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INDEX

EDITORIAL

Transition

Jaime ALMANSA SÁNCHEZ, Editor
Elena PAPAGIANNOPOULOU, Editor

Easter 2020. Being in quarantine in our respective homes due to the COVID-19 pandemic crisis, it was time to move things forward and come out of this confinement with a belated volume 9. As this editorial is being drafted during the COVID-19 outbreak, our hope in the current climate of uncertainty is that you, your loved ones, and your community are safe.

During this past year much has changed. As far as the journal is concerned, apart from dealing with the current crisis, this past year has been quite challenging and could be described as a year of transition. Unfortunately, with this volume we say goodbye to two treasured members of the team: Amanda Erickson Harvey and Alexandra Ion. Both have provided their great services to the journal for many years, having served as an Assistant Editor and Reviews Editor respectively, and felt that it was now time to move on. Needless to say, we will miss them. Once again, we warmly thank you, Amanda and Alexandra, for all your hard work over the past 6 years. This volume is dedicated to you both, as an earnest expression of well-earned gratitude.

Looking back, ten years have just passed since the Pre-Editorial came out. At present, our aim is to have Volume 10 ready by the end of the year, while we intend to include some surprises to celebrate the 10-year journal anniversary. Thinking forward to Volume 11, we will hopefully be back on track to be able to publish

on schedule, that is by the beginning of each year, and this should also have an impact on rankings now that the journal has been indexed. Another change concerns our publisher. Not by name, but by type, becoming a fully non-for-profit organization absorbing the company to carry on with the editorial work and other projects. This is a transition period that should reinforce the journal for a brighter future offering quality open access public archaeology.

Focusing now on the current volume, we are pleased to bring you a number of papers and topics that we hope you will find useful, interesting and engaging. To begin with, this issue presents three articles: First, Bisserka Gaydarska, John Chapman, Marco Nebbia, and Stuart Johnston bring us a very interesting case from Ukraine. *A 'good death': the life and times of an experimental Neolithic house and its reception in the village of Nebelivka, Co. Kirovograd, Ukraine*, is a great work of experimental public archaeology in the context of a long-standing project where the community little by little becomes part of it. Using the construction/burning of a house to engage the villagers the different interests and agendas are put on the table, negotiating and outcome that would satisfy all parts.

Next, moving on to Portugal, Mauro Correia, Gabriel R. Pereira, Gustavo Santos, and Orlando Fernandes present an experience of community involvement in the context of valorisation of two burial mounds. *Towards the Public: A contribution of Public Archaeology at Serra do Carvalho, Póvoa do Lanhoso (North of Portugal)*, also points out the controversy of including certain practices of community involvement within contract archaeology work, thus opening an interesting debate.

Third, a contribution from the Florida Public Archaeology Network (FPAN). *Participatory Evaluation of Cultural Heritage Based Programming to Empower Communities: A Quantitative Analysis*, is an interesting evaluation of six Heritage Monitoring Scouts

programs in Florida, suggesting some useful tools to evaluate the actual impact of heritage programs.

This year´s Points of You comes following some rather sad news. Theresa O'Mahony passed away a few months ago and we wanted to offer a small obituary. Her work with Enabled Archaeology has been great proof of what "inclusivity" means and we really hope it continues beyond her legacy.

This volume closes with two reviews: *Empowering communities through archaeology and heritage*, a book by Peter G. Gould, is reviewed by Jaime Almansa Sánchez. Finally, Floor Huisman reviews *Public Archaeology and Climate Change*, a very interesting edited volume from the session that took place during the EAA Meeting in Glasgow in 2015.

Before closing this editorial, we would like to thank all the authors and reviewers of this volume, as well as our readers, and we hope you will all enjoy reading 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 wish 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 10 will be a celebratory special by invitation and is scheduled to be published in fall 2020, so we are now accepting submissions for volume 11. 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 via email.

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 possible access at no cost for both authors and readers. AP is—and will remain—an open-access, peer-reviewed 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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A 'GOOD DEATH':
The life and times of an experimental Neolithic house and its reception in Nebelivka

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Abstract

Most archaeological fieldwork projects have stories about the interactions between their host village and the project, although such accounts rarely make it to publication. The Anglo-Ukrainian Trypillia Megasites Project differs in that we developed a closer than usual relationship with the residents of Nebelivka, largely because of an experimental house-building and -burning operation that involved a number of villagers—from young reed and hazel withy collectors to the mayor. In this article, we weave together different threads of actions, decisions, agendas and attitudes of different stakeholders (team, villagers, politicians, journalists, conference delegates, etc.) with respect to the project's experimental programme, focusing on the day of the house-burning and its spectacular multi-sensory results. In conclusion, we reflect upon the application of the question 'what is a good death' to a prehistoric house, taking into consideration the varied views of the participants.

Keywords

house-building, house-burning, experimental archaeology, Nebelivka, Trypillia group, Neolithic, Ukraine, national media, local media, community engagement

Introduction

What is a 'good death'? There have been many attempts to answer this question, some of which focus on the presentation of the orderly qualities deemed 'good' in life (Morris, 1989), while others consider the dignity of the person dying and the absence of pain (Meier et al., 2016). But what constitutes a 'good death' for a house? In this article, we consider this question in the context of experimental house-building and -burning conducted as part of the AHRC-funded project 'Early urbanism in Europe? The case of the Trypillia megasites of Ukraine' (Gaydarska, 2020[1]). We examine the varied responses of Nebelivka residents to a large-scale international project in their village, especially their reactions to the house experiment. This paper is an attempt at a specific kind of public archaeology, where we weave together the different threads of actions, decisions, agendas and attitudes of different stakeholders (team, villagers, politicians, journalists, conference delegates, etc.) to form a conspectus of the varied responses to a house-burning event.

The Trypillia megasites constitute a sub-group of the overall Cucuteni-Trypillia group (henceforth 'CT')—a large entity distributed over 250,000km^2 in modern Romania, Moldova and Ukraine, and lasting over 2,000 years (5000- 2800 BC) (Videiko, 2013; Monah & Monah, 1997). As their name implies, the megasites were the largest settlements of the group—not found at all in the Cucuteni group, but concentrated in the Southern Dnieper-Bug interfluve, midway between Kyiv and Odessa, together with other peripheral examples (Fig. 1). The megasites were the largest sites in 4th millennium BC Europe—perhaps in the world—and it is our contention that they were also the world's earliest low-density cities (Gaydarska, 2016). These megasites principally consisted of houses, the burnt remains

1 The project archive can be found at: https://doi.org/10.5284/1047599

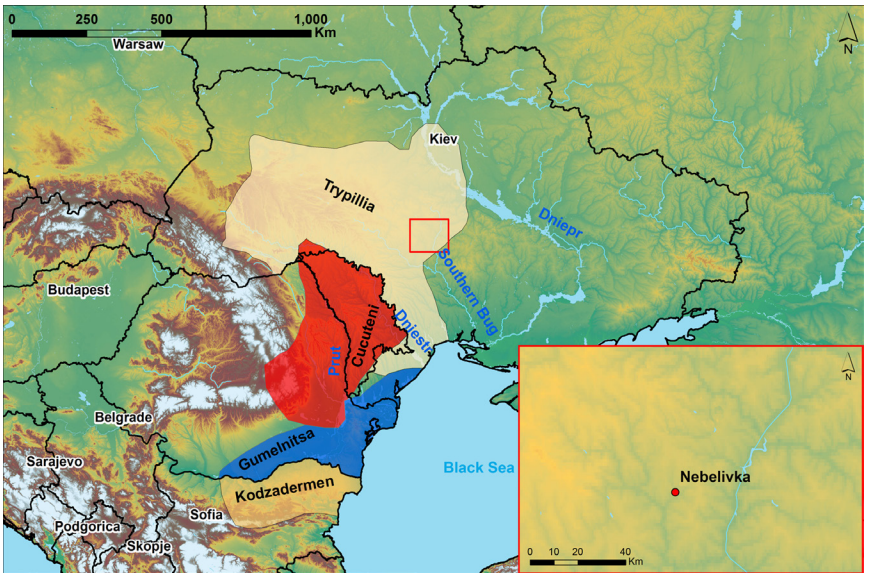

Fig. 1. Location map of the Cucuteni-Trypillia group, with megasites (M. Nebbia).

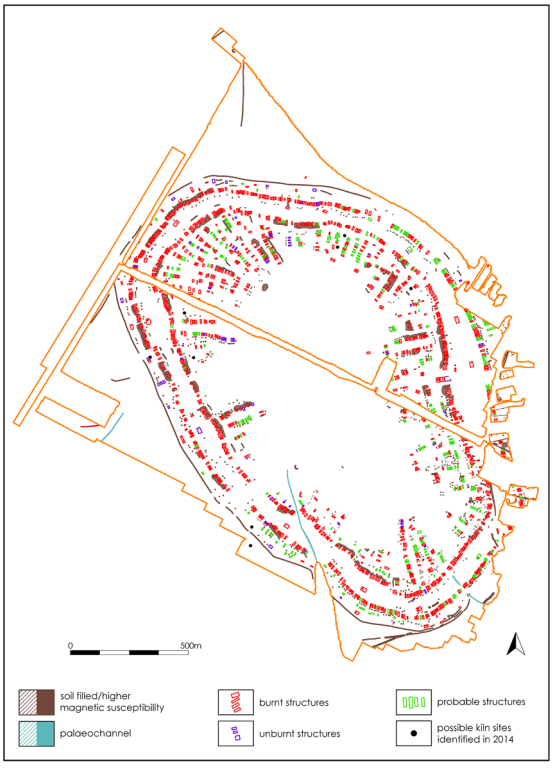

Fig. 2. Geophysical plan of Nebelivka megasite (D. Hale).

Fig 3. An excavated Trypillia house, House A9, Nebelivka, showing the mass of burnt daub (*ploshchadka*) which represents the collapsed remains of the house walls and floors (M. Videiko).

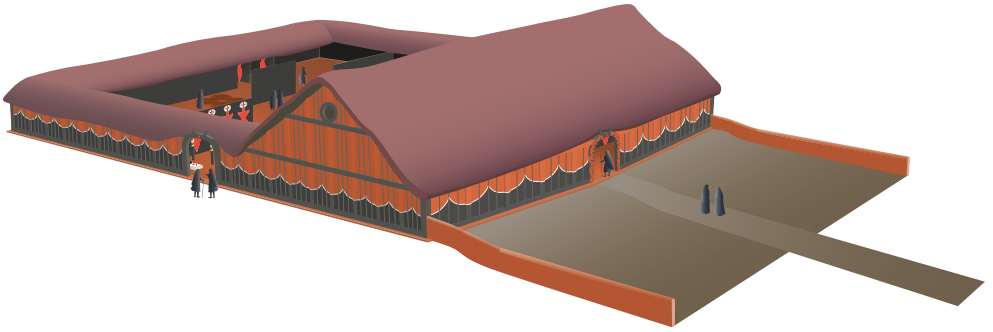

Fig 4. Graphic reconstruction of the mega-structure, Nebelivka (C. Unwin, based on information from S. Johnston).

of which show up well as anomalies against the loess geology on geophysical plans. The Nebelivka plan—the only complete plan of the megasites so far—encompasses 238ha within an interrupted ditch (Fig. 2). Some 1,077 of the 1,445 houses were burnt well enough to produce a mass of burnt daub or *ploshchadka* (Fig. 3). The rest were either burnt poorly, with no compact daub mass, or not at all. A total of over 80 AMS dates allows an accurate dating of the Nebelivka megasite to within two centuries or less, at 3950-3750 BC (Millard, 2020). Population estimates for Nebelivka range from a permanent group of over 8,000 to a more modest assembly site of 4,000 people, mostly visitors.

The geophysical plans produced by Anglo-Ukrainian and Ukrainian-German research teams since 2010 constitute the "second Trypillia megasites methodological revolution" (Chapman et al., 2014a). One of the many results of this breakthrough in the scale and precision of investigation was the discovery of many new megasite features—including unburnt houses, pit clusters, ditches, trackways and larger-than-usual structures that were later termed "assembly houses" (Chapman & Gaydarska, 2016). Fortunately, the largest assembly house in Nebelivka was located in a 2009 geophysical survey, and became the focus of excavation in 2012. Measuring 56 x 20m, the so-called 'megastructure' remains the largest known structure in the Trypillia world (Chapman et al., 2014) (Fig. 4) and its excavation provoked wide interest, far beyond the confines of Nebelivka.

Every nation makes political use of its most spectacular archaeological remains, often claiming these to be a representation of all that is beautiful and creative about its present state (Anthony & Chi, 2010; Chapman, 2010). The CT group provides Romania, Moldova and Ukraine with just such a model of an intriguing past—populated with large, spacious timber-framed houses (Fig. 3) and attractive painted pottery (Fig. 5), as seen in popular books about prehistory (e.g., Videiko, 2010). The 2012 excavation of the Nebelivka megastructure attracted wide media attention, with two programmes broadcast on national television and more screenings regionally. In contrast to the project's low-key beginnings in 2009, the 2012 excavation created a sense of pride among village

Fig. 5. Trypillia painted pottery from Nebelivka: (a) Test Pit 21/2; (b) Test Pit 1/3; (c) Test Pit 1/3; (d) House A9 (B. Gaydarska).

Fig. 6. Nebelivka village school (B. Gaydarska).

leaders, notably the mayor Mikola Bobko and the teachers in the local school. The construction of a shower and toilet for the village school that same summer—to ensure good conditions for the large excavation team—made a strong impression on village leaders, who became the proud owners of probably the best-equipped school in rural Ukraine (Fig. 6). These tangible by-products of prehistoric archaeology helped to cement the relationship between the village and the project, with all official visitors to the village being shown the new school facilities.

The income that the project injected into the village economy was also a positive factor, but did not benefit the surrounding villages. These unequal 'benefits' came to a head in 2014, when it provoked a young man from another 'disadvantaged' village to attack the Nebelivka school. As the project continued into 2013, television coverage was limited to regional programmes, more new equipment was provided for the school, and continuing improvements were felt in the village economy, albeit limited to a few entrepreneurial individuals. These were the key background elements before the project's 2014 season, in which the experimental programme was initiated.

The debate over house-burning

To provide further context to the public reception towards the project, we return to the research question of house-burning, central to the issue of a good house death. The discovery of burnt house remains on Neolithic and Copper Age sites is not restricted to the CT group, and is also found widely in the Balkans and the Carpathian Basin (Stevanović, 1984; Kruts, 2003; Tringham, 2005; Chapman, 2015). The debate centres on the cause of the burning—whether deliberate or accidental, for cleaning and fumigation, or due to warlike interventions by neighbours or long-range arsonists (Kruts, 1990; Tasić et al., 2015; Schier, 2008). Trypillia specialists were the first in Central and Eastern Europe to support the idea of deliberate house-burning as a normal ritual (Khvoika 1901; 1904). But there remain large numbers of regional specialists outside Ukraine, Moldova and Romania who deny this explanation (Tasić et al., 2015; Schier, 2008).

A total of 11 experiments in house-building and burning had already been conducted before the Nebelivka project, with rather disappointing results. Only one of the experiments—the Cucuteni house-burnings of 2002-2005—managed to recreate a typical *ploshchadka* of the form encountered on CT sites (Cotiugă, 2009, especially Fig. 12-15). No experiment reproduced the vitrified daub found in many CT burnt houses, indicative of a high temperature of over 1000°C (Burdo, 2011). Thus, there was still no close match between the excavated remains of burnt CT houses and the experimental results. Two other debates over CT houses concerned whether they were single- or double-storey houses (Kolesnikov, 1993; Chernovol, 2012; Kruts, 1990), and whether the houses were subject to low-temperature burning as part of the construction process (Kolesnikov, 1993; Chabaniuk, 2008; Korvin-Piotrvoskiy et al., 2012). These considerations led to the formulation of a research design for the Nebelivka experiment.

