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EDITORIAL

Of life and death

Jaime ALMANSA SÁNCHEZ, Editor

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This year has seen the publication of our third Special Volume entitled "Death in the Contemporary World: Perspectives from Public Archaeology", with Howard Williams and Lorna-Jane Richardson as guest editors. For those who said, years ago, that Twitter was dead, this special provides evidence to the contrary. The volume was created as a result of the first *Public Archaeology Twitter Conference* (#PATC1) which took place in April 2017 (#PATC2 followed in November of the same year and #PATC3 in January 2019). It was also through Twitter that the terrible news hit us: this past year, Henry Cleere and David Lowenthal both passed away within just weeks of one another.

Saddened, as we all are, by these two great losses, we would like to dedicate this eighth volume to them. After all, they were partly responsible for the birth of our journal. If Peter Ucko was the 'trigger' for the emergence of public archaeology, Cleere and Lowenthal were key figures in the birth and development of heritage studies. We did not have the luck to meet them in person, but it goes without saying that their work was instrumental in the development of heritage theory and practice, heritage management and public archaeology. There is not much to add to the obituaries that were published after their deaths, and we still cannot find the words to express our sincere gratitude for the contributions they have made. But if we were to pick out a powerful message, one that is as relevant as ever, is that heritage matters, and the

way we deal with it shapes society. This is a central idea for public archaeology practitioners and one of the mottos we live by.

Irrespective of whether we are working within communities or not, people are always affected by our work in multiple ways. This is not new, however, only recently have we started to address the fact that archaeology is more than just a science. The presence and impact of archaeology on daily life is massive. Over the years, we have been trying to develop tools to create a positive impact, but we are still just beginning to grasp bigger parts of the whole picture, and those we see more clearly are, unfortunately, the negative ones. Our sole presence in the social fabric often results in multiple conflicts of interest and affects social, political and economic dynamics every day. Public archaeology is here to take into account the consequences and help to transform our practice in a way that its impact is as less aggressive as possible. But transforming our practice also means transforming this very social fabric. Is it at all possible to have an impact that is only positive? Even if it is, how would that be ensured on each occasion?

In dealing with such questions, not only practice but also ethical issues arise. Our past volumes, as well as an extensive literature beyond this journal, provide several examples of mostly positive but also negative impact. We can also see action being taken, and the roots of the transformative practice we aim for. Life is complicated, and we are not an exception to the rule. More often than not, there is a thin line between what is better and what is worse. The distinction is not always as clear as we might think, leading to decisions that can become a matter of life and death—mostly speaking metaphorically, but this is undeniably a critical moment. We must pause, rethink the ways we practice archaeology and take further action accordingly.

World Heritage status has shown to be crucial for the conservation and protection of important sites for humanity, but

its impact is multifaceted and often has negative repercussions for local communities, such as gentrification, over-tourism and depopulation. In this arena, the legacy Henry and David left is fundamental too. They set the foundations. Now, our challenge is to build on them.

To this end, Volume 8 presents new research on public archaeology:

First, Jaime Delgado is back with a follow-up paper (see his previous article in volume 6), addressing a crucial issue in the area of Teotihuacan; its gradual decay due to social dynamics in the area, working with children on an innovative project that aims at co-creation and a generational change in the perception of archaeological heritage in Mexico.

In our second article, Festo Gabriel (see his previous article in volume 5) highlights the importance of community work in Tanzania through the example of Mtwara region and examines how the lack of effective communication between archaeologists and local communities results in a lack of awareness about archaeology and cultural heritage.

Finally, Kate Ellenberger and Lorna-Jane Richardson share their reflections on evaluation in public archaeology. Starting with an overview of their experiences in the US and the UK, the authors go on to critique the reasons behind institutional assessments, and plea for a more honest form of evaluation in public archaeology projects; one that makes the importance as well as the flaws of our work visible.

Our section 'Points of You' features an entertaining piece by Alberto Polo and Diana Morales on the representations of prehistoric and historic graffiti in contemporary popular culture.

This year, the volume closes with three reviews: Nekbet Corpas reviews Pablo Alonso's *Antipatrimonio*, a book reflecting on the 'heritage machine' through the case study of Maragatería, a rural region in Northwest Spain. Then, Andrew Reinhard's *Archeogaming*, a compilation of his work about an archaeology in and of videogames, is reviewed by Daniel García Raso. Finally, Jaime Almansa looks at Daniel García Raso's *Yacimiento Pixel*, a counterpart from Spain that parallels Reinhard's book, sharing many insights on the topic.

We would like to thank all of the authors and reviewers of this volume and hope you will enjoy reading it as much as we—the editors—have enjoyed preparing it. As usual, we close this editorial with our standard calls:

1. Call for Debate:

We welcome guest blog posts on a wide range of topics related to public archaeology as well as event reviews. You can send your posts in a Word document with image files attached to our email. We also encourage your feedback and comments, after visiting our blog, as well as discussion via our social media. If you have any specific topic in mind that you want to write about, we are open to suggestions. Don't forget our forums that are always open to discussion and comments.

2. Call for Papers:

Volume 9 is set to be published in fall 2019. Because of the usual delay in publication, the deadline for submissions is extended by one month, and will be 30 June 2019. We wish to receive papers for our next volume as soon as possible so that there will be enough time to get things done in a timely, consistent manner. For more information about the submission procedure, please visit our website. In case you have any questions or doubts, please feel free to contact us.

3. Call for Special Issue Proposals:

We invite guest editor proposals from those who wish to discuss particular topics and areas of research that fall within the aims and scopes of the journal. Special issues provide a great opportunity to review a specific topic, examine aspects that remain unaddressed, discuss, suggest and develop novel approaches, and encourage new research models. Feel free to contact us for guidance on preparing your proposal.

4. Call for Donations:

The philosophy of this journal—and of its editors—is to provide the widest access at no cost for both authors and readers. AP is—and will remain—a free-access and not-for-profit journal, thus, sustainability is always an issue. The publisher, JAS Arqueología, will continue to take care of it for as long as it exists. The material costs of the journal are less than 100€ per year, which is affordable for the company in case donations are low, but keeping it a fully open-access and ad-free publication means its future depends on your support. So if you find any stimulation in AP Journal, please consider a modest donation. No matter how small the amount, it can make a big difference.

At this point, we should warmly thank and express our gratitude to our donors. Should you wish to support AP Journal, you can do so either directly or indirectly, by buying a hard copy of any of the existing volumes:

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**Mutual education.
Towards a model of educational co-creation around
the archaeological heritage of Mexico.**

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Abstract

Today, the area surrounding the archaeological city of Teotihuacan is suffering a gradual process of destruction due to factors such as: the uncontrolled urban sprawl of neighbouring communities, the conurbation of Mexico City, and the conflictive relationship between the State Institution which is legally responsible for preserving these remains and these centres of population. This represents a multifactorial and convergent problem requiring coordinated action and participation on the part of the Mexican state, the local authorities, and the local population.

This article deals with these problems from a generational perspective, based on the fact that, at the present time, thousands of school children and young people from these urban areas are forming criteria or opinions about the problem and learning from the positions taken by different players in the conflict. It is in this context, and via a post-doctoral study period supported by the Mexican National Council of Science and Technology (Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología) (CONACYT) and the Institute of Heritage Sciences (INCIPIT-CSIC) in Spain, that we have built a strategy for scientific dissemination, named 'Arqueólogos en Apuros' (Archaeologists in Trouble), which consists of a multimedia children's news bulletin presented by puppet reporters, with the aim of promoting processes of reflection among school children

regarding the destruction of the pre-Columbian city and the problems implied by this fact. However, we wish to go beyond the act of simply providing information and hope to generate co-creation processes, in which these children can make decisions regarding the topics, formats, and representation of the news bulletin and can become capable of researching the news for themselves. In this paper, the theoretical and methodological evolution of this project is analysed, along with its successes, failures, and future challenges, which may enable us to establish the ways in which these young people relate to their heritage, reaching beyond the authorized discourse, and to help them to demand their right to preserve, defend, and enjoy this heritage within the framework of the expression of their creativity and spontaneity.

Keywords

Teotihuacan, preservation, defence, young people, co-creation.

Introduction

The archaeological city of Teotihuacan has long been one of the most emblematic sites of Mexican Archaeology. It is a pre-Columbian metropolis, built around 100 A.D., on the perpendicular crossroads of two great roads (avenues) of six kilometres in length (the Avenue of the Dead and the East-West Avenue), forming four large quadrants occupying an area of 22 km², with an estimated population of between 150,000 and 200,000 inhabitants (Charlton 2002).

Neighbourhoods, temples, squares and streets, as well as more than 2,000 architectonic units, make up a complex urban system possessing archaeological information of prime importance in understanding the development of this metropolis and of the different cultures which preceded it. Following its abandonment, which occurred around 650 A.D., eight communities of colonial origin were established on the buried remains of the archaeological city. However, it was not until 1988 that the Mexican government, via the National Institute of Anthropology and History (Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia) (INAH), attempted to provide the archaeological site with federal protection by creating

containment belts and placing special restrictions on building through the publication of a legal document, known as 'La Poligonal de Protección de 1988'.

However, this law presents many technical limitations and a design which conceived of these modern communities as static entities, with the aggravating factor that it came into force without including these communities in a process of consultation or participation. Moreover, this law did not contemplate alternative land use or different types of construction for the property owners concerned, all of which means it borders on obsolescence. Faced with these facts, these communities have neither remained static nor have they waited passively for the law to be reformed to allow for their participation. Rather, they have developed a series of social practices aimed at bypassing the law, which they consider an imposition. Examples of these social practices include: not signing legal documents suspending construction work; pretending to be unaware of the legal situation; confronting the INAH's notifiers and lawyers with violence; and simply covering up any building work with tarpaulins and plastic sheets until construction is complete.

The result is that the area has turned into a social battlefield, in which avoidance of the law on the part of the inhabitants, and lethargic administration on the part of the authorities, has become the norm. This situation has resulted in the total or partial destruction of 50% of the buried archaeological city with predictions warning of its almost total destruction by 2035 (Vit & Miró 2009).

Considering this state of affairs, Teotihuacan must be viewed as a multifactorial and convergent problem, requiring the intervention of various government ministries and models for community participation and the use of precise methodologies (see Tully 2007). However, it is also desirable to consider this phenomenon from a generational point of view, based on the fact that, right now, large numbers of children and young people, ranging from eight to fourteen years of age, from the valley of Teotihuacan are forming criteria and opinions about this problem, learning from the positions taken by those playing a role in this conflict, namely their parents, teachers, friends and neighbours.

Faced with this situation, we are forced to ask ourselves what information these children and young people have about what is happening to help them take an informed and considered stance on this problem. In order to answer this question, we decided to carry out a survey of more than 2,500 school children and 43 teachers belonging to the 22 primary and 21 secondary schools located within the area of archaeological protection, asking the following questions:

- How big do you think the archaeological city of Teotihuacan was?
- Do you know where your house is in relation to the city?
- In which period of history did the city exist?
- What were its main characteristics?
- Mention three things which come to mind when you hear the word 'Teotihuacan' (Cid & Delgado 2013).

The outcome of this survey was extremely revealing, with 85% of the school children being unable to situate the ancient culture of Teotihuacan in the correct historical period. 87% were not able to define the area it occupied, 75% believed that it only consisted of the Pyramids of the Sun and the Moon and 56% confused the people of Teotihuacan with the Maya, Aztecs or Olmecs. A similar problem was also detected among the teachers, with 61% of them being unable to place the archaeological city in the correct chronological context and 13% confusing it with the Aztecs or the Maya.

Faced with a situation such as this, we, as professionals dedicating our lives to these matters, cannot remain passive, waiting for politicians, civil servants and different stakeholders in the community, entrenched in their conflicting positions, to agree on the wide-ranging reforms necessary to safeguard this site of public interest. Rather, we must contribute towards helping young people have more elements at their disposal in order to define and express their position regarding these events, through informed, self-aware and participative actions. Seen in this way, the scientific dissemination project presented in this paper is founded on the premise that school children, passing from childhood to adolescence, are going through a crucial stage in the definition of their political positioning, a process which extends beyond their

homes and family groups (Velazco 2002). This is no small matter, as we are speaking of around 5,000 children of between 8 and 14 years of age, who have a direct relationship with their parents (calculated at 10,000) and 360 school teachers. These figures represent more than 20% of the total population of the areas in question, and somehow, they all were reached.

Archaeologists in trouble

With this problem in mind, we made a proposal to the authorities of the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH) to set up a scientific dissemination strategy in order to contribute towards achieving our goal to promote processes of reflection, participation and co-creation among school children. The proposal consisted of producing a multimedia children's news bulletin entitled 'Archaeologists in trouble', presented by a group of puppets (one presenter, nine puppet reporters and a floor manager), who travel all over the place broadcasting news regarding new archaeological and environmental findings, whilst also providing accurate information on the progressive destruction of the archaeological city (Delgado 2014).



Photo 1, from the "Archaeologists in Trouble" news bulletin.

Two initial aims of this news bulletin were defined: The first objective was to generate processes of reflection among school children regarding the destruction of this pre-Columbian city and its scientific value. The second goal was to investigate how the school children of the area understand, assign meaning to and form opinions on their heritage. The style of the news bulletin was informal and fun, and was conceived especially to be used both inside and outside of the official public education system.

The theoretical framework

Before going on to present the results obtained, it is necessary to clearly define our position as anthropologists, faced with what we consider to be an "identity crisis" afflicting our discipline. It was imperative for us to define what we wanted from the children and what our role in this process would be.

With these questions in mind, we considered three possibilities:

1. To direct and control our relationship with the children based on our institutional agenda.
2. To remain in the background as observers, not as participants in the process.
3. To interact with the schoolchildren, hoping that a mutual learning process would develop via dialogue.

Ultimately, we rejected the first possibility, as it represents an outdated, vertical and instructivist relationship which, for many years, has characterized some specialists and institutions, who tend to transmit specialized declarations and discourse, in the hope that their audience will repeat them parrot-style, rather than truly taking them in. In this directed relationship, the specialists consider that the results of their archaeological research must be objective, positive, universal and scientific, meaning that disseminating them to unspecialized members of the public can 'falsify reality'. It is here, according to Manuel Gándara, that we turn our backs on the general public, forcing the people to be interested in things such as strata, substrata, layers, horizons, ceramic sequences and datings, whose relevance is clear to us but is perhaps incomprehensible

to the general public (2003: 6). This recalls what Lewenstein (2003) has defined as the deficit model, taking the point of view that the archaeologist is the 'prototype of knowledge', whereas the general public has a lack or deficit thereof. Given this fact, the specialist is expected to fill this void by supplying all the necessary information (Miller, 2001). This represents a one-way relationship, which ignores the fact that these young people have already assigned meaning to the remains on different levels, scales and degrees of intensity, influenced by points of reference in the community, before the arrival of the specialists to their schools.

On the other hand, the second position of a non-participative relationship is based on avoiding any hint of indoctrination or inculcation of dominant hegemonic discourse towards "*others*" on the pretence of minimal intervention. In this relationship, some anthropologists maintain that the cultural phenomenon must be understood without having an influence on it. This places the phenomenon in a serious conflict by aiming to stand apart from the cultural reference points without realizing that, by defining a group of "*others*" via academic means, an asymmetric relationship is automatically established (Foucault 1970). The third position, with which we identify ourselves, refers to a relationship of dialogue in which dialogue and feedback between us and the school children will eventually have an effect on both groups (Blanco 2004). Along these lines, researchers such as Wynne (1991) and Miller (2003) refer to this approach as a contextual model, which overcomes the view of an indiscriminate audience by recognizing the fact that everybody has different degrees of knowledge, opinions and positions regarding the information received. This premise has also been identified by educational psychologists such as Piaget (1979) and Ausubel (2002), who have referred to it as a process of assimilation and accommodation.

However, one particularly significant characteristic for our research purposes has been the special consideration of an 'Authority', albeit not one given by decree but an epistemic authority; in other words, an authority founded on the legitimacy and recognition of the school children themselves, one based essentially on the trust generated by interaction (Alonso 2016). In this way, and assuming that the symmetry with the school children is, by definition, impossible for ontological, ethical and economic

reasons, as has been mentioned by González Ruibal (2014: 52-54), this symmetry is extremely clear and feasible when establishing a material and symbolic negotiation of these differences on a relatively equal footing with those involved in the process.

Background

In order to achieve our initial goal, we built a multi-disciplinary work group, which was tasked with creating the scripts, characters and subject matter of the news bulletin. This was done taking into account the fact that the puppet reporters would present the bulletin live in the classroom, recreating a newsroom and broadcasting their reports on a 50-inch flat screen television. However, the true challenge was to re-contextualize archaeological discourse via the following educational methods:

1. The use of mediators (Hall, 1997: 45), thereby assuming the fact that many specialist archaeologists, although they may be excellent academics, may not necessarily be good communicators. Therefore, the decision was taken to substitute the specialist with puppets, who would look for answers in a dynamic way with the same doubts and concerns as those of young school children.
2. *The idea of affection and relevance*, which situates our knowledge in a closer position to the specific realities of children. This is a methodology also known as *junior pack*, which consists of playing at real life but on a small scale (David Perkins, 2009).
3. *Genius loci*, translated as the 'spirit of the place', consists of extracting elements from specialized archaeological discourse which allow school children to identify what makes an archaeological site unique and exceptional, with the aim of increasing their interest by taking them out of their routine and confronting them with something extraordinary (Gándara 2015: 3).
4. Finally, and with the aim of opening up the dialogue, we use the *Scaffolding Theory*, which consists of using

something that the children already know and are familiar with and channelling towards the subject in question (Vygotsky, 2009). In this dialogue, it can be observed that the archaeologists become less technical the moment they leave their field of expertise, thus achieving a higher degree of empathy with their audience.

The films

Having created the scripts, we proceeded to the creation of the characters, beginning with the puppet reporter *Kelly Importa*, who makes the archaeologists uncomfortable by asking them about aspects which have always been circumvented or ignored in their scientific research: "Did the Teotihuacans have girlfriends?", "Did they fall in love?", "Did they have pets?", etc.

Another character is the reporter on environmental affairs, named *Opuntio Espinoza*, a small cactus who lives on a hill, from which he can observe the urban growth around Teotihuacan. Nervous and paranoid, he warns the children that the urban stain "wants to devour us all!"

