. An extensive public archaeology programme ran alongside excavations and involved museum exhibitions, open days, a website, a volunteer programme, a community archaeology conference and an oral history programme (Atkinson *et al*. 2008, Dalglish 2004, Drew 2011).

The Public Archaeology Programme aimed to actively engage the public in shaping the project in a number of ways. The programme intended to promote an interest in and understanding of archaeology and archaeological methods to the 'general public', whilst the Oral History Project aimed to engage the 'community' with connections to the cultural heritage along the M74 route.

The Oral History Project was conducted by Culture and Sport Glasgow between December 2007 and April 2009 and was designed "...to record the memories of those who had a connection with former buildings identified as being worthy of archaeological examination along the route of the M74 completion" (Morton *et al*. 2008: 26). The Oral History Project was recognised as an opportunity to draw on the knowledge of the local community and "…to use oral history as a source in combination with the historical archaeology" (Morton *et al.* 2008: 26). The report provides a full disclosure of the methods used to recruit participants, the number of participants, the interview methods, the recording methods, the preservation methods, the interview lengths and reflections on the success of the programme and potential improvements for future projects. This report is independent of the excavation report produced by site archaeologists although both reports make reference to one another's findings.

The Govan Ironworks site is known to the local community as 'Dixons Blazes'. Built in the 1830's, there were two main elements to the site: The Iron Foundry to the South-East (which remained in use until the 1950s), and adjacent to the foundry, the Lower English Buildings, which housed some of the workers and their families. The Lower English Buildings consisted of two rows of almost identical miners cottage style buildings aligned East-West. The Lower English Buildings site can be divided into five phases of occupation:

1. Pre-1830: pre-domestic use of the site.
2. 1830–1865: initial period of construction.
3. 1866–1930: domestic use of the site.
4. 1930–1960: abandonment and military use of the site.
5. Post-1960: abandoned houses were demolished.

During a period of just over twelve months twenty-four participants with a personal connection to the M74 sites were interviewed as part of the Oral History Project. Seven of the participants provided memories concerning the Govan Iron Works and the Lower English Buildings. Given the time limitations of the project success was measured by the sample of participants involved, taking into account factors such as gender, age, religion and their proximity to the site, rather than the number of people involved. Although only one of these participants resided in the Lower English Buildings themselves, other Dixon's tenants, a relative of the participant who resided in the Lower English Buildings and workers from the Govan Iron Works provided a valuable alternative perspective of the landscape.

Results of the Lower English Buildings project

The objectives of the Oral History Project within the Public Archaeology Programme support the archaeological objectives which focused on the housing experience investigating issues such as sanitation, social and cultural domestic behaviour and activities occurring on the site. The Oral History Project aimed to contribute to the interpretation of the archaeology whilst the excavation was 'live' and recorded memories of those who had a connection with the site in order to draw on the knowledge of the local community. Therefore the questions asked within the Oral History Project interviews sought to elicit information that would contribute to the archaeological objectives.

An especially innovative method to provoke site specific memories was to invite site-based archaeologists to pose questions prior to the oral history interviews taking place, in order to identify or confirm archaeological features uncovered by excavation that required clarification. Archaeologists on the Lower English Buildings site used this opportunity to interpret unknown features such as 'box beds', which were originally interpreted as staircases, or to clarify suspected features such as the wash-houses. This proved to be a successful method of interpretation as one Oral History Project participant was able to accurately confirm physical features of the Lower English Buildings site.

Several testimonies provide information on the housing experience, such as memories on sanitation, drainage, the use and location of fireplaces, availability and use of space, social behaviour, sleeping arrangements, and the function of outbuildings. Testimony from the Oral History Project of the Lower English Buildings site provides place-based memories where the physical archaeological evidence can be challenged and supported.

The oral testimony of Mrs Wilson

Figure 1. Mrs Wilson outside the Lower English Buildings (reproduced with permission of Scottish Oral History Centre Archives).

Mrs Wilson was born at 24 Lower English Buildings in 1918 and lived there until the 1930s when the family was forced to move by the landlord, Dixon's, who considered the houses to be no longer fit for purpose. Mrs Wilson's memories proved valuable in identifying features uncovered during excavation and by providing a narrative account of life at the site. Mrs Wilson was able to answer specific questions regarding the housing experience of the Lower English Buildings inhabitants. When asked to describe her house she replied:

> "Ours was two made into one because we were the biggest family roundabout. They were white-washed windows outside, comfortable beds… big beds. There were beds that came off the kitchen and beds that came off the rooms. We had two rooms… we were lucky because our house was two knocked into one. It was all just one room and one kitchen but it was a big room, coal fires… they were just plain, like a block. They were square and big and there was spacing behind the door there was a bed". (SOHCA, 023/23)

Mrs Wilson also recalled that the floors were stone covered with carpets and linoleum, that the houses had outdoor coal cellars, that the wash house doors were locked and that her father, 'Jigger' McNair, had a vegetable garden and kept chickens and pigeons so the family were never short of eggs! This insight provides a depth of character to the Lower English Buildings that archaeology is unable to.