The origins of the Nebelivka house experiment stemmed from the participation of one Stuart Johnston in summer 2013. Johnston, then a second-year undergraduate at Durham University, but with much experience as a carpenter, had the idea of building two 'Neolithic' houses—one single- and one double-storey—and burning both down to excavate the remains. His idea was put to the Ukrainian co-director Mykhailo Videiko and the mayor Bobko, both

of whom agreed. Johnston wrote his undergraduate dissertation on 'Experimental recreation of house-burning in the Tripolye-Cucuteni culture' (Johnston, 2015). By an accident of publication, the report on the excavation of the burnt house remains (Johnston et al., 2018) appeared before the report on the house-building and burning (Johnston et al., 2019). Full details of the three stages of the experiment are presented in these two reports.

We now turn to the reception of the experiment in Nebelivka and beyond. The framework of this account is a biographical narrative of the birth (building), life (use), death (burning) and after-life (excavation) of the houses. The biographical approach to houses has been current for over 20 years (Bailey, 1997; Hofmann & Smyth, 2013) and seemed particularly appropriate to the Nebelivka experiment.

Birth (building the houses in summer 2014)

As will be readily appreciated by spatial archaeologists, the location of the house-building site was a critical decision. The initial idea was to build the experimental houses on the edge of the village, close to the Trypillia megasite. However, the mayor Bobko (Fig. 7a, right) felt that this left the houses isolated, far from most villagers' circulation patterns, but also potentially put the houses at risk of theft of building materials and, later, of vandalism. We accepted his proposal of building the houses in the centre of the village, close to the mayor's office, kindergarten, health centre and the project laboratory, and also 250m from the school's project base. Bobko made available a plot of land that was a good size and could readily be cleared for building (Fig. 7b).

Participants in the house-building team ranged from the Ukrainian and UK project students who contributed general skills (daub-throwing, wall-plastering and painting) (Fig. 7c-d), young villagers who brought materials to the house site (Fig. 7e), a number of villagers who contributed building skills (construction advice, carpentry and thatching) to the experiment (Fig. 7f) and who helped Johnston (Fig. 7a, left), the 'project manager', who designed the houses, calculated the quantities of materials required, and worked out logistical and pragmatic changes to the design on site. The building operation had

the effect of bringing far more villagers into close interaction with the project team than ever. Most of the younger villagers who brought large quantities of hazel withies and reeds for thatching to the building site had not previously worked for the project as field excavators. In the supply chain, their collection was not only profitable to them as piecework (i.e., they were paid for each bundle of reeds or withies), but also produced a deeper commitment to the operation. Moreover, it took them to parts of their village environment they had rarely, if ever, visited, leading to a deeper appreciation of what the local landscape could offer to builders.

But it was the skilled village builders and their 'team managers' who bonded most closely with the UK project team, developing a genuine sense of identity with, and ownership of, the building operation as it progressed through three weeks in 2014. The difference between Johnston's building techniques and those of the villagers was summarised in a comment by Bobko Junior, a member of the building team, to one of the authors (p.c., Bobko Junior to JCC., August 2014): "We cut timbers to fit by eye; Stuart measures timbers by the millimetre for an exact fit" (Fig. 7g-h). There were clear processes of adaptation by both 'sides' to the methods and techniques of the other. We wish to record the huge personal contribution of Mayor Bobko to the operation; his daily visits were always uplifting and usually the source of excellent advice. With another mayor in place, it is doubtful that the building operation would have succeeded.

With the exception of the timber, most of the materials for the house-building were locally sourced within a few kilometres of the house site in the centre of the village. The pinewood was purchased in the neighbouring town of Novoarkhangelsk and was delivered by lorry to the site. The next bulkiest material was the clay for the daub floors and walls, which came from a local source traditionally used by villagers for house-building (Fig. 8a). The clay was mixed with chaff and water by traditional means on the building site (Fig. 8b). The chaff was brought from the fields (Fig. 8c) and the water was taken from local wells. Two remaining key materials were the hazel withies required to weave panels of wattle (Fig. 8d) and the reeds required for thatching (Fig. 8e). The young villagers started to collect these materials locally—hazel coppices and lakes within the village—but soon exhausted these resources. The collection

Fig. 7. (a) the Nebelivka mayor Mikola Bobko, with the project manager Stuart Johnston; (b) The house site before clearing; (c) Chris Charmley and Tom Wright on building work; (d) Choosing a palette of paint for house decoration; (e) The village collecting team; (f) The building team. From left: Vlad Litkevych, Bobko Junior and Igor Polischiuk; (g) Precision measurement by Stuart Johnston; (h) Cutting precise joints. From left: Bobko Junior, Vlad Litkevych and Stuart Johnston (B. Gaydarska).

Fig. 8. (a) The delivery of the clay; (b) Vlad Litkevych collecting chaff; (c) Collecting hazel withies; (d) Sorting reeds for roof thatching; (e) Village children quietly observing the building from the kindergarten; (f) The party after completion of the two houses; (g) The project manager gets his boots dirty mixing clay; (h) The two completed experimental houses (B. Gaydarska).

distances increased to 2-3km, and this was for the construction of just two houses. What became apparent from the building operation was that a Trypillia house was, in effect, a summary statement symbolising all parts of the local environment—mature woodland, areas of coppiced hazel, lakes and rivers, arable fields and the clay-rich quarries and local soils.

During the three-week season, the local kindergarten children kept a close eye on the building (Fig. 8e). In addition, there were many visits to the building site from Nebelivka residents and those from other villages, as well as politicians and administrators from the district capital of Novoarkhangelksk and the town of Kirovograd, including our colleagues from the Cultural Heritage section (Fig. 9a). In addition to optional drinks in the mayor's office, there were two compulsory stops during the visit—the experimental houses (Fig. 8g), and the shower and toilet block in the school. Hardly any visits took in the excavations at the megasite, some 2.5km from the village centre, with the results in 2014 not being as obviously stunning to the public as during the 2012 megastructure season.

By the end of the three weeks of construction, Nebelivka village had acquired two newly-built 'Neolithic' houses. While everyone in the village was invited to the early evening party celebrating the end of construction, the majority of villagers comprised those most closely involved in the construction itself (Fig. 8f). The satisfaction and pride of the building team made a big impact on a small number of Nebelivkans. A Ukrainian member of the building team, Vlad Litkevych, affixed a pot and a flower to the roof of the one-storey house before the UK team left in August 2014 (Fig. 9b). Interestingly, this symbol of good luck is usually placed on houses just before a family moves in. The notion of 'cultural tourism' enshrined in the experimental houses was still the dream of only the mayor and perhaps some of the senior archaeologists.

Life (intermezzo I, September 2014-April 2015)

Unlike many Ukrainian winters, the winter of 2014/5 was relatively mild apart from early snow in November, with mean temperatures above 0°C until February and above 10°C in March and April 2015. The snowfall was less than usual, and there was

Fig. 9. (a) Visiting delegates. From left: Nadia Lisnyak, Jan Stec, Mykhailo Videiko, Olexander Bosiy, Vita Atamanchuk, John Chapman, Bisserka Gaydarska and Valentin Sobchuk (M. Nebbia); (b) Pot and flower on roof (B. Gaydarska); (c) Plastic sheeting on roof of one-storey house (M. Nebbia).

relatively dry spring weather, with total precipitation below 40mm in March and April 2015.[2] This meant that both 'Neolithic' houses survived in good condition, with little maintenance required when the project team returned to Nebelivka in spring 2015. One reason for this was that before the first snowfall, Mayor Bobko independently organised for the roof of the one-storey house to be covered in plastic sheeting (Fig. 9c).

The use of the houses over the winter was—perhaps predictably—restricted to short-term visits by two types of people. Children had left reeds, toys and other items in the roof space, which was a challenging place to climb to, but a safe daytime hiding place. Local village youths made probably evening visits, leaving cigarettes, empty cans and bottles and food wrappings. While it is

2 Average Weather in Kiev. *Weather Spark*. https://weatherspark.com/averages/33809/Kiev-Kiev-City-Ukraine

possible that these visits included youths who had contributed to the building of the houses, there is little sense of commitment to the survival of the 'Neolithic' structures—rather the exploitation of a temporary, informal resource space far from the prying eyes of family. In this sense, it represents two more kinds of public interaction with the project's houses.

A good death? (The burning, May 2015)

The burning of the two experimental Trypillia houses was planned at the end of the first project international conference, after the main part held in the University of Kirovograd on May 12-13, 2015 (Videiko et al., 2015). This visual celebration of the art of house-burning was programmed as a spectacular conclusion to fieldwork in Nebelivka. However, the discussion with Mayor Bobko in advance of the conference led to a drastic change of plans. By early 2015, the mayor's ideas for cultural tourism in Nebelivka had clearly coalesced into a rescue plan for the two houses, both of which should survive as the centrepiece of a plan to attract tourists to the village. His emphasis on the health and safety risks of burning a house so close to the village kindergarten was clearly a strong argument.[3] This plan was in direct opposition to the plan to burn both houses as a comparative experiment with later excavation of the burnt remains. This disagreement led to negotiations between the Ukrainian members of the project and Mayor Bobko, which concluded in an 'Anglo-Ukrainian compromise'—the burning of only one house, the two-storey house further from the kindergarten, with the one-storey house remaining as a tourist attraction. Both sides would also seek funding to convert the project lab, part of the upper floor of the kindergarten building, into an exhibition space.[4]

The burning of the two-storey house was still a spectacular climax to the international conference, albeit in diluted form and lacking in an important component of scientific comparison. The project team visited Nebelivka two days before the conference to prepare the house for its 'death'. By then, we had theorised that

3 The distance from the nearer house to the kindergarten fence was actually 18m, and 21m to the kindergarten building.

4 Sadly, no funds have yet been agreed to complete this important task.

the good death of a house involved the complete combustion of all of the house components to produce a solid daub mass (the *ploshchadka*). By comparison, a bad house death would have resulted in poor planning of the firing, with incomplete combustion and the absence of a resulting *ploshchadka*. After so many bad experimental house deaths, how would the Nebelivka team manage to achieve complete combustion? There was a sceptical feeling amongst some conference delegates that we would fail to do the job.

We found that there was a straightforward key to the issue: the quantity of fuel used. Johnston's calculations of the interior of the two-storey house showed that there was an area of 30m^3 available for fuel. The British co-director temporarily suspended his normally tight financial control and agreed to the sum necessary to purchase such a large quantity of timber. The huge quantity of timber was delivered three days before the conference (Fig. 10a) and it took two full days' work by a team of five led by Vlad Litkevych for the sorting of the timber and its placing in the house in lattice fashion (Fig. 10b). This placing of the timber allowed maximum ventilation paths through the house, whose design also incorporated two windows (Fig. 10c). With the two-storey house prepared for combustion, the team left for the conference, returning to Nebelivka with all of the delegates two days later.

Video 1. Trypillia house burning [QR to watch].

Fig. 10. (a) Stacks of firewood next to houses before burning; (b) Filling in the house with firewood; (c) Vlad Litkevych next to one of the house windows; (d) The two-storey house after 30 minutes of burning; (e) Village audience, dressed up to the nines; (f) Ladies in costume with the secretary of the Kyiv Institute of Archaeology Alexei Korvin-Piotrovskiy; (g) Crowds before the burning starts; (h) Crowds before the burning began (B. Gaydarska).

On May 14, 2015, the weather was overcast but mainly dry, with a light breeze from the east. Bobko organised a ceremony to initiate the house-burning, offering all the guests the traditional gift of bread and salt for good luck. He also threw a bottle of vodka onto the piles of waiting timber—like the smashing of a bottle on the bow of a ship being launched. It did not break, but got stuck in the woodpile.

The second stage of the conference presentations took place in the village hall at the same time as the house-burning. By noon, many of the visitors were eagerly anticipating the conflagration. The house was ignited at 12.50pm and continued to burn until mid-afternoon of the following day. A total of 31 stages were recorded for the conflagration, focusing primarily on the main stages in the collapse of the house (Video and Fig. 10d). Within 40 minutes, the roof thatch had burned and the structure had collapsed. After an hour and 15 minutes, the structure of the loft and its ceiling had burnt down. It took a further five minutes before the first section of one of the walls had fallen out. The vast majority of the structural parts of the house had fallen within four hours of ignition (Johnston et al., 2019).

Apart from the 50 or so Kirovograd Conference delegates, about 40 villagers and 30 guests from at least five other villages were present to witness the conflagration (Fig. 10e-h). Many of the audience had dressed up specially (Fig. 10e), some in traditional costume (Fig. 10f). Men, women and children were all present, although there were no children viewing the event from the safety of the Nebelivka kindergarten. The Kirovograd Regional TV made a film, with several journalists writing for local and regional newspapers (Fig. 12). The Novoarkhangelsk Fire Brigade was in attendance, with three firemen waiting next to their 'modern' fire engine (Fig. 11a-b) parked by the side of—and clearly protecting—the kindergarten.

The burning of a timber-framed, wattle-and-daub house is a special event, with spectacular visual, sound and smell effects. The video gives an impression of a dynamic, colourful and ever-changing performance. The noises of the burning thatch, the crash of a collapsed wall, the hissing of still-damp timber and the roaring noise of burning floor timbers all contributed to an aural spectacle

Fig. 11. (a) The Novoarkhangelsk fire engine, with firemen and the Ukrainian project co-director, Mykhailo Videiko; (b) The fire engine and firemen with mayor Mikola Bobko; (c) A visitor takes a selfie in front of the house; (d) Visitors taking pictures in front of the house (B. Gaydarska).

ЗА РЕЗУЛЬТАТАМИ АРХЕОЛОГІЧНИХ ДОСЛІДЖЕНЬ

14 травня у Небелівці відбулася значима подія — Міжнародна наукова конференція «На східній межі Старої Європи». Вона стала підсумком Міжнародного науково-дослідницького проекту «Трипілля Мега-сіті». В рамках конференції проводилося експериментальне спалення реконструкції трипільського будинку, збудованого в масштабі 3/4 від справжнього житла трипільців.

Зустріч учасників Міжнародного форуму відбулася біля храму рівноапостольного князя Володимира. За доброю традицією науковців та учасників археологічних розкопок зустріли хлібом-сіллю. Шановане товариство на новоархангельській землі тепло привітали голова райдержадміністрації Д.А. Зубов і голова районної ради О.М. Сова.

В Небелівці гостей також зустріли хлібом-сіллю. У вітальному слові Д.А. Зубов зазначив, що сьогодні про Небелівку дізнався увесь світ. Дмитро Андрійович висловив вдячність всім учасникам міжнародної експедиції, Небелівському сільському голові М.Л. Бобку, громаді села, всім, хто забезпечував проживання і харчування археологів, та багатьом іншим людям, які так чи інакше причетні до роботи експедиції.

Далі присутні перейшли до демонстраційного майданчика, на якому знаходиться збудований торік влітку трипільські хатинки. Зменшені макети будувалися з місцевих природних матеріалів, які були доступні шість тисяч років тому: дерева, лози, очерету і глини. Вони були розписані тим же орнаментом, який прикрашав знайдені під час розкопок уламки керамічного посуду наших пращурів.

Підпалив творіння, можна сказати, своїх рук, головний будівничий Стюарт Джонстон з Великобританії. Експеримент є частиною його дисертації. Зокрема, для фіксування температури горіння британці застосували теплову камеру. За словами старшого наукового співробітника Інституту археології Національної академії наук України, кандидата історичних наук М.Ю. Відейка, спалювання даної споруди дозволить з'ясувати характер руйнування і порівняти із рештками трипільських помешкань, знайдених під час археологічних досліджень.

За програмою конференції в Небелівському сільському будинку культури відбулося секційне засідання, під час якого з доповідями виступили науковці.

