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10 years

Editors:
Jaime Almansa Sánchez & Elena Papagiannopoulou

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EDITORIAL

A big thank you and a new era ahead

Jaime ALMANSA SÁNCHEZ, Editor
Elena PAPAGIANNOPOULOU, Editor

It seems like it was only yesterday that the Spanish government was giving away domains and Jaime got arqueologiapublica.es without really knowing what to do with it yet. A couple of years later, this domain became the home of a new journal and a dream came true. Today, after much hard work, a lot of perseverance and having overcome many challenges, we are pleased to announce the publication of the tenth volume and getting ready to embrace a new era for the journal that will hopefully bring about further improvements.

There is no need to write a lengthy editorial this year. We just want to THANK YOU, in capital letters, for your support all these years. Many people have been involved in making this possible. From the editorial team and board, the donors and the authors, to you, reader, with your kind support. We are slowly improving quality, which is reflected in indexes and visibility, and we will keep on working with the same motivation to bring you the best we can for at least another decade.

The publication of this volume also coincides with a big change in our mother publisher. JAS Arqueología has become a non-profit this year, advancing the core values and principles of this whole venture. So, once again, thank you all and welcome to volume 10; a celebration of the past, the present and the future of public archaeology.

Ten years is certainly a milestone and cause for celebration, but also calls for a pause and reflection. This is why this volume is different — slightly shorter, but still engaging and provocative.

First, an interview with Tim Schadla-Hall, mentor and friend, opens the main topic of this volume: the future of public archaeology. From his personal story to the present situation and future prospects, this conversation between Tim and Jaime will definitely be of interest to us all. It has taken ten whole years to have him here, and we wanted to use this opportunity to acknowledge his invaluable work in the making of a generation of professionals that are changing the picture of public archaeology around the world. We cannot deny the role of UCL in the making of the discipline, nor Tim's. So, thank you.

Then, Jaime rants in a provocative Points of You about the relevance of archaeology and the risk of it becoming a bullshit job (following Graeber's work) if we do not wake up and take back the reins of the discipline as a united and strong collective.

But the core of this volume is a special forum on the future of public archaeology. We invited over 50 colleagues from all around the world, but the challenges 2020 has put on us all with Covid-19 made it impossible for many of them to participate. Still, we have a great number of contributions, and we want to encourage you all to participate in the following months, as we are certain this forum will enrich our perspectives on the future of the discipline. In ten years from now, we promise to re-evaluate all these contributions to see if we actually did move forward.

The open forum format allowed for fresh insights, written in the form of personal essays, which is what we specifically asked for. They offer an unrestrained view of a given situation and different perspectives, from very different realities. We are very happy with the result and we are convinced that it will encourage new debates and action.

We usually conclude our editorials by reminding you to contribute and donate. This time, without any further delay, just go ahead and read the new volume.

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AN INTERVIEW WITH TIM SCHADLA-HALL

(by Jaime Almansa-Sánchez)

17/12/19 – Olivelli's London, 14:30

14:36 – I am slightly late, but Tim is still there with his previous meeting, finishing lunch. This table has witnessed hundreds of conversations and is surely a landmark for public archaeology. I am not going to make a biography here, maybe you can learn something about him from the interview. If you follow this journal, and public archaeology, you probably know something about him already.

We have coffee, and after updating each other for a few minutes, we move to the back for the interview. It should be quieter. It is not. The waiter takes a photo of us (I did not have any), I take this one for the interview…

…and we go straight to the topic:

[mistakes are my fault on transcription]

JAS: If I tell you "Archaeology", which is the first word (only one) that crosses your mind?

TIM: Public.

JAS: And if I tell you "Public Archaeology", then what's the first word that comes to your mind?

TIM: Actually, it's communication rather than engagement.

JAS: I would like you to tell me (a little bit) how did you come to work into public archaeology (so, a little bit of history because you come from the museums sector).

TIM: Years ago, I used to work as a field archaeologist. One of the things I was interested in was field walking as I realised that archaeology is really about observation and data. I realised that school pupils could be involved with Archaeology, just walking across the field, digging stuff up, and interpreting it. We don't need a degree to do that, because it combines two things: "discovery" and "analysis". If you like just looking at objects, working out what they mean then we could take school kids out, to walk across Roman sites, for example, in the South of England. Some of my professional archaeology colleagues at the time said: "why are you working on weekends?" well it was because it is the only time you can get children to come out, because they are not in school... that's what this is about: taking, in this case, young people, it works with any age at all; walking out and trying to understand landscapes and the past. So, I think that was when I realised that archaeologists frequently don't involve people in their surroundings. And of course archaeology is about looking at the past for everybody, not just for archaeologists. It is also about getting people to think about what's around them. So, I guess the idea of explaining people about the past and involving them directly in it gives them a stake in what is around them. So, I think this is where it starts for me. Everybody can be involved provided you can find the right time and a job to do.

What we do as archaeologists frequently means nothing to most people, and even though they joke about Archaeology they all want to know about it. Also, it's the magic of communication, because most people have very little idea about the past, very little idea about what it means, for example in terms of technology, because we use words that most people don't understand. Actually, it's pretty simple and it's pretty basic. All Archaeology involves at the simplest level is being able to look at objects and analyse them, because that's what archaeology is about. That's why I care about public involvement in archaeology, because if we don't make clear that archaeology has a value, which is far greater than the value we apply to it, as professional archaeologists, then we fail to carry people with us or to have them realise why it's important. And, actually, in the UK, my experience is, if you say to somebody that you an archaeologist, then they will say: "oh! I always wanted to do that, but there is no money in it!".

JAS: Yeah... That's a pretty common trend in... I guess the whole world. Like everybody wants to be an archaeologist, just they never kind of dare to do it because they prefer to do something where they can make a living.

TIM: It's funny because I think if more of us communicated on a wider level, there would be more jobs for archaeologists, but we are not very good at communicating our ideas to people. So, all that goes together for me, to explain why it is important. I guess the other reason is because the past (I'm sorry if this sounds trite) is always with us. Understanding the past, gives us some insights the present as well. So that's why I care about it.

JAS: So now, doing a bit of... memories... of your coming to UCL. If you could tell me a bit about how did it happen and the experience of changing like completely the...

TIM: Ok. So, when I came to UCL in 1998, I had just made myself redundant from my previous job in Museums. My previous work had been very much involving people in archaeology. So, in Leicestershire, where I was, there was a colleague; Peter Liddle who invented the term, of Community Archaeology. In Leicestershire, over five hundred people were out in the field recording the archaeology of Leicestershire. All of them were amateurs. And

they did this job superbly by bringing together knowledge and understanding of the landscape.

I also previously worked in universities talking about Public Archaeology. So, I applied for the job as a lecturer in Public Archaeology at the Institute.

JAS: That was the first one that Peter Ucko advertised?

TIM: Yeah, that's right. It was the first post and to be honest (I have to be careful), I applied for the job because I was persuaded to do by Stephen Shennan, who was then Professor. And I applied without much hope of getting the job and with very little intention of taking it, if I had, by remarkable circumstances, been invited of take it. I do remember I had a lot to drink before the interview. I was involved with some other people. I did the interview and two days later I got a phone call from Ucko saying: "We'd like to offer you the job". And I said: "Well, you do realise I was drunk", and he said: "Never mind, you were the best candidate".

At the time I wasn't sure I wanted the job, anyway. I was on the shortlist for another Museum post, so I asked for some little time to make up my mind. And I think I didn't reach out for three months. And then, apparently, they withdrew the job from me, because I didn't come back. I was told to a colleague in the Institute that "Peter is not going to offer the job now; he is going to withdraw it". I was kind of sad because I didn't get the other job I was going for. And two days later, it was after Christmas, Peter rang me up and said: "come and see me". I went to see him and he said: "Are you frightened of being an academic at your age?" I said no, and he said: "Well, you take the job now or that's it". So I took the job. And for the first 6 months I did absolutely no teaching work but just research and reading before we started the course, MA in Public Archaeology, which has been going ever since.. From there, I have been incredibly lucky because I had some brilliant, MA students and brilliant PhDs too. After over 20 years of talking about public archaeology, this has given me dozens of people across the world to promote the idea that archaeology is more than just professional archaeology.

JAS: Indeed, last week I was in Paris and I was talking to some people in the bar and one of them, told me: "You are still on this public archaeology thing, no?" And I said: "Yeah! Well, I'm more into management lately, but basically is the same, so..." And he told me something like: "But that's kind of a UCL thing, isn't it?".

TIM: Yeah, I think that's fair. I think when Peter set it up, and it was Peter Ucko's idea, he wanted people to understand the wider value of archaeology as opposed to just looking at stuff. And I think it was seriously visionary of him. The trouble with the term is that it's being confused with something called cultural heritage. Now, I would claim to be an archaeologist. I'd claim that the hardest job in the world is digging stuff up and then publishing it. I'm speaking from some experience. Now, I think if you have not gone through the process of actually being a dirt archaeologist and understanding that, and that you can translate it into what it can mean to other people. Peter's idea was actually very British, I hate to say it because it shouldn't be, but it is. Globally we tend to see the use of the term cultural heritage, because is preferred not least by the influence of the United States, which seems to because of an obsession with heritage. Now, "Heritage" to me is whatever you want it to mean, whatever you want it to be.

JAS: This is like Gamble's definition of archaeology actually... How do you feel about this connexion between the concept in the US and the UK? Because you actually need to explain in the US what you do here as Public Archaeology, kind of even in opposition to what they do in the US, because it is more a bit of commercial, development-led, plus community work...

TIM: Yeah, I think one of the problems. It is also European problem too: understanding what is meant by the term. Various people have written about this… I still think Reuben Grima probably has written the best of what we mean by public archaeology. I think of Akira Matsuda as well. So, I think there are places in the world where there is understanding… and of course, it is about definition and meaning of words. It is also about understanding the past through archaeology.

I was in Turkey for the presentation of a book recently; I went to a conference about public archaeology. which means there is an understanding about public archaeology in Turkey. Also true, in Japan, as there is probably some understanding about people relate to the past and how communication is important. Recently there was a huge EU funded scheme running (about two years ago), on cultural heritage in Museums, spread all across Europe. It seemed to me that it was a bunch of archaeologists saying they are going to make an understanding for the past better without involving the public! I think one of the keys for understanding public archaeology is that it should, to some degree, be bottom-up. The problem with a lot of the discourse on culture heritage is it's top-down. Changing that is important.

JAS: How can you expect the bottom-up approach when you don't have the tradition that you had in the UK of engagement and public concern about their past and their archaeology, even the participation that you have here in the UK?

TIM: That's a really interesting question, it raises the point about the role of the State in Archaeology. There is a recent PhD about the differences between Italian archaeology and British archaeology; the Italians have a very clear state role for archaeologists, from the Soprintendenza and down. Archaeologists become defined by the State, which is fine. It is actually the reverse in the United Kingdom and still continuous to be. British Archaeology has never been very close to the State, therefore it tended to be non governmentally aligned individuals, as a result you have far more people in this country, involved in archaeology who for example don't have degrees; don't belong to unions, or whatever else. On the continent, as for example in Norway, the public aren't allowed to touch anything pre-1536. They are not allowed to excavate, but here there is a much more liberal attitude, I would argue, that allows involvement and care about Archaeology, which doesn't happen in many continental countries. The relationship between the state and archaeology… England is the first European country to privatize the State interest in archaeological sites, which is… is interesting. I don't think it's a good thing, it is actually quite bizarre. Now, relationship between the State and Archaeology is what allows archaeologists, at least in the continent, to exercise power through the apparatus of the state.

JAS: But probably not only that, because my perception, for example, is that it also began as a tool of protection over the origins, let's say, of Archaeology. Basically, British and French were excavating the South. So, the "State" tried to control that, so the British Museum didn't "happen" any longer.

TIM: Well, this is the interesting point; about the State and control for many aspects of Archaeology although the UK was a signatory of the Valetta Convention (1992), it has never activated all parts of the Valetta Convention. As a result we still have a tradition of what I would call part-time archaeology where much work is done by people who are not full time archaeologists and are not working commercially. The division between commercial archaeology and non-commercial archaeology, and research archaeology, is a huge one. In the UK local groups, many local societies still carry on excavations, although they come and go.

JAS: One thing that I found interesting is that some years ago English Heritage tendered a project to evaluate the impact of local societies' Archaeology on academic archaeology and it was below zero. And at the same time, the impact of development-led archaeology in academic archaeology... was a bit better, but not really that important either. So, it is not just the two actors, is the three of them. So, you have academic archaeology doing their thing, commercial archaeology doing their thing, and the local societies, that were actually the origins of all that, doing their thing, and not communicating among each other.

TIM: That's true to a point, but take an interesting case… Kris Lockyear, at the Institute of Archaeology, developed a huge scheme with local societies in Hertfordshire, which basically involved vast amounts of geophysics. As a result he is now able to describe the Roman site of St. Albans, and it was people in local societies who did the bulk of the survey work- and it was local people who were doing and using highly technical geophysical stuff and this and I believe this whole survey of the Roman city of St. Albans, all has tremendous academic impact. So, there are cases where you can demonstrate local societies have a real impact. The interesting thing I would say about what used to be English Heritage, that is now Historic England…

JAS: Yeah, that was in like 2013, before they changed the name…

TIM: They wouldn't want to rate local Archaeology, as highly as I think its contribution is. So, if you look at someone like Prof. Martin Millet, at Cambridge, some of his most famous excavations, his work on IA/ Roman agriculture and settlement in Yorkshire, is all based on the product of amateur archaeologists. The classic is best illustrated by Martin Green, who is in Dorset... So partnership does exist in this country. It may not be as good as it was, but it is critical.

JAS: And coming back to the international impact of UCL as a hub for Public Archaeology. Have you noticed a change between the early years, let's say the early 2000, and now 15 or 20 years later (Tim: it's the last 20 years of my life!). So, since the day you took the position until today?

TIM: I think, by large, the biggest change is the fact that there are people, including ourselves, all over the world, who understand the concept of public archaeology and to some degree, promote it as well. I always say I am very lucky I have had very bright students, including you. Most of the students I ever had were smarter than me… It's just that I am wiser! and seriously, those people who have gone out there, have made a significant difference in understanding the importance of public archaeology in the sense that I use it, and Peter Ucko used it, in terms of the fact that our subject has a greater value than just a bunch of archaeologists having jobs, it has a wider impact all around. I still think that's what really counts. Besides that, the network, which is across the world to some degree… admittedly not the United States of America, yet makes a significant difference. Some of papers that we see being published, even in Public Archaeology, the journal, do make a difference. There is really a danger of archaeology being reduced, as an academic subject, requiring research or funding – the need to recognize the full of value and relevance for everybody about Archaeology is critical. For example, it's actually the understanding of things like working out that there were no Anglo-Saxons; the past does belong to everybody; the understanding – about misrepresentation of evidence means there's a danger of racialism, for example, all over the world. I think public archaeology has a political role to play in that field. But at the end of the day, the struggle is about

education. School kids are learning a great deal about archaeology. Hopefully we can argue about what objects mean, and how to interpret them; understanding Prehistory is not about a set of fixed dates that we discuss, it is about interpretation. The potential spread of what we call public archaeology is that we have so many different areas to tap into, and we have so many different values that we frequently don't think about in the university careers, or in the university degrees, because there is so much more we could reach.

JAS: Now, besides the picture in the US, that they have their own development, my first contact was in 2004 when I saw Nick's [Merriman] book that just came out and we got it in the department plus the journal that was in the third volume? Something like that. For me it actually was life changing, indeed (Tim: My god! Sad!). You have been involved since the very beginning and talking now about specifically the journal. What's the evolution that you have perceived on the contents, the kind of work that we have been doing and publishing in the last 20 years?

TIM: That's easy. The biggest change, I think, I hope, is that more archaeologists are publishing their results in the journal, about their reactions to elements of public archaeology. I mean, one of the things that I think is important, if it develops as it should, is that we publish more internationally. One of the things that we are going to do next year is a couple of volumes on Japan. We will look at what the Japanese are doing, because archaeologists in Japan are involved in the same issues that Australian archaeologists were involved in 30 years ago, on indigenous identity, on how we see things ourselves, and what we can say. So, maybe we do Japan and after we do China. Now, I bet you know this, the main potential purchases of journals, as long as they are not online and free is going to continue being in the United States of America. I still think the United States of America is a problem in terms of understanding what I would call public archaeology.

JAS: Why do you think is that?

TIM: Many years ago, I was involved in a paper for a volume on hunter gatherer societies and I realised that the results of the

Scottish Enlightenment the then view of societies explained a lot. I'm gonna do this… I have a tremendous respect for impact of the Scottish Enlightenment, because I think that late 18th Century intellectual burst also involved the matter of anthropology; the idea that primitive societies should be studied as humankind evolves to a more civilised and sophisticated state. One of the problems with the United States is that many of their departments, today, read anthropology rather than archaeology as a main subject, they may also teach archaeology, but there was no UK-type tradition.

JAS: But somehow in the relation between archaeology and anthropology, actual public archaeologies basic. I mean, some people tell me I do sociology or an anthropology of archaeology when I explain my work. So, that shouldn't be such a barrier.

TIM: But it is barrier in terms of the development of Archaeology as a subject. I think that it has something to do with the colonial nature of the United States of America. If you come from the European tradition, why would you bother to excavate Indians in the 18th and 19th Century? Who you are busy exterminating. Let me talk about a parallel, let's say with Argentina, largely settled by the Spanish and Italians. In Argentina the whole understanding about archaeology, similarly in Brazil, and the whole nature of the indigenous archaeology is largely neglected well into the later20th Century, , because they were colonial nations, looking at a European past and not worrying about indigenous issues. Now all those things are changing certainly in Argentina, and also in Brazil, Pedro Funari for one. But in the States, I would argue...

JAS: But at the same time, for example, some of the contemporary archaeology projects, probably the Marxist ones in the US, have been a quite good example in the 90s specially with Annapolis and that, the working-class archaeology, the plantations… They have traditionally like a…

TIM: I am not saying it doesn't happen. What I am saying is it changes the attitude to the past. So, for example, in my case I don't claim to be related to the Neolithic. But I can claim there was a continuous connected evolution back to, let's say, 3,500 B.C. or earlier, and people would be automatically interested in say, Yorkshire, without being directly related to to the early Mesolithic

inhabitants, for example. In the United States of America, would you be interested, as a settler from post-1484, in the very deep past without being directly related to it? The answer is, or has been - no. All this has an effect on the way one looks to the past, especially if you don't see it as yours. So, I think that difference between colonial nations and non-colonial nations is very important and has a vital effect on how the past is approached.

JAS: But at the same time is a challenge that we are facing now in Europe with all the settled immigration that we have now in the second, even third generation. So, how can you reach all these new, let's say, audiences or publics that you are having here in the UK from Pakistan, India, whatever African origin, even Spain (with the South American ones) to this other, let's say, Classical or Neolithic past that for us is related but for them is not?

TIM: I don't see a problem with that, presently. How can I start? I worry about my country, because… of not enough people understanding the past. It's obvious that some people worry about immigrants, but the joke, of course, is… if you look at the archaeology, we can see this country has been last in line for immigrants since at least the Neolithic. And I think explaining that to people is incredibly important. I mean, using the past to explain that we have been constantly involved with immigrants and constantly involved in change through time is another value that archaeology, I would say public archaeology, has that to offer; for example, you can demonstrate the earliest skeleton, which is late Palaeolithic, from the DNA, in Somerset was black! We are talking c. 15,000 b.C.