Figure 2. The McNair family outside the Lower English Buildings (reproduced with permission of Scottish Oral History Centre Archives).

Figure 3. Mrs Wilson, front right, and the McNair family outside the Lower English Buildings (reproduced with permission of Scottish Oral History Centre Archives).

Archaeologists uncovered three circular brick structures in the central area between the northern and southern range and identified them as wash houses. Mrs Wilson's memories confirmed these features were wash houses. Further evidence of sanitation and drainage facilities were found in the form of three water hand pumps in the central area between the ranges which Mrs Wilson advised were used until at least the 1930s and blocks of brick-built and paved outhouses located to the north and south of each wash house identified by site based archaeologists as toilet blocks, which was confirmed by Mrs Wilson.

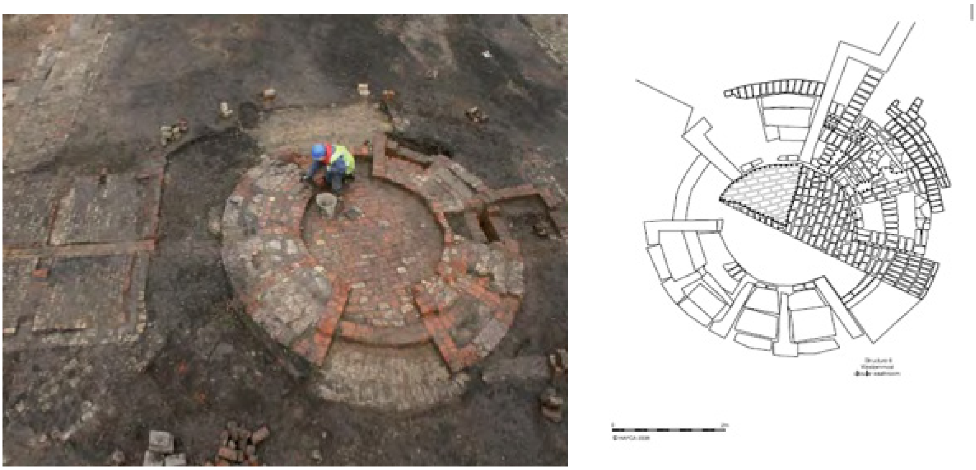

Figure 4. Wash house (structure 6) (reproduced with permission of HAPCA).

Mrs Wilson was asked for her memories regarding sanitation at the Lower English Buildings. She was asked if there was a wash house and what it looked like and answered:

> "Aye there was and you lit the fire on a Tuesday morning. The fire was going and the sheets were put in (the hot water) and you crossed the whole lot of the yards with your rope to get your washing out. It had a big stone boiler and an iron wall instead of stone and a fireplace and you lit the fire first thing in the morning to heat the water". (SOHCA, 023/23)

Mrs Wilson was also able to provide memories regarding toilets at the Lower English Buildings.

> "We had our own. I showed you where the middens joined in the middle at each side. Well, at the back end of that a door opens onto it and that's each persons toilet… there were three houses at the top and there was the coal cellar and you could leave it and cross over to the middle and the toilets were built there. There was a door on each of them and only persons that used double ones (had to share) were the people in the middle. Ours was our own". (SOHCA, 023/23)

Outbuildings were uncovered next to the northern and southern range, but archaeologists were unable to suggest a function for these buildings due to a lack of material finds across the site and the structures not being identified on maps. Mrs Wilson provided memories which interpreted the outbuildings and without her testimony the identity of these buildings would have remained hidden. When asked about the outdoor space on the site Mrs Wilson advised the area between the houses was open, that at the top of the main road there was a stable and shelters for horses, a kippering store and a blacksmiths.

Figure 5. Box beds (reproduced with permission of HAPCA).

Within the housing units excavators uncovered internal brick walls surrounding brick surfaces and support stones. Suggestions made by site-based archaeologists were that the features were door jambs for cupboard doors or staircase supports. The question of the unidentified feature was put to Mrs Wilson who explained the features were box beds or recess beds. Box beds were small cupboard-like rooms containing a mattress on a raised platform. The identification of the features is confirmed by the variation in floor surface from tiles to brick as the box bed surface would not have been seen or walked on and therefore could afford to be of a reduced quality. The confirmation from Mrs Wilson also cleared up the confusion that the features were staircases as maps and Mrs Wilson's oral history testimony confirmed that the units were single storeys.

Drew (2011: 49) comments that although Mrs Wilson's testimony proved very useful "…we have seriously to consider whether the passing of the years might perhaps have softened Mrs Wilson's memories of her upbringing". This comment was made as a result of testimony from Mrs Wilson's niece, Jane Sutherland. Jane Sutherland's testimony falls into the category of oral tradition as the memories she shares are 'second-hand'. Whereas Mrs Wilson's comments were overwhelmingly positive with regards to life within the Lower English Buildings, Jane Sutherland recalled Mrs Wilson commenting negatively on the hardships at the Lower English Buildings particularly with regard to overcrowding. Clearly the manner in which memories are recalled and presented vary depending upon the purpose and social situation. Nevertheless, Mrs Wilson's memories confirmed specific features of the site which archaeology was unable to successfully identify. No archive material for the Lower English Buildings was located and so Mrs Wilson's memories provide an invaluable source of evidence about how life was lived in the 1920s and 1930s within company housing.

