Public Archaeology

Arts of Engagement

edited by

Howard Williams

Caroline Pudney

Afnan Ezzeldin

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Cover image: The Heritage Graffiti Project during creation (Photograph: Ryan Eddleston, reproduced with permission)

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In memory of Dr Peter Boughton FSA, Keeper of Art for West Cheshire Museums

Contents

Arts in Public Archaeology: Digital and Visual Media

Art as Public Archaeology

List of Figures

Instrumentalised Public Archaeology: Cease and Desist?

***Archaeodeath* as Digital Public Mortuary Archaeology**

Vox Archaeo: Podcasting the Past

The Art of Balancing Intrigue and Integrity: The Risks and Rewards of Public Archaeology

Being Shaped by Engagement: Reflections on Academic 'YouTubing'

Playful Encounters: Engaging Children in Public Archaeology

Reaching Communities through the Stories on the Walls: Graffiti Surveys, Participation and Public Engagement

Visualising Heritage Complexity: Comic Books, Prehistoric Rock-Art and the Cochno Stone

Dig! Arts Access Project: Finding Inspiration in the Park

List of Tables

Public Archaeology at Bryn Celli Ddu: Sharing Prehistory

Evaluating Community Archaeology

***Archaeodeath* as Digital Public Mortuary Archaeology**

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Acknowledgements

This volume was inspired by the dearth of wide-ranging evaluations of public archaeology's strategies involving, and intersections with, visual and artistic technologies, practices and data. It stems from the 2nd University of Chester Archaeology Student Conference, held on 5 April 2017 at the Grosvenor Museum, Chester: *Archaeo-Engage: Engaging Communities in Archaeology.* The book includes the work of a selection of the students who delivered formative presentations and subsequently wrote up their summative assignments for publication with sustained editorial guidance. These are combined with a rich range of additional contributions, including those from other former University of Chester students and current staff, commissioned during 2017 and 2018.

We wish to extend our thanks to colleagues in Department of History and Archaeology at the University of Chester who supported this second venture in facilitating a student conference and taking it forward to publication. In particular, we are grateful for the support of Dr Kara Critchell, Dr Amy Gray Jones and Professor Meggen Gondek. We also sincerely apprecite the support and help of the staff of Cheshire West and Chester's Grosvenor Museum, notably Dr Peter Boughton, who worked hard to facilitate the event. Thanks also go to University of Chester postgraduate researchers Brian Costello, Gary Duckers and Abigail Górkiewicz Downer in supporting the students' work before and during the conference. The University of Chester's audio-visual technicians completed the invaluable task of video-recording and editing the conference for digital dissemination. In addition to the student's talks, the day conference was enhanced considerably by the presentations of the two guest-speakers: Dr Lorna-Jane Richardson and Dr Mike Heyworth. Thanks to all the students who worked on the planning and organisation of the event, especially to Jonathan Felgate for his logo and poster design. The audience of academics, heritage professionals, students and members of the public made the conference viable, valuable and memorable experience for all concerned and we hope that this book reflects and extends the debates aired on the day.

Regarding the book, we appreciate the commitment and flexibility of all the authors who agreed to submit their work for publication, and to the host of expert anonymous referees who evaluated each contribution and helped the editors to steer the work towards publication. The collection is enriched by a Foreword by digital heritage specialist Dr Sara Perry and a Discussion piece by prehistorian Dr Seren Griffiths.

The venue of publication is also not arbitrary for a volume exploring new themes and best practice in community engagement in archaeological research. Rather than pursuing a traditional venue of an expensive short print-run academic book, we decided to exploit the new Access Archaeology publication model of Archaeopress. In exchange for conducting all the copy-editing and typesetting ourselves as editors, this allows the book to appear as print-on-demand in full colour and free open-access publication via the Archaeopress website. We are also extremely grateful to David Davison and Ben Heaney at Archaeopress for unswerving support for this project from start to finish.

Dr Peter Boughton has supported numerous collaborations with the University of Chester in his role as Keeper of Art at Chester's Grosvenor Museum, including the aforementioned 2017 Archaeo-Engage conference which inspired this book. The University awarded Peter with an honorary Doctor of Letters degree in August 2019 in recognition of his life-long contributions to the visual arts in Chester. Very sadly and soon afterwards, Peter passed away on 29 September 2019. We are honoured to dedicate this book to his memory, especially fitting given the numerous ways in which our contributors tackle the relationship between art and archaeology.

Foreword

Sara Perry

Critiquing public archaeology

In early 2018, I was invited to contribute to a week-long course in Northern Ireland focused on heritage as a means towards reconciliation. At the request of the organisers, I presented efforts that my teams and I had been pursuing at archaeological sites across Europe, Turkey and North Africa to build civic welfare around heritage, and to evaluate the associated impacts. The course was attended by upwards of 50 individuals working across the archaeological, museums and community-development sectors, some of whom were established professionals, and many of whom were young scholars and practitioners who had travelled from different parts of Ireland, Northern Ireland, Canada, and the USA to explore the topic of 'heritage practices in contested societies'. Given that I was explicitly asked to initiate *critical* discussion on the evaluation of the social impacts of public and community archaeology initiatives, I spoke frankly about both the weaknesses of extant evaluative frameworks and the challenges of developing sustainable programmes in the absence of any such rigorous frameworks.

It would be an understatement to say that my contribution to the course was received negatively. Perhaps alongside other missteps, I made the mistake of focusing heavily on (democratic) governance structures for community engagement projects, summarising my points in a numbered list of 10 key principles of practice. Whilst the list was numbered merely for convenience (an error that I shall never repeat!), it was interpreted by several men in the room as my own proclamation on the degree of importance of certain activities, and was therefore seemingly dismissed in its entirety. I also made the mistake of citing a particular scholar, whose deeply critical views of community archaeological evaluative measures, and their poorly evidenced positive impacts, were vehemently disliked by multiple practitioners in the room. This dislike became immediately obvious when I moved from my brief introductory talk into an interactive group session. Here, I assigned participants the task of debating together, then feeding back to the full class, how well (if at all) the 10 democratic structuring principles might work in their own contexts of practice. Instantly, however, the activity was hijacked by a small but incredibly vocal group of mostly senior white men.[1]

Rather than invest any time in discussing the specifics of governance as requested, these men turned the focus entirely back on me, subjecting me in front of the crowd to a string of criticisms and accusations. More than one individual rejected the idea that any form of rigorous analysis should be demanded of community archaeology because the effects were 'obvious', should not be quantified (although I made no claim that quantitative measures were an imperative), nor held to any generalisable standards of quality or impact. It was repeatedly insinuated that I had no place speaking about these matters, and that if I intended to come into a charged environment like this again with the same arguments, I should 'toughen up'.

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[1] I cannot dwell here on what I perceive to be a clear relationship between my (less powerful) identity and the identities and responses of my critics. However, at this event, I was asked by the organisers to take a risky position, and those resistant to such risky statements were then allowed to overwhelm me, thereby masking any weaknesses in their normative approaches. This phenomenon of identity-based oppression is common in archaeology, its prevalence documented by a growing number of scholars, especially Heath-Stout (2019) and Cook (2019) (for heritage/museums, also see Callihan and Feldman 2018).

At some point, probably more than 20 minutes into these attacks, one of my session partners intervened. He attempted to defend me and push back against the unfounded statements launched at me, but by then the session had been derailed, succumbing to what, I believe, were fundamentally anti-intellectual and anti-science viewpoints. I was overwhelmed by the circumstances, particularly by the fact that these views were seemingly propounded by established practitioners. Indeed, so visibly upset was I that a series of younger participants later approached me to apologise (unnecessarily, as they had no role in the affair, and the career-related risks to them for intervening might have been too high), expressing their concern at the behaviour of this zealous – yet relatively well-known and professionally-established – sub-section of the crowd.

Accepting critique as a necessary component of public archaeology

I have long wanted to publicly reflect on this experience, not least because of the many ironies inherent in a course focused on 'reconciliation' devolving into an unapologetic group attack on a lone presenter. It has been deeply affecting for me both personally and professionally, particularly given that myself and my teams identify as committed community and public archaeologists with shared goals and aspirations. Stepping back and with further reflection, it has led me to wonder under which circumstances we could ever be excused from constructively critiquing our community-based work. Yet in my experience, community and public archaeological projects are notorious for avoiding or dismissing both external scrutiny and internally-focused self-reflection (for comparable arguments see, among others, Ellenberger and Richardson 2018, and Fredheim 2018).

Powerfully, the contributions to *Public Archaeology: Arts of Engagement* prove to me that such critique and scrutiny are not avoidable nor inappropriate, but a cornerstone of contemporary public and community archaeological practice. This volume is a needed and truly exciting commentary on the present state of the field. It is one of the first compendiums to consistently celebrate, as opposed to castigate, meticulous, evidence-based reflection, and to nurture (especially in junior contributors) an insistence on cumulative learning in order to advance and strengthen future work. Authors are not afraid to think through the weaknesses of projects at large: Parry, for example, recognises that current initiatives are generally too 'small-scale and diffused in their aims and objectives' (p. 39) to achieve genuine social impact. Authors are not afraid to question the means by which we fund (and otherwise shape resilience into) our community endeavours, demonstrating per Beresford that, of the main models of community archaeology in use today, 'none of them are sustainable on their own' (p. 42). And authors are not afraid to cast a critical eye on the methodologies that we deploy to engage people, with Williams and Alexander (p. 72) clearly evidencing how these methods may 'valorise and misrepresent' certain pasts to appease contemporary interests.

Authors are frank about where they have modelled themselves differently, often displaying a willingness to put forward arguments that may otherwise seem unpopular or that challenge accepted wisdom in public archaeology. Humphries, for instance, makes clear that top-down intervention is often vital for community initiatives to take off, providing participants with confidence and support that may be key to success (p. 54). The challenge, then, becomes how we ensure that these same top-down measures do not create an inescapable status quo. Stringfellow's and Pudney's chapters are especially notable in demanding that we be more realistic and aware of our approaches and impacts, and that we work far more diligently in the future to capture learnings from our projects and meaningfully apply them. Both authors also compel us to appreciate that we may never be able to (indeed, perhaps we should not wish to) achieve genuine social change, and hence we must consider productive alternatives which could better play to our strengths as archaeologists (per Pudney, these might entail community projects designed 'to have socially active material legacies' (p. 120)). At its core, then, this book offers the space, and creates the conditions, for people to be constructively critical in their practice. Indeed, it goes further by actually incorporating

and showcasing critical forms of public communication (see chapters by Swogger, Boyle, Barkman-Astles, Duckworth, Ezzeldin, Clarke, McInnes, Brophy and Sackett, Giles and Croucher), and making demands on us to invest long-term in community and public archaeology work as opposed to one-off, time-limited projects (which appear to be the norm in the sector) (see chapter by Hijazi *et al.*).

Public archaeology as the path towards a revised archaeological practice

One might argue that public archaeology has long operated in a fashion that (borrowing from Ahmed 2012) concretises the status quo and allows the colluders in such concretisation to escape questioning. What is often at work here, as Ahmed puts it, is that we *presume* we are acting critically (whether we are or not), thereby 'protecting ourselves from complicity' (2012: 5). As amply evidenced across multiple chapters in this volume, the implications of the approaches employed by community and public archaeologists have often not been understood, and the ironies inherent in the outcomes are tremendous and disturbing. This is no better demonstrated than by Stringfellow in her outstanding critical analysis of a series of community archaeology projects, wherein she concludes that '"community" does not best describe what these projects do' (p. 104). Rather, the 'archaeology in "community archaeology" [is] the predominant motivation' (p. 100), meaning that real economic and social effects are frequently unaccounted for.

This predicament is perhaps not surprising given that, as also noted by Williams in the book's introduction, our understanding of our audiences is highly narrow. In fact, even where we take the time to tease out aspects of individual identities, *non*-participants in our community-based projects tend to go unnoticed and hence not understood.[2] Beresford takes this point further in his chapter, hinting that many audiences may be excluded by the very nature of the paperwork and bureaucracy involved in public archaeological initiatives. What is crucial here is an argument that May (2019), Fredheim (in prep.), and various other practitioners inside and outside of the discipline, have articulated; namely, that publics create themselves and, equally, they are created by our structural biases. We must come to recognise how these publics constitute and in what forms. Moreover, we then need to actively design for *critical* engagements amongst such known groups, as well as design means for understanding those who do not fit known moulds. If we do not, our contributions will stay narrow and unequal.

Indeed, we are currently setting ourselves up, following Ahmed's (2012: 14) summary of the work of Alexander (2005), as conspirators in the 'manufacture of cohesion', creating 'the impression of "more diversity" than "actually exists".' Stringfellow makes a comparable point in her chapter, noting that the very concept of community turns community archaeology into an exclusionary enterprise wherein intersectionality is 'ignored or side-lined' (p. 92). The possibilities of community archaeology, however, are perhaps best underscored by Fisher in her chapter on the engagement of homeless individuals with archaeology. Herein Fisher hints that the 'normal' operations of archaeology are actually not at all appropriate for our contemporary practice, and that it is through meaningful experiences with different audiences that we can recognise just how much – and in what ways – we must reform our typical methods and intents. Citing Kiddey (2014), Fisher writes, 'it is essential to develop methodologies to work with people as they are, and not to expect them to conform to "normal" archaeological practice' (p. 60). I think we might push her important argument even further to suggest that what public archaeology affords us – and therein what makes it essential to our basic expertise – is precisely this sense of how malformed is 'normal' archaeological practice in the present day. Taking public archaeology to its fullest, then, means using its critical insights as impetus to constructively revise the discipline of archaeology overall.

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[2] Excellent examples of how we might begin to understand these non-participants can be found in the work of heritage practitioner Fredheim (in prep) and science communicator Emily Dawson (2019).

Gonzales (2020), reflecting on the role of museums in creating a more just world, notes the necessity of being able to talk openly about human issues—regardless of how troublesome and traumatic those issues may be. Her point is applicable far beyond the museological sector, as it centres upon dialogue and direct human-to-human communication as means to solve problems and galvanise change. I would like to suggest that this may also be what Barkman-Astles (pp. 184, 186) is addressing when, in his discussion of the application of social media, he calls on us to recognise that our aims should prioritise inspiration, conversation, 'consistent, honest, open and public discourse'. Importantly, this is exactly what I believe *Public Archaeology: Arts of Engagement* provides to its readers. It models such openness and honesty both in what it communicates and in how it communicates – in its conscientious, evidence-led arguments, its multi-vocal composition, its respect of different presentational media and styles. This is a step change from what I experienced in Northern Ireland, where I believe that closed, homogeneous and coercive communication was allowed to prevail. For the first time in many years, then, I feel hopeful for the future of the discipline. Via its constructively critical approach, this volume provides us with a roadmap to how we might learn from the tensions of previous public archaeological projects, propose more radical and transformative methodologies, and therein grow a more reflexive and just practice now and for the future.

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Introduction: Public Archaeologies as Arts of Engagement

Howard Williams

By way of introduction to the book, this chapter sets out the principal recent developments and characteristics of public archaeology, focusing on the UK. By contextualising the chapters which originated as presentations in the 2017 student conference, as well as those contributions subsequently commissioned for the book, the specific theme of art/archaeology interactions in public archaeology is defined and its multiple facets are reviewed.

Introduction

This edited collection provides original perspectives on public archaeology's current practices and future potentials. It aims to respond to recent debates in public archaeology by both advancing existing discussions and identifying lacunae, inspired by the day conference of April 2017 *Archaeo-Engage: Engaging Communities in Archaeology*: the 2nd University of Chester Archaeology Student Conference. While a subsequent sister chapter reviews the conference itself and its transition into a publication (Williams *et al.* this volume), this introduction highlights the theme of art/archaeology interactions which emerged during the publication process. By 'art/archaeology' I here mean the multi-faceted ways by which art and archaeology are connected in public archaeological research. I argue that art/ archaeology interactions inform and enhance strategies of public engagement, and that they are central to understanding archaeology's political and popular contemporary receptions and manifestations.

I specifically explore two related areas of art/archaeology intersections in public archaeology that permeat the contributions to this book:

- art *of* public archaeology;
- art *as* public archaeology.

Discussing projects that tackle either one or multiple of these themes, I show how public archaeology both fosters and critically evaluates the discipline's public and popular entanglements via visual and other artistic media. To set up the context for this discussion, I first define public archaeology in the UK today, and its principal challenges and concerns.

Engaging communities with archaeology

Archaeology operates in and investigates societies with a powerful and engaging set of voices about the human past, the present and the future, addressing many key issues for contemporary societies, including climate change and resource scarcity, migration, death, disease and faith. Public archaeology encapsulates themes of economic, social, political, religious and environmental significance in the contemporary world (see Little 2012). Just as archaeology as a discipline brings together a host of specialisms which are fragmented and distributed across academic, not-for-profit, public and private companies (Little 2012), so is the study of 'public archaeology' today diverse and multi-faceted. Usefully and cogently, Moshenska (2017) identifies a series of ways by which UK public archaeology is manifest at present:

- Archaeologists working with the public;
- Archaeology by the public;
- Public sector archaeology;
- Archaeological education;
- Open archaeology;
- Popular archaeology;
- Academic public archaeology.

Public archaeology, like the discipline more broadly, has emerged and rapidly adapted to shifting political and economic environments (Jackson *et al.* 2014). It constitutes a cluster of different dimensions of archaeological theory and practice. Indeed, Grima's recent publication has advocated a 'multiple perspective model' for public archaeology, recognising the variety of approaches, attitudes and the needs of different audiences for archaeological ideas and practice (Grima 2016: 54). Like Moshenska, he regards public archaeology as a disciplinary practice and theoretical orientation for investigating the connections between the human past and contemporary society. Public archaeology is thus central to the evaluation and critique of archaeology in the contemporary world, including investigating the ways by which archaeologists engage with the public. While 'public archaeology' has been frequently perceived denigrated within the profession as a superficial add-on (Richardson *et al.* 2019), and remains perceived as peripheral to many archaeological endeavours outside the English-speaking world (Almansa Sánchez and Richardson 2015), in the UK at least it has become increasingly recognised as an integral aspect of archaeological endeavour. Therefore, if archaeology is essential to contemporary society, not a 'desirable extra' (Flatman 2012: 291), fostering sustainable and robust approaches to public archaeology is just as invaluable.

Public archaeology: creating and transforming communities

A key debate for public archaeology in the UK today is how we conduct community engagement, and how we operate as a discipline, and as individual practitioners, in relation to different types of community. In this regard, at one level, 'community archaeology' is a sub-set of public archaeology – ('archaeology by the public', as defined above by Moshenska (2017)). However, its specific categorisation and parameters have also been intensely debated (Belford 2011; 2014; Isherwood 2012; Marshall 2002; Moser *et al.* 2002; Moshenska and Dhanjal 2012; Simpson 2008; 2009; Simpson and Williams 2008; Thomas 2017; Tully 2009). As Marshall (2002) suggests, it remains an opportunity for close and coherent fostering of community engagement and the co-production of archaeological knowledge (see also Ancarno *et al.* 2015). Responding to the rise of Native American protests against archaeologists in the US which led to the 1990 NAGPRA (Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act) legislation, there has been an increasing need for archaeologists in the US and elsewhere around the world to explicitly analyse their value and significance in relation to stakeholders (Little 2012).

Increasingly for the UK too, a bottom-up community-initiated/-driven archaeology is frequently regarded as preferable and enriching compared to professionally directed projects (see Faulkner 2009; Reid 2012). This is seen as a focus on empowerment and avoids what many projects are accused of: a tokenistic involvement of community members (e.g. Tully 2009; Thomas 2017). Moser *et al.* (2002), for instance, promote a multi-strand collaborative practice strategy, inspired by their work at Quseir, Egypt, to include:

- Communication and collaboration;
- Employment and training;
- Public presentation;
- Interviews and oral history;
- Education resources;
- Photographic and video archive;
- Community-controlled merchandising.

Strong involvement and participation by local communities is widely regarded as a positive way forward for all archaeological endeavours (Watkins 2012), at least where it is feasible, safe and affordable. This said, the definition of 'community', and the rhetoric of its deployment, can obscure complexities and nuanced interactions (Richardson and Almansa-Sánchez 2015: 201). Moreover, oft-derided 'top-down' projects can offer sustained professional support and guidance from the start to the finish of projects, helping with the delivery of feasible goals with positive outcomes for archaeological knowledge, the historic environment, the experiences for those participating, as well as fostering senses of place and identity (see Ainsworth 2015; Belford 2011; 2014; Nevell 2015). One of the critical limitations of

a bottom-up approach is that it may often accept the existence of static pre-existing communities as its points of reference. This in turn leads archaeological research to focus on attempting to satisfy existing perceived needs for archaeological engagement. Instead, carefully designed and implemented community archaeology projects involving close liaison between stakeholders and professional/academic archaeologists can harbour the capacity to transform community identities and perceptions of the past (Ancarno *et al.* 2015; Belford 2011; Carman 2011; Goldstein 2018). Moreover, close and sustained community dialogues can effectively enhance contributions to official records for the benefit of future generations their appreciation of and preservation of the historic environment (Hedge and Nash 2016). Community engagement might perhaps to better seen as future-orientated, rather than past- or present-focused.

In reality, public engagement is rarely primarily either top-down or bottom-up. Belford (2011; 2014) usefully employs Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation to evaluate how different relationships between community and professionals transpire. He identifies the power of community archaeology to develop social, economic and intellectual sustainability, the latter of which requires professional or academic guidance. Currently, most projects sit somewhere in the middle of that spectrum between 'bottom-up' and 'top-down', Belford argues. Moreover, we must be also mindful of the wide range of communities and the environments in which community engagements take place, making a 'one-size-fits-all' approach inadequate. For example, Williams and Williams (2007) identified the difficulties of gaining traction with communities with complex gravestone recording, but how community archaeology project can benefit of people in other, unexpected ways. Ainsworth (2015) has also advocated volunteer involvement in 'low-tech' non-invasive earthwork survey methods, thus identifying new archaeological resources and fostering awareness of the historic landscape (Ainsworth 2015; see also Belford 2014: 23). Coastal archaeology likewise offers a series of further examples where communities are involved in a range of capacities with heritage under threat from erosion and destruction. Examples of valuable community engagements through coastal and riverine archaeological work include the excavations of the early medieval cemetery at St Patrick's Chapel, Whitesands Bay, St Davids (Shiner *et al.* 2019), the Bronze Age and Iron Age sites investigated by the Shorewatch project in the Outer Hebrides and Shetland (Dawson 2016), the Thames Discovery programme (Cohen and Wragg 2017) and the ongoing innovative and geographically broad CITiZAN project.[1] Such professionally organised projects, whether site-based or landscape-orientated, reveal the potential of public participation following a 'citizen science' model: volunteers participate at multiple stages, including data-recording, data-entering, and participating in evaluative and interpretative procedures.

Public engagements in archaeological research is therefore phenomenal in its potential scope. Yet not only is there considerable untapped potential, effective negotiation with stakeholders in the UK still has a long way to go. This not only applies to dialogues with special interest groups, such as neo-Pagans and church authorities who have different concerns regarding the investigation of sacred sites, and the digging up of human remains in particular (Wallis and Blain 2011; Rathouse 2016), it also relates to a range of other groups and institutions with local, national and international interests in archaeological research and the historic environment (see McDavid 2002; Moser *et al.* 2002; Tully 2007). The complex and long-term relationships and conflicts between archaeologists and metal-detecting are a case in point: despite many challenges and problems, liaison with metal-detecting groups has been shown to be profitable and viable in the longer term, despite the need to retain advocacy against, and sustained criticism of, looting and the trade in antiquities (Bland 2004; Flatman *et al.* 2012; Bland *et al.* 2017). Flatman uses the discovery and investigation of the find-spot of the Staffordshire Hoard and its subsequent curation, analysis and display as a prominent UK example showing how 'licit' routes of engagement by amateurs can create extraordinary discoveries (Flatman *et al.* 2012: 76).

A further challenge is the frequently made assumption by archaeologists that communities exist as homogeneous entities. Indeed, archaeologists often still believe there is an undifferentiated 'public' or single 'community' within a fixed geographical setting, while ignoring the complexities of the groups participating in, and engaging with, archaeological projects (Moser *et al.* 2002). The variegated

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[1] https://citizan.org.uk/

nature of responses to the excavation of human graves is a profitable illustration of this point. For the Oakington (Cambridgeshire) early Anglo-Saxon cemetery excavations, Sayer and Sayer (2016) emphasise the complexity of engagements with visitors and participants. This complements Goldstein's (2018) work focusing on the complex and careful negotiations with multiple stakeholder groups during and subsequent to excavations of the Orthodox Russian cemetery at Fort Ross (California, USA) (Goldstein 2018; see also Almansa Sánchez 2018: 203). The complexities of communities interested in human remains is effectively further explored for 20th-century conflict archaeology by Brown (2016). He identified the human remains retrieved by archaeologists from First World War conflict zones as a focal point in a nexus of interests and identities linking archaeologists (who include former soldiers), local communities, the deceased's family (if known), the military and regiment (if known), the nation (if discerned) and wider communities of amateur enthusiasts and interested parties. Indeed, the affinities of people to the past need not be framed in terms of biological ancestorhood. This is also revealed in Pearson and Jeffs' (2016) discussion of the responses and treatment of human remains retrieved during the excavation of a 'liberated African' cemetery on St Helena. Likewise, many neo-Pagan individuals and groups perceived spiritual, rather than (or alongside) biological, ties of ancestry with prehistoric British skeletons in museums (e.g. Giles and Williams 2016; Rathouse 2016). Similarly, the current commercial obsession of DNA-ancestry testing reveals the need for archaeologists to engage critically with claims of biological descent, many of which may be guided by uncritical concepts of race and ethnicity promoted by misleading commercial enterprises (see Booth 2018). In tackling these different 'communities', both real-world, digital or a mixture of the two, archaeologists must simultaneously offer critical evaluations of misunderstandings and misuses of archaeological knowledge whilst sensitively navigating rather than denouncing non-archaeological understandings of the historic environment (see also Thomas 2015).

Politics and public archaeology

The above discussion has already touched on the inherent political nature of all archaeological research, yet it is important to reiterate that all of the subdivisions of public archaeology defined above by Moshenska (2017) are inherently political practices, attempting to tackle, critique and transform current society's experience and participation in archaeology. Current politics intersects with archaeology in almost every regards in the UK. Public archaeology's is not only about investigating and evaluating community engagements, its remit is also to identify and critique the many intersections between political agendas, discourses and organisations and the archaeological work and interpretations taking place as a result. This often involves tackling the legacies and narratives of archaeology's own imperial, colonial and nationalist past, as well as its current use and co-opting into nationalist and globalist paradigms (see Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Trigger 1984; Sommer 2017). The historic environment is the focus of complex contestations involving local, regional and national policies (e.g. Belford 2011). Indeed, government policies have not only encouraged, but also sometimes they have directed, public and community archaeology agendas, funding and policies (Simpson 2009; Jackson *et al.* 2014; Sayer 2014). Community archaeology is thus inherently political (Smith 2015), and tensions with indigenous groups in post-colonial environments find parallels in the UK in tensions and dialogues with neo-Pagans, some of whom have protested against the excavation and display of human remains (e.g. Smith 2015; Wallis and Blain 2011; Rathouse 2016).

Recent discussions of the interactions of archaeological knowledge and the political and public debates surrounding the cessation of the UK from the European Union ('Brexit') could be instructive in this regard (Bonacchi 2018; Brophy 2018). Academics cannot operate in a politics-free environment, nor can they always counter or control the use of their expertise and archaeological evidence for political ends. While future-proofing from political appropriation is impossible, Brophy (2018) rightly calls on archaeologists to be increasingly engaged as public intellectuals, contributing towards and debating their ideas beyond academic spheres (see also Tarlow and Nilsson Stutz 2013). This argument not only relates to the uses and misuses of archaeological ideas and narratives: Brexit is identified by Brophy as the latest threat to both the archaeological profession in the UK (e.g. Belford 2018) and the future of our built environment, as well as casting into sharp relief long-term trends in perceptions of Britain's past (Brophy 2018; see also Gardner 2017; Gardner and Harrison 2017; Richardson and Booth 2017). To be effective voices in challenging misuses of the past, particularly by popularist politicians, we must

be willing to engage with debates over the long-term, argues Brophy (2018: 1655). Archaeologists must be responsible in their social media and public engagements, particularly against a broader European and global rise of right-wing appropriations of heritage and archaeology of which Brexit is but one manifestation (Niklasson and Hølleland 2018).

At local levels, archaeologists have long been encouraged to question and critique the imposition of authentic heritage discourses (Belford 2011; Carman 2011; Smith 2015), even when it means disagreements within the profession itself. As Flatman (2012) rightly highlights, not all public engagement is necessarily positive and constructive, and archaeologists can foster conflict and the oppression of identities and opportunities for local people as much as facilitate them. A key dimension here is the need for archaeologists to work sustainably and even to stay with projects that they worked with long after the fieldwork and post-excavation analysis has been completed, to advocate and challenge how the narratives are adapted and co-opted (Goldstein 2018). In this way, in some contexts, archaeological engagement with communities can constitute a form of positive political action on behalf of local people and their historic environment (Watkins 2012). Precisely how public archaeology engagements can be sustainable, and how the subdiscipline can evaluate its influence, is the next focus of our discussion.

Sustainability and evaluation of public archaeology

There have been repeated calls for public archaeology as a whole to shift focus away from impact to evaluation and critique (Bonacchi 2018; Bonacchi *et al.* 2018; Isherwood 2015; Richardson and Almansa-Sánchez 2015: 203). Indeed, our ethics is undermined by existing limitations in our theory and methods, argue Richardson and Almansa-Sánchez (2015). They advocate that, rather than perpetuating the rhetoric of success, instead public archaeology must incorporate careful and embedded self-critiques of effective endeavours, as well as reflections on less successful strategies (see also Nevell 2015; Simpson and Williams 2008). Paul Belford (2011; 2014), notably, identified how this is possible in a UK context through negotiations between many different stakeholder groups. To achieve this, archaeologists have frequently voiced the aspiration for public archaeology to develop a clearer and robust theoretical framework, as well as a methodological consistency. This is a vision shared across real-world and digital public archaeologies, and has been most prominently articulated for post-colonial contexts where descendant communities are active (Marshall 2002; Moser *et al.* 2002; Perry and Beale 2015).

Indeed, public archaeology concerns more than working with communities or providing educational opportunities and skills; it also concerns the management and the construction of knowledge, and how we conceptualise, monetise and instrumentalise heritage in contemporary society (Richardson and Almansa-Sánchez 2015: 203). In this regard, it is not only about activities (Flatman *et al.* 2012), but long-term sustainable relationships and dialogues with communities on different scales and models (e.g. Faulkner 2009; Nevell 2015). Furthermore, as Belford highlights, community archaeology is concerned with fostering and transforming social memories, both of former places experienced and habited (Belford 2014: 22), but also broader senses of pastness and stories of origin (e.g. Jones 2015).

Goldstein (2018) outlines the need for long-term post-excavation dialogues with the community and other stakeholders, as well as before and during the project. The Cardiff-based CAER (Caerau and Ely Rediscovering) project claims sustainability not through perpetual fieldwork, but through, post-excavation analysis via adult learner courses (Ancarno *et al.* 2015). These instances reveal how a rich variety of practical and intellectual activities can perpetuate public archaeology projects within and beyond the communities in which they operate. This leads us to consider what constitutes 'social benefit' in public archaeology today.

Public archaeology and social benefit

Archaeologists must remember that not everyone can and will engage with archaeology today, and we cannot presume everyone appreciates its benefits (Watkins 2012: 258). Archaeologists might wish to adapt itself to answering questions that specific stakeholder groups wish to answer and link to their agendas (Watkins 2012; see also Lewis 2014; Pudney 2017a and b), and whilst this might be seen as a

compromise it must be remembered that archaeology is, to a large degree, already client-funded or state-funded (through government, museums or universities).

The benefits for participants have become the focus of a range of studies. Recent discussions have focused on the innovative projects by Rachael Kiddey working with homeless people as both subjects and participants in archaeological research (Kiddey 2017), as well as those working with young offenders (Pudney 2017a and b; see also Belford 2014). Dig Greater Manchester has explicitly pursued the benefits of archaeological fieldwork as occupational therapy for those with learning disabilities (Grimsditch and Hawes 2015). Similarly, those with mental health issues were integrated as participants in survey work recording the earthworks of the medieval settlement of Studmarsh, Herefordshire as part of the Past in Mind project run by Herefordshire Mind (Lack 2014; Williams and Atkinson 2013). The Human Henge project is another initiative along similar lines: attempting to evaluate how engaging with archaeology might have mental health benefits (Heaslip and Darvill 2017). Working with those with both physical and mental health issues, Operation Nightingale has been lauded for its involvement of military personnel in archaeological fieldwork. In these instances, archaeologists are increasingly building in carefully designed mechanisms for supporting volunteers, but also evaluating the benefits upon participants (Finnegan 2016; see also Williams and Alexander this volume).