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Спалювання макету житла трипільців.

Fig. 12. Scan of Novoarkhangelsk newspaper article, Kolos, 16th May 2015 (No. 37 [10729]).

that every spectator appreciated. The smells of different elements on fire—especially the thatch— would have evoked memories of other burning events. For one author (JCC), there was the memory of an experimental kiln-firing that started at 6pm in the village of Vădastra, South Romania, and continued until midnight, when the maximum temperature of 980°C was reached (Gheorghiu, 2011). Others may have been in the war zone in south-eastern Ukraine, where many houses have been destroyed in the Russian invasion (2014-present). Yet others may have experienced the burning of houses in the recent Balkan Wars, perhaps in Bosnia or Srpska Krajina (1991-2001).

The house-burning was such a spectacular event that many witnesses wanted to record the conflagration in order to be part of the event. Thus, many visitors to the village took photos of the burning house, with many people included in these photos (Fig. 11c-d). The 'reach' of this event must have increased as the stories and images spread through formal and informal networks, from village to village in South Central Ukraine. In the days following the house-burning, a complete stranger approached two of the authors (JCC and BG) in a bank in Novoarkhangelsk and identified us as the organisers of the house-burning. The gentleman went out to buy us a copy of the newspaper in which an article about the house-burning had been published (Fig. 12).

Another aspect of the house-burning event was the way in which the Nebelivka villagers used the occasion not only to talk up the reputation of their village, but also to interact with friends and relatives from other villagers who had come to witness the event. In this sense, the conflagration acted rather like the visit of a fair or a circus to a town surrounded by rural villages, whose communities would use the occasion to meet friends and relatives they did not often encounter. It is hard to quantify the significance of these encounters but they must have been important to the participants.

The positive archaeological result of the house-burning was that the 'Neolithic' two-storey house burnt down completely, with signs of the production of a fully-formed *ploshchadka* already on the day after the fire had died down. But the full effects of the house-burning, archaeological or other, would have to wait until its remains were uncovered two years later.

Life in the one-storey house (intermezzo II, June 2015-July 2017)

It was difficult to decide on the length of the time interval between the burning of the Nebelivka house and the excavation of its burnt remains. We wanted to leave a decent interval so that some of the processes of interaction between the soil and the burnt clay mass would have started. But leaving the burnt house remains too long risked losing the little remaining momentum of a project which had 'officially' wound down in 2015. In the end, we agreed that a two-year period was a good compromise.

In that period, the villagers made the entirely independent decision to protect the burnt house remains by burying them under 10-20cm of soil, which had to be collected by JCB and transported onto the building site. This act of kindness—in part also showing reverence for, and solidarity with the burnt house—created a local soil environment similar to that of a barrow (Fig. 13). The standing one-storey house was maintained and shown off to official visitors to the mayor's office, even though (nocturnal) activities similar to those in the first 'intermezzo' continued with the same depositional results.

Fig. 13. Covering of soil to form a barrow over the burnt remains of the experimental two-storey house (J. Chapman).

Afterlife (the excavation of the experimental burnt house remains, summer 2017)

The last excavation season of the project in Nebelivka took place against the background of village-scale political change. Bobko, who had been the mayor for three terms, had stepped down from office and had been replaced by the former acting director of the village school, Alla Nikolaevna, whose enthusiasm for the project was less overt (Fig. 14a). This change of circumstance did not, however, stop Bobko from playing an active, supportive role at the time of the excavations.

The excavation team had been selected from the project members most closely connected to the house-building and burning—the authors of this article as well as three new team members, Ksenia Bondar, Oleksandr Diachenko and Patricia Voke. This meant that the excavation season possessed the atmosphere of a reunion, with villagers and diggers alike delighted to renew acquaintances one last time. But the size of the team and the logistical requirements of living out of the village meant that interactions were limited to the mayors and those closely involved in the project from 2012 to 2015. One example was the project driver, Seryozha, from the village, making a special visit to see the excavations. Such visits also showed the kindness of several villagers—especially Alina and her family—in bringing snacks during the excavation breaks and, on one special occasion, the visit of Dr. Dmytro Chernovol and his colleagues to see the excavation and hold a barbeque (Fig. 14b).

The excavations demonstrated that, for the team, the experimental burnt house had experienced a good house death—all of the remains of a *ploshchadka* one may expect to find on the excavation of a burnt Trypillia house were present, including the high-temperature marker of vitrified daub. It confirmed the idea which the team had developed that a good death meant the complete firing of a house, which had been achieved in approximately two-thirds of the Nebelivka houses. It is an interesting archaeological observation that the burnt remains of one burnt Trypillia house in 10 formed a mound that would have been visible on the surface of the site (Fig. 15). So, with the passing of time, a cumulative increase in mound-formation gave the settlement the appearance

of a collective cemetery, until, by the end of the occupation, perhaps as many as 100 mounds were spread across the site. It is thus ironic that the village had decided to protect their own burnt house remains by forming a protective mound which we then had to excavate in 2017.

Fig. 14. (a) The excavation team. From left: Marco Nebbia, John Chapman, Bisserka Gaydarska, former mayor Mikola Bobko, Oleksandr Diachenko and Stuart Johnston (P. Voke); (b) the new mayor Alla Nikolaevna at the time of the burnt house excavation (P. Voke); (c) Barbeque with Dymtro Chernovol and colleagues (J. Chapman).

Fig. 15. Mound formed of burnt house debris, Test Pit 22/4 (J. Chapman).

Fig. 16. Stanislav Ţerna making an ethno-archaeological study of a modern abandoned house, Nebelivka village (V. Litkevych).

Discussion and conclusions

But was it *their* burnt house? To what extent did the burnt house and the standing one-storey house really belong to the villagers of Nebelivka? There was surely many who never even saw the 'Neolithic' houses that their fellow villagers and our team had built. However, it is by no means obvious that villagers who had not seen the houses had also never heard of the house-burning and the celebrations that that event entailed. This passive knowledge, which does not create the basis for a personal attachment to the 'Trypillia' houses, nevertheless contributes to the current identity of Nebelivka, differentiating it from other nearby villages which do not have any burnt or standing experimental houses in their central space. While actors such as the former mayor draw heavily on the houses for future planning, others may ignore the houses or use their presence to stimulate memories of the days of the active project seasons in their village. It is the day of the house-burning that evokes the most vivid memories of the project team's sojourns in the village.

What cannot be doubted is that the upstanding house gives a far better impression of the nature of a 'Neolithic' house than any of the excavated features we uncovered in the four excavation seasons; very few visitors were ever taken to the project's excavations of the megasite and, out of season, there are no visible features on the vast post-socialist fields of the village. To what extent the villagers associated the 'Neolithic' houses with their own homes is not clear; but the project has conducted ethno-archaeological studies of abandoned modern houses in the village and found the use of several similar building techniques (Ţerna, 2014) (Fig. 16).

The third general point concerns the basis for social relations between the villagers and the project team. We previously mentioned the gains for the village economy that the project brought to Nebelivka. While there were evident signs of warmth and hospitality towards the project team in the first three seasons, with the emergence of several long-lasting friendships (2009, 2012-13), there was also the underlying sense that financial motives were underpinning many of the village-team interactions. This is hardly surprising, since the village was not well-off and there were few opportunities for employment unless villagers were prepared

to move (far) from their homes. Thus, the owners of the two shops/bars always filled their fridges with beer and cheese for the arrival of the excavation team. But there was a different feel about social relations in the 2014 season, with far greater interaction as measured in the number of villagers involved with the building team and the intensity of those relations. Thus, alongside the financial interests of village actors, there developed a more communitarian basis of cooperation between building team and villagers, based upon the common purpose of building the 'Neolithic' houses. This had evaporated by 2015 and in the final 'excavation' season of 2017. It is clear to us, therefore, that the deeper social relations that in some way transcended financial motives functioned only during close co-operation for the singular goal of house construction.

There are currently five villages in Ukraine within whose territories lie the largest Trypillia megasites—in order of site size, Taljanki (320ha), Chychyrkozivka (300ha), Dobrovodi (250ha), Nebelivka (238ha) and Majdanetske (200ha) (Nebbia 2017). Nebelivka is the only village in this group with a reconstructed 'Neolithic' house standing in their central area. The village of Legedzine, 3km from Taljanki, has a museum with Trypillia material mostly, but not solely, from the Taljanki megasite and two full-size 'Neolithic' house reconstructions. So Nebelivka can claim to have a special place in the modern presentation of Trypillia archaeology to the public. The extent to which this is further elaborated in the future depends on a combination of funding and local commitment.

So can we now answer the question posed at the start of this article: what constitutes a good house death? For the excavation team, the creation of a burnt daub mass (*ploshchadka*) defined the good death of a Trypillia house, as created by the methodical filling of the house with large quantities of dry firewood and the burning of the house on a dry, windy day in front of an audience of dozens, if not hundreds of people—villagers and guests from other settlements. For modern Nebelivkans and other villagers, the question of a good house death would make no sense: instead, a good personal death would relate to the confirmation of the place of the deceased in their local community or the wider community. For everyone, holding onto a positive collective experience and memory of the event is what makes for a good death, and this is

no different for a Neolithic house. There is no reason to suppose that the response of the modern audience to the 'Neolithic' house-burning was dramatically different from that in megasites 6,000 years ago. Mourners would have attended the burning as a 'wake' for part of their community, a collective rite of passage, as one may describe funerals in general. The cycle of building a house with its final destruction in mind was probably also the Trypillian practice, just as many artefacts, such as fired clay figurines, were made to be readily fragmented (Chapman, 2000). There is perhaps more to the notion of community continuity in these matters than meets the eye.

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TOWARDS THE PUBLIC:
The contribution of public archaeology at Serra do Carvalho

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Abstract

This article presents the results of the valorisation of two burial mounds that are part of the Serra do Carvalho necropolis in Póvoa do Lanhoso, Portugal. The work involved about a dozen local volunteers, and consisted of removing vegetation mantle on top of the tumuli, felling the trees on the mounds, and graphically recording the structures. Besides a detailed characterisation of the tumuli, this project allowed the creation of a dynamic of heritage education and social awareness to foster a better understanding of the preservation of such monuments, which are often subject to destructive actions. We focus on the relationship between archaeology and society, in terms of how our work is perceived. We also briefly touch on public archaeology, as well as a historiographical review of the concept in Portugal. After explaining our methodological approach, we discuss its potentialities, weaknesses, and the factors that may

differentiate it from other forms of fieldwork. We will also highlight the potentially controversial inclusion of volunteers—especially since the project encompasses education and social awareness on archaeological preservation, and is financed by private or corporate promoters and awarded to archaeology companies. Finally, we will discuss how the project is situated in the discipline that is, or should be, archaeology as a social science.

Keywords

Public archaeology, valorisation, burial mound monuments, archaeology

Resumo

Neste artigo apresentaremos os resultados dos trabalhos de valorização de dois monumentos *sob tumuli* que integram a necrópole da Serra do Carvalho (Póvoa de Lanhoso, Portugal).

Os trabalhos, que envolveram cerca de uma dezena de voluntários, maioritariamente habitantes do concelho da Póvoa de Lanhoso, consistiram na remoção do manto vegetal, abate de árvores suplantadas sobre os montículos e registo gráfico das estruturas arqueológicas. Além de uma caracterização pormenorizada dos *tumuli* esta acção permitiu a criação de uma dinâmica de educação patrimonial e de consciencialização social que potenciou uma melhor compreensão e preservação deste tipo de monumentos, facilmente sujeitos a acções destrutivas. Neste sentido os resultados a apresentar focar-se-ão mais no método e abordagem aplicados na relação entre a Arqueologia e a Sociedade. Para tal apresentamos, ainda que de forma sucinta, os conceitos de *public archaeology* (não é toda a arqueologia pública?), uma resenha historiográfica da mesma no território português, ou seja, do envolvimento ou interacções da (prática) arqueologia com a sociedade (público). Depois de enquadrada a nossa acção, realiza-se uma exposição da abordagem metodológica e discussão dos resultados: a avaliação das potencialidades e fragilidades e os factores que a diferenciam, ou não, das demais intervenções arqueológicas. Destacaremos, pelo seu potencial de controvérsia, a adequação – ou não – de inclusão nos trabalhos arqueológicos de campo de público (voluntariado), em especial quando as acções promovidas têm por base a educação, consciência social e preservação de sítios arqueológicos, e são financiadas por promotores privados ou

empresariais e adjudicadas a empresas de arqueologia. Por fim, ainda que com mais desassossegos que respostas, promovemos uma breve discussão sobre nosso trabalho e o seu posicionamento na disciplina que é, ou deveria ser, a arqueologia como ciência social.

Palavras-Chave

arqueologia pública, valorização, monumentos *sob tumuli*, arqueologia.

Introduction

With the aim of sensitising society to its past so it can be understood and preserved in the future, this article presents the results of the valorisation of two burial mounds that are part of the Serra do Carvalho necropolis in Póvoa de Lanhoso, Portugal. The landscape surrounding the necropolis, in which five monuments have been identified, is heavily affected by anthropisation, specifically by the planting of eucalyptus. In 2017, during forestry work carried out by The Navigator Company, three monuments were identified—two belonging to the necropolis, and another that has not been archived. Given the general of public knowledge on prehistoric burial mounds—and archaeological activities in general–as well as to provide a different field approach that could reach the local community, NEXO-Património Cultural partnered with The Navigator Company and the Municipality of Póvoa do Lanhoso to clean two of these monuments (Pereira, 2017).

The work involved about a dozen volunteers, mostly local, and consisted of removing the vegetation mantle on top of the tumuli, felling the trees on the mounds, then graphically recording the archaeological structures. In addition to the detailed characterisation of the tumuli, this allowed the creation of a dynamic of heritage education and social awareness to foster a better understanding of the preservation of such monuments, which are often subject to destructive actions. Finally, to sensitise the local community, we tried to show "that the societies and individuals can take charge of their own futures by understanding how we live in fragile environments, and in dynamic and changing societies" (Henson, 2011), by way of these archaeological monuments.

Archaeology at Serra do Carvalho

The Serra do Carvalho is an elongated elevation of southwest-northeast orientation situated east of the river Este, and integrates the mountainous system of Peneda-Gerês. The project covers roughly half the slope of this geographical accident, facing southeast with a maximum altitude of 462m and a minimum of 395m. In geological terms, the elevation falls under the Hercynian granite group. It is composed of porphyry granites of medium to fine grain ($\gamma л^{m}$) and non-porphyroid granites of fine grain (γf), although there is a small patch containing coarse-grained porphyritic granite, calc-alkaline, and biotic granite with large quartz megacrystals (Teixeira et al., 1973). The region's water network is mostly composed of temporary lines, and the vegetation includes gorse, heather and eucalyptus.

As for archaeological sites (Fig. 1), there is a burial mound necropolis on the flat surface between the Braval Ecoparque sanitary landfill and the Alto da Pena Província on Serra do Carvalho The necropolis was identified at the end of the 19th century, and comprises six monuments (Macedo, 1896), as Mário Cardozo (1950) has pointed out cartographically. Francisco Martins Sarmento (1999), meanwhile, indicates the presence of seven burial mounds. The hilltop position and oral testimonies indicating the presence of house remains led him to visit Alto da Pena Província on September 28, 1876. Sarmento did not observe any structures, but identified the presence of archaeological remains, some in shelters on top of the rock (Cardozo, 1950).