The correspondent *Teoreto de la Piedra* is also worthy of note. He is an old archaeologist, tormented by his theories which he feels persecute him. The cast is complemented by *Cucharacucho*, *Picoleta* and *Brocha*, the work tools of the archaeologist, who act as the translators of their boss's technical language.

Initially, there were four films made for the news bulletin, beginning with the recent finding of a tunnel beneath the Temple of the Feathered Serpent in Teotihuacan. The news was broken by the puppet reporter *Teoreto de la Piedra*, who interviewed the archaeologist Sergio Gómez Chávez, asking him about the significance of the finding and his decision to introduce a robot to explore the underground tunnel in depth. Another report, presented by *Opuntio Espinoza*, showed aerial photographs of the dramatic growth of the valley's population over the archaeological city and its surrounding environment.



Photo 2. The reporter Kelly Importa of the newscast "Archaeologists in Trouble". Photo of the author.



Photo 3. The reporter Opuntio Espinoza, green news reporter of "Archaeologists in Trouble". Photo of the author.

Finally, the reporter *Kelly Importa* provided a live link from the Avenue of the Dead, asking tourists in Teotihuacan how tall they think the Teotihuacans were and how they think they walked. The situation takes an unexpected turn when the interviewees agree to walk as they suppose the Teotihuacans did.

After presenting the news bulletin in 22 primary and 21 secondary schools in the Teotihuacan Valley to more than 3,400 school children, it was obvious that they had enjoyed the experience but did they really learn anything?

In order to provide an answer to this question, a team of eleven sociologists from the National Autonomous University of Mexico carried out entry and exit surveys for each of the school children who watched the bulletin, using the same questions in order to be able to make comparisons, in accordance with Sierra's (2003) methodology. The results were encouraging, as the children's knowledge about the extension of the city increased from 2% initially to 82% at the end. For the first time, 56% learned what the average heights of the Teotihuacan men and women were, while 75% of the children would refer to the discovery of the tunnel beneath the Pyramid of the Feathered Serpent (Cid 2013).

In addition, at the end of each presentation, we opened the debate with a question: Who do you think the pyramids belong to? The answer given by the majority of the school children was emphatic: to the ancient Teotihuacans, to their builders. This is in contrast to a survey carried out in 2008 among 280 adults from the Teotihuacan Valley, who answered that they belonged to the government, to the INAH, to "the gringos" or to the director of the archaeological area. All of this reveals the aforementioned generational contrast of the conflict (Delgado 2008).

With the results up to this point, despite technical and budgetary limitations, it was clear that we were on the right track towards connecting the children with this problematic situation. However, we could observe that the school children remained immobile, without the possibility of involving themselves in research processes. At that point we asked ourselves: What would happen if children and young people became actively involved in the research process presented in the reports?

The collaborative model

Wishing to give a more active role to the school children, in the second stage of the project we explored a collaborative model of a multi-directional nature, which would lead us down different and contingent paths. We also modified the thematic axes in order to promote appreciation for the research process itself, rather than for the evaluation of the results. In order to sustain this process, we employed John Dewey's (1995) Pragmatism theories, the Theory of Collaborative Learning (Johnson, David, Johnson, Roger T. & Smith, Karl A. 1997) and the Theory of Cognitive Development (Piaget 1979 and Vygotsky 2009), which led us to develop a collaborative protocol, which we named *Taller de Investigación Arqueológica* (the Archaeological Research Workshop). This basically consisted of seeking help from the school children in order to investigate the news, giving them the freedom to choose how to present the results of their archaeological research and including these results in a special section of the news bulletin, named 'INAH Noticias en la Escuela' (INAH News at School)¹.

A total of five workshops were carried out. Some schools organized themselves quickly, whereas others required more work sessions with the project's educational experts. However, in the end, the collaborative process was fruitful with plays, novels, models, comics and even a mass stage performance being some of the means of representation chosen by the school children. Below, we shall highlight three examples of these results.

Video 1 'The Cacaclysm'

Synopsis: Tired of being treated badly, the world's excrement takes to the streets of the main cities. To begin with, the presenter of the

1 The Archaeological Research Workshop protocol consisted of: 1) Presenting the team of the news bulletin to the children in the classroom and showing the bulletin in order to present the archaeological research problem. 2) An introductory talk in order to provide the group with the necessary elements for beginning their research (books, videos, links). 3) Organizing the children into work groups and defining topics and subtopics. 4) Accompanying the research process. This was the responsibility of the teachers, who, at all times, acted as facilitators of the process. 5) Producing a video recording of the final results of the children's research in front of the class and the teachers. 6) Interviewing the school children, their teachers, parents and school managers regarding their impressions of the process. 7) Carrying out the exit survey, with the same topics as the entry survey, with the aim of capturing and comparing data.

news, *Antonio Trincheras*, does not pay attention to the worldwide protests as he is watching funny videos on the Internet. However, after realizing the seriousness of the problem, he interviews the leader of the protests in the studio, the puppet *Cakarina Aguado*, who states that among the ancient Aztecs, feces had a life cycle and even had their own goddess. We, therefore, asked the children to help us investigate whether the Aztecs really had an excrement goddess and whether, at that time, excrement played a different role compared to the situation as we know it today.²

Here, the children produced a theatrical play, using puppets which they made themselves, in which they discovered that, indeed, the Aztecs did use human excrement to fertilize their agricultural land and even had a goddess called *Tlazolteotl*, who was a goddess of the fertility of the land. In this context, they also designed a model of a water treatment plant to clean up the San Juan River, an archaeologically important river in the ancient city of Teotihuacan, which is used today to drain the waste water of the surrounding communities. As part of this process, the children called on the local population to carry out a campaign to clean up the river.

Video 2 'The Urban Stain'

Synopsis: The little cactus called *Opuntio* Espinosa claims to have received a visit from his robot cactus cousin from the future, *Espinosaibor II*, who warns him of the future destruction of the archaeological remains and asks him to do something about the situation. Therefore, *Opuntio* goes out into the public square of Teotihuacan holding a sign warning people of the dangers of the urban stain. The rumour immediately goes around that *Opuntio* has gone mad. However, the little cactus sends a video to the news bulletin in which he proves that what his cousin told him is not only coming true in Teotihuacan but also in many other parts of the world. After watching this video, we asked the school children whether it was true that urban growth is affecting natural areas and the archaeological remains in Teotihuacan, and what the future of the valley would be like if this growth continues unchecked.

² This item of news was investigated by pupils from the 5th and 6th grades of Margarita Maza de Juárez primary school, in San Martín de las Pirámides.



Photo 4. Video of the "Cacacismo" with the collaboration of children and young people from Margarita Maza de Juárez primary school, in San Martín de las Pirámides Teotihuacan. Photo of the Author.



Photo 5. Video on the urban sprawl with the collaboration of children and young people from Xochicalli primary school, from the municipality of San Juan, Teotihuacán. Photo of the Author.

In this case, the school children produced a short news bulletin with puppets in which they reported on the extinction of frogs, lizards and coyotes in the Teotihuacan Valley. They supplied specific data about the current population and that which is predicted for Mexico City as a result of the conurbation process. They also produced a play based on the book by Frank Tashlin named *The Bear That Wasn't* (1946), which tells the story of the life of a bear who hibernated in the countryside and woke to find himself in the middle of an enormous factory, in which he was made to work until he lost his identity³.

Video 3 'Teotihuacan Food'

Synopsis: An ear of corn, called *Nacho del Campo*, falls in love with sweet *Palomita*, but she rejects him because he does not look metallic. So, little *Nacho* embarks on an adventure, which leads him to attach to himself all kinds of preservatives, flavourings and artificial colourings and he becomes a star of the *Pop Corn* 'genre'. However, his excesses mean that he ends up in hospital due to an overdose of *trans* fat. In this context, we asked the children to help us research what the ancient Teotihuacans ate, how their food was different to ours and what substances instant soups and soft drinks contain.

In this case, the school children formed two groups. The first researched the food eaten by the ancient people of Teotihuacan and how it was different to the industrial food we eat today. The second group created a comic in which a character called *Pizza Style* has a plan to set up pizzerias all over the world until a worldwide league of vegetables, led by a carrot, stop him in his tracks.

Through these three examples, we could establish that the application of the Archaeological Research Workshop led to a largely qualitative and proactive appropriation of the information. This became clear when the school children themselves opened the debate or expressed their opinions, leaving the specialists as just another interlocutor of these reflections, not as a point of reference.

³ This topic was researched by pupils from the 5th and 6th grades of Xochicalli primary school, located in San Juan, Teotihuacán.

However, perhaps the most significant information for the development of the project occurred when we asked the children what they would like to know about the ancient Teotihuacan culture. Here, 96% expressed an interest in finding out about topics relating to the everyday life of the ancient Teotihuacan civilization. For example, they wanted to know what illnesses they suffered from; how they played; if they brushed their teeth; how they dressed; how they built their pyramids; what they ate; what they died of; how and where they buried their dead; and if they kept pets.

Having provided the answers to these questions, a conclusive fact was revealed to us: the list of topics prepared in the first and second stage of the project was not what interested the children. Faced with this fact, we wondered what would happen if Education was inverted: what if it was the children themselves who decided the subject matter which interested them as well as the contents of the news bulletin and how it was presented?

Towards an experimental model of co-creation

To respond to this new challenge, in this third stage, we will move towards a co-creation process (Hirzy 2002, Chambers 2004, Simone 2010, Connolly and Cruzado 2015), starting from the concept of co-creation as the set of reciprocal relationships that connect the assets and purposes of institutions with society (Chambers 2004: 194). This implies "giving voice and being sensitive to the needs and interests of the members of the local community, to provide a place for participation and dialogue" (Simone 2010: 187).

With this background, co-creation is in many ways a correlation of forces in the key of mutual feedback, which for the case that concerns us, is nourished by the participation of the directors, parents and teachers of the community involved in the process, emphasizing at all times the material and symbolic utility that archaeology has for the interests of the surrounding communities to the Archaeological Zone of Teotihuacan, rather than for the institutional agendas (Connolly and Cruzado 2015).

This period offered us the opportunity to think again about education. In most countries, a compulsory public education system was not introduced until the middle of the 19th century, resulting from the emergence of an industrial economy, which led to an extremely linear educational culture focused on the production standards of the era. This process was also influenced by the intellectual culture of the Enlightenment, which produced a hierarchical structuring of the Sciences, along with instrumental and practical reasoning associated to the emergence of new technologies. In this system, Mathematics, Chemistry and Engineering were placed at the top of the educational pyramid, with Social Sciences and Philosophy (when it is taught) below the former but still above the artistic disciplines.

This argument is of particular importance in this new stage of the research, due to the fact that, in our intellectual culture, there is a connection between the Sciences and a certain type of objective knowledge. In this way, it is believed that working with the Sciences is to work with facts and certainties, which is considered to be what is important in the world. Whereas the artistic disciplines are associated with feelings and personal expression, without tangible or specific repercussions. In this context, some explanation could be given for beliefs that educational or artistic dissemination may 'falsify the reality' of the 'exact sciences' (Robinson 2009).

As a result of this rift, we have ignored creativity and innovation, which are fantastic areas full of educational possibilities. Bearing this in mind, in this new phase of the research, we gave ourselves the goal of recuperating the emotional principles which gave rise to modern Archaeology; the motivation of a young detective seeking answers in the depths of a mysterious past. In other words, we wish to explore creative and experimental freedom as a powerful element with the ability to invigorate existing strategies of archaeological dissemination and their inherent anthropological knowledge.

In order to stem the one-way tide of producing knowledge of the past and favouring mutual education between archaeologists and the school community, we produced an experimental model of co-creation with the aim of promoting the ability of school children to decide on the subject matter, the sections and the ways of producing their school news bulletin. In this way, the appearance of local knowledge could be stimulated thus revealing

the way in which the children relate to their heritage from their own perspectives and circumstances-- allowing us to document the self-reflection implied in this process.

However, this cannot be achieved by simply declaring these freedoms given the fact that what lies at the heart of this new approach is the capacity of children to have fun, to make mistakes, and to lose the fear of expressing their ideas, seeing figures of authority in a different light than they are accustomed to within the compulsory education system.

In order to achieve these goals in a satisfactory manner, we must begin by breaking from the traditional methods of the education system, which is based on the capacity to get the right answer (considering making mistakes to be a sign of a lack of learning). This can be observed, for example, in the use of space within most Mexican classroom, where the pupils sit in rows with a central aisle leading towards the teacher who represents the figure of authority. In this system, the child is expected to get the right answers in front of his/her classmates in order to demonstrate his/her learning. This results in a tense situation, which ends up dissipating the magic of the journey to the past.

Faced with this situation, we proposed to carry out the workshop by reorganizing the layout of the classroom, working in circles to promote interaction within the groups. The next step was to consider the children's mistakes and rehearsals to be the seed of their creative processes. Several studies have demonstrated that the creative abilities of young people significantly improve when they make mistakes and have the confidence to correct them and start again, without making value judgements that lead to self-censorship (Robinson op. cit.).

The technique which we propose here is similar to that which occurs when somebody makes a sketch for a drawing, a test in which the capacity to create, erase and correct under one's own parameters of assessment is implicit. The metaphor of the sketch proposed here can be translated into a simulation when playing at being detectives of the past, creating puppets or playing at presenting a news bulletin. But is this enough for the children to trust us and to be able to lose the fear of expressing themselves?

It is at this point that three complementary dynamics (see Workshops 1, 2 and 3 below) become necessary, which tend to promote play as an element of relaxation and creation in which it is possible to make mistakes, correct yourself and try again, within the framework of the project's goals and of the rules of play themselves. The experimental workshop described here took place with 25 boys and girls of between 8 and 12 years of age belonging to the 6th grade of the Margarita Maza de Juárez public primary school located in the town of San Juan Teotihuacan over a period of four and a half months, with a total duration of 50 hours.

Methodology

In order to achieve our goal, it is necessary to build up co-creation processes with progressive methods. In other words, more and more complex improvisation structures must be used as we progress in these workshops, albeit always within the framework of the creative/spontaneous expression of the child and of the specialists. The workshops were as follows:

Workshop 1: BUILD YOUR CHARACTER. This activity is designed to introduce the subject matter of the news bulletin to the participants. In this phase, the children have to make their own puppet reporter from their own sketches, design, production, characterization and handling. Here, the different styles of puppets (muppets, marionettes, sock puppets, etc.) and the techniques used to produce them are explained. However, the most important point is that the children become able to recognize any object around them as a possible puppet, if they are able to include it in a creative plot.

Workshop 2: A DETECTIVE'S WORK. With a view to introducing them to the process of archaeological research, each child is given a series of documents (photos, credentials, letters, newspaper clippings, tickets and posters) found in the backpack of a young student called Francisca, who has disappeared. In this fictional story, the boys and girls have to read the police report in detail, establish the personality of the missing girl, determine her character, her tastes and hobbies and reconstruct the last moments

before her disappearance. The aim of this exercise is to construct a hypothesis that will enable us to find out where she is. This activity helps the children to identify the similarities and differences between the work of a detective and that of an archaeologist, establishing a correspondence between the two jobs.

Workshop 3: THE CIRCLE OF IDEAS. The participants have to define what they want to know about the ancient Teotihuacans and the way in which they could transmit it via their news bulletin. It is necessary to mention here that, as we have previously mentioned, co-creation implies a collective decision-making process which constitutes a break from the one-way flow from which archaeological knowledge is normally built. For this process, we use the method of Participatory Action Research (PAR), in which the children, gathered in circles, express their ideas via a series of anonymous cards, which are put in a visible place in the work meeting, until groups of general and specific ideas are made.

This technique has been successfully developed in multi-disciplinary groups such as DhiGeCs from the University of Barcelona (Spain) (<http://www.ub.edu/dhigecs/index.php>) and in the ParticiPat project of the INCIPIT-CSIC in Santiago de Compostela (Spain). In addition, there are also reports of its implementation, through drawings, by the 'Pintar Obedeciendo' group in Chiapas (Mexico) (Hijar 2011). An advantage of this technique is that the participatory process is visible at all times. Participation is made horizontal as equality is promoted, preventing the most outspoken or impetuous children from monopolizing the debate to the detriment of more timid children.

Workshop 4: THE RESEARCH. This stage represents the axis of the project and is present in all the activities that occur. However, the research gains in importance once the subject matter of the news bulletin has been accurately defined. At this moment, the children are divided into research groups in order to multiply their search efforts. It must be highlighted at this point that the information gathered should be argued and visualized in a critical way, encouraging the children to claim ownership of the discussion process.

Workshop 5: THE NEWS SYSTEM. This is a kinaesthetic activity in which the children are able to play the roles of the characters in the news bulletin, either in the first person or via the puppets (interviewers, sound technicians, off-stage voices, make-up artists, camera operators, etc.). In the end, it is hoped that the appearance of the children themselves will reveal their level of learning as creators of historical knowledge and their ability to relate to the past by organizing and presenting discourse.

Having said all of this, it must be mentioned that, unlike the epistemic or referential authority proposed in earlier stages of the project, at this stage we wish to take the process a step further, by inviting the specialists to immerse themselves in the creative process, without losing sight of the final objective of the news bulletin, which is to speak of archaeology and the environment while putting the school children at the centre of the narrative process.



Photo 6. A rehearsal of the co-creation model in the Lázaro Cárdenas secondary school in Otumba.

With this background, co-creation is in many ways a correlation of forces in the key of mutual feedback, which for this case, is nourished by the participation of the directors, parents and teachers of the community involved in the process, emphasizing at all times the material and symbolic utility that archaeology has for the interests of the surrounding communities to the Archaeological Zone of Teotihuacan, rather than just for the institutional agendas (Connolly and Cruzado 2015).

Therefore, we wish to clarify that this project does not only seek a multimedia product which can be broadcast over social networks or public television. It is also an educational co-creation scheme, designed for children to express their point of view on the issue of the destruction of the archaeological remains of Teotihuacan, recognizing the fact that their experiences are worthy of being expressed. In addition, it is also an opportunity for the specialists to participate in an experience of mutual education, in anthropological terms (Pardoe 1992:138).

Conclusion



Photo 7. "Arqueólogos en Apuros" from Greece and Egypt.