Conclusions

Oral history has the potential to provide a voice for communities that may usually go unheard, such as the historic working-class, and has the potential to recognise the social value of a 'community' of people. It can also add to archaeological evidence in constructing landscapes, events, people, communities and times by contributing varied narratives and opinions. While archaeology can provide evidence for 'what', oral history can aid our understanding of 'why'.

However, oral history cannot be measured in terms of accuracy as narratives by their nature provide personal accounts of what people thought happened rather than an overarching account based on a range of sources. Therefore oral history as a source cannot be used in isolation but can be an effective complementary source. Oral history as a source is not currently being used to its full potential in both research and commercial archaeology in the UK. A clear structure of research aims, data collection, data interpretation and publication needs to be established in order for the discipline to be widely accepted and applied.

Oral history can make an informative contribution to archaeological investigations as essentially both disciplines are recovering evidence. However there are concerns that need to be addressed prior to the interdisciplinary method being applied universally. Determining who has the right to set the research agenda; who has the potential to contribute memories; how will the evidence be recorded used and published; how can we minimise the risks regarding the fragility of memory; and, who is the owner of memory?

In the current economic climate one question remains: can the archaeological profession afford to run oral history projects in conjunction with excavations? Given the evidence from the case studies cited above showing that oral history contributes towards our archaeological knowledge, can we afford to allow this evidence to go unrecorded? I suggest that with the recent shift from developer led commercial projects to funded community projects in the United Kingdom we must take advantage of the increased community interest and involvement in archaeology and develop the combined investigative approach with a focus on place-based investigations.

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Decentering the discipline?
Archaeology, museums and social media

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Abstract

In recent years archaeologists have asserted the value of social media for achieving goals such as 'shared authority' and the 'empowerment' of various communities. These assertions often resemble techno-utopian discourse. However, it is essential to critically consider these assertions with reference to the important studies emerging from the fields of new media studies and Indigenous and collaborative archaeology, which have particularly emphasised the need for a greater awareness of socio-political contexts. Informed by this literature, this paper surveys some of the emerging and established uses of social media by archaeologists and museums, and proceeds to introduce factors that challenge the broadly positive discourses about the impact of social media on various communities. It also highlights the need for short- and long-term impact studies.

Keywords

Museums, Social Media, Internet Studies, Inequality, Collaboration, Authority

Introduction

Public archaeologists are by now well aware that archaeology can be used as a tool to attend to the needs of various communities (including their own academic or professional communities) by sharing some of the benefits of projects beyond simply producing new knowledge about the past (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Little 2002; Little and Shackel 2007; Marshall 2002; Welch *et al*. 2011). Archaeologists working under labels like 'collaborative' or 'Indigenous archaeology' have attempted to more fundamentally challenge the authority they hold over the interpretation of cultural heritage. For instance, in many collaborative archaeology projects, the knowledge held by extra-disciplinary communities (e.g. those external to archaeology or heritage institutions) has been brought to the fore. This has been posited to hold the potential to at once 'empower' a community to interpret their own heritage, while also producing richer or more epistemologically diverse interpretations of cultural heritage than traditionally authorised approaches to archaeology would provide alone (Colwell-Chanthaphonh *et al*. 2010; Smith 2006). The notion of 'decentering' can be advanced here as a concept that refers to the centering of previously marginal concerns, knowledges and perspectives, as well as to the more equitable sharing of the benefits that may accrue from archaeology (Conkey 2005; Silliman 2008; Wylie 2003, 2008).

In recent years, a growing number of archaeologists, and museologists to a greater extent, have asserted the value of social media technologies for more effectively realising these laudable goals. However, the largely positive, occasionally near utopian, discourses about the democratising and decentering impact of the web have seemingly discouraged critical reflections on the factors that may limit or prevent more democratic online participation and therefore also situations resembling 'shared authority'. This becomes particularly apparent when it is realised there is currently a lack of empirical studies assessing the actual short- or long-term impact of online projects and initiatives beyond simple quantitative measures. This paper surveys some of the emerging and established uses of social media by archaeologists and museums, and proceeds to introduce factors that challenge the broadly positive discourses about the impact of social media. This analysis is informed by theory drawn from public archaeology in addition to perspectives on social media drawn from new media and internet studies.

Social media: Internally focused and externally focused uses

For many early internet theorists, the internet was considered as a space for harbouring true participatory democracies (Rheingold 1994), but most eventually settled with more synoptic visions of online spaces. To some extent, the popularisation of social media from the mid-2000s onwards prompted a revival of the more positive discourses. For instance, some theorists have argued that the most fundamental shift was the one that saw one-sided mass communications replaced by participatory websites that together comprised an internet within which power is shared amongst individual users (see Benkler 2006; Shirky 2008).[1]

Since the late 1990s, a small number of archaeologists based within academic and other institutions have identified the web as a tool by which postprocessual tenets like multivocality could be realised (e.g. Hodder 1999; Joyce and Tringham 2007; McDavid 2004). However, it is important to adopt a broader definition of online archaeology work to include the work conducted by individuals working in heritage organisations and the museums sector. Museum professionals have more widely experimented with the potentials of the web, and the body of literature produced as a result offers some important points of reflection.[2] However, amongst archaeology, heritage and museum professionals, there have been few sustained discussions about the factors that may prevent the realisation of online democratic participatory spaces (but see Richardson 2013: 6–8; Smith and Waterton 2009: 119–137).