Broader evaluations by Neal (2015) and Sayer (2015) provide a provisional but valuable context for considering the benefits of physical activity, including digging and other routinised tasks, in mental well-being. Meanwhile many, including Ancarno *et al.* (2015: 125), emphasise the importance of evaluation to the co-production of archaeological knowledge; again, they promote the therapeutic dimensions of all manner of participation in archaeological practice. Yet digital engagement with archaeology (including the digital dimensions of many of the aforementioned projects), while widely discussed in terms of ethics and practice, has yet to be considered in detail in either therapeutic or social benefit terms. This is in spite of the vastly larger audiences possible through engagement with archaeological themes and topics identified not only in television documentaries but also through fictional films and historical dramas, as well as through digital resources and repositories, blogs, vlogs and podcasts disseminated via social media and static websites (e.g. Tong *et al.* 2015). Is physical engagement the primary mechanism for the social benefit for archaeology, or can digital/virtual mechanisms of engagement also possess and transform its social benefit?

Public archaeology's 'arts of engagement'

Considering public archaeology's 'arts of engagement' cross-cuts the multiple strands of public archaeology and their aforementioned community engagements and political intersections. Likewise, issues of public archaeology's sustainability and evaluation, as well as its social benefit, are revealed by exploring the art/archaeology interface of public archaeology as a key dimension to current practice and future innovations (see Chittock and Valdez-Tullett 2016 for a recent discussion of key themes in art/archaeology connections).

Art is an important subject of archaeological investigation, as well as a key medium for public engagements with archaeology. Art is also a mechanism for the engagement itself, an arena for imagining the past, a mechanism for co-production and a metaphor for the creative and storytelling nature of the archaeological process. Art not only facilitates the recreation of past material cultures, built environments and landscapes for public engagement, but also it facilitates archaeological processes, practices and performances (Watson and Williams 2019; see also Cochrane and Russell 2007). As such, art can help mediate the interpretation of fragments and absences (Walsh and Williams 2019) as well as complex temporal sequences through the life-histories of artefacts and monuments (Evans and Williams 2019).

The archaeological process can incorporate art to its public engagements. For example, the Chester Amphiteatre project incorporated two artists in residence as one component of many other public engagement activities associated with this city centre excavation (Garner and Wilmott 2015: 78). Further projects do not regard art as a subsidiary element, but foreground art as a principal medium of public archaeology. The aforementioned CAER project focused on the media-stigmatised, economically and

socially deprived suburban housing estates of Cardiff around Caerau Hillfort (the largest prehistoric fortification in South Glamorgan). The project has become driven by objectives identified through meetings with the local community development agency, heritage institutions, schools and residents. The objectives addressed the need to transform negative associations with the communities, as well as the broader challenges faced by the communities. Art installations were part of an array of activities from geophysical surveys to dance performances, involving professional artist, Paul Evans, in all stages of the project, designing and facilitating engagement with heritage assets via eco-graffiti art installations, puppet shows and heritage trail designs, plus creating Iron Age-themed murals with local pupils (Ancarno *et al.* 2015). Pudney (2017b) discusses art as a key medium of involving young offenders in archaeological themes and subjects, where the art is the lasting legacy via a mural created by the participants.

Digital interfaces also have the potential to help facilitate access to, understanding of, and engagement with, a range of art, artefacts and monuments from past societies, including medieval church monuments (McEvoy 2018). In this regard, Was and Watson (2016) provide a useful case study of this approach in their report on the community art project in conjunction with Kilmartin Museum: *Living Symbols.* Inspired by fresh archaeological fieldwork, the first stage involved a range of participants (including primary school children) in sculpting designs in workshops with expert tuition and advice. This culminated in a multimedia installations at the museum (Was and Watson 2016). They suggest that this project constitutes an artistic and archaeological 'union'.

Complementing the recording of ancient art and the creation of new artworks inspiring and co-creating public engagement, the efficacy of digital media are increasingly deployed by archaeologists as new virtual environments of art/archaeology interface. The phenomenal organic survival and visual immediacy of both individual artefacts and their archaeological contexts provided by the commercial archaeology project at Must Farm, Cambridgeshire, is less an example of community participation but rather of global public dissemination of archaeological data via social media. The Bronze Age discoveries can be accessed through a fixed website with dig and post-dig diaries with photographs and videos, as well as insights into the archaeological illustration of the conserved artefacts.[2] This example serves to reveal the complex world of online digital visual engagement that archaeologists find themselves operating within, promoting questions about the ethics and practice of digital engagement (Perry and Beale 2015; see also Williams and Atkin 2015). The effectiveness of Must Farm's digital footprint finds a counterpoint in Romero Pellitero *et al.*'s (2018) discussion of 3D modelling of early medieval graves as a strategy of public engagement in the Pago Del Jarafí cemetery, and the range of co-creation projects that allow the public to record and contribution to digital repositories (e.g. Griffiths *et al.* 2015; Maxwell 2017). We can take this further and explore virtual worlds and their archaeologies, such as video games (Reinhard 2018), as critical media for public archaeologies of the future. These examples identify clearly that art/archaeological interfaces are set to be increasingly important for both real-world and digital public archaeology in coming decades.

About the book

The discussion so far as set up the theoretical context and apparatus in which each contributing chapter sites. The select proceedings of the student's research is the inspiration for this collection and six of the student group agreed to contribute their work and ideas to the development of chapters: Rachel Alexander; Aaron Clarke; Afnan Ezzeldin; Bryony Fisher; Bethan Humphries; and Shaun Parry. These were subject to peer-review and each chapter was systematically revised by the editors in liaison with the authors. These authored/co-authored student chapters have been combined with further contributions submitted by current and former postgraduate archaeology students of the Department and elsewhere, focusing on relevant themes of public archaeology. All papers have benefitted from multiple peer-review. We are also grateful to have the volume introduced and reviewed by two well-established voices in the fields of public archaeology and digital archaeology: Dr Sara Perry and Dr Seren Griffiths.

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[2] http://www.mustfarm.com/

The chapters in this book enfold multiple dimensions of the aforementioned art/archaeology interactions. Following this Introduction and a review of the pedagogic and academic rationale for the conference and its translation into a book project (Williams *et al.*), the book in structured into three sections. First, 'The Art of Engagement: Strategies and Debates in Public Archaeology' focuses on the practice and performance of public archaeology in contemporay society: art here referring broadly to the discipline's methods and techniques. Here we present eight chapters – five with contributions by former Chester students (Parry; Humphries; Fisher; Williams and Alexander; Stringfellow) and others especially commissioned (Beresford; Hijazi *et al.*; Pudney). In addition, three of the chapters evaluate projects which have explicitly focused on art as either the subject of public engagement (Beresford; Griffiths *et al.*) or creative engagement (Pudney). Meanwhile, early medieval furnished burial assemblages are considered as part of an 'art' of creating martial interpretations of warriors past and present for public consumption (Williams and Alexander).

The second section, 'Art *as* Public Archaeology: Digital and Visual Media' considers artistic media as modes of communicating archaeological discoveries and ideas within and beyond the academy. There are six chapters, one by a former Chester student (Ezzeldin). The digital media tackled include blogs (Williams), comics (Swogger), podcasts (Boyle), film (Barkman-Astles; Duckworth) and video games (Ezzeldin).

The third and final section, 'Art as Public Archaeology' contains four chapters, each exploring projects that straddle the divide and deploy art as subject and medium. First is former a Chester student focusing on Playmobil (Clarke), the recording of graffiti (McInnes), rock art and comics (Brophy and Sackett); and art within community archaeology projects (Giles and Croucher).

The resulting collection is therefore innovative in both its range and content on public archaeology in the UK. As well as being distinctive and contemporary in its development from a student-led research conference and the venue in which it finally appears.

Conclusion

This chapter has identified art/archaeology interactions at the heart of public archaeology today, including: past art as a research focus for public archaeological research and debates; art/archaeological dialogues within archaeological practice; the arts as creative media for public engagement, participation and co-production in archaeological research; the investigation of contemporary artistic media in order to explore popular perceptions of the past, and art as an aspect and metaphor for the practice of public archaeology.

Almansa Sánchez (2018) has recently picked up the metaphor of Neil Acherson in suggesting that public archaeology is about the exploration of new territories and offering critical perspectives to enhance our social roles. This certainly applies to this volume's chosen field of interface between art and archaeology. Public archaeology as a critical theory of archaeology in contemporary society, needs to explore new territories, including innovative interactions between art and archaeology in real-world and digital realms, as well as build more robust theoretical frameworks and methodological applications. Moreover, as a publicly originated discipline about the interactions of past, present and future (Nilsson Stutz 2018), art/archaeological interactions must emerge as integral to the discipline, not as interesting add-on.

Acknowledgements

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From *Archaeo-Engage* to *Arts of Engagement*:
Conference to Publication

Howard Williams

with Rachel Alexander, Robyn Bursnell, Jack Cave, Aaron Clarke, Afnan Ezzeldin,
Jonathan Felgate, Bryony Fisher, Bethan Humphries, Shaun Parry, Hannah Proctor,
Mona Rajput, Calum Richardson and Becky Swift

The chapter outlines the rationale for the 2ⁿᵈ University of Chester Archaeology Student Conference – Archaeo-Engage: Engaging Communities in Archaeology. *It serves as a companion chapter to this book's Introduction. It reviews and contextualises the student presentations and keynote talks in relation to key current debates in public archaeology, and explains the journey towards publication incorporating student contributions and those by heritage professionals and academics. In doing so, the chapter provides a practical reflection on how undergraduate student work can contribute to current public archaeological investigations and debates.*

Introduction

Incorporating student learning and endeavour into academic investigations is a relatively new dimension of archaeological teaching and research (recently reviewed by Croucher 2019; Lewis 2019). This publication project in public archaeology developed from the 2ⁿᵈ University of Chester Archaeology Student Conference entitled *Archaeo-Engage: Engaging Communities in Archaeology.* This was a one-day free conference organised by final-year single honours archaeology students at the University of Chester as part of module 'HI6001 Archaeology and Contemporary Society'. The event was hosted by the Grosvenor Museum, Chester (part of Cheshire West and Cheshire Museums) and took place on 5ᵗʰ April 2017 (Figure 1).

Exploring real-world and digital mechanisms for public participation and investigation in public archaeological research, the student speakers adopted a range of strategies for delivery: from short talks supported by PowerPoint through to vlogs and art installations. Two keynote speakers delivered presentations on the day: Dr Lorna Richardson (formerly a postdoctoral researcher based at Umeå University, now Lecturer in Digital Humanities at the University of East Anglia) and Dr Mike Heyworth (Director of the Council for British Archaeology). The entire event was recorded by the University of Chester and can be viewed on Vimeo.[1] This edited collection comprises the select proceedings of the student conference, combining contributions from students who presented at the conference, as well as range of papers commissioned subsequently and authored by students, heritage professionals and academics. While the collection incorporates chapters that contend with public archaeological research and community engagement from a range of perspectives, a specific theme emerged from the conference and was enhanced by the additional contributions: the theme of art/archaeology interactions in public archaeology, including interfaces between art as subject, method and media. Hence, the book has adopted a revised title: *Public Archaeology: Arts of Engagement.*

Archaeo-Engage – engaging communities in archaeology

In 2016, the well-established Level 6 (final-year) undergraduate module 'HI6001 Archaeology and Contemporary Society' was adapted to integrate a new pedagogic experiment: to incorporate the organisation and presentation at a student-run public day conference as an integral formative element. The module is a core module for single honours Archaeology students, and focuses on the many intersections between archaeological theory, method and practice, and the contemporary world.

Figure 1: The poster designed by students to promote the conference, featuring the logo by Jonathan Felgate

Following on from the successful first conference, which tackled the intersections between public archaeology and mortuary archaeology (Giles and Williams 2016; Williams 2018; 2019), the aim was to repeat the experiment in 2017 on a different theme in public archaeology. Discussions between Caroline Pudney and Howard Williams (hereafter HW) inspired the focus on community engagement: a long-standing theme of both their research interests (e.g. Williams and Williams 2007; Simpson and Williams 2008; Tong *et al.* 2015; Pudney 2017a and 2017b). We had both considered public archaeology as an integral aspect of all our academic research and our roles as public intellectuals and practitioners, rather than as a subcategory of specialist practitioner or theoretical expertise, and we wanted to foster this sense in our students (see Almansa Sánchez 2018; Flatman 2012; Grima 2016; Richardson and Almansa Sánchez 2015; Svanberg 2013; Tarlow and Nilsson Stutz 2013). Hence, the conference titled selected for students was relatively fluid: offering them the opportunity to explore a range of themes and debates

about the intersections between contemporary society and archaeology (Figure 1). As an environment to critically explore different dimensions and debates in public archaeology, we hoped the conference and its subsequent assignments by students would explore new strategies for engaging communities in archaeological practices and ideas in both real-world and digital environments.

Themes in the public archaeology and politics of archaeology, as well as heritage conservation, management and interpretation, are integral parts of Chester's Archaeology degree programmes. The first half of the module HI6001 provided an exploration of a range of critical themes in public archaeology and the politics of archaeology. These were followed by five two-hour sessions that prepared the students for the formative conference and were supported by Brian Costello and Abigail Górkiewicz Downer. These sessions prepared the students for the summative written assignment: 'Critically appraise your presentation and contribution to the conference addressing the question: "What is the future of community engagement in archaeology?"' (See Appendix 1).

This exercise, while guided and supported, was intended to enhance in-depth and critical engagement, as well as critical self-reflection, on the students' work. It aspired to afford the students new skills and experiences in researching and communicating public archaeology, as well as creating for them a more accurate estimation of future career scenarios for archaeological and heritage research and its dissemination.

Reviewing Archaeo-Engage

The day conference was delivered efficiently by the students, assisted by Chester postgraduate researcher Gary Duckers. The conference was free and open to the public and was attended by *c.* 40 individuals including the students themselves, staff and other students of the University of Chester, Cheshire West and Chester council staff, heritage professionals, and members of the public. The students acted as greeters, chairs for their sessions and the keynote speakers, and contributed to the questions-and-answers for each presentation. In addition to the 13 student presentations and two guest speakers, there were further discussions over lunch and at the end of the conference itself.

The modes of delivery varied considerably and this was a distinctive aspect of the day. Eight students gave talks supported by PowerPoint, one presented a poster and explained its contents, another presented a vlog, and one a podcast. There were also two students presenting via installations: one created drawings of archaeological contexts, one creating a Playmobil museum.

When compared against the potential range topics for investigation, as characterised by the rich and varied contents of the journals *AP: Online Journal in Public Archaeology, Journal of Community Archaeology and Heritage* and *Public Archaeology,* or indeed, the contents of the recent *Key Concepts in Public Archaeology* (Moshenska 2017a), students avoided tackling some key topics. Among the omissions were liaison with metal-detectorists (Thomas 2016); archaeology and popular culture; the threat to people, sites and research by the antiquities trade (Gill 2017); how to navigate alternative archaeologies (pseudoarchaeology) (see Moshenska 2017b), and the intersections between nationalism and archaeology (Sommer 2017). Still, students responded to the question set by exploring three important themes, attributing a session to each: public engagement and community archaeology; art and public archaeology; and digital public archaeology. Let us review each in turn, although it should be noted that, thanks to the University of Chester's learning technologists, the entire event can be viewed on Vimeo.[2]

Not just a hobby: community archaeologies

The first session was chaired by Afnan Ezzeldin and focused on both traditional and new ways of engagement with the public, specifically on 'community archaeology' and its perceived social impact (Figure 2).

Shaun Parry delivered the first paper: 'Archaeology for Community and Social Benefit'. He proposed a bold new initiative to engage a wider range of people in archaeological practice through integration of

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[2] https://vimeo.com/showcase/4579092

Figure 2: Chairing the first session: Afnan (Amiko) Ezzeldin

archaeological training within the benefit system. This proposal would require centralised government funding and support, and risks being perceived as exploiting unemployed people by utilising their unpaid work. Still, Parry identified the potential benefits could include: greater overall investment in supporting and sustaining the heritage sector; disseminating training and knowledge; and fostering wider inclusion (see Parry this volume).

'Engage Thy Neighbour' by Bethany Humphries evaluated the range of ways that archaeology can foster community engagements with local archaeological and heritage sites, monuments, built environments and landscapes in order to promote social inclusion and a sense of community (see also Belford 2011; 2014; Thomas 2017). She emphasised the wide range of potential practices that need to be considered beyond just 'digging' – surveying, excavation, post-excavation work, conservation work and oral history research (see also Ainsworth 2015). Reviewing the variety of community archaeology projects and practices currently operating in the UK, she focuses on one case study of good practice, the Dig York Stadium project by the York Archaeological Trust with the City of York Council (2014–15). The diverse activities and active social media presence of the project revealed an effective and flexible community project supported by professional archaeologists. Humphries thus encouraged a multi-dimensional approach to community archaeology (see Humphries this volume).

Bryony Fisher (Figure 3) presented 'The Archaeology of Life on the Streets', using a vlog rather than a PowerPoint presentation. She identified the benefits and challenges of incorporating homeless people in archaeological projects (see Fisher this volume). Like Parry and Humphries, Fisher explored how archaeological projects can become increasingly inclusive and target specific groups traditionally excluded from archaeological endeavours and knowledge (see also Kiddey 2017). In this light, homeless groups are just one group among many potential specific sections of society for whom archaeologists

Figure 3: Bryony Fisher's video presentation, with other speakers (left to right): Rachel Alexander, Shaun Perry and Bethan Humphries

might foster bespoke engagement activities and projects. Fisher passionately emphasised the need to build sustainability in public archaeology projects aiming to do this (see Fisher this volume).

The final talk in this first session was by Rachel Alexander who evaluated the British Archaeological Award-winning Operation Nightingale, focusing on its role as therapeutic practice for military personnel, but addressing also its wider facets of community engagement. Among the many dimensions of Operation Nightingale, she focused on the under-threat monument on Salisbury Plain: Barrow Clump, Figheldean. The dig there has produced Neolithic finds, a Bronze Age burial mound with associated mortuary deposits, and an early Anglo-Saxon cemetery. Operation Nightingale is considered by Alexander as an important case study of targeted public engagement, focusing on specific groups with particular physical and mental disabilities. She also considered how Operation Florence, supported by the Heritage Lottery Fund, worked alongside Operation Nightingale to include the community through a range of activities and events. Despite its many successes, Alexander identified the potential challenges of the project's activities and broader public profile, including tensions and ethical debates regarding the relationship between archaeologists and the military, especially when dealing with the sensitive topic of human remains (see Brown 2016; Hamilakis 2009). Meanwhile, she flagged up the potentially upsetting nature for veterans and others, as well as the broader ethical challenges involved in, discovering and handling human remains (see Brown 2016; Williams 2019; Williams and Alexander this volume).

In addition to these four talks, there was a constructive and far-ranging discussion in the question-and-answer section. While unlikely to transpire in the current climate, the need for extended state-funding at national, regional and local levels to support high-quality public engagement and community projects was emphasised. As well as the National Lottery Heritage Fund, crowd-sourcing and other mechanisms,

Figure 4: Mona Rajput chairing the second session and introducing Aaron Clarke

state funds remain an important dimension of ensuring a real social impact on the lives of specific groups, as well as to foster research, conservation and management of heritage resources on the medium to long term (Sayer 2014). It was argued that this is particularly the case for school participation in heritage and archaeology projects (see Ancarno *et al.* 2015; Lewis 2014).

The importance of sustainability was repeated by students as key to their vision of community participation in archaeological research, and an important marker for the success of any community archaeology projects (Belford 2014; Carman 2011). The students accepted that this need not mean projects persisting in perpetuity at the same locations: projects might shifts between areas and foci. Combined with this, the discussion perceived the diversity of activities involved in projects as a further key dimension in the efficacy and sustainability of public archaeological endeavours. The flexibility of what constitutes a 'community' in terms of geographical focus and demographic was also raised, and how all 'communities' can be exclusive as much as inclusive, depending on the parameters identified (see also Belford 2011; 2014).

A further important point raised was the lack of information about failures, and learning from failures, in community archaeology projects, whether in terms of self-criticisms in order to build and adapt in future, or in terms of existing frameworks for critical evaluations of other projects (but see Simpson and Williams 2008). The challenge of dealing with rural communities is a further area of concern: although the potential of community foci of pubs and shops was raised as one solution, especially given that many of the more successful published case studies are urban (e.g. Garner and Wilmott 2015; Nevell 2015). Finally, the possibility was raised of setting up partnerships with specialists to work with disadvantaged and vulnerable groups, rather than trying to be social workers ourselves, as a further area requiring attention if initiatives hope to be scaled up in their character and reach.

To the people: art and social media

The second *Archaeo-Engage* conference session was chaired by Mona Rajput and opened by Aaron Clarke's presentation reflecting on a Playmobil museum installation he had created (Figure 4). Entitled 'Playful Encounters – Engaging Children in Public Archaeology', Clarke focused on playful encounters as a medium for engaging audiences in museums (Clarke this volume). Clarke's review mirrors recent discussions by Copplestone and Dunne (2017) in relation to the interactive elements of the new Moesgård Museum. In discussion, he reflected how this might operate differently between museum and home environments, and perhaps even in school contexts for learning about the past and the process of its interpretation, thus as an interesting initiative for the theme of archaeology and education (Henson 2017).
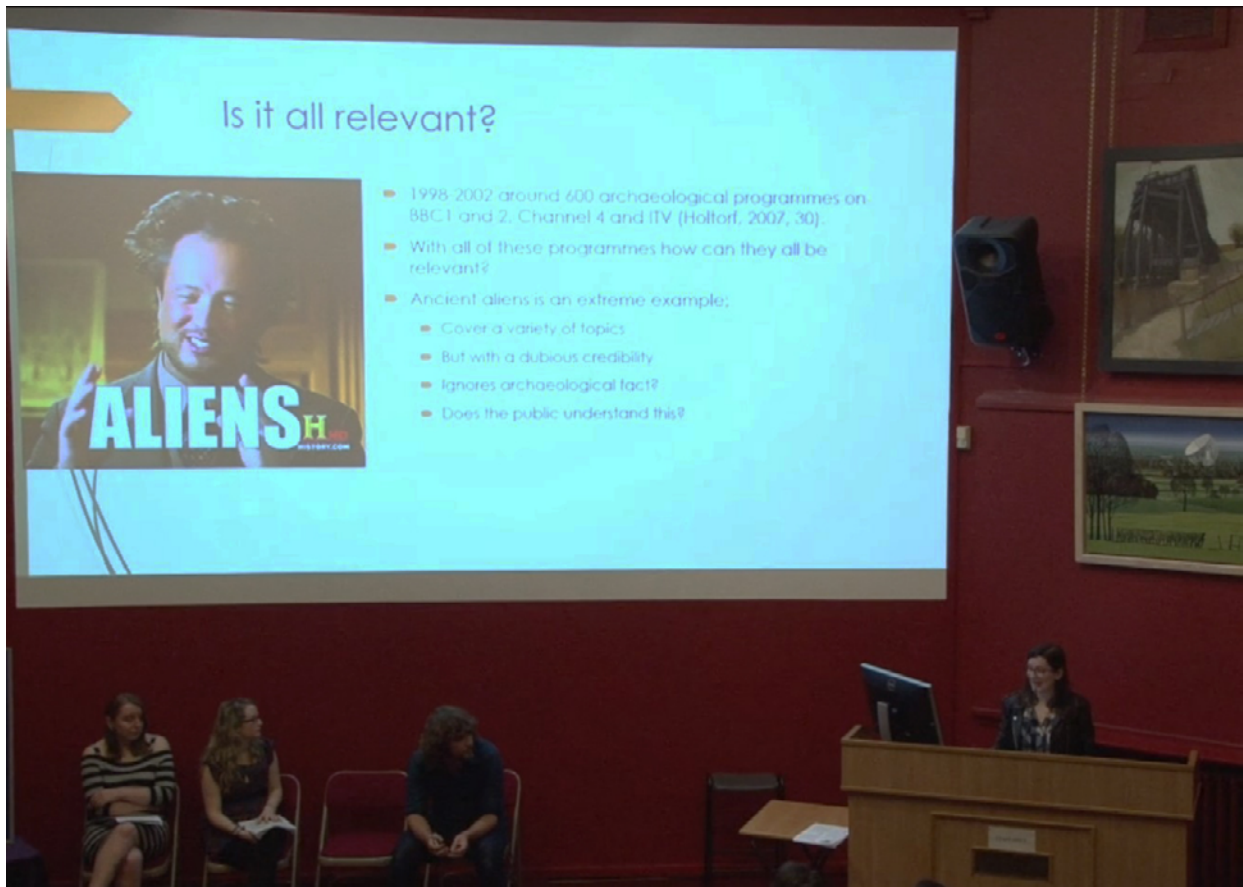
Figure 5: Becky Swift evaluates TV documentaries about archaeology

Television and film are important media for the public to encounter and engage with archaeology. Moving images disseminate archaeology across varied formats, from movies (Hall 2004; Holtof 2007a: 118) and documentaries (Bonacchi 2013; Holtorf 2007a: 52–54; Kulik 2006) to an ever-increasing range of archaeological films of different kinds and contexts (Morgan 2014; Tong *et al.* 2015; Perry 2017). Television documentaries are an important environment for reaching mass audiences and engaging them in archaeological ideas, methods and discoveries and both humanising the past and creating powerful informative and emotionally and intellectually stimulating shows with a 'good story' dominating over finds and methods (Devenney *et al.* 2018; Schablitsky and Hetherington 2012). However, the media retain and perpetuate out-moded stereotypes of both archaeology and archaeologists, including the purveying of nationalist sentiments and supernatural 'fringe' musings (Ascherson 2004), while the public and potential students can be misled regarding what constitutes most archaeological work (Schablitsky and Hetherington 2012: 144). There remains an inherent mistrust of the media among many

archaeologists (see Brittain and Clack 2007: 24–26), but its potential for stimulating critical thinking and vibrant engagements with the past have been repeatedly championed (e.g. Piccini 2007; Taylor 2007).

It was within this context that Becky Swift evaluated the hugely important medium of television for promoting public engagement in archaeology via her paper: 'Engaging the public through the television: the future of public engagement with archaeology from television media' (Figure 5). Focusing on how archaeologists themselves are portrayed in shows such as *Time Team*, *Meet the Ancestors,* and *Two Men in a Trench*, and *Digging for Britain* (see also Ascherson 2004; Holtorf 2007a: 62–100; Bonacchi 2013; Moshenska 2017c), she pointed out that archaeologists themselves are increasingly media-aware and effective as on-screen practitioners and communicators (see also Ascherson 2004: 145; Schablitsky and Hetherington 2012: 148). Swift identified the stereotypes of how archaeologists dress (see Holtorf 2007b); she noted that they still rarely serve as the main presenters of the programmes themselves, bar from a few 'usual suspects' (Brittain and Clack 2007: 16–17; Egyptian archaeologist Zahi Hawass is one example: Schablitsky and Hetherington 2012: 150). Also, she points out the dubious credibility of programmes like *Ancient Aliens* and observes that there remain limitations to our understanding of the impact and interactions of mainstream archaeological stories with the vastly popular and problematic shows promoting pseudoarchaeology (see Schadla-Hall 2004). Producers might not deliberately set out to misrepresent the views of contributing archaeologists or mislead their audiences. Still, their focus is upon entertainment, even if doing so might have the incidental or supplementary benefits of informing and empowering their audiences (Schablitsky and Hetherington 2012: 145; see also Brittain and Clack 2007: 28–30; Piccini 2007).

In discussion, Swift also argued that we need to speak up as a discipline via television against pseudoarchaeology, challenging its damaging narratives, often built on deeply rooted sexist and racist narratives (e.g. Anderson 2018, but see also Holtorf 2005; Thomas 2015 for different perspectives on approaches to media archaeology). Perhaps programmes crafted by archaeologists themselves will increasingly come to the fore in the future to compete against pseudoarchaeological narratives which dominate TV (Anderson 2018; Devenney *et al.* 2018), operating alongside vlogs, podcasts and blogs as new media by which archaeological narratives can circumvent mainstream producers (Boyle 2017). Archaeoduck (Duckworth this volume) and Archaeosoup productions (Barkman-Astles, this volume) are good examples of the power of archaeological vlogs to communicate a wide range of archaeological themes, theories, debates and methods.

Artist's reconstructions are another focus of critical evaluation, operating as a well-established and important medium for public archaeological engagement, and frequently featuring mortuary contexts (e.g. Ambrus 2006, Ambrus and Aston 2001). Recent studies have explored the power of art in archaeological communication and public engagement, including new reflections on the challenges and potential of envisioning death rituals in multiple stages and perspectives (Gardeła 2019; Giles 2016; Swogger 2010; Watson and Williams 2019; Williams 2009). 'Drawing death: issues with reconstructing the dead for the public' by Hannah Proctor focused on the 7th-century AD high-status female bed-burial from Swallowcliffe Down, Wiltshire (Speake 1989), one of a series of well-known wealthy 'conversion period' graves of high-status females. This rich yet disturbed burial context was effectively deployed to discuss the use of art to display mortuary contexts in museum exhibits and other public venues. Proctor created an art installation, showing some options for how we might visualise the disturbed grave (Figure 6). She argued that artist's reconstructions communicate archaeological discoveries to the public and even humanise the dead with an immediate impact on viewers (Figure 7). However, the decisions behind the art's creation are rarely explained in a clear fashion to audiences (see also Giles 2016). In addition, the art can become rapidly dated and is expensive to replace, so they can endure and lag behind shifting archaeological interpretations. Moreover, artworks have had a tendency to be biased towards wealthy graves, male-gendered graves and male participants. Funerary scenes are limited in a further way: they often only show a single moment in time and rarely explore mortuary processes. They rely on a large number of choices and it is often difficult to discern which elements are drawn on archaeological data and which are artistic additions. Proctor specifically criticises the danger of the authority of artists in fixing an interpretation, and specifically, the 'living dead' approach: presuming that grave-goods belonged to a single individual, using the Amesbury Archer's reconstruction as a famous example. As

best practice in the future, Proctor focused on the need for combining multiple media to allow viewers to discern discoveries from burial contexts from more speculative inferences. She proposed layering of images to discern between what was found and what was inferred: a technique adopted by Victor Ambrus for *Time Team* programmes (Ambrus 2006; see discussion in Williams 2009).
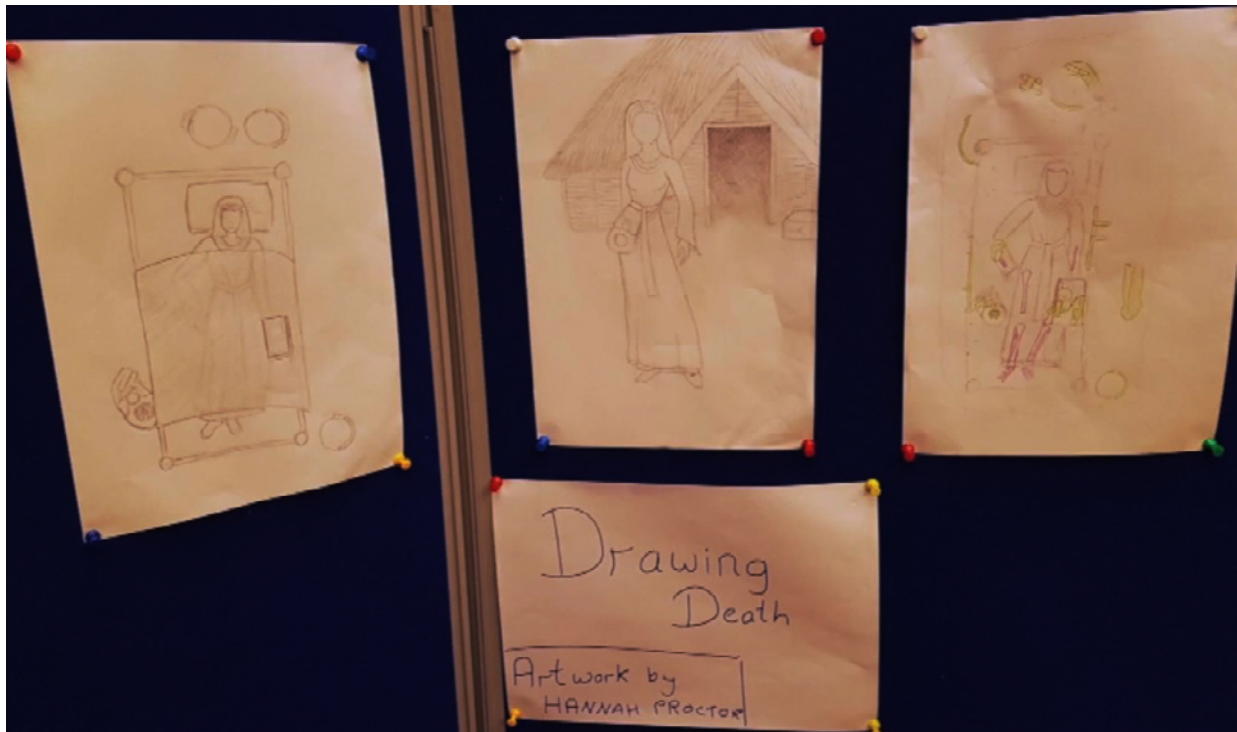
Figure 6: Hannah Proctor's art, illustrating different strategies for illustrating furnished early medieval inhumation graves

The final presentation took us into the field of digital archaeology which deserves further introduction. With the growth in Internet use, the potential to engage audiences in archaeology via digital media has grown exponentially, and with it the potential to facilitate new and diverse audiences and fostering digital communities both with and without geographical moorings (see Bonacchi 2017; Bonacchi *et al.* 2019; Cook 2018; McDavid 2002; 2004; Richardson 2013) and both during and between fieldwork (Williams and Atkin 2015; Garner and Wilmott 2015; Laracuente 2012; Ulguim 2018). We should not only explore the potentials and challenges of using social media for public engagement (e.g. Perry and Beale 2015; Richardson 2015). In addition, we need to further understand how it is changing the epistemological and ontological character of the discipline (Perry and Beale 2015). Equally, we need to explore further how archaeological knowledge is being deployed by the public via social media (Bonacchi and Moshenska 2015; Bonacchi *et al.* 2018), including contributions to debates far beyond the traditional restrictions of peer-reviewed academic publications as public intellectuals (Brophy 2018). There still remain a series of ethical challenges, however, with our digital practice that mirror and extend upon real-world public archaeology ethics (Perry and Beale 2015; Richardson 2018). Within the vast range of ways that digital media are being deployed by archaeologists, including social media such as vlogs (Tong *et al.* 2015), and the practice and ethics of digital archaeology are a growing concern (Richardson and Lindgren 2017).