Lighting a fire, hunting and gathering edible plants, and making recipients and weapons were activities learned by our ancestors in their daily lives via contact with others and through repetition. Yet thousands of years later, writing was invented and led to the first great revolution in learning—the ability to write and

record information to share. Texts began to direct a large part of the knowledge process, changing the things that people learned. Within the first school system, the teacher possessed a set of knowledge, which was dictated to the students, who learned and then repeated it. However, when the Industrial Revolution took place in the 19th century, education systems began to be regulated with the aim of preparing workers, who would then be responsible for the chains of production. In this line of work, people would do the same task over and over again for many hours a day and, at school, it was hoped that all children would learn by repetition certain knowledge which was considered useful for the newly created industrial economy.

Our problem is that this model has continued to the present day when it is no longer appropriate, due to the fact that the world has changed dramatically since those times. Advances made in science and technology have brought about a change from an industrial society based on the mass production of objects to a service and information society, which is driven by ideas and creativity and the capacity for innovating ways to communicate. Thus, we are rediscovering something that we do not learn through repetition but through enthusiasm.

Therefore, scientific dissemination needs a fundamental reform. It is necessary to implement a dissemination strategy which, through social and emotional learning, leads us to stimulate children and young people in subjects which may bore them, such as history. The future of the preservation and use of heritage in the world is full of new challenges requiring new solutions that depend on how creative and varied the people facing up to these challenges are.

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Communicating Cultural Heritage Resources to the Public: Experiences from the Makonde of Mtwara Region, Tanzania.

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Abstract

Communicating cultural heritage to the public has gained popularity in many African countries and the world at large. However, little efforts have been done to promote the practice of public archaeology in Tanzania. The main reason is the dominance of conventional archaeology which is mainly meant for academic consumption. In this kind of practice, the participation of local communities has been passive. This paper explores local communities' understanding of cultural heritage resources focusing on local communities in the Mtwara Region of Tanzania. The results of this study reveal that little effort has been made by archaeologists and cultural heritage professionals to create awareness among local communities on matters related to archaeology and cultural heritage resources. Apart from discussing the state of local communities' awareness on archaeology and cultural heritage resources, the paper also discusses the importance of communicating cultural heritage resources to the general public and the need to engage local communities in the conservation and preservation of cultural heritage resources.

Keywords

cultural heritage resources, archaeology, public, local communities, conservation, tangible heritage, intangible heritage.

Introduction

Different communities perceive cultural heritage differently, depending on their respective historic and cultural background (Msemwa 2005). Some scholars (Pikirayi 2011) relate cultural heritage to 'tradition'. Traditions in this context constitute "distinct group or culture specific beliefs, customs, ritualistic and ceremonial practices transmitted over generations, in most cases through word of mouth" (Pikirayi 2011: 85).

The need to protect and manage cultural heritage resources has become increasingly globally apparent in recent years (e.g., Cleere 1993; Schmidt and McIntosh 1996; Serageldin and Taboroff 1994). Nevertheless, at the beginning of the 21st century, this objective remains a mere aspiration for many African nations. Scholars have identified a number of barriers to the protection and management of Africa's past. Although these obstacles vary from one country to another, the most prominent ones include physical and cultural factors such as weathering, erosion, vandalism, and looting; lack of protection due to the absence of management programs and legislative frameworks; the lack of adequately trained personnel; political unrest; inadequate funds; absence of research on preservation techniques and methods; lack of community awareness of the value of cultural heritage resources; the lack of appropriate equipment for information storage and conservation facilities/space, among others (Brandt and Mohamed 1996; Karoma 1996; Mabulla 1996; R. McIntosh 1996; S. McIntosh 1993; Mturi 1996). This scenario reflects the case in Tanzania where a number of heritage resources remain unnoticed, neglected or mismanaged and sometimes under-utilized, regardless of their historic and cultural value. The public remain unaware of cultural heritage resources which are integral to them. It is with this observation that I concur with Sulas *et al.* that "attention to African heritage reveals insights that can allow a re-evaluation of principles and best practices developed elsewhere, giving a crucial perspective on supposedly universal discourses of global heritage" (Sulas *et al.* 2011).

The aim of this study conducted in the Mtwara Region is twofold. On the one hand, it investigates local communities' understanding of cultural heritage resources. On the other hand, it examines local

communities' involvement in the conservation of cultural heritage resources in the Mtwara Region. Using the Makonde community of the Mtwara Region as a case study, this paper argues that local communities have a greater role to play in the conservation of cultural heritage resources of the country. The bottom line of this argument is that, local communities are key stakeholders of cultural heritage resources and they should become fully engaged in their conservation, development, and promotion. It is a bit unfortunate that, overall, little attention has so far been given to the involvement of local communities in heritage studies, especially in Tanzania.

Study Area and Research Background

The Mtwara Region forms part of the Swahili coast which also includes the offshore islands of Comoro, Zanzibar and Pemba as well as northern parts of Madagascar (Chami 2005; Horton 1996). It borders the Lindi Region to the north, the Ruvuma Region to the west, the Indian Ocean to the east and is separated by the Ruvuma River from Mozambique in the south (Figure 1). The region occupies 16,729 sq. kms or 1.9% of Tanzania Mainland area of 945,087 sq. kms (Tanzania Tourism Board 2012). The majority of the indigenous people of the region are of Bantu origin. The most dominant ethnic groups include the Makonde of Newala, Tandahimba, Masasi, Mtwara – Mikindani Municipality, and Mtwara rural. Other groups included are the Makua of Masasi and Mtwara rural, and the Yao who also live in Masasi (Tanzania Tourism Board 2012).

During the colonial period and after independence, little was known about the archaeology and cultural heritage resources of Southeastern Tanzania. Probably the earliest archaeological research in Southern Tanzania, particularly in the Mtwara Region, concerning early human settlement is that of Whiteley (1951) on the rock paintings of the Mtwara Region, especially in Masasi (Kwekason 2011). It is only very recent that some archaeological research has been conducted there (e.g. Pawlowicz 2011; Kwekason 2011; Ichumbaki 2011; Gabriel 2015).

This paper contributes to previous knowledge about archaeology and cultural heritage resources available in the Mtwara

Region, both tangible and intangible, with a focus on community awareness and the state of conservation of cultural heritage resources. Tangible cultural heritage resources which were identified during this study include the Mikindani historical site with a number of dilapidated monuments, the colonial infrastructure legacy, such as the railway route from Nachingwea in Lindi to the Mtwara port, and the old Mikindani harbor which was one of the trade centers along the East African coast. Also included are monumental remains such as the graveyard at the ancient settlement of Mvita, an old mosque, and other architectural mounds dating contemporaneously with the neighboring Mikindani historical site. There are also legacies of the Mozambique Liberation Movement such as tombs and the military camp site at Naliendele village. Wood carving and sculpturing are also among famous cultural heritage traditions and an integral part of the identity of the Makonde communities. All these tangible cultural heritage resources found in the Mtwara Region are of great cultural and historical value, especially as far as the colonial history of the region is concerned. The Makonde communities of the Mtwara Region are also rich in intangible cultural heritage resources. These include traditional beliefs and ritual practices such as *jando* and *unyago*, witch-craft, traditional medicine, traditional dances, and oral narratives.

Most of the above cultural heritage resources in the Mtwara Region are in danger of disappearing given that little effort has been made to conserve them from colonial times to the present partially due to western influence. Currently, a number of development projects are being directed by the government in collaboration with foreign investors. Apart from its wealth in natural gas resources, which has created investment opportunities, the Mtwara Region is becoming attractive to many other industrial investment opportunities. These include the Dangote cement industry, the fertilizers industry, and the Mtwara Corridor Spatial Development Initiative (SDI) aiming at promoting trade and investment in the region. The initiative will potentially transform southern Tanzania and adjacent northern Mozambique. The SDI is being promoted by the governments of Tanzania, Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia and South Africa and hinges on the development of the deep-water port of Mtwara and the road to Mbamba Bay on Lake Nyasa.

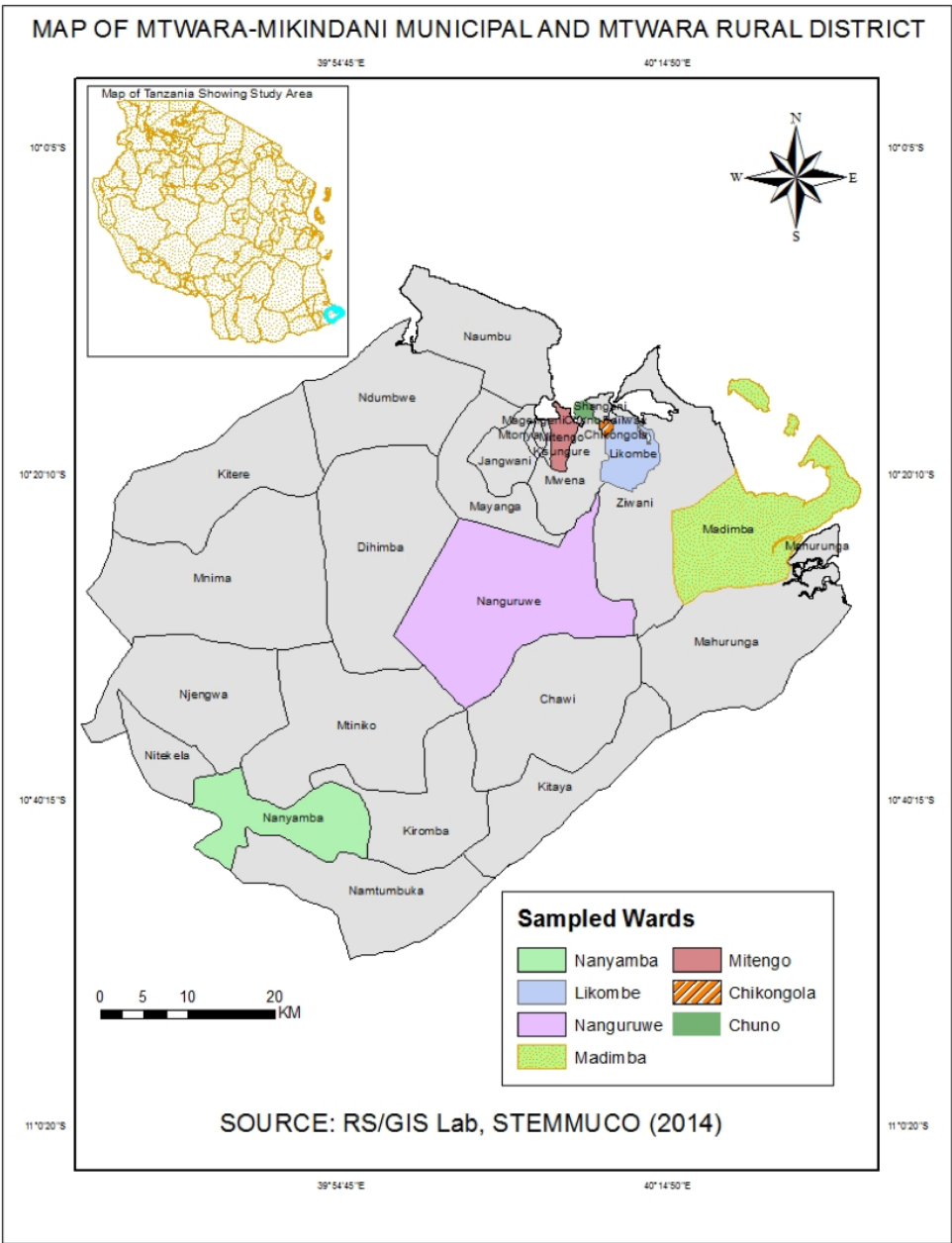


Figure 1: A Map of Tanzania Showing the location of Mtwara Region and the research Districts.

There are many other infrastructural investments in response to the socioeconomic development taking place there. The establishments of these projects pay little attention not only to the salvaging of cultural heritage resources but also to the development and promotion of cultural heritage resources that are available. There are no efforts made to integrate cultural heritage with natural resources for the economic development of the region. Instead, natural resources are given priority at the expense of cultural heritage resources. Consequently, most of the cultural heritage resources available in the Mtwara Region are in danger of disappearing due to a lack of rescue measures during the operation of these development projects. This situation calls for a need for mutual collaboration between professionals and the local communities in the conservation and management of their cultural heritage resources.

Local Communities' awareness on archaeology and cultural heritage

On the African continent, archaeology has demonstrated that humankind started in Africa and that some of the world's oldest civilizations are found on this continent. Yet, many people in Africa are still unaware of the significance of archaeology (Mire 2011). This state of unawareness about archaeology can be attributed to the lack of involvement of local communities in matters related to archaeology and cultural heritage studies. The necessity for public involvement in heritage conservation and management has been raised since the 1970s, when "Public Archaeology" by Charles McGimsey III was published, and Pamela Cressey's work in Alexandria conducted. They were trying to advocate the notion of community archaeology. In the UK, efforts by a small group of archaeologists to address an inclusion of the public into archaeological practices were also made around the same time. The origins of and the interest in engaging the public in archaeology was described as being caused by economic expansion and numerous development projects which prompted the feeling that heritage was fragile, finite, and non-renewable (Tunprawat 2009). According to Pikirayi (2011), community and public archaeologies are the ones where interactions and collaborations with 'indigenous' people are

critical for their success. The indigenous populations the world over have become increasingly engaged in the theory and practice of archaeology and increasingly vocal about issues of sovereignty and cultural heritage, as part of a concerted effort to gain control over archaeological and political uses of their past (Ndlovu 2010; Pikirayi 2011).

During the colonial period, the traditional way of managing cultural heritage sites was seen as outdated. The western approach was given priority and regarded as natural, more advanced and therefore progressive (Ndoro 2001a). The management of archaeological sites during the colonial period was mostly protective and administrative in nature (Bwasiri 2011; Msemwa 2005; Mulokozi 2005; Ndoro 2001a). This is also evident in the Mtwara Region where some monuments are preserved through reuse. For example, the government of the United Republic of Tanzania entered into an agreement with the British Non-Government Organization called Trade Aid to lease a historic building famously known as Old Boma to be used for community development projects (Kigadye 2011). This building, which was a derelict ruin in the late 1990s, has been restored into a modern tourist hotel while maintaining its originality in terms of structural form and materials. This approach to the management of archaeological sites ignored the role of the communities and community values associated with sites (Bwasiri 2011).

Little effort has been made to ensure that local communities are well informed about the touristic value of the monuments around them and their responsibility to conserve cultural heritage resources. Initially, archaeologists and heritage managers viewed local communities as reservoirs of cheap labour for fieldwork rather than consumers of knowledge of the past (Chirikure and Pwiti 2008). A general aspect of archaeology which intersects with the public takes the form of outreach through museum displays and researchers presenting their work in schools, as well as through the public media. The idea is to educate the public about the past so that its relevance is appreciated (Pikirayi 2011). Cultural heritage managers need to be sensitive to traditional views and values, and to employ terms with an awareness of their implications in various cultural settings (Watkins 2005). Although the past and

heritage in general is perceived differently by professionals and local communities, its value to the public remains significant.

Archaeologists, indigenous people with whom they work, and the increasing number of indigenous archaeologists, all inherit shared and overlapping legacies from the past (Smith and Jackson 2006). There is no one general perception of heritage resources. That is to say, different communities perceive cultural heritage differently, depending on their respective historical and cultural background (Msemwa 2005). Cultural heritage resources remain important to societies throughout history, regardless of the territory on which they are located. These assets contribute to world education, research and tourism (Mabulla 2005; Mturi 2005; Karoma 1996). Some of these assets, such as the stone town of Zanzibar, the rock arts sites of Kondoa, the ancient Swahili towns of Kilwa Kisiwani and Songo Mnara, the Olduvai Gorge, and the Laitoli hominid footprint site, are valued not only locally but also by the global community for their outstanding universal value. Tanzania, like some other African countries, has taken some initiatives to conserve and manage cultural heritage resources. For instance, the Antiquities Department has renovated various historic buildings of Bagamoyo Historic Town, Kilwa Kisiwani, Songo Mnara, and Zanzibar Stone Town. The renovations done at Bagamoyo were accompanied by training of local people (Kamwela 2009) who later became instrumental in renovating other buildings of Kilwa Kisiwani, Songo Mnara and Zanzibar Stone Town (Mturi 1996; Kamwela 2009). Notwithstanding the restoration projects at Bagamoyo, Kilwa and Zanzibar, these initiatives are sporadic. This is due to the fact that there have been no systematic efforts to manage, conserve and restore important cultural heritage resources in other parts of the country including the Mtwara Region.

Cultural heritage resources are not only an identity to the communities responsible but also have economic significance. If well conserved and developed, these resources could help in poverty alleviation to the local communities, especially through cultural tourism. Regardless of the difficulties and challenges in developing cultural heritage tourism especially in Africa, the need to preserve cultural heritage resources is not only a cultural requirement, but also an economic and developmental necessity (Mabulla 2005;

Masao 2005; Kamwela 2009). Knowing the relevance of cultural heritage resources in reconstructing the histories of societies, past, present and future generations must always be vigorous in undertaking conservation and management measures through various means.

Given the relevance of cultural heritage resources to the present communities, there is a need to formulate policies and legislation and establish institutions responsible for the conservation and management of cultural heritage resources —both tangible and intangible. This is what is lacking in the Mtwara Region whereby, regardless of the cultural potential of the region, no measures have been instituted to conserve cultural heritage resources. Surprisingly, even the Antiquities Department, which is responsible for management and conservation of cultural heritage resources in the country, has no representative officer in the Mtwara Region. This makes it difficult to enforce policies and laws guiding cultural heritage management hence creating a loophole for destruction and vandalism.

Conceptualizing Heritage and Methodology of the Study

The term 'heritage' refers to the human-made, natural and historic character of the material and symbolic elements of life, as well as the intrinsic productivity of social action. It is most often a set of conditions adopted by a cultural grouping to meet the basic requirement of that group (Edson 2004). It can be presented as a socio-cultural process in which negotiated relationships are formed between legacies of the past and stewards of the present, and the product of such relationships is an ethos of conservation and subsequent preservation for future generations. Conservation means the physical intervention in the fabric of building structure to ensure its continued structural integrity. Conservation also includes intangible heritage resources such as indigenous traditions, i.e. cultural – specific beliefs, customs, rituals, and ceremonial practices that are retained and transmitted over generations (Pikirayi 2011). The aim of conservation is to safeguard the quality and values of the resource, protect its material substance and ensure its integrity for future generations (Kamamba 2005).