Many uses of social media may be categorised as internally focused as they primarily serve academic, personal and professional purposes, such as the professional 'networking' and the sharing of information evident within archaeological and museum communities. Other uses can be considered externally focused, tending towards engaging or collaborating with audiences external to academic disciplines or institutions. A case may be made that internally focused activities aid the expansion or deconstruction of

1 Social media are closely associated with the term 'Web 2.0', which refers to the participatory websites popularised from the middle of the last decade. Web 1.0 websites tend to disseminate information to individual web users who cannot easily contribute their own content to a website. Web 2.0 sites, by comparison, allow for users to contribute their own content through interaction with content provided by a website owner or proprietor, as well as with the content provided by other internet users (i.e. 'user-generated content').

2 For a review of some of the early uses of the web in museums see Jones (2007); Parry (2007). For examples of social media work in archaeology see Bonacchi 2012; Kansa *et al*. 2011; *World Archaeology* 44(4) 2012. For examples within the wider museums and heritage sector see the *Museums and the Web* conference; Adair *et al*. 2011; Cameron and Kenderline 2010; Giaccardi 2012; Marty and Jones 2009; Parry 2007, 2010.

disciplinary boundaries and internal hierarchies.[3] For example, open dialogues may occur between junior and senior scholars (see Kansa and Deblauwe 2011) and increased interaction may be evident between academics in different disciplines (Neylon 2013; also see Day of Digital Humanities [n.d.]).[4] This is an area demanding further study. However, it is the more externally focused social media uses that often appear to implicitly, if not explicitly, accept that idea that social media are tools by which traditionally excluded audiences may be reached, as well as a means by which to subvert disciplinary or institutional authority to various democratic ends (e.g. Adair *et al*. 2011).

Engagement and collaboration on the social web

It been asserted that museums may become more responsive to new audiences and they can better achieve educational missions by affording access to online information about cultural heritage materials. This has been linked to currently prevailing theories of museum education, especially constructivism and theories of identity and meaning-making (e.g. Kelly and Russo 2010; Russo

3 Primarily internally focused uses of social media include: sharing data or making them 'open' for re-use (Kansa and Kansa 2011); sharing information about jobs and publications (Dunleavy and Gilson 2012; Terras 2012); personal and professional support, particularly on social networking sites; using blogs for informing those within a discipline or professional sector (Caraher 2008; Kansa and Deblauwe 2011); securing support and funding for campaigns or projects (e.g. Schreg 2013; also see discussions based around particular Twitter hashtags, such as '#freearchaeology' which has focused upon issues of unpaid labour in archaeology; and various crowdfunding endeavours, such as DigVentures [n.d.] and the Bamburgh Research Project [n.d.]); engaging in discussions around areas of particular professional or academic interest (e.g. Museum3 n.d.; Zooarchaeology Social Network [see Kansa and Debluawe 2011]); organising events or group activities (e.g. Drinking About Museums [see Rodley 2013]); engaging with scholars in other disciplines (e.g. the Day of Digital Humanities [n.d.], in which a number of archaeologists have participated); and enabling discussion between academics, professional, avocationalists and other communities (e.g. the Day of Archaeology [n.d.] has seen contributions from archaeologists from professional and academic spheres).

4 Beginning in 2009, the Day of Digital Humanities (n.d.) is an annual online event hosted by researchers at the Center for Digital Humanities and Social Sciences at Michigan State University. It encourages individuals whose research has digital aspects to contribute posts documenting their days' work to a personal page, which is hosted on the main Day of Digital Humanities website. Together, the pages of numerous researchers are intended to represent the range of activities performed by scholars who can be identified as 'digital humanists'. Similarly, the online 'Day of Archaeology' (n.d.), occurring annually since 2011, encourages archaeologists to document their days' activities in order to help answer the question, 'what do archaeologists do'? An ultimate intention is to raise public awareness of the relevance of archaeology to contemporary society.

et al. 2009). It has also been argued that: museums may aid in a shift towards a more egalitarian society by engaging individuals previously marginalised from museum activities (e.g. Russo *et al*. 2009; Sumption 2001); museums may improve their collections by gaining supplementary information through empowering audiences to interpret collections alongside museum curators (e.g. by encouraging users submitting content to the museum; Cairns 2013; Kelly and Russo 2010; Trant 2009); and museums may, in some cases, redress the more colonial histories of museums by affording interpretive authority to source and descendant communities (e.g. Christen 2011). Taken together, individuals who interact with museums online are considered 'empowered' because they can communicate equitably with a museum, as well as amongst each other, around digitised cultural heritage information resources and the issues raised by them. Amongst the smaller body of work in archaeology, a common theme has also been that of decentering the authority of interpreting the past beyond more senior archaeologists in particular and the archaeological discipline more generally (e.g. Brock 2012; Morgan and Eve 2012; also see Hodder 1999; Joyce and Tringham 2007; McDavid 2004).