Addressing aspects of this key topic, Robyn Bursnell composed a poster entitled: #PublicEngagementWithSocialMedia. She explored digital engagement with archaeology via Facebook, Twitter, Wordpress and Instagram in relation to conferences to suggest the potential, but also the difficulties, of considering social media a mechanism for public engagement in specialist academic debates (see Laracuente 2012). Bursnell evaluated the *ArchaeoEngage* conference's own social media activity, as

well as reflecting on the social media activities associated with the CAA (Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods) conference. She made the point that 'views'/'hits' might not indicate reads or even proper 'glances' at pages and therefore are misleading indicators of public engagement. Moreover, Bursnell notes that while social media has been considered an open platform to communicate and discuss academic topics, potentially extending the audience far beyond those attending and those in the academy, there remain issues of accessibility and the lack of archiving (see also Richardson 2013). After a short time, very little can be discovered of the many thousands of tweets and other social media posts, and there is no often archived resource for the activity. Hence, Bursnell argues that the information is 'buried in continuous data-creation'. As well as the importance of archiving this social media activity for longer-term use, Bursnell makes the point that social media is not fully democratic and fully accessible, so there are significant limitations to those able to interact with archaeology via social media (see also Richardson 2013; 2015). In discussion, the concern was raised regarding the ethics of extracting information from personal accounts in our public engagement and analyses of public perceptions (see also Richardson 2018).

Figure 7: Hannah Proctor discussing archaeological visualisations of funerals and burial contexts, with other speakers in the session. (left to right: Robyn Bursnell, Becky Swift and Aaron Clarke)

To boldly go: digital archaeology

Building on Bursnell's consideration of social media at conferences, the third and final *Archaeo-Engage* conference session addressed other dimensions of digital archaeology. Chaired by Bryony Fisher, the first presentation was by Mona Rajput, entitled 'The Rise of the Armchair Archaeologists: Encouraging Community Engagement through Technological Methods' (Figure 8). Rajput reiterates the importance of community archaeology, reinforcing senses of identity and place. She made the argument for digitization and the ways in which a range of new projects are participating to transformation digital engagement in archaeological research. Heritage Together (Griffiths *et al.* 2015) and MicroPasts (Bonacchi and Moshenska 2015; Bonacchi *et al.* 2019) were used as case studies of how one can participate, as well as GoogleEarth, as used by the Stonehenge Riverside Project (Welham *et al.* 2015). She noted that there

is often little way to contribute information without specialist knowledge. Rajput also highlighted the potential dangers of these technological methods for increasing looting, but also considered how Global Explorer uses satellite images to identify looting via 'space archaeology'. She also identified a range of apps that can help engage people with heritage destinations, in the context of which we might mention the Welsh digital historic environments records: *Archwilio*.[3]

Figure 8: Mona Rajput discusses digital engagement and participation in archaeological research, with the other speakers of the third session. (left to right: Jonathan Felgate, Calum Richardson, Afnan Ezzeldin and Jack Cave)

Building on Rajput's review, Jonathan Felgate took a similar tack but contextualised these archaeological initiatives with his paper 'What Can You Do For Us? Citizen Science in Archaeology'. He outlined how the specialisation and professionalisation of archaeology had restricted amateur participation. Felgate identified the potential of working with digitising finds and landscapes to allow amateurs to participate in archaeological research from their own homes. Examples might include the *Megalithic Portal*, and the aforementioned *Thames Discovery Programme* (Bonacchi and Moshenska 2015) as well as the ACCORD (Archaeology Community Co-Production of Research Data) project in which communities create 3D digital visualisations of heritage sites (Maxwell 2017). A further case study of 'citizen science is the *Atlas of Hillforts of Britain and Ireland*.[4]

Jack Cave then explored virtual reality technology's potential for engaging communities and tourisms in heritage sites in 'Virtual Reality: Engaging with the Archaeological in the Reconstructed World'. It allows complex three-dimensional spaces to be mediated, including built environments within museums and learning spaces. Cave suggested how VR waypoints might enhance visitor experiences and allow visitors to engage with past vistas as well as the contemporary appearance, of heritage environments. In discussion, the expense of the technology and its durability were raised as potential challenges of such technologies. Multi-sensorial dimensions have long been experimented with in museum environments.

Yet Eve (2017) has recently taken forward this approach in relation to digital archaeology, exploring the potentials of multi-sensorial experiences with archaeological data *in situ* by creating Mixed Reality virtual environments which connect real-worlds to interpretative computer-generated visual and other sensorial media. These 'embodied GIS' applications afford different perspectives on archaeological sites, monuments and landscapes, including prehistoric settlements on Bodmin Moor, the soundscapes of York Cemetery and smellscapes at the Moesgård Archaeological Trail, Denmark. In discussion at the conference, it was emphasized how these technologies should make use of the widest available mechanisms, namely mobile phone applications, rather than expensive installations.

Figure 9: Calum Richardson discussing the value of Minecraft for public engagement

Interactive technologies provide not only new environments for public engagements, but new narrative structures in virtual environments through active media (Myers Emery and Reinhard 2015; Copplestone and Dunne 2017; Mol *et al.* 2017; Reinhard 2018). Afnan Ezzeldin's talk was titled 'The Incorporation of Archaeology in Modern Games'. She explored the burgeoning field of 'archaeogaming', building on important early work by Watrall (2002) and Gardner (2007) and now the subject of multiple new surveys and evaluations (e.g. Mol *et al.* 2017; Nicholson 2019). She queried to what extent gamers are engaging with the archaeological past. Using *Sid Meiers Civilisation V* as her first case study, she identified key tropes through which archaeology and cultures are represented and suggests there are simple but positive potential in the game for learning about the human past (cf. Reinhard 2018: 191). However, despite seemingly set in the Mesolithic era, *Far Cry: Primal* was heavily criticised for multiple inaccuracies. Despite attempts to create linguistic structures for the societies in the game, the scenarios involving material culture and societies conflate and confuse different periods and practices. Most problematically, the game celebrates the violence of Stone Age societies. Ezzeldin posed the question: does one learn about the human past whilst gaming? She is sceptical, especially regarding *Far Cry: Primal*.

To improve the situation for this global potential market for archaeological ideas about the human past, she identifies the importance of including archaeologists in the creation and playing of games set in archaeological time periods (see also Ezzeldin this volume).

Finally, Calum Richardson presented 'Pixel Pickaxes: The Use of Minecraft as a Medium for Community Engagement in Archaeology' via a podcast. Richardson identified *Minecraft* one of the most popular video games of all time and how the University of Southampton attempted to draw on this popularity to develop a modified version of *Minecraft* for an archaeology open day in 2016 (Gutteridge 2016). Richardson suggests it has significant benefits for community archaeology. It might particularly be useful for those who physically cannot excavate and allows complete freedom for choices to be made. *Minecraft* reconstructions of actual historical sites can allow explorations of sites that cannot be readily accessed, and of interest to adults as well as children (Figure 9).

In discussion, the issue of authenticity was raised for various digital reconstructions. In response, it was argued that concepts of authenticity are variable across different parts of the globe. Yet the ability of digital overlays through digital art and VR technologies enables a conversation to be had with the users about how heritage sites and monuments look now, and how they might have looked at different stages in their life-histories, fostering discussions of the processes involved in heritage interpretation. Moreover, it was argued that the gaming and digital interactives are potential ways for encouraging a broader sense of archaeological practice and interpretation beyond traditional stereotypes. Yet the digital selling of 'the past' via games and other digital products incorporates ideologies regarding how societies work past and present, and we must openly question and critique their contemporary underpinnings rather than simply adopting these metanarratives implicitly in our public engagement.

What do UK archaeologists think of the public?

Supporting and extending the themes addressed by the student presentations, *Archaeo-Engage* was enriched by the two keynote talks which offered new original insights and contextual overviews of public archaeology. Dr Lorna-Jane Richardson, introduced by Jonathan Felgate, presented some results of her 'Archaeological Audiences' project in a talk entitled: 'What do UK Archaeologists Think of the Public?' Outlining the different types of public archaeology currently practiced in the UK, and how community archaeology is but one aspect of public engagement with archaeology, Richardson reflected on how we have limited data to understand how archaeologists themselves perceive public engagement and *who* the public are and why they are interested in the past. The results of a survey revealed character and significance of public engagement for their discipline at present, the results of which were subsequently published (Richardson *et al.* 2018; see also Rocks-Mcqueen 2012).

Richardson highlighted the rapidly increasing roles of digital tools in public engagement, but the lack of detailed attention by professionals to the different publics out there who might have very different demands and interests in their work. The survey identified the challenge of online abuse affecting professionals, the lack of perceived recognition for public engagement activities, and the potential of new initiatives of more democratic digital engagement through Wikipedia which is heavily under-used by archaeologists despite it being top of almost every Google-search. She posed the challenging question: do we want the public to simply appreciate and understand our work, or do we seriously aspire towards productive co-creation with non-professionals?

Delivering archaeology for all

The second keynote was by Dr Mike Heyworth, Director of the CBA (Council for British Archaeology), presenting the talk: 'Delivering Archaeology for All'. Heyworth surveyed and reflected on the current challenges facing the CBA's role in engaging the public in the UK and beyond with archaeological research and ideas. He began by outlining the foundation of the Council for British Archaeology in 1944 and its development in the post-war years to encourage popular participation and engagement with Britain's past (Heyworth 2016a) before reviewing current areas of CBA engagement. He noted

how excavation remains fundamental to how archaeology is perceived and promoted (see also Sayer 2015) and there is an enduring challenge to promote and perpetuate engagement with other aspects of the archaeological process including non-invasive fieldwork and post-excavation (see also Ainsworth 2015). The challenges of engaging volunteers with post-fieldwork elements was argued to be one of the reasons why many community archaeology projects are not published (see Hedge and Nash 2016; Humphries this volume). In this regard, Heyworth made the important point that not everyone wants to dig, and a shift away from excavation can only enhance the ability of archaeology to be accessible to volunteers and professionals with mental and physical health issues. In this regard, Heyworth identified the key challenge of how we replicate and scale-up such unique initiatives involving work with small groups of young offenders (Pudney 2017a and 2017b), homeless people (Kiddey 2017) or those with mental health issues (e.g. Grimsditch and Hawes 2015), to make a significant nationwide impact. In this context, Heyworth reflected on the legacy of the Manpower Services Commission during the mid–late 1970s and early–mid-1980s, where many unemployed people participated in archaeological labour but were not afforded training linked to archaeology as a potential career trajectory (see also Parry this volume). The CBA has endeavoured to extend and support best practice in community archaeology through the liaison of experts with local groups (e.g. Thomas 2014).

While many feel excluded, Heyworth advocated local societies as crucial for the long-term role of working with amateurs in UK archaeology, from liaising with metal-detectorists through to combatting looting and wanton development. Likewise, he discussed the CBA's and the Portable Antiquities Scheme's long-term roles in liaising between metal-detectorists and archaeologists (see Bland 2004; Bland *et al.* 2017), but also how local groups can be fostered as advocates and stewards for local heritage within the planning process and of the built environment as well as below-ground archaeology. The CBA's role in helping lobby politicians via the All Party Parliamentary Archaeology Group was also addressed, both in terms of threats to the historic environment but also the nature and future of the profession (see Heyworth 2016b; 2017a; 2018). Heyworth also promoted the CBA's annual Festival of Archaeology to connect these groups and promote the subject in all senses.

The CBA's role in archaeological publishing was then addressed by Heyworth, and he offered encouragement for archaeologists to write more for broader audiences as well as specialist academic and technical studies. A good example of a synthesis drawing on co-created research through public archaeology is the Thames Riverside project's *A River's Tale* (Cohen and Wragg 2017). Meanwhile, the county series of '50 Finds from...' published by the Portable Antiquities Scheme, offers a successfull illustration of how metal-detected finds can be disseminated following dating and identification to wide audiences (e.g. Oakden 2015). Open-access initiatives were also promoted, including the journal *Internet Archaeology*[5] and the valuable role of the Archaeological Data Service[6] in archiving publications and other resources, including grey literature reports, and making them freely available for specialist and public readers.

Heyworth identified the value of engaging with the media, and via social media, to promote archaeology. Within this spectrum, we might add podcasts, vlogging and blogging which have grown as significant fields of digital debate and engagement in archaeological theory and practice (see Rocks-Mcqueen and Webster 2014; Tong *et al.* 2015; Bonacchi 2017; Boyle 2017; Amundsen and Belmonte 2018). The digital role of public participation via citizen science projects was duly recognised and promoted by Heyworth using the example of MicroPasts (Bonacchi *et al.* 2019). What of education? For children, the role of the Young Archaeologists Club was advocated, and with the loss of GCSE and now A level in archaeology – it constitutes one of even fewer opportunities pre-University to study archaeology directly (see also Henson 2017).

In summary, Heyworth presented an optimistic perspective of the future of archaeology, and its ability to use the long-term and complex story of the human past to address key questions about the presen and our future in the context of the UK. Heyworth brought up the challenges to the profession and the

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[5] http://intarch.ac.uk/

[6] https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/

landscape of Brexit (Heyworth 2017a and b; see also Gardner 2017; Belford 2018; Bonacchi 2018; Brophy 2018), and the contribution of archaeology to understandings of the environment and population growth (for the former, see Rockman 2012). One might add that contemporary society not only draws on archaeological knowledge and archaeologists' expertise to study societal problems today, but has the ability to critically evaluate and problematize these issues (Almansa Sánchez 2018; Nilsson Stutz 2018).

In the discussion, many key issues were raised, including how to define social benefit and whether archaeologists should attempt to be social workers, or work *with* social works (see also Pudney 2017a and b). The lack of clear policy and guidance on public archaeology activity was discussed: as noted by Almansa Sánchez (2018: 201), not only is the theoretical framework of public archaeology still weak, but we have fluid methodologies that are rarely replicated. Heyworth also iterated the need for examples of good and bad, effective and unsuccessful, public archaeology to be published (see Simpson and Williams 2008), so we can learn not simply about impact and successful social transformations, but failures and limitations to our work that will inform refinements to our future endeavours.

From conference to publication

The students' participation in the organisation of, and presentation at, the conference was a valuable and original pedagogical experience integrated into the final year of their single honours Archaeology honours degrees. It extended both their archaeological and transferable research and communications skills; of potential benefit to them if they wished to pursue an academic or heritage career or apply their degrees to other fields and directions. Simultaneously, the public event and their summative written assignment served to enhance their critical engagement and appreciation of the roles of archaeologists as both researchers and public debaters/intellectuals (Tarlow and Nilsson Stutz 2013).

The fresh perspectives offered by many of the student talks, and the enthusiasm of both the keynote speakers and the audience members, encouraged us to take this further towards publication. In doing so, this would extend the opportunity for those students willing to participate beyond the module itself, affording them with their first engagement with an experience of the complex multi-staged process of academic publishing. Such a precedent had already been set with the first University of Chester Archaeology Student Conference in 2016, from which the book entitled *The Public Archaeology of Death* (Williams *et al.* 2009) emerged. For this book, one of the student group volunteered to participate in an editorial capacity to gain valuable experience and work on the project alongside her MA Archaeology of Death and Memory during 2017–2018 (Afnan Ezzeldin).

The select proceedings of the student's research is the inspiration for this collection and six of the student group agreed to contribute their work and ideas to the development of chapters: Rachel Alexander; Aaron Clarke; Afnan Ezzeldin, Bryony Fisher; Bethan Humphries; and Shaun Parry. These were subject to peer-review and revised by the editors, and joined by a range of commissioned papers by students, academics and researchers from elsewhere during the course of 2018 and early 2019. Together, the resulting book comprises of more than a student conference proceedings, and more than a standard structured academic edited collection. Instead, we offer fresh ideas and case studies in UK public archaeology which both challenge current practice and point multiple directions towards the public archaeology of the future.

Acknowledgements

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Appendix 1 – Review of the *Archaeo-Engage* conference formative and summative assessment

Students were expected to include in their assignment:

1. an expansion and refinement of their presentation, including a critical discussion addressing how the conference has developed your knowledge and thinking on the issue;

2. a copy of their presentation as an appendix.

Therefore, rather than a two-stage process of researching and then writing their assignments, this was a more multi-staged assignment guided by postgraduate researchers employed as assistants, and the module tutor (HW):

1. Based on preliminary reading and class-based discussions, students were invited to select and evaluate a specific topic in public archaeology or the politics of the past relating to the question: 'what is the future of community engagement in archaeology?' The students might deploy an original case study or appraise recent published research. A deadline was set for submitting a proposed title and abstract for their topic of up to 100 words;

2. Two computer lab sessions were held in which postgraduate researcher Brian Costello assisted HW in guiding students on how to organise and deliver an academic conference, preparing them for the organisation of *Archaeo-Engage.* The students had to then agree set tasks and work as a team to promote, organise and run the free and public day conference at the Grosvenor Museum, Chester. The students were guided in promoting the conference via social media with a Twitter account and a WordPress site, designing their own logo, as well as promoting the conference around the University and city, organising the room and liaising with the venue. The students also liaised with the two guest keynote speakers, who brought contrasting but valuable expertise on archaeological engagement with contemporary society;

3. Two computer lab-based sessions then guided students with how to identify and develop their research topic independently. A deadline was set for students to pitch their preliminary title and abstracts. Students verbally presented their preliminary ideas and gained peer-feedback, as well as written feedback from HW and the opportunity to attend tutorials with HW. Postgraduate researcher Abigail Downer assisted in these sessions by discussing how students should select and develop their chosen topics, conduct their research and present at an academic conference;

4. Students were then invited to present their research at the student conference as a formative exercise (i.e. not assessed in itself) via one of four options (to provide the students with options depending on their personal level of comfort at public speaking and to give them versatility in the technology and style of presentation):

    i. 10-minute presentation equivalent to no more than 1,000 words supported by PowerPoint or Prezi;

    ii. 5-minute video or podcast equivalent to no more than 500 words plus 5-minute verbal commentary equivalent to no more than 500 words;

    iii. Blog entry equivalent to no more than 500 words plus 5-minute verbal commentary equivalent to no more than 500 words;

    iv. Poster, artwork, comic strip or installation equivalent to no more than 500 words plus 5-minute verbal commentary equivalent to no more than 500 words.

    Before the conference, there was a rehearsal session for the benefit of those requiring feedback on their presentation ahead of the conference;

5. The students were expected to actively engage in the conference question-and-answer sessions, take notes, and after their presentations and those of others, to contribute to the general discussion at the end of the conference. This also afforded them the opportunity to gain feedback from audience members (including amateur and professional archaeologists, heritage specialists and fellow students, as well as members of the public) as well as written feedback from the tutor (HW);

6. A post-conference debrief session and tutorials were available to help guide students in the transition from the formative conference to completing the summative assignment;

7. Students then submitted their summative assignment, with their presentations included as an appendix to show the basis upon which their assignment was written. Students were encouraged to self-evaluate and develop their ideas beyond their formative presentation.

Part 1

The Art of Engagement: Strategies and Debates in Public Archaeology

The Benefits of Archaeology

Shaun Parry

This note proposes that community archaeology projects might, should adequate government funding be made available, enhance the UK's unemployment benefit system. By fostering synergies between professional and academic archaeologists, core practical skills in archaeology could be delivered as training opportunities on community projects to unemployed people. This would afford access of archaeological and heritage knowledge and experiences those from disadvantaged backgrounds and usually excluded from opportunities to engage with heritage in practical and intellectual terms and in a voluntary capcity. As well as affording potential career opportunities in the heritage sector, including take up of higher education degrees in archaeology, this proposal would afford transferable skills to enhance the employability for the unemployed participants.

Introduction

The opportunities for free voluntary training in archaeological research are widespread yet restricted by for many, and yet some commercial and research projects still rely significantly on voluntary labour of local people and students (e.g. Shiner *et al.* 2019). This chapter will briefly suggest positive social and professional values in training unemployed people as parts of community archaeology projects. I do not advocate the return to the Manpower Services Commission of the 1970s and '80s (see Williams *et al.* this volume), that oversaw many young people working on archaeological projects without the possibility of qualifications or progression. Instead, if conducted in a strategized and bespoke fashion, unemployed people might be offered well-designed participation in community archaeology projects with benefits for their knowledge, skills and employability, but also their self-esteem, well-being and health. While not without its challenges, this is a viable and inclusive way to answer Heyworth's argument at the *Archaeo-Engage* conference for the need for public archaeological engagement with social impact to 'scale up' with governmental support (see Williams *et al.* this volume).

Background: Archaeology and Social Benefit

Archaeological research is both popular and relevant in the modern world. Sabloff (2008: 16) argues that archaeology captivates people for its insights into past times, but also has the capability of revealing humanity's future directions. One of the ways by which archaeologists fulfil their duty of public dissemination and engagement is by employing volunteers on their projects (Johnson and Simpson 2013: 58). It has been acknowledged that volunteering on archaeology projects has the potential to give people a sense of community and well-being, as well as increasing peoples' social networks (Johnson and Simpson 2013: 58; Neal 2015; Sayer 2015). Moreover, heritage places are for the most part dependent on volunteers to help organisations educate the public and preserve heritage (Timothy 2011: 475).

Volunteering can involve participation in many stages of archaeological projects from survey and excavation to laboratory analysis and cataloguing finds (e.g. Nevell 2015; Smardz Frost 2004: 68). It enhances the confidence and capability of those involved (see Lewis 2014), both on an individual basis and through team work, and enhance a passion for the local environment and its heritage (Piliavin and Siegl, 2007: 450; Johnson and Simpson 2013). For example, Van Willigen (2000: 312) found that older volunteers had increased health, psychological and social benefits with additional overall life satisfaction, and this also applies to those with disabilities who can feel a particular sense of pride and empowerment via their involvement (see Miller *et al.* 2002: 247). Johnson and Simpson (2013: 58) argue that volunteers on archaeological projects or within a heritage setting are more likely to pursue other opportunities within archaeology or heritage. Furthermore, an increased optimistic attitude towards work and the workplace can be garnered (Miller *et al.* 2002: 247).

Community projects thus have multiple potential social impacts and connections to the local community through participation (Marshall 2002; Moser *et al.* 2002; Tully 2007; Pudney 2017a and b). Therefore, it is important that community archaeology projects are open to a wider public and that they are accessible to people from various abilities, ages, and cultural and ethnic backgrounds which in turn could offer different cultural viewpoints and interpretations of the past and enrich a sense of engagement and investment in cultural heritage (Moser *et al.* 2002: 221; Simpson 2012). While it remains difficult to map community archaeology projects directly to social benefits, the political drive to foster an ideology of social inclusivity and thus make happier and less crime-ridden communities through community archaeology has been an emerging feature of the last four decades (Simpson 2008: 12; Simpson and Williams 2008: 72). Community archaeology projects also state that they aim to produce economic benefits such as reduced cost for commercial excavation and increased tourism (Simpson 2008: 12). Furthermore, community archaeology projects have a responsibility to impart new meaning of the past to local communities and this is achieved through active involvement and volunteering (Tully 2007: 170).

Yet, as Simpson (2012: 116) argues, professionalism remains a barrier that divides the public who want to volunteer on community archaeology projects from the qualified archaeologists they work with. Therefore, a major drawback for community archaeology is that this professionalism prevents the public and jeopardises the profession that was meant to engage the public and local communities.

The Argument

Community archaeology projects can have both a social and psychological benefit to volunteers, as argued by a range of recent studies (Neal 2015; Nevell 2015; Sayer 2015; Kiddey 2017; Pudney 2017a and b). They can specifically foster confidence and the development of aspirations to pursue a career in archaeology (Lewis 2014; Winterton 2015). Yet many of the initiatives that aspire towards social change are currently small-scale and diffused in their aims and objections. If we are going to up-scale and extend the argument for social benefit, archaeologists must tackle larger groups of resources with national-level resources and planning. The obvious way to do this is to engage unemployed people in community archaeology projects in a positive, training environment. This proposal comes at a time when the UK has at least a stable job market with more archaeologists in work than before the 2008 recession, even if predicting massive increases in job opportunities cannot be easily confirmed (Rocks-Macqueen 2018). Thus, the challenge comes in translating these focused initiatives in nationwide government investment and support for archaeology at Universities and in the workplace (see Williams *et al.* this volume).

Volunteering on community archaeology projects can add a huge benefit to a person's skillset as well as gaining a knowledge and passion for their local heritage. Archaeological engagement should not be seen as about University recruitment *per se* (see Lewis 2014), but I argue it should engage the disadvantaged and the subaltern (see Kiddey 2017). Affording unemployed people across the country with the opportunity to garner a range of archaeology-specific and transferable skills through archaeological practice has considerable untapped benefits for the historic environment and society as a whole.

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'Dig Society':
Funding Models and Sustainability in Community Archaeology

Matt Beresford

In this chapter, I evaluate different models for funding community archaeology projects before discussing the model of community archaeology that I have created via MBArchaeology and Involve Heritage CIC over the past ten years. This approach has allowed me to work almost exclusively within the field of community archaeology across a wide spectrum of communities, from high deprivation regions to more affluent areas, within diverse communities, and within schools, Family Learning and the widest age-range of Adult Education.

Introduction

The public and community aspects of archaeology is an ever-growing element within the wider archaeological spectrum, with more and more people wanting to be involved. This may be through physical fieldwork – digging, fieldwalking or undertaking geophysical surveys – or through post-excavation sessions, attending public talks or simply reading about recent discoveries via the latest *Current Archaeology* magazine. Yet, in these times of uncertainty and austerity, funding for community archaeology projects, as well as other heritage projects with public engagement dimensions, is not easy to procure. In this chapter I outline three main ways of funding archaeology in the UK today, each of which both engage and involves the public. The chapter explores each model, how they are funded, what their advantages and disadvantages are, and raises issues around long-term sustainability. It draws on my experience with MBArchaeology and Involve Heritage CIC, before offering a way of combining elements from each model into a more sustainable way of operating.

Archaeology for the public

'Twenty years of Time Team helped to turn an 'army' of armchair archaeologists into a thriving network of community archaeologists'. This is the opening rhetorical statement I use in introductory sessions with new Adult Education groups or community projects. Of course, there are many other factors that have helped to create the huge national interest in being actively involved with the country's heritage, but the metaphor of swapping your TV remote for a trowel is a good one, and one that many can relate to. Although the term 'public archaeology' can be applied to much of what is discussed in this chapter, from this point onwards I shall use the term 'community archaeology'. The reason for this is that I want to explore what the term 'community' actually means – 'public' can and often does refer to a very wide audience. TV archaeology programmes can be viewed by hundreds of thousands of people, and while the public are 'engaged' with the archaeology it showcases, they are not physically 'involved' in the investigation and interpretation of physical data. As Moshenska (2017: 3) has suggested, 'public archaeology' is a practice that 'straddles the great divides within archaeology between professional, academic and amateur; between the local and the global; between science and humanities' – in its widest sense it is where 'archaeology meets the world'.

'Community archaeology', on the other hand, could be seen as a discipline that takes place at a more localised, grass-roots level. As Thomas (2017: 16) has argued, the nature and structure of community archaeology is 'greatly affected by the social, cultural, economic and legislative settings in which it takes place', and therefore it may differ in its nature from region to region. She further notes that

because of this, community archaeology may look very different when applied to young people, or those from marginalised communities, or indeed as I might add in differing socio-economic communities. The examples I wish to discuss are about 'the community' of a given region or background being actively involved in archaeological sites, monuments, built environments and landscapes. As a director of Involve Heritage, I aim to physically involve people in their local heritage, not just tell them about it (which incidentally I also do), although there are obvious merits for that element too.

As Sayer (2014: 55) has noted, the general trend in the UK has been to use archaeology-based projects as a way of facilitating a given community in being involved in their local heritage, thus introducing them to the various obtrusive and non-obtrusive methods at our disposal. However, I might argue this is a back-to-front approach. It is difficult to create self-sustaining, long-lasting archaeological communities by simply creating a project for them to be involved in. There are numerous projects that allow the public to dig, or field walk, or undertake landscape surveys, but very few that teach how to compile funding bids to fund that work, or how to digitise drawings, or write-up a test pit, or compile a project report. They might be the less-glamorous elements of an archaeology project, but they are equally as important and help communities achieve sustainable projects.

Maintaining the Time Team link, when the late Mick Aston set out on his archaeological career in the 1960s and 70s, 'amateur archaeology' – that is involving students and members of the public as volunteers in what would now be called 'community archaeology' – was fairly common. There was a lot more opportunity for research archaeology than, say, in the late 1980s and 1990s. The introduction of PPG16 and the subsequent protection of our heritage through the requirement for structured 'rescue archaeology' in many ways changed how those outside of the profession, i.e. those not employed as a professional archaeologist, were involved. Many in the profession still feel that was a good thing – even today there are those who do not see community archaeology as *real* archaeology and/or results somehow are not as meaningful with community participation.   I would argue that if properly supervised and supported, and with adequate training and education, community archaeology can often provide better results, as digs and other archaeological activities are usually not under the same pressures as those of a commercial nature.

However, the problem with the term 'community archaeology' is two-fold – what does 'community' mean and what does 'archaeology' mean? Is the term community in community archaeology a reference to local people, or to a specific part of society, or is it something else? And as Simpson (2010: 1) has previously pointed out, the term 'community' is a blanket one that 'disguises the numerous communities that exist within a geographically constructed community'.

Furthermore, can 'the community' of a given project exist in different parts of the world and never physically meet or be involved, as can be the case in crowdfunded projects? And to the community, is 'archaeology' simply another word for 'digging a hole with volunteer participation', as Simpson and Williams (2008: 75-76) have previously discussed. In answering these questions, I wish to briefly consider what I would argue are the three main models of community archaeology in use today, and then show why none of them are sustainable on their own.

Sustainability is crucial within community archaeology for the simple reason that if a project is funded in isolation, namely, for the life of the project with no future longevity beyond this, the heritage or community it involves can actually be negatively impacted. Giving a community two years of heritage-based educational provision with no long-term plan, for example, will only have a positive impact while the funded project exists. When the funding runs out, all the positive work and opportunities it created will come to nothing. Likewise, funding a 'project' where a professional archaeologist is brought in to lead on fieldwork and compile project reports (which tends to be the norm) rather than funding

a group's skill development to train *them* to undertake finds analysis, report writing and evaluations creates an environment where the heritage only benefits for the life of the project. By focusing on the sustainability of a group/community, and giving them the necessary skills, heritage can be better managed and researched. Again, it is an issue of 'showing' the public their heritage versus empowering them to be meaningfully 'involved' in their heritage.

Belford (2014: 27) supports this view when he says how 'sustainability can be regarded as a mechanism by which a sometimes rather vague and diffuse local enthusiasm for 'heritage' can be transformed into a really solid and focused local understanding of, and care for, the historic environment'. Creating a platform within 'the community' whereby the knowledge and understanding needed to effectively care for heritage is manifest is the key to successfully involving the community in a sustainable manner. How, then, do the various models live up to that need?

Model one: the Heritage Lottery Fund model

The National Lottery Heritage Fund (hereafter NLHF, formerly the Hieritage Lottery Fund, HLF) model is probably the most common model used for funding community archaeology projects in the UK. To give an idea, on average around £150–200,000 is awarded to community projects each month in the East Midlands region through the Our Heritage and Sharing Heritage streams (although as of April 2019 these streams will have ended and a new, over-arching funding stream will have replaced them). This means we have a consistent funding stream with enough available revenue to fund meaningful community projects over a duration of, most commonly, 1–3 years. The issues with this model are that due to the sheer number of people becoming involved in community archaeology, this revenue stream is very competitive and there is simply insufficient funding to support the majority of the applicants, regardless of how good their bid is.   Put bluntly, the more people we encourage to get involved in their heritage, the less funding there is to support them all.

A further issue is that the price of a lottery ticket increased (October 2013) from £1 to £2. This, it was thought, would bring in additional revenues. Unfortunately, this has not been the case to date, and in these times of austerity people are actually buying fewer tickets. Another point to consider is that the requirements for the funding are moving further away from field-based archaeological investigations as time progresses: most HLF bids are expected to have a digital element within them, including creating and updating web platforms and social media accounts. This is often quite problematic for community groups, many of whose members are not 'digitally savvy' given their elderly demographic and/or socio-economic background restricts access to the necessarily digital resources.   Of course, the designated Project Officer (who almost certainly will not be part of the group but will be a paid professional for the life of that project) may well have those skills, or the project will fund someone to do that element. However, as discussed above, that does not help improve the sustainability of the group, especially as HLF requirements dictate that the digital element should be available online for a minimum of five years after the project ends.