The necropolis in Serra do Carvalho is also mentioned by Henrique Regalo and Mário Brito in a local archaeological inventory article entitled 'Carta Arqueológica da Póvoa do Lanhoso', even though the number of monuments is not mentioned (Regalo & Brito, 1991). Ana Bettencourt, in 1993, catalogued, mapped and described five monuments, and later documented the destruction of some of the sites (Bettencourt & Silva, 2003; Freitas & Pereira, 2010). In 2006, seven sites were recognised in the 'Vias Augustas: Valorisation of Via XVII' project—three with some apprehension, according to the authors (Cunha & Barbosa, 2006; Barbosa, 2008). Finally, in 2013, during an environmental impact study for a high-

voltage electrical line, a tumular structure with a subcircular plan measuring 22m in diameter, composed of dirt and stones with medium dimensions, was identified—the Monument of Serra do Carvalho 1 (Albergaria, 2013).

With regard to the Iron Age, the toponym Alto da Pena Província should be highlighted. It had already been identified by Sarmento and catalogued by Armando Coelho Ferreira da Silva in the 'Inventário das Estações Castrejas do Norte de Portugal', under the name 'Província' in the Lanhoso parish (Silva, 1986). The site also appears in the local inventory of archaeological sites, called Atalaia de Pena Província, and was typologically included in the field of 'Castros and fortified settlements' (Regalo & Brito, 1991). Considering the bibliographic bases and analyses of the artefactual component, we believe that this is a possible settlement dated between the Iron Age and the Roman period (Fig. 1).

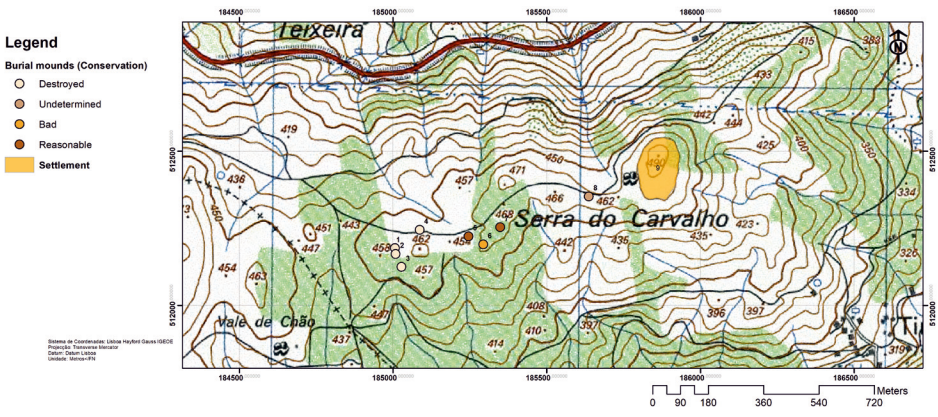

Fig. 1 – Archaeological sites on the Serra do Carvalho: 1. Monument 1 of Planalto da Pena Província; 2. Monument 2 of Planalto da Pena Província; 3. Monument 3 of Planalto da Pena Província; Monument 4 of Planalto da Pena Província; 5. Monument 5 of Planalto da Pena Província; 6. Monument 1 da Serra do Carvalho; 7. Monument 2 da Serra do Carvalho; 8. Monument 6 of Planalto da Pena Província; 9. Alto da Pena Província.

Archaeology and the public (participation)

We do not seek here to expound on the varied definitions of public archaeology, which has been widely debated in recent decades (McGimsey, 1972; Almansa Sanchez, 2010, 2011, 2016, 2017; A`Yan Vila et al., 2011; Grima, 2002, 2004, 2016; Matsuda, 2004, 2016; Matsuda & Okamura, 2011; Moshenska & Dhanjal, 2011; Moshenska, 2017; Richardson & Almansa Sanchez, 2015; Rychlo, 2013; etc.). We need to highlight, however, that our understanding of the term rests upon the definition proffered by Akira Matsuda and Katsuyuki Okamura (2011). Adopting a global perspective, they define public archaeology "as a subject that examines the relationship between archaeology and the public and then seeks to improve it," working as a "dynamic endeavour" of an ever-evolving two-stage cycle of research and action. With 'action' as an essential element of public archaeology, the wider public can be engaged with a more practical way—by offering education and information on archaeological investigations, public discussion and lobbying, as well as scholarly "critique" (Matsuda & Okamura, 2011; Grima, 2016; Moshenska, 2017).

Nick Merriman (2004) and Cornelius Holtorf (2007) refine this further, and sequence two kinds of actions according to emphasis: a practical approach, which is education- and a public relations-oriented, and a theoretical model, also divided in two sorts of assessments, critical and pluralist (Matsuda & Okamura, 2011). According to Matsuda (2016), the educational approach focuses on people learning about the past and the importance of protection and conservation, while the public relations approach aims to increase recognition, popularity, and support for archaeology. The pluralist approach looks at the diversity of interactions and how archaeology is a means of making sense of the past, and the critical approach engages with the politics of the past (Oldham, 2018).

All in all, public archaeology may be understood as an effort to describe how archaeologists as professional heritage managers are working on behalf of and with the support of the public, in a marriage between theory an action (Almansa Sánchez, 2010). As Torgrim Guttormsen and Lotte Hedeager (2015) state:

> *Public archaeology could mean archaeology as a public service offered with educated expertise such as McGimsey advocated, but it could also mean public involvement in archaeological practice or public uses of archaeology… Simultaneously, it defines a research field that explores more than the world within archaeology, stretching outwards, bringing into question the role of archaeology in the society. The field of public archaeology acknowledges, in other words, that archaeology is not isolated from the rest of the world.*

In Portugal, public archaeology has been treated in a very discrete way (Porfirio, 2015), not dissimilar to what occurs in other southern European countries (Almansa Sanchez, 2011; Ayán Vila et al., 2011; Ripanti, 2017; Kajda et al., 2017: 3-4). From the mid-1970s to the 1990s, the interaction between archaeology and the general public received the attention of several Portuguese archaeologists. Carlos Tavares da Silva (1977) reflects on this relationship, proposing some strategies of integration and involvement (see also Porfírio, 2015). Vítor Oliveira Jorge and Jorge de Alarcão touched on the need to share archaeological results—in an academic context—with the public (Jorge, 1990, 2000, 2003; Alarcão & Jorge, 1997), which has received renewed attention of late (Fernandes et al., 2008; Valera, 2008; Serra, 2015; Raposo, 2015; Porfírio, 2015; Eleutério & Gil, 2015; Sousa, 2016; Francisco & Gil, 2017; Bugalhão, 2017).

The volume of studies on the subject has gradually increased, resulting in some academic work (Antas, 2013; Ferreira, 2013; Roque, 2012) and multi-year research projects (Serra, 2015; Serra & Porfîrio, 2016; Serra et al., 2017; Porfírio, 2015, Francisco & Gil, 2016; Silva et al., 2016, 2017) in which interaction includes volunteer work, and dissemination encompasses lectures and guided tours. Some of these studies are related to didactic activities in the context of experimental archaeology (Sampaio & Aubry, 2008), or educational archaeology and heritage workshops (Bazaréu, 2008; Sampaio & Jardim, 2008; Serra & Porfirio, 2016). Either way, these studies interact with local communities through communications, exhibitions, guided tours, workshops, etc., which

are strongly based on an expository and pedagogical component that indirectly engages the general public with archaeology (Grima 2016). These actions, in many ways, constitute "the deficit model for dissemination of knowledge about the past," and could lead to misunderstandings among the wider public (Grima, 2004).

With the rise of preventive archaeology and its relationship with the public—given its focus on urban environments—a more active role for archaeological companies and professionals has been suggested (Valera, 2007). About 90 percent of archaeological activity in Portugal is preventive, and is led by companies and professionals (Bugalhão, 2011, 2017, Branco, 2009, 2017). In this context, the issue of public archaeology has been muted, with archaeological activity trying to remain within its ivory tower (Grima, 2016; González-Ruibal et al., 2018)—seemingly perpetuating the lack of initiative to disseminate the results of archaeological investigations (Ayán Vila et al., 2011). This results in a small number of published works (Serra, 2015; Valera, 2008), and in promotion being confused with advertising, under the pretext of using the same assumptions as investigation projects.

The example presented in this article takes a slightly different approach. This is because it involves direct public participation in a preventive work promoted by a company, and the intervention being of a more complex nature—since the burial mounds are simply a terrain elevation, albeit man-made, consisting of dirt and rocks.

A small project with (and contributing to) public intervention

Due to the potential connection to the necropolis of the Planalto de Pena Província, the Direcção Regional de Cultural do Norte (DRCN) set certain conditions for the reforestation of property 50248 'Lubagueiras-Carrasco', belonging to The Navigator Company. These conditions include archaeological works, like a field survey and watching brief (Pereira, 2017).

In the pre-reforestation phase, a systematic archaeological field survey was carried out. This began with a broader scale analysis of the surrounding territory, which not only led to a

better understanding of where reforestation would occur, but also confirmed the location of the burial mounds related to the necropolis (Regalo & Brito, 1991; Bettencourt & Silva, 2003) and enabled a reassessment of its state of conservation. Monument 5 of Planalto da Pena Província and Monument 1 of Serra do Carvalho were located, along with another that had yet to be inventoried and one potential monument that had been greatly altered by previous plantation works.

The watching brief consisted of observing and recording of all operations that affected the soil, from deforestation to land movement (excavation and earthworks). A simple sequence of seven stratigraphic units was identified—mainly deposits from previous plantation works, which exposed the terrain to a maximum stratigraphic volume of around 1.5m in depth. No other archaeological occurrences were recorded.

Next, a small archaeological project was planned with The Navigator Company, the Municipality of Póvoa de Lanhoso and DRCN. The aim was to sensitise these entities to the safeguarding and preservation of the archaeological sites, which are easily are affected by intentional or unintentional destructive activities, and engage the local community in the process. This consisted of cleaning with minimal soil intrusion—specifically, removing the vegetation mantle on top of the tumuli, felling the trees on the mounds, and devitalising the stumps to avoid resurgence. This would be followed by creating an exhaustive graphical and photographical record of the archaeological structures, along with topographic surveys using a Total Station and aero photogrammetric surveys using drone technology. All of these actions were monitored or carried out by the archaeology team.

Fig. 2 lists the objectives of the intervention in terms of public participation, with the monuments serving as a starting point (Grima, 2016). The focus was on the interaction between archaeological heritage and the different participants—the archaeologists, land owners, municipality and volunteers, who would directly or indirectly contribute to its preservation and valorisation—and between the participants themselves (Ayán Vila et al., 2011).

Fig. 2 – Diagram of interaction between the entities involved.

Prior to implementation, the municipality's archaeologist went to schools to explain the intervention, and to familiarise future volunteers with the sites they would encounter—in terms of chronology, configuration, function, etc.—and the tasks they would help to carry out. The work involved a small team of about a dozen volunteers (Fig. 3), mostly local adolescents whose enthusiasm and commitment were reflected in their fascination for the archaeological activity (Porfírio, 2015; Henson, 2011; Almansa Sanchez, 2011).

These actions allowed for a better characterisation of the conservation status of Monument 5 at Planalto da Pena Província, which was profoundly affected by the opening of roads and plantations. It also allowed the identification of a burial mound Serra do Carvalho 2—a monument of modest dimensions, with a subcircular contour approximately 11m in diameter, and between

0.5m to 1m in height, composed mainly of blocks of granite and sparse quartz fragments and with a possibly cystoid-type chamber in its centre (Fig. 4). Finally, the cleaning works at the third identified area—which corresponded to a hypothetical monument—revealed itself to be an old stone extraction area, with the elevation a direct result of a landfill of rock blocks. After the field records were gathered, a geotextile blanket was then placed on the tumuli and landfill of the excavated areas, with the terrain free of aggregates, to preserve the mounds (Fig. 5).

A year later, we surveyed the volunteers to classify their two-week field experience. Conducted on SurveyMonkey, it allowed the participants to preserve their anonymity and consisted of six multiple choice questions (Fig. 6). The answers that we consider to be the most pertinent to the analysis are for questions Q1, Q2, Q5 and Q6. The graph shows a positive interest in the volunteers towards archaeological initiatives (Fig. 7). Although these should not be seen as statistically significant, as broader conclusions cannot be made from the data, it does give us an indication that the volunteers thought about their roles, the archaeology team, the significance of the sites, and its need for preservation.

Fig. 3 – Cleaning activities carried out by the volunteer at the Monument 2 of Serra do Carvalho.

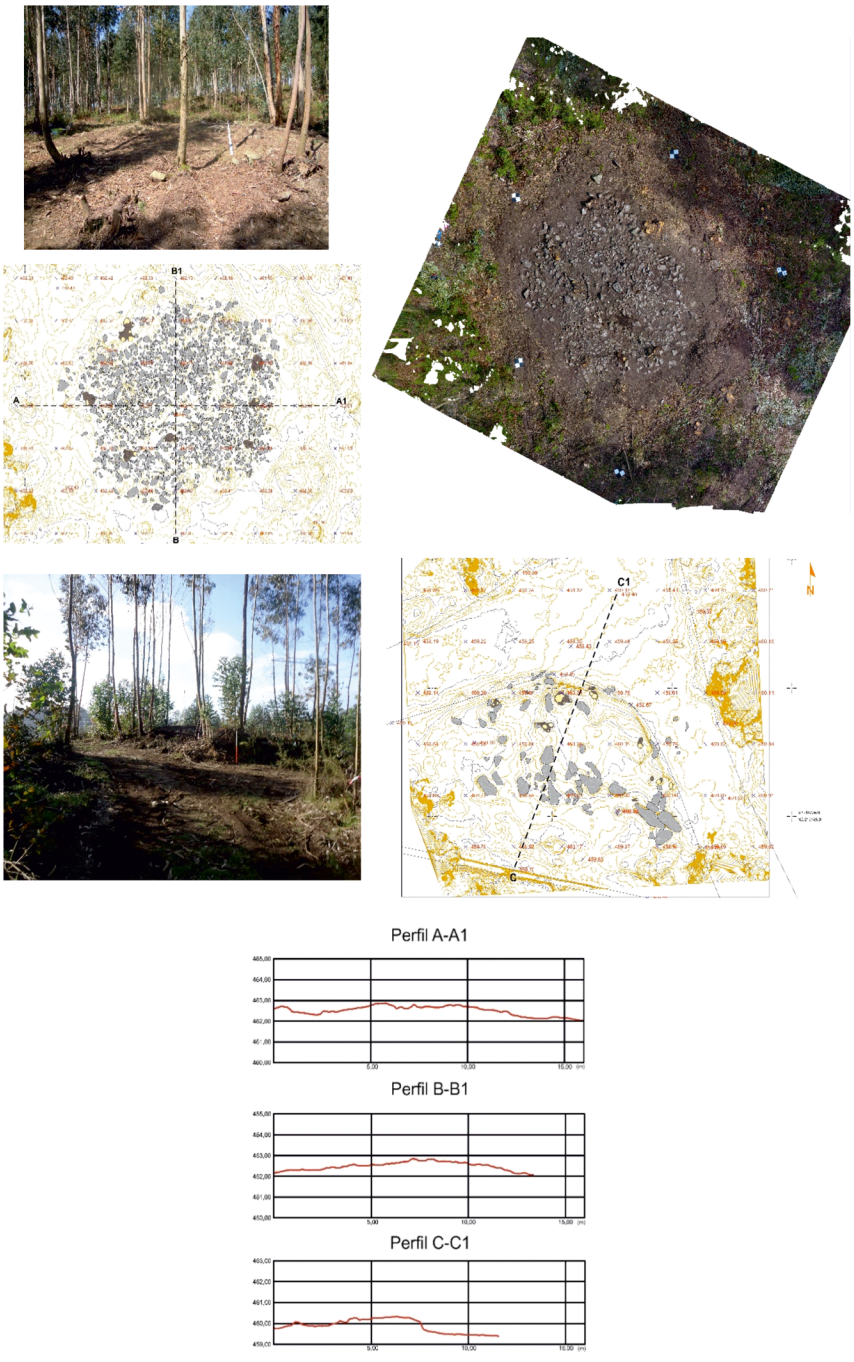

Fig. 4 – On site records. A) Monument 2 of Serra do Carvalho. B) Monument 5 of Planalto da Pena Província C) Cross-sections of the monuments.