[The waitress brings some Tsipouro and we joke about how I now like Thessaloniki more than Athens… sorry]

It's interesting, because we are talking about explaining the past to people, and I was in Finland about 5 years ago, where my Finnish colleagues would say: "Nobody is very happy with all the immigrants." They are from the Middle East and are settled here because of all the problems. And I said: "Well, you know you are all immigrants from the Middle East, anyway". Let's get this right,

and it's one of the points of doing what we do- using the past to illuminate the present about accepting those changes, and how we should be able to understand them. And the trouble with the past is the way in which the past is not explained- for example I grew up in Eastern Yorkshire, and I was taught, 60 years ago, as a kid, that everybody there was descended from an Anglo-Saxon, because the area was full of Anglo-Saxons named places. This simplification is based on the myth of a mass Anglo-Saxon invasion. There were no doubt Anglo-Saxons – but there was a previous population. Getting people to not misuse the past in anyway is so important. So, returning, very quickly, to Japan: the Japanese occupied Hokkaido in the 1860's because they were scared of the Russians; it wasn't a part of Japan in the view of the Japanese, it was occupied by the Ainu, who were most certainly the successors of the Jomon, who were of course the precursors of the Japanese population. The Ainu were gently suppressed, for the next hundred years. Now, the Japanese are recognizing the importance of the Ainu in terms of their past. The point is that we have a role to play to get people to recognize the past needs to be understood.

JAS: Now, that you brought the topic, especially in the last few years, the new populisms in Europe are using the review of the past for their agenda, which is normally not very engagement, with others at least. How do you think public archaeology can engage effectively with that issue? Because normally we have still a very academic thing going on with some small...

TIM: After over 20 years for the development of the Northern League ("La Liga"), yeah. The first leader of the Northern League was (I believe he is still alive) Umberto Bossi. And you know, his followers used to dress up as druids in green and perform in front of ceremonial springs in Northern Italy. "La Liga", Northern Liga, used to produce this schoolbook, I must have told you this before, which schoolteachers or members of the Northern Liga used to use. Pointing out that everybody South of Rome wasn't really a Celt. So, we go back 25 years, the then Northern League was explaining the story that they were really all Celts. Which goes back to the Celtic exhibition in Venice in the 1980's. This is how creating myths about the past is really serious and frightening. This myth creation is something we need to counter and it's not unique to Italy by any means.

JAS: Actually, and that would probably be my next question. 25 years later the situation is worse. What have we been doing?

TIM: I think we failed to engage. I mean, we all know that people believe what they want to believe, but the myths that are deeply embedded in society are the ones that worry me. My answer is education. I am not sure it works, I'm really not sure, because if we now know, for example from DNA evidence that there were relatively few Anglo-Saxons settled in this country, but large numbers of the population still believe we are an Anglo-Saxon nation then education isn't working! It's rubbish. So, in this country, what I want to do, is explain to people that we are a constantly changing group of people, with constant invasions, peaceful invasions and non-peaceful invasions, that gave us what we are today. Which is why it's important to understand the past. The same applies (I think) for much of Europe. The role of the archaeologist should be to stand up and to explain these things, and make changes.

JAS: I'm not going to be very evil. Because in the beginning we were talking about these bottom-up archaeologies being so essential, but at the end when we get into serious things we are still on a top-down approach (explain to people things that they don't know) and unidirectional speeches.

TIM: Let me answer this for you very simply. Coming back to what we started with. I think Archaeology is something (as long as it's recorded), that anybody can be involved in. I started by talking about encouraging people to field walk and record what they find in their fields. So, where I come from in rural Yorkshire, I know a farmer, I've known him since he was four, and he is now 54. And he got very interested in flint, there is plenty of Roman material, but he does like flint. And he walks his fields, and I saw him about ten years ago, when he was finding some quite remarkable archaeological sites. And he said to me: "When I walk across my fields, I now realise I've only been here a second over the seven thousand years before me". If everybody realised that it would work; which is why I'm determined that it is public archaeology, and finding stuff and understanding it, which will change people's minds by involving them directly with the process of recognizing that we have been only living here a few seconds.

JAS: So probably that would be, maybe, the only short-term approach to changing the current reality...

TIM: There's no short-term approach, it is long-term. We all have to do this which is why I think everybody should be involved in all the process of archaeology, rather than saying: "You can't take that". I mean, in Italy is always fascinating because if you find anything important in Italy the State immediately takes it over.

JAS: Yeah, actually, it's not only Italy. Most of the Mediterranean and elsewhere... It's not just that they take over. It's the property of all the Italians, of all the Spaniards, of all the Greeks, but the State is the figure that takes care of it.

TIM: That's something that really worries me. Because it seems to me that archaeologists, paid archaeologists, professional archaeologists, can either be very close to the State, in which case they have power and jobs. Or they cannot be part of the State, they can be independent to the State. So, when we talk about public archaeology in a political context, if you are close to the State, you will do what the State wants. I don't want to do that, because the past is not about the State. I think it was Neal Ascherson who said: "Archaeology is the handmade of nationalism", which is why we go back to Ulrike Sommer saying: "Archaeology, whether we like it or not, is a political subject: what we do is used". So, that's why I'm a public archaeologist.

JAS: So, that would be: "what we what do is used, at least use it your way, before someone else uses it". So, coming a bit back to the present, I would like to know one achievement you are proud of in all these years working.

TIM: Jaime, the truth is I'm not really proud of any achievement. I am really serious about this because what I really care about, and I do, is the people I have been lucky enough to try influence or teach. Nothing else, at all. What I am really concerned about is that the next generation has to change the World, but whether people can go out and do that… that's what really matters. I mean some of the happiest days in my life have been spent at UCL, and I'm serious about the quality of students who can change the World. I recently got a "get well soon" card from about thirteen students,

saying: "because we really enjoyed listening to you". And I think those are the things that count, there isn't anything… There is a next generation in archaeology, and the value, is the people who go through university to get that and got changed. That's what counts. Sorry… So, my achievement is zero, but the students I left behind when I die…

JAS: That's a pretty good achievement actually. Now, thinking then about the future, where do you see public archaeology in the next ten years?

TIM: Oh, God! I really don't know. I mean, I think that all Academia is affected especially in this country, by short term interests. Whatever attracts people brings them in, and also their money. I don't know. I know that many people promote the concept of public archaeology in various parts of the World. But what I hope is that in University courses, whether they call it public archaeology or not, and I should rather they did, the idea of getting students who are fascinated by archaeology, to understand the wider value and implications of what they do is absolutely critical. . The economics are secondary. What matters is being able to explain to people in clear language why the product of the past is an important matter. S I don't know… I'll get retired soon or die, I mean it's important, and the subject will change, but it's not going to change that much, and the core area of what is the value, how can we apply archaeology, what we do, to a wider society will remain there all the time.

JAS: And is there anywhere you wouldn't like Public Archaeology to go?

TIM: Yes, I'd like people who talk about cultural heritage to explain to me, seriously, what some of the things we talked about today, actually mean. I like definitions, I have no problem defining public archaeology: why did it start, what is it about, taking the product of archaeology and applying it across the wider society. I really would like the public to understand. Admittedly, I live in the country where archaeologists are established. I'd like the public to understand they can be involved too because it's about them, not about of a bunch of people somewhere over there. Also, it is important that we learn to explain, not in simple terms but clear terms, what we're

actually doing and looking at those problems that we have. I don't think enough people see it. That's all.

JAS: That's all then! Thank you very much.

15:27 – The formal interview is over, but we keep talking for a while. Later we walk back towards Russell Square and bid farewell. It is always a pleasure to share a table with Tim, but over all, to share a conversation.

[Special thank you to Dr. Elena Alguacil for helping with the first draft of this transcription]

AP: Online Journal in Public Archaeology Volume 10 - 2020 p. 19-28

POINTS OF YOU

IS ARCHAEOLOGY BECOMING A BULLSHIT JOB?

Jaime ALMANSA-SÁNCHEZ
Instituto de Ciencias del Patrimonio, CSIC

It was summer, I was searching for new books for my to-read pile and I came across Graeber's latest work, Bullshit jobs (Graeber 2018). Right after buying it and reading the short essay it started with, I posted a question on Twitter: "Is archaeology a bullshit job?" Instantly, he answered—without even quoting him in the tweet—that it was not because people valued it. I did not want to engage into a debate, but the question stayed in my head, as I was not so convinced. He suddenly died a few days later. The book was next in my pile and I compulsively finished the one I was reading to start with it as soon as possible. Now, with a forum about the future of public archaeology in this celebratory volume, I thought it would be timely to add this opinion piece to celebrate his memory and react.

On bullshit jobs (and the image of archaeology)

I will just start with a brief review of what a bullshit job is according to the final working definition offered by Graeber:

> "Final working definition: a bullshit job is a form of paid employment that is so completely pointless, unnecessary or pernicious that even the employee cannot justify its existence even though, as part of the conditions of employment, the employee feels obliged to pretend that this is not the case." (Graeber 2018: 9-10).

> —Are you f* crazy!? Why do you say archaeology is a bullshit job?
>
> —Wait a second, let me explain…

—Did you even understand the definition, boy?

—Yes, please, let me explain…

—You are not doing any good stating this… Archaeology IS NOT A BULLSHIT JOB.

—*Vale, para tí la perra gorda*…

But I will still explain myself. And in order to do so, the second stop will be a brief comment on the types of bullshit jobs that Graeber defines, as well as the levels of bullshitisation there are. You can put on this short video with David explaining, as he does so much better than me:

https://youtu.be/kehnIQ41y2o

So, you can have clearly and fully bullshit jobs, but also those that are just partly or blurrily bullshit (which will be our case). Also, we have *flunkies* (those who exist to make someone important), *goons* (those who exist just to coerce), *duct tapers* (or pure senseless bureaucrats), *box tickers* (for justifying the work of others) and *taskmasters* (to make others do stuff). All this, with many combinations and levels makes you think when reading that, indeed, most jobs today are at least partly bullshit.

Now, archaeology as a core concept does not seem to be a bullshit job if you understand the creation of knowledge and heritage is per se valuable for our society. Or so we believe. But let's not question that yet.

We tend to believe most people love archaeology, and most archaeology is a pure concept of archaeology, but that is not the case. People love an image of archaeology and we waste most of our time and resources doing things that are far even from the basic values of our discipline. Let's delve into these ideas…

From *archaeo-appeal* to value in real-life archaeological politics

Holtorf (2005) made popular the concept of "archaeo-appeal" as the—positive—imagination about the past that brought a wide interest in archaeology. However, what archaeology? And I ask this question because for most people archaeology represents basically the romantic image that comes with the concept. Nobody doubts the appeal of great sites, even if some do not enjoy visiting them that much. But what about a pit in the middle of a dirty lot? The tons of pottery sherds even we re-bury?

They are of high value for research, but not that appealing. Indeed, they become a managerial problem even for professionals. In my current project (#pubarchMED), one of the issues I study is precisely the way sites relate with their surroundings and how we manage this mess (Almansa-Sánchez 2020). From the perspective of the professional, but an eye in the interaction with people, besides many problems and challenges that came across the interviews, one thing remained clear in most of them: If we measure public interest from investment, archaeology is currently undervalued for its needs. Underfunded, underprotected, and with precarity as a norm. In this context, management becomes difficult, bureaucratic and inefficient. And every other aspect of the profession suffers from similar blows.

> —Please, stop crying…
>
> —This is not sadness, it's rage. Because we are to blame for this situation, and it is real.
>
> —It has always been like this. But we are doing quite well anyway.
>
> —*Mal de muchos, consuelo de tontos*…

I cannot settle for this situation. I have the feeling that the main values of archaeology are being forgotten. We produce for a system that only cares about profit (see last analysis in Australia by Smith and Wilson [2020] on the academic side of this, or a prior stand by me [Almansa-Sánchez 2015]), engaged with policies that converted a research-based profession into a mere bureaucracy

and failing to deliver an archaeological heritage that can actually meet the needs of people, from leisure or culture, to wellbeing. And all this becomes frustrating, and even alienating. Let's see how.

Frustration and alienation in archaeology

You get into university, expecting dinosaurs and Indiana Jones. The first slap comes with real archaeology, but it is fine, still fascinating. When you finish your studies reality begins. The joy of summer excavations is mostly over, and you are offered two pills: the blue one takes you to commercial archaeology; the red one to Academia. Most get really tempted by the red pill. After all, this is the archaeology we learned, the real one, the scientific one, the one that creates new knowledge about the past. But taking the red pill does not guarantee success… you have to earn it, and most people don't. So, at some point in your live you have to take the blue one or go home and do something different. And it is not that bad, you get paid slightly better, learn more, even feel what you are doing is important. But the feeling usually lasts only a few months. Until you realize what lays behind all these processes (I like to quote Olivier's chapter on the origins of preventive archaeology in France [2016], or even the story behind El Hallazgo, a novel by Pablo Guerra [2012], that we summed up in the PoY of volume 3 [Williams 2013]).

Frustration is a very extended feeling within archaeology. Basically, because it is difficult to assume reality in a context where archaeo-appeal is what built vocation on you. Afterwards, new expectations fail to come real; when you fail in Academia; when you spend part of the year un(der)employed after getting two master degrees or a PhD; when you see your friends with stable lives and yours in the muddy pit on a construction site. If you had to pay for your degree, debt is a nightmare soon. If not, precarity is enough nightmare. But you like what you do, you have a vocational work and maybe do not feel as miserable as others that do not have the privilege of doing what they like for a living.

—You should go to the psychologist…

—Well, I cannot pay for it.

—At least you didn't lose your sense of humor.

—I guess you learn to value the small things.

—And you are indeed privileged.

—*Sarna con gusto no pica*…

We often hide behind vocation and hope. At least this is what keeps me going. Still, at some point in your professional life, frustration becomes too heavy. You even consider leaving it all. It is not impostor syndrome; it is plain disaffection. And a part of it comes from the alienation you feel when your expectations—what you truly should be doing—do not correspond to the cornerstone of your daily work.

If something, Covid-19 has also helped to realize this. This race ahead we live, either in Academia or commercial archaeology, needs to be reconsidered, and for some reason we are reluctant to do so (maybe because we know we are going to be the only ones to stop and this will mean losing all chances). The system is so strong that no matter what we really believe, we reproduce it in this last try to stay.

The right to meaningful employment…

Am I depressed? Not now. Do I want to depress you? Not really. But I want to call for your attention, especially in this moment we have again the opportunity to sit down and think. I strongly believe some sectors of our profession are entering a dynamic of bullshitization and we can still stop it if archaeology is really valuable to people as David said. We are stronger than we think.

—You are really getting me depressed…

—I'm sorry, but I want you to think about this. It is important.

—I mean, I love what I do, but it is true sometimes I feel frustrated.

—Well, like in AA, the first step is to recognize it.

—Should be doing an Archaeologists Anonymous thing…

—Cheaper therapy, indeed.

—But I still don't see this bullshit claim.

—*Lo que no se empieza, no se acaba*…

Okey, let's see in what ways archaeology is slowly becoming a bullshit job:

Flunkies

Defining this role within archaeology is not easy because it is not really present. We can feel this way when we are part of a senior's entourage in a conference or a meeting, without voice, just showing up to pretend. I have seen this at some meetings in the Administration too. However, I guess it is more a punctual feeling in a certain moment on bigger structural problems of Academia and Administration than an actual problem of archaeology.

Goons

I am pretty sure some PhD students might think their supervisors fit in this role, but let's not be cruel. For the moment, this is not a problem in our profession.

Duct tapers

Here is where things get interesting. Bureaucracy has become a major issue in most spheres of archaeology. Many academics complain about the time wasted in evaluations, and all sorts of bureaucracies that should not fall in their laps, or directly should not need to exist. The system has become so untrusting that you need to certify the certificates you submit for your certification are true, attach photos of your talks in an international conference and copies of the papers anyone can find online with a couple of clicks. My last update for my funder took three full days and a document around 300 pages. This means, with other attached actions in that process, that for this month around 30% of my working time went to unnecessary bureaucracies that could be easily replaced by a sworn declaration and real consequences for lying in your reports and CV.

But there is a more serious issue related to commercial archaeology (and even preventive archaeology in some contexts). The frustration I was mentioning above has to do with the relegation of archaeological interventions to mere bureaucratic processes. Not just the process itself, but the action. You find something in the preliminary survey, but it is not going to change the outcome. You excavate to mitigate the damage but will hardly have the time or funds to research whatever comes out. And what is worse… nobody is going to expect you do. Then, your whole role is basically clearing the lot in the process of construction, losing the fundamental values of archaeology. You become a digger and the sites you dig become paperwork and materials in some store, waiting for some actual archaeology to happen.

Box tickers

This is a necessary consequence of the previous part. Some colleagues just exist to make sure the bureaucracy happens correctly. Actions that could not just be automatized to a great extent, maybe focusing on actual quality and not a list of requirements. But also actions that in many cases should not exist.

Taskmasters

And this whole process ends up creating middle management positions for an activity with one of the highest rates of PhDs in the job market. This side of the bullshitization of archaeology is probably the most difficult to recognize, but is there.

Still, do not get me wrong. A high percentage of the work we do is relevant and serves a real purpose. I do believe archaeology is not a bullshit job. However, I think that we have fallen in a very dangerous dynamic that affects our profession. We have the privilege of a possibility to be mostly self-regulated and self-organized within the system. This is something very few professions can say. Still, we fall. So please, wake up and do not become bullshit.

Do not become bullshit!

Some years ago, I wrote a sort of op-ed in a Spanish journal (Almansa-Sánchez 2014) about the poor outcomes of the 2008 crisis in the very needed reconsideration of our practice. Most of the things I complain about here were in place before that crisis and today, in the brink of a new one with Covid-19, we face the same challenges.

We know our problems. We know how we could solve some of them. Somehow, we do not even try. If the situation was stable, at least we could relax a bit. However, in the last forty years we can see a debilitation of our position that continues as time passes.

Some will say it is not true. Our position is stronger than forty years ago. We have more funding; we reach places we did not even imagine back then; we excavate more, publish more and divulgate more. Maybe in absolute numbers this is true. But the general resources available today are not the same either. We might be in front of the classical quantity over quality statement.

Private funding (mainly for preventive archaeology) is a bargain for developers that get a higher benefit for their money. We have been miserable in the negotiations (trick of tenders) and became the dumb overeducated blocks of the site. Sites are normally destroyed, record inaccessible, heritage invisible (and badly interpreted after the architect used all the money for the architectural enhancement), and our image is still this of the amateur treasure hunter and the romantic big-ruin/relic adventurer.

Our presence in development committees, funding meetings and such is irrelevant. In most cases our advice is not followed and forcing actions (because we actually have that power sometimes) means cessation or other political repercussions. We are just another piece of the political game in which very few strong people actually move well.

And we might probably be more present, but news keep talking about "firsts" and "icons" and "treasures" and find it difficult to make someone understand that those stones next to their homes are actually of value… because most times they are just not.

So, now we have more thinking time at home, and a bit of self-critique is due, please let's do something. Changing the system is a radical chimera we can aim and never do, but every day counts. Every time you feel frustrated or losing your time with something that would easily fall into the bullshit tag, remember we have the privilege to do what we want, and even do it as we want. Just we cannot do it alone. We need a strong collective to fight for it and make archaeology great again, as Trump would (not) say (tanta paz lleve como descanso deja, to drop a last Spanish saying).

This is the key word: Organize. Go to your professional association or union, get involved, debate, propose and act, start your own, fight for a better archaeology that does not become another bullshit job. No matter where you are or your specific problems. If we are able to build a strong community of professionals with clear goals, maybe all these things we do not like can end with a different outcome.

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AP: Online Journal in Public Archaeology Volume 10 - 2020 p. 29-30

FORUM:

CHATTING ABOUT THE FUTURE OF PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY

With the tenth anniversary of the journal we wanted to take a deep breath and look into the futrure.

This forum consists of short pieces from colleagues around the world that discuss general and specific issues regarding public archaeology in the coming years. We asked for an open format, trying to grasp a fresher approach than the one usual academic writing permits.

As with other forums in the journal, we will keep it open from now on in case any of you want to participate too. It is a good occasion to debate the current and coming role of public archaeology and we hope this selection of papers helps to foster it.