Websites often become rapidly out of date sooner than this: when the project officer leaves at the end of the project, it is unclear who will monitor and update the project's website if the group are not taught those skills. Sometimes, solutions to the NLHF funding requirements are a challenge, even if secured. For example, back in 2013, one of the groups we worked with in Nottinghamshire was encouraged to create a project film, but none of the group had the skills to do it. So, we worked with two local Duke of Edinburgh Award teenagers who filmed and edited one for us as part of their assessment process. This helped the students for their coursework, and it certainly helped the group during that project, but what about the future? Could they do it again if asked on their next project?

On the last two HLF bids we submitted under Involve Heritage, we were asked the same question – 'how are you going to involve people from outside of those interested in archaeology?'. For an archaeology project, this seems a bewildering question where the principal goal is archaeological engagement, but it is one that needs to be addressed successfully in order to obtain the funding. There is nothing wrong with involving the wider public, in fact it may even introduce them to archaeology, which can only be a good thing. However, it requires a different skill set to simply running an archaeology project – adding in an educational element or an arts-focus shifts the parameters and has a danger of creating a box-ticking exercise, which again has the potential for yielding detrimental effects, or merely diluted results.

Figure 1: LiDAR training workshop on the Spa Ponds project (Photograph: Matt Beresford)

Often, therefore, NLHF-funded archaeology projects have additional elements such as the creation of a project film or an arts-based element. Whilst these certainly add different and often rewarding mediums to the project, there is a danger that the archaeology suffers due to the shift in focus and the use of an often tight project budget to fund these additional elements. Ultimately, for good or bad, the project that is awarded funding is often markedly different to the one you set out to do, and often requires reducing or dropping specific elements of the original project plan. The question that arises for an archaeology group, or organisation, is how sustainable is the HLF funding model if it requires you to continually focus on non-archaeology related mediums, or to learn and develop new skills sets in areas that group members may not actually have much desire for.

Landscape research

Provided the project designers fully understand the funding requirements and stipulations, and perhaps more crucially, understand what makes a successful HLF funding application, this model still remains one of the best ways to fund community-based heritage projects. For example, through both MBArchaeology and Involve Heritage, I have led several successful NLHF funded archaeology projects over the last twelve years, as a couple of case studies will demonstrate. The first of these is the Spa Ponds Heritage Project, which occurred in the Mansfield region of Nottinghamshire, and greatly impacted on the lives of the local community. The project saw us work with the Forest Town Nature Conservation Group to identify, record and make management recommendations for a series of heritage features within their Spa Ponds site. The ponds formed part of the royal estates of Sherwood Forest, and through documentary and map work we know they were constructed as fish ponds in 1317 to serve a defensive Peel built for King Edward II on a hill immediately adjacent to our site. We also proved that the royal deer park was extended and thus incorporated the lower half of the Spa Ponds Nature Reserve in 1317 (Beresford 2017).

Figure 2: A project for all ages: surveying for graffiti at Bolsover Castle (Photograph: Matt Beresford)

By providing archaeology training and support to Archaeology Skills Passport standards, (essentially a record of competence in core, secondary and tertiary fieldwork skills),[1] we supported the group members in surveying and researching several features including earthwork boundaries, the ponds themselves, old trackways and boundary markers, and other features, and co-wrote a Heritage Management Plan for the site so that they could preserve and protect the important heritage assets. Subsequently, we

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[1] http://www.archaeologyskills.co.uk/

were appointed as archaeological consultants for the site and helped the group to get the site added to the local Non-Designated Heritage Asset List. As discussed above, not enough community archaeology projects or groups consider sustainability in the fashion we were able to build in to this project, which ensures a legacy   after the HLF money runs out. By providing training to an existing group (albeit not an archaeology group in this case but one who needed those skills to effectively manage their site) and creating a Heritage Management Plan, the project gave the group skills and knowledge to continue to care for the site beyond the life of the NLHF project (Figure 1).

Graffiti surveying

The second project is the Derbyshire & Nottinghamshire Medieval Graffiti Survey (DNMGS) project. This project worked with local people across the two counties and trained and supported them in identifying, recording and interpreting examples of medieval and post-medieval graffiti in churches, castles, barns, palaces and dwellings. Equipment needed was purchased and a survey kit created for each county. Lead volunteers were given more in-depth training, with a view that these could then train and support new members (Figure 2).

Beyond the physical recording and survey work, volunteers undertook a series of heritage workshops to explore the nature of medieval buildings, how stone masons operated, how art was viewed in the medieval period, as well as practical workshops where they visited a stone mason and had a go at creating graffiti. They also undertook arts-based workshops to explore the imagery of the graffiti and create pieces of work based on their interpretations. A 'standard' archaeology project that primarily focusses on digging may not necessarily lend itself well to this arts-based approach, but the DNMGS project was perfect for it as it allowed such a wide use of mediums.

The result was a series of photographs, drawings, sculptures, models, pieces of jewellery and carvings based on the volunteer's interpretation of graffiti, which all formed a public exhibition at Creswell Crags in Nottinghamshire, home to Britain's earliest art in the form of Palaeolithic cave engravings. This also allowed the wider public to engage and interpret the graffiti, and acted as a medium for discussion (Figure 3).

The HLF element, which was designed as a pilot, ended in December 2017, but plans were put in place to make the surveys sustainable by training the lead volunteers to be able to undertake all aspects of the work, from scoping and identifying buildings, surveying the graffiti, training and supporting new members, engaging with churchwardens and owners of buildings and feeding back results, writing up the results and uploading these to the project website and maintaining it. During the pilot, twenty-two buildings were fully surveyed. To date, around eighty to hundred buildings have now been scoped and fully surveyed where needed, showing the system works if measures for sustainability are embedded from the outset.

These two examples solidify the argument by myself and others that the primary focus of a community archaeology project need not be excavation, despite the wider public perceptions of what archaeology involves.

Model two - the adult education model

The second main strand for community-based archaeology is via the Adult Education model: class-based, educational sessions for 'mature students' (defined here as anyone over the age of 21). Such projects can derive from Continuing Education at university level and other recognised qualifications, right down to 'learning for fun' via the Workers Educational Association (WEA), the University of the

Third Age (U3A) or local council education providers. Over the last two decades there has been a shift away from Continuing Education, however, as funding cuts mean many university departments are no more. As an example, the University of Nottingham had a thriving Continuing Education department, with an undergraduate Certificate, Diploma and BA in archaeology and an MA in Local History. The two-year Certificate in Archaeology regularly had 20–25 learners enrolled each year in the early-mid 2000s. This is now all gone, with the Continuing Education system falling victim to funding cuts. Having stressed that point, it is worth recognising that there are still some universities offering Continuing Education qualifications in archaeology, for example Oxford, Cambridge, University College London and for Scotland Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Glasgow, but nowhere near the more 'localised' opportunities there were previously.

WEA and Council courses have also seen numbers drop as fees rise and learner paperwork increase dramatically in order to fulfil requirements from the Skills Funding Agency. Enrolment forms now require National Insurance numbers, date of birth and contact numbers and other personal information, and many learners are sceptical about providing this level of personal data, not least due to recent high-profile data breaches.

Figure 3: Community exhibition launch for the DNMGS project (Photograph: Matt Beresford)

Personally, I have taught Adult Education courses and workshops for ten years, but find it easier and more profitable to run classes privately now – this removes the need for learner paperwork, means personal data is not required, and it also means course fees are considerably lower for the participants. This, of course, makes the deliverer self-employed, and thus employment benefits such as pension schemes, holiday and sick pay disappear. So, with this model, there are pros and cons, just like the other models.

Adult Education should not always be class-based, lecture style sessions in my opinion as this does not allow for the best learning experience. Archaeology is a multi-faceted discipline, and so the way we teach it and train people in it should reflect that. Having stressed that point, it is equally important to realise that some learners actually work better and learn more in a more formal education setting. And not everyone is confident enough to learn in a hands-on, group activity learning experience. Creating a model that incorporates lectures, field visits, group work and practical activities ensures that all learners are engaged – not all Adult Education providers agree with that stance, believe it or not. With one Adult Education provider whom I started my teaching with, my determined stance that I intended to include field visits was met with nervous apprehension – field visits would be out of the norm, and probably would not work, I was informed.

And yet, as the longevity of some of the provision shows (for example a WEA Archaeology course in Chesterfield, Derbyshire ran for eight consecutive years, and one in Southwell, Nottinghamshire is currently also in its eighth year and continues to recruit between fifteen and twenty learners each term), incorporating field visits helps to build a collective 'belonging' within the participants, and allows for a dimension of social and physical wellbeing that class-based sessions alone struggle to provide.

The value of adult education provision can be seen in a case study from the high-deprivation region of Bolsover, in north-east Derbyshire. Here, prior to 2010, no archaeology provision had previously existed, but under Derbyshire County Council a four-year progressive learning programme was designed and implemented, funded under an initiative called Limestone Journeys. This was essentially a partnership project that focussed on the geological region of Magnesian Limestone around the District of Bolsover. Through this, I was able to introduce taster sessions and half-day educational workshops and gradually build up capacity and community engagement levels. At the end of the four years, we had delivered a range of provision to over three hundred learners, and helped ten local people gain a LANTRA Level 3 / 4 qualification in Historic Landscapes. This was a very positive achievement in an area that traditionally had no heritage provision, but after the four years of funding ended, the provision also came to an end, and the momentum created was lost. This highlights that without adequate and sustainable funding streams, the adult education model of archaeology collapses.

Model three - the crowdfunding model

This is one of the most recent models to be applied to community archaeology, and is certainly the most difficult to make work in my experience. It requires the public to 'buy in' to a project and in return get something back – generally, the funding is set up so that the more money invested by donors, the more they will receive in terms of benefits and experiences. So, as an hypothetical example, £10 may get you email updates and electronic copies of reports on the project. Meanwhile, a donation of £500 may get you a week's digging. The Dig Ventures team are using the model to great success and continue to grow year-on-year, and many see the crowdfunding model as the future of community archaeology funding as HLF and other sources become ever more competitive. Some universities have also used this model of funding too, for example Durham University, University College London, and wider afield the universities of Amsterdam and Sydney. However, here lies the issue: if we start charging the community to take part in archaeology, are we in danger of making it exclusive rather than inclusive? What repercussions does charging sometimes considerable amounts of money have on the Council for British Archaeology's motto of 'Archaeology For All'?

In late 2014, we decided to trial the crowdfunding model to fund our newly established Roman Southwell Community Project. Incidentally, Dig Ventures supported us in our initial campaign and helped us understand how the process worked. We very quickly realised, however, that if this was to be a sustainable project funded solely by the public, then some rather considerable revisions to

the crowdfunding model would be needed, both for ethical and more prosaic reasons. After all, in the context of the Community Interest Company that I am a director of, which runs the crowdfunding element of the project, called Involve Heritage, how could we justifiably exclude those who wanted to take part but could not afford it? There was also a danger that those who could afford to pay to take part may have been from much further afield, to the detriment of the local community where the project took place.

So we adapted the initial crowd-funding initiative, and our model became one that does not require people to pay to join in – the project became open to anyone in the local area, but those people did so with a strong expectation that they would help fundraise to keep the project going, and also help with administration and publicity, project planning, reporting and budget management (Figure 4). Beyond that, we encourage public support and donations – this involved a multiplicity of mechanisms, from paying £5 to hear a talk on archaeology or heritage, buying our Roman Gladiator beer at £2.50 per bottle (Figure 5), dropping loose change into our donations bucket or, as many have done, pledging £10 or £20 via our online Gofundme campaign. However, as you can imagine, it takes an exhausting amount of energy to continually raise the money required to keep the project going.

Figure 4: Volunteers on the Roman Southwell Community Project (Photograph: Matt Beresford)

We continue to subsidise ten community training placements every summer during our dig season – we charge £150 per week and ensure that the focus is on those placements. Our group members do the bucket emptying and the tea brewing and other ancillary tasks, allowing our placement volunteers

to dedicate their time to learning how to dig, how to draw, how to take dumpy levels or do section drawings, working towards their Archaeology Skills Passports. Once they have been given the relevant training and support, and can show they can satisfactorily undertake a specific task, this can be signed off in their Passports, which can help them progress in their archaeological careers. We also seek small grants to help fund specific elements of the project, or local business sponsorship. In return for sponsorship, we issue a press piece on the support by sponsors, and we display their logos on public talks and on reports. This helps to fund our work, but more importantly it shows how the community supports that work.

Figure 5: Roman Southwell 'Gladiator' beer on sale at the Southwell Minster Christmas market (Photograph: Matt Beresford)

There is nothing wrong with running full-cost field schools or charging people to take part provided the cost directly relates to the experience. We choose to charge as little as we possibly can whilst still ensuring the project remains sustainable. 2019 will be the project's sixth year, so we feel it is working. This is perhaps no longer categorially a crowdfunding model, but rather a hybrid-version of it.

The MBArchaeology mixed-model

A solution to the issue of sustainability for each of the three models discussed is the creation of an all-encompassing model that utilises the positive elements from them, and combines Heritage Lottery funded projects, adult education courses, crowdfunded projects and the procurement of small grants from less well-known funders such as the Nineveh Trust, Groundworks or more localised streams. This way of operating has allowed me to work almost exclusively within community archaeology for over ten years. I still do the odd bit of consultancy work or research, but only if it benefits the local community or one of our projects. However, 99% of what I do each year is community archaeology, and of that perhaps only 10–15% is digging: only a fraction of the many different community engagement activities in which I direct and organise. The main facets of our work involve landscape studies, historical research, fieldwalking, geophysical surveys and programmes of training and education.

This situation takes us right back to the start and to the question "what is archaeology?". A crucial point to understand is that digging is expensive and it is hard work, and generally your target audience cannot readily cope with digging all year round on physical and other grounds. Focussing primarily on digging also excludes a lot of people – some cannot physically dig due to age or health, and many don't actually want to. However, they do want to see the finds, or hear a talk about your work, or visit sites, or learn in a class-based environment.

Through MBArchaeology (mbarchaeology.co.uk), I work in a freelance role (community archaeologist, educator, heritage consultant) and have a team of other freelance specialists who work alongside me if a given project requires their skill set. So, for example, on excavation projects I will bring in additional, freelance excavators if required, or we have a geophysicist, a buildings archaeologist, an osteoarchaeologist, an education and research officer, all of whom can be brought into projects when needed. This approach allows us to bring a multitude of specialist skills into a given project based on what is required. Whilst this may not work for larger organisations who employ their workforce on a permanent basis, it is perfectly suited to small-scale heritage organisations who work on a wide variety of different projects.

So, under this mixed approach, every day is different. I may be leading some community geophysics surveys on Monday, some documentary research on Tuesday, fieldwalking on Wednesday, or teaching a class, delivering a school session, writing an article to promote a project, or trying to fundraise or organise an event. At present MBArchaeology have projects funded by the NLHF, the Nineveh Trust, the crowdfunding model, Inspire Learning, and private classes and residential trips. It is my job to bring all that funding and opportunities in, as well as being able to manage it all and deliver it! We are currently working on two separate medieval village sites, a Roman landscape, a Saxon and medieval religious site, the Civil War landscape around Newark, and have residentials planned for the Derbyshire Peak, Orkney and Cumbria for 2019.

Archaeology is about all these things – studying the landscape via LIDAR, geophysics and fieldwalking, looking at old maps or survey data, visiting a castle, poring over old documents. Admittedly, not many archaeologists may have the skill set to be able teach, train people in digging, undertake geophysics, lecture on the Bronze Age one day and the Civil War the next, and be able to deal with people of all walks of life every single day, as well as project manage, fundraise, write reports, funding bids, recognise

medieval pottery and still find time to eat cake! However, I might argue, that is down to the limited scope of training and development opportunities post-University degree. Completing an undergraduate degree and then going on to be a field archaeologist within commercial archaeology of course won't teach us those skills. But it's not the same job.

In conclusion, to return to the title of this chapter, it is important to recognise the community part of community archaeology – I would argue that to be successful and sustainable as a community archaeologist, it is important to spend time learning the skills that best reflect the needs of the community you aim to work with. Working with schools or Young Archaeologist Clubs requires a different skill set to working with university students and to the more traditional community group make-up: in particular the retired. Year upon year, 'the community' grows wider and more diverse, and that is a credit to our profession and the ways we are working with the public. But, as the recent Mendoza (2017) report on audience diversification within the Museums sector has shown, those engaged and involved still tend to be white and from higher socio-economic backgrounds. We continually need to find new ways to engage and involve people from all areas of society with their local heritage, and community archaeology can have a huge role to play in the years ahead.

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Engage thy Neighbour: Perspectives in Community Archaeology

Bethany Humphries

Using the case study of the York Archaeological Trust's Dig York Stadium project, this paper explores the positive benefits of professionally guided community archaeology projects in the UK. In the context of this book, it offers an argument in favour of 'top-down' components to develop and sustain community engagement.

Introduction

Established and developed by museums, universities, commercial units and societies and groups, community archaeology in the UK has developed over the last thirty years as a complex sub-discipline in which control and vision for archaeological research is developed in partnership with stakeholders and communities (Marshall 2002: 211; Dhanjal and Moshenska 2012; Isherwood 2012, 7; Thomas 2014). The future of community engagement in archaeology is far from certain, however. Focusing on geographically defined communities (as opposed to digital and other forms of community discussed elsewhere in this volume), I consider the range of ways by which local people can be incorporated into projects to foster a sense of ownership, identity, inclusion, well-being and belonging in the community due to the heritage they share (Macnab 2005: 32; Tully 2007: 158; Simpson and Williams 2008: 75). This can be achieved not only through digging (Simpson and Williams 2008: 74–75) but via a combination of methods and techniques including surveying, post-excavation work, oral historical and archive work (Cadw 2013: 2). Moreover, the public can be engaged in archaeology through school visits, site tours, open days and public lectures (Macnab 2005, 35). Transferable skills can also be acquired through community engagements that cross-cut these activities, including team working, communication, IT skills and initiative (Cadw 2013: 2). While community-generated bottom-up projects can and should be fostered, this chapter makes a case for top-down projects steered and delivered by commercial archaeologists in providing an effective model for community engagement.

Background

Despite a growth in volunteering across the country (Welsh Government 2013: 3) and more opportunities to be involved in community archaeology than ever before, combined with widespread Heritage Lottery Fund support, key issues of sustainability persist, particularly for dispersed or isolated rural communities (Simpson and Williams 2008). As the discipline is relatively new it has been argued there is a lack of focus and methodological structure as there are areas where the local community is engaged and not engaged at different projects (Tully 2007: 155). Moreover, the huge reduction in local government funding render serious challenges for the future of community archaeology. The political ideology of the 'Big Society' aimed to engage more communities (Sayer 2014). However, accompanying funding cuts to national and local government created a sense that community archaeology was exploiting free labour (Brown et al. 2014: 76). Matching community archaeology projects to specific research agenda, identifying key research outputs and archiving results with Historic Environment Records (Hedge and Aisling 2016) is required to make community archaeology effective and meaningful over the long term. Volunteers also need to be considered more than labour, but also they should be involved in the entire archaeological process and decision making (Marshall 2002: 214; Reid 2012: 18; Perring 2014: 174–75). In any case, the extra responsibility and time commitment may prevent people from taking part (Brown et al. 2014: 80). The sense that community archaeology is about acquiring free labour as opposed to educating the public needs to be eradicated. To achieve this, the opportunities of developing community archaeology projects by professional archaeological organisations and institutions offers the potential of delivering both high-quality research outputs and experiences for those who participate and live in proximity to the heritage assets under investigation (see Belford 2011; 2014).

Case study: Dig York Stadium

The York Stadium project offers one case study of community archaeology in action. The project was set up by York Archaeological Trust and the City of York Council to show the benefits of keeping archaeology open and inclusive to the public (DYS 2015). The aim of the project was to uncover aspects of Roman York in the context of a site of Huntington Stadium, constructed in 1989 (YAT 2017). The project began in 2015 before the construction of a new Community Stadium and investigated both inside the Huntington Stadium and on the new site of development (YAT 2017). Training and orientation sessions took place in desk-based research in historic records, the Historic Environment Record and online resources developed through the winter and spring of 2015. This was combined with resistivity and magnetometer surveys in February 2015 and the community dig through into the summer. The results clearly identified and explored the second of two Roman camps known from the area. The project also engaged the local community in setting up their own WordPress site (DYIS 2015).

Most volunteers involved were from the local area and were engaged in all the stages of the project from research to geophysical survey and excavation. The project demonstrated close regard local people hold for their heritage and the cultural and educational benefits archaeology can have (DYS 2015). This multi-dimensional engagement is thought to be the way forward to engage communities in every processes, no matter what age or level if there is a desire to be engaged (Simpson and Williams 2008: 75).

Discussion

The Dig York Stadium community project is a classic positive example of 'top-down' community archaeology (see Belford 2014). Rather than the project run by non-professionals, it was instigated and steered by a large commercial archaeological unit. The lesson is surely that guidance and direction, sustainable and research-orientated community archaeology projects are not to be considered undemocratic, but a key way of achieving high-quality community engagement leading to viable results and community outputs. Even projects set up by local groups should still have the availability of help from experts to give them the confidence to set up their own community groups and projects to engage the local community.

Conclusion

This chapter has suggested that while bottom-up community derived projects deserve merit and fostering, professionally run top-down projects harbour strong potential for delivering community engagement as part of tailored projects. In this regard, the Dig York Stadium project is a solid case study that provides a robust model for the future. Community archaeology retains many positive avenues and possibilities for the future. Inclusivity is key, yet there remain challenges in developing new strategies to engage dispersed and rural communities as well as those in densely populated urban areas that have dominated archaeological discussions.

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An Archaeology of Life on the Streets

Bryony Fisher

Archaeology can sometimes be viewed as an exclusive area of study, encompassing only a certain demographic in its subject matters and its participants. By putting one of societies' traditionally excluded demographics – homeless people – at both the forefront of research and participation, it can be mutually beneficial by offering unique insights into places of interest, shedding light onto a lifestyle unthinkable by most and providing activities and purpose to people who may need it most.

Introduction

This chapter focuses on how to engage homeless people in archaeology. Archaeology in Britain and Ireland has been accused of being exclusive, traditionally attracting white middle-class people (e.g. Dave 2016). The involvement of archaeology in homelessness has been advocated as an example of how we can transform perceptions of heritage and archaeological research. This chapter reviews recent research and critically discusses the potential of working with homeless people as a key part of future community archaeology or heritage projects.

An important current topic of debate in archaeology is how far non-archaeologists should be involved in archaeological work (Holtorf 2015: 217). This chapter proposes that archaeology should be reaching out to, and involving, specific and different community groups to work for social change and inclusion. Homelessness is an increasingly prominent feature of a twenty-first-century society (Varle 2018), and the need to study how homelessness is materialised and how it impacts wider society has become more urgent (Kiddey 2017: 1). Community archaeology assists in bridging the gap between archaeologists and the public (Wolkan 2012) and disbands the idea of archaeology being an exclusive discipline, which has always proved an issue (Dave 2016). While there have been repeated efforts to make archaeology as inclusive as possible, with this comes the problem of 'dumbing down' subjects (Moyer 2007: 272) and how archaeologists best provide a public-friendly version of archaeological theories, methods and practice. As Lampe (2014: 55) suggests, the future of community engagement in archaeological projects could benefit from following the interests of various publics and taking research leads from those non-archaeologists involved. A number of studies have been carried out involving different homeless communities in archaeology, a handful of which were discussed in the conference presentation. However, the multiple strands connecting homelessness and archaeological studies are still underdeveloped and underutilised (Zimmerman and Welch 2011: 67; Kiddey 2017), and the subject has not been researched to its full potential.

Case studies

Indiana, USA

Zimmerman *et al.*'s (2010) US study revealed the rules, realities and patterns of the often-ignored community of homeless people by excavating their material remains and focusing on what they used, protected and disposed of. The aim was to improve existing programmes that aid homeless people, and to educate the general public about homelessness. The seemingly mundane items that homeless people use can seem unimportant, but through this material culture Zimmerman and Welch (2011: 67) told unique stories about homelessness. The outcome showed how homeless people used space and what their priorities were (Zimmerman *et al.* 2010: 449). This is a positive example of what the future of community engagement in archaeology should be; translating findings to develop social policy

(Zimmerman *et al.* 2010). However, it is important to strike a balance between working towards social change and understanding that, for some, homelessness is a preferred lifestyle (Zimmerman and Welch 2011: 67) – therefore each individual case and desired outcome have to be examined separately.

Bristol, UK

In the UK, homeless groups have been involved with an archaeological project in Bristol in a small area known for homeless activity: Turbo Island (Crea *et al.* 2014). While the living patterns of homeless people are ones that are transient, those locales where homeless people have been situated for longer periods of time, most often in urban areas, help us to consider their settlement patterns and perceive them as communities (Zimmerman and Welch 2011: 68). The project involved observation, documentation, mapping and recording with homeless individuals as the driving force (Kiddey 2017, 2018). Their journeys, encounters and perceptions were recorded by Rachael Kiddey and her colleagues to bring these views into mainstream archaeological consideration and debate. The project aimed to bring new views on social exclusion and marginalised lifestyles (Kiddey and Schofield 2010). The project became well known around the area and the general public, students, and members of the police force also joined (Kiddey 2018: 7), which demonstrates how archaeological projects involving homeless people can bridge gaps between different members of a community, within and across different communities.

Feedback from the homeless people involved was mostly positive. However, this particular project was somewhat exploited by news reports which described the homeless as 'street drinkers' and was not necessarily sympathetic to the purpose of the project – this raises the importance of building connections with other disciplines that could be involved and the challenge of engaging with the media. Much knowledge of homeless populations comes primarily from news reports, showing homeless people sleeping or begging in public places (Zimmerman and Welch 2011: 68), and portrays homeless people as a social problem. In order to engage homeless populations with archaeological research, it is important that the aims and outcomes of projects are shared and understood by other outlets, such as news reporters.

Drogheda, Ireland

Differing from the aforementioned projects, one of the most recent examples of involving homeless people in community archaeology or heritage did not involve exploring their material culture, but rather focused on their integration into everyday society as people who are knowledgeable and able as well as homeless, and not just an ignored community. The Irish project was initiated in 2015, in the city of Drogheda. Homeless people were employed in the 'My Streets Drogheda' project, where they worked as tour guides sharing their unique, intimate knowledge on the sites of historic importance in that local area. This is an example that can be looked to in terms of sustainability as they have put in place fundraising measures aimed to assist in the rehousing of people involved (Drogheda Homeless Aid 2017). The project aimed to break down stereotypes and provide homeless people with a role in the community (Drogheda Homeless Aid 2017). Treating heritage and archaeological programmes as social enterprises is one solution to how community archaeology projects involving homeless people can move forward in the future. By drawing out these individual perspectives on historic locations, this project has demonstrated homeless people having different experiences of interacting with the places that surround them, and is an example of how experiences are affected by the cultural conditions in which a person exists, as suggested by Kiddey (2017: 1).

Social impact for archaeologists

Archaeology has been seen as a subject that only includes a certain target demographic: middle-aged, middle-class white males (Dave 2016; Flatman 2017). By integrating archaeology into social groups

that go against this assumed bias, archaeology can extend and consolidate its impact on contemporary society, widen its audience, and archaeologists can make their work relevant to the well-being of living populations (Kiddey 2017: 2). It is important that archaeology moves with the times and extends its inclusivity (Holtorf 2015: 217), and it is important to remember that this does not just mean allowing the subject to advance technologically, but to also be aware of communities that exist within current societies.

Some archaeologists think homeless heritage might be considered an inappropriate activity for archaeologists, who should instead 'stick to the past' (see Kiddey 2015). However, a counter argument to this is that archaeology's sole association with the past and with history is no longer tenable. Alongside the exploration of the deep-time human past is a widespread recognition of archaeology's ability to work with communities to explore a wider range of other stories about both the recent past and the present day (Kelly and Thomas 2016: 42). Moreover, archaeology is more than the study of 'stuff', it is also to educate and contribute to society in other social areas, meaning archaeologists are always working with the subjects of contemporary politics and identity. Archaeological and heritage professionals now have the responsibility to work in the public interest (Kiddey 2017: 2), and archaeology can now be considered as a 'societal movement' (Holtorf 2015: 218). By including homeless people in this movement we can gain new original perspectives on supposed familiar subject matter (Holtorf 2015: 218).

A further point that can be raised regarding how involving homeless people in archaeological projects benefits archaeologists is the fact that there will be many people involved in these projects that will be skilled in certain areas. Archaeologists are often placed under time constraints, therefore it would be beneficial to delegate roles to the homeless people involved as volunteers. For example, examining material remains in the context of the specific location, as homeless participants may have more time to conduct the work and will often possess more knowledge about the area and material remains in study. This ability to dedicate time to researching history of an area should be utilised by archaeologists (Selkirk 1997: 23). These communities can also be a source of knowledge for looking at how historic sites are used in contemporary society. Specifically, involving homeless individuals in archaeology can provide a unique perspective on the concepts and use of space and place and can teach us how they experience archaeological and heritage sites. For example, for Chester's historic city walls, there are specific areas used by the general public to stop for a break when walking the walls, while in the evening these areas are used by homeless individuals for shelter and protection. Likewise, the historic basilica in Naples (Archdiocese of Baltimore 2012) has been occupied by homeless groups as an available and accessible shelter, using their visibility to the public at this site to call for action on their housing crisis. A further benefit is that by working with homeless groups there becomes a shared respect for the historic environment (Merriman 2004: 80).

However, when discussing the impacts on archaeological or heritage professionals it is important to note that this type of social work is not what archaeological professionals are trained to do. It is therefore imperative that other experts are on board with these projects to deal with the issues of communication, cultural values, conflict management, and ethically appropriate behaviour (Holtorf 2015: 219). Capabilities in volunteer management are becoming an increasing priority in the heritage sector, including the ability to assist with an individual's well-being and the ability to handle conflict resolution (Sutcliffe 2014: 110); these are skills that are often missed in archaeological and heritage professionals training. Working on projects with homeless people can pose a range of difficulties; a number of homeless people report issues with substance use and/or mental health problems. It is important to have the right precautions and measures in place to ensure that researchers working at sites of homeless activity do not feel unsafe around any individuals and are at no risk of coming in direct contact with drug paraphernalia (Zimmerman and Welch 2011: 72). It is also crucial that any measures put in place are sensitive to ensure that this does not come over as insulting or derogatory to either

the homeless people involved in the collaboration, or regarding their material culture that is being analysed.

By working with homeless people, archaeologists can learn about a prominent dimension of our modern society, affecting the countryside but also the public spaces of towns and cities. After all, archaeology is the study of relationships between people, places and things, and this applies to the contemporary too (Harrison and Schofield 2010). While care workers and shelters do often interact with the homeless, there is little recognition or study of their everyday lives, material culture, or their use of space.

Impacts for homeless people

Archaeology is unique in its ability to serve as an academic profession that can reach and gain interest on different levels from a wide range of communities. This reach should be taken advantage of, and where some people may be particularly interested in the archaeology, others may enjoy being involved, not necessarily for the archaeological interest but for the other advantages that come with volunteering (Last 2007: 373). Creating projects such as those described above and involving these hidden communities gives a sense of belonging and a sense of comradery within a group that they will work with over a period of time (Last 2007: 373). As with most community archaeology projects, a general outcome is that friendships and connections are made within the volunteer group – with homeless communities.

Participation in archaeological projects provides the routine of attending a volunteer role and having a specific job also has a direct positive impact. As homeless people are generally unemployed, this can contribute to their feeling of self-worth, improved social connectedness and their well-being (Diblasio and Belcher 1993; Kiddey 2017: 10, 2018: 8). This routine can have a positive impact on their everyday lives and can also provide a physical safe place for certain hours of the day. The importance of this routine is not to be underestimated, which is why it is so important that looking to the future there are more sustainable measures put in place to ensure that this routine and support does not just stop when archaeological projects cease. A way of achieving this could be to build connections specifically for archaeological programmes involving homeless people with local employers or local charitable groups, to let it be their choice of whether they simply want to be involved in a short-term project, or if they wish to take their skills further. The importance of participants having the choice in the character and scale of their participation is not to be downplayed. As previously mentioned, some people prefer to live without a fixed abode (Zimmerman and Welch 2011: 68), or only require assistance with certain areas (for example physical health, employment, housing, feelings of self-worth). Social change should not be imposed on homeless people without their active involvement solely to amend what some people view as an 'irritating social problem' (Zimmerman and Welch 2011: 67). It is also important to respect and understand the privacy of the homeless people involved.

Many community archaeology projects currently provide training guidelines or a log, such as the archaeological skills passport, which can be monitored for activities that have been completed and those that are left to do (The Dig Site 2017). In the future, this could be taken a step further for projects involving homeless people and they could be provided with a form of recognised qualification or have a set programme in place that can be passed if completed. This would give further incentive for homeless individuals to become involved in archaeological projects as this provides recognition of their time and work, assists in working toward a set goal and ensures they are not being exploited. Kiddey (2017: 3) noted that, during her research, they found the homeless people they worked with wanted to be recognised and named for the genuine archaeological research that they undertook.