Positive discourses about the social web are ubiquitous. However, there has been a lack of sustained engagement with the body of critical literature emerging from new media and internet studies. This would allow for more balanced conclusions to be drawn about the long-term impact of the social web upon cultural heritage institutions and disciplines like archaeology. This being the case, it is presently difficult to conclude that a more decentered public archaeology has actually been achieved, in which the accrual of benefits and the authority to interpret cultural heritage is equitably shared. Issues of particular concern are how pre-existing ('offline') inequalities may affect the nature or composition of online communities, as well as how structures of authority (e.g. the authority of cultural institutions to decide what is worth curating or the authority of the archaeological discipline to define what is legitimately 'archaeology'; see Holtorf 2009; Smith 2004) may transfer online, and whether these may be reinforced rather than transcended or transformed.

Some of the main externally focused platforms and uses of social media within archaeology and museums are introduced below, before an analysis is presented of some of the assertions made about the democratic nature of social media and the web.[5]

Blogs

Blogs (a contraction of the words 'web' and 'log') are webpages displaying short entries on particular topics. Other users may be able to comment upon these posts. Some internet theorists consider blogs as empowering people to become 'citizen journalists' who can compete with traditional media elites (e.g. Bruns 2005; Kahn and Kellner 2004). However, cultural authorities such as museums (as well as traditional media elites) have certainly established blogs alongside the blogs of 'ordinary' people.[6] Museum blogs, for instance, often include posts about particular objects (e.g. the conservation process, the stories surrounding an object, or other supplementary contextual information). It is considered that blogs allow for two-way communications between the museum and the online users. Even if users do not actively comment upon blogs (most do not), they can be considered useful for revealing the 'human side' of an institution or individual professional (Bernstein 2008; Dicker 2010). Similar arguments have been asserted about externally focused archaeological blogs intended to engage interested publics in archaeological research. For example, blogs may be used to reveal the contingency of interpretations, solicit contributions from interested online users, or to raise awareness of, support for and encourage participation in archaeology (see Brock 2012; Day of Archaeology n.d.).

Social networking sites

Social networking sites are probably the best-known kind of social media, and Twitter and Facebook are surely the most famous examples. They are characterised by their ability to support pre-

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5 This is not a comprehensive review; many social media platforms are not discussed here (e.g. Flickr, FourSquare, Pinterest, Tumblr, Vine). Additionally, it should be noted that different social media platforms may be used simultaneously by an individual, institution or organisation.

6 Alongside organisational blogs, many individuals maintain their own blogs to present personal opinions and research (e.g. Rocks-Macqueen [n.d.]; Simon [n.d.]; and Yates [n.d.]).

existing social networks, as well as encouraging the creation of new connections around particular topics of interest (e.g. academia.edu for academic communities, Flickr for photography, last.fm for music). Social networking sites allow for conversations around content (e.g. status updates, photographs, links to websites) provided by page proprietors (i.e. owner or proprietor-generated content) and others (i.e. user-generated content). Currently, there is only a small body of formal publications about the use of social networking sites in archaeology and museums, which is surprising given their apparent ubiquity of use amongst individual academics and professionals as well as organisations and institutions.

A number of uses can be identified amongst museums in particular. Firstly, the value of social networking sites for marketing purposes, although not often discussed, is certainly a primary concern amongst many museums. Secondly, they may encourage conversations between institutional centres and individual users, as well as amongst individual users. For example, content provided by a museum on social networking sites (e.g. a photograph of an object accompanied with a biography of a collector; or a status update asking for users opinions on a particular subject) may elicit contributions from individual users (e.g. comments or the submission of personal photographs). This online content, and the dialogue that may follow, has been argued to reveal some of the contingencies of decision making in museums, and further, by opening up collections information to interpretation and discussion by others, question the authorised position of museums (e.g. Russo *et al*. 2008; Wong 2011). Thirdly, many museum professionals have argued that social networking sites allow for the collection of much supplementary information about collections (e.g. Gray *et al*. 2012; NMC 2010: 13–15). This has obvious advantages for the museum—if the information is curated or archived it provides useful supplementary information about the museum's collections—but could also be argued to be a means of decentering the existing expertise surrounding particular collections. Finally, it has been asserted that the extent of use of social networking sites means that access to museums can be broadened by engaging traditionally non-visiting audiences, many of which include individuals who may not be able to physically travel to a museum (e.g. NMC 2011: 5).