We originally invited 50 people to participate. However, these difficult times made it difficult for some to do so. Nevertheless, we have a good set of contributions that will be of interest to you all.

Enjoy it (and participate if you feel you have something else to say).


Laugh now,
but one day
we' 11 be
in charge.
BANKSY

AP: Online Journal in Public Archaeology Volume 10 - 2020 p. 31-52

FORUM: Chatting about the future of public archaeology

INDIGENOUS VIEWS ON THE FUTURE OF PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY IN AUSTRALIA. A CONVERSATION THAT DID NOT HAPPEN.

Kellie POLLARD[1], Claire SMITH[1], Jasmine WILLIKA,
Vince COPLEY senior, Vincent COPLEY junior,
Christopher WILSON, Emily POELINA-HUNTER and Julie AH QUEE

This paper was written in response to a request by the editors of the AP: *Online Journal of Public Archaeology*, Jaime Almansa Sánchez and Elena Papagiannopoulou, for Claire Smith to write on the future of public archaeology in Australia. In Australia, public archaeology focusses on high profile colonial sites such as The Rocks in Sydney (Karskens 1999) and Port Arthur in Tasmania (Steele et al. 2007; Frew 2012), tourism (e.g. Cole and Wallis 2019) or enhancing school curricula (Nichols et al. 2005; Owens and Steele 2005). However, given her decades-long relationships with Jawoyn and Ngadjuri people (Smith 1999; Smith et al. 2016; Smith et al. 2020), Claire Smith decided that a useful way of approaching this topic would be to obtain Indigenous views on the subject. Accordingly, she contacted the Aboriginal co-authors of this article and invited them to co-author the paper. The possibility to write in free form was a boon. The 'conversation' format we settled on was designed to facilitate the voices of individuals, to present a range of Indigenous views, to allow people to express their views frankly, and to deal with the constraints of people being located in different parts of Australia as well as occasional lock-downs due to COVID-19. We decided on five topics/questions that would be the basis of the conversation. Each Aboriginal author gave their views either by email or by phone. These views were interwoven into a 'conversation'. The language has been edited lightly for clarity and to simulate a real-life conversation. The final text was approved by all authors.

1 Contacts: claire.smith @flinders.edu.au; kellie.pollard@cdu.edu.au

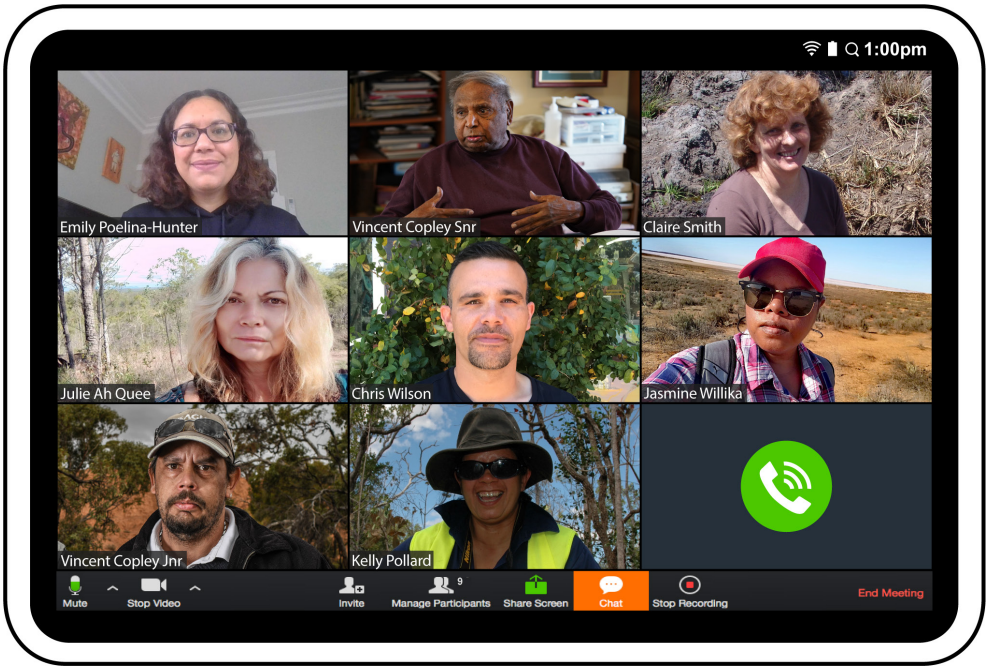

Figure 1. The Zoom meeting that never happened. Created by Heather Burke.

Q: What is public archaeology to you?

Vince Copley senior: Archaeologists talking to the public? I don't really think about it.

Vince Copley junior: To me, it has no specific meaning because archaeology is such a broad discipline. It could be Egyptology, or Aboriginal archaeology. If you are talking specifically about Indigenous Australia, I think it is a good thing, but public archaeology can be anywhere in the world.

Jasmine Willika: Public archaeology ... I'm not really sure. I don't really think of public archaeology. I haven't really heard about that before. I know about community archaeology. That is when you are working with traditional owners, mostly working on projects that the traditional owners or community members would like, what they are interested in doing.

Julie Ah Quee: Public archaeology is a synthesis of people from all walks of life who hold an interest in an archaeological

project coming together, academics and qualified archaeologists working co-jointly with the wider community. These types of projects bring together community groups, individuals from a variety of backgrounds, academics, government bodies, science and educational organisations, non-profits, students and even those from the commercial field and has many, many social benefits. Public archaeology opens up the process, allows community ownership and pride in a project which remains transparent.

Kellie Pollard: Public archaeology is places like the Hyde Park Barracks or Port Arthur that are open to the public. You can walk in and you can see how archaeologists have investigated the history of a place, or perhaps left the excavation exposed by a glass panel, so that people can look and see what a deposit looks like. Or like in National Archaeology Week, when there are public lectures or tours or public excavations of places like historic gaols. Public archaeology is different to excavations in rock shelters on country because those excavations on country are not open to the public.

Chris Wilson: Public archaeology is similar to community archaeology, education outreach and science communication. It involves the practice of presenting archaeological data and interpretations to the public domain and require the skill sets of narration. As an Indigenous archaeologist this is one of the most rewarding aspects of dissemination of research and impact of archaeological findings.

Emily Poelina-Hunter: An excavation that has public access as a goal for the site, and a desire to educate the public about the finds and the site's history (with tours, on site museums, a website).

Q: Do you see a difference between public archaeology and community archaeology?

Vince Copley senior: You probably get better results from community archaeology. You can't work in a vacuum. I think there is a lot of that which has not been told. You can pick up a little bit from here and from there and people start to remember. It is a much better idea.

Vince Copley junior: Community archaeology involves the community.

Jasmine Willika: I don't really think about public archaeology. Community archaeology is important. I see it as an opportunity to learn from community people before going on to the land. Public archaeology is more about collecting data and archaeologists telling the public about their work. Public archaeology can be useful but it is not the thing that I prefer to be doing.

Julie Ah Quee: Well, public archaeology opens up a project to all interested stakeholders, community groups and people across the whole spectrum of a community, public meaning just that…public. Community archaeology in my mind involves a specific group/ community say an Indigenous language group, or a heritage group or people around a specific locale/ site etc. The emphasis again is on people outside the field of archaeology and academia becoming involved.

Kellie Pollard: Community archaeology is working with a local community. The majority of people involved in the work are from a local Aboriginal community and its purpose is usually related to investigating issues that are important to a local Aboriginal community. This is different to public archaeology, when anyone can walk up to a project and see what is happening, and which may be specific to a local cause. Public archaeology might come out of development and the intention is to engage the wider public about heritage conservation.

Chris Wilson: I view public archaeology as the dissemination and presentation of archaeological findings to the broader public, local, national and global community. I view community archaeology as the set of practices and methods that are applied to archaeological fieldwork and research that is undertaken with, in and for local communities. The objectives of community archaeology have been negotiated or developed in partnership.

Emily Poelina-Hunter: In some countries the terms could be interchangeable, but in Australia, for me the term 'community' indicates that it is an excavation done with the involvement of Indigenous people of the area where the site is located. Aboriginal heritage officers are present during excavation, and Aboriginal Traditional Owners are decision makers with the management of the artefacts and site once excavations are finished. Many community archaeology projects and sites would have cultural access restric-

tions on them and could not be readily accessible to the public for these reasons, or because they are so remote.

Figure 2. Fieldwork on Ngadjuri lands, Plumbago Station. Photo: Claire Smith, April 2011.

Q: In what ways is archaeology useful to Indigenous people like yourself, or people in your community?

Vince Copley senior: Archaeology opens the doors to information and knowledge that people like myself have unfortunately missed out on. To me, it brightens the light in my head. This is something new to me but it is worth knowing. So, it is purely an individual thing, of course. Other people would have their own ideas. For me, personally, archaeology seems to be something that I have been looking for in terms of finding country and finding out about people that were close to me that had the knowledge that I haven't got.

Vince Copley junior: Archaeology records. It puts our history on a record. Prior to any archaeological record of Indigenous culture in Australia we were classed as 'prehistoric', which puts you

in line with Neanderthals or even dinosaurs in people's minds. Archaeology documented our culture as Australian history. Through archaeology and anthropology we have a record of our culture that is accepted by the public. It is funny how it always comes down to the arts. Communication happens through art or song or dance. Until this was recorded in the English language we were thought to not have a culture.

The archaeological record can be used to address racist assumptions or misconceptions. From a personal perspective, when I work as a fencer I still come across people who think Aboriginal people are on a handout and not able to have a profession. Their ignorance can be satisfied if you are an Aboriginal person with enough information and cultural knowledge. Today, we have the documented evidence that has been collected by archaeology and anthropology, so when you come across people who say something ignorant, you can say 'That's not right'. You can defend your culture knowing that everything that you say is documented and is 100% proven true. There is enormous variation in Aboriginal cultures. Some of that variation depends on the level of colonisation in the area where archaeology is taking place. The colonial impact is different for different groups of Aboriginal people. If you talk about places like Barunga, they still have strong traditional knowledge. The Ngadjuri were decimated early in the picture.

If we are doing fieldwork as a university project or a field school the benefits are that we discover sites or areas of cultural interest and that they are recorded. When we are hired to do heritage surveys or heritage clearances under the Heritage Act, this allows us to engage with companies and with the broader community. Sometimes, when you first deal with people they can be a bit stand-offish. However, if you present yourself in a professional manner it builds a network of people who support your cause. Whenever we are during surveys the local people ask about what we are doing. We have a presence. All of the fieldwork that we do strengthens our presence in the community. This is important to us because the local community becomes more observant of Aboriginal culture, and of what may be found on their own land. After talking to us, pastoralists understand that we are not there to try and take their land away. A lot of landowners have sites on their properties and they are happy to work with us to protect them.

Figure 3. Vince Copley senior and Kathryn Sutton discussing an ochre provening project with landowners Andrew and Patsy Weckert, Clare, South Australia. Photo: Claire Smith, March 2020.

Jasmine Willika: I think it is useful because it helps community people feel comfortable to actually talk about things, to help people find out about their history.

Julie Ah Quee: So many ways… helping people get the 'hard evidence' to battle bureaucracy or harmful development. Giving people the skills to identify cultural heritage. Being shown the respect to make sure that not only are they involved in matters involving their own cultural heritage but that they are afforded a lot of the decision making and direction in the process. But it also goes beyond that. Community archaeology brings a community together and cements bonds and often grows new ones. It generates conversation, ideas and thoughts about the future, the future and preservation of their cultural heritage and their communities. Oral histories come out and are shared with other members of the

community who may not have heard them before. People meet extended family members which allows them to place themselves amongst their kin. It allows people to commune with their ancestors and to keep ancient spirits thriving, tying the Dreamtime to the present. Community archaeology allows opportunities, discoveries and discourse that strengthens a community and the people in it. Active participation with their own cultural heritage, achieving goals, conversing with academics as peers, having their knowledge acknowledged and respected and building bonds really can build people's self-esteem and pride.

Kellie Pollard: Archaeology is useful to Aboriginal people because it provides evidence that shows the unequivocal Aboriginal occupation of the continent. It is also useful because it reaffirms millennia old connection to country which is something Aboriginal people already know. But it does not give Aboriginal people their identity. Our identity is conceived of by lived experience, ties to country, family and community, reality of being colonised and knowing history, not archaeology. I don't conceive of my identity as an Aboriginal person because I've read archaeology books about 60,000 years of Aboriginal occupation of the continent.

Chris Wilson: Archaeology has the potential to bring to the forefront of public consciousness aspects of deep time and deep histories that are not available through the written record. It explores the relationships between Indigenous peoples, resource use and country through the material remains using an archaeological lens which adopts inter-disciplinary approaches to research and practice. This supports Indigenous communities' programs related to cultural heritage, protection and management of significant places while providing archaeological data to support broader narratives of space and time.

Emily Poelina-Hunter: It is useful for claimants establishing long term occupation of land for Native Title and Indigenous Land Use Agreement applications. Plus, archaeology allows you to work and think in 'long' time - in my field you are often talking about cultural traits morphing over 500-1000 years between 'periods' or 'ages'. This is in comparison to the short time periods in public archaeology—which is often historical and colonial in Australia. I don't think the significance of a 200-year-old building is even com-

parable to an Aboriginal rock shelter wall painting that is 5,000 years old. The way Australians are taught to think about time is very linear, and the way the public are taught to be impressed by traditions that are really recent becomes more obvious once you study archaeology and have an understanding of approaching Australia's past in terms of the tens of thousands of years that Aboriginal people have been here. It is a problem with colonised societies that are still being governed by colonisers. They think a family living on a farm for three generations is impressive. I think 200+ generations of Aboriginal people farming the land without having to build a fence around it is better! This idea of 'long', non-linear time, equates better with my Aboriginal (Nyikina) concept of time. Not to say that there isn't a heavy emphasis on linear cultural development over time in most fields of archaeology, but I think my Aboriginality contributed to my rejection of accepting linear time and development and brings something unique to my work. I guess Indigenous archaeology allows me to think Blak (see Watego 2020) and decolonise my mind a little bit.

Q: What are your concerns about archaeology as it is practiced today? What would you change/ do to improve it?

Vince Copley senior: Archaeologists should print a little more accurately about what has been told to them. What I read in archaeology and anthropology books, they did not take enough notice of the information that was given to them by traditional people. For instance, how many times did Barney Warrier tell (Norman) Tindale and (Charles) Mountford and (Ronald) Berndt about Ngadjuri boundaries? Yet, when native title was being decided this was not taken into account properly. Also, I do think that we should make changes in regard to ownership of land. A lot of people are saying that Tindale's map is not quite true in some areas and not enough notice was taken of people like Barney Warrior, who identified points of interest. And I think that Aboriginal people should have free access to the notes taken by early ethnographers. In reality, who owns it? The person giving the ideas or the person writing it down? It is the person giving the ideas. We've written about this before (Smith et al. 2018). Also, I'm not quite sure that early researchers recorded verbatim, or once it is said it the words and

thoughts of the anthropologist or the archaeologist, not the person giving the information.

Vince Copley junior: I will be brutally honest. I think archaeology confuses a lot of Indigenous community members, because it has its own language. Whatever is written in books about Aboriginal archaeology is hard to understand. What I noticed when I was at university was that my culture had been written about in a whole different language that I did not understand. When we were finding our first ties to Ngadjuri (see Birt and Copley 2005), the archaeologists used terms in reports that were beyond the comprehension of community members. We did not know what they were talking about. When we first started doing heritage surveys we would be assigned an archaeologist by the company rather than have the expertise or knowledge to pick our own. The reports were written in a language we couldn't understand. It was extremely difficult because archaeology has its own terminology - phrases like 'monochrone anthropomorphic figure on rock art' are hard for people who are not trained in archaeology to understand. They should put the information into a layman's report, something like 'we came across rock art of a figure in one colour'. We are not stupid - but most of us are not specialists either.

I'm not out to discredit the discipline, but I think that the financial gain goes to the researchers not to the traditional owners. It wasn't really through archaeology, but I have seen government organisations use my father's Aboriginality as a token gesture. There were people sitting on committees with my father who were earning $2-5,000 a day and the organisation was not willing to pay my father's travel costs. When it comes to the archaeological side of it, I feel that we are still getting used as lackeys. The information collected by archaeology in Australian since the 1960s has made people aware of Aboriginal people, but there are still companies out there that are not compensating Aboriginal people properly for their knowledge, their intellectual property. The stories that my dad tells are because he lived them, not because he read about them.

We need some kind of royalty system to reward Aboriginal Elders for the knowledge they share with researchers. Every profession carries a certain wage, whether you are a doctor, a lawyer, a tyre fitter or a mechanic, there is a maximum wage of what your

value is according to your skills. In many parts of southern Australia, when people speak to Elders, especially in those years since 2015, they are talking to the last known Elders who have had the stories passed down from their families. Also, these Elders have lived through a lot of adversity. They were there. Aboriginal Elders have specialist knowledge that is not held by anyone else. They should be compensated for their knowledge. In terms of archaeology, Elders are only paid for the days they work and they don't have income in between jobs. There should be some kind of royalty system. When I play in a band the drum-track is my intellectual property. My success comes from whether people use my material. If it is sold, I get royalties. But when it comes to something as important as Australia's history, there is no system to compensate the people who generate the original knowledge. My dad's stories are like my drum track. They are going to be used over and over, for decades. People like my father should get paid royalties every time that information is used.

Jasmine Willika: I've got a list. There is not enough listening. Archaeologists don't listen enough to traditional owners on what needs to be done. If archaeologists or researchers start listening to what traditional owners want or need to be done there would be more trust. In my experience working in Victoria, it was all over the place, in terms of consultation. The archaeologist wanted to go where he thought it was good, not where the traditional owners wanted to go. I want to say something else as well. Aboriginal people always share knowledge of country and stories with archaeologists. Is it okay for an archaeologist to share that knowledge or sacred information to people? The way I see it is that as an Aboriginal person who is also studying in archaeology, learning about sacred stories or Dreamtime stories, that does not give me the right to give sacred information. How would archaeologists or researchers know that Aboriginal culture can be dangerous? By dangerous I mean the land which has all that sacred information because it is part of the Dreamtime story and if you are just going out on country and not knowing about that, it can be dangerous. There are places where it is dangerous to go. Also, if sacred information is shared with the wrong people that can be dangerous. Sacred information, you can only pass it down to people that you actually trust. It is not for the public to know.

Julie Ah Quee: My biggest concern is: How much of the work that's done today reflects the actual wants and needs of an Aboriginal community or the academic and funding bodies agendas and priority? If that is the nature of the beast, how can money and resources be raised to allow community-driven projects to come to fruition? Are there alternative ways to raise funding? Can community archaeology be publicly funded, for example.

Kellie Pollard: It needs to support Aboriginal agendas for emancipation from disadvantage in Australia. I'm talking about truth-telling history (Commonwealth of Australia 2018). Truth-telling is a formal process initiated by government about the actions of governments in the past that led to discrimination and other forms of oppression. That is a broad definition but that is actually what it is. And archaeology needs to be practiced in a way that recognises the legitimacy of Aboriginal knowledges and philosophies as being of equal integrity to western ways of knowing.

Chris Wilson: The main concern is the ongoing impacts that mining and government economic interests have on heritage legislation and archaeological ethics. The discipline in Australia has been very supportive of Indigenous rights and the protection of archaeological sites but further exploration of duty-based ethics and relationship to industry and Indigenous communities is needed. One of the solutions to overcome this is more formal training and education for Indigenous peoples.

Emily Poelina-Hunter: The pace of urban sprawl means that government departments are driving public archaeology to move too fast. Engagement can't be done to make public archaeology community archaeology. Deadlines and funding outweigh thoroughness and the bare minimum is done to tick boxes and meet requirements. Another concern is federal support for mining companies that destroy sites, and the catch-22 related issue of mining providing economic benefits for Aboriginal workers but irreversibly killing the sacred landscape of Australia. I think cutting corners should result in fines that perpetrators have to pay off with prison time and a criminal record.