Involvement in archaeology can and has assisted in rehabilitating homeless individuals and has been reported to have therapeutic effects (Kiddey 2014: 1). Archaeologists are not trained to deal with

these matters directly but it is essential to develop methodologies to work with people as they are, and not to expect them to conform to 'normal' archaeological practice (Kiddey 2014: 74). The idea of more widely introducing archaeology into other disciplines and having set partnerships could assist in combating this, whether that be with social workers, councillors or pharmacies. Through a sense of accomplishment, routine, belonging and gained skills, archaeology will have already somewhat assisted in rehabilitating individuals. By working with homeless communities, archaeologists can learn and pass on information about what those specific groups actually need or want rather than what they are provided. Examples of this can be seen within Zimmerman's (2010) work where homeless people were given cans of food but did not own can openers, or were given shower gel when most of them had no access to running water!

Possible detrimental impacts

There are, however, examples where professionals in other sectors have recorded detrimental impacts as a result of working with vulnerable groups, which is a possible undesirable outcome for both archaeologists and homeless participants.

'Scared Straight' and other similar programmes involve organised visits to prison by juvenile delinquents or children at risk of criminal behaviour, the results of which have suggested that intervention can cause more harm than doing nothing (Petrosino *et al.* 2013: 2; Petrosino *et al.* 2003: 58) and often leads to a higher likelihood of these individuals offending. An explanation offered for this is the theory of peer contagion (Dishion *et al.* 1999) which explains how positive impacts by intervention may be disrupted by peer influence when bringing deviant groups together (Petrosino *et al.* 2013: 16). The strong indication here is that these programmes have a harmful effect and are not just toxic to participants, but also toxic to members of the public (Petrosino *et al.* 2013: 15).

Crime prevention measures are the primary outcome of these studies (Petrosino *et al.* 2013: 4), and while this is not the main goal of projects combining homelessness and archaeology, it can certainly be considered a desired outcome. These results of intervening with vulnerable groups are issues that should be considered. Though this research on the effects of crime prevention programmes is centred on juveniles and young adults, this is not to say that the detrimental impacts would not be felt by adults, and all age ranges of homeless people could be involved with archaeological projects. Dishion *et al.*'s (1999) theory of peer contagion also highlights the risk for both homeless participants and professionals of being influenced or affected by potential deviant participants, resulting in a negative experience. Both parties involved may also be at risk of exposure to an unintentional 'shock value' which may have toxic outcomes (Dishion *et al.* 2013: 16).

Petrosino *et al.* (2003: 59) stress the importance in crime prevention programmes of putting in place rigorous evaluation to ensure no harm is caused by intervention, which should be followed by all projects which involve intervening with vulnerable groups.

Conclusion

The benefits of further work in this area are extensive for all involved – though there are still existing issues that need to be addressed for this discipline to progress in future. Creating partnerships with other organisations which could benefit those involved is essential, whether that be for physical or mental rehabilitation or to integrate individuals back into homes and jobs. There is also the very real issue of sustainability, as these people are often in fragile situations and it cannot be considered ethical to take away any support and routine that has been put in place. While it is positive to implement these projects into communities with the outcome of strengthening archaeology's place within society or giving homeless individuals a sense of belonging, as with any other community project, the success

of these programmes will come from understanding what these individuals actually want to gain and achieve from their involvement (Lampe 2014: 55). It is important to understand what areas they are interested in to tailor projects, and if there are any specific skills they are interested in improving.

Moving forward, attention needs to be paid to making archaeology and heritage more accessible, inclusive disciplines, as working with vulnerable groups is fundamental in encouraging positive contemporary change.

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Dialogues with Early Medieval 'Warriors'

Howard Williams and Rachel Alexander

How are early medieval graves interpreted by community archaeology projects? This chapter considers how the well-known and innovative Operational Nightingale project has distinctively deployed the excavation and analysis of early Anglo-Saxon (later 5th and 6th-century AD) furnished graves, including those containing weaponry, in its practice and public engagement. In light of recent discussions regarding the ideological, social, educational and emotional significances of the archaeological dead, we consider Operation Nightingale's well-received practical and interpretative dialogues with the dead during the investigation of an early medieval cemetery at Barrow Clump, Figheldean, on Salisbury Plain, Wiltshire. Our focus is upon the project's assertions of parity and affinity between early Anglo-Saxon weapon burials and the experiences of modern military personnel: dialogues with early medieval 'warriors'.

Introduction: interpreting early Anglo-Saxon weapon burials

The early medieval dead, particularly furnished inhumation graves of the 5th to 7th centuries AD, have been investigated since the 18th century (Content and Williams 2010). They have long been prominent in wider popular culture as evidence of the earliest pagan Germanic settlers: the purported founders of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. The most lavish of them are early 7th-century chamber graves, notably the 'treasure' from Sutton Hoo's Mound 1, now displayed at the British Museum and reconstructed at the National Trust Visitor Centre near Woodbridge (Walsh and Williams 2019). Yet there have been many more dug and displayed for generations of visitors to museums, such as the 6th-century rich adult female's grave from Lechlade (Gloucestershire) in the Corinium Museum, Cirencester, or the 7th-century weapon burial from Ford, Laverstock (Wiltshire) displayed in Salisbury Museum (Williams 2009). Therefore, since the 19th century, furnished early Anglo-Saxon inhumation graves, and weapon graves specifically, have been perceived as powerful visual and material material evidence for the martial character of barbarian invaders who occupied southern and eastern Britain following the collapse of the Western Roman Empire (Content and Williams 2010; Lucy 1998; Williams 2008).

Yet over the last half-century, sustained academic debates have questioned the chronology, scale, veracity and simplicity of an equation between furnished inhumation graves and a culture-historic narrative of Germanic settlement, including a face-value interpretation of their martial character (e.g. Hills 2003; 2007; Halsall 2013: 221–52; Lucy 1998). Weapons in these graves tend to be found with bodies determined to be those of adult males on osteological grounds, but need not have been those used in life exclusively by those individuals interred and need not be their personal possessions. Hence the equation of weapon graves with the identity of the deceased as active 'warrior' at the time of death has long been considered simplistic and misleading.

Problematising the warrior-status of the occupants of weapon graves was counter to the shift to quantitative social and symbolic analyses that characterised early medieval burial archaeology from the 1970s onwards, which shifted the focus away from the identities of those interred, to exploring patterns over space and time in the differential treatment of the dead (see Williams 2006 for a summary). The specific critique of weapon burials as 'warriors', however, was most famously articulated through the critique of the concept of 'warrior graves' by Heinrich Härke (1989; 1990; 1992; 1997; see also Dickinson and Härke 1992; Stoodley 1999). Härke conducted a detailed chronological and social analysis of weapon burials from across southern and eastern England. The frequency of weapon-deposition shows no correlation with historically recorded battles which, for Härke, queried the direct association

between weapon burial and frequencies of large-scale military activity. The character and chronology of weapon burial was shown not to be static, and its frequency varies between cemeteries and between regions, perhaps linked to variations in socio-economic structures, different strategies of articulating community identities in death, and differing intensities of socio-political competition focusing on funerals (see also Lucy 1998; 2002; Stoodley 1999). Moreover, the choices regarding which weapons, and which combination of weapons, hint at incomplete weapon set could be interred, hinting that the 'image' of a warrior in death was not always the aim. Instead, weapon deposition may have instead articulated the multivariate social and political identity of the dead person in relation to circumstances of death and their social network, including the decisions of mourners to articulate their status and strategies of inheritance and memory-making using the mortuary arena (see also Williams 2006).

Likewise, Härke argued (albeit not on convincing evidence in all cases) that weapons were sometimes interred with individuals too young or infirm to wield them at the time of their deaths, and other adult individuals' graves lacked weapons who seemed perfectly able to have used them in life (Härke 1990). A slight difference in stature between those males with and without weapons, led Härke to regard a symbolically articulated Germanic ethnicity as well as social status, rather than warriorhood, as the determining factors informing weapon burial. Indeed, weapons had cultural biographies, meaning they were circulated through multiple owners before interment, and perhaps some circulated within and between households and down the generations before being consigned to a grave (Härke 2000; 2014).

While different strands of Härke's argument have stood the test of time to varying degrees, this work remains the foundation of subsequent evaluations of early Anglo-Saxon weapon burial. Consequently, the presence of weapons need not reflect directly the identity of the graves' occupants but may instead form part of a careful selection of items by survivors to choreograph a narrative about the deceased in relation to the living community (see Brunning 2017; Sayer *et al.* 2019; Williams 2005). While interpretations vary between commentators, their deployment remains seen less as a simple signal of Germanic martial identity, and more as a fluid and multi-vocal element of complex ritualised displays of power and inheritance at a time of socio-economic and political dislocation (see Halsall 2013: 229; see also Härke 2014). Archaeologists' nuanced readings of weapon graves as social, symbolic or mnemonic statements by mourners fluctuating in character over time and space is now well established (e.g. Lucy 2002; Pader 1982; Richards 1987; Stoodley 1999; Williams 2006).

Yet despite the apparent acceptance of this position within archaeological discourse, the equation of weapon burials with a triumvirate of associations – 'Germanic', 'pagan' and 'warrior' – has persisted in some popular accounts and heritage environments. Many key museum displays do eschew a 'warrior' inference for weapon graves (such as Bede's World (now Jarrow Hall), observed 2005, and the West Stow Anglo-Saxon village, observed 2010). Yet others persist in equating weapon burials with 'warriors'. A caption introducing a display of weapons from early Anglo-Saxon grave-finds from Derbyshire in the Weston Park Museum in Sheffield, for example, states: 'Warriors – Anglo-Saxon men enjoyed hunting and fighting. Most men owned spears rather than swords. They also used shields to protect themselves from attack' (observed, 23 October 2018).

This persistent disjuncture between archaeological discourse and the popular perceptions of early medieval graves has been only provisionally appraised. Notably, an effective and important critique by Lucy and Herring (1999) showed how outmoded culture-historic and migrationist narratives about the Anglo-Saxons persist in museum environments (see also Williams 2009). For fieldwork contexts, to date the only significant discussion is a very recent one: Sayer and Sayer (2016) have cogently and critically considered the complex public engagements with the excavation of an early Anglo-Saxon furnished inhumation cemetery at Oakington (Cambridgeshire) in terms of English origins but also local identities, revealing diverse responses and perceptions to the excavation of the graves. They

advocate the potential for open public engagement through these funerary contexts, both regarding contemporary cultural identities and themes relating to disease, dying and death.

Harland (2017) has also noted how popular perceptions and media reporting of the early Anglo-Saxon period have lagged far behind archaeological research (see also Harland 2019; Williams 2007; cf Shipley 2015). Crucially, he helps to afford a context for the persistence of this narrative. The affinity of Germanic origins and the early Anglo-Saxon past has cross-Atlantic manifestations which are currently ripe for appropriation by the Alt-Right, White Supremacists and neo-Nazi groups, but which also resonate with a broader English/Anglo-Saxon nationalist rhetoric. In the UK specifically, after a century of ambivalence fostered in no small part by two World Wars, and the supremacy of 'Britishness', it is now becoming again popular to celebrate Englishness and English origins, including 'English' martial traditions. This has been fostered in no small part by the emboldened nationalist and anti-immigration discourses, deploying variegated appropriations of the Roman and early medieval pasts, in the political identities and debates fostered during both the Scottish independence referendum of 2014 and Brexit referendum of 2016 (Bonacchi *et al.* 2018; Gardner 2017). The challenge of engaging the public with the early Anglo-Saxon past has therefore never been more important and sensitive, and the persistent popular equation of weapons with warriors relates directly to present-day perceptions of England's martial and 'racial' heritage rooted in 19th-century concepts and ideas.

This chapter aims to build on the important, but relatively sparse, literature on the public mortuary archaeology of weapon graves, by considering one high profile and widely lauded UK community archaeology project that has prominently focused on public engagement through early medieval cemeteries. We consider Operation Nightingale (OpN) and the striking emotive and martial narratives created by the project about the early medieval dead. We do this by drawing evidence about the project from relevant online resources, newspaper and magazine articles, video documentaries, as well as the project's grey literature and published reports.

In our evaluation, we focus OpN's martial heritage narratives which have sought to connect the archaeological evidence of 'warriors' of the early Anglo-Saxon period excavated at Barrow Clump, Figheldean, Wiltshire, and the military identities of the participants in the project. We situate this in relation to broader discussions surrounding how, and why, the public engage with the dead through archaeology in today's world (Giles and Williams 2016). This is a topic largely eschewed by discussions of public archaeology and community archaeology in the UK: yet it is important that we critically explore how and to what extent the ancient dead should be part of the drive towards 'archaeology for all' (Nevell and Redhead 2015; see Baldry *et al.* 2012 for a rare exception).

In our endeavour, we acknowledge that OpN's archaeologists have not yet been able to critically evaluate the project themselves at the time of our writing, although a monograph is forthcoming (Richard Osgood pers. comm.). Limitations of the project and the challenges of working with those suffering from physical and psychological conditions have, however, received discussions in print (Osgood 2013: 116; see also Finnegan 2016). Still, for the purposes of this chapter, OpN has not yet received detailed evaluation concerning the ethics and politics of mortuary archaeology in contemporary society (e.g. Brown 2016; Giles and Williams 2016; Sayer 2010) specifically in relation to its conflict-related and martial themes.

Background: Introducing Operation Nightingale

OpN was established in 2011 as a pioneering and well-publicised example of an innovative community archaeology project. Engaging specifically with injured military personnel and deploying archaeology as a strategy of physical and psychological therapy. The project was initiated through a liaison between

the British Army and archaeologists by Richard Osgood (Senior Historic Advisor with the Defence Infrastructure Organisation), Sergeant Diarmaid Walshe (1st Battalion, The Rifles) and Corporal Steve Winterton (1st Battalion, The Rifles), and implemented through the Defence Archaeology Group (DAG) (DAG 2017; Osgoode 2013; Walshe et al. 2012). Funded by charities and the Ministry of Defence, OpN aimed to help with the recovery of those personnel with physical and psychological injuries in Iraq and Afghanistan and subsequently on medical leave: applying archaeology as a means of rehabilitation (Walshe et al. 2012). For some of its Wiltshire-based projects, it was augmented and extended by Wessex Archaeology's Project Florence (WA 2017b).

The rationale for deploying archaeology for rehabilitation has been the primary focus of the published discussions of OpN (Army 2017; Cooper 2016; Finnegan 2016; Osgood 2014; Walshe 2012; Walshe et al. 2012; Watts-Plumpkin 2013; WA 2017a). Many of the military personnel involved faced the challenges of physical injuries and mental illnesses resulting from their military service and adaption to civilian life, exacerbated by isolation and inactivity. Archaeology was deployed to help restore a routine, fitness, confidence, self-esteem, social bonding and offering both archaeological and broader transferable technical skills (Finnegan 2016; Walshe 2012; Walshe et al. 2012; Watts-Plumkin 2013). Archaeological practice, as much as archaeological results, were key to the envisioned success of OpN, offering tangible engagement with ancient sites and material culture, and the process of discovery and recording through survey and excavation. Meanwhile, the diversity of activities involved in archaeology meant it could serve a range of abilities and interests. Various excavations of a wide range of sites allowed the soldiers to gain valuable knowledge of the history of their country whilst utilising skills in mapping, planning, geophysics and excavating.

The social 'bonding' experience and fun of OpN has also been emphasised (Finnegan 2016; WA 2012). This relates to the appeal of archaeology in itself, allowing participants to experience the past first-hand and in a tangible and enjoyable fashion (e.g. Holtorf 2007: 60). More specifically, it links to broader arguments that digging and handling artefacts is physically and mentally beneficial and facilitates social inclusion (e.g. Kiddey 2017; Neal 2015; Sayer 2015). For some of the military personnel, the prospect of archaeology as a career was a tangible aspiration (Winterton 2014).

These various restorative dimensions are enshrined in the historical allusions to the Crimea of OpN's naming. The work of pioneering Victorian-era nurse, Florence Nightingale, evoked the long tradition of endeavours to heal British military casualties. Likewise, the project's insignia – a trowel with a serpent wrapped around it – adapts the Greek symbol for medicine – the Rod of Asclepius – to an archaeological theme, and thus equating digging and healing.

The project's identity and successes, however, are not simply framed by its benefits for some, or all, of the military personnel. Project Florence worked alongside OpN at Barrow Clump and provided the main way to include local communities in south Wiltshire in the archaeological investigations. This included various activities such as site activity days with site tours, exhibitions, lectures, making a movie about OpN, the Big Draw and volunteering, thus show-casing the rich heritage of South Wiltshire (WA 2017a). Involving the community early in the project allowed them to help make decisions, setting goals and planning days as a way of presenting and understanding the past in a reflective manner suitable to the rest of the community (cf. Kähler 2015: 75). The partial relinquishing of control of the project to local communities reveals that OpN was not exclusively a military project (WA 2017b).

A moral and patriotic dimension to OpN cannot be denied. Reviewing the project, Cooper (2016) describes OpN as a 'moral compulsion' to save monuments or sites which were liable to damage. Walshe put this into a martial context: 'the army is designed to protect our identity and our sovereignty, and also to protect our heritage. This is one of our roles' (Walshe 2012: 11). Therefore, the heritage

conservation dimensions of the project are tied into the martial facets of both the practitioners and the archaeological subjects investigated.

OpN also needs to be commended for a very rapid and high-profile series of popular and scholarly publications, providing a firm grounding for both the therapeutic strategies and the archaeological results. These include magazine articles (e.g. Osgood 2014; Walshe *et al.* 2012) but also open-access grey literature reports (Andrews and Mepham 2014; Andrews 2016; BGH 2017; Forshaw and Andrews 2013; Osgood 2017) as well as an academic outputs (Finnigen 2016; Osgood 2013). Therefore, unlike many community archaeology projects, the results have been rapidly disseminated affording clear academic benefits alongside the results achieved for veterans and the public.

Summing up this brief review of OpN to date, it can be regarded as a multi-staged, multi-site, distinctive and pioneering strategy of community engagement, providing the model for potential future community archaeology projects in offering bespoke and tailored engagements with specific groups who might otherwise not experience archaeology. Specifically, it is one of a series of projects which have attempted to target specific needs within the groups: those subjected to social exclusion and/or suffering from particular mental and physical conditions (Finnegan 2016; see also Kiddey 2017; Lack 2014; McMillan 2013; Neal 2015). Rather than community archaeology defined by locality and place, and tending to have an appeal gravitating to relatively affluent individuals (see Neal 2015), OpN instead explores a richly qualitative, rather than quantitative, criteria of non-specialist engagement. This mode of transferable and sustainable community engagement has allowed OpN to operate beyond a single locality, incorporating it into projects involving students, professional archaeologists and other community archaeology dimensions. Hence, OpN's different endeavours have engaged with military personnel but also with the public more broadly via a range of strategies, from open days and community volunteers through to television and the media.

The Archaeological Practice of OpN

While the focus has been on *why* OpN was performed, *how* and *what* was investigated is far from incidental. First, as noted above, OpN did not focus on, or rely upon, a single archaeological site, locality, region or indeed even a country-specific project. Instead, the operation could encapsulate, and be transferable between, a range of sites and locales. A second aspect of OpN as a community project was its use of a wide range of techniques and sites, from condition inspections, desktop research and post-excavation recording alongside survey and excavation (Osgood 2013: 116). Those sites targeted for more intense field work were find-rich and complex, allowing volunteers to experience tangible traces with some guarantee of success, as well as to operate in historical military landscapes. Third, OpN targeted sites under threat: many were Heritage at Risk sites on MoD land: these were not research excavations targeting sites otherwise unknown, or monuments secure from threat.

The Progress of OpN 2011–2018

First, the late prehistoric East Chisenbury midden was investigated to mitigate the damage of badgers (Walshe *et al.* 2012; Winterton 2014: 246). Subsequently, the University of Leicester worked with the Defence Archaeology Group and OpN to investigate the site of Whitewall Brake, on Ministry of Defence land north of Caerwent Roman city where a high-status Roman complex was revealed (Hilts 2012; Watts-Plumpkin 2013; DAG 2017). As well as a 20th-century military landscape, the walled defences of Caerwent afforded a proximal military dimension to the Roman archaeological remains too. The principal subsequent site subjected to investigation over the next three years (2012–2014) was Barrow Clump (Grinsell's Figheldean 25, Wiltshire): a scheduled ancient monument on Historic England's heritage at risk (HAR) list on MoD land on Salisbury Plain (Andrews and Mepham 2014; DAG 2017; Forshaw and

Andrews 2013; Pitts 2012; WA 2012). The heroic martial allusions are replicated in the code name for the project: Exercise Beowulf (Osgood and Andrews 2015; Pitts 2012; Walshe 2012).

Barrow Clump was originally an early Neolithic settlement and then Early Bronze Age burial mound. Later, it was reused as a burial site in the 6th century AD afforded the discovery of weapon burials, allowing martial aspects in the past to mirror the contemporary military landscape and practitioners (WA 2017c; see also Andrews and Mepham 2014; Forshaw and Andrews 2013; WA 2017a–b). The explicit aim was to extend previous excavations by English Heritage and focus specifically on the investigation of these early Anglo-Saxon graves.

Yet it was plane-crash sites at Ludgershall (West Sussex), Lyneham (Wiltshire) and at Upavon (Wiltshire) in 2013 that married OpN to the investigation of modern conflict archaeology (Osgood 2014). For Upavon, Osgood (2014) notes how the plane crash-site 'provided a tangible link to the Battle of Britain and a period in our history heavily featured in the school curriculum. Those with a military ethos found the project cathartic and rewarding.' (Osgood 2014, 35). Therefore, OpN involved the military, but also the subject of investigation was martial in character (Osgood 2014). The 2015 excavation of a Spitfire crash-site at Holme Lode Farm, Holme, Lincolnshire followed on from the Upavon project, and this was indeed the crash site even though the human remains had long been removed (Shute 2015). Likewise, OpN excavations took place at the Marne Barracks, Catterick, revealing funerary dimensions of a Bronze Age burial mound and early Anglo-Saxon graves as well as Roman buildings (DAG 2017; ON 2015). The 2016 excavations at Perham Down (Wiltshire) saw another relationship between OpN and past military practices: the excavation of First World War practice trenches (Andrews 2016; DAG 2017). Facilitating by the newly founded Breaking Ground Heritage (BGH), 2016 saw fieldwork at Barry Buddon (Angus) also investigating First World War training trenches (MoD 2017; Saunders 2017; Sotheran 2017). In 2017 and 2018, BGH returned with OpN to Barrow Clump and investigated further early Anglo-Saxon furnished inhumation graves (BGH 2017). In all instances, the conservation and research outputs, as well as the benefits for OpN volunteers can be recognised as integrated, rather than separated, results of the fieldwork.

Excavations abroad are another feature of OpN. For example, in 2016 OpN joined up with University of Leicester students in Akrotiri, Cyprus (DAG 2017; ULAS 2016). Entitled Exercise ARTEMIS 16, the excavations took place on an operational Royal Air Force base as there was known archaeological features that were in danger of destruction and erosion. Again, like OpN in the UK, the injured soldiers involved either had an interest in the past or many of the people are believed to have previous archaeological training. The same applies to Exercise Joan of Arc, at Bullecourt 2017 which saw the investigation of a First World War battlefield location (Osgood 2017).

To summarise some of the principal aspects of the work of OpN to date, the operation has proved to be versatile and applicable to a range of site-types and landscapes in Britain and abroad, thus creating a model combination professional archaeologists and military personnel and funded by a range of charities and the MoD. It has proven transferable and sustainable, operating at different scales and durations and involving varied degrees of other community engagement dimensions such as Project Florence (WA 2017b). In short, OpN has promoted itself, and received widespread acclaim, in effectively deploying archaeological practice as a therapeutic mechanism by focusing on *martial* subjects of the recent past, as well as early medieval furnished burial sites.

Warriors Past and Present in Barrow Clump's Media Archaeology

The creation of close bonds with the dead was a specific feature of the Upavon Spitfire crash in 2013. This was not a mortuary site: the pilot survived although he perished soon after in the Battle of Britain (Osgood 2014). Yet, the pilot's daughter, who never knew her father, participated in the project, and the

OpN volunteers were acutely aware of the close connection between the crash-site and the pilot's death in the Second World War. The 2015 crash-site at Holme Lodge Farm Spitfire had been the site of the pilot's death. The excavations at Bullecourt encountered the remains of two German soldiers (Osgood 2017). In all these examples, OpN operates as a form of memory work, connecting death and memory in the past to restorative and commemorative practices in the present (Osgood 2013: 125; see also Brown 2016).

However, the deployment of the early medieval dead faced different connotations and challenges in this regard. The engagement with early Anglo-Saxon graves (later fifth and sixth-century AD) at Barrow Clumps and Catterick provided the most important and sustained relationship between those injured in conflict and the unnamed ancient archaeological dead among OpN's investigations to date. Indeed, the particular combination of Early Bronze Age and early Anglo-Saxon mortuary practices in both these landscapes, create common connections between Britain's early past and present-day landscapes of conflict. Mirroring the striking material and corporeal power of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries to evoke links between past and present (Sayer and Sayer 2016), we explore how the sixth-century early medieval burial ground reusing the mound's southern side and ditches at Barrow Clump constructed a sustained link between conflict past and present focusing on the personhood of the 'warrior'.

Warrior graves in print

Archaeologists, military personnel as well as local volunteers participated at the 2012–14 and 2017–18 Barrow Clump excavations (Osgood and Andrews 2015). As noted above, significantly, this deliberate research strategy meant that furnished male graves including those with weapons, as well as female-gendered and child graves, would be targeted. Together, these allowed a martial discourse to pervade the excavation. The Anglo-Saxon heroic and martial allusions can be identified the project's name: Exercise Beowulf, otherwise described as 'Operation Beowulf' in *Current Archaeology* magazine volume 306 (Osborn and Andrews 2015: 32). This is mirrored in the barrow being situated in the Salisbury Plain Training Area, and the participation of military personnel and funding. Soldiers were described as encountering their martial 'ancestors', with the *Current Archaeology* article's subheading being 'soldier archaeologists and warrior graves' (Osgood and Andrews 2015). This was manifest not simply with the recovery of martial gear – spears and shield bosses – but their funerary context: interred in the graves of adult males (WA 2017). Indeed, the interim report describes how among the graves '...were warriors buried alongside their spears and shields...' (Osgood and Andrew 2015: 29).

Although the interim report and public literature make clear that it was an 'Anglo-Saxon community' that was recovered, including high-status female graves, not just adult male burials (Osgood and Andrews 2015: 30–31; 33–34), the spectacle of weapon burial is emphasised (Osgood and Andrews 2015: 32). The discussion aimed at a wide non-specialist audience emphasised the graves represented a community 'that valued military prowess' (Osgood and Andrews 2015: 31). A burial of a mature male with a sword, spear and shield was also discussed in relation to his physical attributes: his 'strong muscle attachments indicating a very robust frame' so that 'he cut a commanding figure'. His age suggested he might be a 'once-mighty warrior, now a community elder' (Osgood and Andrews 2015: 306).

Other items recovered were co-opted into a martial and masculine discussion. For example, the well-preserved yew-wood bucket uncovered in one weapon burial was described as a 'manly drinking vessel' by Wessex Archaeology's video reflecting on the first season of excavations (WA 2012). Another grave was referred to in the video as 'a warrior' defined by a shield boss, two spears and a knife (WA 2012). The diggers themselves connected to this narrative on the video: Rowan Kendrick, formerly of 5th Battalion, The Rifles, dug the grave of a weapon burial and inferred it was the grave of a 'young male buried with a well-preserved drinking vessel and spear, marking him out as a young warrior who liked to drink.

Not too dissimilar to the modern soldiers on the excavation' (Osgood and Andrews 2015: 32). Thus, the bonds of 'warrior' status linked contemporary military personnel with the early medieval past. The military personnel working on the project seemed to interpret weapon burial as a 'sign of respect' (Osgood 2013; WA 2012). The poem *Beowulf* is also cited to support the martial inferences (Osgood and Andrews 2015: 32).

Rather than any negative responses to digging skeletons, OpN revealed yet another example of the diverse and engaging ways in which archaeological engagements with the dead can positively engage contemporary communities and individuals (Giles and Williams 2016). Richard Osgood explained the palpable link experienced by the modern military personnel who felt a 'bond of kinship' with the dead 'warrior', whom they regarded as 'one of their own'. This appraisal was underpinned by Rifleman Mike Kelly who regarded weapon burial as a symbol of 'great respect' and that he understood what both they went through and their families went through. The soldier also regarded archaeological excavation itself as means of honouring a fallen warrior: it was a 'great respect for a former warrior to be dug up by another warrior' (Osgood 2013; WA 2012; see also Brown 2016; Williams and Williams 2007). Hence, the equation of warriors past and present was key to the Barrow Clump investigations by OpN.

In the magazine articles, the visual power of the weapon burial served to convey the 'warrior' identity of the dead (for context, see Bolchini 2019). This is also true of the latest report in *Current Archaeology* magazine about the latest excavations at Barrow Clump in which a new 'sword burial' was uncovered and a vivid photograph of the grave bearing spear and sword with the caption stating: 'this man cradles a sword in the crook of his arm' (Osgood 2018). Notably and positively, the language is far more cautious in this latest article, with the lede being the only place to use the term 'warrior grave' and keeping it within scare-quotes, but the 'warrior' status is projected through the choice of image, intimately connecting the body with the artefact placed with it.

Warrior graves on film

The martial dimensions were extended to a wide television audience when the first season was featured on a Channel Four *Time Team* programme produced during the first season of the Barrow Clump excavations (Time Team 2013). Here again we find soldiers expressing their enjoyment, social bonding, but also the therapeutic dimensions of the excavation process. Also, attention was afforded to the family nature of the burial ground, and the warrior status of the male occupants. Here, the narrative is taken out of the hands of OpN and seems to have been crafted by the programme but also in liaison with professional archaeologists and academics involved. Time Team presenter Tony Robinson describes Barrow Clump as where 'warriors and their families were laid to rest with all their riches'. As 'warrior-farmers' and the weapon graves are described as 'warrior graves', with Dr Helen Geake explaining that grave-goods being about 'painting a picture of their role in society'. The burial investigated by archaeologist Cassie Newland is described as 'distinctly warrior-like'. In this context, it is unsurprising that archaeologists cultivated explicitly a martial dialogue between past and present, with one soldier stating: 'it isn't wasted on any of us that we are digging up warriors of the past' (Time Team 2013). In other words, the significance of weapon burial is identified in both the original burial deposition *and* the act of excavation by a soldier who could afford it all due respect (Osgood 2013: 116–19). Re-enactors brought the warriors to life, while the lives of warriors past were resurrected and respected through excavation. This chimes closely with Martin Brown's appraisal of the bonds of respect and affinity created between military personnel and the remains of fallen soldiers on the Western Front (Brown 2016).

Admittedly, the *Time Team* programme does qualify its association of weapon graves with 'warriors' by discussing how the excavated shield might be for display as much as a defence-giving feature. The lack

of wear suggests that 'battle action' in life was not evidenced, but instead the programme suggested a qualification of their earlier assertion in the same episode: in death the early Anglo-Saxon community had wanted their males to dress as mighty warriors. However, these points are missing from the other interim reports and there is no evidence this qualified narrative was discussed or perpetuated on site among the military personnel, for whom the dead were 'warriors'. The summary of the *Time Team* programme emphasised the importance of this relationship between ancient graves and living soldiers: 'whether staying in the forces or moving on, archaeology has rebuilt their lives'.

By cultivating a martial personhood for the early medieval dead, rehabilitating these ancient 'warrior farmers' through excavation, the injured soldiers were performing a reconstitution of their own identities. Archaeological practice is thus a means of negotiating martial identities in both past and present: digging operating as a dialogue with the dead (Brown 2016; McLelland and Cerezo-Román 2016; Williams and Williams 2007).

This narrative of 'warrior graves' has persisted. *Digging for Britain,* Season 7, Episode 2 (2018), follows the return of the team to Barrow Clump led by Richard Osgood. Presenter, Alice Roberts, refers to weapons very cautiously as 'often associated with male burials' and 'Anglo-Saxon men were often buried with shields laid over them'. Uncovering the burial of an adult male with a knife, spear and sword, one of 27 graves. Osgood explains regarding the sword, that 'if you are digging with a military team, they all want to find weaponry...' and cautiously that the individual with a sword was 'perceived as a warrior' (the perception presumably being by 6th-century people). Roberts states that we cannot 'assume' he was a warrior, but then turns to the body of the man for confirmation, asserting that his 'long bones' and 'jaw' was 'robust' and 'masculine', presumably suggesting that stature and robusticity underlines a warrior status in a fashion akin to Victorian antiquarian commentators on weapon burials (Williams 2008).

Discussion

Archaeologists' relationships with the military are complex and long-lasting (Osgood 2013: 114; Stone 2015: 178). This discussion has not sought to explore in detail the issues of whether archaeology can be demonstrably therapeutic and restorative of military personnel or other groups. Equally, we do not query what criteria we adopt to judge the success or failure of archaeological projects seeking to do this (see Sayer 2015). Indeed, we anticipate that any single archaeological project will enrich and inform different individuals in contrasting regards (see Sayer and Sayer 2016). Moreover, we have not explored the broader ethical and political challenges of archaeologists working with the military in war zones and training areas (e.g. Hamilakis 2009). Instead, our focus is on the 'public mortuary archaeology' of OpN (see Giles and Williams 2016): how the dead are deployed in the present and made to 'live again' through archaeological practice and interpretations, as well as via media dissemination. In this regard, the therapeutic, ethical and political dimensions of OpN are seemingly enmeshed. As Osgood (2013) notes, the power of conflict archaeological sites and material cultures is that their familiarity and importance to troops renders them suitable for training military personnel. We propose that OpN has developed a distinctive martial and mortuary dialogue between past and present. For recent conflict archaeology, this can be powerful and personal (see also Brown 2016). Yet, for early medieval graves, this may have more challenging connotations (Sayer and Sayer 2016). OpN's innovative mode of public mortuary archaeology through its fieldwork and media engagements fosters bonds of fictive kinship between soldiers present and those of the Early Middle Ages by asserting parities and affinities between early English martial activity and modern soldiery.