McDavid's (2004) exploration of the democratic potentials of the internet for sustaining conversations around archaeology at the site of the Levi Jordan Plantation in Brazoria, Texas, can be considered a 'Web 1.0' precursor of the more recent uses of social networking sites by public archaeologists. This involved much 'offline' work, such as gathering oral histories, as well as 'online' work such as encouraging discussions on a website. McDavid (2004) argued that offline contexts of use are essential to consider, and particularly engaged with some of the inequalities involved in online participation (e.g. by running workshops to enable internet access). However, in more recent social networking site usage it is largely unstated and unclear how the use of online spaces intersects with offline work. Nevertheless, a number of community archaeology groups and associations have established social media presences. For example, the Florida Public Archaeology Network provides separate Twitter feeds for eight regions of Florida, which offer updates on archaeology events in each region. Similarly, the Burgage Earthworks project based at Southwell, Nottinghamshire, and the FenArch community archaeology group, which excavates in the Fenland of East Anglia, use Twitter alongside other social media platforms (such as blogs) to update followers on events and excavation progress. Some accounts have encouraged online publics to offer their own interpretations or commentaries about archaeology, or to ask questions of archaeologists. For instance, the Twitter and blog accounts of a research project on a nineteenth century manor house and its associated outbuildings and slave quarter, at Historic St. Mary's City, Maryland, provide updates on the research process, but also aim to make this process more transparent and encourage online publics to ask questions of the archaeologists (Brock 2012).

Wikis and open content

Comprising numerous linked editable pages, and often taking the form of a freely accessible encyclopaedia (e.g. Wikipedia, WikiArc), wikis allow individuals to edit, modify or delete the content on each page. Wikis can support collaboration between organisations and individuals, who may organise special interest groups to improve groups of pages around a certain topic. On Wikipedia, for instance, WikiProject Archaeology (2013) aims to improve information on archaeological topics, whereas the GLAM-Wiki (2013) initiative encourages cultural heritage institutions to contribute content from their collections. In this way, it has been argued that wikis enable the co-construction of knowledge between traditional experts and others who may be able to contribute to a topic. However, it is not clear that participation in wikis extends beyond the involvement of academics, professionals and interested amateurs (e.g. Looseley and Roberto 2009). The ability of wikis to harbour egalitarian participation in archaeology and heritage has also been challenged by scholars who have demonstrated the emergence of structures of authority in online communities (e.g. O'Neil 2011; Sanger 2009).

The broader idea of 'open content' points towards some of the values of incorporating information drawn from museums and academic institutions into wikis. Open content is an emerging topic of concern within the GLAM (Galleries, Libraries, Archives and Museums) sector (as well as within archaeology; Kansa 2012), and debates centre on the ways in which collections information may be shared and re-used (e.g. by museums contributing content to Wikipedia, or by building databases with a range of interactive interfaces). For instance, the Smithsonian Cooper-Hewitt Museum has released around 60% of its collections data into the public domain with a Creative Commons Zero license, which permits all forms of reuse of information. The Rijksmuseum has also freely released information such as high-definition images of many of the objects in its collections, and allows programmers to build various applications using this information. The Rijksmuseum's own 'Rijkstudio' application offers, for example, the ability for online users to build personalised collections of objects and to share these with others via social networking sites. One of the primary advantages of open content initiatives is considered to be the new knowledge about collections that may return to museums through the various unanticipated responses to information circulated on the internet; it may serve to improve both the quality and quantity of resources around museum collections. Moreover, it is argued to result in widened opportunities for participation and to make the educational aims of museums more achievable (NMC 2012: 24–26). However, copyright and licensing issues and intellectual property rights make open content a topic of concern particularly amongst museums with works of modern art (NMC 2012: 24–26) and with relation to collections drawn from politically marginalised communities (see Nicholas and Bannister 2004).

Crowdsourcing

The solicitation of user-generated content from small or large groups of online individuals is known as 'crowdsourcing'. This is often intended to solve a defined problem; the aggregated result of contributions usually forms a body of knowledge or an 'answer' to a problem. Within the arts and humanities, crowdsourcing has usually demanded users to complete small tasks defined by a project proprietor. Such tasks have included: correcting errors in material provided by a project proprietor; transcription tasks; contributing rich content, such as oral histories or creative content, in response to an open call; and categorising, classifying or voting on material (see Dunn and Hedges 2012).

Within archaeology, crowdsourcing projects have recently emerged wherein project organisers often claim a vague range of public benefits alongside professional and academic benefits. For example, the Ur Crowdsource (n.d.) project aims to transcribe the excavation records from the joint expedition of the British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania Museum which excavated Ur between 1922–34. It hopes to achieve this by encouraging individuals to complete small transcription tasks. The stated aim of the project is to produce data that can be utilised by researchers but also the general public. Similarly, the Atlas of Hillforts Project (n.d.), run by researchers from the Universities of Oxford and Edinburgh, encourages members of the public to help survey and document British hillforts. The aim is to produce an atlas that can be utilised by academics, students and the general public. It is unclear whether these vague discourses of public benefit (perhaps referring to educational benefits) are in fact realised, or whether resources simply accrue for the archaeologists.