Q: What is your vision for archaeology 10 years from now?

Vince Copley senior: Apart from the people I've been working with, archaeologists seem to make up their own mind without consultation with traditional owners. I just think that there should be more contact with each other, that archaeologists with the source of the information - the people themselves may have passed on, the information is passed on. It has taken a long, long time for archaeologists to see the value of having direct contact with Aboriginal people. If I did not meet up with you, I would not have known any other archaeologists or anthropologists, and no-one would have cared that I am a descendent of Barney Warrior. Archaeologists find history and write about it. They are trying to get to why those sites are there. That is what archaeologists are trying to find out - and that is what I am trying to find out. Archaeologists should be meeting with traditional owners who may have that information. I'd like to see archaeologists use young Indigenous talent a lot more often, kids like Vincent Copley junior. The doors have been opened, but I want Indigenous people inside the room. I want archaeologists to use young people like Vincent much more when they are talking about the country. That talent is not used.

Vince Copley junior: I hope that archaeology can further the knowledge of Aboriginal culture that our people already have and hopefully add to Australia's cultural record before European colonisation. Also, I would like to see more Indigenous archaeologists.

Jasmine Willika: I'd like to see more Indigenous archaeologists in the field and running fieldwork and field schools in communities. I'd like to see more Indigenous professors in the university. Also, we need training in archaeology for community people. I'm thinking not of doing the training in the classroom but doing it in the community where they feel comfortable. Like when we go to the Barunga community to do a field school (see Smith et al. 2020). Instead of people having to leave the community to go to university, the university comes to the community. I have family members in the community who want to do university, but they feel that university is too much. One person, who is really smart, is worried that university would make her feel that she is dumb or uneducated. They want to do something, but I don't know how to help them. So, we need new systems of education to address this.

Figure 4. Flinders University's Community Archaeology Field School, Ngadjuri lands, South Australia. Teachers, students, traditional owners and landowners working together. Ochre site on the property of Andrew and Patricia Weckert. Photo: Tim Froling, November 2020.

Julie Ah Quee: I'm really interested to see what technological and research advances will come to the fore to help make re-discoveries in Indigenous archaeology. Advances in ochre analysis, dating techniques, the first confirmed finds of artefacts in submerged landscapes to name a few. Finds like these are happening all the time and these can help piece together a lot of what was lost and strengthens people's and communities' identity. Having Indigenous people have their innate understandings being confirmed by science, while not necessary, does give the satisfaction of confirmation. New knowledges allow old ones to reappear. The analysis of ochre allows it to be traced along songlines for example. I would like to see the focus of Indigenous archaeology to increasingly be on the cultural landscape as a whole (the physical, social and spiritual) as it is only through seeing the landscape through Indigenous eyes that any findings make sense. Likewise, rediscoveries are more likely to happen using that Indigenous eye, using those traditional knowledges to 'read' a landscape, to re -discover it and to paint its portrait. I would like most to see traditional cultural knowledges be

utilised more to rediscover and to 'read' sites. Community archaeology allows for this. I'd also like to see the preservation of cultural heritage sites be taken more seriously.

Kellie Pollard: That the discipline in Australia offers full undergraduate degrees in Aboriginal ways of knowing, being and doing and archaeological research. Indigenous teaching pedagogy needs to go from being non-existent to being the norm. How can we achieve this? It begins with the current generation of Indigenous archaeologists teaching and writing undergraduate units. There are a dearth of Indigenous archaeologists teaching and doing research. That has to change. Universities should invest in the development of their Indigenous staff so that they are competitive for professorial positions.

Chris Wilson: My vision is that there will be a core collective of Indigenous peoples trained in archaeology in each state and territory that will also have influence over government state and federal policies to strengthen heritage legislation and archaeological research. Further, more Indigenous academics trained in the field working in higher education and more community-based researchers who have the skill sets to undertake heritage work in their communities. The final comment is that the national narrative in Australia will begin to change the nations story to recognise the deep time and history that Indigenous peoples have had with this country!

Emily Poelina-Hunter: I'd love for Aboriginal archaeology to play a role in reconciliation. Non-Indigenous Australians need to reconcile with the sacred landscape they have desecrated and respect ancestors and their living descendants.

The Authors

Given the diversity of views expressed in this article, it is useful to understand the background of the authors. We range from Elders and community people to employed academics and university students. Kellie Pollard is a Wiradjuri woman and lecturer in Indigenous Futures at Charles Darwin University, Darwin, where she specialises in Indigenous epistemologies (ways of knowing), ontologies (ways of being) and axiologies (ways of doing); Indigenous values, ethics

and approaches to research; and Australian history. Claire Smith is a professor of archaeology, who has worked annually with Aboriginal people in the remote Aboriginal communities of Barunga, Beswick/Wugularr and Manyallaluk, Northern Territory, since 1990 and with Ngadjuri people in South Australia since 1998. Jasmine Williika is a Jawoyn woman from Manyallaluk, Northern Territory. Through the kinship system Jasmine is Claire Smith's younger sister. She is in her final year of a Bachelor of Archaeology at Flinders University, South Australia. Vince Copley senior is a Ngadjuri Elder who has worked with Claire Smith since 1998. He is former senior public servant and a recipient of the Award of Australia. Vincent Copley junior is a Ngadjuri man, a musician, a tradesman and the son of Vince Copley senior. He has supported his father in research projects, heritage surveys and archaeological field schools for over 20 years. He is a graduate of the archaeology and cultural heritage management graduate programs at Flinders University. Chris Wilson is a Ngarrindjeri and Kaurna man from South Australia. He is a senior lecturer in Archaeology and Indigenous Australian Studies at Flinders University. He is the first Aboriginal man to obtain a PhD in archaeology, from Flinders University in 2017. Emily Poelina-Hunter is a Nyikina woman from Western Australia. She specialises in classical archaeology and was a lecturer in the Indigenous Studies Unit at RMIT University from 2016-2017. Kellie Pollard and Emily Poelina-Hunter are the first Aboriginal women to obtain a PhD in archaeology, from Flinders University and Melbourne University respectively, in 2019. Julie Ah Quee is an Aboriginal woman from North Queensland and a student in the graduate archaeology program at Flinders University.

Discussion

What themes emerge from our discussions? These diverse Indigenous Australian voices call for significant changes in the practice of public and community archaeology. They call for stronger heritage legislation to protect Indigenous sites threatened by mining and government economic interests; greater protection of Indigenous cultural and intellectual property; recognising heritage at landscape scale of investigation; Indigenous teaching pedagogy and more Indigenous archaeologist research staff in universities;

training Indigenous community people in various facets of archaeology and archaeological terms; building the research capacity of Indigenous students *and* Indigenous communities in archaeology; greater direct benefits for Indigenous participants in archaeological projects, including long-term financial benefits; and the need for archaeologists to work more effectively with communities. The discussions identify the need for public and community archaeology to align theory, practice and ethics with Indigenous epistemologies (ways of knowing) and ontologies (ways of being) and to facilitate wider public recognition of Indigenous histories, lived experiences and worldviews. Above all, they call for public and community archaeologies to be more responsive to—and to heed more closely—the words, needs and aspirations of Indigenous Australians. The omissions are interesting, too. While a number of people express their interest in the ancient it is not a sole focus for anyone. Instead, deep time archaeology is placed within a wider matrix that includes ethical archaeological practice and clear and long-term benefits for contemporary Aboriginal people.

The views expressed in this paper offer new insights into critical issues that face Australian Aboriginal people and Australian society. These include income inequality, structural racism, inter-generational trauma and hidden histories. We advocate support for Aboriginal agendas of emancipation from material and structural disadvantage and health and wellbeing disparity. Truth-telling history is especially important to educating Australians about the causes of Aboriginal inequality (see Commonwealth of Australia 2018). The personal histories alluded to in this paper demonstrate how the travesties of colonial displacement, consciously aimed at separating Aboriginal people from their traditional lands, continue to impact upon Aboriginal people. This is perhaps most clearly apparent in Vincent Copley senior's statement that 'archaeology opens the doors to information and knowledge that people like myself have unfortunately missed out on'. The discussions identify fruitful directions for public and community archaeology, undertaken by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people including a greater focus on the physical, social and spiritual aspects of cultural landscapes as a whole; work that reaffirms Aboriginal connections to country and ancestors; and using ochre to trace songlines across cultural landscapes. By drawing on the skills of Indigenous archaeology

consultants this would contribute decades of applied experience to Indigenous teaching pedagogy. Moreover, Aboriginal engagement in community archaeology and cultural heritage management consultancy are good springboards to strengthen Aboriginal pathways to university to study archaeology.

This paper articulates with global trends relating to human rights, inequality and social injustice for Indigenous peoples (see Mizoguchi and Smith 2019). The views expressed here develop ideas presented in previous work by the authors on issues relating to social justice, colonialism, the Indigenous transformation of archaeological practice and community archaeology (Smith 2007; Birt and Copley 2005; Jackson and Smith 2005; Smith and Wobst 2005; Burke and Smith 2010; Wilson 2020; Ralph and Smith 2014; Pollard et al. 2017; Pollard 2019; Menzies and Wilson 2020; Smith et al. 2018; Smith et al. 2020). Though the authors discussed differences between community archaeology and public archaeology, their views show they see synergies between the two. For a long time, public archaeology was distinguished by a focus on archaeological public outreach and education (Smith 2006). However, as Matsuda (2004) points out, since the late 20th century the trend has been towards more politically engaged archaeological research as a result of community activism. In 2002, Marshall outlined a remit for community archaeology, arguing that archaeological research should be directed by community concerns and needs. As Atalay et al. (2014) note, this sentiment eroded the perception that archaeologists should hold primary stewardship rights over archaeological sites and objects. Today, activist, applied, engaged, community, collaborative, and public archaeologies all seek to bridge the modernist divide between scholarship and social responsibility. Across the world, proponents advocate for public archaeology to engage more directly with social issues such as sustainability, inclusivity and ethics (e.g. Moshenska 2010; Richardson and Almansa-Sánchez 2015; Zimmerman 2018) and to commit to a greater sharing of benefits arising from research (Atalay 2012). Taken together, the ideas articulated in this paper highlight the potential for public and community archaeology to contribute to significant—even radical—social change in Australia.

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FORUM: Chatting about the future of public archaeology

DEALING WITH A HANGOVER OF PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY: SCATTERED THOUGHTS ON THE ITALIAN 'ARCHEOLOGIA PUBBLICA'

Francesca BENETTI

Public Archaeology is a young discipline, we all know that. It's even younger in Italy, where public archaeology has not even reached 'adulthood'. Cited for the first time by Armando De Guio in 2000 (De Guio and Bressan 2000), it was only a decade later that Public Archaeology started to become 'a thing', thanks to some pioneering experiences at the University of Florence (Bonacchi 2009; Vannini 2011), and especially after a national conference in 2012 (in Florence: see Zuanni 2013 for a summary). Italian archaeologists' first reaction was to overlap the new discipline with the experiences already in place, which in Italy were under the category of 'valorizzazione' (enhancement). They were not exactly the same: while Public Archaeology is characterised by a reflection on the objectives of the research from the very start, a focus on having a reliable methodology, and a strong element linked to evaluation, 'enhancement' experiences – while often valuable and successful – lacked the same structure and reliability. This is probably due to an underestimation of these practices as a scientific topic, thus deserving the same structure required for any other type of research. Often this resulted in a mere description of the activities carried out, with a generic objective like 'increasing the knowledge of archaeology in the public sphere' without really evaluating if the activities worked or not. Public Archaeology became a sort of a trendy subject, outdating the term 'valorizzazione', at least in most of the university milieu, and creating confusion on the subject and the methodology[1].

1 The data gathered by Lazzerini 2019 broadly confirm this sentence. The frequency of Google alerts related to the words 'Archeologia Pubblica' (Public Archaeology) in Italy sharply increased in 2016. L. Lazzerini also carried out a survey targeted to university professors and most of the respondents declared they carried out public archaeology activities (largely related to communication), but very few carried out some study of the public they were talking to.

This sometimes has led to a sort of 'hangover' effect, similar to what happens with summer songs: they sound fun when you first hear them, but after months you just want to move on! Few doctoral theses awarded in Archaeology have been devoted to topics related to Public Archaeology up to the present date and the risk is that after this 'hangover' the subject will be penalised in comparison to others.

On a positive side, Italian Public Archaeology moved in several different directions. Thinking of the Italian context, in 2009 Chiara Bonacchi suggested that museums could have become the suitable environment for Public Archaeology (Bonacchi 2009: 343). Eleven years later, we can see that Public Archaeology developed in different strands, of these museums is one (e.g. Nizzo 2017), but not the only, thanks to the activity of several stakeholders, in particular the universities: participation of local communities in archaeological research from a social, legislative and theoretical point of view (Brogiolo and Chavarría Arnau 2019; Chavarría Arnau 2018; Volpe 2016; 2020); public archaeology on fieldworks (Ripanti 2017; 2020); tourism (Innocenti 2018); archaeology in the digital sphere (Bonacini 2012; 2016; Dal Maso 2018); education (Morandini et al. 2018 and an ongoing doctoral thesis by Sonia Schivo at the University of Padova); open air museums and reenactment practices (Valenti 2016; 2018); crowdsourcing (Sanna Montanelli 2018); political use of archaeology (Corolla 2019; Pinna 2019); administrative and legislative management of archaeology (Benetti 2020; Manacorda 2020; Sgarlata 2016).

2020 has been a challenging year: all the cultural activities suffered for the pandemic, and the wave of consequences will affect the sector for years to come. Where to go from here? What next? I do not have a crystal ball, but here's a preliminary list some practical ideas that could form a sort of agenda for the practice of public archaeology in Italy.

From the perspective of public archaeology, during the pandemic it became evident that heritage is about people. The need to reach people resulted in an increased digital engagement from museums, local societies, archaeological sites, private companies. It will be important not to lose sight on this emphasis on people rather than 'things' and use it as a driver of our actions. Hopefully, this could help embedding public archaeology practices and methodologies in 'everyday archaeology' and avoiding the bad habit of

using community involvement and public participation in a tokenistic way (e.g. to receive funds). To overcome this, it would be good practice from funding bodies to consistently ask for monitoring and evaluation frameworks, in order to verify if, how and in what measure the funded bodies deliver what they promised in their bids (on this topic see also Ripanti 2020).

The universities were drivers for research and actions in public archaeology in the past decade, together some volunteering societies (such as 'Archeostorie'). In the next ten years we could see a continuation of this expansion of public archaeology outside universities, especially if a specific legislation on 'Cultural and creative industries' with fiscal benefits will be developed (it has been discussed for a while now, it is time to seriously lobby for it!). It would be positive to embed public archaeology practices also in commercial archaeology, for example by introducing the position of 'engagement officer' and by training the civil servants of the Soprintendenze.

Embedding the principles of public archaeology in everyday practices would be in line with the recent ratification of the so called 'Faro convention' in Italy, which had a difficult journey in Parliament. The Convention was in fact contested and vetoed for quite a long time by some of the right parties for concerns related to the danger of 'flattening' western culture to flatter other cultures such as the Islamic one (!). Against the raising populism, it is urgent to develop more inclusive practices in heritage management[2]. This may require some legislative and administrative changes (see Benetti 2020 for an in depth analysis), together with increased coordination and trust between the different stakeholders. Obviously, legislative amendments will take time and huge negotiations, but Italian archaeological heritage legislation largely dates back to the beginning of last century and the world has changed immensely. We, as society, are changed immensely, thanks for example to technological changes, cheap travels, increased social diversity, gender equality movement, just to name a few elements, and the notion of heritage itself changed. The legislation, the administrative structures, and our practices have to be responsive and driven by strong ethical principles (and a thoughtful reflection on ethics is still awaited in Italy).

2 Some great experiences have already been carried out, such as the project 'Accogliere ad Arte' in Naples (Consiglio and Riitano 2015).

Covid19 hit the sector hard. It may be an opportunity to be a bit reflexive, identify structural challenges and propose a strategic shift in the sector. We should not aim to have things to be 'back to normal', as they were before the pandemic. We should aim to improve practices, commit to evaluate and deliver what we promise, analyse our failures and share them without shame, to grow by learning from our mistakes. To do so, more coordination and sharing are needed even between practitioners, especially for the young generation of researchers, which has been specifically trained in Public Archaeology. We are working on this: the first conference for young public archaeologists will be held in 2021, with the aim of building a network for the future of the discipline.

Full steam ahead then – the destination is far away, but we have a roadmap.

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FORUM: Chatting about the future of public archaeology

FOR A SOLIDARY AND ACTIVIST [PUBLIC] ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE AMAZON

Marcia BEZERRA

To think about public archaeology in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic is a task which forces us to deal with frustrations and challenges imposed, by the current moment, on all of us. One of the most profound effects of the pandemic is the social isolation and the prohibition to our most human relations of closeness. Distancing rules have created a 'pandemic sociability' (Toledo and Souza Junior 2020) in which fear of the virus, of contact, of death, of the very possibility of being vector of the disease dictate the movement of bodies and, at the same time, dislocate our view towards other realities around us.

The search for health security and for subsistence led to the construction of solidarity networks and the strengthening of collective and humanitarian actions throughout the world. Facing this scenario, is has been inevitable to think about the extension of our social and political role as archaeologists and of the actual possibilities of the discipline in contributing to the solution of problems originated or dramatically aggravated by the pandemic. Covid-19 can be seen as a "total social fact" (Mauss [1925] 2002: 4) and, as such, articulates "multiplicity of social 'things' that are in a state of flux", amongst them, science. Archaeology is one of the "social things" and is interrelated to people, places, institutions, and phenomenon of every nature. We and Archaeology are entangled with the Covid-19 pandemic. Its effects go much beyond the immediate consequences on the discipline's ordinary activities. Archaeology, like the other spheres that constitute this "total social fact" – the pandemic – has had to think, see, and engage itself with the world based on new experiences. Its public face – public archaeology (PA) – can have an important role in this rethinking of the discipline, because it acts from a privileged perspective: as an insider (when practiced and thought by us) and as an outsider (when practiced

and thought based on other regimes of thought). I do not intend to discuss the theoretical aspects of the field of PA (see Richardson and Almansa-Sánchez 2015), but I consider that it is necessary to say what I understand to be public archaeology.

Briefly I turn to the reflections of a Brazilian researcher (Bezerra de Meneses 2007: 54) who argues that "it can only be socially good a physics, an agronomy – an archaeology that is good as archaeology (…) it is not usually spoken of a "public physics", or of a "public agronomy", although they are disciplines which widely interfere in the lives of all of us (…)" (my translation). He states that the need to qualify the discipline may be the sign of an "incomprehension capable of inciting antinomies (…) such as between academic archaeology and other archaeologies, and consequent differentiations of agents" (my translation). It is in this sense that I chose to place the word [public] between brackets in the title, to affirm that all archaeology should be public. Public archaeology is the counterface, committed to the establishment *of dialogues* between the discipline, other agents and modes of production and use of knowledge about the past. The past is a key to situate ourselves in the world.

In many places, such as the Amazon, it constitutes the present in a lived and daily form. Archaeology in the Amazon is long-term indigenous history, it is the deep history of the peoples of the forest. Each little piece of the Amazonian forest carries in itself the ingenuity of these populations who constructed its bio-sociodiversity and the ways of 'management of abundance', as has stressed the archaeologist Eduardo Neves (Lima 2020). When we watch the destruction of the Amazonian forest, we are not seeing trees being burned; we are seeing the destruction of the human lives, and of the wealth of experiences and knowledges produced, accumulated and transmitted, throughout thousands of years, by human societies who lived in the Amazon in the past and that, effectively, gave life to the ecosystem that we know today. These knowledges have persisted through time and guaranteed the maintenance of the forest and of the peoples who live there to this day. As stated by the archaeologists Anne Py-Daniel and Claide Moraes (2019), they promote positive impacts for the existence of the forest and for this reason they should be heard in the elaboration processes of policies directed towards the Amazon. To think of public archaeology from this context, cruelly affected by the Covid-19 pandemic, and to project its future in ten years is a difficult and painful task.