Cultural heritage, in particular its tangible aspect, has received great attention in many countries. However, the other aspect, namely intangible, which represents the vibrant dimension of this heritage has not received the same amount of attention and care, hence preservation and protection are needed (Mursi 2008). This is contrary to the case in the Mtwara Region where cultural value is very much given to the intangible as compared to tangible cultural heritage resources. Even when there is any attention and care given to tangible heritage resources there must be some underlying intangible values. For example, it was noted that ancient tombs in the ancient settlement of Mvita were respected by local communities because of the cultural attachment to their deceased relatives. Therefore, they regard the graveyard as a sacred place and occasionally perform some ritual ceremonies in honor of their deceased relatives. The intangible cultural heritage, in fact, is the accumulative outcome of socio-cultural traditions which are inherited by individuals and communities (Mursi 2008). Different cultural practices among the local communities in the Mtwara Region are meant to communicate and preserve intangible cultural heritage resources which they inherited from their long-gone-grandparents.

The intangible aspects of cultural heritage are perceived as products of collective memories, values, practices, material, and spiritual expressions that regulated lives and guided actions of the past societies (Juma *et al.* 2005). Included also in cultural heritage resources are oral traditions, customs, languages, music, dance, rituals, festivities, traditional medicine and pharmacopoeia, the culinary arts, and all kinds of special skills connected with the material aspects of culture, such as tools and the habitat (UNESCO 2001). Other aspects not mentioned in the UNESCO definition include social systems and beliefs, social relations, philosophies, ideas and values, and traditional knowledge. These aspects of society are usually perpetuated through daily life and activities, social situations and institutions. They grow, change and die as the social situation demands (Mulokozi 2005). Given the breadth and depth of cultural heritage as a concept, this study focuses on some inheritable aspects of culture with both tangible and intangible elements. African concepts of heritage have always embraced spiritual, social and religious meanings, myths, and strong relationships with ancestors and the environment.

The study collected primary data by way of interviews, archaeological survey, ethnographic observation and focus group discussions, and secondary data respectively. Through archaeological survey and ethnographic observation some archaeological and cultural heritage resources were recovered, and their conservation status was assessed. The secondary data collected include information from published articles related to the Mtwara Region and cultural heritage resources from different journals, reports, brochures, magazines and newspapers.

Dialectical Perceptions upon Cultural Heritage Resources

Learning from both western and African perspectives of cultural heritage resources, one finds that the concept of heritage has expanded considerably in the past three or four decades. Previously confined to architectural and artistic masterpieces, heritage has evolved to include landscapes, industrial and engineering works, vernacular constructions, urban and rural settlements, and intangible elements like temporary art forms, skills, and ways of life. This expansion reflects an increasing understanding of how heritage and culture permeate societies and take many forms and levels of importance and value (Powter and Ross 2005). The Makonde communities' understanding of cultural heritage resources is very much rooted in intangible heritage. This was revealed from their perceptions of the meaning of cultural heritage resources. For example, in one of the group interviews, one informant had the following perception of the concept of "cultural heritage resources" or "rasilimali za urithi tamaduni" as it is commonly understood in Kiswahili:

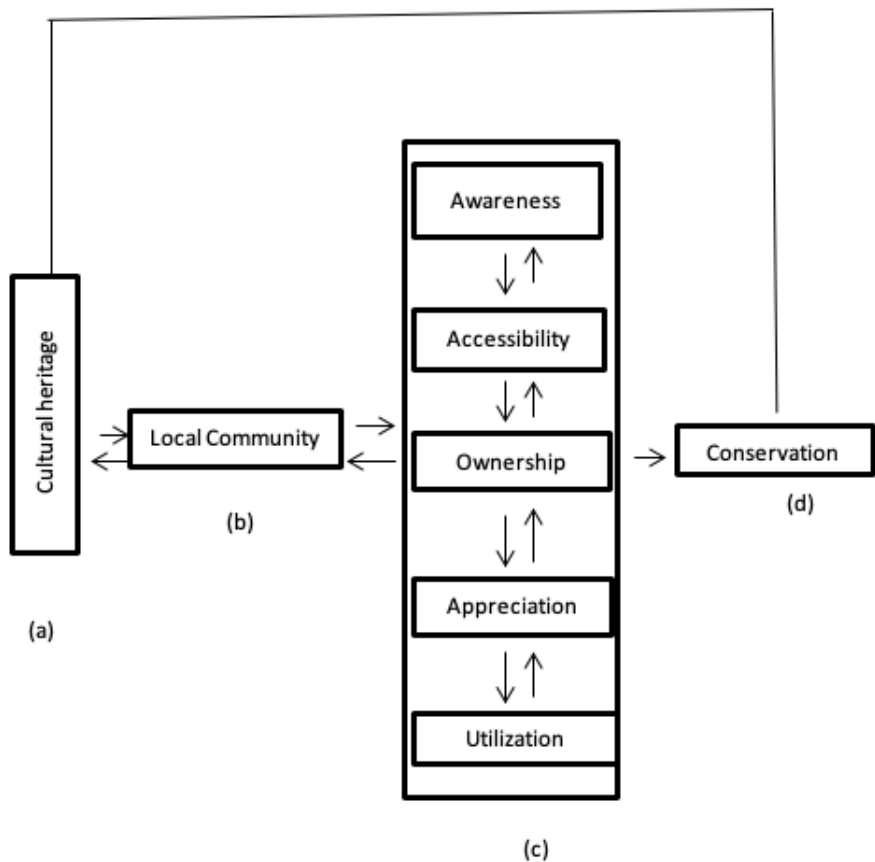
Rasilimali za urithi tamaduni ni mambo mbalimbali ya kijadi au ya kimila yaliyofanywa na wazee wetu kama vile matambiko, Jando na Unyago, pamoja na ngoma za asili. Kulikuwa pia na miiko mbalimbali, – Mfano, mtoto akitoka Jando alikuwa haruhusiwi kuingia nyumba ya baba yake. Ilikuwa pia ni mwiko kwa watoto kuhudhuria shughuli za mazishi. Hayo yote ni mambo ambayo ni ya zamani lakini bado yanaendelea kufanyika mpaka sasa japo si kwa kiwango kama cha zamani¹

¹ Interview notes, group interview with elders, 15/04/2015 at Nanguruwe village in Mtwara Rural district

Translation: [Cultural heritage resources are various traditions or customs which were performed by our ancestors such as ritual offerings, *Jando* and *Unyago*, and traditional dances. There were also different taboos, for example, a boy coming from *Jando initiation* was prohibited to enter his father's house. It was also a taboo for children to attend funeral ceremonies. All these things are ancient but are still done today, although not to the same extent as in the past].

Similar perceptions were also given by other local community informants during interviews and focus group discussions. Generally, a total of 36 (60%) out of 60 informants who responded to the above question confined the meaning of cultural heritage resources to intangible cultural practices. These mainly included cultural practices like *Jando* and *Unyago initiation*, traditional dances, taboos, sacrifices, sacred places, traditional games (e.g. *Ndingi*, *Bao*, *Mdomo*), traditional food, traditional medicine, and witch-craft. Eighteen (18) informants (30%) confined the meaning of cultural heritage resources to past histories and oral narratives.

According to Thomas King (2008), heritage means many things but it is safe to say that it always has two core characteristics: value, and time depth. Whether natural or cultural, tangible or intangible, in order to be considered heritage, something must have been around for a while and be regarded by someone as valuable. While agreeing with King's viewpoint of value and time depth, I argue here that heritage also includes a sense of awareness, accessibility, ownership, appreciation and utilization by custodian communities. These are important aspects not only for the definition of cultural heritage but also for the sustainable conservation of cultural heritage resources. That means, heritage has to be understood by the custodian communities and they should be able to access it, feel they own it, appreciate its value and utilize or communicate it for generations. These five concepts should be equally considered if we are to realize a sustainable conservation of cultural heritage resources (Figure 2).



(a) Independent variable (1) (b) Independent variable (2)
(c) Intervening variables (d) Dependent variable

Figure 2: A model on the interrelationship between community and cultural heritage resources conservation (By the Author).

The results of this study show that the Mtwara Region is rich in cultural heritage resources both tangible and intangible, although intangible cultural heritage resources, such as ritual practices, are highly respected among local communities of the Mtwara Region, especially elders. The practice of cultural traditions and ritual ceremonies among the Makonde communities of the Mtwara Region not only enhances awareness but also constitutes a means to access, own, appreciate and utilize these cultural heritage resources, especially among youth. It is in conformity with this view

that this study concurs with some scholars (Chirikure and Pwiti 2008; Pikirayi 2011) that there is a need to redefine the value and relevance of archaeology by upholding community interpretation of cultural heritage, community inclusion in site management and an understanding of cultural heritage situated within the community. The interviews and personal observations that were conducted in this study clearly indicate how local communities cherish and access cultural heritage resources. This was very much revealed at the Mvita tombs (Figure 3), where local communities in this area sorrowfully explained their attachment to the deceased and their great concern over conservation of the graveyard. In their views, cultural practice is considered a means to conserve and communicate the past to the present generations. For example, one informant had the following views on the cultural attachment to their deceased relatives;

Hapa kijijini kwetu tuna makaburi ambapo wazee wetu pamoja na watoto wetu wamepumzika. Maeneo haya tunayaheshimu na tunayathamini sana. Kila mwaka wanaukoo wote hukusanyika hapa mara moja kwa mwaka kwa ajili ya ibada na tambiko kuwakumbuka waliotangulia

Translation: [Here, at our village, we have a graveyard where our elders and our children have been rested. We really respect and value these areas. Every year all clan members meet for religious and other ritual practices in memory of our ancestors].

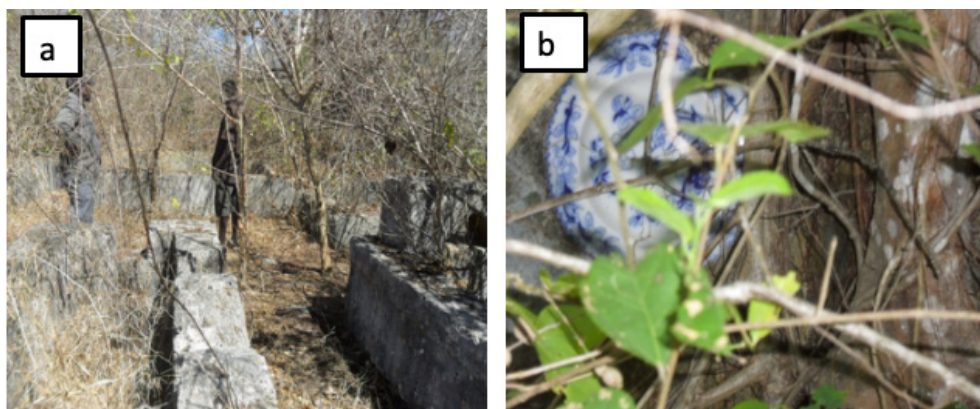


Figure 3: Mass tombs (a) in the Mvita graveyard and a Chinese Porcelain (b) on the tomb's Pillar.

Conservation Status of Cultural Heritage Resources

Most often, communities living around tangible heritage resources are not involved in research and management of such places. The involvement of communities in such undertakings would be important in ensuring the continued, long-term survival of these resources (Mabulla 2005). For example, it was observed that local communities living around the Mikindani site are not included in the discussion by professionals and the government on the cultural value of the monuments. As a result, these monuments are being vandalized through stone quarrying for the construction of modern houses, hence the need to conserve them. A similar case was also observed at the ancient settlement of Mvita where the graveyard and the old mosque were in poor state of conservation so they were used for materials rather than conserved as well.

The intangible cultural heritage resources found in the Mtwara Region are integral to the history and cultural identity of the Makonde communities. It was noted from local communities' responses and secondary sources that some intangible cultural practices were used as part of informal education in the society. For example, after being circumcised, Makonde male youth aged between nine and sixteen years were taught basic life skills comprised in a model of initiation

rituals popularly known as *Jando*² (Gabriel 2015). Another set of initiation rites known as *Unyago*³ was also practiced to celebrate the coming of age of girls and during wedding ceremonies. Older women spent weeks teaching the young ones basic life skills likesex and conjugal life. Both models of initiation rituals were accompanied by folk music. This traditional way of mentoring male and female youths is still practiced, although nowadays a bit swayed by Western influences. For example, some local informants attested that, in the past, the Makonde traditional dances and songs were dominant during the *Jando* and *Unyago* ceremonies, but today we see very little of these, as modern music popularly known as “Bongo flavor” is highly supported in the community, especially by youths, and plays a large part in these ceremonies today.

In order to assess the level of local communities’ awareness, accessibility, ownership, appreciation and utilization of cultural heritage resources, local communities were asked to explain what they understand about cultural heritage and mention the types of cultural heritage resources that are available in their areas. This was done through group interviews and focus group discussions with representatives of the local community. Participants were asked open-ended questions that required them to freely explain what they understand about the subject matter but also mention what they think are cultural heritage resources according to their understanding. The objective was to identify and document the cultural heritage resources among the Makonde communities of the Mtwara Region and the way people value, conserve and interact with these cultural heritage resources. Most of the cultural heritage resources that local community members mentioned were intangible, such as *Jando* and *Unyago*, traditional dances, traditional beliefs, such as witch-craft and traditional medicine, ritual offerings, and other traditional practices. *Jando* and *Unyago* ceremonies take place every year and the majority of the community populace do participate in these initiation ceremonies popularly known as '*kualukwa*' in the Makonde language, meaning

2 Apart from being a circumcision ritual and informal training for boys into adulthood, the *Jando* ritual was also used as a forum for punishing boys who went through *Jando* in the past but their behaviours remained as before.

3 The *Unyago* ritual for Makonde, Makua, and Yao women does not involve genital mutilation as it is done in other communities, but it involves all training a woman needs to make her a mature and responsible person.

to become a 'grownup'. Apart from attracting many people, both male and female, of all ages, these ceremonies are accompanied by eating and drinking of local foods and drinks. Participants in these traditional performances appear in dirty clothes, and sometimes their bodies are smeared with mud and whitish powder⁴ looking like they are possessed by spirits (Figure 4).



Figure 4: An ecstatic traditional dance (a) and (b) during Jando and Unyago ceremonies. (Photo by the Author).

The aim of conservation is to safeguard the quality and values of the resource, protect its material substance and ensure its integrity for future generations (Kamamba 2005). The majority of the informants who were interviewed on the conservation status of cultural heritage resources in their areas regretted that most of these resources were disappearing. For example, some of them were of the opinion that there is a loss of interest in caring about cultural heritage resources among the majority of the members of the local communities. The archaeological survey and ethnographic observation revealed that some cultural heritage resources were deteriorating without any rescue measures being taken. These included the dilapidating Mvita and Mikindani Historic

⁴ This powder is believed to be ritual flour made of sorghum. It is famously used in any ritual practices or ceremonies among the Makonde, Makua, and Yao communities. But, nowadays, people use any whitish-color powder.

Site monuments (Figure 5), the collapsing colonial railway route⁵ (Figure 6), and the old mosque of Mvita (Figure 7).



Figure 5: Erosive activities at Mvita site (a) and deteriorating monuments (b) at Mikindani historical site. (Photo by the Author).



Figure 6: A water run-off through the demolished colonial railway. (Photo by the Author).

⁵ This railway route that started from Nachingwea in Lindi Region and continued on to Mtwara Region was built by colonialists and has been vandalised by brick manufacturers and in some areas people have constructed houses for settlement.

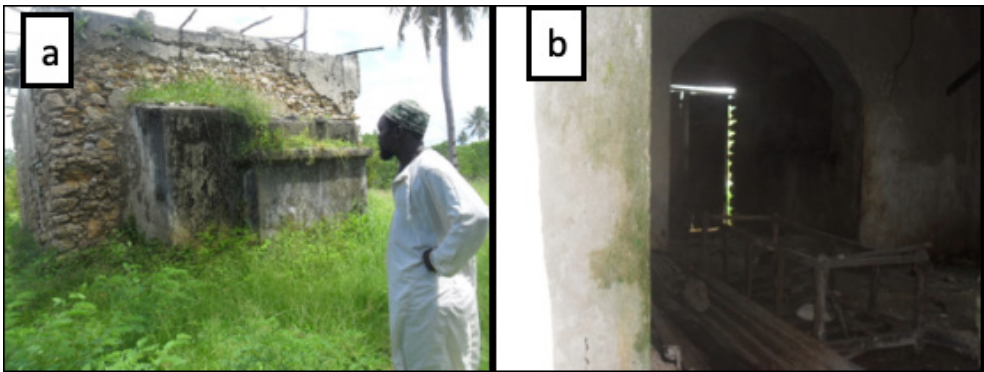


Figure 7: Mvita ancient Mosque outside view (a) and inside view (b) in a deteriorating state. (Photo by the Author).

Some intangible heritage resources, such as the initiation ceremonies *Jando* and *Unyago*, taboos, and other ritual practices, have also lost their meaning as compared to how they were practiced in the past. In some interviews, the informants explained how circumcision rite has lost its meaning upon being practiced by medical doctors and not the traditional *Ngariba*⁶. All traditional principles, which in the past accompanied circumcision rituals, have been abandoned in favour of modern practice, as it was noted by one informant:

Zamani Jando lilifanyika kwa usiri mkubwa sana kwenye maeneo yaliyotengwa maalum kwa kazi hiyo hasa msituni. Vijana waliweza kukaa huko hata miezi miwili wakifundishwa mambo mbalimbali ya utamaduni na utu uzima. Hivyo haikuwa tu kwa ajili yatohara bali iliambatana na mambo mengine ya kimila kamasehemu ya kuwapokea vijana kwenye kundi la watu wazima. Sikuhizi watu hawazingatii hilo badala yake Jando linafanyika majumbani kitu ambacho siyo sahihi.

Akina mama hawa kuruhusiwa kuwaona vijana wao wakati wa Jando lakini siku hizi hilo halizingatiwi kwasababu Jando linafanyika majumbani. Wakati mwingine watoto

⁶ According to Swahili – English Dictionary the word means local circumciser

hutahiriwa hospitalini wakiwa wadogo na wanapofikia umri wa kualukwa ndipo huchezwa ngoma⁷

Translation: [In the past, *Jando* initiation was secretly performed in a place chosen specifically for that purpose, mainly in forests. After circumcision, the initiates could remain in the camp even for two months or more, as it also involved other traditional practices and training to the youths as a sign of accepting them into adulthood. Nowadays, *Jando* initiation has lost its meaning as it is openly practiced within people's homes without observing any secret as it was in the past. Women were prohibited to interact with their youths during *Jando* initiation but nowadays they can interact with them as many people conduct *Jando* initiation in-house. In some cases, children are circumcised during their childhood in hospitals and *Jando* ceremonies are performed later on, when they reach the age acceptable for *Jando* initiation].