Within museums and other cultural institutions, crowdsourcing projects have also been used for comparable ends, often to complete projects that a small group of researchers could not complete alone in a short time period. For example the Old Weather project run by the National Maritime Museum amongst other partners (Zooniverse

2012) seeks participants to help digitise weather observations drawn from the logs of British Royal Navy ships. Similarly, participants in the Australian Newspapers Digitisation Program complete a task that a computer cannot do: correcting text errors in Optical Character Recognition-scanned newspapers (Holley 2009). Tagging systems, which allow for individuals to add keywords to digital objects or webpages, have also been implemented by many museums. Keywords assigned to museums' collections information by individual internet users produce 'folksonomies': consensually-produced, bottom-up taxonomies (Weinberger 2005). Proponents argue that these better allow publics to easily explore online museum collections (e.g. Chan 2007), whist also decentering the authority of traditional cultural experts to interpret and categorise information cultural heritage (e.g. Cairns 2013; Trant 2009).

The extent to which benefits accrue equitably amongst project proprietors and participants is unclear. The benefits for the project proprietors are often clearly stated, usually in terms of the knowledge gained for an institution. However, it is particularly unclear how projects affect individual participants. For instance, do they truly become co-creators of knowledge, and do they gain skills that may benefit them beyond the project? It may be considered that participants are already interested in a particular subject, possibly dedicated amateurs (Owens 2013). Thus crowdsourcing may not be about popular 'crowds' at all, and even less about benefiting those who are currently excluded from archaeology and heritage institutions. It may instead reinforce the status quo.

Targeted collaborative projects

Whilst most of the examples above largely represent more general efforts to engage various publics, a range of Web 2.0 platforms have been used in more targeted collaborative projects between museums and particular descendant communities. The digitisation of collections and the establishment of interactive databases and catalogues within particular museums have enabled many of these projects. The Reciprocal Research Network, for example, is an online portal developed by a partnership comprising the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology, the Musqueam Indian Band, the Stó:lō Tribal Council and the U'mista Cultural Society alongside several other museums and institutions.[7] The portal enables access to data contributed by the partners, which form an archive of about 400,000 objects representing material heritage from the Canadian Northwest Coast. The aim was to create a research tool enabling conversations and research collaborations amongst geographically dispersed individuals, and it was particularly focused upon integrating more diverse knowledge systems than those usually represented by cultural institutions. Individual participants are able to contribute content to the database, which is visible alongside the traditional museum catalogue information, and which is also fed back into the originating institutions' catalogues (see Iverson *et al*. 2008; Rowley *et al*. 2010).

A further example is 'Emergent Database: Emergent Diversity', which was a project run by the A:shiwi A:wan Museum and Heritage Center in Zuni, New Mexico, and the University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, intended to redress the marginalisation of Zuni views about archaeological artefacts excavated at Kechiba:wa in the 1920s (see Srinivasan *et al*. 2010). An epistemological challenge was identified since the narrative-based Zuni descriptions of objects were incommensurate with the discipline-based descriptions in the museum database. Digital objects were seen as an important focus for negotiating the various ways of knowing by different expert communities. An ultimate result of this project was the establishment of a relationship in which the A:shiwi A:wan Museum were afforded the ability to control aspects of the Cambridge database, such as the ability to add content (e.g. comments) to the collections database that the museum cannot alter.

Most collaborations focused on interactive databases have been related to broader repatriation efforts within museums, and thus have been characterised as a form of 'virtual repatriation'; they are considered to help achieve the various ends sought by physical repatriation, such as cultural or linguistic revival (e.g. Christen 2011; Ngata *et al*. 2012). Collaborative projects may also result in

7 The Royal British Columbia Museum; the Burke Museum; the University of British Columbia Laboratory of Archaeology; the Glenbow Museum; the Royal Ontario Museum; the Canadian Museum of Civilization; the McCord Museum; the National Museum of Natural History; the National Museum of the American Indian; the American Museum of Natural History; the Pitt-Rivers Museum; the University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

the accrual of valuable resources for a museum, such as the new information that is returned to a museum, which can be incorporated into the permanent museum catalogue (e.g. Rowley *et al*. 2010; Srinivasan *et al*. 2009). A number of further concerns can also be raised, including: the longer appropriative and colonial histories of museums that may not be redressed by these projects (see Boast 2011); issues of incommensurable knowledge (e.g. Srinivasan *et al*. 2010); and the ethical and intellectual property issues involved in circulating digital objects (e.g. Brown and Nicholas 2012).

The impact of social media

It is unclear whether or not permanent effects are caused by the use of social media for cultural authorities like museums, related disciplines like archaeology, as well as extra-disciplinary communities. This situation has seemingly resulted from a lack of qualitative impact studies, a lack of engagement with critical research emerging from internet and new media studies, and, in some cases, the broader archaeology and museology literature. This is highly problematic given the number of social media projects currently being conducted within the heritage and museums sectors, which tend to claim that, more or less explicitly, social media can aid in challenging the authority to interpret the past traditionally held by archaeologists and museums. Quantitative measures are often useful for grounding discussions, but without thorough qualitative analysis, only speculative inferences about the breaking down of authority can be drawn. Thus, theoretically informed qualitative research is particularly required, for which many methodological options exist, including various kinds of discourse analysis and grounded theory (see Fielding *et al*. 2008).[8] Such methods would aid in better assessing the impact of social media on the authority of a discipline and its institutions.