It is increasingly necessary to ask, "Why does archaeology matter?" (Sabloff 2008), *why* does public archaeology matter? Or with *what* and with *whom* does it matter? (Pyburn 2011). I also recognize that we must think of alternative forms of socializing knowledge produced by archaeology – task which is attributed to PA. The search for new means for sharing narratives – from archaeologists and other human collectives – about the past is part of the transformations through which the discipline will undergo along a decade. From a methodological point of view, such changes will demand the *advancement* and the update of digital technologies for: the dissemination of archaeology through social networks, the improvement of educational materials, the creation of virtual environments for the visitation of archaeological sites and museums (Cascon 2020). We know, however, that not everyone has access to this digital materiality. The digital exclusion exposed during the pandemic is expressive and was exacerbated by the adoption of remote teaching in schools and universities around the world. It is necessary to take care that public archaeology, already informed by controversial issues – such as its relation to heritage education in the domain of environmental licensing in Brazil and the problematic concept of "public" – does not become an amplifying agent of asymmetries. As the Uruguayan intellectual Eduardo Galeano (1997:3) affirms, "development develops inequality"; and technology can do the same. To search for new ways of communicating archaeology is part of PA´s future, but its main purpose should go far beyond that. To reflect about the future of public archaeology in the Amazon demands to think about archaeology in the present.

Amazonian archaeology has undergone important changes in the last decades. Considering the scope of this essay, the more relevant transformations are: 1) the growing recognition of the importance of archaeological knowledge to the current debates about the management of the Amazonian forest; 2) the emergence of activism as a practice in archaeology (Rocha et al. 2013); and 3) the new generation of indigenous and black archaeologists who have received their academic degrees from Amazonian universities (Leite 2014; Wai Wai 2017; Hartemann and Moraes 2019; Munduruku 2019). These are three movements which indicate the increasing and beneficial porosity of the frontiers of the discipline; it is as if we were, at last, *touching the world*. The Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (2002: 30) used to say: "No one can be in the world, with the world and with others in a neutral form. One cannot be in the world with gloved hands and only observing" (my translation).

We must remove the gloves and practice a "sensible archaeology" (Lima 2019, my translation), an archaeology as "practice of meaning and sensing material traces of the past" (Cabral 2015: S5). This has been a collective effort of colleagues who act in Amazonian archaeology. In the last months, several events organized by local institutions expanded the spaces of communication of the discipline with other collectives (such as online courses, virtual visits to archaeological storage rooms, live streamings about archaeology). However, what has marked Amazonian archaeology in the context of the pandemic is its involvement and mobilization for the rights of the peoples of the forest. The Amazon is at the epicenter of an environmental crisis generated and worsened by public policies, which have been characterized by the devastation of ecosystems and of the ways of life which have sustained them for thousands of years. The pandemic increased the mechanisms of exclusion of these populations. Because of this, several collective actions have been conducted and/or supported by Amazonian archaeologists in the scope of their projects but outside these as well (Rocha and Loures 2020).

This has demonstrated the strength and the relevance of collaborative actions in the fight for social justice. But in order for this to become a permanent mode of action in public archaeology, it will be necessary to constantly practice: 1) humility (decentering of the Western perspective of science); 2) listening (to other systems of thought, to other existences), and 3) solidarity (the empathetic recognition of common concerns and necessities). An important indigenous thinker and leader, in Brazil, Ailton Krenak (2020:8) declares that: "It has been a long time since I do not program activities for "after". We must stop being *cocky*. We do not know if we will be alive tomorrow. We have to stop selling the tomorrow" (my translation). I do not know how public archaeology will be tomorrow, but whatever is our expectation of change, it should start now. I hope that public archaeology, in the next decade, avoids at all costs transforming itself into solely a digital technology of dissemination of archaeological knowledge, although I understand that we need to recognize the existence of new virtual territories. bell hooks (2010: 10), when speaking about the importance of a critical thought in education, argue that to fight for this is a "(…) commitment [that] requires much courage and imagination". I extend this thought to our practice: we need courage and imagination to deal with the future challenges and to promote a solidary and activist [public] archaeology.

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1 bell hooks was born Gloria Jean Watkins but has adopted the name bell hooks as a tribute to her grandmother. Aiming to draw a distinction, and claiming that most important is the "substance of books, not who I am" (Williams 1996: 1), she does not capitalize her name. I respect her choice and have asked the editor to keep her name in lowercase letters. Williams, Heather. 2006. "bell hooks speaks up". *The Sandspur*, 112 (17): 1-2. https://stars.library.ucf.edu/cfm-sandspur/2685/

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FROM PRESENT TO FUTURE. AN ACADEMIC PERSPECTIVE OF PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY IN SPAIN

Alicia CASTILLO MENA

Ten years seems little time to assess the future of such a relatively young topic as Public Archaeology (PA) is, in special in Spain and in the academic arena. I divide my answer into two classic parts: present and future. By understanding the present (based on the past) we can try to guess (more or less) the future… Even if we think in the context of a pandemic, predicting the future of anything becomes really uncertain and reckless. If I may write, there is a high level of uncertainty and luck in getting it right.

From present…

Public archeology in Spain is hardly practiced today. The reasons for these circumstances are several.

First, there is a lack of "true" professionalization in Public Archaeology. It is a consequence of the fact that the majority of active archaeologists have not received specialized training in the topic. There are no official studies in Public Archaeology in Spain. Sometimes it is taught in a class, with luck there is a subject as part of a degree, and eventually it exists a specialized course. That is relatively reasonable if you consider that only three Spanish universities offer degrees in Archaeology. One opportunity for some training could be through a master degree in cultural or archaeological heritage. In spite of this kind of studies being common in Spain, there are few archaeologists willing to take them.

For example, my university offers degrees in History, Art History and Archaeology. My department is in charge of teaching Cultural Heritage Management, Archaeological Heritage Management and Museology in two of those three degrees. Consequently, the students of archaeology, at least, have heard some basic concepts

of Public Archaeology—in History and Archaeology. I am the coordinator of a master degree in Cultural Heritage Management and I can ascertain that only one or two archaeology students decide to study this kind of master every year, compared to the 5/6 students from History, the 10 students from Art History and the remaining students who come from different fields such as Architecture, Anthropology or other Social Sciences (Law, Economics, International Relations, Journalism, etc.).

My conclusion is that most archaeologists are not interested in this topic, at least, as a specialty. I have learnt it after 15 years of academic teaching and after having observed the profile of students, personalities and interests (around 1000 approx.). As it is clear, archaeology—as a discipline to interpret the past—requires many studies, time and specialization too. Thus, it is not easy to specialize in several topics. It is particularly so with these topics requiring such different types of knowledge. I haven't decided whether this conclusion is good or bad yet. I only know they were "my" students for over a decade, and consequently, they are part of the professional body of Archaeology today. I would like to specify that Museology has more tradition in my university, but archaeological heritage started to be taught in the 90s, only 10 or 15 years before I became a faculty member. The degree in archaeology started only in 2010. Consequently, if I may, I would sustain that today a little number of archaeologists are public archaeologists or consider this matter as a crucial knowledge for working in Archaeology.

Yet, the real problem is not the specific interest in it, but the assumption of this topic as a minor topic by most archaeologists. Probably it is because most of my academic colleagues ignore or do not address the topic in their classes as others such as Geology, Latin, etc. They don't explain these other topics either, but they cite them and present them as an important part of Archaeology. Nowadays, PA is not familiar for many of these academics.

I suppose that most people writing for this book consider that PA must be absolutely essential to work in Archaeology. It doesn't mean that PA is more important than other subjects in the field (for example, for a specialist in the Neolithic period), but it is always necessary when we work with Archaeology. We have to assume the social role of our profession and the importance to get some skills in Public Archaeology as necessary to be active in the archaeological profession.

On the other hand, a growing number of professionals know and consider Public Archaeology or Archaeological Heritage as necessary every day. Anyhow, I would divide the profession into four groups:

The 5%

They are public archaeologists and they are proud of it, write about these topics and try to apply and use Public Archaeology in their archaeological studies and fieldwork. With some exceptions, especially when they are women, with more or less modern and postmodern attitudes, they have a colonial and paternalistic position with lay people in general.

The 75%

They have heard about Public Archaeology, but they think it is something about the dissemination of Archaeological Heritage. They consider it to be not exactly archaeology and they believe they have always made this. I think this last thought is truth in part… but certainly, in a minimum part.

They have little or no training in Public Archaeology, but try to empathize with it. They have no specific resources in most of their works and they do not "have" time for studying it or making strategies or actions based on it.

Some (50 % of this group, maybe less), use their social networks or publish their work in a classic webpage/blog, etc. With more or less modern and postmodern attitudes; they also have a colonial and paternalistic position towards lay people in general.

Most of them are preventive archaeology workers or heritage officers/curators. These profiles are 90% of the professionals in Spain.

Another 5%

As specialists, they can offer a good visit of the site, to share or involve people, even to disseminate and divulgate via interviews with journalists or other mediatic presence. They sometimes give conferences or talks for lay people. They consider that a special training in this topic or Archaeological Heritage is not necessary. They are an elite that have close and exclusive circles, focused on impact journals, conferences or congresses

with their colleagues and don't have a lot of relationship with most of the other professionals in the country.

They consider the topic of PA as a vulgarization of the archaeological science.

Some of them fear the loss of importance of the scientific objectives in Archaeology related to the interpretation of the past in favor of heritage or the professional topics defended by public archaeologists.

With more or less modern and postmodern attitudes, they have a colonial and paternalistic position in general.

Most of them are academics.

The other 15%

There is a group of professionals who are completely part of the neoliberal culture. They have forgotten the basic principles of Humanism and have a productive business, which is the pure merchandising of archaeology. I think they have no problem with PA, if PA can be used to make money. The mercantilist use of PA is just another of the ways how they use Archaeology in general.

I think it is necessary to highlight this group, which will always exist, because they transmit a message about the objectives of our science, the profession or the social aspects that we could consider highly distorted and bad for the sustainability and quality of our profession.

...to future

Before continuing, I just wanted to clarify the previous percentages are only my opinion, based on my professional and personal experience… It is not statistical data of any sort. I am aware that it is a simplification of reality, but it is a good exercise to understand where we are and what we can expect in 10 years. I think there will be more hope than reality.

Despite the interest and increase of information about the subject, the consequences of this lack of professionalization in PA, the results of implementation of strategies of dissemination, community involvement etc. could be not that good and produce the

opposite effect in some cases: the rejection of archaeology by the local community, or vice versa, archaeologists without this professional knowledge may feel that engaging communities is a difficult task and try to avoid them.

If academia is constituted by that group of professionals who are hardly interested in or detached from Public Archaeology, the changes needed to increase and improve the quality of our Public archaeology will take longer than we would like. We need, at least, a change in the interests of academics or new archaeologists more sensitive to the topic in the academic context. If I insist in the paternalistic and colonial positions is because this is an urgent change too. To overcome this kind of visions and change them for others with more horizontal relationships and with gender perspectives, less nationalist and positivistic points of views are basic, and we are clearly in this process. Still, 10 years probably are not enough time to achieve it. These changes are part of my desires for the future of our profession in general.

Capacity building is absolutely necessary, but we can look for other important actions that Public Archaeology is positioned to conduct. Practice is more complex to reach and must be part of the near future.

One of those actions is informative transparency and constant dissemination of the practice of Archaeology. It constitutes a very important—but not easy—goal. For example, the academic sector has a lot of problems to apply this because it is very competitive and needs to manage information for publication. On the other hand, preventive archaeologists face conflicts of interest with the civil work sector, issues of security during the excavation, etc., when trying to show their works to the public. Finally, most projects around PA in Spain are related to heritagization processes, but, certainly, in this context, archaeology must be less a protagonist in favor of cultural heritage (CH) values, storytelling, etc. To work with the legal context and to create opportunities to improve the dissemination in general will be a challenge, and probably a usual activity in the following years.

Another interesting topic is our transversal actions and connections with public policies as an opportunity to improve. Our cooperation with the environmental sector is maybe paramount among

these activities. Parallel actions, between the rest of environmental professionals and us, are the present; the future needs to develop joint actions, as for example, for a topic like the Sustainable Development Goals (Agenda 2030), or circular economies and the establishment of management strategies from ecosystem methodologies in urban, peri urban and rural areas. Communication skills have to be further developed in order to achieve a better interaction with other social values and professionals who work on them.

The encouragement of a care network among archaeologists and other collectives or communities is very positive and probably will increase in the future.

The cultural sector is a good area to reinforce in our relationship with experts who have similar interests. As for Spain, as a consequence of the pandemic crisis, it has emerged a platform of professionals in CH where a group of archaeologists were involved. Although the specific results are pending, this was a good initiative.

The platform resulting from the archaeological ecosystem project has a slightly longer trajectory. Several meetings around Spain (Andalusia, Madrid, Cantabria) for two years (2019 and 2020) have allowed many archeologists to get to know each other better, to share their interests and to try to develop more democratic and ethical relationships in a harsh liberal sector. They took good steps in a long fight for improving our rights and duties, rethinking our ethics and archaeology in general.

Concerning our relationship with lay people, I would like to highlight that the Spanish government has signed the Council of Europe's Faro Convention in 2018. Yet our country needs to ratify and adapt it to the national and regional regulations of CH to implement it in better conditions. Probably, Public Archaeology will be benefitted and can improve and increase activities in relation to community involvement.

Finally, if we think about "my proposals of percentages" in ten years from now, I want to think that a 25% of Archaeology in Spain will be Public Archaeology. Most of it will come from the previous 75% group and, I hope, half of the professors of archaeology degrees will understand and teach the importance of PA at the same level that, for example, a good ethno-archaeological or carpological study.

I would like to think this would entail improvements in the professional sector. One improvement would be better salaries and stable jobs. This last topic is in the agenda of the important fights of public archaeologists today. I only introduce it to underline the value of high quality communication and activities in our socioeconomic context. PA can help a lot in this way.

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PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY IN NEPAL: NOW AND IN THE NEXT 10 YEARS

Neel Kamal CHAPAGAIN

In Nepal – and perhaps true in other South Asian countries as well, the term 'public archaeology' is not very frequently used among heritage professionals. Though it exists in limited use, largely the heritage practice including archaeology in Nepal is experts or authority driven. Perhaps the primary reason for this is the lack of a critical mass of archaeologists and broader heritage practitioners as well as a general lack of awareness among the public. There are disciplinary crisis situations prevalent across heritage related studies and practice areas in Nepal. However, with the increasing landscape of academic programmes and professional awareness among younger generations, we can be hopeful. Hence, I would expect that we will be able to create sufficient interests among students and younger professionals towards archaeology and heritage.

On the other hand, those of us who are in the field, are still pre-occupied with the 'authorised heritage discourse' – to borrow from Laurajane Smith, syndrome in our thinking and practice. Recently - thanks due to community groups and activists, some silver lining is observed. For example – in the post-2015 earthquakes reconstruction scenario, heritage activists and community groups have taken interest in restoration of important monuments (hence archaeologically important sites) like Kasthamandapa and Ranipokhari – among others, where they have demanded clarification on random restoration plans, and have been successful in demonstrating the wish and scope for public archaeology. Municipalities like Bhaktapur have been demonstrating keen interest on the matters of archaeology and heritage/monuments restoration. Though some of the patriotic approach may not resonate with the core idea of public archaeology, one can appreciate the state' recognition of it as an important area – thus indicating a hope for receiving

some support from the state on archaeology and heritage. These incidents and a gradual increase of emerging young professionals make me hopeful that the seed of public archaeology has been sowed in Nepal, and we will see a significant change in the scenario of public archaeology in Nepal in the next ten years.

My major concern – as related to Nepal, is the lack of critical discourse on archaeology and heritage practice. Archaeology and heritage have so far been seen only as a state-led project. Until and unless it is a matter of concern for public, the idea of public archaeology is a distant idea. With the scattered evidences here and there, I am hopeful that we will be able to engage meaningfully in the broader ideas of heritage with a reasonable proportion of our public.

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PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY IN 10 YEARS? WE WILL HOPEFULLY LEARN TO SHARE MORE, AND BETTER

Sarah DE NARDI

Do we need a roadmap to the future? Or do we 'wing it', making it up as we go along? Big questions, but never more important than now, in this current time of uncertainty.

Let's start small, and refocus the question on our professional and scholarly area of interest and activities. While the future of the world of work certainly looks different – *will robots do digging, recording and interpretation work in 2030?-* I think that the key to prepare suitable strategies for going forward is to be clear about our purpose(s). For what, and for whom, are we and will we be doing research and knowledge sharing? With whom will we operate and work in our capacity as scholars, practitioners, teachers? Even asking why *do* archaeology may seem straightforward now, but it isn't. At least, it shouldn't be.

I suppose we need to think about what is really meaningful to us, and to the communities and social groups we work within. Again, we think of the social aspect of what we are trying to accomplish. A good gauge to work against, then, may be a redrawing of the disciplinary boundaries to become more porous, ever more relevant to the world outside academia and the museum. A helpful notion to pin down on our operational roadmap may be cultural wellbeing. Cultural wellbeing has been defined as "the vitality that communities and individuals enjoy through participation in recreation, creative and cultural activities [and] the freedom to retain, interpret and express their arts, history, heritage and traditions' (Ministry for Culture and Heritage NZ, 2017). There is already research on the positive impacts of archaeology and heritage on key wellbeing indicators (see for instance Sayer 2015; Pennington et al. 2019). This is good news! We want to generate more of this cultural wellbeing in order to share it around, to branch out, to

share good practice if something we are doing works well. And we also want something that is going to be socially useful, and that responds to frameworks like the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals - especially Goal 4 (Quality Education), 10 (Reduced Inequalities) and 11 (Sustainable Cities and Communities) (UN, 2018).

Beside the enjoyment of culturally meaningful activities and things, archaeology and heritage can do actual practical good in the community, and beyond. Arguably, if suitably conceptualised and actualised, the arts and cultural heritage engagements can offer opportunities to develop an extraordinary range of transferable skills. With some targeted planning, thought and preparation, activities and processes that we devise and facilitate may help draw communities together in establishing meaningful links to pasts and place. Collaborative projects drawing on the processes of archaeology and heritage, perhaps embedded in fluid ways within indigenous and local arts practice and storytelling, can positively impact physical and mental wellbeing, whether through through fieldwork, co-curation of exhibitions, and lifelong learning.

A caveat is in order. We need to this the right way—in ways that are meaningful and useful to the communities we lift up and engage with, not to us and our academic promotion portfolios or metrics fetishism. Consider this: even the expression 'the right way' is limiting. Why one way? We need to go multiple ways, by trial and error, to find the suitable balance between passion and need, between format and activism. This invitation to collaborate, to open up, to welcome other voices to the conversation, is not about ticking outreach or the ever fashionable university 'impact' boxes. I think the nurturing and transformative potential of archaeology and heritage can only be tapped if archaeologists embrace challenges: using creative arts to express archaeological findings, decolonising modes of knowing the world, accepting that diverse publics have agency as co-creators and co-curators of knowledge and interpretation. Ultimately, this commitment to inclusion entails the acknowledgment of the centrality of co-creation and co-production as an integral and vital aspect of the discipline.

Moreover, exploring creativity promotes wellbeing and reinforces a sense of community (McKay, 2014). The rapport built

through engagement with others, with materialities, with stories and with places may provide a sense of accomplishment for communities, boosting active citizenship and facilitating the active and empowering inclusion of migrant communities.