The fact that the abandonment of customs and traditions has created an enormous impact to the communities was also a concern to some of the informants (e.g. Mr. Fadhili Mohamed and Rajabu Mharami). They attribute some social problems currently facing the communities to 'a cultural curse' resulting from not adhering to cultural and traditional principles as it used to be in the past. This has resulted into many social instabilities leading to the loss of a sense of humanity in the society. It has also led to inhuman actions such as killing criminals by using fire or poison, assassinations and many other inhuman or harsh treatments. These had never been practiced in the past as cultural norms guiding the communities' ways of life could not allow it. So, the informants' opinions showed clearly that the rate of adherence to conservation of cultural heritage resources, both tangible and intangible, has been decreasing with time due to various reasons as mentioned above.

Some of the elders were of the opinion that, in the past, there were taboos which had to be observed by every individual in the community. Whoever went against these principles would, with no mercy, be punished by ancestral spirits. They mentioned

⁷ Field notes, interview, 23/11/2012, at Naliendele village in Mtwara - Mikindani Municipality.

some taboos which were strictly unbreakable in the past, though nowadays no one cares about them. For example, comments from one of the elders rightly encapsulate the state of affairs:

Palikuwa na kisima cha maji katika kijiji chetu kikiwa na samaki wa maajabu. Tulikatazwa kumvua samaki huyo kwani ndiye aliyesababisha maji yapatikane pale kijijini. Kuna muda watu walidharau maelekezo ya wazee wakamvua yule samaki kwa ajili ya kitoweo. Matokeo yake kisima kile kilikauka nakutowe kakabisa na sasa tunahangaika na ukosefu wamaji. Pia zamani tulikatazwa kukata baadhi ya miti kwani ilitumika kwa mambo ya kimila lakini pia kama chanzo cha mvua. Leo hii hakuna anayejali mambo haya japo yalikuwa na maana kubwa.⁸

Translation: [There was a water-well in our village with a miraculous fish. No one was supposed to fish it out because it was believed to be the source of water in the well. However, with time, people ignored this prohibition and fished it for food. Consequently, the well went dry and that is why we are now suffering because of inadequate water supply. Similarly, in the past it was prohibited to cut down some trees. These were used for ritual practices and were an important source of rain. Today, no one bothers about all these taboos although they were all meaningful].

The local informants also attested that there were some sacred or ritual places which were still conserved, respected and accessed for ritual practices. For example, it was noted from one of the group interviews in the Nanguruwe village that the community respected the mythical *Limbende*⁹ ritual site. It is found in the Nanguruwe village, about 30 kilometers south of the Mtwara town.

8 Group interview with elders - 07/04/2013 at Mtendachi village – Mtwara Rural.

9 Limbende is the name of the ancient traditional leader of the Makonde ethnic groups living in the Nanguruwe village in Mtwara Rural District. According to the narratives, this local hero died long ago (probably early 19th C). His grave is still preserved to date and he occasionally appears to his people in the form of a huge snake and visits the clan members at their home for food and drink.

The power of *Limbende* is handed over through inheritance among the *Limbende* clan, whereby whoever inherits the traditional headship becomes the 'cultural figure' of the community. This person is fully respected and takes charge of all cultural matters in the community. If anybody in the community wants to undertake a ritual performance, he/she is obliged to consult this person, who is the chief custodian of traditions, for permission and instructions. This traditional leader holds key social responsibilities and he/she is respected by the community. Every year, the local communities, particularly those belonging to the *Limbende* lineage, do visit the *Limbende* site and perform some ritual practices at the site. These annual ritual practices are conducted for the purposes of offerings to their ancestors, especially the legendary *Limbende*. The ritual practices are normally accompanied by clearing and cleaning of the burial site as a sign of love, conservation and respect to their ancestral spirits. One informant had the following views on the importance of cultural heritage resources, using the example of the *Limbende* myth:

*Urithi tamaduni ni muhimu sana kwa jamii kwani kama ukihifadhiwa vizuri na kurithishwa toka kizazi hadi kizazi unaweza kuwa chanzo cha amani na usalama kwa jamii. Kwa mfano, katika kijiji chetu cha Nanguruwe huwezi kuona balaa lolote likijitokeza kwa kuwa kijiji kinalindwa na wahenga wetu hasa Limbende. Amini kabisa kuwa kijiji chetu hakina balaa la aina yoyote iwe ni ajali, majanga ya asili au wanyama wakali.*¹⁰

Translation: [Cultural heritage is very important to the community in that, if well conserved and transmitted from one generation to another, it can be a source of peace and security. For example, in our village (Nanguruwe) you cannot find any misfortune because our village is protected by our ancestors, especially *Limbende*. Believe it that our village is free from all dangers such as accidents, natural calamities and dangerous animals because our ancestors cannot allow this].

¹⁰ Group interview with elders, 03/07/2013 at Nanguruwe village in Mtwara Rural District

It was clearly noted from the words of the informants that their understanding of the past was directly linked mostly to intangible cultural heritage resources. Sometimes they also included natural landscapes such as trees, rocks, water bodies and caves, which are believed to be of cultural significance to local communities. For example, there were some reactions from the informants which emphasized the conservation and protection of the natural environment, particularly huge trees which they believe are a home for their ancestral spirits. The following excerpt supports this argument:

Zamani tulifanya matambiko kwenye mti ule mkubwa wa msufi ambapo tulichinja kondoo wa kafara. Damu yake ilimwagwa kwenye mti kama sehemu ya kuwatuliza wahenga na kuomba neema. Kwa sasa miti hii ya asili inakatwa ovyo hasa na serikali kwa ajili ya miradi ya maendeleo. Matokeo yake wote waliohusika na ukataji wa miti hiyo wote wameshakufa kwasababu ya hasira za wahenga. Tunachokuomba wewe kama mtaalamuu peleke taarifa serikali ya wilaya kuwa wawekezaji wakija hapa Mjimwema wasijaribu kukata miti hii ya matambiko vinginevyowatatashida¹¹.

Translation: [In the past, we used to perform rituals under that big kapok tree where a lamb of offering was slaughtered, and its blood sprinkled around the tree to appease the spirits and ask for their grace. Nowadays, there has been a tendency of cutting down such traditional trees due to the establishment of development projects by the government in collaboration with investors. As a result, whoever was involved in cutting down the traditional trees died as the ancestors' wrath turned upon them. It is our request to you as an expert of cultural issues to advise the district government that when investors come to *Mjimwema* village they should not dare to cut down our traditional trees, as this would result in dire consequences].

¹¹ Group interview with elders, 18/04/2013 at Mjimwema village in Mtwara – Mikindani municipality.

The above claim, in a way, supports what Joost Fontein says, that "within the limits of certain fixed markers – like the names of certain people and places, as well as ancestors, totems and praise names, and well-known stories about past events – individuals are sometimes able to exert a high level of agency to renegotiate and manipulate stories according to their collective, and individual interest. Their authority within their own communities, clan, and beyond, depends on their kinship and descent ties, their status and age, their political allegiances, and their reputation as knowledgeable of the tradition" (Fontein 2006: 47).

Conclusion and Recommendations

The argument of this paper is that the issue of communicating cultural heritage resources to the public, particularly in Tanzania, is of paramount importance. The experience from the Mtwara Region as discussed in this paper shows that little efforts have been made by the government and other professionals to sensitize and involve the local community in the conservation of cultural heritage resources, especially tangible ones. It has been discovered that, in some ways, local communities' understanding of cultural heritage resources is somewhat different from professionals' perceptions. While local communities' perceptions of cultural heritage resources are dominated by intangibles, professionals' perceptions are dominated by tangibles. As a result, local communities are less aware of the value of tangible cultural resources around them such as the Mikindani Swahili monuments. This contributes to the poor state of conservation of these resources. The results of this study also show that, if well involved, local communities can play a significant role in the conservation of cultural heritage resources. This study has revealed that a number of cultural heritage resources, both tangible and intangible, are deteriorating at an alarming rate. While tangible heritage is deteriorating due to lack of awareness among local communities, intangible heritage is likely to perish due to the impact of western cultures. Some people, especially among the young generation, tend to ignore traditional cultural practices in favor of western cultures.

Collective efforts are needed between archaeology and heritage professionals on the one hand and local communities on the other to enhance cultural sensitization and sustainable conservation of cultural heritage resources. Archaeology, as Innocent Pikirayi says, should no longer be regarded as the science of generating knowledge about the past, but rather of how that knowledge is, and should be, communicated to and utilized for the benefit of the public and local communities (Pikirayi 2011). Archaeologists should educate the public on the projects they are conducting. It is through education that opportunities for a more equal environment may open up. Creating a transparent environment can create a culture of trust where the public may feel more comfortable with archaeologists. Through community involvement archaeologists will be able to get complementary knowledge before arriving to conclusions about the past. If the local communities are educated about cultural heritage resources and well engaged in conservation strategies, they will feel a sense of ownership of these resources. Therefore, collaborating with descendant and local communities and other stakeholders along with creating diverse public education programs remain important goals for all prominent archaeological organizations – both academic and professional.

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Reflecting on evaluation in public archaeology

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Abstract

As heritage professionals, our community-facing projects are embedded in the politics of cultural heritage and reverberate throughout the communities where we work. The only way to know if archaeological outreach and community engagement are working is to ask stakeholders, and there is growing support in our community of practice to further develop this aspect of the field. There is also increasing pressure to use evaluations, particularly standardized impact assessments motivated by neoliberal political critiques, to argue that archaeological projects are legitimate uses of economic resources. As the field continues to develop more robust mechanisms of self-assessment, we urge further reflection on whether our assessment of successful outcomes balances differing expectations and definitions of success, requirements of funding institutions, willingness of the participants, and needs of the practitioners. Are we working towards assessments of our own satisfaction with work done, the satisfaction of the dominant political forms of cultural value, the formal procedures of our funding streams, or the experiential and educational needs of the non-professional with whom we engage? We present a picture of the institutional contexts of US and UK public archaeology evaluation up to this point and propose ways to move forward that address the ethical underpinnings of public archaeology practice while strengthening the institutional visibility of public archaeology work.

Keywords

public archaeology, evaluation, public engagement, communication.

Introduction

The present era of global financial insecurity has led to significant cuts to public funding for archaeological work across the globe and greater vulnerability for heritage protections in national legislation (Howery 2013; Jackson et al. 2014). There is greater emphasis placed on demonstrable social and economic value of science in modern global politics (Grey 2008; James 2018; Vyck 2010) which places many archaeologists in a position of needing to provide evidence for the value and impact of their work. Assessing how we undertake evaluation and assessment of public archaeology projects is therefore a vital area for promoting and sharing impactful research, despite its underrepresentation as a discreet subject area in published academic work. In the following discussion, we will explore the current state of formal evaluation in public archaeology, from our perspectives working in the USA and the UK. We will discuss the formal evaluation requirements of major funding sources for public archaeology in each of these national contexts and the evaluation processes found there. These range from detailed assessments of learning outcomes to explorations of the impact on well-being and socio-economic profiles to simple collations of visitor numbers and anecdotal comments collected during events and activities. These data are not, as Gould (2016), Neal (2015) and the authors of this paper conclude, robust in their methods of data collection, nor are they representative of the discipline, the participants, or the aspirations of the sector. Additionally, we note several points for consideration that where formal project evaluations have been undertaken, these are often not aggregated nor made publicly available, the requirements of the funding body or similar are open to a range of interpretations by the organisations undertaking the work, or may simply not take place at all. This paper will then suggest some future directions for participatory evaluation, which reflect the values of the communities with whom we work, as well as reflecting our professional standards and responsibilities as archaeologists.

Public archaeology is critical to the wider discipline. Although there are many definitions of the term 'public archaeology' (Richardson and Almanza-Sanchez 2015; Skeates, McDavid and Carman 2012), any practice in which archaeology and "the public" intersect can qualify (McDavid and Brock 2014, 165). As austerity policies and neoliberal politics have further impacted the already-predominantly marketized archaeological sector, there are increasing demands for public archaeology practitioners to comply with 'policy audit practices to garner legitimacy for demands over the public purse (irrespective of whether they, in fact, promote or muddle issues of transparency, democratic accountability and effectiveness)' (Belfiore 2015, 96). Alongside these concerns, the use of 'impact' metrics to measure the "social, cultural and economic value" of academic work in higher education in the UK and elsewhere have emerged alongside governmental austerity agendas (James 2018, 312). There is a growing pressure for research to demonstrate "the economic and cultural values and impacts of archaeological resources" (Schadla-Hall et al. 2010, 62), but this emphasis may not help us understand our effect on, and improve our work with, stakeholder communities, especially when undertaken within a developer-led archaeological context. It is possible that these neoliberal agendas may reduce community projects to opportunities that impact perceptions of archaeology by local stakeholders and government officials, and in turn, simply further sustain financial support for the subject. Yet many public archaeology projects are undertaken because of a commitment to education, community well-being, and a strong sense of social justice amongst its practitioners - it is considered unethical to exclude stakeholders from research that might impact their perception of their own heritage, their local community, or even their financial situation (Jancovich & Bianchini 2013; Marshall et al. 2002; Neal 2015).

To date, in the archaeological literature, there is little work published on whether or how scholars might formally evaluate their public engagement practice, and find out whether these activities achieve their organisational aims as well as their social functions. Many sources of funding for community archaeology do not ask for formal evaluation of outcomes and where guidance for evaluation exists, the format and extent of such evaluation appears to be open

to interpretation. Beyond the imperatives provided by relevant funding bodies to understand indicators of success, which we set out below, there is little guidance from the main archaeological bodies in the UK and USA, on methods to use to measure education, well-being, or social impact outcomes or to evaluate the range and participation in activities (Simpson and Williams 2008). The discussions that do exist in the available guidance on the subject of evaluation and measuring success are invariably positive and embellish what Fredheim (2018, 622) identifies as the “exclusively positive discourse of heritage” and this in turn “normalizes certain experiences and thereby silences and excludes others”.

National Contexts

Community archaeology projects often develop networks and communities, and set out to engage groups of people with a specific archaeological subject, site or historic period. It is both common sense, and a necessary budgetary reporting mechanism, to collate data that can measure these engagements, successes, or failures, and facilitate lessons learned within and between organizations. However, as Neal (2015, 135) points out, “measuring the impact of interventions on individuals is something that many community archaeology projects attempt, but not in any formalized sense”. There is an overall lack of methodology, a heavy reliance on anecdote, and sometimes crude measures for success (Neal and Roskams 2013).

This section examines the contexts within which public engagement and community archaeology work takes place within the USA and UK, and briefly examines the forms of evaluation required by the major funding streams in both countries.

USA

In the USA, archaeological work takes place in development-driven contract archaeology, academic research, and through museums and community organizations. Although we are not aware of any concrete data on the relative prominence of each

category, it is accepted by most practitioners that Cultural Resource Management (CRM) archaeologists conduct the most archaeological projects (see synthesis in Neumann 2001).

CRM professionals work within private companies, State and Tribal Historic Preservation Offices (known as SHPOs and THPOs), and in government agencies managing public land such as the National Parks Service (NPS) or the Bureau of Land Management (BLM). Archaeologists excavating on public land require a permit, the allocation of which is based on the qualifications of the researcher (and whether the proposed work is consistent with the agency's priorities and management plans, e.g. National Park Service 2016a). Excavations on private land, however, are typically only regulated by legislation protecting specific types of material, and only under certain circumstances. Although there are numerous federal laws, federal policies, state laws, local laws, and other legal structures which govern access to cultural resources, there are very few which mandate routine outreach. A notable exception is the National Strategy for Federal Archeology established in 1990 by the US Department of Interior, and affirmed as official government policy in 1999 (United States Department of the Interior 1999). The strategy document describes how the Department's employees – who manage the Nation's natural and cultural resources and commitments to Indigenous governments – will use volunteer programs and public interpretation activities to increase participation in the nation's archaeology by the general public.

Outside the government in particular, public archaeology in the United States is characteristically diverse and contextually specific. The publications that describe public archaeology projects in the US typically focus on the impetus for the work, but do not describe the methodology employed to fulfill the goals set forth if public engagement was a focus, or they mention public presentations done in addition to the research which is framed as of central importance. In short, public archaeology methods and reflection on their efficacy have not been a focus of scholarly discussion in American public archaeology. This does not mean that work up until this point has not been carefully designed or that colleagues are not assessing their work, but that publishing methods and

results in scholarly journals does not seem to be understood as the standard intellectual contribution in this scholarly community, so a routine literature review does not capture the richness of what has been done in the field.

Most non-commercial archaeology funding in the USA comes from the federal government, and little of this funding is designed specifically to support public outreach. Major funding sources for archaeologists include federal agencies funding scientific research (National Science Foundation - NSF), humanities and teachers (National Endowment for the Humanities), and private organizations dedicated to developing anthropological theory (e.g. Wenner Gren Foundation, School for Advanced Research), amongst others. While many of these organizations require applicants to explain the intellectual impacts of the proposed work at multiple scales, none explicitly require applicants to assess the public impact of their work. In addition, a 1980 study analyzing how much money the National Science Foundation (NSF) granted for archaeological research found that the amount of funding did not keep up with the growing number of archaeologists (Casteel 1980:171–176). In short, there seems to be less funding than there was for previous generations, and funding institutions appear disinterested in systemically promoting or assessing public outreach.

Changes at the NSF and Wenner-Gren Foundation seem to signal that public perception of archaeology is of greater concern in the past 20 years. In 1995, the NSF overhauled its application format and made it mandatory for applicants to explain the “broader impacts” of their project beyond the discipline (Brenneis 2009:243-244), requiring researchers to re-frame their research to articulate the disciplinary, scientific, and societal impact of knowledge production (NSF 2016). All but one analysis of NSF Archaeology (Cullen 1995; Goldstein et al. 2018; Yellen et al. 1980) and Anthropology (Plattner et al. 1987; Plattner and McIntyre 1991) funding patterns was done before this change took place.¹ It is unclear whether the establishment of the “broader impacts” criterion led to any changes in what sorts of archaeological research were funded, as the Archaeology and Anthropology Program

¹ In the United States, Archaeology is taught as one of four sub-fields of Anthropology, so the Cultural Anthropology and Archaeology funding programs are often considered together in studies of National Science Foundation funding.