This phenomenon is epitomised in *Time Team*'s characterisation of the Barrow Clump families as groups of 'warrior-farmers' and exposition of a model of English migration long challenged in academic discourses. In doing so, OpN has fostered a popular narrative on grave-goods and burial practice in early

Anglo-Saxon England in which martial immigrant 'warrior' status is foregrounded. This holds particular resonances with 19th-century celebrations of the martial identities and Teutonic migratory origins of the earliest English (see Williams 2008). Furthermore, it takes little account of the aforementioned academic critique of weapon burial as 'warrior graves'. Instead, most recent studies have regarded weapon burial as multi-vocal, but also shifting in significance over time and space (e.g. Härke 1989; 1990; 1992; 1997; Halsall 2003; Williams 2011). Indeed, this is a broader challenge for the public engagement with mortuary archaeology, where identities are often uncritically read from grave-goods without considering the multiple actors and processes by which grave-goods might be selected upon and placed with the dead (see Williams 2009).

Yet OpN's popular narratives and martial inferences from furnished sixth-century graves do not exist in a vacuum and should not be regarded as a singular challenge for this community archaeology project exclusively. Regarding weapon burials as 'warrior graves' and furnished graves as 'Anglo-Saxon' have persisted and are valorised in popular texts and in artistic displays of the period (see Lucy and Herring 1999; Williams 2007; 2009). For many, they constitute the earliest direct ancestors of modern British people in England, in contrast the pre-Roman and Roman populations are often cast as 'other'. This is, for example, the case at major heritage destinations such as the National Trust's Sutton Hoo (Walsh and Williams forthcoming), English Heritage's Lindisfarne and Jarrow Hall (formerly Bede's World), all of which characterise in their heritage displays the origins of England in terms of Bede's origin myth. The same applies to many local and regional museums, including Leeds City Museum, which perpetuate a simple migrationist narrative for English origins. It is this popular manifestation of the early English, seemingly materialised and embodied in the furnished weapon grave, that OpN has deployed as a point of departure for their therapeutic practice and its media coverage has emphasised.

At one level, this is a fair and appropriate strategy for engaging modern soldiers in the first instance: to find familiarity and empathy in the past. Yet by the same token this approach holds the potential to valorise and misrepresent conflict and warfare in the Early Middle Ages, where the 'professional warrior' was a very different and evolving phenomenon to the life of a soldier in the late 20th or early 21st centuries. More concerning still, there are all manner of potential uses and misuses of this narrative in the second decade of the 21st century. The celebration and rehabilitation of early Anglo-Saxon warrior identities through excavation at Barrow Clump finds a parity in the commemoration of the 'military hero' in modern British culture and in a specifically English landscape of military training, where antiquity is mobilised to valorise martial endeavours and the war wounded for both worthy charitable, but also political, ends. This also finds particular resonance with the rise of a culture of military commemoration since the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and a revitalisation of war memorialisation since the new millennium, coming to the fore as part of the centennial celebrations of the Great War epitomised by the National Memorial Arboretum (e.g. Williams 2014). More recently, we have seen other popular celebrations of Anglo-Saxon warrior culture through heritage sites and the media, including the exhibitions and media associated with the Staffordshire Hoard and the celebrations of the 'warrior queen' Aethelflaed of Mercia. So the OpN work finds a broader context fascinated in English origins and 'early English' martial prowess. We must also recognise that concepts of the Anglo-Saxon 'warrior' encounters a new international context with the rise of early medieval martial images and material culture now widely appropriated by the far-right across the Western world, encapsulating both the Anglo-Saxons and Vikings (e.g. Elliot 2017).

In summary, academic and popular narratives regarding English origins have hinged on discoveries of furnished graves since the mid-19th century, when the first generation of archaeologists systematically and repeatedly dug up 'warrior graves' and regard them as the graves of the earliest English (Williams 2006; 2007; 2008). Today, they continue to be a focus of political discourse and debate as well as popular dissemination. In the public climate that has emerged since OpN was initiated, they might be considered

a mechanism for valorising military endeavours past and present, as well as being potentially ripe for misappropriation by extreme political viewpoints. So if the early Anglo-Saxon dead are being deployed as emotive and martial therapeutic tools for injured military personnel, they simultaneously feed popular narratives of English martial origins comparable to those portrayed in popular fiction and rooted in racial models of English origins from the 19th century (see Williams 2008).

Is this the fault of OpN? Perhaps not, since archaeologists cannot ever 'control' or 'future-proof' their findings in relation to public debate and political misappropriations. Still, the archaeologists working on OpN have carefully crafted their public engagements, and they therefore retain a responsibility to ensure that their narratives are informed by contemporary scholarship, and are robust, balanced and evidence-based. By way of analogy, a recent popular discussion by Duncan Sayer (2017) explores this very issue, based on new DNA analysis of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. Likewise, the debates about how we interpret 'warrior graves' is well established in the academic literature, so why cannot OpN extend these debates into their public engagements? As part of the ethical responsibilities of public mortuary archaeology, should we all develop more rigorous roles in debating not only archaeological interpretations, but how these results are disseminated to multiple, global, publics (see Williams 2019a)?

A parallel situation can be identified to the challenges facing OpN in the 2017 publication of a peer-reviewed journal article which identified a female sex to the occupant of a tenth-century chamber grave (Bj581) from the proto-town of Birka, Sweden. The individual was long presumed a man, and a high-status warrior), since the skeleton discovered in the late 19th century excavations had been found buried with a wide and rich range of items including weapons and gaming pieces as well as a pair of sacrificed horses. Yet the DNA evidence demonstrated the individual could be sexed as female (Hedenstierna-Jonson *et al.* 2017). Significantly, the study asserted the traditional equation of weapons with warrior status in the Viking Age, and thus argued that the genomics meant that the grave was most suitably interpreted as that of a 'female Viking warrior'. In doing so, the interdisciplinary team of authors produced a prominent example of digital public mortuary archaeology: choosing a high-venue academic publication venue that was widely disseminated world-wide via media and social media, assisted by the powerful visuals and chiming with the ever-popular gender-identity debate for contemporary audiences (reviewed by Williams 2017a-e; Williams 2019b). The possibility and character of female warriors in the Viking Age is the focus of ongoing research (e.g. Gardeła 2013; 2018), yet female warrior identity was widely popular among both academics and the public since it serves to reveal inherent male-bias within the discipline as well as to counter traditional male-dominated modes of perceiving Norse society in the Viking period. Yet, whether the interpretation is convincing or not, this narrative simultaneously perpetuates a celebration of the era's martial stereotypes via the medium of archaeological data. We might take from this the lesson that, if we cannot control the media story, we can at least consider our fieldwork and publications as not only dialogues with traces of the ancient dead, but also dialogues with contemporary society and politics. Whoever 'she' was, the occupant of Birka 581 is celebrated as a warrior in a society that continues to evoke its 'Viking' martial heritage. Instead of accepting such a narrative, why not debate key points of argumentation beyond our formal academic publications, and entertain alternative readings of the evidence? As with the authors of the Birka grave publication, OpN might consider engaging their participants and publics with different scenarios for interpreting weapon graves, and the wider burial population at the Barrow Clump cemetery.

There is a second key point to be gained from the example of the Birka 'female warrior grave' of relevance to OpN. It is not only significant regarding how we write, but also how we envision the early medieval furnished graves in public engagements (Williams 2017b). The use of excavation plans, photographs, but perhaps art, can project our interpretations far beyond traditional audiences, but they can also reify specific narratives to the exclusion of others (see also Williams 2009). The publication of Bj581 and its media dissemination used both Hjalmar Stolpe's original grave-plan but also an artist's reconstruction

of the chamber grave. Likewise, OpN have used images effectively and vividly in popular magazines, social media and television, to promote their work, including in *Current Archaeology* magazine and via television and social media. More than words, these images conjure a simplistic equation of weapons with the deceased's body, and therefore an equation with a warrior 'occupation' in life. Yet might we deploy such images differently, to reveal the complex multi-staged funerals that comprised these graves? Should we consider further how we use images of multiple graves to communicate our stories about past communities, not just dead individuals? Different approaches might facilitate us opening, rather than shutting out, ongoing academic debates regarding the interpretation of weapon graves from early medieval Europe, including the equation of weapons with warrior status? Perhaps alternative envisionings of graves and their occupants are required, restricted and inspired by, but not dictated by, the archaeological evidence (e.g. see Giles 2016; Gardeła 2019; Watson and Williams 2019). Both through a more careful use of text and image, we can enhance, rather than restrict, archaeological interpretations, with input and engagement with stakeholders and the wider public.

Conclusion

At the time of writing, at the end of 2018, the latest excavations at Barrow Clump by OpN and BGH has been reported in *The Guardian* under the heading 'Soldiers find Saxon warrior on Salisbury Plain' (Kennedy 2018). The media are thus keen to regard the sixth-century weapon grave as a 'warrior' buried with 'his spear' and 'his sword'. Once again, the martial identity of the diggers is matched by that ascribed to the grave's occupant: 'the soldiers were very moved by the discovery of a man they felt would have shared some of their experiences.' OpN's Facebook page referred to the grave as a 'warrior burial' with scare-quotes round 'warrior' (OpN 2018). As noted above, the latested *Current Archaeology* piece focuses on the intimate connection of a weapon grave between the sword and the adult male skeleton which appears 'as though he were creadling it with reverence' but refraining from expounding the 'warrior grave' term outside of scare quotes (Osgood 2018). Despite this nuance, it is clear is that the martial narrative remains alive and well and an integral part of OpN's public engagement.

The aim of this paper has not been to denigrate the innovative and effective community archaeology projects of OpN. Such bespoke projects connecting specific groups with the human past hold considerable promise and an established place in archaeological research. Yet, the challenge for OpN in the future is to participate in the rehabilitation of soldiers, as well as to engage other publics, whilst simultaneously shedding critical and detailed light on the stories narrated about the martial identities and conflict narratives involving the archaeological dead, their human remains and material cultures. If the archaeological dead are tools for rehabilitation, fostering fictive kinships and emotional engagements with the early medieval dead (see Brown 2016), we must also remember that martial discourses can be mobilised in other, unwanted, and unintended fashions too, particularly relating to furnished graves from the Early Middle Ages.

While the early 'English' martial connotations and material traces deployed in community engagement may well afford empathy and affinity for military personnel today – soldiers digging soldiers – we have drawn attention to the complexities of narratives of Anglo-Saxon migration and warrior identities. Returning to Harland's (2017) recent warning: 'it is a dangerous time to be peddling oversimplificiations of the Anglo-Saxon past.' These are dangers are certainly not specific to OpN: we all face these difficulties in our attempts to conduct community and public archaeology in the early 21st century, especially when negotiating the stories surrounding early medieval graves. Such challenges might be faced by advancing more complex and nuanced interpretations of early medieval weapon graves for participants, communities and the media.

Acknowledgements

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Public Archaeology at Bryn Celli Ddu: Sharing Prehistory

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Ben Edwards & Seren Griffiths

This chapter presents the results of an undergraduate project that explored public attitudes to heritage, prehistory and specifically how people relate to the Neolithic passage tomb at Bryn Celli Ddu, Anglesey, Wales. Dr Seren Griffiths (University of Central Lancashire) and Dr Ben Edwards (Manchester Metropolitan University) have been running 'The Bryn Celli Ddu public archaeology landscape research project' with Dr Ffion Reynolds (Cadw) since 2014. This project explores the landscape around Bryn Celli Ddu, and has at its heart public archaeology, with various programmes of public engagement. The project was initiated in response to a research question from members of the public, and the project research design has been developed over its lifetime (2014-present) with members of the public. Research for this paper was undertaken on a site open day during the 2018 season. The results we present here provide an initial impression of the people who visit the site, their motivations and concerns, and how they would like the research programme to develop.

Introduction

Bryn Celli Ddu (or 'the Mound of the Dark Grove' in English; Figure 1) is one of a group of late Neolithic passage tombs located on Anglesey. The monument has a series of phases of prehistoric activity, as well as a history of antiquarian and early 20th century exploration (Hemp 1930). Its present form is an extensively reconstructed monument, which was intended as a resource to educate members of the public (Hemp 1930). The site has a number of nationally important features, notably the way the passage was constructed so that on the summer solstice the sunrise illuminates the passage and chamber (Fig 2). Despite the importance of the site, relatively little work has been done on its landscape context. Over the last five years, the Bryn Celli Ddu public archaeology landscape project has aimed to better-understand this location, working with members of the public to survey and excavate sites in the vicinity, and with the Welsh Historic Environment Agency, Cadw, to produce a series of open days and public engagement events focusing on the summer solstice. In 2018, as Archaeology and Anthropology undergraduates we developed and undertook a research project to explore people's motivations for visiting the site, the value in which people held the site, and the sense of relationships people had with the site.

Archaeological background

The island of Anglesey is rich in Neolithic archaeology, with at least 30 burial chambers, plus additional rock art panels and settlement sites (Foster and Daniel 1965; Lynch 1997). Bryn Celli Ddu is a famous Neolithic passage tomb on Anglesey, the first phase of construction has been estimated to be between 3075–2950 cal. BCE (Burrow 2010: 262). The monument was partially excavated by François du Bois Lukis in 1865, and by the H.M. Office of Works and achaeologist W.J. Hemp from 1925–1929 in an attempt to conserve the monument (Hemp 1930). The site is notable for a number of aspects: a henge monument may predate the passage tomb, and may represent one of the earliest examples known of a henge (cf. Bradley 1998; Burrow 2010); a rare form of megalithic rock art ('the pattern stone') was recovered from the site; and the passage architecture is orientated so that the summer solstice sunrise illuminates the interior of the monument. The heavily reconstructed monument survives today as a chamber and passage covered by a low mound and bounded by a *c.* 25 m diameter ditch. The site is one of several late Neolithic (*c.* 3300–2500 cal. BC) and early Chalcolithic (*c.* 2500–2000 cal. BC) monuments in its immediate vicinity (Lynch 1997), which includes rock art panels, at least one other burial monument, and a Grooved Ware pit circle; these have been foci of investigation as part of the landscape project so far. Standing

stones and other burial monuments were probably robbed out in antiquity (cf. Barnwell 1869; Baynes 1912; Lynch 1997). Bryn Celli Ddu is a Cadw guardianship monument, and is currently presented to the public with two interpretation panels at the monument, and series of panels at the public carpark, putting the monument into its regional context. Visitor access to the monument is provided from the carpark along a reasonably flat public footpath.

Figure 1: Bryn Celli Ddu at the start of the summer open day in 2015 showing some of the stalls with public engagement activities and information. The survey was conducted on the equivalent event in 2018. (Copyright Adam Stanford)

Background to the public archaeology work

Public archaeology is core to the Bryn Celli Ddu public archaeology landscape research project, with the project ethos seeking to be *responsive* and *creative***,** and based long-term *relationships* developed with local people on Anglesey and Gwynedd (Griffiths this volume).

Since 2014, a series of events have taken place as part of the public archaeology and engagement work. In 2018, this took the form of an Archaeology Festival, with activities including:

1. local volunteer archaeologists digging on site;
2. a site open day;
3. a local Young Archaeologist Club excavation day;
4. visits from 235 children from eight local schools;
5. a star gazing event;
6. a solstice event;
7. an exhibition at the local museum Oriel Môn about the excavation's findings;

8. a series of free public lectures from leading academics working on Neolithic and Bronze Age Britain and Ireland at Oriel Môn museum;
9. a treasure trail set in the wider landscape taking in key monuments in the local historic environment;
10. a series of artists' residencies.

Figure 2: The view towards the east showing visitors to one of the summer solstice events watching the sunrise on top of the monument. (Copyright Adam Stanford)

The annual project archaeology open day takes place at Bryn Celli Ddu, on the closest Saturday to the summer solstice (21 June) in the middle of the excavation project (to coincide with a popular time for visitors to come to the site given its solar alignment). The open days have included educational stalls, craft activities, experimental archaeology activities, children's activities including story-telling and performances, artists in residence under-taking work at the site or displaying the results of their residencies. Other groups and organisations have also delivered activities at these events, including Gwynedd Archaeological Trust (the local Welsh Archaeological Trust) and the local Urdd Derwyddon Môn (the Anglesey Druid Order). Each year, the open day events have attracted hundreds of visitors, numbers vary and are highly dependent on the weather. In 2018, the events that took place as part of the Festival of Archaeology with visitor numbers given in Table 1.

Research aims

Four authors on this paper (Hijazi, Mainprize, Wareham and Bramble), designed this as an independent undergraduate project. These authors were then in the third year of an Archaeology and Anthropology degree at the University of Central Lancashire. The project was designed to better understand the

contemporary social context in which people experience archaeology, heritage and monuments, and specifically how they respond to Bryn Celli Ddu. It was also designed as a way to co-create the future public archaeology programme, in order to reflect the interests of members of the public and wanted to understand about the wider landscape archaeology project.

Table 1: Visitors to different events associated with the public engagement programme at the site in 2018.

Event Type	Visitor Numbers
Archaeology Open Day	650
Summer Solstice Sunrise	150
Stargazing	60
Public Lectures	150
Museum Exhibition	500
Site Tours	100
Treasure Trail Take Up	500
TOTAL VISITORS	**2110**

We were especially interested in the range of different interests people had in the site, in the ways in which the site might have meaning to different people, and in terms of the wider significance of the historic environment in different people's senses of identity and belonging. The survey also went through University of Central Lancashire ethics approval.

The aims of the survey were:

- to identify current attitudes to prehistoric monuments and heritage among members of the public who visit Bryn Celli Ddu;
- to capture anonymous demographics about who visits prehistoric heritage sites in Wales, using Bryn Celli Ddu as a case study;
- to identify research aims that members of the public might like to develop as part of the Bryn Celli Ddu landscape project;
- to identify media for public engagement that members of the public might use in future years.

Research methods

On the 16 June 2018 open day, we conducted our visitor survey at the site. The survey contained 20 questions (Appendix 1), which we invited visitors to the site open day to complete *after* they had completed a tour of the site. We asked people who were in groups to fill out one survey representing all of the views of people in their group; we did not want to survey every individual visiting the site, as we felt this would be invasive and might negatively impact on the experience of visitors to the open day. Participants' names were not recorded; likewise, postcodes were not collected in order to ensure that the data were anonymous. Members of the public were briefed about data collection, retention and use prior to completing the survey. Participants were given Griffiths' email as a contact for further details, as well as details of the 2019 museum exhibition and public lecture where they could follow up the results of the survey and excavation.

We chose to undertake a survey, rather than participant observation, for two pragmatic reasons. First, participant observation presented a range of ethical considerations which we felt beyond the scope of an undergraduate project. As we wanted to gather a range of quantifiable data, we felt this was best achieved by a survey on one day, when lots of people visit the site. We also hoped that by concentrating on the open day, we might gather opinions from a range of people, not all of whom were local, including some who came from different countries to see the monument and surrounding area. Second, as none the authors who undertook the survey were Welsh language speakers, the idea of attempting participant observation without being able to communicate in the first language of some visitors felt inappropriate.

Results

Fifty-eight surveys were completed on the day, and one was returned by emailed after the event. The surveys were completed by people who were in groups representing 241 visitors. We have therefore captured data that reveals the views of *c.* 37% of visitors to 2018's open day.

The vast majority of people visiting the site defined themselves as 'British', 'English', 'Welsh' or 'Cymraeg'. There were international visitors who defined as 'European', 'American' visitors, and 'Australian', however the majority of people were locals: 55% living in North Wales. Sixteen percent of visitors lived in North West England. Thirteen percent of visitors came from outside the UK. The tensions in undertaking survey work only in English, even as a project by a mixed international team of undergraduate students, were evident; several members of the public commented on our inability to speak Welsh. Issues of Welsh nationalism and national identity were also raised in several of the survey responses; the self-description of at least one participant as 'Cymraeg' may have been a statement about our inability to speak Welsh, while suggestions for future public archaeology work as part of the project included 'the rise of Welsh nationalism and the Druids'.

The majority of visitors our survey captured were adults (see discussion below), 21% of visitors were aged 47–57 years old, and 18% were aged 58–69 years old. In contrast, only 18% of our surveyed visitors were under 18 years old, 21% were 19–35 years old.

Of the local visitors, when asked '...has this monument influenced where you live?', nearly one quarter (24%) stated that the monument *had* influenced where they lived. This seems a relatively high percentage, but might reflect very strong feelings of connection, belonging and identity among local people, and of course, those coming to the open day are a self-selecting sample who we must assume have strong interests in heritage. However, the vast majority of people (73%) visiting the site on the open day stated that the monument had no personal or religious significance for them. Of those surveyed, 14% stated that the solstice did have personal, spiritual or religious meaning to them. One individual stated that they were a Druid, and as part of their beliefs Bryn Celli Ddu was associated with the summer solstice. According to this individual, the site worked within a network of Neolithic monuments in the area, each of which was used for ceremonies at key times, such as winter solstice. This individual also noted that they regarded the monument not as a burial chamber, but as a ritual complex that held its own personality and power within the landscape.

The majority of people who attended the open day were either on holiday in the region, or were locals seeking an educational day out. Of those on holiday, a sizeable percentage of people questioned (63%) stated that 'heritage was a deciding factor in [their] choice of destination'. Some of the visitors were very specific about the role of heritage in their holiday choices; one party stated '...we like to visit *Neolithic* sites on holiday' (our emphasis).

Most people (89%) who came to the site placed a strong emphasis on their personal, physical experience of the monument; digital media accessed remotely did not seem to provide a viable alternative experience. A range of suggestions were made as to how heritage presentation might be improved in Wales more generally, these included: that smaller and lesser known monuments and heritage sites should be better signed and publicised; that heritage information signs could be more detailed; and conversely, that the formal presentation of particular sites should be maintained at a low and unobtrusive level.

Surprisingly perhaps for anthropologists and archaeologists, the setting of heritage sites did not seem to be a specific concern for visitors. Only 64% of visitors agreed with the statement that '...changing the surrounding landscape of archaeological monuments effects how, or if, you view monuments'. Of those who recognised the importance of the setting of archaeological monuments, several answers emphasised the importance of 'undisturbed' landscapes, the importance of preserving landscapes, and the importance of the 'authenticity' of landscapes. Several respondents mentioned the importance of the landscape and the monument as understood together; with one noting that the '[s]urrounding landscape is *PART* of the site' (original emphasis) and another noting '[e]verything is affected by [Bryn Celli Ddu's] surroundings — that's what's so lush about Bryn Celli Ddu'. One person mentioned a specific archaeological case study with regards to the importance of archaeological setting, the recent planning issues surrounding Old Oswestry hillfort (http://oldoswestryhillfort.co.uk/). Another visitor suggested that the landscape setting of the monument was important as a means to '...get into the neolithic [sic] people's head and understand them'.

Some 27% of respondents state that they were members of a heritage group. These included a diverse range of organisations. The most popular was the National Trust (14%), then Cadw (8%), followed by English Heritage (7%), with one or two members each of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society, Gwynedd Archaeological Trust, and Lancashire Archaeological Society. Respondents also classed the British Dowsing Society and the Order of Bards, Ovates and Druids as 'heritage groups'. Two respondents replied 'not yet' to this question, suggesting that visiting the site open day may have had impacts on these respondents' interests in the historic environment, and motivated them to join heritage groups.

Overall, 83% of respondents stated that the open day tour had changed their interpretation of the site. Table 2 summaries areas in which members of the public had changed their understanding *as a result* of the 2018 open day.

When asked what people would like to learn about within the landscape project in the future, respondents highlighted some themes that already exist in the project, including archaeoastronomy, use of different geological resources, the 'history of place' and landscape. Some respondents said they would be simply interested in learning 'anything new'. Others referenced specific time periods they wanted have more information on, specifically the Neolithic period in Wales. There were also a series of specific research objectives or questions that people would like to have answered.

Discussion

The survey that we undertook was conducted with a group of very self-selecting participants, this is especially so because of the geographical position of the site, and the nature of the open day as an event conducted on the site itself. In terms of its geography, the site is relatively remote (compared, for example, with Cadw-run medieval castles and monastic sites in contemporary urban settings). Only very small conurbations are located within walking distance; members of the public have to be interested enough to attend to specifically drive to the site, or walk a significant distance. Attendance at the site on the open day therefore suggests that people present were especially interested in *received* heritage communication. In addition, the start of the 2018 open day was also exceptionally rainy, so people

visiting on this open day might be exceptionally committed heritage visitors. The data we collected shows an age-profile of more mature visitors at the open day. We were surprised by this trend, as anecdotally we had observed lots of children and younger visitors. Older people might have been more willing to undertake the survey, especially if they had more time at the site, which might be consistent with people who did not have child care to pre-occupy them. This survey therefore likely represents a very specific population. A survey conducted on a schools visit day or the Summer Solstice Sunrise event (which has significance for local druid groups) would probably produce very different results. However, this does serve as a valid sample of a group of people attending a heritage open day at the site without the biases of a specific demographic or beliefs.

Table 2: Areas of archaeological research that members of the public understood better because of the 2018 open day, and selected research aims members of the public would like to be reflected in future public archaeology events.

Research findings members of the public better-understood as a result of the open day		Research questions members of the public would like to be addressed by the research project in the future	
Themes	Example statement	Themes	Example statement
The complexity of monuments in the Bryn Celli Ddu landscape.	'The excavation this year [2018] does not represent neolithic remains, but probably iron age or medieval field boundaries.'	*Neolithic settlement and settlement choices.*	'The reason people who choose to settle here. What did they value about this region?'
The solar alignment at the solstice.	'Really interesting to learn more, especially about the solstice!'	*Other important late Neolithic ceremonial landscapes.*	'How does this site relate to other important places like Newgrange and Stonehenge?'
The palaeoenvironmental context.	'Love the idea that it might have been an island surrounded by wetlands back in the day, FAB site and tour.'	*Archaeological interpretation and competing and differences of interpretation.*	'I like to know more about the theories of what people living here used the site for.'
The importance of the different geological materials used in several of the monuments.	'Fascinating to learn about the geology and size of the site — amazing.'	*Prehistoric lifeways and beliefs.*	'People who lived here: beliefs, way of life.'
The rock art panels in the landscape around Bryn Celli Ddu.	'That it is an important centrepiece to a populated landscape full of monuments and archaeology!'	*The nature of late Neolithic ritual and ceremonial practices.*	'How the rituals were performed?'

In terms of the research questions visitors were interested in (Table 2), it is possible to suggest some themes in these questions. Taken together, the research question examples can be seen to emphasise the importance to members of the public of *detail* in the presentation of archaeology at the site. The research questions are very specific: '*who* choose to settle *here*, and *why? What* did these people believe? *How* did they express these beliefs in rituals?'. These research aims, suggested by members of the public, will be addressed in the design of the public archaeology programme in 2019.

Conclusions

People visiting Bryn Celli Ddu open day did so for a range of reasons. For the majority of people, the motivation to visit was for an educational day out for locals and people on holiday. A minority of people attending attached spiritual or religious importance to the site or the solstice time of year.

The greatest percentage of the people who visited on the open day were from North Wales, with slightly fewer people travelling from North West England. The majority of people surveyed, or represented in the survey, were over 47, although there may be issues with the representativeness of the age profile of visitors to the open day.

A very great majority of people valued being physically present at archaeology sites and monuments, even if there is digital content online; place and landscape are themes that are repeatedly mentioned as important by visitors to the open day.

People were interested in a wide range of themes associated with the site. Archaeoastronomy, use of different geological resources, landscape and 'ritual' were mentioned in feedback. When asked to suggest themes for future public archaeology work as part of the project, there are two trends. First, respondents were non-committal about themes for public lectures, most often replying 'anything' archaeological; this might indicate that members of the public value 'the expert voice' or specialist knowledge (cf. Griffiths *et al.* 2015). In contrast, when asked what respondents want to know about the site itself, there is an emphasis on detail and specifics. We have selected five research suggestions from our respondents that we think are indicative of this emphasis on specifics (Table 2). It is anticipated that these co-created research themes will be explored in the public archaeology work as part of the project in 2019.

We are aware the responses we elicited are likely to represent a very specific, self-selecting group of people, which might under-represent some people with interests in Bryn Celli Ddu specifically, or prehistory generally. We are hoping to launch a modified version of this survey on line, and will be interested to see if the responses differ significantly.

The contributions by members of the public towards future public archaeology are the critical outputs of this survey; these will form the basis for the co-creation of future public archaeology work at the site, in collaboration with Cadw, the local museum Oriel Môn, local schools, future artists in residence, and on future open days. Some of the responses from this survey were surprising and we believe the best public archaeology develops over time, as a result of relationships between people and integrates these interests in specific research-orientated archaeological investigations.

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Supplementary information: the survey questions

Q1   How many people are in your party?

Q2   How would you describe your ethnicity?

Q3   What age groups does your party include?

Q4   Which town do you live in? Or which is your nearest town?

Q5   If you are local, has this monument influenced where you live?

Q6   Are the events that are occurring in June important in your consideration to come here? If not, what is the purpose of your visit?

Q7   What is your interpretation prior to tour?

Q8   Do your reasons for visiting include a religious or personal association with the monument? If so, would you be prepared to explain here?

Q9   Does the solstice at this site have any personal, spiritual or religious meaning to you? If yes, please explain below.

Q10   If you are on holiday, would you class heritage as a deciding factor for your choice of destination? If yes, is it the primary factor, a strong factor, or a minor factor? If not do you value chance discoveries?

Q11   Are you a member of a heritage group? If so which?

Q12   What do you think of the way heritage is presented to the public?

Q13   What would you like to know more about?

Q14   How would you like us to present our research differently?

Q15   What would you like our lecture series and musuem exhibition to focus on next year, in terms of a) general work, b) specific work at the site?

Q16   If this site is available to you in an online format, would you still visit the site in person, or would being able to see it online be enough?

Q17   Do you think digital content would affect how you feel about the site?

Q18   Does changing the surrounding landscape of archaeological monuments effect how, or if, you view them?

Q19   What is your interpretation of the site after your tour?

Q20   What other comments do you have about what you think is important about this site, pre-historic archaeology or Welsh Heritage?

Evaluating Community Archaeology

Emma Stringfellow

The research outlined in this paper seeks to determine whether there exists, or could be created, a common, easy-to-use framework which could be used to plan and manage community archaeology projects in a collaborative way. If so, could such a framework ensure that projects deliver the planned outcomes and benefits for the community and for the historic environment? The chapter considers three dimensions by which community archaeology projects can be assessed: (i) the extent of collaboration, (ii) types of activity, and (iii) planned outcomes.　Having reviewed these dimensions, the chapter assesses a diverse sample of recent community archaeology projects operating across these dimensions in England. The experiences of these projects are compared to an adapted version of the Prince II methodology: an established project management methodology developed by the UK government. It concludes with a proposal for a 'collaborative archaeology framework' that could be used to consolidate experience around delivering community archaeology projects, and thus improve the success of these projects in delivering their desired outcomes.

Introduction

Today, there are high expectations from different interest groups and stakeholders including professionals, communities, central government and funders for community archaeology projects to deliver specific outcomes. The engagement of non-professional archaeologists in archaeology practice has grown significantly over the last fifty years: in 2010 this was estimated at over 200,000 (CBA and Thomas 2010). By way of comparison, this engagement figure is slightly more people than play Rugby Union on a regular basis (Sports England 2016). Whilst public engagement in the practice of archaeology has grown, there have been significant reductions in central government funding of archaeology (Nevell 2015). As a result, public funded organisations such as the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) have increasingly supported community archaeology. With these changes has come a growing concern among funders for projects to deliver 'value' from investments in community archaeology, and this has been a growing preoccupation for funders (Bonacchi *et al.* 2015).

A further dimension of this shift is an increasing perception that community archaeology is part of the wider cultural fabric and identity of society (Holtorf 2005; Culture24 2006). As such it is becoming embedded in cultural and placemaking activities (Creative People and Places 2016). In many cases this goes even further, giving community archaeology a role in supporting economic activities (Gould 2014). At the same time, professional or salaried archaeologists are acutely aware both of their reliance on the public to fund and support archaeology (Bewley and Morrison 2010: 20) and are concerned that community archaeology projects are not contributing effectively to the development of archaeological knowledge. An Historic England Report identified that, between 2010 and 2015, 12,000 projects contributed over 20,000 research outputs, but estimated that only 50 % of these projects would update the Historic Environment Record (HER) with their findings (Hedge and Nash 2016). In parallel with this there is an ethical concern amongst some archaeologists that the involvement of the 'community' in archaeology can often be tokenistic and fails to represent the many complexities that exist within local communities and society at large (Smith 2015).

To meet so many different stakeholders and their expectations, this chapter proposes that a common management and delivery framework could help meet the demand to manage the outcomes of the projects effectively. Building a framework for the delivery of effective community archaeology projects must inevitably address the much-debated question of 'what exactly is 'community archaeology'?'