In an increasingly connected world, the disciplines and fields of research entangled in the archaeology-heritage nexus will need to provide a workable space for a range of other participants to showcase and share their online and offline knowledge-making methodologies. The archaeological engagement project will offer space for an ever more diverse community of creative grassroots and activist practices. The underpinning philosophy should be based on a community of practice model which importantly acknowledges the need to decolonise the ways in which individuals, communities and organisations engage in their creative practices. The archaeological community should not only diversify and become less structurally bounded by aspects of role and income, but it should seek out, build on and celebrate grassroots methodologies and ways of knowing.

I argue that we would need to expand definitions of expertise and competency. To do this, we should work to enhance social learning and democratise contribution to knowledge-building. The learning activities we could develop may come in the form of online learning resources and methodologies that apply outside the halls of the university to benefit the wider community. A future-fit framework for engaged learning and active citizenship (Ryan and Tilbury, 2013) would have to complement research and engagement. Why? Activist and future-fit pedagogies are central to the development of a more inclusive archaeology that's fit for purpose, as they actively decolonise education. This synergy of approaches may be a way to deconstruct dominant Western ontological frames to foreground more diverse experiences and extend inter-cultural understanding.

Cultural wellbeing, activist pedagogies, multivocal production. Using these ideas for communicating research and promoting engagement in archaeology could enable all interested parties to think and work using globally-sensitive frames and methods. What we should privilege is a suite of methodologies of storytelling (and tangible processes) that can be co-created, that are meaningful to non-professionals, that can expand local capacity and enable

upskilling. These initiatives must be accessible and free to avocational users, activists, humanitarian actors and communities, and they should be dynamic, easy to replicate and adapt in many ways depending on cultural context, language and interest.

This is what I envision and what I am passionately working towards in the collaborative **Museum of Community Creativity (MOCC)** project. This is a initiative currently in its inception and funding scoping phase, developed alongside artist and education academic Karin Mackay of Western Sydney University and colleagues in the not-for-profit partner organisation SydWest, Western Sydney's social enterprise and migration services hub. The first iteration of the MOCC project is an emerging web portal, designed to invite straightforward collaborative action and built on proactive sharing and co-production, mentorship and feedback. The project seeks to be truly inclusive of efforts across the board: from academics to artists and human rights advocates. A dynamic online showcase that enables ideas and interests to emerge, free of charge to the community and activists. Once the portal is up and running, it will branch out well beyond Western Sydney and Australia. The journey is multiple, as are the agencies we hope to attract and involve. In line with future-fit archaeologies, we need to grow this as part of a network of endeavours to open up practice and knowledge, together with an ever more diverse public. This needs to be inserted in the ethics of tomorrow, shaped by the agency and vision of grassroots community groups, advocates and humanitarian and artistic voices that can bring more insight and new breadth of meanings to our disciplines. Everyone is a storyteller in this framework. Everyone is meaningful. Watch this space!

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WHEN DIVULGATION REACHES US

Jaime DELGADO RUBIO

In 2018, Mexico held its presidential election; its results soon clearly indicated that the left-wing candidate, with a degree in political science and a fierce critic of the ruling political system, Andrés Manuel López Obrador, would become President. Following his triumph, many cultural organizations, unions and employees of the field jubilantly celebrated what they thought would mean a strengthening of cultural policies and a kind of return to the years of President Lázaro Cárdenas del Río who put archeology, indigenism and culture at the heart of his government policies.

Everything looked perfect for the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH, *Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia*), an institution responsible by law of conserving, researching and divulgating the archeological and cultural heritage of Mexico. Soon, however, and I mean very soon, these celebrations waned as the President, a few months after his inauguration, announced substantial cuts to scientific, technological and cultural funding all over the country, arguing that all federal public services ought to go through a period of republican austerity, dearly affecting their budgets and expenses.

But the worst would come a year later, when, in addition to this sweeping budget policy, the INAH would suffer a further 70% cut as it was deemed that most of its activities favored the elites instead of aiming at improving the quality of life of the most disadvantaged classes. The President declared that he would personally make sure that this budget was directed to more largely impactful cultural projects such as the works in the *Bosque de Chapultepec* in Mexico City, a vast park visited by millions of locals every year.

In other words, not only did the federal executive leave the INAH to fend for itself, but it also turned it into a shell of its former

self, not unlike what Jaime Almanza, director of this publication, told us during an interview for Mexico: "In Spain, the eventual privatization started with a progressive dismantling of public archeological institutions" (personal correspondence, November 2020).

But before alluding to a possible privatization of Mexican archeology, I would like to pause for a moment so that we can understand the repercussions of these facts and what they have to do with the situation of thousands of young archeologists who are still waiting for a job opportunity at the INAH or, even worse, who haven't graduated yet. This situation, though complex, can be explained in the following fashion.

The INAH has always been a rather important national institution, even if its human and financial resources may not have reflected it. Its hiring policy was based on a system of "open" exams alongside an eventual hiring structure that, although precarious and illegal, used to be its control valve to provide jobs to recent archeology graduates. A delicately balanced work ecosystem.

With the institutional dismantling that we examined, the cohort of young unemployed archeologists became more visible and revealed the general ageing of the people employed by the INAH, a situation that created a hiring bottleneck hindering the dreams of new young graduates of securing a decent position along with employment benefits.

In order to picture the number of professionals who graduate each year with a degree in archeology, we must remember that it can be pursued in such important universities as the UNAM (*Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México*, National Autonomous University of Mexico) in Mexico City, the ENAH (*Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia*, National School of Anthropology and History) and its local branches in Chihuahua, Tenancingo, Yucatan, University of Veracruz (*Universidad Veracruzana*), University of the Americas in Puebla (*Universidad de las Américas Puebla*) and others, from which literally hundreds and hundreds of young archeologists graduate each year.

The cohort of young unemployed archeologists as well as the current hiring bottleneck in the INAH, but above all the abandonment of scientific and cultural public policies of this presidency, will

result in the creation of large lines of unemployed archeologists whose only sin has been to listen to their internal voice urging them to study this wonderful field in such a country as ours.

Based on what we presented, we must ask ourselves: is there a solution to this issue? What strategies can we imagine so as to deal with this situation? Should we wait for large government reforms so that we can obtain decent jobs and salaries? The difficult situation that the young will face will require all their ability, imagination and creativity to create their own field of employment, even if it means going against the grain of the government.

The field of divulgation

In Mexico, archeological remains are considered by law as public property of general interest and are managed by the government through the INAH, meaning that any operation possibly impacting them is to be expressly authorized by the Archeological Council (*Consejo de Arqueología*). Given these legal considerations, any archeological excavation or preservation of findings naturally require a professional license of archeology.

However, one of the activities not necessarily subjected to the aforementioned legal considerations and therefore exempted from government approval are all divulgation endeavours, *i.e.* interpretation processes through which professional archeologists act as translators of specialized information for the benefit of different sectors of Mexican society as a whole.

At the same time, we must remember that this activity that could today become our lifeline has traditionally been scorned in Mexico, and even treated as an underdeveloped field of professional archeology despite contributing to materializing the social and public interest towards our heritage by offering people from different sectors of Mexican society fundamental elements to analyze its present and anticipate its future.

Nevertheless, it is common knowledge that, in the field of professional divulgation, there exist consolidated multimedia markets in North America such as the History Channel that report considerable earnings and employ masses of producers, graphic designers, historians and archeologists. Additionally, these programs diversify

their products through apps and games offering their audience historical documentaries liberally peppered with historical fiction and exoticism.

Facing this, young divulgators from Mexico will need to not only develop programming, graphic design and digital animation strategies (unprepared as they were by university), but also to perform real feats of management, networking and leadership to get to produce and broadcast high quality educational programs distinguishing themselves through innovation and creativity, their main particularity being their archeological component.

Why should we embrace divulgation?

However, beyond the employment point of view, we would like to defend the necessity of divulgation from a deeper and more intellectual position; if we reflect on it, Mexico has been an important figure regarding archeological remains and research throughout its territory by creating and maintaining its museums, libraries, archeological sites, archives and heritage, which enables us to declare without a doubt that there is in Mexico a strong research platform to create innovative, creative and original products of divulgation.

On the other hand and paradoxically, the recent publication of the findings of an *Enlace* survey from 2013 reveals the sad reality that the majority of the Mexican girls and boys who were tested severely lacked an elemental knowledge of Mexican history and that, even worse, many of them consider this subject boring.

From this perspective, divulgation should be an ethical act on the part of any professional archeologist or anthropologist with the aim of using any new data, interpretations and findings to shape the views of any and all kids and adults in Mexico on how they construe their present, know their community, their history, and anticipate their future. This would be justification enough to continue using taxes to fund public archeological research.

Based on this point of view, we consider that in the era of divulgation, young Mexicans will start to mobilize in every way to generate high quality educational contents that will end up creating economical value through the internet, videogames, apps or any

other medium, exploring and developing new languages and new meanings compared to other divulgation experiments that dominate the commercial market nowadays.

Finally, let's keep in mind that the divulgation field will be a highly competitive area that will test every technological, epistemological and ludic ability of the young archeologists of Mexico, whose success will depend on how creative, original and innovative they can be in order to face the trying times of the next few decades.

Ciudad Universitaria, Mexico City, December 17, 2020

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ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE PUBLIC SPACE IN NIGERIA

Caleb A. FOLORUNSO

Introduction

Nigeria, with over 200 million people, covers an area of 923,768 km^2 and it occupies the eastern section of the West African region (Figure 1). The regions of Nigeria have prehistoric sites spanning from the Early Stone Age through the Middle Stone Age, the Late Stone Age/Neolithic to the Iron Age and the beginning of urbanization. Several historic empires, states and polities developed within the geographical area now occupied by Nigeria and had left archaeological relics.

Figure 1: Map of Nigeria (Wikimedia Commons)

Archaeology as it is known today, "arose from a peculiarly western curiosity about the past that was largely alien to Africans" (Kense 1990: 135), however, the past was not alien to Africans but it was not approached in the way of the Europeans. The peoples of sub-Saharan Africa had "interest in the ancestors and the material relics of their existence" while "oral traditions provide numerous examples of a relationship between material relics of the past and the history of the people" (de Maret 1990: 111). The intent of this paper is to elaborate on how archaeology had intervened in some Nigerian communities.

Archaeology in Nigeria

The German anthropologist Leo Frobenius visited the Yoruba city of Ife in 1910 and dug up several terracotta figurines and he was the first person to do anything seemingly archaeological digging in Nigeria (Frobenius 1913). In 1939 Bernard Fagg, an archaeologist was posted to Jos as an administrative officer in the colonial service and he started archaeological explorations at his leisure time. The first scientific archaeological excavation in Nigeria was conducted at Ile Ife by John Goodwin of University of Cape Town, South Africa, in 1943 the year that the Department of Antiquities was established.

A university was established by the colonial administration in 1948 at Ibadan and following independence in 1960, four more universities were established, three of which were regional universities. The three regional universities and the university at Ibadan established Institutes of African Studies which started research in cultural studies with archaeology being an important component. Archaeology then started assuming the character of a purely academic discipline with expatriates taking up research positions. However, it was not until the 1970s when teaching of Archaeology started in the Nigerian universities.

The museums established by the colonial authorities were located in the urban centres and they were not conceived or designed to serve the local public but to meet the desires of the expatriates. With few exceptions, the post-colonial established museums followed the same concepts and designs of the colonial era museums

with exhibits from far and wide making them not adequately relevant to the museums' host communities. Effectively, the museums continue to be centres of amusement rather than centres where the host communities could connect and learn about their past.

Archaeology and the public

Archaeologists had recognized the role public accessibility to archaeology could play in enriching the practice of archaeology. For example, public awareness programmes are part of the archaeological stewardship responsibilities of the US Departments of Interior, Agriculture and Defence making communities to learn about their archaeological heritage and preserve it (Haas 1999).

Archaeology and the Nigerian public

The public's consciousness and perception of archaeology in Nigeria are still low despite archaeology's sufficiently long history in the country. A recent study (Ajomale and Folorunso, forthcoming) shows that 31% of 200 students sampled from selected secondary schools in Ibadan could not describe what archaeology and archaeologists do. Access to cable television channels such as Discovery, National Geographic and History had created awareness among a section of the populace that has interest in watching programmes of archaeological discoveries. However, their understanding of archaeology is limited to sensational discoveries about the ancient worlds which made them to ask if similar discoveries were being made in Nigeria. Such question showed that they knew little or nothing about archaeology in Nigeria.

As stated above, archaeology in Nigeria had its roots in the colonial era. The excavations at Ile-Ife, Benin and Igbo Ukwu during the colonial era followed discoveries made while digging drainages and house foundations. While the local populations took interest and reported archaeological findings to the appropriate authorities, they were hardly sensitized to take interest in archaeology and heritage issues by providing them with the research results as feedback. Therefore, from inception, barriers were unconsciously erected between the local people and the archaeologists. The barrier between the public and the archaeologists created unresolvable

problems for the protection of archaeological resources. The continued exposure of archaeological sites through the exploitation of mineral resources and the construction of roads, water reservoirs and housing by the colonial administration without sufficient public awareness about archaeology put the archaeological heritage in danger of looting and destruction by the local communities in concert with the international art dealers. Interestingly, the nationalists in their quest for political independence of the country used the rich archaeological heritage to counter the colonial narratives that the Africans were incapable of self-governance. On the attainment of independence, the politicians failed to protect and promote the archaeological heritage.

Archaeology and communities

In Nigeria, the agency charged with archaeology is the National Commission for Museums and Monuments but it has no outreach programmes to engage the public. The programmes of its Education Unit target only school children who are engaged in art and craft works. Public engagement in archaeology in Nigeria is therefore seen only in very limited individual efforts to create awareness in communities where archaeological sites had been identified. The attitudes of the communities toward the archaeological heritage had been judged to be varied; positive, indifference or negative depending on the cultural and/or historical sentiments and/or links the communities express toward specific heritage properties.

Archaeology and the communities in the Nok and Kwatarkwashi areas

The situation of archaeology in the Nok and Kwatarkwashi areas is very precarious as the two communities are involved in the looting of Iron Age sites laden with terracotta figurines for which they do not have cultural or historical links. Sites bearing the Nok type figurines cover an area of 78,000 square kilometres in the middle belt region of the country. The first piece was found in 1928 in tin mines close to Nok village near the Jos plateau. Since the first discovery more pieces were found and the communities in the general area had been willing tools in the hands of international art dealers to loot and destroy sites. Kwatarkwashi, located in Zamfara State in northwest

Nigeria consists of rocky hills on which archaeological sites bearing terracotta figurines believed to be contemporary to the Nok figurines had been looted and destroyed by the community.

The Benue Valley

In the Benue Valley of Nigeria, the oral traditions of the Tiv people recognized all the historic hilltop settlement sites associated with early Tiv settlement history in the valley. The communities collaborated with archaeologists to identify and study the sites and also identified and provided useful ethnographic information on archaeological features and artifacts from extant Tiv material culture. Access to, and survey of the sites considered as sacred were permitted but excavations at such sites were not allowed. Non sacred sites did not enjoy any form of protection and they were being encroached upon for farming activities. The communities therefore support archaeology and archaeologists but they would not protect archaeological sites not considered as sacred.

Esie in Yorubaland

Esie, a Yoruba town south of Ilorin in Kwara State presents an example of a community having interest in archaeology in a very supportive manner. Esie is noted for the over one thousand soap stone human figurines originally in a grove and discovered by hunters who had migrated from Oyo-Ile in about 1775. The first museum in Nigeria was opened in Esie in 1945 to hold the soap stone figurines. Though the contemporary community of Esie had no cultural or historical links with the figurines and the associated archaeological sites, the community invited and supported archaeologists to conduct research in the community. The collaborations of the community with archaeologists had involved the provision of funds and other material supports for research and organising public lectures for archaeologists to present their findings in the community.

Community archaeology at Igbo Ukwu

Igbo Ukwu in Anambra State in Eastern Nigeria was brought to world archaeological limelight by the excavations of Thurstan Charles Shaw in 1959-60 and 1964. Artifacts recovered include

bronze, copper and iron objects and thousands of glass beads dated to the 9th century AD. Pamela Jane Smith (widow of Thurstan Shaw) of University of Cambridge organized visits to Cambridge for Igbo Ukwu residents in 2015, 2016 and 2019. The delegates were initiated into rudimentary archaeological practice and participated in Cambridge-run classes and excavations. She had also facilitated the provision of funds from Cambridge to the Igbo Ukwu community for Igbo-Ukwu descendants of the original 1960 excavation team (figures 2 & 3), compounds owners, local officials and secondary school students. The programme conceived and initiated by Pamela Jane Smith is the first of its kind in Nigerian archaeology and should serve as a model for public archaeology in Nigeria.

Figure 2: 1959-60 Excavation team at Igbo-Ukwu (Courtesy: Pamela Jane Smith)

Figure 3: Excavation training at Igbo Ukwu, 2019 (Courtesy Pamela Jane Smith)

Archaeology and community conflicts

Archaeological sites had been source of suspicion, apprehension and conflict for some communities for diverse reasons. The Iwo Eleru rockshelter near Akure, the capital city of Ondo State, excavated by Thurstan Shaw in 1965, was a source of a subtle conflict between two communities that laid claim to the land. Thurstan Shaw minimized the conflict by engaging persons from the two communities in the excavation exercise. However, when some researchers went back to the same rockshelter in 2019, one of the communities claimed that they were not consulted and therefore stopped the research work. The rockshelter is now being seen as a potential for tourism development therefore heightening the conflict.

Benin, being a renowned cultural landscape important for the presence of ancient moats present us with different attitude to archaeology by a community when the community's lands were to be acquired for the construction of a gas plant. There was contention between two communities for the lands because of the compen-

sation to be paid for the lands. When archaeological survey and impact studies were to be conducted before construction works began, the community claiming land wanted archaeologists to accept that sections of the moat were recent creations to control water runoff and that the real moats were further away. The moats in Benin traditions were boundary markers between communities and the fear of the community was that archaeology was going to deny them their land by establishing a wrong boundary. The community was however assured that that was not the purpose of the archaeological survey and that in any case boundaries in the past were not fixed but kept moving. It was obvious that the community was apprehensive of archaeology serving as an arbiter on land dispute.

Conclusion

In the absence of established public archaeology programmes, individual researchers should feel obligated to incorporate the local communities. It is no longer sufficient to hire community members as labour force and also provide assistance to them. Archaeologists should start building capacities in their host communities for some capable individuals in the communities to have some understanding of the cultural landscapes, understand the kind of information archaeologists would derive from the various activities they undertake in field exercises and also go back to the communities to present their findings in simple language.

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TOWARD A DECOLONIAL AND DENATIONALIZED PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY

Rafael GREENBERG

It has been more than a decade since I completed my own participation in a public archaeology project at Rogem Gannim, in West Jerusalem (Natasha Dudinski, "The Past on our Doorstep," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ef3fPcrB11c); since then, in the role of an archaeological activist and advocate, I have observed the progress of public archaeology in Israel and abroad and participated in the local and global dialogue (Clark and Horning 2019), without initiating new fieldwork. This brief note, though looking toward the future as requested by the editors, is therefore retrospective in origin, rather than being a missive from the front lines.