Officers have consistently stated that the purpose of the funds is to fund “basic research” which directly studies the material remains of the past (e.g. Brush et al. 1981:11).

In 2016, the Wenner-Gren Foundation, which disburses over three million US dollars per year for anthropological and archaeological research funding (Goldstein et al. 2018:4), took visible steps to promote what they call “public engagement with anthropology as a research field” (Lindee and Radin 2016:S294). At that time, they established a publication and grant meant to improve public understanding of anthropology. Each of these is a significant, but measured, step toward acceptance of public outreach as a rigorously pursued part of anthropology in the US. The Engaged Anthropology Grant is described as dissemination support for those who have already been funded by Wenner-Gren and have completed their research (Wenner-Gren Foundation 2018a). Grantees are required to provide a 500-1000 word report at the end of the grant period which is posted on the Wenner-Gren Engaged Anthropology Blog, but no assessment of outcomes is required. Their digital publication, *Sapiens*, similarly supports the institution’s focus on public understanding as well as their long-standing goal to “develop a world community of anthropologists” (Wenner-Gren Foundation 2018b) by carefully recruiting anthropologists to write articles for public consumption and employing a professional editorial process in the style of a journalistic magazine (Wenner-Gren Foundation 2018c). The Wenner-Gren Foundation has dedicated funds and reviewers to assessing principled public outreach efforts, and this makes them stand out among the high-dollar funders of American archaeology. It is unclear, however, to what extent they are interested in implementing assessment of outreach activities beyond the peer-review processes they already employ.

Pressuring funding organizations to reflect research-based best practice – such as routine evaluation of public archaeology activities – has worked before in the USA. According to Brenneis’ study of the NSF, for example, the overhaul of the application in 1995 took place when professionals voiced concerns about the fairness of the review process while simultaneously the federal political climate favored reducing financial commitment to the NSF (Brenneis 2009, 243-244). The motivations behind the 1995 NSF

application changes came from above (federal politics) as well as below (specific tensions between applicants and review committees). In 2018, public accountability is becoming an imperative in science funding worldwide, and it would not be surprising to see politics and scholarly concerns once again converge in a revision of the NSF application guidelines to require evaluation of a project's public impact. For private funding institutions like the Wenner-Gren Foundation, it is less clear what sorts of changes might result from such feedback, but their recent move toward supporting outreach could signal willingness to further integrate best practices of assessment as a component of their funding guidelines.

While institutions have moved slowly on the issue of public archaeology evaluation, it has been a frequent topic of scholarly activities at national conferences and workshops since the mid-2000s (Gibb and McDavid 2008; Jeppson 2003, 2004; Jeppson and Brauer 2008; Malloy et al. 2009; Matthews et al. 2010, 2012). Authors of these foundational works explored what assessment could accomplish intellectually and presented case studies in evaluating one's own outreach, usually woven together into a single contribution. Subsequent authors have often described how specific assessment tools have yielded valuable insights for their own public archaeology efforts (Ellenberger and Gidusko 2018; King 2016), but a few have focused broadly on what widespread assessment would mean for the discipline (Ellenberger and Richardson 2015; Gould 2015, 2016; Pageau 2015). We see this as evidence that both theory and method in public archaeology are developing rapidly as they are more widely accepted as important. While public archaeology practitioners appear to be starting to develop norms for evaluation amongst themselves, we see little evidence that institutions which represent, fund, employ, or publish American archaeologists have adopted frameworks for evaluating outreach.

UK

The biggest funding source for public facing archaeology projects is the government-managed Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF), followed by local authorities and local charities, UK Higher Education, and developer-led archaeology companies, although

a large percentage (74.6 per cent) of volunteer projects fund themselves (Hedge and Nash 2016, 55). There has also been a steady growth in the number of crowd-funded projects in the UK in recent years (Bonacchi et al. 2015, 4).

It has been estimated that around 90 per cent of all archaeological work in the UK from 1990-2011 took place as part of the development and planning process, rather than in formal academic contexts (Fulford 2011, 33). For the UK, where private commercial archaeology companies undertake the majority of archaeological works within these development-driven contexts, the completion of archaeological mitigation may be the only measure of success, even if public outreach takes place during the programme of work. Developer-led archaeology organisations often publicize their outreach work through various media, for example, Museum of London Archaeology (MOLA 2018) has undertaken extensive community archaeology projects in Greater London and beyond and has a robust outreach and community engagement strategy and reporting mechanisms. However, in most archaeological companies, there are few indicators of the types of evaluation that have taken place, if at all, unless the projects involved received external funding - from the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) for example. This is a missed opportunity for shared learning and improvement of project outcomes, despite the challenges of a pressured commercial archaeology environment.

The HLF is subject to state policy control, and the organization reports to Parliament through the department where 'decisions about individual applications and policies are entirely independent of the Government' (HLF 2018a). All funded projects must undertake a programme of evaluation (HLF 2018b). The HLF provides a detailed guide to evaluation good practice, which makes clear recommendations for measuring impact using qualitative and quantitative evidence. The guidance is clear that achievement indicators "determine the relevance and fulfillment of objectives, efficiency, effectiveness, impact and sustainability" (Heritage Lottery Fund 2016b, 3).

Unfortunately, the full range of HLF evaluation reports are not publicly accessible (Claire Butler-Harrison, HLF, pers comm.), and no summaries of feedback or evaluation methodology are

currently available on the central HLF website, although individual projects may publish their final formal evaluation summaries on their own websites (for example: Jones et al 2015: SCAPE 2017).

In the UK, non-professional, community or 'amateur' participation in archaeology accounts for a relatively small percentage of the amount of archaeological work undertaken each year, although participation in these groups and activities is well-supported. Research by Historic England suggests that, between 2010-2015, the community archaeology sector had undertaken 12,000 projects (Hedge and Nash 2016, 10). In 2010 the Council for British Archaeology (CBA) recorded over 215,000 people in the UK who are active in heritage, history or archaeology volunteer groups (Thomas 2010, 12). A wide variety of smaller, often local, charitable funding sources for heritage and archaeology exist throughout the UK, although most of these smaller funding streams do not have rigorous guidance for evaluating success (or failure) and their expectations for project outcomes, and projects that are self-funded by participants and community groups may not be evaluated at all. For example, the CBA manages one funding stream for community archaeology, the Mick Aston Archaeology Fund (Council for British Archaeology 2016), which asks for an interim and final project report but no form of evaluation.

Funding for public and community archaeology that is undertaken with UK Higher Education organisations is often part of the work of UK Research and Innovation, which is a strategic partnership of the former UK Research Councils. This body aims to work "in partnership with universities, research organisations, businesses, charities, and government to create the best possible environment for research and innovation to flourish" (UK Research and Innovation 2018). Funding and evaluation of Higher Education-funded archaeology projects have been affected by the UK impact agenda in higher education and the shift to metrical analysis of knowledge exchange and public engagement which is a wider topic beyond the scope of this paper (James 2018). However, overall, most UK based university archaeology projects do not at present share easily accessible evaluation summaries or reports, with a few notable exceptions, such as the University of Salford (Murphy 2015: Nevell 2013: 2015).

As Gould (2016, 2) points out, case studies are not necessarily generalizable, nor applicable beyond supplying anecdote. The research for this article included a search for evaluation reports from a wide variety of archaeological contexts in the sectors outlined above. This proved difficult if not impossible to do with any comparative meaning, and highlighted some of the challenges of methodological approaches to evaluation and best practice. In the context of the UK, few community-facing project evaluation reports are routinely available in the public domain; those from non-HLF commercial archaeology public archaeology projects are extremely rare. Locating any of these reports in the aftermath of short term project work depends on a number of factors: funding for evaluation to take place; archival standards and practice in the individual project; project websites being maintained and digital reports and information remaining stable; knowledgeable staff being retained after projects end if no online copies of evaluation reports are available; and evaluation reports being confirmed as public documents, rather than reports for funders, trustees, or organisational management only. As Gould (2016: 8) outlines, the HLF has only analyzed the first 100 project reports submitted under its programme (Boyd and Stafford 2013) and the analysis of these is revelatory. Eight projects did not submit an evaluation report, 16 per cent were rated 'very good' or 'good' and 22 per cent were considered to be 'poor'. Practices are, of course, locally driven but this diversity of availability and quality supports the urgent need for a comprehensive synthesis of existing material, to shape evaluation best practice and impact assessment in the future.

Digital Public Archaeology

Exploiting the affordances of digital technologies in order to encourage participation in public archaeology is an increasingly popular activity within the discipline (Bollwerk 2015; Richardson 2013). The practices of archaeological communication and co-production within a wholly digital environment can offer new perspectives on public archaeology practice, and these projects are potentially less expensive and easier to manage than 'real-life' projects. In the UK, the HLF provides guidelines for its grant recipients on how to undertake some basic forms of evaluation

for this type of public engagement, and as many archaeological projects are extending their use of digital media, the potential benefits of evaluation are clear (HLF 2018c). Since the use of this media has an impact on staff time and budget, gathering data on the use and interactions of these platforms are a necessary part of a strategic approach to digital public engagement. Organisations undertaking this form of engagement can use evaluation to better understand user behaviour and user experience within their digital environments. This type of pre-and post project evaluation can help to establish how easily people can find and interact with the information provided, and ultimately learn how to improve future communications and information provision in the landscape of digital technologies. There have been a number of developments of guidance for approaches to the evaluation of the use of these platforms on an individual basis in the culture and museums sector, especially in the UK. For example, Culture 24's "Let's Get Real" project provides extensive guidelines for digital projects in cultural heritage, including how to understand user experiences and evaluating digital outputs (Culture 24 2018). King's College's "Balanced Value Impact Model" 'draws evidence from a wide range of sources to provide a compelling account of the means of measuring the impact of digital resources and using evidence to advocate how change benefits people' (Tanner 2018). Formal evaluations of digital project work in archaeology often measure outcomes and impact through simple assessments of the numbers of attendees, basic demographic data, the quantity of website 'hits', Twitter followers, Facebook page 'likes', or through a selection of participant comments about their enjoyment of activities, made online or offline (Richardson 2014, 153). No analysis of the extent to which digital projects have been collectively successful in terms of encouraging public participation and extending opportunities promised to 'democratize archaeology' has taken place to date. This data would seem to be vital to evaluate the success thus far of the participatory turn in digital archaeology. Meta-analyses of the wider impact of these digital participatory projects are an area ripe for further research in the field of digital public archaeology.

The Evaluation Imperative

The key to successful project outcomes may be to include community consultation and partnership into project design itself, but this is not an easy undertaking, and the potential for participatory initiatives to “maintain, rather than upend, existing power structures through the control of acceptable forms of, and locations for, participation” must be acknowledged (Fredheim 2018, 625). There are concerns within the discipline that these types of collaborations could lead to exploitation of volunteers (Fredheim 2018; Perry & Beale 2015) or to less academically rigorous archaeological projects with vague aims which are more apt to be misinterpreted by those outside the profession (King 2012; Nevell 2013; Simon 2011). While there may be some degree of flexibility afforded by the current lack of institutional structure for public archaeology evaluation, the benefits of existing institutions committing to rigorous and reflexive public archaeology in their codes and institutional mission statements would empower rather than hamper practitioners. However, a critical eye to these issues is vital. It is possible that highly prescriptive evaluation guidelines aligned to institutional agendas for participation could be exploitative, or overlook, silence or other traditionally underrepresented voices in the field, and create structural boundaries between Western practitioners and publics, and ‘others’ (Atalay 2012: 252-5). In light of these concerns about how to further the usefulness of evaluation in public archaeology, a brief examination of some of the assumptions that professional archaeologists make about the meaning of participation and the use of evaluation is useful.

Using UK case studies, Simpson and Williams (2008) and Woolverton (2016) suggest that there are complex reasons why participants in community archaeology may not know about, nor be interested in, active participation in project design. Reasons why people may choose not to engage with project design might include demographic and socio-economic issues such as age, ethnicity, gender, disability, or class. There may be concerns about educational attainment and confidence, or there may be activities and events which exclude those who are not assimilated fully into the dominant culture (Dawson 2014a; 2014b). Participants may also be restricted by time, family and work responsibilities, or the

desire for archaeology to be a social activity, a hobby and a form of relaxation (Hart 2009: 155-159).

Professional archaeological organizations are quiet on the matter of evaluation and outcomes of public archaeology in their ethics statements – no organization in the USA or UK explicitly mentions the need to evaluate public projects and share best practice. Whilst this might seem like a small point for consideration within a greater sectorial management framework, where ethics is an oft-neglected subject, this can create a further disjuncture between our professional interests and values, and those of the communities within which we live and work. What we may perceive to be a successful and engaging project may not provide the kinds of outcomes that participants want, unless the project has input from participant communities during the process of project creation and evaluation. Without this, our assessments of project outcomes will not reflect the subjective, and often nuanced and affective, human experience of participation in archaeological work. If the results of project evaluations do not offer avenues for reflexivity and meaningful change, they may not be worth doing. But how can we learn from the vast insights already existing in our colleagues and communities if there is little iterative guidance and very few robust, published case studies to learn from?

What Can We Do?

Although there are only a handful of publications that specifically address approaches and methods for evaluating public archaeology projects (for example Apaydin 2016; Human 2015; King 2016; Nevell 2015), archaeologists have been undertaking this work in order to improve their ongoing outreach activities for many years, but these are much less frequently published as formal case studies in scholarly journals. Several dissertations (McDavid 2002; Morgan 2012; Richardson 2014; Stottman 2016) and conference presentations (Gibb and McDavid 2008; Gidusko 2017; Jeppson 2003, 2004, 2011, 2012; Jeppson and Brauer 2008; Malloy et al. 2009; McDavid 2011) have explored evaluation in more depth, although these have not yet been the focus of subsequent journal articles and these may not be universally available in the public realm.

Scholars have discussed public archaeology evaluation significantly more in conference sessions than in published literature, one recent example being the 2016 Society for American Archaeology session where we presented the first version of this paper (Ellenberger 2016). As demonstrated by the enthusiastic response of that audience, there are interested readers for this topic, and this aspect of practice needs to be better represented in published literature, to share experiences and open up formal assessment practices for further debate. We suggest that the following actions would help to support a better understanding of what our participants want from our work, aid us to share and extend our best practices, and support public archaeology professionals to address the needs and values of the communities in which we work.

Action 1: Better Define Our Goals for Public Engagement

We must first clearly and honestly define our epistemological, ethical, political, and practical goals if we wish to develop further in our practice. Are we vigilant to the possibility that we may simply reflect, in the methodologies of our work and our evaluations, the types of markers for success that our funders seek, corresponding to 'contemporary official representations of cultural value' (Newsinger and Green 2016: 2)? Do we then marginalize not only the desires of the non-professional participants, but also the evaluation aspirations of the practitioners themselves? We need to examine the dominant discussions of the meaning and method of evaluation with as much attention as we have with 'participation in practice' – since the practice of public archaeology does not begin at the trowel's edge and finish once the last archival box has been packed and we have all gone home.

Guilfoyle and Hogg (2015: 111, also Figure 1) have created a useful intent-based framework with which to classify dimensions of community-based projects, laying the groundwork for comparing public archaeology projects systematically.

TABLE 2. Attributes of Community Engagement.

Attribute	Description
Degree of Community Support	What was the level of community support for the project?
Degree of Community Control	Was the community in control of designing the project goals/outcomes? Was the community in control of designing the project process/outcomes?
Degree of Community Involvement	What was the level of personal participation by community members? What percentage of the community was aware of the project?
Degree of Information Flow	Was there open communication and dialogue between the archaeologists and the community?
Degree of Community Needs Met/ Archaeologist Needs Met	Were the needs of the community met? Were the needs of the archaeologists met?

Figure 1. Guilfoyle and Hogg’s (2015: 111) proposed framework for the characterization of community engagement in archaeological projects. Used with permission from Society for American Archaeology, Copyright 2015.

Another useful framework is Arnstein’s (1969) ladder of citizen participation (Cornwall 2008: 270). Her model defines participation through numerous practices, which include: taking part in consultations; deciding how to share information; understanding how to set policies, goals and research frameworks; undertaking programmes and activities; and distributing community benefits and resources. The spectrum of community participation is ‘defined by a shift from control by authorities to control by the people or citizens’ (Cornwall 2008: 271), although the model, and other similar typologies (White 1996) suggest that the scale of participation ranges from genuine to manipulative and rhetorical. With these frameworks in mind, we should ensure we (and our audiences and participants) have clarity from the outset of our projects exactly what our collective goals are and what everyone wants from their participatory experiences.

Action 2: Share Best Practice

We need to be able to identify good working practices in community and public archaeology, be aware of good practice within evaluation, and understand how we can incorporate similar activities within our own projects. Measuring impact and outcomes only from community archaeology projects may not provide the types of nuanced information that can inform our future collaborations in any meaningful way. Critiques of participatory

practice from other disciplines can help us reflect on other ways of understanding the value (or lack of value) placed on public archaeology and find examples of effective evaluation strategies. Evaluation practice in participatory research, visitor studies, and community engagement all provide examples that we could use and adapt (Johanson 2013). Literature under the label of 'heritage work' provides useful examples (Smith 2006) as well as museum studies (Diamond et al. 2009; University of Leicester 2016) and historic site management (for example: Cameron and Gatewood 2000; Markwell et al. 1997).

Action 3: Evaluate with Purpose

We need to be clear and critical about why we are undertaking project evaluations, and what we want to do with the results. Often, formal evaluation reports in the public realm steer clear of reporting problems and difficult situations, or downplay and ignore any areas where impact has not been felt and needs have not been met. Are we afraid of sharing failure and projects that did not turn out as we expected? Do neoliberal agendas drive these fears because of a pressured financial environment? If we are afraid of failure, then we cannot improve our projects (Graham 2016), or respond to the changing needs and abilities of our stakeholders and partners.

Action 4: Lobby Archaeological Professional Bodies

Within professional organizations in the USA and Europe (European Association of Archaeologists 2013; Society for American Archaeology 2016), public archaeology interest groups have developed, and facilitated greater collaboration among practitioners. These organizations have the broad reach and infrastructure to support scholarly exchange among public archaeology practitioners, and many have hosted professional meetings that have become central to scholarly exchange between public archaeologists. While it must be recognized that attendance at these events has a high financial cost for registration and participation, which may exclude potential speakers and attendees, we have the opportunity to

lobby these organizations to put further effort into writing ethical and professional guidelines on public archaeology, and to require reflexive evaluation for public archaeology projects.