Fig. 5 – Final aspect of Monument 2 of Serra do Carvalho.

Questions	
Q1	Interest of the excavation in which you participated.
Q2	Support provided by the Archaeology team.
Q3	Classification of the work performed.
Q4	Experience gain.
Q5	Possibility to repeat another experience of this kind.
Q6	Significance of the archaeological sites.

Fig. 6 – Questions presented to the volunteers.

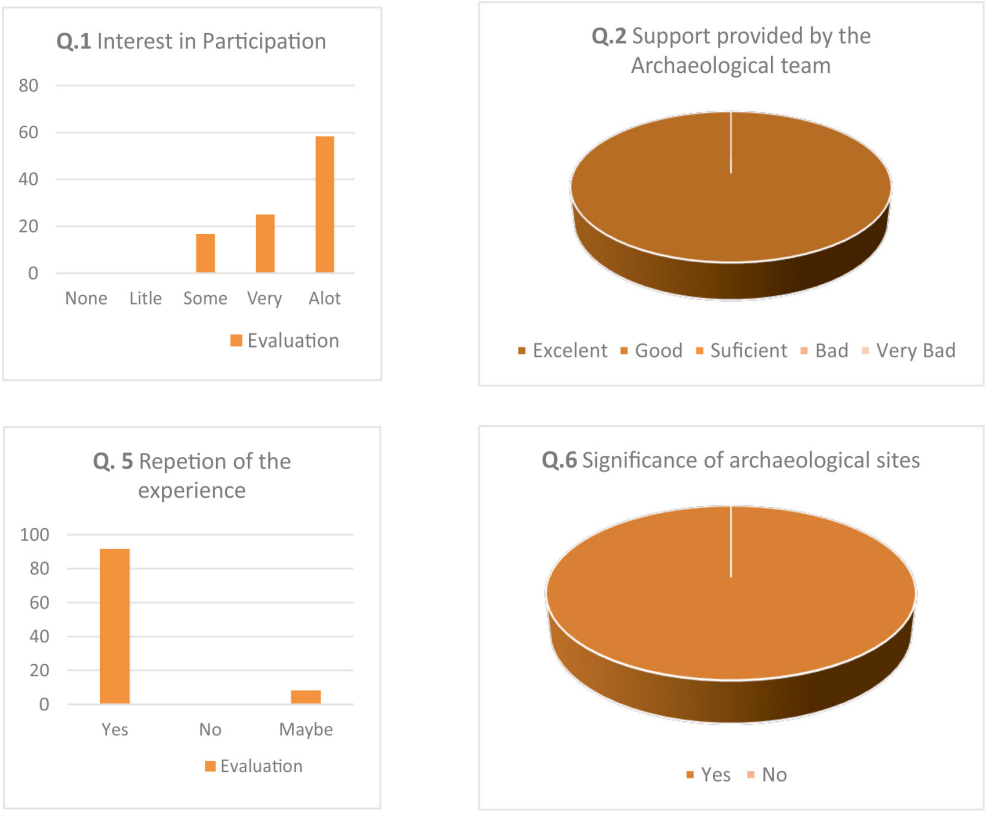

Fig. 7 – Graphs that summarize some of the questions raised.

Towards public archaeology

On any experimental archaeological field work involving non-archaeologist elements from the local community, such as the one we undertook in Serra do Carvalho, it is always possible to identify difficulties and advantages—some of which mentioned above—when compared to interventions carried out exclusively by professional archaeologists. These, in our view, should be exposed without any restraints in order to be analysed and discussed (Fig. 8).

Disadvantages	Advantages
Insufficient time to develop a more solid work field experience with volunteers, e.g.: taking them on field trips to other sites to deal with real archaeological objects, so they can relate even more closely with local heritage.	All participants—archaeologists, volunteers, city hall members, developer—engaged in the project, working together to preserve, safeguard and value archaeological heritage.
Less intrusive intervention.	Non-destructive intervention.
The lack of a 'spectacular' site, which makes it harder for the volunteers to empathise and engage with the site.	The lack of a 'spectacular' site allowed us to engage in dialogue with others (community) about resisting the belief that archaeology (and archaeological work) only involves the excavation of rare and 'important' sites; knowable objectives, tangible interpretations and normalised discourses; and the (common) idea of archaeology as infallible and uncomplicated.
Working with a non-professional team made the work slower and forced us to communicate the 'right message' to allow them to have direct contact with an authentic site or object, as part of "the excitement that draws the public to archaeology," but at the same time, knowing that those kind of "interactions" can often create potential miscommunications—e.g., the belief "that they have acquired enough knowledge to excavate their own sites and set out to generate their own collections," which often occurs on non-well planned outreach programs (Rieth, 2007).	Working with a non-professional team permitted us to take an archaeological approach to the scholarly community.

Disadvantages	Advantages
An unprecedented and unexpected approach to professional/ preventive archaeological work on such a site in Portugal: how will the work be planned? How do we act and what do we do during the work?	An unprecedented and unexpected approach to professional/ preventive archaeological work on such a site in Portugal: an opportunity to draw a work plan from scratch.

Fig. 8 – Project evaluation by the archaeology team.

Initially, it was thought that the participation and engagement between the different actors would provide an organic, non-hierarchical, and synergistic model, with an egalitarian exchange of knowledge, experience and value, and where the spirit of archaeological community would be essentially grafted onto a theoretical framework (Matsuda & Okamura, 2011, Oldham, 2018). However, we quickly realised that our programme and modus operandi would have to adapt to a practical interaction between an educational perspective, public outreach (Rieth, 2007) and cultural heritage management (Birch 2006)—as has occurred in other documented cases (Cole, 2011). Below, we reproduce the dynamics established with this initiative. The relational vectors demonstrate the various interactions, surpluses and other forces observed during and after the work was complete (Fig. 9).

Green signifies the importance of heritage to each of the actors and for society as a whole. Red stands for the educational aspect of heritage valorisation—giving heritage a scientific value—through specialised work, dissemination of information, and technical reports under the responsibility of archaeologists, which underscores their role as organisers and aggregators. Yellow represents the interactions between the other participants: work, dissemination and preservation of the monuments, synergies between the municipality and developer, improvement of institutional relations, and partnership creations. These allow for the local community to come into direct contact with the archaeological work, the company and the developer to strengthen their relationship, and the municipality to raise awareness of the archaeological heritage along with the community.

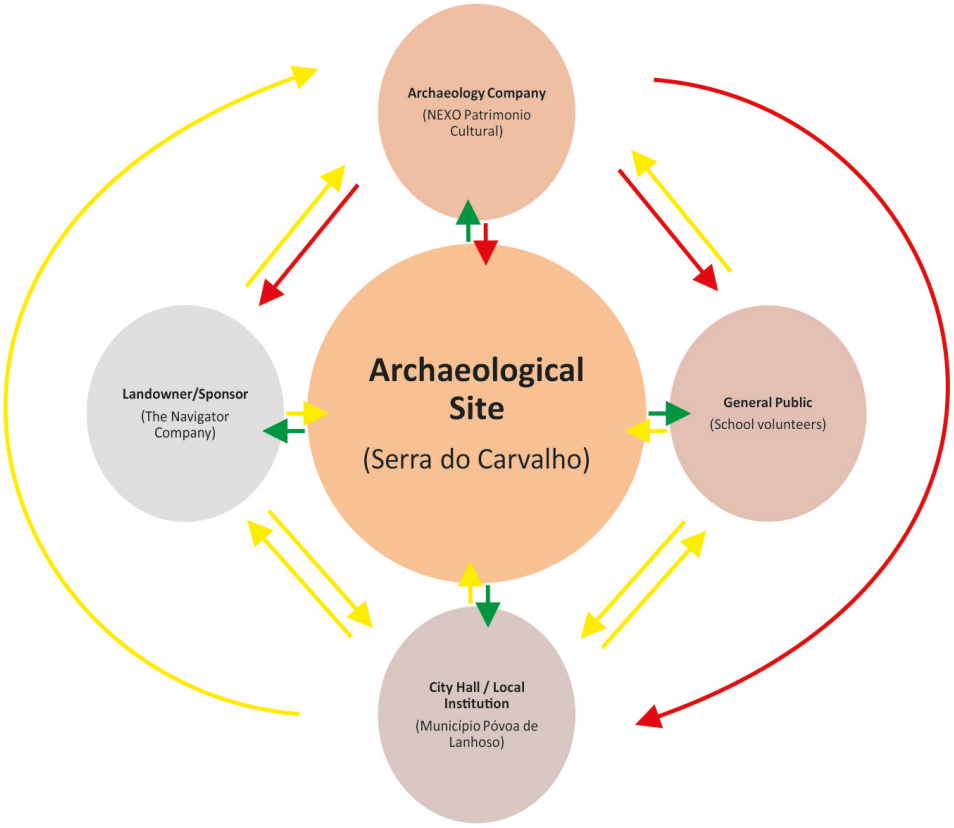

Fig. 9 – Diagram of interaction and its dynamics.

However, we realised that it was not possible to identify any obvious relationship gains between volunteers and the developer, which might represent a deficit in the idealised model. Even if not represented in the diagram, we believe that there could be other lines of force flowing outwards, representing value in terms of the valorisation and protection of local heritage, i.e., echoes of this intervention may have been sent to non-participating members of the community. In short, when the practical component is strengthened by educational and public relations work, it can help archaeologists gain a "careful understanding of the recipients of [archaeological] education," which helps them "optimise their relations with… clients, stakeholders, and even potential customers" (Matsuda, 2016; Oldham, 2018).

Some may question if this initiative was based on purely economic reasons (cost reduction with the use of volunteers) or marketing purposes (free publicity)—considering it to be a new, sustainable economic activity for commercial archaeology. From the outset, we intended to focus on the local community, to sensitise the various stakeholders to the importance of safeguarding these archaeological sites which are in constant risk of being destroyed. Given the general lack of knowledge on archaeological fieldwork (what we do, how we do it, our doubts and on-site interpretations) and the type of archaeological site (prehistoric burial mounds, the significance of which are barely understood), it seemed to us a greater challenge to work with the public to preserve the sites, teaching archaeology through its practices (González-Ruibal et al., 2018).

Additionally, we can also state that if these actions were carried out with an exclusively professional team, it would not be a 'project' at all— it would be processed in the shortest possible time, based on the optimisation of results and profits. It also would be pointless, since the absence of local community participation could compromise the future preservation of these sites. As for marketing purposes, however, all the entities involved direct or indirectly gained momentary recognition.

We can also consider the contribution of these actions to the production of archaeological knowledge, in this case of burial mounds and its evolution over several millennia. The production of scientific knowledge, on the other hand, is limited, since it does not involve the excavation of an archaeological site. Aside from the fact that preventive archaeology works are rarely published (Valera, 2008; Sousa, 2016), we are aware that a more intrusive intervention, such as an excavation, would guarantee results of greater magnitude, as well as strengthen the engagement between archaeology and the local community.

We must ask ourselves, however, if it is worth promoting an excavation in an area that will not be affected or destroyed. Would it not be more appropriate to consider excavation after confirming that there is archaeological interest among the local community? In this way, these actions enabled the confirmation of not just archaeological evidences, but the creation of a dynamic of patrimonial education and social awareness in terms of the

understanding and preservation of monuments. Therefore, we emphasise that this type of approach is, in our opinion, a practical application to other equally relevant theoretical concepts, such as archaeology and the public.

In essence, our point of view is based on the awareness that archaeology and archaeological interests must be practiced on a daily basis–towards the public. In fact, we must be able to create simple or multiple narratives about our discipline, to counter those spread by "amateurs and pseudoarchaeologists," who are quite often "better than us at conveying and popularising simple and often reactionary narratives about the past, true or not" (González-Ruibal et al., 2018). This will also show that societies, past or present, are not only defined by 'exceptional' heritage, but by their landscapes and environment, objects and architecture, histories and ethnography, as well as by others and ourselves.

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PARTICIPATORY EVALUATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE BASED PROGRAMMING TO EMPOWER COMMUNITIES: A quantitative analysis

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Abstract

A survey conducted on Heritage Monitoring Scouts (HMS) programmes at six Florida regions examines participants' perceptions of public archaeology outreach initiatives on cultural heritage preservation. HMS Florida focuses on tracking changes to at-risk archaeological sites through public outreach programmes. A statistical analysis demonstrated a correlation between participants' perceptions and the effectiveness of certain elements that provide a substantial framework for reaching the public with the message of cultural preservation. The findings show that the Florida Public Archaeology Network is reaching its organisational goal of creating appreciation and awareness for heritage, which helps to sustain the mission and vision for those working in cultural preservation. These survey results will help other public archaeology outreach programmes impact cultural heritage initiatives focused on preserving the past, such as citizen science programmes.

Keywords

Citizen science**,** heritage monitoring**,** cultural heritage preservation**,** assessment**,** public archaeology, empowerment evaluation

Introduction

The Florida Public Archaeology Network (FPAN) was created in 2004 through the University of West Florida with three main goals: public outreach, assisting the local government to preserve and protect regional archaeological resources, and assisting the Division of Historical Resources in its archaeological responsibilities. Its mission statement is "to promote and facilitate the stewardship, public appreciation, and value of Florida's archaeological heritage." (Lees et al., 2015).

This largely takes place through community engagement—outreach programmes with the message of cultural heritage preservation—to the over 20 million residents of the state and the diverse transitory population on the importance of value heritage preservation (United States Census Bureau, 2016).

One such programme is Heritage Monitoring Scouts (HMS), a statewide outreach initiative that focuses on public engagement to track changes to at-risk archaeological sites. The goal of HMS is to advance heritage preservation through public awareness for Florida's archaeology, and to establish monitoring communities to document archaeological sites throughout the state.

FPAN's mission does not encompass traditional archaeological research, but does include the development of education materials with a consistent message of cultural heritage preservation that reaches Florida's diverse population. The creation of sustained appreciation and ultimately, protection of the state's buried past, the network believes, is best served by building relationships that take place around archaeologically-based activities.

While the numbers tell us what, where and how much we are doing, they do not provide information on whether our work is resulting in sustainable improvement on the metric outlined—albeit vaguely so—in our enabling legislation (Lees, Scott-Ireton, & Miller,

2015). Moreover, the assessment of these outreach programmes runs into some issues due to the size and diversity of Florida, with demographics varying dramatically along cultural and linguistic lines. Cultural heritage and the natural environment in these regions of Pensacola, Tallahassee, St Augustine, Crystal River, Tampa, Fort Myers, and Fort Lauderdale—where FPAN's offices are located—are also very unique and provide very different experiences and perspectives for programme participants.

As such, this study investigates the perceptions of participants in FPAN's cultural heritage outreach programmes to help gauge if individuals are being reached with the message of cultural preservation, and if this is having lasting effect on their behaviours. This will help FPAN design, market, and evaluate its future programmes to impact public perceptions on heritage preservation through networks of volunteers and documented data on historical sites.

Public archaeology evaluation

Public archaeology programmes provide information, education, motivation, and entertainment to the public. Programming is also a wonderful way to promote heritage preservation to the next generation. Many children and adults think of Indiana Jones when archaeology is mentioned. Programming provides hands-on experiences that allow programme participants to learn about the work archaeologists actually do on a day-to-day basis. The use of output measures helps identify performance and assess the outcomes of actions, which can be complicated by real-world problems (Van House, 1989). Evaluation and assessment of services and programmes is essential.

The effectiveness of public programmes has been challenged as budgets shrink. The effectiveness measures used by archaeological organisations suggest that a single, operational definition of effectiveness may not exist (Schalock, 2001). Instead, effectiveness is a "multidimensional" construct that applies to meeting organisational standards set for services (Van House, 1989).