It has become increasingly clear to me that 'public archaeology', however defined, has no intrinsic moral advantage: it can only be as good as its political and institutional contexts – and the motivations of its practitioners – allow. There are inspiring projects of public engagement built on principles of mutual education, on bottom-up organization, on a commitment to equality and to human dignity, and a responsibility toward non-human partners. Such projects can empower silenced and marginalized communities; they can preserve and inscribe places, events and things in the collective memory that power-holders might wish to erase and to forget. But alongside such projects – and sometimes even coopting and corrupting them – are communal, corporate or governmental efforts to enlist various publics to serve, naturalize or disguise the political, economic or cultural interests of powerful and dominant institutions. I have suggested 'digwashing' as a general term for the conduct of archaeological and anthropological research as a prelude to, and post-facto justification for, destructive development by governments, corporations, and local actors (as demonstrated in the most recent Rio Tinto scandal). Institutionalized public

archaeology is often a special – and effective – form of digwashing: if 'the community' (however defined), 'minorities' or 'youth' are involved in an excavation – it must be a good thing. In Israel, the bulk of public archaeology events and excavations are sponsored by the governmental Israel Antiquities Authority. These might range from seemingly innocuous 'open days' at salvage excavations or ancient cooking workshops to mass recruitment for nationalist tourist projects, but in each and every case they serve to shore up conservative national values, since these are the safest and in fact the only values that may be espoused by government employees. Perhaps the most conservative of all these values is that which sees archaeology as *the* way – rather than *a* way – to investigate the material past, and which therefore places the archaeologist – the Expert – at the apex of the pyramid, and the laborers at its base.

It has, by now, become fairly common knowledge that traditional archaeology carries with it "imperial durabilities" (Stoler 2016) – modes of perception, interpretation and practice that are infused with capitalist and colonialist assumptions. These modes are everywhere evident: in its epistemology, in the structures of fieldwork, in the way the past is cordoned off from the present and treated as a resource that must be mapped, curated, extracted from the public domain and exploited for the benefit of hegemonic groups. Broadly speaking, there is a teleology in archaeology that vindicates the current order of things, whether it is the superiority of technology or the essential existence of nations and, most recently, of genetically distinct 'populations'.

Archaeologists across the globe have tasked themselves with escaping this burden through decolonization of the discipline. This can mean different things – or at least different priorities – in different places, such as diversifying the ranks of practicing archaeologists as demanded by antiracist activists in different parts of the world or incorporating indigenous points of view in fieldwork, in management of sites and in curation of artifacts across the Americas and in Australia. In the West Asian and East Mediterranean regions, in which traditional archaeology is most strongly embedded, colonial habits and structures have been absorbed in all modern nations, as well as in the Euro-American metropole, making decolonization (and denationlization) both a local and global task. While this should be led by archaeologists in academia, who usually enjoy greater

job security than other practitioners and whose speech is more often protected, the highly conservative nature of government-funded universities in Israel and across the region make curriculum change and reordering of research priorioties highly unlikely for the immediate future.

Nonetheless, public archaeological projects – which public universities often cannot help but support – might offer an avenue to decolonization. This, I would like to suggest, may best be achieved by adopting and promoting projects in contemporary archaeology that defamiliarize what appears to be the natural order of things and promote dissensus (González-Ruibal 2019). In the context of Israel/Palestine, projects in the archaeology of the contemporary era that examine and record, for example, the physical effects of prolonged conflict (depopulation and erasure of Palestinian villages and neighborhoods; construction of walls, fences and barriers; the materials of surveillance and crowd control); the Europeanization of the Israeli settler landscape; the materiality and lived experience of socialist, statist and neoliberal housing and development ideologies; or the spaces of incarceration and segregation of migrants or 'illegal' laborers, are positioned to integrate public participation in its most emancipatory sense. This due to several salient qualities:

1. They are a good avenue to leveling the playing field between institutions and communities, as they are governed by few regulations, require readily available recovery and recording techniques (in contrast to increasingly technologized excavations in distant and often inaccessible locations) and can be carried out on limited budgets.
2. Dealing, as they do, with immediately recognizable materials and objects, they defuse the mystification of the past and democratize access and interpretation.
3. They record contemporary archaeological landscapes that may often be ephemeral and enjoy few, if any, legal protections, thus contributing to the archive and to collective memory.
4. They contribute original, unexpected perspectives to matters of vital contemporary relevance, potentially undermining commonplace or stereotyped perceptions engendered in social and political echo chambers.

Since it addresses contentious, still-smoldering conflicts rather than mythologized pasts and abolishes modernist definitions of the proper mandate of archaeology (with their premodern cutoff dates, such as the year 1700 in Israel), Public Contemporary Archaeology will, almost by definition, subvert institutional cooptation intended to further nationalist or residual colonialist agendas. Once the success and independence of such projects has been established in academia, however, and to avoid them being only a temporary 'hack' of a fundamentally conservative system, Contemporary Archaeology will have to be introduced into the standard archaeological curriculum and research structure, at the expense of outmoded epistemologies. Once that happens, archaeologists working with local communities can work their way back in time, to premodern and ancient periods, never losing sight of their responsibility to democratization of the archaeological process and to local, rather than state, communities and institutions.

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FORUM: Chatting about the future of public archaeology

PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY: THE LOSS OF INNOCENCE

Reuben GRIMA

In 1973, David Clarke's seminal article 'Archaeology: the loss of innocence' appeared in Antiquity, to herald, epitomise, and articulate a paradigm shift that was reshaping the entire discipline of archaeology as it embraced new tools, methods, and theories. The present short contribution is immeasurably more modest in scope, and only borrows Clarke's title in homage to his lasting influence. It will argue that the specific domain of action and encounter that we gather under the rubric of Public Archaeology is itself on the cusp of undergoing a 'loss of innocence' of a different kind. For the purpose of this conversation, Public Archaeology will be understood in its widest possible sense, to embrace the way people anywhere may relate to the past, and the influence that the past and attitudes to the past may have on the lives of people today. It will consider some of the impacts and consequences of the internet and the World Wide Web, which of course deserve a much more thorough discussion than is possible here, and which should be read as a shorthand for some of the wider sea changes that we are witnessing.

Our relationships with each other and with authority are being reshaped more than ever before by social media and the virtual. The part of our lives that we live online continues to grow. The opportunities for individuals to express themselves and capture an audience are unprecedented. Individual influencers jostle for attention with established institutions. Those with the best command of these new tools are the most likely to capture an audience, while those that are less savvy are more likely to struggle to maintain a following.

These changes are likely to have far-reaching consequences for the shape of public archaeology in ten years' time. Here I will let myself speculate on three possible consequences that may

characterise the relationship between the public and archaeology a decade from now.

The first consequence of increased online connectivity, and one that we may expect to continue to have a growing impact in the coming decade, is that individual voices will have a greater opportunity for empowerment than ever before. We may therefore expect a further snowballing of appropriation, engagement with, and narration of archaeology from the grassroots, which will be led increasingly by individuals, rather than institutions. Institutions will be challenged to keep up with the conversation, in a world that is increasingly bottom-up. Networks of knowledge-sharing are more likely to be organic and fluid than centralised or hierarchic, bringing together groups of people who may not know each other in any other context.

A second consequence, following from the first, is that unorthodox and alternative readings of archaeology to and by the wider public are also more likely to flourish. On the one hand, this is good news, in that it will create more spaces for sharing different perspectives on the past and its manifold meanings to different individuals and groups. On the other hand, the explosion of voices that has been made possible by the Web has also brought with it the challenges of fake news and the post-truth society. The loudest and most persistent voices are not necessarily the best-informed, and sifting the wheat from the chaff is going to become more challenging. The exponential growth of information available to the public is also going to mean a superabundance of misinformation, which is likely to continue to find receptive audiences.

A third consequence following from the two above is that archaeology is likely to become increasingly weaponised in media wars over public opinion. Such a possible outcome forms part of a wider picture where the use of the Web to shape and manage of public opinion by often opposing forces is taking on new levels of sophistication. When the Cambridge Analytica scandal was exposed in 2018, it revealed the power and the readiness of governments, political parties and corporations to exploit the Web to manipulate and even generate public opinion.

From the other end of the spectrum, the phenomenon of cancel culture, though apparently stemming from the grassroots, has

in some ways proved no less coercive. Freedom of thought in online public debate may find itself increasingly challenged as it is caught in a pincer between the Scylla of funded, systemic and scientific manipulation of public attitudes, and the Charybdis of reactions driven by facile and populist stances. The narration of contested pasts, and public engagement with archaeology, will inevitably be shaped by this backdrop. The voices and interests that make more sophisticated use of media are more likely to sway public understanding and opinion. To give one practical example, the construction industry is one arena where the weaponisation of culture and archaeology is likely to become an increasingly familiar scenario. Lobby groups and citizens objecting to construction projects are increasingly invoking archaeological evidence to substantiate their arguments against building projects that erode their quality of life. Conversely, the construction industry is becoming increasingly savvy in its 'heritage-washing' of projects that palpably erode citizens' quality of life and ability to enjoy their historic environment.

Back to the 'loss of innocence'. For more than three decades, Public Archaeology has led the way in championing the equitable accessibility and enjoyment of cultural heritage resources as a key pillar of safeguarding and improving the quality of life of people everywhere. In this respect, it has often led the way, blazing the trail in hammering out principles that were only subsequently enshrined in international instruments such as the Burra Charter, the European Landscape Convention and the Faro Convention. Concepts such as the right to enjoy the cultural heritage of one's choice, or the contribution that relating to and enjoying the historic environment makes to the physical and mental wellbeing of individuals and communities, have now become mainstream. In this changing landscape, Public Archaeology may find that it is less and less in the position of the 'Young Turk' of archaeology, heralding and championing change, holding the high moral ground, and generally leading the way to greater multivocality, equity and relevance in the discipline. Increasingly, and in no small measure thanks to the successes to date of the efforts of Public Archaeology itself, in the coming years we may expect to see that many of these concepts are taken as read. Over the coming decade, we may increasingly expect to encounter stances, ideas and practices that were pioneered and nursed by practitioners of Public Archae-

ology, but now being driven by much wider forces, that may not even recognise their indebtedness to the legacy of those earlier practitioners. And increasingly, we may encounter more subtle and sophisticated appropriations of this same discourse, to legitimise and render acceptable interventions that may not be driven by the same values.

The debate on Public Archaeology will inevitably need to adapt to this evolving scenario, perhaps in a role that will become more like that of a handmaiden, and less like that of a prophet. The explosion of connectivity and information made possible by technology convergence and the web will probably not bring about a panacea of meaningful mass appropriation of the past. It is however doing something rather more interesting. It is creating new arenas of contestation, where archaeology and its impact on human lives will need to be scrutinised afresh, and where the deployment of the past to shape better futures for people will remain hotly debated. Public Archaeology is arguably well prepared to take on these evolving challenges, with its long tradition of questioning the normative, embracing excluded voices, advocating equity and speaking truth to power.

These musings augur for fresh and exciting challenges for archaeology, and for the realm of practice we generally gather under the rubric of Public Archaeology. It appears unlikely that we will reach some plateau of public saturation with archaeological knowledge, in which Public Archaeology may be considered to have fulfilled its mission and its purpose. On the contrary, the next ten years are going to need careful scrutiny and constant evaluation of the changing relationship between people, power, and the past. The internet and technology convergence will certainly not guarantee equity in public appropriation of the past. That guarantee lies instead in ongoing critical debate and timely advocacy on the relationship between archaeology and the public, which will be more needed than ever before.

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ARCHAEOLOGY FOR THE PUBLIC IN GREECE MINUS/PLUS TEN

Stelios LEKAKIS

Minus 10

It must have been around ten years ago, when I was invited to present the -shaky but promising- progress of my PhD thesis at the University of Athens, on social and economic trends in heritage management, discussing island cultural resources and the role of the interested communities. I remember myself at the end of the talk, standing in front of a bewildered and intrigued (in equal doses) audience, only to experience the -somehow- apologetic comment of the organising professor to the audience: "I see that we need to look into these things now, that all became science". I have talked about this memory elsewhere in detail (Lekakis 2015) mainly to pinpoint that despite the 40 years of bibliography that had then lapsed -McGimsey, for example, produced his seminal volume in 1972- there was still a lack of information about the concept and practices of public archaeology, at least in the Greek academic context.

Ten years after this awkward presentation, I am confident that most people in archaeology and dare say neighbour disciplines in humanities (history, anthropology, folk studies et al.), following the post-modern trends of plural public addressing, have acknowledged the need to act outside their limited academic bubble and appreciate public perceptions and adaptations of their parole or even interact with some of the diverse communities present at local or peripheral levels. In Greece, this certainty can also be corroborated by the multitude of heritage management and museology programmes currently available in academia; A recent study records 20 MA programmes and 299 academic courses including public archaeology classes (Catapoti et al 2020).

One would expect that this plurality would be reflected in the current heritage practice. However, this is not the case, as most of the archaeological practice in Greece continues to be top-down, seeking consent rather than participation; not to mention 'co-creation' to quote the current trend in Europe. The reasons for this inconsistency are multiple and probably outside the scope of this note. One could easily discuss the distance of in-bound scholarship from the national heritage policy and practice, the lack of customised tools that would make theory relevant and useful, the severe budget cuts and understaffing of the bodies responsible for the tasks, coupled with the different -even conflicting- agendas of the stakeholders involved. Main issue however is the consideration of public engagement as a parergon or a bureaucratic necessity or sometimes a populistic endeavour for micropolitics, in the very end of the archaeological project (Lekakis 2020a: 80-89). It is still not uncommon to read about 'public archaeology' activities as the concluding festival following the completion of a restoration programme that 'returns' the building to its 'rightful owners'.

Plus 10

What the future holds, remains of course to be seen. But in our precarious conditions, digital means of interaction promise wider coverage and more flexible and impactful ways to work with. Apart from an area to research, this is an obvious pathway for public archaeology in Europe and Greece at the time where a number of relevant cultural products, as digital tours on sites and museums, skill developing courses, masterclasses et al. are already available. However, the collective trauma of isolation would -hopefully soon- need to be tended with closer social encounters. Heritage as a venue for 'wellbeing', is a hot topic in bibliography nowadays and public archaeology will need to position itself towards that; But this is only the front end, and it might turn out to be as disconnected from action and elusive as the previous trend for the 'sustainable management' of the cultural resources.

Immediate needs lie below these trendy aspirations. Participation in the culture/heritage of choice has been declared as a pivot sociocultural objective in the realm of the human rights (UNESCO 2007) and public/community archaeology holds all the rele-

vant tools to facilitate this. However, as we discussed in the case of Greece, methodologies need to be adapted to the cultural realities and background of the region applied. As public archaeology/history initiatives will continue to sprout moderately, growing in multiple venues, with convoluted beginnings, ends and outputs, we need a clear, engulfing, meaningful and prefigurative political strategy, in the national, local or our-own-initiative level. This strategy will be focused on broader goals, as empowerment, democracy and freedom and might lead us to the intended, i.e. successful archaeology for the public projects, but also leave something behind to the society as a whole, be that a way to organise in collectives, behave, interact, resolve tensions and respect each other.

In the last few years, commons theory and practice are being re-introduced in the public realm, as a hybrid academic discipline and a sensitive, inclusive process of managing public goods collectively and on the ground (Lekakis 2020b). Either we discuss about pastures, open-source code, knowledge, urban infrastructures or indeed heritage, the commons are goods used and produced collectively, administered in egalitarian and participatory ways by the communities that manage them and make them accessible on regulated terms. Can this be our overarching strategy for heritage management and public archaeology? Heritage commons is indeed a novel conception but a plural and inviting one, providing social meaning to our participatory endeavours in open, welcoming and empowering ways. The development and activities of the solidarity movement in Greece during the crisis were promising, and suggestive of the colourful agencies that can promote and diversify relevant initiatives, countering severe austerity measures. Whether this or another political principle can propel public archaeology towards its very essence, making archaeology public, is now a query to explore and a pathway to trudge upon.

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FORUM: Chatting about the future of public archaeology

"LET'S SEND MILLIONS OF QUALIFIED PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY CADRES TO THE NEW MUSEUMS AND COMMERCIAL UNITS!"

Gabriel MOSHENSKA

Introduction

An obsession with origins is a hallmark of pseudoarchaeology, while the celebration of arbitrary anniversaries is one of the more meaningless conceits of the heritage industry. In that spirit, I would like to wish a happy tenth anniversary to *AP: Online Journal in Public Archaeology*, and to extend my warmest congratulations to the editorial team.

I have spent much of the last year happily engrossed in public archaeology's past (see Moshenska 2020a; 2020b). The Covid-induced cancellation of conferences and fieldwork has cast a gloomy shadow across the discipline's present. This feels, then, like a good time to be thinking – optimistically, creatively – about the future. In that spirit, I borrowed and slightly adapted the title of this piece from some Soviet Five Year Plan propaganda, hoping for a modicum of the same glazed-eyed optimism, Stakhanovite effort, and ruthless implementation.

What follows is a rambling exploration of my own fancies, prejudices, and such original ideas as can break through this fog of anxiety-induced insomnia. I imagine that most academic papers could begin with a disclaimer of this kind. My other disclaimer is simply a reminder that I write from a highly privileged position within anglophone academia, and that this privilege both informs and limits my perspectives.

Soviet aspirations aside, the suggestions and directions outlined below are not intended as any sort of imperative or guide, but rather as a personal 'to do' list for making my own engagements with public archaeology and its wider worlds more intellectually dynamic and satisfying, and with the aim of providing better expe-

riences and opportunities for my students. I hope that they might be of modest interest to others.

Reconnecting in a spirit of disciplinary humility

The first years or decades of an emergent intellectual sub-discipline are spent in vigorous intellectual, institutional, and individual self-fashioning aimed at carving out a unique and defensible position. New theories and methods are announced, new terminologies are coined, and a great deal that is borrowed from adjacent disciplines must be hastily repainted in fresh new colours. If public archaeology has been less obnoxious in this than some of its cognate fields, it has not been wholly innocent.

My primary prediction for the near and middling future of public archaeology is a reconnection with other disciplines, a growth in collegiality and collaboration, and a recognition of the strengths and advantages of drawing together around shared aims and approaches. Some of these, such as aspects of rapprochement with the academic fields of museum studies and cultural heritage studies, are beyond the scope of my personal interests and expertise. I want to briefly examine three distinct areas where I believe public archaeology could gain considerably from greater interdisciplinary bridge-building, in a spirit of humility and general recognition of ourselves as the smaller or more junior party.

Public humanities

The first of these is to more firmly situate public archaeology as a component of the broad field of public humanities, and to engage with discourses and activities taking place under this label. Public humanities is a growing field with research centres (most notably at Brown University), professorships and fellowships, graduate programmes at Sheffield (UK) and Brown (US), and a number of networks and other arenas of activity (see Smulyan 2020 for more details).

Public humanities is defined slightly differently in scholarly and applied contexts, but broadly speaking it refers to both promoting public engagement with the humanities, and encouraging

humanities scholars to engage in activities in the public sphere. For these purposes 'the humanities' are generally defined broadly, to include elements from the arts and social sciences as well as traditional humanities disciplines such as history, philosophy, and literary and cultural studies.

Like public archaeology, public humanities has a foundation of scholarship and practice in academia, as well as a presence in museums and cultural institutions of various kinds. There are also a probably incalculable number of public humanities projects taking place on local scales and through a mixture of grassroots and externally led sources. Again, like public archaeology, there is far more public humanities work taking place than is ever formally labelled as such.

What can we gain from a closer alliance or identification with the public humanities? This remains to be seen. To some extent there are benefits of putting a name to existing collaborations between, for example, public archaeology and public art (e.g. Acheson Roberts and Sterling 2017), or between public archaeology and public history in museums. More substantial networks of scholars, practitioners and activists across the public humanities disciplines would enable a far easier sharing of practices, tools, evaluation data, and could help open up access to new audiences.

From students' perspectives there are advantages in more general or blended graduate courses that could lead to a wider set of employment opportunities across the GLAM and education sectors. Aside from employment interests, many students might appreciate a broader liberal arts-type education with a firmer grounding in public engagement, socio-political contextualisation, and activism.

What can public archaeology contribute, in turn, to the public humanities? The elements of practical fieldwork, community engagement, and amateur inclusion are long-standing themes in public archaeology that were once far more common in public history – for example in the history workshop movement – and have since begun to fade in significance. Public archaeology offers a wealth of knowledge and experience in practical, hands-on forms of public engagement many of which could be adapted or shared across disciplines.