Conclusion

This paper has demonstrated that formal evaluation practice in archaeology is an under-researched and under-valued area of scholarly consideration. Archaeology projects can give voice to communities involved in heritage engagement, but 'there are dangers here of tokenistic work being undertaken to meet institutionally prescribed targets' when government policy filters to the policy aims (and financial capabilities) of heritage organizations, funding bodies and universities (Jackson et al. 2014: 82).

There is a growing need to understand these issues both as part of the dominant cultural value debate of the neoliberal austerity agenda (Jeppson 2012a), and as an opportunity for a progressive development of deeper and broader public participation in archaeological work. Assessment and evaluation may not be uppermost in the minds of archaeologists designing community-based projects, but this call for greater critical discussion of the outcomes of community archaeology is not naive and misplaced idealism. In the prevailing atmosphere of political instrumentalization of culture and economic austerity, it is all too easy to reduce archaeology to a vehicle for rhetorical nods to issues of social cohesion and well-being, and for the emphasis to be placed on assessments of its economic value to wider society.

Moving beyond the traditional interpretations of 'top-down' or 'bottom-up' public archaeology projects and into an understanding of the relationship between participatory process and satisfactory outcome, is a challenge for public archaeology evaluation. Archaeologists working in both public and privately funded arenas need to be able to demonstrate the impact, credibility and value of their work, but must also recognize the potential for sustainable change and transformation presented by a greater understanding of the social and educational needs and aspirations of our audiences before, during and after our work alongside them. There needs to

be opportunity to include these concerns in any formal evaluation processes. As Gould (2016: 4) notes, 'only a sound methodology can generate the sound data necessary to identify such practices'. The action points outlined in this article offer some ideas for approaches to formal evaluation with which to shape projects, and to further include stakeholders, influence policy and begin to challenge 'the emerging norms of austerity and neoliberal capitalism' (Newsinger and Green 2016: 2).

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POINTS OF YOU

Historical graffiti and pop culture: A public archaeology perspective

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Introduction

The analysis of historical graffiti—commonly taking the form of engravings on pottery and drawings on the walls of ruins—has become more popular in archaeology and history of late. Although studies on historical graffiti (see Barrera Maturana, 2002; Ozcáriz, 2013; Viñuales y Reyes, 2016, and more) are increasingly gaining academic acceptance, the results are rarely transferred onto other related knowledge fields, such as heritage outreach and teaching.

Interestingly, however, these historical engravings and drawings were represented in cinema and television before they were the subject of academic research. The point was raised in the field of public archaeology, with Jaime Almansa Sanchez (2013; 2017) noting that aspects of everyday material culture can remain unknown to society despite being studied academically. For this reason, it is necessary to evaluate and create dialogue spaces between historians, archaeologists and filmmakers in order to create more faithful representations in cinema other historically-themed productions.

The present study analyses these representations of the past in popular culture, by noting different typologies and appearance contexts of graffiti in cinema and comparing them with archaeological elements. The films and television production we have focused do not necessarily have strict historical backgrounds, and exclude

documentaries and specialised films. The paper is not aimed at merely listing the films in which historical graffiti is represented, but to create new spaces of academic study in terms of the relationship between society, history and archaeology.

Films and series analysis

Cinema and television often use material remains from the past. Of course, films that hark back to historical times, like Ridley Scott's *Gladiator* (2000), or those set in medieval and pre-Hispanic times, do not always do this appropriately (Tejerizo, 2011). The present study will focus on one aspect of this usage of material remains—historical and prehistoric graffiti used in cinema.

Terry Jones' *Monty Python's Life of Brian* (1979) is perhaps one of the most singular cases of graffiti deliberately employed in films. At 26 minutes into the film, the iconic sentence "*Romani ite domum* (Romans go home)," appears written on a wall.



Fig. 1. *Monty Python's Life of Brian* (1979).

Ostensibly a joke about bad Latin, the scene it captures the reality of the rejection of Roman dominion by many territories. It gives us an opportunity to reflect deeper on the intent behind historical graffiti, because many of these jokes, complaints and insults were written on surfaces not built for that purpose.

In Jean Sacha's television series *The Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1964), the protagonist draws a calendar on the bark of a tree, a motif which recurs in many contexts and chronologies. One such instance is in the 1994 Disney animated feature *The Lion King*, where a character draws a lion on a tree bark. Painted lions, such as those found in the Chauvet Cave (Clottes, 1996), are a regular feature of past communities relaying their relationships with nature.

Released in the same year was Frank Darabont's *The Shawshank Redemption*, which features a scene where one of the characters engraves on a wooden beam the phrase "Brooks was here" before committing suicide. Anthony Minghella's Oscar-winning *The English Patient* (1996), meanwhile, contains a scene with engravings and paintings from the Cave of Swimmers in Egypt, which was discovered in 1933 by Hungarian explorer László Almásy.

Gus Van Sant's *Good Will Hunting* (1997) and Ron Howard's *A Beautiful Mind* (2001) include scenes with two different 'geniuses' writing down mathematical formulas on uncommon bases, a bath mirror and a glass window. These graffiti typologies are very common on the walls of different buildings, such as in industry areas, churches, or even wine cellars. Another atypical surface reflected in cinema is plaster. This material is used by the Frida Kahlo character in the 2002 biopic directed by Julie Taymor. She draws a butterfly on this plaster, first with a pencil, then with pens of different colours, blue and red.

Kevin Reynolds' *The Count of Monte Cristo*, released in the same year, depicts the phrase "God will give justice" as central element of the story. The same prison engravings are seen in Daniel Monzón's *Celda 211* (2009). These prison engravings are very varied, from crosses to graves and anthropomorphic figures, such as a man with an umbrella. These are also complemented by phrases, like "*Aquí murió Calzones* (Here died Calzones)" or "*Enfermo, enfermo, enfermo* (Sick, sick, sick)." These show the misery of captivity inside of prison. We also should underline that this is a multi-temporal phenomenon, as it is still evident in prison graffiti today. (Herrasti et al, 2014; Barrera Maturana, 2016).

In Antoine Fuqua's 2004 film *King Arthur*, we can observe inscriptions on orthostates. These are similar to that which is found on

the south of the Iberian Peninsula, the decorated South-west steles. Other cases of this are the stone circles or the cromlechs around the British Isles, like Stonehenge (Salisbury), Castlerigg (Cumbria) or the Scottish Brodgar. According to the cromlech inscriptions, there are different opinions on their function, but all of them can be summarised in this sentence: "The English sites indeed confirm that the megalithic decorations had references in other spaces of their builders' lives" (Bueno Ramírez et al, 2016: 188).

The opening of HBO's *Rome* series shows several types of graffiti depicting different aspects of daily life, in the form of both pictures and Latin words. One important characteristic of the Latin in the opening is the use of uncial writing, cursive writing and capital letters. As Pablo Ozcáriz states: "*Aquellos dibujos o inscripciones realizados sobre un soporte que no es el adecuado para ellos* (Those drawings or inscriptions are made on surfaces not intended for this purpose)" (2012: 9). We can compare some of these with archaeological real cases around the world, such as those in Pompeii described by Rebeca Benefiel (2017).

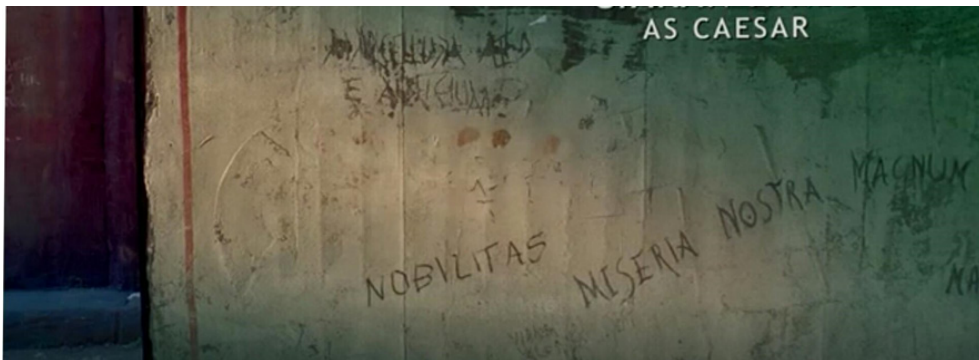


Fig. 2. The graffiti visible in the opening of HBO's *Rome*.

The action-comedy film *Sahara* (2005), directed by Breck Eisner, also shows some anachronistic anthropomorphic representations for comedic effect, such as buildings, scenes of hunting and even a submarine on the walls of a cave.

Hieroglyphs in Yucatec Mayan appear in Mel Gibson's *Apocalypto* (2006). A linguistic analysis shows that these are numbers, with one represented by a point, and five represented with a line. The sum of these characters would show us the numbers "11, 16 and 6" written on the left column (see Fig. 3 below).



Fig. 3: A scene from *Apocalypto*, where graffiti appears next to hieroglyphs on columns.

These also need to be differentiated from the hieroglyphs proper. The hieroglyphs seem to more deliberate, while the numbers appear to be written more spontaneously, in freehand. We can see on the right column the same hieroglyph as on the left, but written in the freehand is the number 12.

Nevertheless, we can observe an intentional link between both signs to complete an 'idea'. On this occasion, it could be interpreted as a date, formed by the sign *k'in*, a Mayan day word, and the number, made up of two points and a line (Grub, 2006: 131). The column also contains four signs consisting of three regular crosses and a vertical line—clearly written spontaneously, and much closer to our modern understanding of graffiti. The interpretation of this is quite difficult, and we have yet to discover any archaeological parallels.

In the DreamWorks animated movie *The Croods* (2013), we see intentional hand prints on the cave where the titular family lives. These are normally not taken and understood as normal graffiti, but we thought it worthy of being included in the present article, considering their association to rock art. Some well-known cases of this include the Cueva de las Manos in Santa Cruz (9,300 years ago) or the Cueva de El Castillo in Cantabria (40,800 years ago), where we can actually see handprints next to zoomorphic engravings of animals or schematic art.

Also worthy of note is the 2013 movie *The Physician*, directed by Philipp Stölzl. In one scene, writing on the wall is used to indicate the number of deaths caused by the plague. But by far one of the most impressive representations of graffiti in cinema in terms of both quantity and quality has been David S Goyer's *Da Vinci's Demons* series. In different episodes, we have the opportunity to observe several drawings and ideas expressed on walls and other surfaces. In the fifth episode of Season 1, we can see some inscriptions, which could be ideograms, letters or even shapes in the form of stairs. In episode six of Season 2, graffiti appears during a dramatic scene. Here, a wall of graffiti can be observed with the word "*Medici*." The word is surrounded by anthropomorphic drawings, as well as engravings of animals, like birds. Such depictions are common in medieval and modern archaeological contexts. In addition to these, we also have scenes with multiple wall inscriptions, such as that visible in Fig. 4.

In Sarah Gavron's 2015 film *Suffragette*, a famous phrase appears on the wall of the cell in which the protagonist is being incarcerated: "Deeds Not Words D.S." making reference to the movement in early 20th century Britain. In prisons like Holloway Castle in London, we find testimonies of the thoughts of women imprisoned there. Some of them were condemned to death or simply jailed, as the famous Marion Wallace Dunlop, who was on hunger strike in 1909 during her imprisonment.

The CW series, *Arrow*, also depicts graffiti in episode 12 of Season 2. In the scene, a map drawn in chalk is visible, which also contains sentences and coordinates. Graffiti on jail cell walls are also visible in recent series like *El Marginal* and *Narcos*, but these scenes are isolated.



Fig. 4: A scene from Da Vinci's Demons, where historical graffiti is shown on the wall.

Lastly, Patricia Riggén's *The 33* (2015), about the miners trapped 700m underground for over two months after the collapse of the San José mine. In one of the final scenes of the film, graffiti is prominent on the wall of cave in which they were trapped. It states: "Here lived 33 miners, August 5 – October 13. God was with us."

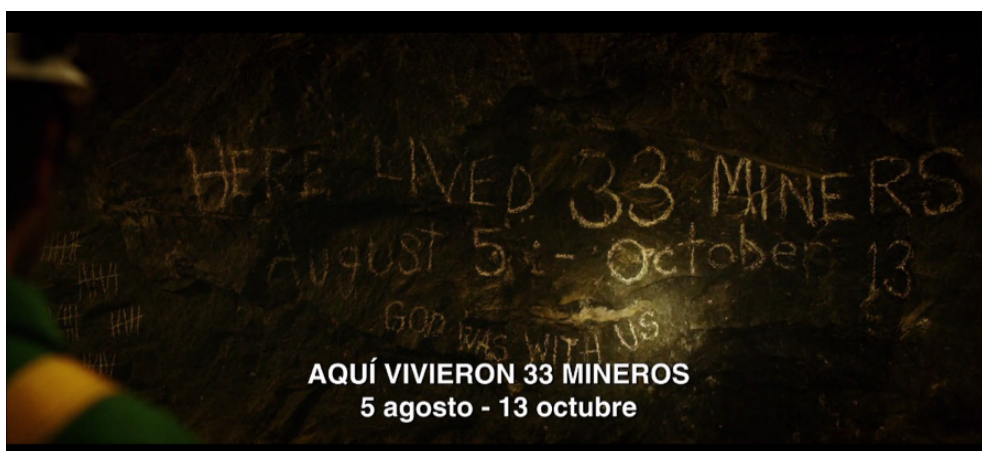


Fig. 5. Graffiti on the cave wall in the film *The 33*.

Contexts and typologies

The complete a comparative analysis of the examples listed above, we used Josemi Lorenzo's 2016 study, "*Grafitos medievales. Un intento de sistematización*," which contains typological standardisation and a system for the characteristics of medieval graffiti.

Different techniques are employed in the scenes above to produce graffiti, from incisions with knives, stones and other sharp objects, to the use of natural pigments, or even chalk. In cases where the graffiti is not planned beforehand, graffiti is drawn freehand (Lorenzo, 2016: 55).

The locations in which this graffiti is found is also varied, from houses and palaces to prison walls, or even on the inside of the caves. The surfaces on which graffiti is found is also heterogenic—wood, walls, stone, cement mortar, etc.

We can also use three of the four categories Lorenzo establishes to classify the graffiti in the examples above – textual, figurative and accounting graffiti. Names and sentences are a feature of the first category, such as in the word "*Medici*" in *Da Vinci's Demons*, or the sentences in *Celda 211*, *Life of Brian* or *33*. In all of these examples, we can find names and sentences which demonstrate a multitemporal approach.

Representations of humans and animals are significant in figurative graffiti also found in *Celda 211* and *Da Vinci's Demons*, or the anachronistic submarine in *Sahara*. Accounting graffiti, meanwhile, appears on multiple occasions, such as in the films *The Physician*, *Good Will Hunting* or the *Arrow* series. The last case is the most noteworthy, since the map shown also contains geographical coordinates of an island.

Therefore, we can observe that this analysis help us to continue exploring relevant issues as highlighted by Beatriz Comendador, who said:

"El análisis y estudio de la configuración de la imagen especular del pasado en nuestra sociedad constituye un punto de análisis crucial del que los arqueólogos y/o historiadores no deben quedar al margen como parte de la sociedad (The analysis and study of the configuration of the mirror image of the past in our society constitutes a crucial point of analysis from which archaeologists and/or historians should not remain on the sidelines as part of society)." (2013: 132).

Conclusions

We are concerned about the distance between academic studies and the general public. Cinema and television are helping members of the public understand the multi-temporality of archaeological and historical elements such as graffiti.

The graphic representations studied above appear in both historical and non-historical films, and we can observe how these speak to many aspects of contemporary life, which is fundamental to their understanding.

The present article breaks down the temporary borders that usually exist between different chronologies to study graffiti as an element transcendent of space and time. In our understanding, we need to start thinking about graffiti as a representations of the philosophy and the gradual changes of mentality of the period in which it is produced.

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REVIEWS



Nekbet CORPAS CÍVICOS

El Antipatrimonio. Fetichismo y dominación en Maragatería

[by Pablo Alonso González]

CSIC, 2017

ISBN: 978-84-00-10235-7

326 pages

Cultural Heritage has died— or at least this book argues that it has. It is part of a quite recent trend towards ethnographically exploring the effects of cultural heritage designation (e.g. Bendix et al. 2012; Brumann and Berliner 2016). Yet it tries to set itself apart by marking the beginning of critical studies *against* cultural heritage rather than *for*.

Throughout the thirteen chapters of this book, the author aims to delve into the emergence of heritage and its effects. This task is carried out by focusing on Maragateria, a mostly rural region situated on the north-western part of the Iberian Peninsula. This region was particularly selected as the initiatives around the development and rise of cultural heritage seem to be still in their infancy. It is noteworthy that the different case studies encountered in Maragateria are not officially designated as cultural heritage, but rather “could be considered” (p. 12) as such. Additionally, the author exhibits an impressive knowledge on this area gathered for over five years of ethnographic work on the ground.

The first two chapters of this book are key to understanding the rich analytical framework of the book. The remaining chapters

can be read almost independently as the overall book is affected by a lack of unifying structure. In addition to this, although the style adopted by the author (an ethnographic one) responds to a desire to give a situated description of his vast knowledge on the social relationships in Maragateria, it contributes to a feeling of constant repetition of several issues rather than advancement of the discourse.

One of the book's main ideas is the need for developing a critique of the *category* of cultural heritage. According to the author, until now critical heritage studies would have focused on the relationships between different agents and cultural heritage itself. This critical standpoint is what the author terms as the phenomenological critique. It "presupposes that non-official heritage is part of legitimate fights for recognition by subalterns [in this case, the original inhabitants of Maragatería] and that achieving such recognition is something positive" (p. 26). In other words, it accepts that heritage is something positive and the problem rests on who is controlling the process of heritagisation and heritage representation. In fact, for the author, this recognition entails that subalterns become incorporated into a fetishist and individualistic system of relationships— a typical system of capitalism. As such, the question is no longer *who is represented by heritage?* (phenomenological critique). But *what are the foundations needed for cultural heritage to emerge?* (category's critique).

For Alonso, both analytical approaches are required, hence the double title of the book: fetishism (category) and domination (phenomenological critique). Heritage emerges out of typical capitalist relationships and its emergence thus signals that a given social group/individuals disassociate a series of elements from their production and socialization contexts (p. 58). Particularly, this dissociation allows heritage to be appropriated and mobilised for the domination of different groups, representation fights and its commercialisation.