(Richardson and Almansa-Sánchez 2015). This is a potentially unanswerable question as it is '…not a straightforward concept. Not only does it mean different things to different people, but for the same person it can apparently be perceived as existing at different levels (Isherwood 2009: 13). In attempting to assess projects on a common basis, the continuum of participation or collaboration as exhibited by the researched projects has been explored in this research conducted for a Masters degree at the University of Chester (Stringfellow 2017).

Background: community archaeology defined

Community archaeology in the British context has emerged as a response to a variety of opportunities that exist within a range of societies in their relationship and engagement with their archaeological heritage with the theory of the practice developing alongside it (Isherwood, 2009). Some scholars (Moshenska & Dhanjal 2012)   have advocated avoiding over-defining the term, however it is by unpacking and categorising it, and by defining its scope and many dimensions that we can better understand the different drivers around the decision to practice community archaeology and the applicability of different approaches to its practice within community archaeology projects. Within the UK, the term 'community archaeology' appears to have emerged as both a response to the Manpower Services Commission projects of the 1970s (Nevell 2015) and also to the work by Peter Liddle in Leicestershire (Liddle 2004; Schadla-Hall 2004). However the term was coined, it has gone on to be used increasingly frequently, spurred on in part both by the Heritage Lottery Fund with its focus on awarding funding based on a balance of outcomes for heritage, community and people (Heritage Lottery Fund 2017) and the political rhetoric of the early 21st century, exemplified by the 'Big Society' initiatives of the 2010–2015 Liberal Democrat/ Conservative Coalition (Cabinet Office 2010) . Its use has generally encompassed activities, projects and programmes exhibiting a wide range of levels of participation and engagement and a plethora of archaeological and non-archaeological objectives (Isherwood 2009; Simpson and Williams 2008).

Community archaeology for some is intrinsically about the identity of communities and through exploring their archaeology these communities are formed, created or contested (Smith and Waterton 2013). Patricia Reid, in her work with the Faversham Society Archaeological Research Group (FASRG), is clear that for her community archaeology is always   '…by the people, for the people, about the people' (Reid 2008). Community archaeology is not a 'drive by' engagement but is a living process embedded in the community. As such, community archaeology is not defined so much by who does the archaeology but also the people from the past which the archaeology investigates , a key aspect is therefore bringing to life previous communities and their stories (Atalay 2012). Communities however, can be contested and multi-faceted, even in relation to the same individual archaeological site or place. This is brought to light in the case studies outlined both by Smith (2015) and by Jones (2015): both explore how this concept of community is not built on consensus. As Smith says, 'some communities self-identify, and others have identity thrust upon them' (Smith 2015: 15).   Moshenska develops this idea of community in his response to Tully (Moshenska 2008:45) where he advocates that the only defining characteristic of a community archaeology project was that it had 'the need and interest of the community as (its) starting point." This point focuses very much on the community aspect of a community archaeology project and Isherwood (2009) builds on this with his definition that it is based on relationships, and most importantly the interaction between people and place.

There is a danger, however, that the focus on 'community' as an ideological concept within public engagement with archaeology ignores the reality that communities, even within a single geographic area, are increasingly stretched across many dimensions: not just in terms of geography and ancestry, but of interest and characteristics such as gender, ethnicity and sexuality (Belford 2014; Richardson and Almansa-Sánchez 2015).   By focusing public engagement on the role or concept

of 'community' there is a danger that 'community archaeology' is inevitably excluding (Carman 2011), and that the intersectionality, of the public engagement with the past more broadly is ignored or side-lined. In these scenarios, communities are ignored and therefore the engagement loses meaning and effectiveness (Valentine 2007).

Characteristics of community archaeology projects

Whilst community archaeology cannot be categorised using a simple checklist (Simpson and Williams 2008), there appear to be three main dimensions that characterise community archaeology.

Extent of collaboration

Many cases studies of community archaeology explore the engagement of professionals with existing communities or the use of archaeology to create a sense of community (Duffy 2014; Farrelly 2015; Kiddey and Schofield 2011; Moshenska *et al.* 2011). The concept of 'collaboration', however, appears to be a more instructive common thread (Atalay 2012; Moser *et al.* 2002; Moshenska *et al.* 2011; Simpson 2008). Collaboration, and degrees of participation, are therefore a key defining characteristic of community archaeology.

This scale of collaboration is also conceptualised by Belford (2014) using Arnstein's 'A Ladder of Citizen Participation' (Arnstein 1969). This model is black-and-white and linear, and in the real world projects will blur lines between the levels, it is also important to note that in relation to community archaeology not everyone engaging with their heritage wants to have 'citizen control' (Belford 2011): for them there is enough value in using heritage for 'therapy', or 'manipulation' as Arnstein would put it . For this reason, Arnstein's model could be seen as having some unhelpful, pejorative and political overtones. A more useful model to use to understand the collaboration and participation continuum of community archaeology might be the 'Engagement Model' cited by Little (Little and Shackel 2014) which was developed by Gideon Rosenblatt for theories on social change (Rosenblatt 2010). This model seems to better reflect the range of collaboration and outreach practices exhibited in many community archaeology engagements from the highly active 'Community Based Participatory Research' (Atalay 2012) and the Sedgeford Project (Faulkner 2009) to the more passive forms such as seen in Belford's examples in Telford (Belford 2011).

Variety and range of activities

The breadth of activities encapsulated within community archaeology has grown over time. This could be driven by the increasing recognition that there is more to archaeology than just excavating and the recognition that excavation can be an excluding activity not suited to all abilities (Ainsworth 2015; Moshenska 2017; Simpson and Williams 2008). Although Simpson (2008) has argued that a community archaeology project must involve some excavation, as it is through an interactive approach that values are engaged and developed, community archaeology projects can be seen widely as encompassing activities that cover all the aspects required to investigate and understand the archaeological past (Ainsworth 2015).

Planned outputs and outcomes

The final characteristic of community archaeology projects considered here can be defined as the degree to which they have planned outcomes for the "community". This falls into five areas: (i) social; (ii) education; (iii) economic; (iv) political (Gould 2014; Simpson 2008) and (v) the very real community of knowledge generation through research (Hedge and Nash 2016).

Many community archaeology projects espouse the importance of social engagement both to enhance people's appreciation of their local past and also the creation of a 'community' through the enhancement of community identity and values (Farrelly 2015; Simpson 2009; Simpson and Williams 2008). Simpson's evaluation of a series of community archaeology projects, however, concludes that there is often a mismatch between the espoused objectives of community archaeology projects and those that are achieved, as demonstrated through her investigation deploying self-reflexive and ethno-anthropological methods of assessment. Likewise, few projects can demonstrably show their impact in economic and political terms, despite aspirations and assertions to that effect. Finally, community archaeology projects also have an aspired role in fostering a community of archaeological researchers and recipients. A recent Heritage England report has recently made this point (Hedge and Nash 2016: 50) but notes how this role that currently under-fulfilled by community archaeology projects.

Approach to research

Initial framework

Community archaeology endeavours   are fundamentally 'projects' which are defined both by Prince II (the UK government project management methodology) and by Historic England in their *Management of Research Projects in the Historic Environment* (MorPHE) as 'a temporary organisation that is created for the purpose of delivering one or more products (outputs) according to an agreed business case (outcomes)'   (English Heritage 2006; Office of Government Commerce UK 2009). The approach for this research was built on a draft framework which had been developed utilising these frameworks and the author's research into a single HLF (Heritage Lottery Fund) funded community archaeology project. This was also enhanced with contributions from by two main concepts. The first of these is the application of Actor Network Theory outlined by Isherwood (2009), based on the work of sociologist Michel Callon around the primacy of networks of relationships within society. This defined four main stages in the development of a project: (i) 'problematisation' (having the idea); (ii) 'interessement' (engaging stakeholders); (iii) 'enrolement' (definition of roles and responsibilities); (iv)   mobilisation of allies (identifying spokespersons) (Isherwood 2009). The second concept built into the framework is the work done by Tully outlining key features of a community archaeology project based on her experiences at Quesir in Egypt (Tully 2007). Combining these approaches led to the creation of a new initial framework for the structure of community archaeology projects incorporating stages, processes and possible outputs (Figure 1).

Research questions

To test and refine this theoretical framework, eight projects self-identifying as community archaeology endeavours were recruited to contribute to the research (Table 1). The questions asked of these projects were structured around each of the stages and the processes within each stage (Figure 1). Through a process of qualitative interviews, many conducted by telephone, key individuals from these projects were asked a range of questions based on the framework and their experience of their projects.

If the project leaders recognised within their experience the phases as outlined in the draft framework, they were asked:

- What activities they had undertaken at each stage in addition to the ones highlighted on the model;

- What insights they may have about each stage and how to improve the effectiveness of the activities within it;

- What their thoughts were about the applicability and usefulness of the initial framework (Figure 1).
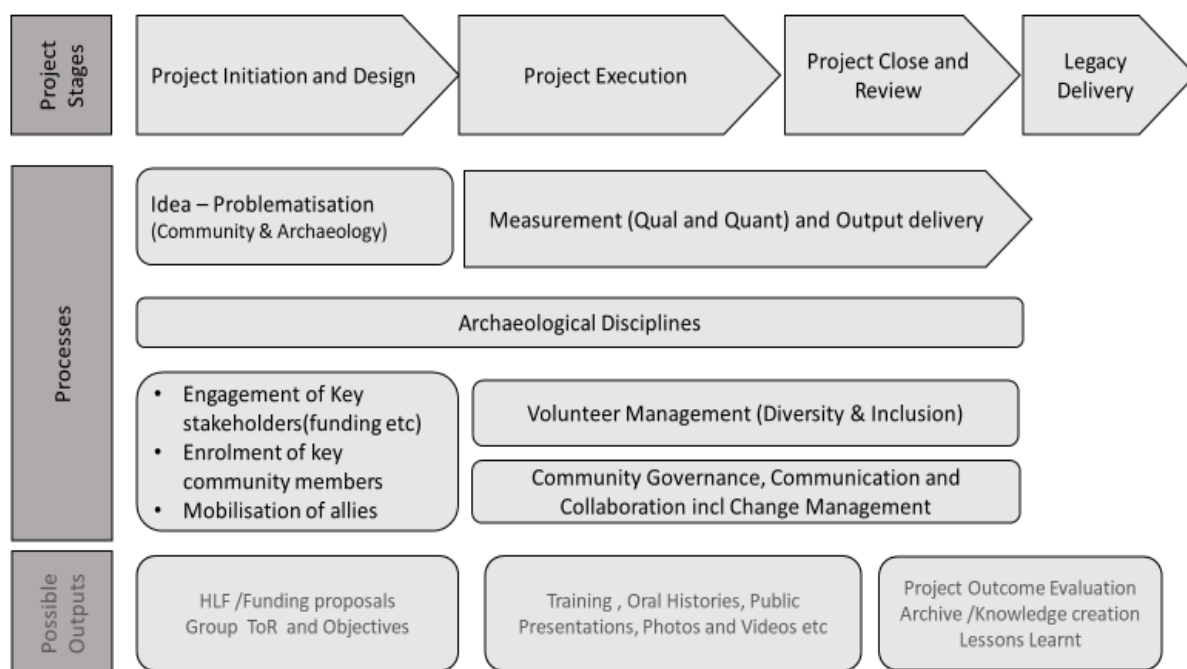
Figure 1: Initial Framework to be tested

The research excluded questions about the effectiveness of technical aspects of archaeological investigation practice as the intention was not to assess how effective the archaeology practiced was but the delivery of community aspects of the project.

Characteristics of the projects reviewed

The projects reviewed covered a range of 'community archaeology' styles which were initiated or managed by a number of different organisations and individuals, from museum, local council and university-initiated projects, to 'bottom up' community-initiated projects, and those initiated by independent archaeologists with the public. These are outlined in Table 1. All the projects who participated had physical excavation at their core. Each project was given a code to identify them during the data analysis.

All the projects had some form of qualified archaeological support, in two of the projects this was in the form of voluntary/unpaid work, in these cases they still on occasion brought in specific expertise that was remunerated/professionally qualified in areas such as artefact identification. Both community-initiated projects and one of the archaeologists/public partnerships utilised the services of a commercial organisation who specialised in supporting community archaeology projects. The Museum/Local Council/University projects were led by individuals with a specialist interest in community archaeology and public engagement. Half the projects were funded through HLF grants, whilst three out of the eight were supported by private or personal donations.

All interviewees representing the projects, bar for one project (CAP014), were practicing professional archaeologists. It was apparent that the 'community' archaeology projects, even where initiated in the community, utilise the skills of a 'professional' archaeologist, not just from a technical perspective but also to manage and administer the project.

Table 1: Case study projects

Project Ref	Initiated By	English Region	Dates	Paid for Archaeologist Support	Source of Funding
CAP005	Archaeologist/ Public Partnership	North-West	2015-2016	Yes	HLF
CAP008	Museum/ University / Local Council	South-East	2011-2015	Yes	HLF
CAP009	Community	North-Central	2015-2016	Yes	HLF
CAP010	Museum/ University / Local Council	North-West	2011-2017	Yes	Council
CAP012	Archaeologist/ Public Partnership	East	2007-2017	No	Private/ Donations
CAP014	Community	East	2015-2017	Yes	Private/ Donations
CAP015	Archaeologist/ Public Partnership	South-East	2010-2012	No	Private/ Donations
CAP016	Museum/ University / Local Council	North-West	2014-2015	Yes	HLF

Research findings from contributing projects on the initial framework

Findings on applicability of the framework as a concept

All interviewees understood the overall principles of the proposed model and were familiar with the concepts of each of the project stages of initiation, execution and close down as shown in Figure 1. One interviewee felt that some of the language used would need to be made more 'user friendly' and this feedback has been incorporated in version two of the model. Table 2 shows the degree of agreement interviewees felt with the statement '...that the framework would be useful for the practice of community archaeology'. The degree of agreement with this statement appeared to correlate to the type of leadership model used on the project. Where the projects were led and, in some cases, initiated by an archaeologist, it was felt there would be least benefit, possibly as they felt they had enough experience to know what to do. Community initiated projects felt there would be the more value in adopting the framework whilst those archaeologists explicitly working in 'community archaeology' as opposed to 'commercial' archaeologists were also supportive.

Feedback on applicability the framework by 'Project Stage' and process

By working through each stage of the model in an interview format with a project leader, it was possible to understand in more detail the importance of varied factors and stages in the development and delivery of community archaeology projects. The following analysis of the feedback is structured by each of these stages and processes (see Figure 1 for framework).

Table 2: Responses to question: would the proposed model be useful?

Type of Project	View of value of a model for community archaeology		
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Possibly to others
Archaeologist/Public Partnership			3
Museum/University /Local Council	2	1	
Community	2		

Table 3: Approaches to /initiation stage

Project Ref	Approach to Scoping Phase	Outputs of Scoping Phase described in Interview
CAP005	Professional led with some community leader involvement	HLF application Community outcomes included
CAP008	Professional led based on knowledge of volunteers' interests	HLF application Community outcomes included
CAP009	Community group led	HLF application Community outcomes included
CAP010	Large scale community consultation	Project design and research aims Community outcomes included
CAP012	Group/committee	Research design
CAP014	Community group led	Research design
CAP015	Group/committee	Research design
CAP016	Not Known	Client brief Community outcomes included

Project initiation and design stage: problematisation/idea process

This process dominated the conversation during the interviews, which itself reveals its perceived importance. A range of approaches and approaches were identified (Table 3).

For those projects reliant on HLF funding, a range of challenges and opportunities were identified. All the projects reported the challenge of scoping a project well enough to receive HLF funding when not having any funding to do this stage. It should be noted, for larger scale HLF projects funding is available for scoping; however, this still needs to be applied for with suitable plans and proposals. Where projects are reliant on commercial support, this often involved the commercial support providing 'free' consultancy to shape the project. This might include conducting work such as: applying for scheduled monument consent, commercial engagement and working out project costings. This constraint sometimes meant that the community engagement could be restricted in the process of scoping what the objectives and outcomes of the project were. However, CAP009 stated that it '…felt like when we were eventually successful (with the HLF bid) that we had done a lot of the work already.'

Where projects had been set up by archaeologists with a focus that was primarily on archaeological research aims, 'community' outcomes (including economic benefits and social dimensions) were not initially included as part of the project's objectives. As such, they did not have any explicit planned community or social outcomes. However, all projects, regardless of how they were conceived, reported that the creation of a new community was one of the intended outcomes of their projects: 'we created our own community' (CAP015); 'we made a community from the experience' (CAP014).

When asked for insights from this stage of the project lifecycle, two of the projects strongly advocated the importance of planning the evaluation approach in at this stage and in beginning to assess baseline evaluation criteria even at this early point. This was particularly key where projects believed that they would need to obtain funding in the future and as a way of learning and measuring success. In those projects whose leaders did not have experience of archaeological projects, the importance of the correct archaeological partner was stressed as well as the benefit of a 'mentor' who could support and provide non-partisan guidance.

Project initiation and design stage: engagement and governance structures

Governance structures were not a priority for most of the project teams. Where projects involved a large local government partnership, or where the community group had been long established, more formal structures were in place. However, unlike projects seen in IT and business, little emphasis was placed on these structures and they operated with little formal governance (Table 4).

For this author, this lack of governance is surprising. Best practice approaches with a business project environment always instruct that it is important to have a formal hierarchy of management and control as well as stakeholder management to ensure project success. These structures allow decisions to be made, resources to be mobilised and issues resolved. It is possible that the scale of the projects reviewed (apart from CAP010) meant that this large-scale governance and engagement was simply not required. Many participants spoke of simply 'meeting round the kitchen table' to discuss progress.

Project execution stage: volunteer management process

Within the execution stage the projects focused on the importance of the volunteers and the approach to 'volunteer management.' During the interviews the majority of the projects leaders spoke at length about the essential contribution of volunteers to making community projects happen: 'Regular volunteers are the backbone of the project... I don't worry about delivery as I can rely on my volunteers' (CAP008). Interviewees highlight the importance of volunteers in solving problems which inevitably came up. Interviewees also highlighted that: 'If new things or challenges come up I tend to just throw it to volunteers to work on' (CAP005). Interviewees noted the importance of the volunteer workforce; their skills and interests were a key determinant in shaping the project: 'Projects are shaped by a combination of the heritage resource and the volunteer base' (CAP005); 'what you can do is determined to a certain extend by the volunteer cohort that you have' (CAP012); 'People are at the centre of the project' (CAP010). The importance of getting to know volunteers and their individual skills was also stressed. This was a characteristic of the smaller and longer-term projects and allowed community archaeologists to build long-running and beneficial relationships. It was noted by several participants in the interviews that there was no one-size-fits-all volunteer experience: different interest, abilities and temperaments needed to be catered for.

Although interviewees shared a common sense of the importance of volunteers, training for volunteers varied. The majority of the projects provided formal training and induction courses with one project providing this training via online instruction. Only one of them made attendance

at the training obligatory to take part in the wider project. It was noted by half the projects that their volunteers came from a wide region, and would often work on a variety of community archaeology projects within their region. As such, the nature of community archaeology could be characterised as the development of a 'community of interest' as much as a sense of local 'place.'

Table 4: Approach to governance

Project Ref	Governance Structures
CAP005	Project manager/lead archaeologist independently managing No overarching structure
CAP008	Project manager/lead archaeologist independently managing No overarching structure
CAP009	Small committee working with lead archaeologist meeting monthly
CAP010	Partnership governance between lead partners Project Management structure (3+ individuals)
CAP012	Committee meeting periodically
CAP014	Committee meeting weekly
CAP015	Committee meeting annually
CAP016	Project manager/lead archaeologist independently managing

Communication with volunteers was often managed via either email or Facebook. It was noted by one interviewee that paying for adverts on Facebook not only served the purpose of recruitment but also, due to the demographic data available through paid adverts, it gave a good insight to the characteristics of the respondents.

In reflecting on the nature of volunteers involved in community archaeology, interviewees expressed the view that although 'management', in the sense of the direction and overseeing of other people's work, was a key aspect of the project, what was equally important was to work collaboratively with volunteers. In this way, sustaining the relationships with them by facilitating what they want to get out of their experience.

Project execution stage: community governance and collaboration process

In order to engage participants beyond the core group involved in the initiation of the project, the project leaders used a variety of techniques. These included: social media, traditional press and local newspapers, as well as partnerships with other local community groups. A variety of techniques were used to communicate the project and its outcomes to engage the wider community. These included: several very informative project websites, although the quality and content of websites varied considerably. Other techniques included open days during excavations including talk, exhibitions of artefacts curated by volunteers, talks and presentations.

Project close and review stage

All the interviewees recognised the need to formally 'close' a project through the write up of the archaeological findings. In all of the case studies, this was primarily undertaken by experienced

'professional archaeologists either as paid for or voluntary staff.' One project (CAP008) was beginning to experiment using volunteers to write up sections of the research, however they reported that there was often a lack of interest in this stage amongst volunteers and a belief by volunteers that they did not have the necessary skills for this activity. This finding requires more research to establish the reasons for this situation: whether it is a combination of volunteers' previous experiences, their reasons for being involved or expectations set at the beginning of the project.

The storage of the artefacts from the project was a challenge mentioned by the majority of the projects (Table 5). Two of the eight projects were able to lodge their finds with the local museum; the remaining projects retained finds on site in a variety of solutions as shown below. One of the projects referenced challenges around storage of finds being a reason for looking to move to landscape archaeology research rather than what was characterised by them as 'more traditional' physical excavation. This finding reflects those of the Historic England Report commissioned report on community research (Hedge and Nash 2016).

Legacy stage

Attention in some of the literature has been focused on the long-term impact of community archaeology (Gould 2014; Simpson and Williams 2008). Several of the participants had long-term or future plans for their projects as shown in Table 6. With the exception of CAP009, none of these plans, however, focused on realising long-term social, community or economic change but were about extending the archaeological research and excavations.

Table 5: Artefact and historic data approaches

Project Ref	Finds Lodged	HER Updated
CAP005	Museum	Yes
CAP008	At project site in shared building	Yes
CAP009	At project site – dedicated building planned	Yes
CAP010	Retained on sites – test pitting finds retained by landowners	Yes
CAP012	At project site	Yes
CAP014	At project site – dedicated building planned	Yes
CAP015	Retained by project in storage facility provided by local business	No
CAP016	Museum	Yes

The lack of community building as a focus of projects' future plans was notable. The lack of thoughts or vision for embedding a sense of community or place is intriguing. It seems to be overwhelmingly the case that the archaeology in 'community archaeology' was the predominant motivation for the projects. The concept of community archaeology for many of the interviewees revolved around facilitating access to archaeology for amateurs or volunteers rather than necessarily facilitating the type of social change outlined by advocates such as the Heritage Lottery Fund.

Table 6: Future plans for projects

Project Ref	Next Steps
CAP005	New funding one for significant additional phases
CAP008	New project commenced
CAP009	No further project currently planned but onsite community and engagement centre to be built
CAP010	New phase currently being scoped
CAP012	Existing multi-year rolling programme
CAP014	New phases being scoped. Landowner will leave land to community fir the future
CAP015	Existing multi-year rolling programme
CAP016	None

An updated framework for 'Collaborative Community Archaeology Projects' (CCAP Framework)

The aim of the research described here was to assess, if a generic framework for community archaeology projects in England could be defined that could act as both a knowledge management and learning toolset to improve the effectiveness of projects. Following the research outlined above, the original framework was updated to reflect the commonalities of experience evidenced across the surveyed projects. In addition, it was amended with the intention that it could be shared both by the experienced practitioner and newcomer to collaborative archaeology, both professional and non-professional, as well as acting as a framework in which learning and knowledge from projects could be discussed.

This updated CCAP framework (Figure 2) seeks to provide a potential model to allow archaeologists and the public to engage in a more 'aware' fashion with a more equal sharing of power within the project, by more clearly defining the type of collaboration wished for and possible and therefore having more realistic expectations of outputs and outcomes based on activities undertaken. It is also hoped that this model could then provide a common terminology and base for discussing approaches to collaborative archaeology whether that be based in a 'community' or not.

The main dimension of the CCAP framework are 'Project Stages' where important questions need to be answered or, consciously not answered, with an understanding of the risks and implications of not answering them, before progressing to the next stage (Office of Government Commerce UK 2009). These stages are 'Scoping and Getting Going', 'Making it Happen' and 'Moving On'. Project Stages are supported by 'Key themes' these are 'getting the archaeology right', 'measuring and evaluating for learning and development', 'collaborating and engaging with volunteers and stakeholders' and 'communicating'. These stages and themes are further explained in the following section.
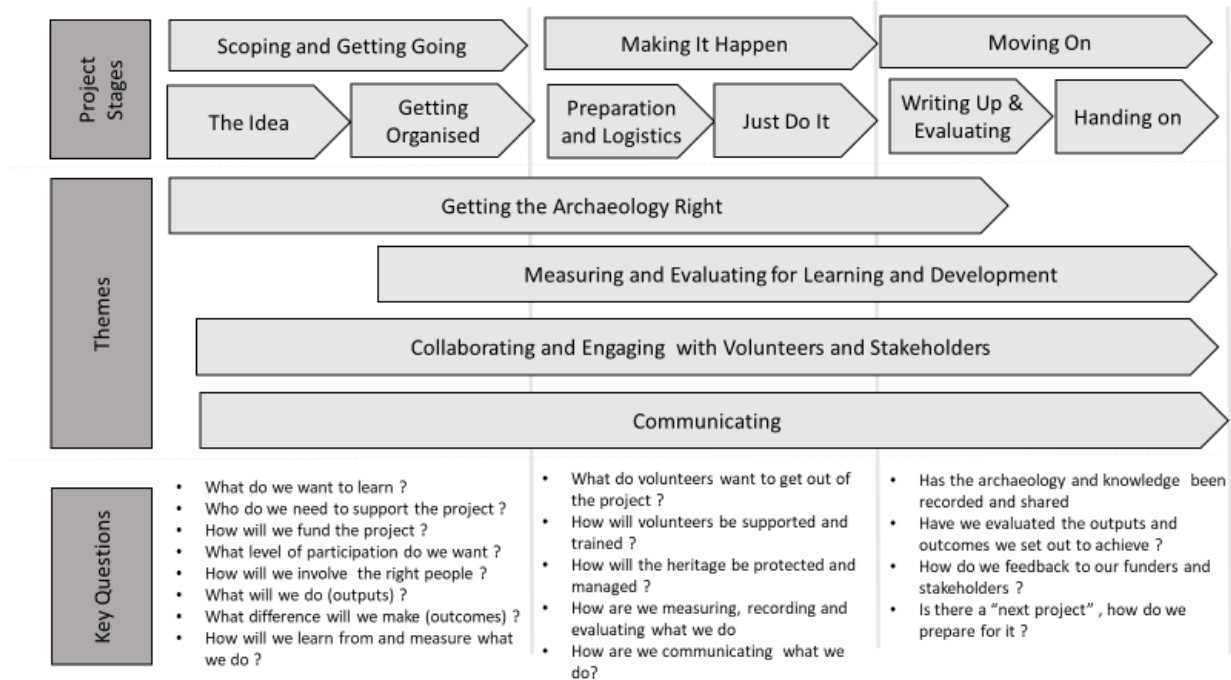
Project Stages	Scoping and Getting Going		Making It Happen		Moving On	
	The Idea	Getting Organised	Preparation and Logistics	Just Do It	Writing Up & Evaluating	Handing on

Themes

Getting the Archaeology Right

Measuring and Evaluating for Learning and Development

Collaborating and Engaging with Volunteers and Stakeholders

Communicating

Key Questions

- What do we want to learn ?
- Who do we need to support the project ?
- How will we fund the project ?
- What level of participation do we want ?
- How will we involve the right people ?
- What will we do (outputs) ?
- What difference will we make (outcomes) ?
- How will we learn from and measure what we do ?

- What do volunteers want to get out of the project ?
- How will volunteers be supported and trained ?
- How will the heritage be protected and managed ?
- How are we measuring, recording and evaluating what we do
- How are we communicating what we do?

- Has the archaeology and knowledge been recorded and shared
- Have we evaluated the outputs and outcomes we set out to achieve ?
- How do we feedback to our funders and stakeholders ?
- Is there a "next project", how do we prepare for it ?

Figure 2: CCAP Framework

Framework stages and sub-stages

'Scoping and getting going' stage

The research indicated that community archaeology can be defined by the degree of collaboration, as outlined in Goldblatt's model. Not all projects aim to, or want to, achieve the same levels of collaboration, and they do not all have the same desired outcomes. The 'scoping phase' is the foundation for setting the agenda and expectations around collaboration between all parties. It is also a fundamental stage in ensuring that the best approach is taken to achieve key outcomes such as archaeological standards and reporting and evaluating.

'The idea' sub-stage: This is the hardest stage of the framework to be prescriptive about, the projects surveyed were 'born' in many ways out of pure enthusiasm for the past, an interest in finding something out about the archaeology of an area in a group of people. This then prompts the first question of 'what do we want to learn?' Most projects ultimately turn this question into a research design and a variety of documents, such as applications to Historic England for Scheduled Monument consent.

'Getting organised' sub-stage: The next stage focuses on mobilising a larger group of people around the idea and producing the plan to deliver. This aligns to Isherwood's theories on 'translation' derived from Actor Network Theory (Isherwood 2009). The majority of projects spoke extensively concerning this phase which covers engaging a wider group of volunteers, key agencies and other social groups to help shape the project. It is the stage when questions such as: 'who do we need to support the project?'; 'how will we involve the right people?' and 'what level of participation do we want?' are asked. This should also cover what type of professional support the project requires outside of any resources on its core team. It will also include the potential engagement of funders for example HLF or Groundwork in the question: 'How will we fund the project?'

The next set of questions in this phase concern the planning and objectives of the project. As has been previously outlined these objectives do not have to be orientated to pre-set criteria (except where funders have specific criteria and outcomes they wish to see). Instead, what is key is that the outputs and outcomes take into account the nature and degree of participation and collaboration desired, and that the outcomes are related to the outputs so that there is a clear link to avoid a discontinuity between espoused objectives and achieved ones. The final question in this stage is: 'how will we learn from and measure what we do?' This covers not just measuring the engagement of those involved, but also the approach to recording, documenting and depositing the archaeological evidence and data. The importance of planning and communicating activities such as post-excavation and writing up as part of the overall project were emphasised by several participants as was the challenge of finding appropriate locations for artefacts to be deposited.

'Making it happen'

Preparation and logistics sub-stage: This sub-stage encompasses the detailed logistics, planning and replanning of activity as well as the actual conduct of the archaeological investigation which in some projects take place over several years. A key aspect of this phase is undoubtedly the hands-on practical preparation and oversight of archaeology, this is the role for an experienced archaeologist whether that be a paid or unpaid, and both models for experienced and professional support were evidenced in the participant projects. The key role for the professional collaborative archaeologist is to be part of facilitating the experience on, and contribution volunteers want to have to, the project and to balance this with the appropriate archaeological approaches. Interviewees reported different methods to achieve the collaborative relationship with volunteers, these included volunteer forms which asked volunteers to select activities they wanted to do, on smaller projects project leaders also spoke about the importance of getting to know individual volunteers to understand their personal motivations. Although some volunteers may feel uncomfortable with a more formal structure others, those involved in long term collaborations may welcome a structured 'engagement' and expectations with projects (Johnston 2015).

Just do it sub-stage: In this sub-stage the activity revolves primarily around the execution of the physical archaeological investigation. Communication with a wide variety of stakeholders becomes a priority and it is now when the question 'how are we communicating what we do?' should be addressed. This is important not just as communication with volunteers, which is critical to ensure the team cohesiveness, but also with the general public who attend the project and potentially the very distant via the Internet and social media. This appeared in research to be one of the most challenging phases, and this may relate to possible omissions in the 'Scoping and Getting Going' stage. This finding requires further investigation by following projects in 'real time' through each of the stages so that the impact of omissions in earlier stages can be traced through the lifecycle of the project, rather than just being assessed as final outcomes.

Moving on: This phase was universally reported to be the longest in duration. After the excitement of doing hands on excavation or investigation it was the one in which it was most challenging to ensure collaboration. Interviewees reported that volunteers either felt unenthusiastic about work that was not in the field or were not confident in the skills they felt were required.

Writing up and Evaluating sub-stage: Although formal evaluation of a project may not be required on all projects, it is a fundamental aspect of continuous improvement and the improvement of practice that experience is reflected on and that improvements both at an individual project and sector level are made and shared. Writing up of projects for the benefit of archaeological knowledge, updating the Historic Environment Record (HER) and Archaeological Data System (ADS) is a key aspect of this

phase. Going beyond this and supporting the communication theme the outputs of the projects should be communicate. Several methods were used to support this in the participant projects, including presentation, videos and in one case a comic telling the story of the site.

Handing on sub-stage: One of the biggest concerns expressed in the literature is around the sustainability of impacts from projects (Gould 2014; Simpson and Williams 2008). This is particularly a challenge for projects based on short term funding. This final sub-stage relates directly back to the earlier to the "scoping and getting going" sub-stage, that reasonable expectations should be set that can be delivered by the activities of the project. For projects that wish to continue it was mentioned by several participant projects that this should be considered as early as possible in this final stage to exploit the momentum of an ongoing project.

Framework themes

The themes proposed in the model cross the various stages and sub-stages. The purpose of these themes within the framework is to highlight the consistent preoccupations that emerged from the interviewees. These are preoccupations are outlined below.