Social programmes exist for the sole purpose of doing good for society. Some programmes are developed for improving social conditions or affecting social problems (Rossi, Lipsey, & Freeman, 2004). Most social programmes are extremely inhospitable environments for research, due to the delicate nature of delaminating behaviours such as addiction, difficult decisions evaluators are asked to make, compromises for real-world situations, and the adaptation of research methods to evolving situations and timelines. "The specific form and scope of an evaluation depend primarily on its purposes and audience, the nature of the programme being evaluated, and not least, the political and organisational context within which the evaluation is conducted" (Rossi et al., 2004).

The concept of evaluation

Evaluation informs actions, which involve decisions made based on information. The information drives planning, policy, changes to programmes, whether problems are worth pursuing, and values of professional practice. Many organisations make the mistake of implementing ritualistic evaluation procedures that lose meaning and provide little to no context. Often, evaluations are mandated and only utilised as a measure of compliance, with no intention of using the findings (Rossi et al., 2004).

Evaluations generally address five domains: programme development, programme design, implementation and service delivery, impact and outcomes, and efficiency (Rossi et al., 2004). All evaluations should be useful and used either directly or immediately to contribute to the organisational body of practical knowledge. Evaluation can help shape the general understanding of how to bring social change effects to fruition.

Assessments should occur over the entire duration of a programme. Defining outcomes at the beginning of the planning process can help services achieve set goals (Fiore, 2005). According to Rossi, Lipsey, and Freeman (2004), organisations should conduct pre- and post-evaluations so that the full impact of a programme can be understood. Evaluating at the end of a programme allows organisers to see the accomplishments of the current programme,

as well as begin planning the next (Fiore, 2005). "Outcomes measure the impact that services and programmes have on their target populations" (Gross, Mediavilla, & Walter, 2016).

Developing a perspective that goes beyond tests and incorporates competencies can help participants achieve more dimensions of success (Lu & Gordon, 2008). While benefits and achievements from programmes can differ greatly between individuals, programmes have traditionally been viewed in the context of assessment for learning and achievement. Embracing motivation as a key target for programming has been considered non-traditional (*ibid*.).

Public archaeology programming services aim at cooperating with schools, museums, environmental centres and other agencies to establish community relations focused on providing services and materials (Walter, 1992). Measuring these types of programmes can help provide an indication of how effectively the organisation is building community relationships. One important consideration for programming is the annual number of community contacts (Walter, 1992).

According to Kirkland and Carr (2010), due to the lack of formal education on archaeology, the public often misunderstands the science of archaeology and its goal. While a few public archaeology outreach programmes exist in the US, there is no concise or overarching programming standard for this type of education. Kirkland and Carr (2010) also state that currently, little to no data exist on the effectiveness of these public education programmes.

Public archaeology and community archaeology

While public archaeology provides public service through engagement in archaeological work (Simpson & Williams, 2008), it also encompasses the public values and ideas of the communities served. The terms 'community archaeology' and 'public archaeology' often are used synonymously due to the lack of conceptual definitions for either (Marshall, 2002). Community archaeology and public archaeology both refer to the public as those people outside the profession. While this definition is useful, the ideology that community archaeology is for the people by the

people is something of a fantasy (Simpson & Williams, 2008). "In reality, community archaeology is censored and manipulated, and communication of information and access to the past is controlled through many different agencies" (*ibid*.).

Community archaeology is made up of many motivations that exist within the sociopolitical context associated with the community (Marshall, 2002). Ultimately, addressing the question 'can community archaeology projects create, change, and even increase the value of the heritage outside the profession?' is essential for archaeologists (Simpson & Williams, 2008). The tangible and intangible values that it brings to communities must be evaluated so that notable success can be appraised, and ideally, replicated.

Community archaeology should be viewed from the key characteristics that allow public archaeology to be integrated into sociopolitical as well as economic environments. "It is certainly vital to deconstruct community archaeology, and understand the complex theories that motivate its application" (Simpson & Williams, 2008). Examining the relationship between value and approach helps provide a more concrete concept internally with the archaeologist and externally with the public.

Evaluating public archaeology outreach

The University of South Alabama and fourth graders from John Will Elementary School designed a new public archaeology programme with current Alabama Educational standards (Kirkland & Carr, 2010). The effectiveness of this programme was evaluated using pre-test and a post-test to gauge the retention of the students' knowledge of archaeology. The number of correct answers increased by more than 25 percent. Another unexpected outcome from this programme was that the fourth graders expressed interest and excitement for college, fostering aspirations to continue their education (Kirkland & Carr, 2010). This assessment method examined programme outcomes and how students' appreciation for archaeology was impacted.

Other public archaeology programmes have also utilised pre- and post-test surveys to evaluate effectiveness. It is still being

established if public archaeology programming provides value to the field. To date, however, there has been a lack of research into whether community archaeology projects are achieving the desired and perceived benefits of community dialogue and participation, and whether this translates into real effects on the public's knowledge and perceptions of the past, and subsequently their sense of identity (Simpson & Williams, 2008).

One important that has yet to be answered is whether community archaeology outputs have lasting impact beyond the duration of the project. This question leads researchers to address the issue of what their ideal expectations and achievement changes are for community values and identities due to public archaeology engagement. Besides more research, other methodologies are also needed. "Limited consideration has been given to qualitative and contextual approaches that allow archaeologists to evaluate the effectiveness of community archaeology projects" (Simpson & Williams, 2008).

A quantitative approach only paints a partial picture of the impact public archaeology has in the communities they serve. More members of the archaeological community believe that public archaeology is good for the field, but literature lacks descriptive evidence on how and to what extent public archaeology impacts individuals and communities. These issues are hard to address with quantitative measures.

Defining public archaeology has led to a philosophical move to relativism as an important component of theoretical archaeology in practice. This focus grew out of a sense of pride for community. "The future development of community archaeology will inevitably rely upon a balance between professional archaeological expertise and research agendas on the one hand, and answering the voices of communities themselves on the other" (Simpson & Williams, 2008). Community archaeology is headed towards projects that address proactive and reactive community values (Apaydin, 2016).

With discussions on community archaeology's outcomes to the public being affirmed, the alignment with public archaeology has been advocated. "The discipline should take a more self-reflexive and anthropological approach to the assessment of community

archaeology" (Simpson & Williams, 2008). This type of evaluation will provide sustainability and appropriateness for its future. For archaeology as a field to expand and overcome funding shortages, political agendas and other obstacles, the impact and value of community archaeology in public service must be measurable. Evaluations provide measurable evidence of programme effectiveness that both quantifies and qualifies the reach public archaeology has on individuals.

Public archaeology should have an established set of learning objectives or outcomes for evaluating programming. Often, archaeologists have no expectations when dealing with the public. "Even some archaeologists who work with the public by choice fail to take the endeavour seriously enough to develop a curriculum with objectives, outcomes, and assessment" (Skeats, McDavid, & Carman, 2012).

As public archaeology becomes more recognised in the field, archaeologists serving in educational settings will need training in learning theory and best practices for assessment. Evaluations in archaeology should be implemented in stages: frontend, middle (formative), and programme-end (summative). These types of evaluations function to address different issues. For example, formative evaluations are utilised for programme improvements, while summative are performed for end of the programme accountability. Front-end evaluations address needs in the audience or community.

There is a high level of diversity among types of public archaeology programmes, and there are many types of evaluations. "The use of different methods allows for the creation of comparable and complementary datasets" (Skeats et al., 2012). There is no single way to evaluate educational experiences in public archaeology programming. Collecting data at different stages of a programme allows for triangulation of several data sets. It is imperative that public archaeology programmes have a set of outcomes so that evaluations will have some measure of whether the programme is a success or failure (*Ibid*.).

This data collected in this evaluation of public archaeology outreach programmes supports the need for programmes that

focus on creating environments that are intrinsically motivating for participants. The three major elements to the self-determination theory (competence, autonomy, and relatedness) are all foundational components to FPAN's Heritage Monitoring Scouts programmes. The nature of these programmes allows participatory evaluation to help improve programming over time. The analysis of the data provides some key insight into what elements are important to impacting participants with the message of cultural heritage preservation.

Participatory evaluation

Participatory evaluation is a designed approach that engages participants in the process. The distinguishing characteristic of participatory evaluation is its reliance on non-evaluator stakeholders, which provides answers to pressing social questions. "Discussions thus shifted to benefits of involving stakeholders as a way of better supporting programme decision making, increasing the use of evaluation findings and including social justice perspectives that had been missing up to that point" (Chouinard & Cousins, 2012).

Participatory evaluation uses a three-stage approach to evaluation utilising listening, dialogue, and action. Ilse Brunner and Alba Guzman (1989) define participatory evaluation as "an educational process through which social groups produce action-oriented knowledge about their reality, clarify and articulate their norms and values, and reach a consensus about further action." None of the components of the approach or processes can be considered mutually exclusive. Participatory evaluation is a tool that empowers people. The inquiry gives a voice to those touched for the purposes of educating and affecting social change (Chouinard & Cousins, 2012).

Self-determination theory as a framework for creating programmes

Participatory evaluation focuses on the process rather than the goals. Under this perspective, "evaluation is systematic inquiry leading to judgements about programme merit, worth, and significance, and programme decision making" (Chouinard, &

Cousins, 2012). Judgement requires a comparison of gathered data. The basis for this comparison can be a standard of performance, performance of other programmes, or the performance of the programme in question over time.

Participation in programming is the reason the programme exists—without participants, there is no programme. Yet, approaches to evaluation negate the perspective of the participants. Many participants describe challenges in overcoming and in giving voice to the disenfranchised (McIntyre, 2008). Researchers are narrative interpreters that provide context through a dialogical process; a focus of understanding, listening, and interpreting allows the participant to help make meaning of the interactions. According to David Fetterman, Shakeh Kaftarian, and Abraham Wandersman (2015), this requires openness to what others have to say while understanding our own biases and prejudgments.

Empowerment evaluation strives for participants to foster and facilitate the evaluation process of knowledge discovery. "Empowerment evaluation is the use of evaluation concepts, techniques, and findings to foster improvement and self-determination" (*ibid*.). This type of participatory evaluation is imbedded in self-determination, and redefines the role of the professional's relationship with participants. Professionals see through the eyes of the participants, and their skills are not imposed but utilised as a resource. A key component of participatory evaluation is the collaborative dialogue that takes place with participants.

The evaluator cannot empower anyone; it is about participants empowering themselves. Empowerment evaluation is an invitation to participants to examine programming (Fetterman, Kaftarian, & Wandersman, 2006). Creating an environment that is conducive to meaningful participatory discourse can be difficult to establish. This type of evaluation process does not view knowledge as merely collected information, but rather as jointly constructed through social interaction (Chouinard & Cousins, 2012). Empowerment evaluation is an ongoing process where value assessments become part of the life cycle of the programme. This type of evaluation produces rich data that allows organisations to make complete external assessments of programmes.

Intrinsic motivation

Real-life activities are not always intrinsically motivating. Carol Sansone and Judith Harackiewicz (2000) suggest that intrinsic and extrinsic motivation may be related and work together to impact behaviour. Intrinsic motivation can be susceptible to challenge or failure. The theory of intrinsic motivation does not focus on its cause, but instead looks at the conditions that keep the individual engaged with the motivational activity (Ryan & Deci, 2000).

This can help demonstrate why some find volunteering so rewarding. The relationships between an individual's perceived competence and intrinsic motivation will create more intrinsically motivated desire for an activity. For this to happen, the activity must be challenging to the person; activities that are too easy are not expected to be intrinsically motivating, even if the person is extremely competent. Any activity that is intrinsically motivated is pleasurable within itself or as part of activities that are also pleasurable in the substantive sense (Sansone & Harackiewicz, 2000).

Edward Deci (1975) defines intrinsic motivation as the desire for self-determination and proficiency in an environment. Self-determination is a key to intrinsic motivation. Intrinsic motivation can be defined in terms of behaviour exhibited without external pressure to do so, even when alternatives are available. It is the conceptualisation of an individual's need for competence and self-determination (Deci & Ryan, 1985a). According to Sansone and Harackiewicz (2000), intrinsic motivation is the propensity of individuals to engage in activities that interest them, and to learn, develop, and expand their knowledge. Intrinsic motivation primarily focuses on how we learn and create enjoyment for that learning.

Some studies suggest that intrinsically motivated activity is grounded in the need for self-determination, because this—"freedom from control"–is essential for intrinsic motivation to function (Deci and Ryan, 1985a). The outcomes of intrinsic motivation reveal the values and regulatory processes that result in high-quality learning, conceptual understanding, personal growth, and adjustment to the environment (Deci, Vallerand, Pelletier, & Ryan, 2011). The theory has implications for public archaeology's ability to increase

involvement in cultural preservation activities. Understanding how intrinsic experiences create a desire to leave and expand knowledge is key to helping programme participants appreciate and become aware of the importance of cultural heritage preservation.

Methods

HMS is one of the newer FPAN programmes. It asks participants to help monitor archaeological sites, which involves uploading pictures taken at specific angles to a database. The Division of Historical Resources and land managers benefit from the documentation of these sites. While the overarching mission of the programme is to help document sites impacted by animals, humans, and the environment—specifically sea level rise—those tasked with heritage preservation also benefit from these volunteers doing the legwork. Changing participants' perceptions directly relates to programming facilitating a love for archaeology. Creating educational programmes that focus on meaningful learning correlates with this change of perception. These three components provide context for how FPAN can successfully reach their programme goals (it is also important to note that all archaeologists working for this organisation have at least a Master's-level education or are currently enrolled in such programmes).

HMS programming focuses on the incorporating the public into cultural preservation of archaeological sites in Florida. In 2017, case studies were undertaken in the Northwest, Northeast, Central and West Central regions of Florida, and two in South Florida. With the exception of one case study, the programmes saw participation from the general public. The demographic information from these surveys reveal that the majority of the participants were largely over 50. The West Central Florida case study had participants that worked in several of the local state and federal parks. These participants wanted to implement the programme to help monitor public lands containing significant archaeological sites.

This study examines if the programme changed participants' perception of archaeology and helped them to appreciate the field.

This will in turn help FPAN design, market, and evaluate future programmes, which will have an impact on public perceptions of heritage preservation in the state. A quantitative analysis utilising surveys was carried out addressing the following research question: What are programme participants' perceptions of public archaeology programmes?

The surveys, which took less than two minutes to complete, were self-administered. Short statements were presented to participants in which they were asked if they agreed or disagreed using a Likert-type scale and one open-ended question. The open-ended question was analysed for themes that were not found in other questions on participants' favourite part of the programme. Such surveys are an inexpensive way to collect data quickly right after the programme ends, while the experience is fresh in the participants' minds.

Quantitative statistical analysis

Questions with Likert-type responses produce categorical data. We can test the relationship between two categorical factors using a chi-squared test (Ott & Longnecker, 2016). In particular, we are interested in controllable factors of the programme. With evidence of this relationship, we can begin to investigate the most effective way to communicate the message of cultural heritage and how to preserve it.

Chi-squared is a common test and can be used in a variety of situations, although there are assumptions at play. In particular, we assume that the expected cell count is greater than five; this translates to having an adequate sample size in each response. When this assumption is broken, or we have a low response rate with particular categories, Fisher's exact test should be used. Fisher's exact test directly computes a p-value, rather than a test statistic (Agresti, 2007; Ott & Longnecker, 2016). We note that the Fisher's exact test is valid for all sample sizes, however, it is computationally intensive and computations take considerable time and resources, even when computing with a computer. Thus, when assumptions are met for the chi-squared, we should elect to employ it.

Another quantitative method used in this study is generalised linear modelling (GLM). This allows us to create a model that quantifies the relationship between two factors. We note that with the chi-squared or Fisher's exact, we can only determine that a relationship exists, however, we cannot quantify the relationship. By creating a GLM, we now are able to give direction and strength of the existing relationship. Further, when we have sufficient sample size, we can include other factors in a multivariable, or adjusted, model. Modelling is extremely versatile and can be used to determine the impact of any one factor on an outcome of interest.