Looking for more participatory or empowering heritage management is no longer the way forward, according to the author. Since heritage is the result of fetishist relationships, the benefits resulting from managing it cannot be distributed in order to pursue social justice and maintain social relationships. In the

end, a fairer distribution of benefits just entails the continuous expansion of the same sort of fetishist relationships: "failure in questioning the fundamental categories of capitalism and merely proposing a different redistribution of benefits just promoted a system of fetishist relationships to which heritage belongs" (p.70) Consequently, heritage should not be improved but rather erased.

Chapter three deals with the essentialisation of the identity of maragatos (inhabitants of Maragateria). This identity is commercialised while maragatos become subalterns. This position results from the workings of what Alonso defines as the "heritage machine": a government device that reorganizes social relationships around heritage. It connects "material qualities and discourses, enabling the emergence of new meshworks that produce representations and subjectivities"(p.45). Pursuing more faithful representations of rural maragatos just strips maragatos of the products of their work and dismisses their lifestyles. Chapters four to six could be grouped together as they reflect on how the emergence of heritage allows disassociating the past from their wider socioeconomic contexts. Chapter five also shows this dissociation by focussing on several local celebrations and the local traditional organizations responsible for them. Finally, chapter six explores the fights around Mount Teleno, as some groups want it to be designated as a cultural heritage site while the army and other groups want it to be a natural heritage site which would keep the population out of it and maintain it as a military zone.

Chapters seven to twelve depict the different ways of socialization between communities and potential heritage elements particularly well. Yet, as already mentioned, all these issues are also addressed in the first group of chapters so these chapters simply reiterate and further exemplify the author's points without adding any new layers to the discussion. Chapter seven focuses on pseudoarchaeology and amateur archaeologists and the role of the latter in mediating between archaeologists and non-archaeologists. The Way of St. James is the focus of Chapter eight, the only example of officially designated cultural heritage in the book. Surrounding the Camino there are different groups understanding it quite differently: from a market logic to other groups pursuing a sense of community aside from these interests. Chapter nine also tackles

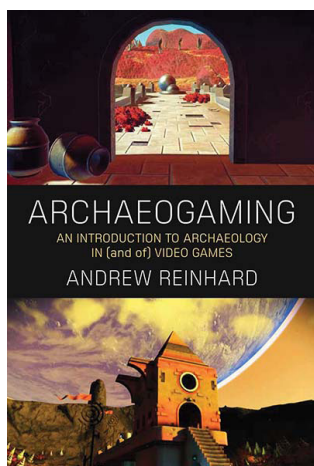
the issue of fetishism, as it describes a process of essentialisation of the rural life by former city dwellers while rural communities are dismissed as archaic. There is, in fact, a process of rural gentrification—an under-researched topic. Chapter eleven similarly reflects on the arrival by former city dwellers to rural life in order to talk about ‘anti-heritage’ types of relationships: people socialised in capitalist ways of relationships move to the countryside to feel part of a community. In particular, this chapter focuses on the Rainbow groups (part of the hippie movement) who try to escape from capitalist modes of relationship. Yet, the impossibility of this task is stated since these capitalist modes are included “within the psyche of the modern Western individual” (p. 258). Ultimately, this chapter suggests the impossibility to build communities through abstract ideas such as heritage.

Generally speaking, this book is an interesting reflection on the origins of cultural heritage and its effects as it tries to overcome the sound dichotomy created around cultural heritage studies: depicting all heritage as involving the ‘good’ (communities) and the ‘bad’ (institutions). Yet, it would have benefited from a clearer structure, thus helping the reader to grasp the impressive analytical framework in use. On a different note, to accept the idea that heritage, as an endeavour, must be stopped for the communities’ own sake seem too categorical. In fact, as the author recognises: “the purpose of the analysis of category is not to ‘protect heritage’ or to ‘expand the limits of what can be heritagised’, but rather to problematise it in particular contexts and to highlight its relationship with fetishist sorts of relationships” (p. 290). One more time, “the role of the researcher must not be naïve: it is not about halting unstoppable heritagisation processes but to show what these processes entail and the actors controlling it” (Ibid). If, as the author himself recognises, heritagisation processes are unstoppable, is it enough for researchers to just spotlight these problems? Does heritage always fetishise relationships? Does giving *abandoned* historical buildings a second life (as cultural centres, offices, etc.) also entail dissociating the building from *existing* social relationships? Doing so may gloss over the past human relationships (phenomenological critique), but isn’t it also creating new relationships? Controversy is served.

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REVIEWS



Daniel GARCÍA RASO

Archaeogaming. An Introduction of Archaeology in and of Video Games

[by Andrew Reinhard]

Berghahn Books, 2018
ISBN: 978-1-78533-873-1
224 pages

When I wrote “Watching Video Games: Playing with archaeology and prehistory” a decade ago for volume 1 of this same journal, archaeogaming was still three years away—if we take as its starting point the creation of Andrew Reinhard’s self-titled blog. And, the excavation of the Atari cartridges at a landfill in Alamogordo, New Mexico had not been carried out yet.

I do not intend to proclaim myself discoverer of anything by pointing to this fact; on the contrary, after writing that article, my idea of an archaeology of video games was still taking shape, leading to the publication of *Yacimiento pixel. Los videojuegos como cultura material* [*Pixel site: Video games as material culture*] in 2017.

By the time I started writing the book, I was already fully immersed in the works of Reinhard, Richard Rothaus, Raiford Guins, Brett Weber and William Caraher, the excavation of the Atari cartridges, and the digging up of video games. What this proved, once again, is that science, knowledge, or philosophy, if you will, evolve and advance through convergence.

My vision of an archaeology of videogames differs in some very important ways with archaeogaming, in the same way that archaeogaming is fixated on frameworks and analyses that I had not encountered, as we will see below. Knowing that I was not alone—and that the idea of an archaeology of video games was not that crazy—was the intellectual boost I needed to finish writing *Yacimiento pixel*.

I got in touch with Reinhard via Twitter, and he, an ardent supporter of open access, was excited to help me with my questions on archaeogaming and its theoretical and methodological framework, while also facilitating access to all of the documentary material and records of the excavation of the Atari cartridges.

I knew he was also preparing a book, and I followed with interest every related tweet. My book came out at the end of 2017, his in the middle of the following year. The order matters little, however, because both texts obey to a single reality: videogames have become empirically important for archaeology.

For those unfamiliar with the field, Reinhard's *Archaeogaming: An introduction to archaeology in and of video games* is the only book, together with *Yacimiento pixel*, on video games and archaeology published internationally. Reinhard is the publications director of the American Numismatic Society, and an archaeologist who, after excavating European and American sites, prepared his doctoral thesis on digital heritage at the University of York. Along with Rothaus, Guins, Weber and Caraher, Reinhard carried out the excavation of the Atari cartridges in the Alamogordo landfill in 2014. His book reveals the theoretical, methodological and epistemological framework of archaeogaming, the archaeology of and in video games.

First, we must address this combination of archaeology and video games. Reinhard distinguishes between studying video games as material culture of the real world, and studying (im) material culture within video games. What he calls archaeogaming of the real world would include, for instance, the excavation of the Atari cartridges. It extends this type of archaeology to videogame museums (public or private, amateur or professional), retro videogames stores, amusement arcades and, even videogame

developer studios. It is in these “games spaces” that you can find juicy archaeological information about videogames—not as an important part of the cultural life of the present, but as carriers of information from the past.

There is no doubt that these archaeological sites of video games are interesting as sources of information on the present or the contemporary past. But at the same time—and this is where my archaeology of video games differs from archaeogaming, or as Reinhard may call it, the study of contemporary material culture—it seems to me equally, if not more relevant from an archaeological point of view, to study the production of videogames.

This is something that neither Reinhard nor others studying archaeogaming do, not in this book and not in any of the other texts they have written. Aspects such as the extraction of tantalum—the raw material necessary for the manufacturing of consoles and computers—and its use from coltan; the manufacturing of videogame hardware in developing countries like China; as well as other aspects of the production of video games, are totally ignored.

This is not a trivial matter, but a reality that has already been pointed out by many archaeologists and theoretical anthropologists in contemporary archaeological studies (i.e. García-Raso 2017; González-Ruibal 2008; Schiffer and Mjewski 2001; Wurst and McGuire 1999). Perhaps unknowingly—as it does not cite any such works—archaeogaming has fallen into the same net of postmodernism as Daniel Miller (i.e. 1987; 1997; 1998; 2001), in which the interest is always consumption and the consumer, and never in the production.

So, although Reinhard claims that “archaeogaming requires a foundation in archaeological theory, from positivism through post-processualism and beyond, taking from each to create a hybrid theory from which it can operate” (p. 200), the truth is shown as insanely postmodern in this aspect. This becomes odder still when Reinhard says that “a video game is a complex site-artefact, created through an interdisciplinary mix of creativity, coding, and manufacturing, *all within a sociopolitical context of when and where the game was made.*” (p. 176, emphasis mine).

Aside from this empirical dissonance, where Reinhard's genius really shines in *Archaeogaming* is when he focuses on archaeology in video games—namely, archaeological practices carried out in the synthetic virtual reality of the video game. A few pages are dedicated to how archaeology and archaeologists have been portrayed in video games, which does not differ much from portrayals in film or television. But Reinhard—as I have pointed out in a previous article—calls for a closer collaboration between videogame developers and archaeology professionals to achieve unprecedented pedagogical and informative potential.

The most interesting part of the book, and the theoretical and methodological triumph of *Archaeogaming*, is the conception of video games as archaeological sites. Reinhard summarises this idea in three points. First, "A video game is a discrete entity where the place can be defined as the space in which the game is installed... The past activity is the coding that created the game" (pp. 90-1). This leaves the door open for archaeology to study videogame programming—its code—as a material record, and thus observe the decisions made by its developers, which, together with the possibility of speaking with the developers themselves, is doubtless essential for the archaeological study of videogames and, also, for the conservation of digital heritage.

Secondly, "Video game installation media (e.g., a tape, cartridge, or disk) is not only an artefact but also an archaeological site" (*ibid.*). In connection with the first point, archaeology can also analyse the directories, files and structures of videogames, or in other words, the digital information they contain. And lastly, "The game-as-played, which is accessed via installed digital media, is also an archaeological site" (*ibid.*). The synthetic world, the reality of each video game, is in itself a great archaeological site with its own material culture, which can be studied, analysed, chronologically ordered, and even taken out of that synthetic world and converted into the material culture of the real world through 3D printers.

The last point is especially interesting from two perspectives. First, there is the possibility of exercising an ethical code within videogames. Many videogames have objects of great value within their own synthetic cosmogony, which we could call the heritage of each playful universe. Most of the time, the player can choose

to plunder those objects (selling them to the highest bidder, for example), or deliver them for conservation.

Reinhard believes that if the game were to impose an ethical code of respect for heritage, it could function as an educational tool without precedent. And he is right, save for the possibility of gamers turning a blind eye. The possibility of creating communities or guilds dedicated to this task in massively multiplayer online games and other online games would be a great achievement in terms of respect for heritage and, at the same time, a tool for the preservation of digital heritage.

Secondly, the possibility of recording the history, material culture, and mythology of videogames, and conceiving them as a huge archaeological sites in which it is not necessary to excavate, but from which things can be extracted (i.e., 3D printing), results in the registration and conservation of digital heritage, and broadens the professional and interdisciplinary horizons of archaeology.

Many other interesting arguments and ideas are put forth in Reinhard's book. The main axiom, however, is not so much the need for an archaeology of videogames, understood within contemporary archaeology, but that videogames, by themselves, deserve their own archaeology, just as there is an archaeology of death or zooarchaeology. All this is to preserve its artistic, cultural, technological value, so that digital heritage is not left in a few thousand hard drives on servers. Because, as Reinhard noted while excavating the Atari cartridges, archaeogaming "is archaeology, media archaeology, and public archaeology all in one" (p.93).

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REVIEWS

Jaime ALMANSA SANCHEZ

Yacimiento píxel
Los videojuegos como cultura material



Daniel García Raso

**Yacimiento píxel.
Los videojuegos como
cultura material**

[by Daniel García Raso]

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ISBN: 978-84-16725-12-0
438 pages

Today I am writing despite some of the ethical principles that should rule my role as an editor and professional. Besides this journal, I have been editor of many volumes and publications over the last eight years, most of them under what is my own publishing company, JAS Arqueología. Some were part of the routine in the job while others represented an investment in topics and authors that I believe deserved it. This is the case of Daniel Garcia Raso and the book, *Yacimiento píxel*, that I am reviewing here and was published through JAS Arqueología.

I met him over a decade ago during another editorial venture in a fully open access online journal of archaeology; *ArqueoWeb*. Back then he was already exploring very interesting issues beyond his interest in first hominids and the development of culture such as his love of video games. So when this journal started, I reached out to him to see if he was interested in writing something about the image of archaeology in video games. During my research on the contemporary uses of the past I had noticed video games where also a very interesting part of the picture, so his acceptance was a joy for me. You can read that paper, entitled *Watching video games. Playing with Archaeology and Prehistory*, in our first volume.

Some months later I knew about what was about to become his first book for JAS Arqueología, *Los otros hijos de Hefesto. Uso y fabricación de herramientas en animales no humanos*, compiling cultural and technological habits in non-human animals with a powerful background—but I knew there was more coming. One day he told me he was working in a new manuscript, which was to become the book I am reviewing here; *Yacimiento píxel*. The result was more than satisfactory and some of the conversations we had during the editorial process were truly enriching. I cannot say the book is perfect and you should all buy it, as this would actually be wrongly biased. However, for a Spanish reader it can represent an encouraging work that reviews current studies in material culture and applies them to the non-traditional field of video games. In this volume, Daniel also reviews *Archaeogaming*, by Andrew Reinhard, and the complementarity of both titles is clear. This is why, after a short description of the contents, I would like to focus on the main issues that *Yacimiento píxel* can offer for the English reader.

The book starts in the origins of Daniel's research, discussing the actual concept and evolution of 'game'. Linking with his previous research, the topics of culture, game, humanity, and other basic concepts are analysed to frame the main focus of the book. In very fresh and appealing writing, the second chapter explores the history of video games, from their early origins to the latest trends and developments. A first glimpse on the historical context and the ideology behind the market—as it soon developed—starts to reveal one of the main focuses of this book in contrast with Reinhard's work. The third chapter focuses on contemporary archaeologies, material studies, and mass consumption from a critical approach. The next chapter is maybe the main convergence between both texts, going back to actual video games and including a review of archaeogaming as a discipline. Then finishing with two applied chapters that return to ideologies, contemporary society, and culture, as well as the alternative uses of the video game in some of the less known applications of these interactive tools, such as motor rehabilitation in hospitals after a stroke or the development of ALS.

If archaeogaming is an archaeology of and in video games, *Yacimiento píxel* goes a step beyond in the definition of the discipline and its deeper implications and consequences on which represents

a serious critical analysis of all aspects of these worlds—both real and digital. Why? There are many details to point out, from the extensive preliminary frame of video games within culture, to the experience of playing itself as a cultural dynamic. But if I had to highlight two topics that make this book valuable they would be 'production' and 'ideology'.

Where do video games come from? There are many myths around the production and consumption of videogames. Archaeology has traditionally been a myth buster in many areas of history, and video games' is full of them. Maybe the method is not as clear as in the Atari dig that Reinhard and his colleagues practiced, excavating a dump full of discarded Atari products, like the reviled E.T. game, but if we actually understand the video game—software and hardware—as material culture susceptible of archaeological analysis, we can/should follow the production-consumption process from its beginning to its end. This way, different theoretical approaches can help us ask and answer a lot of questions that challenge some of the most extended or popular ideas around this industry. Speculation, conflict, working conditions, clans, frontiers, myths... and ideologies—will come back to this point later on. Rare metals are in the plot of most conflicts worldwide nowadays. Economical and physical. They are essential for the production of video games but so are coders and even miners—soil and digital. The social dynamics that generate from these situations are strong enough to define very specific traces that we can follow archaeologically—maybe not in the most strict sense of the term "excavation". But the same way we try to explain the societies of the Bronze Age's understanding of the extraction of metals or the production and distribution of pottery, we can actually explain many issues in contemporary society through the production and consumption of video games.

Ideology plays an essential role in this context, because video games are not strictly a capitalist or even ultra-liberal tool. They exist under other regimes and even challenge radically Western conceptions of the world. *Tetris*, for example, comes from a Communist regime, as other productions from Cuba or North Korea, but other radical games go beyond mainstream politics to address contemporary issues like gender, colonialism or other inequalities in society. In a context where we address conflict and politics as

archaeologists, the analysis of these kinds of video games represent also a powerful tool towards a transformative practice, in this case, from the frame of archaeogaming, or at least the archaeological understanding of contemporary culture. Furthermore, it helps to understand current society, politics or other cultural and economic trends, in line with other features within popular culture.

The development of eSports or streaming channels can show the capitalisation of gaming within mass media—even with special channels for them. Able to support, justify or challenge the status quo, the strength of video games as part of contemporary culture goes beyond their more artistic or entertaining side. Serious games play an essential role in education nowadays, even some popular series like *Minecraft* or *Fortnite* are becoming part of formal education. But if we understand the underlying message on video games as some sort of implicit education, the impact is deeper.

“Put all this together, as well as, of course, their role as a vehicle for ideologies; their capacity to foster critical thinking; their idiosyncratic aesthetic performance, merging science, arts and technology; the exquisite challenge for cognition of their ludic and narrative nature; their moving and emotive strength; their educational and medical potential; their foul-mouthed attitude to challenge hegemonic trends and moral convictions... and we will realise then, that the future has the shape of a video game” (p. 413-4, my translation).

So, we can excavate video games, physically and in the digital world; we can use our archaeological methods to describe these alternative worlds we can live in into video games; we can even develop new tools for archaeology while playing in virtual scenarios provided by video games; but, and here is the main value of *Yacimiento pixel*, we must also go beyond to understand the production/consumption of video games, also with archaeological tools, to better understand the social, political and economic dynamics of our world.

BLOG REVIEWS WITHIN VOL 8

García Raso, D. Playing Prehistory with Far Cry Primal – 7 October

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We will be publishing one volume per year (first trimester) and although we are willing to receive papers the whole year, full articles for next-year's volume should be sent before October in order to complete the process with time.

If you have any queries, please do not hesitate to contact the editor at: jasarqueologia@gmail.com

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