Classical receptions

The connections between classical reception studies and public archaeology are so clear and obvious, it's surprising that they have not been explored to a far greater extent already (but see Hamilakis 2007; Moser 2015). Classical receptions examines the representations of Ancient Greece and Ancient Rome – their literature, culture, architecture, art, etc. – in post-classical cultures. This includes studies of classical influence on modern theatre (Andújar and Nikoloutsos 2020), science fiction and fantasy (Rogers and Eldon Stevens 2018), and comic books (Kovacs and Marshall 2011).

How might classical receptions connect with studies of archaeology and popular culture? There is a slight issue of equivalence – much of the archaeological side of this work blends together studies of the representation of the ancient world with studies of the representation of archaeology and archaeologists themselves. Classical receptions, for the most part, has resisted this more narcissistic angle. Some of the most influential studies of popular culture representations of archaeology, archaeologists, and the ancient world are those by Cornelius Holtorf (e.g. 2005, 2007). Holtorf's work is excellent and highly influential, but it slightly predates the current growth in strength and influence of classical reception studies.

What might public archaeology take from a closer alliance with classical receptions? Already we can see a growth in reception studies focused on Ancient Egypt (e.g. Moser 2015) and a more modest amount of work on receptions and representations of prehistory (e.g. Horrall 2017) but these latter, again, are not generally explicitly associated with either classical receptions or public archaeology. It would be good to see future studies in archaeological representation and reception – for example in the growth field of archaeo-gaming – engaging more closely with the rich literature, more established methods, and dynamic forums for debate and publication that classical receptions can offer (for a good example of work moving in this direction see Reinhard 2018).

Science communication

When asked to define public archaeology, I sometimes describe it as a mixture of science communication (SciComm) and science and

technology studies (STS) but focused specifically on archaeology. A considerable amount of public archaeology – those elements focused on engaging public audiences with archaeological processes and knowledge – is directly comparable to SciComm, in the same way that it corresponds to related fields within the public humanities (see above). For a good overview of science communication in archaeology see Melville (2014).

Public archaeology has drawn on SciComm theory and method for decades – see for example Merriman's (2004) discussion of the 'deficit model' and 'multiple perspective model' for the public understanding of science. Responses to alternative or pseudo-archaeologies have also drawn on understandings of anti-scientific thinking in the public perception of fields such as evolutionary biology and vaccines.

Both public archaeology and SciComm have rich, convoluted and centuries-long histories, stretching back to periods in the early nineteenth century when science and archaeology were only beginning to emerge as 'professions', and the public/expert and public/private divides in both disciplines were still forming. Both have more superficial genealogies of 'Great Men' (and occasionally women) who serve as the public faces of their science, from Michael Faraday and Mortimer Wheeler to Alice Roberts and Brian Cox.

There is a growing need and expectation for public archaeologists to be skilled and technically adept communicators, capable of running a podcast, shooting a short film. running an open day for schools or hosting a stand-up comedy night. Some of these skills are learned in practice and in employment, but arguably there is a deficit in skills training within public archaeology, and a widespread acceptance of amateurism.

Compared to graduate programmes in public archaeology, heritage studies, museum studies and related fields, SciComm courses tend to focus more closely on communication skills training. These skills courses bring together elements of print/digital and broadcast journalism, public relations, and audience development. The demand for skilled science communicators is high across STEM sectors and industries as well as within journalism, museums etc.

What might public archaeology gain from a greater engagement with SciComm? Public archaeology is more than just communication, so I would not suggest a move towards SciComm-equiv-

alent skills-focused graduate programmes. That said, a relatively greater quantity of skills training would certainly benefit students and future employers. I think there is a far greater need for open, accessible training and teaching resources for specific public engagement and communication skills, made available freely or as cheaply and accessibly as possible. This is not to undervalue the work of public archaeology experts and specialists, but our aims are better advanced by spreading and developing practical skills across the sector as a whole.

In summary...

I like the idea of public archaeology as a confident and established field of practice, making connections and building bridges with other disciplines and growing stronger together. At the same time, I see a fragmented discipline far too stuck in isolated national traditions, a divide between scholarship and practice, and a too-small (but growing) body of PhD-level research.

Who knows what public archaeology will look like ten years from now? Many of the scholars, practitioners and activists who will shape this next decade are probably only just beginning their studies, and will bring with them a whole new set of skills, ideas, aims and expectations. I hope they won't feel too limited by the dreams and ambitions of their predecessors.

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FORUM: Chatting about the future of public archaeology

AFTER THE PANDEMIC: REFLECTIONS FROM AN UNCERTAIN PRESENT ON THE FUTURES OF PUBLIC ARCHEOLOGY

Alejandra SALADINO

Leonardo FARYLUK

"The time after is neither that of reason recovered, nor that of the expected disaster. It is the time after all stories, the time when one takes direct interest inthe sensible stuff in which these stories cleaved their shortcuts between projected and accomplished ends. It is not the time in which we craft beautiful phrasesor shots to make up for the emptiness of all waiting. It is the time in which we take an interest in the wait itself."

Jaques Rancière[1]

There are moments in history, perceived both individually and collectively, in which proposing to imagine—even project—becomes an apparently unattainable task. 2020 took us socially unprepared and, although in some places the current situation is deeply serious while others feel more tolerable, we have a total uncertainty about the future. We can consider that the information that allows us to visualize the indicators leading to situations like the current one is available. However, not all of us have the tools to interpret them, and the voices of those who do have them are not echoed strong enough, unlike those who in spaces of power, political or economic with the means and will to bring fear to wide sectors of the population.

As people with a particular way of looking towards the past and making it present—those whose experiences unfold in the

1 Rancière, J. (2013 [2011]). *Béla Tarr. The Time After.* Univocal Publishing (Beranek, E. trans.), Minneapolis.

broad field that can be called "heritage sciences"[2]—, we know that this is not the first pandemic that humanity has experienced, and neither is it the most terrible in statistical terms (in fact, we will be able to measure it when it culminates). Of course, those who suffer the effects of the Covid-19, both in their bodies and their loved ones, will never find any relief in statistics. In the current situation, however, there seems to be one clear thing: except for those who pass the disease, this is the most aseptic pandemic of which we have record. Despite the fact that we live in an era of unparalleled communications and information circulation, we assimilate it through the filters imposed by the mainstream media. Through them, only two discourses in dispute for hegemony can be observed so far, and that can be exemplified with the cases of Argentina and Brazil, where the specific weight is placed on one or the other. The one that exacerbates terror by demanding trust and absolute obedience to standards that are intended to be issued with the best intentions and total transparency, and that which minimizes the problem by openly exposing an immeasurable contempt for people (and by *people* here we refer specifically to all those who, even before the pandemic, did not have more than public health systems, which, although they guarantee accessibility as they are free, not necessarily availability, due to the enormous shortcomings of the sector). From apparently opposite positions, both options seek a return to normality, understood as the realities experienced just a year ago. A speech demands the strengthening of the control roles of the State, economic assistance, more presence of the repressive apparatus in order to educate those who do not comply with the established, and a social isolation that goes far beyond the absence of physical contact, limiting the networks of interaction and support that are woven outside the institutional verticality. The other discourse is expressed in a range running from the contempt for human life, to the denial of the problem by explaining that link disjointed plots that border on the paranoid: both far-right and liberal positions are alike here, under the

2 Represents the transdisciplinary field constituted by the human and natural sciences, highlighting the Science of Conservation, Archaeological Science and the Science of Restoration (Stirlic, 2018), which contemplates "physical and material aspects that give support to Conservation-Restoration, but also management, record, documentation and interpretation of cultural heritage". In: Gonçalves, W. B. (2019). *Ciência do Patrimônio*. Associação Nacional de Pesquisa em Tecnologia e Ciência do Patrimônio. http://lacicor.eba.ufmg.br/antecipa/index.php/ciencia-do-patrimonio/

umbrella of freedom. Freedom that, of course, is none other than that of the market, free to continue exploiting and free to continue plundering. Both discourses, so different at first glance, are aimed at keeping the system on track, with as few deviations as possible. Regarding the expected result, the differences are methodological, different models of governance.

Faced with such scenarios, imagining the future comes to be understood as the challenge of building it. While this statement has always been valid, it now feels more pressing. Do we accept that these two paths are the only possible ones? Is one or the other really more desirable? Or do we embrace the need to think outside the box?

What does all this have to do with what we call "public archeology", and which summons us here? Well, a lot. Let's take it bit by bit. Those of us who are convinced that other worlds are possible have to turn a deaf ear to those who accuse us of "utopians", demanding plans, models and prototypes that demonstrate the full functionality of a society that still only exists in scattered fragments[3]. Speculating about what technical tools will emerge to simplify the technical work, or build data more accurately, or which media to use in order to socialize the information generated, does not have much importance. There will be new ones and without a doubt we will use all we have within reach. So, if in that sense imagining what public archeology will be like in ten years is impossible, imagining what do we want it to be, or even more, who do we want to be, is indispensable. There is an important distinction here between the first use of the verb "imagine" and the second: one refers to the resulting image at the end of a process, *"is neither that of reason recovered, nor that of the expected disaster"*, the other *"is the time in which we take an interest in the wait itself"* that constant present in the making[4].

3 As David Graeber puts it: "Normally, when you challenge the conventional wisdom—that the current economic and political system is the only possible one—the first reaction you are likely to get is a demand for a detailed architectural blueprint of how an alternative system would work, down to the nature of its financial instruments, energy supplies, and policies of sewer maintenance. Next, you are likely to be asked for a detailed program of how this system will be brought into existence. Historically, this is ridiculous". In: A Practical Utopian's Guide to the Coming Collapse (2013). https://thebaffler.com/salvos/a-practical-utopians-guide-to-the-coming-collapse

4 As expressed in the quotation from Rancière at the beginning of this text.

This creative waiting could be crossed by the questioning of the tautological process by which we configure our discipline and our field of study. Defining, researching, protecting and disseminating heritage provides us with sustenance[5], which is why we define, research, protect and disseminate. As a mechanism, it always works subject to a constant need for recognition, for appreciation by people not dedicated to the "heritage sciences". Those people we tend to call "society" or "the public", as if we were not part of that same framework. It is very common to hear or read, in different texts from colleagues, arguments that can be simplified into *"what is not known is not valued"*. In reality, we tend to seek legitimacy for our ways of knowing. Which in itself is not bad, it is normal and understandable in any category. But perhaps the best way is not positioning ourselves as the vanguard of the meaning and uses of archaeological references, but rather, put ourselves at the service of those considered in need of our knowledge; starting with the concerns or demands of the communities where we work—the reluctance that usually exists on the part of some colleagues to comply with the provisions of ILO Convention 169 regarding the free and informed consent of indigenous and tribal communities, is just an example of how far we can be from this idea—; work on problems that concern us as members of a specific community; and enable the possibility of being facilitators of examples of past solutions to current problems.

This alone would generate a drastic change in the way we see ourselves and relate to each other, as a profession. We are too used to working in tightly closed, vertical and hierarchical structures, which both in academia, administration, and consulting firms tend to function under criteria of inheritance or meritocracy. Returning to the two disputed discourses on the pandemic reality, our practice is strained between similar postulates. We submit to directives from project managers in exchange for the promise of scholarships or assistantships; and these, to obtain meager subsidies, are submitted to the theoretical and thematic perspectives considered as a priority according to the administration's criteria. Meanwhile, those who work in entities protecting archaeological heritage, deal with the enormous lack of resources and political vagaries of the party

5 Or we hope it eventually does. "Oh! Archaeology… What are gonna live from" and "Did you find dinosaurs yet?" are still too common places.

in power. And consulting firms that carry out impact assessment studies not only make their workers precarious but are seen as a stumbling block to a "progress" that mega-companies of any kind claim to provide. These professionals are generally hired simply to comply with regulatory obligations, and those who provide the most economical budget and the fastest solution get the job. The resulting reports usually end up accumulated in drawers at the end of the labyrinths of bureaucracy, and sometimes paying a fine for the destruction of cultural goods is easier that troubling the construction works.

Undoubtedly, the existing problems in the field of archeology are many, very diverse, and even invisible to us, due to the enormous thematic fragmentation of the discipline. At times the distances are so great that we seem to forget that we are part of the same profession. However, generally speaking, we have at least one thing in common: an inability—not absolute, by the way—to perceive ourselves as mere workers and, as such, act consequently. Unions and similar associations are non-existent in most places and at most, we tend to bind to those relating to the tasks we are supposed to perform (teachers, public workers, etc.). The associations and schools are scarce and tend to function as clubs, to settle an occasional conflict between colleagues, or as if their function was to exercise roles of surveillance. Networks, on their part, tend to be excellent spaces for mutual support and information exchange, with voluntary affinity groups and more or less permeable, but, in general, increasingly hyper-specialized and somewhat prone to overlooking cross-cutting issues. Of course, there are exceptions, but current exceptions are not the norm, although they could be.

Those who live and work in the Global South, away from the great centers of power, seem to be more sensitive and critical in respect to the colonial heritage of archeology and its effects—something that can be attributed to almost any modern discipline—and great treaties proliferate, written in an attempt to purge historical guilt. If they do not remain in mere rhetoric, in practice, they resonate in very dissimilar ways: there are those who proclaim archaeologies of social utility, created however with a top-down logic, like fictitious ancestral aliens arriving on the planet to provide us with the knowledge to build pyramids; while others are removed from the field to not interfere with local autonomy and self-determina-

tion processes (those same aliens fleeing in hopes of being remembered). Both positions continue playing logic critics, although not the intention—again, as at the beginning of this text, paternalism or abandonment to an uneven competition—, positioning ourselves as agents of foreign influence on those we want to help, alien to multiple forms of oppression, exploitation and existing inequality. Few are still those who manage to escape from this dichotomous path, understanding that public archeology is all archeology, and that it can be thought "amongst subalterns" rather than "for subalterns".

Perhaps in these moments close to completing a year of pandemic, we can propose to start slowing down the productive machinery and turn our gazes on ourselves to discuss again about these topics that will never reach consensus, but that ultimately are what allow the emergence of turning points and course changes. What are the implications and how this slowdown is achieved—being the professional and academic "curriculitis" also a pandemic disease—, are questions that by themselves invite us to debate.

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FORUM: Chatting about the future of public archaeology

HOW DO I SEE PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY IN TEN YEARS IN PERU

Daniel SAUCEDO SEGAMI

While thinking about how Public Archaeology would be in ten years from now in Peru, I just realized that it has been almost ten years since we held the first International Symposium of Public Archaeology in 2011 in Lima city. At that time, the concept of Public Archaeology was mostly unknown by local researchers, but there was an increasing interest, especially among young scholars. This interest contrasted with the few spaces to discuss the situation of archaeological remains in the present, their use and their relation to modern population. All these topics were considered outside of the idea of "academic archaeology", regarding them as just practical issues relate not worthy of deep analysis, and usually related to outreach activities like education or heritage management. Therefore, this Symposium became an important milestone to open a new world of possibilities for the archaeological field in Peru, especially after the creation of the Ministry of Culture in 2010.

Although Public Archaeology contributed then to the discussion of what to do with archaeological remains in the present, it also became obvious that it was just one of the perspectives where this discussion took place. Peru has been directing their policies about archaeological remains to make them "useful", especially through tourism. Initiatives from the government as well as the private sector have praised examples where archaeological projects have changed the image of abandoned sites full of dust and garbage to important beautiful tourist spots that can be appreciated while enjoying local cuisine and drinks on expensive restaurants built near them. By making archaeological sites become part of tourist routes, they became important economic assets, boosting local economies and improving the quality of life of neighborhood communities. Archaeologists have become very active in these activities, usually having wide coverage from local media about new

discoveries without being afraid of designating them with superlatives ("the oldest", "the richest", etc.) that may mislead the actual information obtained through research.

Now in 2020, we can perceive a more critical approach influenced not only by Public Archaeology, but also by the fields of Historical Archaeology, Feminist Archaeology, and Cultural Anthropology, mainly from a postmodern perspective. In these fields, the economic value of archaeological remains is contested while looking for new ways of understanding the past and connecting it to the present. Moreover, the access to more information from sources like Internet have helped the gathering of social actors avid to participate in the discussion of what should be considered heritage or not, how it should be managed and who should be in charge of this management. This Public is becoming increasingly aware that defining something as cultural heritage should be a shared enterprise among several actors and not just specialists. They are even defying the position of archaeologists as stakeholders of archaeological remains, making it obvious that it is a right and a duty of any citizen of the country to protect and study these remains.

From this context, how can we see Public Archaeology in ten years from now? I believe its aim to understand the relationship between archaeological remains and the Public will be more popular than now, especially because defining, managing and using these remains give the Public a chance to become visible in a society that usually makes invisible those who did not have the opportunity to receive superior education. Challenging the privileged position of archaeologists towards interpreting and managing these remains is becoming an important topic discussed now in social media, and it is reaching a larger audience every year. The Public is no longer a passive actor in this context, and it will demand that archaeological remains fit its needs and interests. It is yet to be seen, though, if this power relation will become a new space to encourage a horizontal relationship between archaeologists and other stakeholders, or if it would become a conflictive space between these social actors to control archaeological remains.

I also believe that Public Archaeology is increasingly changing with new information from developing countries like those in Latin America, becoming something different from what it used to be in

developed countries like UK, the European Union and USA. Previous attempts to work with the Public in this region developed along history, usually related to political discussion, like the Latin American Social Archaeology of the sixties. This initiative was based on an antiimperialist agenda over the study of archaeological remains in this region, encouraging local archaeologist to become more active in repelling interpretations that come from abroad and developing their own ideas about past societies. In a region where politics are extremely important in everyday life, Public Archaeology faces the challenge of keeping a multivocal perspective about the past and the present not determined by political agendas.

The economic differences in these countries and how they influence the access to information, as well as to the decision-making of cultural heritage, have prioritized a scientific over other discourses about the past. By studying and identifying other ways to relate to these remains, Public Archaeology is contributing to add other perspectives that may not rely on scientific facts to understand these remains. In this sense, Public Archaeology in Latin America is becoming an important tool to decolonize history of local people and give value to their own beliefs. I believe the main role of Public Archaeology in the next decade will be to help local people rediscover by themselves their roots in the past.

Finally, Public Archaeologists in Latin America still have many challenges to face to make this field relevant in an environment where other fields -like Cultural Resource Management and Tourism- are gaining more adepts to make archaeological remains useful in a free-market economy. For instance, the main problem is language. Public Archaeology would never become popular in this region until more publications are made in Spanish and they reach a wider public. I think that the next ten years will become the boom for Spanish publications in this field, giving this field a whole new environment to be reevaluated and redesigned.

BLOG REVIEWS WITHIN VOL 10

There were no blog reviews during 2020

HOW TO CONTRIBUTE

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Book

Demoule, J. P. 2007. *L'archéologie préventive dans le monde. Apports de l'archéologie preventive a la connaisance du passé*. Paris, La Décuverte.

Edited book

Durbin, G. (ed.) 1996. *Developing Museum Exhibitions for Livelong Learning*. London, GEM.

Section in book

McEwan, C., Silva, M. I. and Hudson, Ch. 2006. Using the past to forge the future: the genesis of the community site museum at Aguablanca, Ecuador. In H. Silverman (ed.), *Archaeological site museums in Latin America*. Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 187-216.

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United Nations 1992, *Agenda 21.* Retrieved on 29 January 2010 from WWW [http://www.un.org/esa/dsd/agenda21/res_agenda21_00.shtml]

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Work reports and reviews will not need to pass the peer-review process, but will be commented by the editor.

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

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

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AP: Online Journal in Public Archaeology

Editors:
Jaime Almansa Sánchez & Elena Papagiannopoulou
Email: almansasanchez@gmail.com

Assistant production editor:
Alejandra Galmés Alba

Edited by:
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