In this study, we focus on binomial logistic regression, a type of GLM used to model a binary response, which has only two possible values. We note that linear regression using the normal distribution is not appropriate for binomial responses. When using linear regression, the resulting prediction equation allows for predictions less than 0 or greater than 1, which are not possible responses given the binary data. Thus, binary logistic regression is the method of choice for binary outcomes.

When analysing data, it is imperative that appropriate methods are employed to answer the research question and provide evidence for decision making. Dependence testing and modelling can be powerful tools for understanding large and complex sets of information. These methods can be done relatively quickly and easily. In this study, we looked at the HMS programmes' impact on the participants' appreciation and perceptions of archaeology. Further, we make an argument that these methods should be used more often to substantiate claims made by researchers in social sciences.

Data

In this study, 60 participants volunteered to filled out surveys after the HMS programming. Participants were informed about and completed activities related to recording archaeological site data. The questions regarding the content and the environment of programmes that are controllable were focused on for determining the motivations of the participants to invest in archaeology and their community. Numbers are associated with responses to keep

with best practices of SAS programming and 'no answer' responses were removed for analysis. With the coding scheme, we assume each response interval shown in Table 1 is equivalent.

Survey question titles Explanation of title	**Possible answers** Numerical value
Educational Did the participant find the programme educational?	Yes-1/ No-2/ No answer-3
Fun Did the participant find the programme fun?	Yes-1/ No-2/ No answer -3
Responsive Did the participant find the staff responsive?	Strongly disagree-1/ Disagree-2/ Nuetral-3/ Agree-4/ Strongly agree-5/ No answer-6
Perceptions Did the participant find the programme changed their perceptions of archaeology?	Strongly disagree-1/ Disagree-2/ Nuetral-3/ Agree-4/ Strongly agree-5/ No answer-6
Appreciation Did the participant find the programme enhanced their appreciation of archaeology?	Strongly disagree-1/ Disagree-2/ Nuetral-3/ Agree-4/ Strongly agree-5/ No answer-6
Use information Did the participant perceive themselves likely to use the information in the future?	Very unlikely-1/ Unlikely-2 / Nuetral-3/ Likely-4/ Very likely-5 / No answer-6
Recommend Would the participant recommend the workshop?	Yes-1/ No-2/ No answer-3

Table 1: Variables used for dependence testing

Chi-squared

A chi-squared test is used to determine the relationship between two categorical factors. However, it does not determine the strength of relationship, only that one exists. In the current study, the sample size is such that the chi-squared does not provide a reliable estimate. As such, we employed the Fisher's exact test. According to Aaron and John Hess (2017), the major limitations of the Fisher's exact test include computational intensity and traditional usage for small samples with 2 x 2 tables, however, computer analysis has made this test easier to apply to a variety of table sizes. Because our sample size is not large, there are no difficulties applying the test in this study.

To begin analysis, numerical values were assigned to the Likert–type scale survey responses. The surveys provide information about the degree to which participants agree or disagree with a statement. The results of Fisher's exact test on factors as related to the variable 'perceptions' are given in Table 2. The outcome, 'perceptions', examines if the participants' experienced a change in their view of archaeology due to being part in this programme. Factors with low *p*-values show a statistically significant relationship between the variable 'perceptions' and the factor of interest.

The level of significance, or *p*-value, of the Fisher's exact test is the weight of evidence suggesting that the two factors are dependent. The *p*-value gives the probability of an event equal to or greater than the event observed; a small *p*-value shows stronger evidence that there is a relationship present (Ott & Longnecker, 2016). In this study, $p<0.05$ is deemed statistically significant.

Factor	**Frequency of response**			***p*-value**
	Strongly agree/ Yes/ Very likely	Agree/ Likely	Other/ No	
Educational	49	11	-	0.009
Fun	48	-	11	0.1272
Responsive	54	6	-	0.2671

Factor	Frequency of response			*p*-value
	Strongly agree/ Yes/ Very likely	Agree/ Likely	Other/ No	
Safe environment	55	5	-	0.7145
Appreciation	29	31	-	0.0008
Useful information	46	13	-	0.3705

Table 2: p-values showing dependence to the variable perceptions

Using binomial regression

After using Fisher's exact to determine which factors of the survey are dependent on the participant's perception of archaeology, regression models were constructed to quantify their impact on the dependent factor, or response. As mentioned previously, binomial logistic regression is used to model a binary response variable where only two possible values exist.

Because the answers 'strongly agree' and 'agree' are the most important responses regarding perceptions, the responses from 'agree' and 'strongly agree' will be combined into one response, titled, 'agree.' Similarly, another variable will be created for those responses that do not fall into the category 'agree,' titled 'do not agree.' This creates only two possible values for perceptions of archaeology: the participant either agreed, strongly or otherwise, with the workshop changing their perceptions of archaeology or the participant did not agree in any fashion, including 'neutral,' 'disagree,' or 'strongly disagree.' Variables that have a significant association with the variable Perception, taken from Table 2, were used as explanatory variables in the binomial logistic regression.

Educational	Appreciate	Perception	Frequency
Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	27
		Do not agree	1
	Agree	Agree	14
		Do not agree	7
Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	1
		Do not agree	1
	Agree	Agree	3
		Do not agree	6
		Total	60

Table 3: A frequency table of participant responses

Using the model obtained by SAS software:

$$lllllllll(YY) = \mathrm{ee}{-0.9575+1.7607xx1+2.0659xx2}$$

The odds of an outcome are determined. The binary explanatory variables (xx_1 and xx_2) model the odds and probability based on whether a participant Strongly Agreed with the factors 'educational' (xx_1 = 1) and 'appreciation' (xx_2 = 1) or not (xx_1 = 0 and xx_2 = 0 respectively). The odds of an event are given by the model when the appropriate values for xx_1 and xx_2 are used. For example, if a participant responded 'strongly agree' to both factors, then xx_1 = 1 and xx_2 = 1 and the model would suggest that the participant's odds of answering 'agree' to the question regarding their changed perception are 18 times the odds of an answer of ''neutral', 'disagree', or 'strongly disagree'. In this example the odds ratio is roughly 18:1. Using the odds ratios we can interpret the likelihood of events based off the binary response variables.

After modelling the binary outcome, we can predict the probability of a participant selecting at least 'agree' on a survey, based on their response to the factors 'educational' and 'appreciation'. Each scenario, illustrated in Table 4, describes a different combination

of participant answers on the survey provided at the end of the programme. In addition, it shows the predicted probability that the scenario will result in an answer of at least 'agree' for the question regarding a changed perception of archaeology for the participant. As the factors increase in agreement, from 'agree' to 'strongly agree' the predicted probabilities increase as well.

	Scenario 1	**Scenario 2**	**Scenario 3**	**Scenario 4**
Appreciation	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Agree
Educational	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree
Predicted probability	0.946	0.752	0.691	0.277

Table 4: Modelled probabilities of a participant selecting at least 'agree'

Ethical consideration

The entire survey consisted of 13 questions. Those that addressed participants' programme content, demographic information, and marketing or development information were not included in this study. Survey methodology was used to provide a quantitative description of participants' perceptions of public archaeology programming.

The study consisted of six case studies in Florida. At each of the public archaeology programmes adults of different ages attended. All participants attending programmes during that day were solicited to participate in the study by announcing the study at the beginning of the programme. Participants are defined as adults over 18 who attend programming on the day that surveys were administered. Specific information on participants' education, zip code, age, and income was collected. In this study, participants were not assumed to have the same demographic information as the community in which the programme took place. All participants were from Florida, but some drove over an hour to participant in the programme.

Data was collected in each programme during a day when there were no holidays or special activities. The public archaeology staff leading the programme spoke to participants at the beginning of the programme about the survey. After the program, the researcher gave a short description of the consent form and survey. Participants who attended the programme were invited to participate in the survey, and immediately following the program, paper surveys were handed to participants who were willing to be a part of the survey. Participants took the survey either in the programme room or outside near the archaeological site visited as part of the programme.

Participants were informed that they did not have to take the survey, and there was no penalty for not participating. Also, participants could stop the survey at any time without penalty.

Finding implications

The quantitative results examined how participants perceive programming. Archaeology provides of evidence of our past. Public archaeology has a difficult task in making the past relevant and meaningful to individuals in the present. The goal of FPAN's programmes are to first and foremost help people appreciate archaeology and make them aware of cultural heritage. The results from this study provided data that the goals are being reached and they are being created by educational programmes lead through the efforts of FPAN's responsive staff.

What are programme participants' perceptions of public archaeology programmes?

Educational programming that provides meaningful context into cultural heritage requires highly skilled archaeologist that are responsive to the needs of the public. Programmes utilise activities and hands-on experiences with real archaeological sites. Quality educational programmes take time, money, and a high-level of expertise to create learning opportunities that are fun and meaningful. The programmes facilitate a feeling in participants

that they are helping archaeologist. Participants learn about how humans and nature are causing damage to archaeological sites. As participants go through the educational process of the programme they learn how they can make a difference in preserving cultural heritage in Florida.

The impact that many participants are experiencing is specific to the actual programme activity of documenting sites. Participants enjoy being part of heritage preservation and feeling like they are making a difference. Many retirees note that this programme helps to improve their condition or quality of life in during their retirement years. Land managers note that their condition is improved because they are given help in monitoring at risk sites that in some cases maybe lost in just a few months.

The programme survey data was analysed using binary logistic regression, a type of generalised linear modelling. The results show that the educational value of the programme and love for archaeology has a distinct impact of the participants change in perception about archaeology. Thus, if the programme can educate participants and help them love and appreciate archaeology, their perceptions and attitudes about archaeology and heritage will change. One key component to the FPAN's mission is helping the public to appreciate archaeology. Making programmes educational will help individuals to appreciate culture and heritage, and the change in attitude about cultural preservation is the ultimate goal for any programme that FPAN offers.

Using Fisher's exact test demonstrations that participants who experience perception change love and appreciate archaeology. This means that there is a correlation between the two variables. Participants who have a perception change about archaeology find the programme educational, the staff responsive, and the environment of the programme safe, supportive, and friendly. If we want to change participants' perceptions of archaeology such that they will appreciate and love archaeology, then programmes should have the following qualities: be educational, have a responsive staff, and have a safe, supportive, and friendly environment.

Conclusion

HMS programming has been successful in impacting the public with an awareness and appreciation for public archaeology. The autonomy, relatedness, and competence work to help promote intrinsic motivation in participants to keep engaging in the efforts to preserve archaeological sites across Florida. The relationship/ engagement, activity, and information help to change perspectives on the public by creating appreciation and awareness of these valuable cultural resources that are being lost to climate change, development, and other issues. While this programme is not an original idea (learning from the Loss Project funded by the Scottish Universities Insight Institute), it is the first of its kind established in the US.

The citizen-science type programme helps the public make a difference for heritage preservation. The theory utilised in this programme evaluation was success in creating a framework for assessment. The success of these programmes stems for responsive, knowledgeable staff that create quality educational programmes for the public that allow autonomy and task accomplishment. The statistical analysis shows how the participants are moving across a spectrum of experiences created by a framework focused on autonomy, competence, and relatedness. These elements help to build a lasting impact measured through volunteer hours.

The volunteers demonstrate intrinsically motivated behaviours through monitoring and recruiting other volunteers. The community created by the HMS programme allow people with similar interest to support each other and build relationships around issues such as climate change and the need to preserve out cultural heritage. Most of the documentation the scouts collect are in the form of photos, notes, and artefacts. This information provides evidence to others on the important work individuals are doing to help preserve our heritage.

Acknowledgements

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POINTS OF YOU

IN MEMORIAM - THERESA O'MAHONY

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Spring, 2016. It was Thursday, April 21 and I was presenting something called 'Fuck archaeology' at a session about public archaeology at the CIfA Annual Conference in Leicester. I saw Theresa for the first time, speaking on enabled archaeology. We said few words to each other, as I was trying to catch Peter Duxton from the Royal Navy—some friends were thinking about implementing something like Operation Nightingale in Spain.

Fall, 2017. I was on a research placement at UCL. When the call came out for the CIfA Annual Conference, Guillermo and I decided to do a seminar on health and archaeology, as we had both been working on physical and mental health back then. It went public and I got an email. It was Theresa. She was going to be around and wanted to meet. We met, on December 6. I still have it on my calendar. We were chatting for almost two hours. A great conversation.

Spring, 2018. Bath is a quite nice town. It was Friday, April 27, and we did have a very interesting workshop where Theresa was incredibly active and constructive. After the workshop, Guillermo, Theresa and I spent most of the afternoon chatting. She was really passionate about her life project, now legacy.

Fall, 2018. I am not in London anymore, but TAG is one of the conferences I try to attend every year. We were in Chester. This time we did not share a session, but I had a small table in the hall with information and books, and she came by. I do not remember exactly which day. We chatted again for a bit and talked about a paper for this journal. We crossed paths a couple of times more. I didn't know this was the last time I was going to see her.

Sunday, September 22, 2019. She passed away. I remember thinking something was wrong a couple of weeks before, during the 4th PATC, where she was a keynote but with Lorna tweeting for her. I was in Turkey and did not give it a second thought. I got the news from Twitter, two days later. It was quite shocking because I was not really expecting it. I felt sad.

Later this year, I stood in front of a memorial in her honour at TAG in London. I wanted to write something, but I did not even know how to start. Then I left and never came back downstairs, but I decided to devote this small obituary to her.

I spoke with Theresa a total of four times in my entire life. My inbox has just five of her emails. I recall a Skype with her too. We crossed paths sometimes while I was in London, but noting beyond a 'hi', and the deeper encounters I narrated before. Still, her impact was huge. I guess she is one of these persons whose energy pushes you, for good.

My biggest fear now is that what she started with the Enabled Archaeology Foundation dies with her. I am too disconnected right now from the reality in the UK so I'm not sure what is happening, and just hope all the people that took part in her dream continue working on it.

I learned something very important from her: we are all enabled archaeologists in a way, but the limitations that we suffer are very different, and for some become a real burden to access archaeology.

She dreamed of a world where our limitations would not be a burden, and where we could all access a career in archaeology. She did, and many with her. Let us honour her building a more inclusive practice in all levels of the discipline.

I will just finish by quoting her last words on Facebook:

Everything around us can become bad, negative and abusive, but to this I say we may at times be beaten down, not able to move or speak for a while, but we are not defeated. Battles come and go some are won, some are lost. But we will win with your enablers' support, with our enabled family team around us, we may be down for a while but we will get up, others have come and are still coming. We will speak out and fight for our equality, equity and inclusion.

Theresa O'Mahony, September 21, 2019

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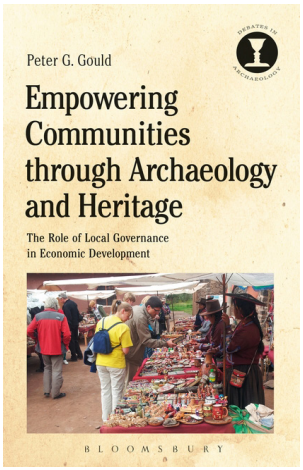
REVIEWS



Jaime ALMANSA-SÁNCHEZ

Empowering Communities through Archaeology and Heritage: The Role of Local Governance in Economic Development

[Peter G. Gould]

Bloomsbury, 2018
ISBN: 978-1-3500-3622-2
182 pages

"Sustainable outcomes that truly benefit communities are more likely if we trust, empower, and support local people to take responsibility for the heritage that matters to them."