Here, three points of critical analysis are offered, pointing towards some of the potential barriers to achieving the more laudable aims of social media work: the factors that impact upon equitable access

8 For example, the author's forthcoming PhD thesis offers qualitative analyses of museums' use of social media, particularly focusing on the posited benefits of social media usage compared to the actual impact on their authority and on their online audiences.

to the internet; the transference of pre-existing authority to online spaces; and the inequitable accrual of resources.

Firstly, it is not evident that the internet enables a more equitable level of participation amongst different communities. Those previously marginalised from archaeology and museums may continue to be marginalised, whilst others might become newly marginalised. A comprehensive view of 'internet access' refers not only to physical access (e.g. Duggan and Brenner 2013), but also the kinds of motivations and skills that determine how effectively individuals use the internet, if at all (e.g. Correa 2010; Hargittai 2002; Selwyn 2006, 2010; van Deursen and van Dijk 2011). The proprietors of social media projects must address these issues to be able to claim that the authority over the interpretation of archaeology and heritage has been decentered. Yet, only a handful of researchers have considered the motivations of individuals engaging with online museum resources. Most have highlighted a pre-existing interest in a topic, which is problematic given the claims of broadening access (see Dunn and Hedges 2012; Russo and Peacock 2009; Trant 2009).

There are also less apparent ways in which pre-existing structures of authority (e.g. the traditional cultural authority of museums, and the disciplinary authority of archaeologists) are maintained. For example, some scholars have pointed towards the temporary impact that user-generated content actually has upon museum catalogues (e.g. Cameron 2008), which is likely due to a devaluing of most user-generated content, thus replicating in a digital environment the curatorial decisions traditionally made by museums. It is also not clear that diverse viewpoints are especially supported. The replication of pre-existing social inequalities has been evident on Wikipedia (e.g. Wadewitz 2013). Similarly, within tagging systems, minority viewpoints tend to be drowned out (Saab 2010). These observations challenge the claim that the internet enables shared authority between museums or archaeologists and extra-disciplinary communities.

Thirdly, it may be the case that cultural institutions accrue resources to an extent far greater than other communities. This is a concern that can be raised with especial reference to crowdsourcing projects, which do not provide clear benefits for participants. The benefits provided for institutional centres include resources that can be incorporated into the permanent collections of museums, as well as data that individual researchers might be employed to study. Identifiable benefits provided for crowdsourcing participants are primarily related to pre-existing motivations (see Dunn and Hedges 2012; Owens 2013; Trant 2009: 37). It should also be borne in mind that Web 2.0 was originally championed in terms of its value for businesses (O'Reilly 2005). In this way, internet scholars are increasingly pointing towards the problems with the commercial nature of social media, particularly the issues surrounding inequitable or pernicious 'digital labour' practices (Scholz 2013; also see Hesmondhalgh 2010). This again suggests a reinforcement of the status quo, wherein those already interested and able to participate can do so whereas a broader range of people who are claimed to receive benefits through web-based projects may not actually receive those benefits.

Conclusions

Many archaeologists have questioned the authority they enjoy over the interpretation of the past by becoming cognizant of the socio-political, ethical and epistemological issues involved in interpreting the past (e.g. Colwell-Chanthaphonh *et al*. 2010; Edgeworth 2006; Smith 2004). Of particular concern, especially amongst community, feminist and Indigenous archaeologists, is the valuing of perspectives that traditionally have been marginalised and sharing the various benefits involved in interpreting the past (Conkey 2005; Silliman 2008; Wylie 2003, 2008). The ability to critically engage with 'non-archaeologists' may not be easy, and may involve the development of particular attitudes and inter-personal skills (Nicholas 2010; Silliman 2008). 'Offline' collaborative and community-based projects have had to respond to charges of tokenism, particularly questions about the long-term commitment of archaeological experts to the needs of a particular community and their willingness to help shift disciplinary norms (see Boast 2011; Nicholas *et al*. 2011; Smith 2006; Smith and Waterton 2009). Similarly, online work cannot be considered an easy or quick 'fix' to make archaeology more responsive to a broader public.

To date, social media projects in archaeology, heritage organisations and museums have not fully engaged with the various barriers that prevent equal participation amongst different communities. These include barriers to equal internet access as well as the less obvious structures of authority that may transfer to online environments. In addition, the extent to which benefits accrue fairly amongst institutional or disciplinary centres and other communities is far from clear. Archaeologists and other heritage or museum professionals involved in establishing social media projects should be encouraged to assert a more ethically-engaged and socio-politically-aware practice and, potentially, to commit to long-term relationships with various online communities. This will aid in preventing the continued marginalisation of some individuals or communities and newly marginalising others, and help to ward against the damaging effects of disciplinary authority and the inequitable accrual of benefits. Archaeologists should attempt to consciously challenge the barriers to effectively broadening participation through the use of social media, as well as analysing the actual impact of online archaeological work. A failure to do so will likely mean that much online public archaeology fails to resemble the positive rhetoric currently prevailing.

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