The opening statement from Peter Gould is hardly debatable. Logically, if something matters to someone, any action to keep this something will be more sustainable. But *Empowering Communities through Archaeology and Heritage* is not about that horrible debate about values. It is a well-oriented work that touches on the intersection of economic development, governance and heritage management. The opening chapters paint a very clear background on these topics, with a fair description of the current reality. Gould's approach is well-argued, largely due to his experience in the field.

The structure of the book is simple. The first three chapters outline a theoretical framework in three specific topics. Chapter 1 focuses on communities and archaeology within the economic development paradigm. Chapter 2 delves into the top-down system that prevails in heritage management, and chapter 3 into the

alternatives for governance that arise against this system. Then, Gould provides four case studies—the first three (in Peru, Belize and Ireland) from his 2014 dissertation, and the fourth (Italy) from a parallel project.

Without going into the case studies at length, they do portray different models of governance, and the complexities that affect their running history and success. Gould also cites some other examples in the literature, but the picture is not really complete—although it must be said that most cases do not appear in in academic (or any other) literature, so it would be absurd to just list blindly whatever is happening out there. Here, I would like to highlight the approach taken by Cristina Sánchez-Carretero, José Muñoz-Albadalejo, Ana Ruiz-Blanch and Joan Roura-Expósito in 2019, which appeared after *Empowering Communities through Archaeology and Heritage* was published. This is originally in Spanish, although there are some short overviews in English (Cortés-Vázquez et al., 2017).

Throughout the book, Gould consciously uses a simplified definition of 'community' as those living in the surroundings of a heritage site. This is indeed the definition that is commonly used when not considering the conflicts implicit in the term. In this case, however, these conflicts are not hidden; the case studies and general analyses are very conscious of the complex reality of communities. This is perhaps one of the greatest strengths of this book—bypassing debates on concepts, and going straight to an analysis of the reality of the situation.

However, there is one concept that I believed is used unfairly in *Empowering Communities through Archaeology and Heritage*, and in Anglo-Saxon literature generally. When we speak about a 'public good' in the broad South, we do not necessarily mean state-owned, or privative of the state, even if that does occur in most cases. The general interest derived from French law (see *Réflexions sur l'intérêt général - Rapport public 1999*), is about granting, in this case, no particular will to appropriate something that belongs to all. It is true that in many cases, the state use of heritage may be dubious, but it would be untrue to base criticism on that instead of the actual meaning of the concept, which is closer to the commons than usually stated in the literature.

My main concern is with the third chapter. I do agree, in general, that local forms of organisation need to occur and be involved into the management of heritage. But—at least in places where we still try to keep some form of the not-so-liberal state—the dismantling of public services also affects cultural heritage in a broad sense. There seems to be an underlying philosophy of Anglo-Saxon liberalism in the text that proffers the nonprofit solution to make up for the privatisation of public services.

Most constitutions in the broad South recognise that access to culture—encompassing archaeological heritage—is a right granted by the state, which is directly linked with the concept of public domain addressed above. In this sense, we need to defend and reclaim this right. In many cases, the state grants this access in a top-down approach from sites and institutions under its direct management. They will do better or worse, with higher or lower, more or less positive impact, caring either for tourism or people, but that is another story (that, by the way, I will tell soon with the outcomes of my current project). There is a need to address public management and things are slowly changing for the better.

My concern is with sites that are abandoned, both by competent administrations and the people. Then, the approach comes from two directions—side actions to publicly managed sites and direct management of abandoned sites. Interestingly, most of the success stories of economic development through heritage are from the first approach—i.e., cooperatives or larger companies that use the touristic impact of a site to promote heritage-related businesses. My question would then be whether the governance strategy is for the sites themselves or just the organisations. There are also some examples of the latter approach, even with 'funny' outcomes, like the reappropriation of the structure from the state once it is successful.

Coming back to the book, I would like to highlight what Gould terms the "conceptual approach to working with communities to design effective governance institutions." Even though I am sceptical of the efficiency of this model for successful management in most contexts, I fully agree with the proposal. This conceptual approach begins with context—defining where things will happen,

and making all the possibilities visible. Second, capacity—whether these possibilities are realistic. Third, governance—finding the best way to manage the chosen option. This is not a recipe for success, but is a realistic approach to take to achieve the best possible scenario.

But is this approach bottom-up? I keep seeing the hand of an external body interfering in the construction of these institutions. Again, there is the prior step where we have to make the decision to stop imposing an idea of heritage, or to make our idea matter to others.

There are very few examples where these initiatives come straight from below. Normally, in contexts where the Occidental concept of heritage is totally assimilated, other factors come into play. As I said earlier, many such cases are not in academic literature, especially in English, but from my experience I would highlight just one, the Naples Catacombs,[1] where a group of young, unemployed professionals from the neighbourhood recovered a site, with one eye on conservation and management, and the other on the development of a larger community in the city. Despite the challenges they faced and minimal external intervention, they managed to make it a success.

Returning to Gould's opening quote, 'we' have to be careful. Supporting local initiatives is essential, but this must be from a position of honesty about the resulting changes and impact. I believe that this position is present in *Empowering Communities through Archaeology and Heritage*, and the tools it brings to the table can actually help 'them' decide which direction to go in, with or without us.

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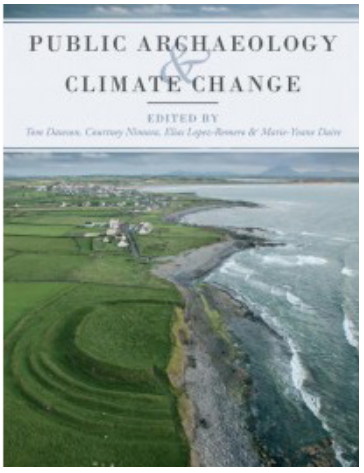
REVIEWS



Floor HUISMAN

Public Archaeology and Climate Change

[edited by Tom Dawson, Courtney Nimura, Elías López-Romero and Marie-Yvane Daire]

Oxbow Books, 2017
ISBN: 978-1-78570-704-9
185 pages

UN Secretary-General António Guterres recently called climate change "the defining issue of our time" (Doyle, 2019). The effects of human-induced climate change, including sea-level rise, planetary warming, drought, and an increasing number of extreme weather events not only affect socio-economic development and the environment, but also threatens many cultural heritage sites. Archaeologists and heritage professionals have started to address this issue, most notably through initiatives which engage communities and employ citizen science.

Public Archaeology and Climate change, bringing together a collection of papers presented at the 2015 Annual Meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists, provides examples of such approaches. It presents a range of case studies from across the world which examine the intersection of climate change studies, public archaeology projects and cultural heritage management strategies. Together, the papers not only demonstrate the scale of the issue we are facing, but also the strength of different public archaeology approaches. This makes this timely volume a useful resource for those involved in climate change studies, (public) archaeology or heritage management.

The introduction, written by editors Courtney Nimura, Tom Dawson, Elías López-Romero & Marie-Yvane Daire, discusses several key concepts, including climate change, heritage and public archaeology. It describes several major challenges to studying the intersection between these concepts, particularly various stakeholders' different priorities and understandings of heritage at risk; bringing them together is often difficult. Yet, as the summary of the papers in this volume demonstrates, there are numerous ways to find common ground, which helps manage and protect cultural heritage threatened by climate change.

'The growing vulnerability of World Heritage to rapid climate change and the challenge of managing for an uncertain future' discusses the different ways in which climate change impacts major World Heritage Sites and related intangible heritage. Adam Markham emphasises the need to monitor, understand, communicate and respond to these climate threats.

The subsequent chapters are arranged geographically, beginning in Europe, before moving to Iceland and Greenland and across to the USA and South America, and ending with case studies in Australia and Japan.

Chapters 3, 5, 6, 7 and 9, focusing on coastal heritage in England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland and France, discuss a number of large-scale citizen science projects in which communities and heritage professionals collaborated to monitor and record coastal sites threatened by rising sea levels, storm surges and coastal erosion. Through community-based training and outreach programmes, often in combination with mobile applications, these projects created a support network of community volunteers able to identify, report, monitor, survey and record vulnerable sites along UK, Irish and French coasts and foreshores.

'Improving management responses to coastal change' presents the interdisciplinary Arche-Manche project, in which palaeoenvironmental samples, archaeology, photographs and works of art—some provided by the public—were used to increase understanding of coastal evolution and inform future patterns of coastal change along the Channel and North Sea.

'Recovering information from eroding and destroyed coastal archaeological sites', on the other hand, outlines a crowdsourcing initiative in which members of the public engaged with researchers to monitor and record the effects of climate change on a small island in Spain, initiated after local communities urged heritage managers to undertake protection measures.

Chapters 10, 11 and 14 focus on the rich and well-preserved archaeological record in Greenland, Iceland and Alaska, which is threatened now that permafrost is starting to thaw. 'Climate change and the preservation of archaeological sites in Greenland' details the development of a project aimed at systematically engaging communities to support professionals in monitoring heritage located in vast and remote areas. In contrast, 'Gufuskálar: A medieval commercial fishing station in Western Iceland' describes how a creative outreach programme at a single site resulted in a successful collaboration between professionals and the wider public.

Community participation, which would allow local communities to assist with the protection of their heritage, is also on the agenda in Alaska, although there is no clear strategy yet, as detailed in 'Threatened heritage and community archaeology on Alaska's North Slope'. The US National Park Service, on the other hand, employs a very systematic approach, using the 'And-But-Therefore' (ABT) template to create storylines that rangers use to connect park visitors with cultural heritage and climate change ('Every place has a climate story').

Chapters 13, 15 and 17, focusing on California, Bermuda and Australia, describe projects in which researchers and heritage professionals worked closely with local—often native—communities concerned about climate change threats to their ancestral sites and intangible cultural heritage. In California, citizen scientists played a major role in a large-scale archaeological survey of the state's coasts, which successfully identified new sites and recorded known ones. In Australia, local rangers collaborated with professionals to develop a decision tool allowing them to identify, monitor, manage and address climate change impact on their ancestral sites. In Bermuda, local citizen scientists were involved in all aspects of

research, playing a key role in the design, implementation, analysis and application of the research data and findings.

'Archaeological heritage on the Atlantic coast of Uruguay' discusses how heritage management along Uruguay's coast is incorporated into nature conservation planning at coastal protected areas, while 'Perception of the relationship between climate change and traditional wooden heritage in Japan' outlines climate change risks to Japan's wooden historic architecture.

The many case studies in *Public Archaeology and Climate Change* clearly demonstrate the range of climate change impacts, the variety of landscapes affected, and the types of communities engaged, which require different community archaeology approaches. The chapters here outline when and how different approaches—ranging from top-down, outreach-style approaches, to middle-ground community engagement initiatives, and bottom-up, full collaborative involvement—can be used to identify, record and protect heritage sites at risk of climate change.

The systematic coastal surveys discussed in chapters 3, 5, 6 and 9 for instance, rely heavily on volunteers. This 'middle-ground' approach clearly works well in relatively small, densely populated European countries, but is less likely to succeed in larger and more sparsely populated areas like Greenland, Iceland or Alaska, where a more localised, site-specific approach may be more successful. In Greenland, for instance, an initially top-down but very active outreach programme quickly turned into a mutually beneficial two-way relationship, in which archaeologists shared their knowledge with the local community and vice versa.

The more successful engagement projects described in this volume took place in areas where local communities were concerned about climate change impacts to heritage, and urged professionals to help mitigate these. Often, this resulted in a more integrative, bottom-up approach. The crowdsourcing initiative in Spain described in 'Recovering information from eroding and destroyed coastal archaeological sites', for instance, was initiated by concerned local communities, who then played a key role in data collection. In Bermuda too, the local population already experienced climate change impacts, making it easier to engage

them in all aspects of research and shift authority from scientists to community members.

Indigenous communities are often equally concerned about threats to important ancestral sites, frequently resulting in successful collaboration. The coastal survey in California Archaeology ('Racing against time') for instance, relied heavily on collaboration with tribal communities to identify and record important sites. In Australia too, indigenous communities experienced the impact of climate change on their sites first-hand, creating an opportunity for a true, bottom-up approach, in which professionals collaborated closely with indigenous rangers to develop a decision tool that successfully combines western scientific methods with traditional indigenous cultural values.

Although most authors clearly demonstrate how they have engaged different communities successfully, there are a few chapters in this volume where community engagement receives less attention. In 'Improving management responses to coastal change', for instance, local communities provided some of the data used, but the nature and level of community engagement in this project remains somewhat unclear. Similarly, while 'Archaeological heritage on the Atlantic coast of Uruguay' does demonstrate the advantages of integrating cultural and natural heritage management, plans for promoting awareness of cultural heritage and archaeological site preservation are generally top-down and not truly interactive.

The ABT narratives used to engage people in US National Parks is not a two-way engagement either, but this may be the best approach in the context of the national parks, where the public is diverse and ever-changing. Finally, while 'Perception of the relationship between climate change and traditional wooden heritage in Japan' recognises the potential benefits of collaboration between scientists and the public in Japan, there is little information on how this may be achieved.

Despite many examples of public archaeology approaches which have successfully engaged communities, there are a number of reoccurring challenges faced by many of the authors in the volume, including the integration of work at different scales, administrative and legal restrictions to public involvement in

heritage management, and a lack of funding, which threatens the long-term sustainability of successful projects. Possible solutions to these issues, like integrating cultural heritage management with nature conservation (chapter 16), greater interdisciplinary collaboration (e.g. chapters 8, 15), the use of digital technologies (e.g. chapters 3, 5, 9), or exploring the commercial value of heritage sites (chapter 16) are found throughout the volume, but they are not explicitly recognised or discussed as such.

The future of public engagement in heritage management, which clearly has great potential, depends on finding workable solutions to the above issues, which requires the input and help of policymakers. Yet although the importance of engaging policy makers and making them more aware of climate change threats to cultural heritage is recognised, *Public Archaeology and Climate Change* unfortunately does not discuss in much depth how this may be achieved.

Overall, the book convincingly demonstrates how collaborative public archaeology initiatives may help us to identify, record and protect cultural heritage sites threatened by climate change. It is equally clear that many of the projects discussed have a positive impact on the communities involved, for instance by restoring or protecting important social and cultural knowledge, practices and traditions, which in turn strengthen cultural identity (e.g. chapters 10, 13, 14, 15, 17). This intangible cultural heritage, briefly highlighted in the introductory chapters, would have benefited from a more in-depth discussion as an important outcome and one of the main strengths of public archaeology.

Similarly, although several chapters recognise that cultural heritage sites provide an opportunity to educate people about the impacts of climate change in the past and present (e.g. chapters 1, 2), only a few (e.g. chapters 15, 17) outline how the knowledge gained during collaborative projects may help build the resilience of modern communities in the context of current climate change (cf. Van de Noort, 2013). These chapters show how the discipline of archaeology, despite focusing on the past, may contribute meaningfully to wider climate change debates, and how public archaeology in particular, provides different communities with a voice within these debates by engaging them in archaeological research.

In summary, this volume's main strength is its great variety of useful case studies which demonstrate the many ways in which professionals may engage different communities to identify, record and protect cultural heritage sites threatened by climate change. While it is important to recognise this variety, some approaches clearly work better than others. Moreover, several reoccurring challenges are mentioned throughout the volume, and although solutions are mentioned, they are not discussed in depth. Finally, public archaeology's potential for contributing to the wider climate change debate, for instance by helping to build communities' resilience, remains somewhat underexplored. The volume might therefore have benefited from a final, concluding chapter summarising best practices, discussing outstanding challenges and possible solutions, and outlining public archaeology's role within the wider climate change debate.

Yet even without such a discussion, which admittedly could become the topic of a separate publication, *Public Archaeology and Climate Change* is of great value to archaeologists and heritage managers alike. Its unique focus on the intersection between climate change and public archaeology demonstrates how initiatives at cultural sites threatened by climate change can truly make a difference, both in the protection of vulnerable heritage and the communities involved.

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