Getting the archaeology right

Although many interviewees spoke of the centrality of the people elements of the project, the validity of the archaeology was important to all participants and is essential for these projects to be termed 'archaeology' for volunteers to feel that their work had validity.   In projects initiated by professional archaeologists this may be self-evident. However, the challenge in a collaborative community archaeology project is to determine how the archaeology can be done correctly whilst achieving the levels of participation and accessibility desired.

Measuring and evaluating for learning and development

This relates to the 'institutional' learning of the project and the wider sphere of collaborative archaeology. The majority of the interviewees spoke of the learning experiences they had during the projects. However, there appears to be little thought given as to how this learning is captured, either for use by their own project or other projects. A key aspect of the CCAP Framework proposed is the importance of mechanisms to share and store knowledge about how to run effective collaborative archaeology projects.

Collaborating and engaging with volunteers and stakeholders

The importance of working with stakeholders such as landowners, councils and funders is critical to ensuring that the project works as well. Good relationships with volunteers or collaborators working on the project is vital. As such, the ethos, principle, practice and management should revolve around these key collaborators. It is for this reason that this phrasing has replaced 'volunteer management' seen in the previous version of the model as collaboration better reflects the relationships seen and desired.

Communicating

Communicating is an activity essential to all the themes outline above. The approaches, skills and techniques utilised by the surveyed projects would suggest this is both a key area but also where more examples of good practice could be shared. The importance of communication is firmly rooted in the 'Scoping and Getting Going' stage. For a project to be described as either collaborative or community archaeology, sharing the project's activities and initiatives must be imperative.

Conclusion

Community archaeology projects often seek to meet a vast range of expectations and hopes, and it can be challenging to see how these projects, which are often run with few paid contributors, can meet all these expectations. A range of possible ways forward and interventions have been developed to deal with such challenges ('CBA Community Archaeology Forum: Getting Started 2017; CBA and Thomas 2010; CIFA 2015; Johnston 2015; Recording Archaeology 2016).   To move this work forward it maybe that the word 'community' does not best describe what these projects do. It may be more helpful to conceive of these projects as participative, collaborative or even citizen archaeology. The outcomes of collaborative archaeology may well be to improve social indicators, to create a sense of local community or a community of interest, but this is not a method, it is an outcome. Instead, the method is participation and collaboration between professional archaeologists and the non-professional public. The success of these projects should be judged against what they set out to achieve, not by an ideology of what is or is not community archaeology.   Equally, projects should have realistic goals and ambitions linked to an understanding of the environment they are in, and what they can actually do, and influence (Simpson 2008).

The strength of the theme of 'collaboration' over 'community' as a method of engaging with non-professional partners and groups is one that has emerged from the participants in this research and is supported by earlier commentators. For example, Isherwood (2009) identifies community archaeology as being primarily about relationships, and Young (2015) draws on his experience of the 'Community and Archaeology Landscape Survey Project' to advocate the '"power of the collaborative experience' (Young 2015: 32). The challenge in creating a potential framework for collaborative archaeology is how to combine the skills and approach needed to support collaboration and the 'right' relationships between the archaeological collaborators, with a structured framework which is clear, focused and aligns activities to the agreed outputs and outcomes. Young's model based on his experience with CLASP contains many aspects that were reflected in the research carried out by this author, particularly the overlapping nature of management, practice, principles and ethos, the philosophy being that true collaboration can only be delivered if all these aspects are considered.

The proposed 'Collaborative Community Archaeology Framework' is based on a commonly used framework for project lifecycle management which has been tailored to be used as a generic template for community archaeology projects. The aim is to provide a springboard for the openness of discussion between professional and community archaeologists. To achieve this, it provides a prompt for the non-professional around the requirements of the archaeological discipline, and for the professional archaeologist of the requirements around working with the public. The proposed framework could also form a common approach for the sharing of best practices and methodological knowledge.

It is also possible that with further work the framework could be used as a springboard for collaborative archaeology training for professional archaeologists wishing to work in this field. There are a range of core interpersonal and project skills that could be aligned to the stages and themes outlined in the model which could be delivered as online CPD as well as face-to-face courses and could leverage existing practice in the field of volunteer and collaborative work. As the framework is based on Prince II as is Historic England's MoRPHE (English Heritage 2006) approach there would be alignment between both the collaboration and research aspects.

The research has shown that the proposed framework could reflect the experiences of a majority of community or collaborative archaeology projects in the UK and could be used as a starting point for non-archaeologists and archaeologists to initiate and run collaborative archaeology projects helping them to be more successful from both a participant experience and archaeological research perspective.

The stages and themes outlined could act as a practical framework for projects and practitioners of collaborative archaeology to capture and share their approaches, lessons learnt and outputs. This approach to knowledge management (Dalkir and Liebowitz 2011) is one that would require the will of the community of practice both professional/commercial and non-professional to support. The author's experience of the participant projects is that there is a great willingness to share experience and knowledge, however the evidence of a lack of utilisation of the Council for British Archaeology's Community Archaeology Forum (CBA Community Archaeology Forum: Getting Started 2017) suggests that this would need strong sponsorship to embed it.

Acknowledgements

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Instrumentalised Public Archaeology: Cease and Desist?

Caroline Pudney

This chapter argues that recent advocates of instrumentalised public archaeology risk unhelpfully blurring the boundaries between the archaeologist and the social worker. Drawing on personal experience of community archaeology projects involving adult and young offenders in South Wales, I argue that if we wish to continue with an explicitly instrumentalised archaeology then we need to be realistic in terms of what it can, and should achieve, and provide evaluative methods in support of any claims of success to ensure that heritage-focused projects are not misrepresented, thus threatening the 'brand' of public archaeology.

Introduction

Getting UK citizens active and contributing towards a common sense of shared identity and belonging promotes a warm and inclusive, imagined sense of British society in a globalised world. This 'big society' vision has permeated the popular consciousness since Tony Blair's New Labour government set out a vision for '...a Britain that is one nation, with shared values and purpose...' (Labour Manifesto 1997). Meanwhile, the concept of 'social capital' was popularised (and globalised) in Robert Putman's (2000) *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community.* Two decades on, this theme still pulses through the veins of politics, having been explicitly referred to in David Cameron's Conservative Manifesto in 2010, and is very much evident within archaeology and heritage in the UK today. Whether the state is pushing for a 'big society' (Conservative Party 2010: vii), a 'fairer, greener, stronger and more united society' (Liberal Democrats 2010: 8), a 'fairer and more prosperous' place (Conservative Party 2017), or for a society that works 'for the many, not the few' (Labour Party 2017: 5), the main messages from the UK government have been concerned with a cohesive sense of society and of community.

These political ideals and associated agendas have significantly impacted archaeology and heritage (Belford 2018; Jackson *et al.* 2014; Sayer 2014). Nowhere is this as evident as in the field of public archaeology, especially projects funded directly or indirectly by government, such as through national heritage bodies and museums. In a climate of economic uncertainty, public funding for archaeology and heritage has been (and continues to be) limited (Jackson *et al.* 2014). Archaeologists and other heritage professionals working across multiple sectors often find themselves fighting for scraps of annual budget allocations. This can result in archaeological and heritage organisations having to prove that what they do matters and indeed, if publicly funded, have an ethical obligation to work in the public interest. However, all manner of public archaeology projects exist that, if not promoted and managed effectively, may appear to do nothing more than tick the right boxes. I feel this creates archaeological projects that superficially appear instrumentalised to address broader social problems, but in reality may fail to do so in any meaningful or sustainable fashion (see also Sayer 2014; Simpson and Williams 2008).

This chapter begins by discussing the premise that public archaeology, as a sub-discipline of archaeology, is in its very essence an instrumentalised form of archaeology since it actively contributes to society beyond the core function of its principal discipline. As public archaeology has grown and has increasingly become explicitly aligned to social policy, there can be a perception that there exists a merging of boundaries between the archaeologist (and more broadly heritage professionals) and social work. This trajectory is approached within the political context of 'instrumentalised' archaeologies by drawing on personal experience of public archaeology projects involving adult and young offenders in South Wales during 2011–2014. The MORTARIA Project and Heritage Graffiti Project were run in

conjunction with HMP & YOI Parc, Bridgend and aimed to provide opportunities for those involved in offending behaviour a chance to engage with archaeology as part of a wider programme of education and rehabilitation. Using these as illustrative examples, the author argues that if we wish to continue with an explicitly instrumentalised archaeology then we need to be realistic about its aims and benefits, ensure a sustainable legacy, provide rigorous evaluation in support of the claims of success and where promotion of the project risks over-stating such benefits, have the capability to manage the brand that emerges and which can be potentially reputationally damaging to our discipline. Alternatively, we should face the alternative, which is to cease overt claims towards instrumentalisation altogether.

The instrumental nature of public archaeology and its evaluation

Defined as the potential of archaeology to contribute towards present-day society, 'applied archaeology' emphasises archaeology as first and foremost a cultural product of the present (Holtorf 2013), and implicated in the making of our own contemporary world (Holtorf 2007). Applied archaeology includes many avenues and multiple possibilities of instrumentalisation. For example, Rathje's Garbage Project (Rathje and Murphy 1992) demonstrated our negative impact on the world through rubbish disposal and waste management. The dissemination of knowledge and education about the past is therefore a key part of any archaeologist's role, mediating between the public (non-archaeologist) and the past (Belford 2011). The role and responsibilities of the archaeologist however, reach beyond this (Schadla-Hall 2006), especially in the subdiscipline of public archaeology.

The meaning and functions of public archaeology have recently received detailed attention (Moshenska 2017; Richardson and Almansa-Sánchez 2015). Amongst the complex nuances of what public archaeology *is,* it is generally agreed that in one sense, it serves to *'help communities or individuals in some way or to solve societal problems'* (Little 2012:395). This help can come in a variety of forms: economic, educational, and emotional. From an economic perspective, public archaeologies often have no direct product, but the results of archaeological activity can often be linked to economic activity in some way – tourism, housing and regeneration, and conservation to name only a few examples (see also Bewley and Maeer 2014; Burtenshaw and Gould 2013; Little and Shackel 2007; Rockman and Flatman 2012). Public archaeology can directly contribute to learning (Beatrix 2013; see also Malone *et al.* 2000) – helping to make learning more enjoyable; helping people explore the human past, multi-culturalism, and promote tolerance and appreciation of others. The study and practice of archaeology can also help people to develop essential skills ranging from the hard skills of literacy, numeracy and problem solving, to the softer skills of social interaction and team working: all of which help us as people to cope in an increasingly complex world (QAA 2014). Involvement in archaeology can also help contribute to emotional wellbeing – being active, outdoors, feeling a part of something or connected to something bigger than we are as an individual (Waterton 2005).

It is also often claimed that public archaeology, especially the related field of community archaeology, can also serve specific social needs, especially where social purpose lies at its core (Carmen 2011; Little and Shackel, 2007; Simpson 2009; Simpson and Williams 2008; Stottman 2010; Zimmerman *et al.* 2010). This argument has been explored by the author in several other papers (Pudney 2017a and b), adding to the literature on how community-focused heritage projects (so not exclusively archaeological projects), have the potential to increase social cohesion and assist in the growth of social capital (Little 2007; 2012; Little and Schackel 2014; Musil 2003; Murzyn-Kupisz and Działek 2013). For example, public archaeology projects exist that have specifically sought to build communities and increase social capital and have done so with mixed results (Derry and Malloy 2003; Dongoske *et al.* 2000; Shackel 2005; Simpson and Williams 2008). Such projects are usually undertaken with the premise that communities can become consolidated through working together in understanding their heritage and where the archaeologist or heritage professional acts as facilitator, contributing to society in a broader capacity. Two UK based

examples of explicitly instrumentalised archaeology are the Defence Archaeology Group's *Operation Nightingale* (Rush 2012; Winterton 2014), and the excavations at Turbo Island, Bristol (Crea *et al.* 2014; Kiddey and Schofield 2011). Both initiatives sought to utilise archaeological methods to understand both the past and present human activity but also served to address more specific social concerns. In the case of Operation Nightingale, there were aims associated with the recuperation of injured servicemen (Finnegan 2016; Neal 2015). Meanwhile, concerning the Turbo Island excavations, it was hoped that the project team would gain a better understanding of homelessness and hope to more fully understand the benefits of participation in archaeological activities (Kiddey and Schofield 2011).

It has even been argued that any archaeological or heritage-focused project must begin with a clear awareness of how it can address and impact social problems (Goudswaard *et al.* 2012). This idea can be pushed even further, where the archaeologist or heritage professional is considered a public intellectual (Almansa Sánchez 2013), with the potential to assist transformative social benefit (Horning 2013). Public archaeology then, in all its variant forms, is essentially an instrumentalised form of archaeology, implicit and explicit, and to varying degrees of affect. This chapter is next concerned with the explicit version of instrumental (public) archaeology; where social benefit is an overt and fundamental motivation. I consider how archaeologists must question how we can rigorously demonstrate such claims of success and social benefit.

Measuring the benefits of an instrumentalised archaeology is often the most complex part. Effective evaluation is critical not only in justifying the motivations for the project but also the financial support and generally proving the successes (or lack thereof), of any project (Pudney 2017b). Quantitative approaches are often easier to conduct for example recording numbers of participants or volunteering hours. We can also to an extent, measure the degrees to which people are 'engaged' in a project. Economic benefits of a project can also be calculated (Bewley and Maeer 2014). However, demonstrating more intangible outcomes, such as increases in self-esteem, behavioural or attitude change can be more problematic and often requires the consideration of a more reflexive approach (Simpson and Williams 2008). Questionnaires can go some way to help capture this information (see Lewis 2014), with such approaches often being used within the heritage sector for museums and visitor sites (Falk and Dierking 1992; Goulding 2000; Packer 2008; de Rojas and Camarero 2008). However, this approach is burdened with challenging methodological issues (see Lewis 2014; Packer 2008). Archaeologists are thus still struggling to find successful ways to identify and demonstrate the full range of social benefit (Ellenberger and Richardson 2018), especially when being assessed against the types of performance indicators that often come hand-in-hand with public funding. In order for instrumentalised projects to be fully translational into truly socially beneficial projects, they need to be transformed into evidence-based policy (Zimmerman *et al.* 2010) which is grounded in comprehensive and transparent evaluation.

The political context of instrumentalised archaeology

Archaeology and heritage cannot be separated from politics (Waterton 2010), and this is increasingly evident regarding public archaeology. For example, in the UK archaeology has been mutually linked to political agendas in its search for funding (Isherwood 2012; Pudney 2017a and b; Richardson and Almansa Sánchez 2015). With a slow economy in which public funding is scarce, archaeologists, together with other heritage professionals and organisations, often turn towards broader community engagement strategies in order to secure financial support for archaeological projects, be they research or conservation management projects. Much of these are 'top-down' initiatives, borne out of political aspirations to use cultural heritage as a tool to implement social policy (Richardson and Almansa Sánchez 2015). This situation can have far-reaching ramifications (Isherwood 2009; 2012; Moshenska and Dhanjal, 2012; Sayer, 2014). For example, there is often a considerable difference in the promoted

values and genuine values of public and professionals involved in public archaeology projects, both at the start and as a result of a project (Simpson and Williams 2008).

The increased desire to involve the public is not solely restricted to publicly funded projects. Public engagement is now also often included in projects that have gone through the development control process and which are privately funded, often because the various UK contract units are also registered charities (Belford 2018; Moshenska and Schadla-Hall 2011). Models are also developing to help increase public engagement in developer-led archaeology (Beck and Neylon 2012), although there are ethical issues regarding volunteer excavators on commercial sites (Belford 2014), and so there are usually limits to the levels of engagement attainable in these contexts. This type of public archaeology is therefore often seen as more of a public-relations model (Holtorf 2007: 119). Nonetheless, the result remains that through inclusion of public archaeology, archaeologists justify their own existence to the state by involving 'the community' (whoever they may be), with the ultimate aim of contributing to a 'big society'.

This author argues that we need to question just how instrumentalised archaeology should be. This argument was attempted articulated at the Theoretical Group Archaeology Conference (TAG), in Manchester during December 2014, with a session entitled *This House Believes that Archaeology Should NOT be Instrumentalised.* This debate session aimed to discuss the uses and abuses specifically of community archaeology. The session raised many positives as well as issues and concerns for the future of many types of public archaeologies. It was highlighted that instrumentalised archaeology projects and initiatives must be able to withstand the shifts in political agendas so as to ensure sustainability. An early example raised in the session's discussion: the community programme projects that were funded under the auspices of the Manpower Services Commission and subsequent Youth Training Scheme, thus providing employment and training during the 1980s. Once the political priorities shifted the funding dried up.

The Welsh perspective

In Wales, where the projects discussed below took place, there has and continues to be a major drive within the Labour government to address economic and cultural poverty, as well as poverty of aspiration.   The legacies of such an agenda can still be felt today in 2019. Welsh Government's (WG's), Tackling Poverty Agenda (2012) and the Key Performance Indicators associated with it led to pressure on all WG funded heritage and arts-associated bodies.   This pressure was twofold. Firstly, it was important for these bodies to be seen to be addressing major government agendas if they wished to be considered favourably within the annual budget reviews. Secondly, Welsh Assembly Ministers (AMs) were compelled to demonstrate how their portfolio was achieving targets so that they may stake their claim to positions within the cabinet should another re-shuffle take place. This is evident in the numerous discussions on heritage and the arts that have taken place in the Senedd over the last ten years as well as in press releases and statements from individual AMs whose portfolio has included heritage. An example of this can be seen in the quote below from 2013.

> The eradication of child poverty is a fundamental priority for the Welsh Government. It is a major challenge and a priority across my portfolio. I want it to remain at the heart of the work of our museums, archives, libraries and historic environment. Museums, archives and libraries and historic places can make a real difference to children's lives. Engaging with them can inspire a love for learning that in turn reduces inequality, develops skills and improves quality of life and life chances. (National Assembly for Wales 2013)

As already touched upon, public funding inevitably follows political agendas and this filters down to heritage organisations such as Cadw, the WG's Historic Environment Service (Belford 2018). Launched in February 2013, the WG's (2013) Changing Cultures initiative illustrated this:

Changing Cultures initiative aims to change lives. Backed with funding of £150,000, Changing Cultures aims to encourage young people and their families, particularly those from less well-off backgrounds, to engage with museums, archives, libraries, historic places. It will also help support agencies and the cultural sector to work even better together to ensure that services are accessible and welcoming to all. (Welsh Government 2013)

Although small in budget, it reflected the issues at the heart of current Welsh politics. In April of the same year, only two months after the initiative was launched and after the cabinet was reorganised and budgets were reviewed, funding for work via Changing Cultures was no longer available.

The following year, in March 2014, WG published a report it had commissioned by Baroness Kay Andrews OBE to find ways in which cultural and heritage bodies can work more closely together '…to broaden access to, appreciation of and participation in culture in ways that contribute to reducing poverty.' (Welsh Government 2014: 3). Complementing and building on an earlier report by Professor Dai Smith (2013) on the Arts in education, Andrews' report 'Harnessing the power of the arts, culture and heritage to promote social justice in Wales' (Welsh Government 2014) aimed to show how museums, libraries, archives, historic monuments and arts organisations were key resources that could inspire people to learn and gain skills. It demonstrated some ways in which they could help individuals and communities develop confidence and a sense of identity. The report offered a compelling case for all involved to make a concerted effort to work together more effectively. It also provided 33 recommendations for further partnerships between WG and funded bodies, local government, cultural organisations, community bodies, and schools.

After one more cabinet shakeup, in November 2014, WG published a response to the report, setting out in detail progress made to date on some of the recommendations and how they planned to take forward others. It was widely debated within the National Assembly on 11 November 2014.   Ken Skates, the then Deputy Minister for Culture, Sport and Tourism was recorded stating that:

Tackling poverty is one of the Welsh Government's fundamental priorities. Responsibility lies not with one department, or Government, but with civil society as a whole in Wales. I am proud that Wales has taken a lead in articulating the powerful role that the cultural sector can play in this vital agenda.

…Closer working between cultural and community organisations at a local level and between national and local organisations is at the heart of our approach. This is realistically, though, not something that can be achieved across all parts of Wales simultaneously; it will require focused effort to trial new approaches and learn lessons before it can be extended. I will therefore be supporting the establishment of a small number of pioneer areas across Wales, where national organisations will work together with local authority and community leaders to realise the core vision set out in the report. (National Assembly for Wales 2014a)

Major criticisms lay around funding resources and sustainability (perhaps the most compelling made by Suzy Davies, the Shadow Heritage Minister, during the same Assembly session). Davies argued that for heritage and the arts to be fully integrated into effective strategies centred on tackling poverty there needed to be more money put into arts and heritage rather than major cuts, which were resulting in the closure of museums and libraries (National Assembly for Wales 2014b). For those organisations such as Cadw, the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales (RCAHMW), and the National Museum of Wales, budgets were (and continue to be) relatively slim, yet these organisations have a multitude of statutory responsibilities to balance alongside the pressures of demonstrating social impact. Publicly funded heritage bodies will always suffer the fickle nature of public funding. However,

when agendas such as 'tackling poverty' and 'big society' exist for ten years or more, funding streams still do not appear to remain constant for the duration.

While the government priorities on the highest level do not often rapidly or dramatically alter, the ways in which they are being achieved does. Consequently, there is often a disconnection between policy and practice.   Internally, within government departments, funding pots come and go. This adds difficulty in funding projects for more than a couple of years. Dexterity and forward planning are therefore needed in order to ensure sustainability of projects. This is especially the case with staffing reductions. What happens to projects when staff contracts end or are cut and not replaced? Government business still happens, projects that address broader agendas still take place but these may not necessarily be the ones that have already been started. So what happens to those participants who were involved? The Community Archaeologist post was not replaced at Cadw after this author left the organisation. Other initiatives have been introduced to address wider agendas, including a successful HLF funded project 'Unloved Heritage', which works with young people from disadvantaged areas across Wales to engage with lesser-known heritage assets. However, organisational relationships fostered through MORTARIA and the Heritage Graffiti Project (HGP), for example with HMP & YOI Parc, have not grown as they could have done and those participants of the projects have had no further support or engagement from Cadw. Similar opportunities have not been offered for other offenders and the full potential of the MORTARIA project, including accreditation amongst other things, has not been realised.

Public archaeologists, organisations like Cadw, and other WG funded bodies however, do not only have to negotiate matters of fickle income streams and performance indicators. When public archaeology projects are linked to wider social issues, controlling the message or the 'brand' (Holtorf 2007) is often the trickiest thing. The chief policy agenda in the case of this chapter is the agenda of tackling poverty in Wales, and the examples provided demonstrate how the narrative surrounding public archaeology projects can become distorted by claims of success without sufficient evaluative evidence.

A hi-jacked brand: public archaeology and heritage as a tool for political 'peacocking'

The first project to be discussed is the Motivating Offender Rehabilitation through Archaeological Recording, Investigation and Analysis project (MORTARIA), an education outreach project involving adult offenders in South Wales (Pudney 2017a). The second is the Heritage Graffiti Project (HGP), which engaged young people involved in offending behaviour, also in South Wales (Pudney 2017b).   Both projects were conducted by the author for Cadw and took place within a large, privately-run prison in South Wales.

Conducted in partnership with the National Museums Wales (Amgeuddfa Cymru), the MORTARIA Project took place between October 2012 and June 2014. The project was delivered within the prison, over the course of a total of 24 day-long workshops. Each workshop mixed a range of archaeological techniques in identification and recording with creative as well as discussion-based activities. Workshops were designed and delivered within the education department of the prison, with their input and advice (see Pudney 2017a for details). As an educational project that was designed to introduce and teach adult male offenders serving custodial sentences to archaeology, its primary aim was opportunity provision thus addressing social bias in access to archaeology (albeit in a limited form). While this existed within the broader milieu of the tackling poverty agenda put forward by the Labour-led WG, it did not explicitly set out to address such a social policy agenda. Additional aims were included after inception and related to the potential of archaeology in the development of transferrable skills: a pedagogic perspective. Importantly, the project was not aimed at reducing recidivism, although it clearly occurred within this wider context of prisons and reform.

This is where the name of the project must be discussed. Motivating Offender Rehabilitation Through Archaeological Recording, Investigation And Analysis (MORTARIA). The branding of the project, which was not done by the author (although the author did not have the foresight to protest it), already provides the wrong impression of the project aims – that it *was* about rehabilitation and reducing recidivism. From the author's perspective, this gave the wrong impression and set a tone that suggested benefits to the project which could not be evidenced. For senior colleagues within Cadw, however, the project was about something more than solely opportunity provision. For Cadw it became an opportunity to publicly advertise how they were addressing Programme for Government through certain Key Performance Indicators and how it was contributing to broader issues within Welsh society. This can be seen in their description of the project on the Cadw website:

> ...this innovative project is designed to contribute towards the rehabilitation of offenders in south Wales. Low self-esteem and a lack of transferable skills are just two of the challenges facing offenders aiming to get their lives back on track. Through a series of workshops on archaeology, Cadw and its partners offer offenders the potential to discover new opportunities and change their lives. (Cadw n.d., author's emphasis)

The significant danger with such as statement is that it was not possible to identify the impact on rehabilitation either positively or detrimentally. While the promotion of a successful and high-profile Cadw project has many potential organisational benefits, as well as for archaeology, especially since public funds were being used to support the application and relevance of heritage, Cadw was not alone in their misrepresentation of the project's potential. The associated AMs also had their own agenda and take on the project, as did the prison.

Huw Lewis AM, then Minister for Housing, Regeneration and Heritage, pressured Cadw to visit one of the workshops and subsequently used it as an example in the National Assembly discussions and in press releases was quoted as saying:

> This project really demonstrates the powerful opportunities that heritage and archaeology can provide all sections of our society to make connections with their own history and sense of belonging. It can only help, support and motivate those inmates who have chosen to get involved and it will hopefully go some way towards breaking the cycle of re-offending.' (Lewis 2013)

The AM was keen to demonstrate how transferrable skills and education were key benefits of the project. The press release from the AMs office stated that 'The workshops take a cross-disciplinary approach, using archaeology, cookery, IT and art in order to create activities that will improve the prisoners' skills, primarily in numeracy, literacy, communication, observation, analysis, team-working and time management. All of these are key skills that can improve a person's self belief and confidence and help the process of rehabilitation' (POAUK 2013). While the potential benefits of the project regarding skills attainment, a sense of belonging etc. are all things we are familiar with as outcomes for public engagement with archaeology and were evidenced in the evaluative process (Pudney 2017a and b), there was not sufficient evidence to support the claims that this project could ever help break cycles of offending and by stating such a thing it suggests that the potential existed.   The core aims and impact of the project were being twisted by Cadw as an organisation, which then filtered up to the Minister. In a subsequent cabinet re-shuffle Huw Lewis went on to become Minister for Education and Skills.

The prison nuanced their promotion of the project, using it to demonstrate their commitment to offering engaging and varying interventions as part of much more rigorous and comprehensive support programmes for offenders. However, even information about some outstanding achievements in their

annual report provided misinformation: 'Some prisoners have been involved in an archaeological dig in the old Roman Fortress (sic) at Caerwent.' (Independent Monitoring Boards 2013). This was neither illustrative of the activities that offenders were involved in or factually correct since there is no Roman fortress at Caerwent. Artefacts from the nearby fortress at Caerleon were utilised in the MORTARIA workshops, and Llanmelin Wood Camp Iron Age hillfort lies adjacent to the Roman town at Caerwent, where several inmates participated in an excavation as part of a different project run by the author and Cadw. The main benefits were therefore more about a demonstration of the unique selling point of the project for the prison – their ability to work with external partners and provide a range of opportunities for their residents to aid in their rehabilitation. The Independent Monitoring Boards (2015: 9) report for the year 2014–15 also records the MORTARIA project as a notable achievement, as well as the second project, the Heritage Graffiti Project.
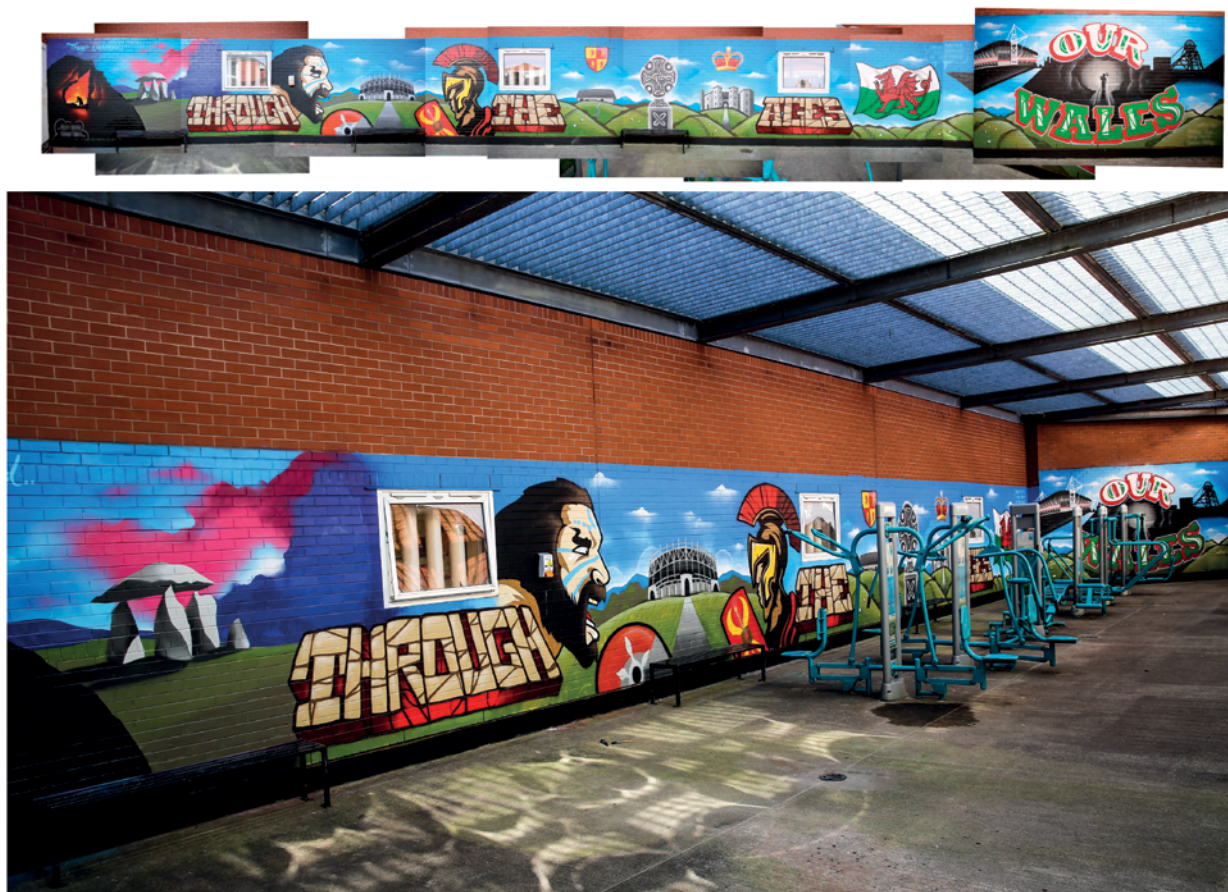

Figure 1: The Heritage Graffiti Project mural on the walls of an exercise yard at the prison. (Photograph: Ryan Eddleston, with permission)

Building on the methods of using creativity to engage adult offenders in archaeology, the Heritage Graffiti Project (HGP), was a heritage and arts-based project in which participants used archaeological artefacts and sites to create a heritage-inspired graffiti mural (see Pudney 2017b for a fuller account). Archaeology workshops helped promote discussion and learning, which was then converted into a mural design showcasing their existing and new-found knowledge and understanding of Welsh heritage. The mural (Figure 1) was painted on the stark concrete walls of an exercise yard within the prison with the support of a professional graffiti artist. The process was digitally documented by participants through photography and film with the support a professional and award-winning Director

of Photography. Unlike MORTARIA, which included adult males, HGP engaged young people involved in offending behaviour and while the MORTARIA project focused on the attainment of skills HGP was more successful in raising confidence levels, a sense of pride and identity. The motivations for creating this project were the same as for the MORTARIA project; opportunity provision. If it could positively impact the lives of the participants in any other way, then that would be a bonus.

At the time of the project (2014) youth offending and child poverty were core priorities for the WG as has already been demonstrated above. The project therefore reached the attention of various politicians, advisors, and those in corporate communications roles. The previous quotes from Huw Lewis, the Assembly Minister for Housing, Regeneration and Heritage highlight how there was an atmosphere that needed to demonstrate how cultural organisations could address wider societal issues.

Cadw and the prison utilised their unique positions to employ heritage and the arts as a 'hook' to engagement and education and therefore to greater things. As such, their aims were somewhat different to those of the author. This is mirrored in the text surrounding the project on the Cadw website – entitled 'The Heritage Graffiti Project 'helps young offenders learn valuable lessons from their heritage' (Cadw 2017 with author's emphasis):

> The project aims to assist with the rehabilitation of young people within the prison system by introducing them to archaeology, discussing artefacts and the meaning behind them in order to explore themes of identity and communities...

> John Griffiths, Minister for Culture and Sport, said: 'This project aims to represent the homes and communities of the young people involved, using graffiti art to increase their appreciation of their local heritage and to highlight the things that make their communities special to them.

> The exhibition also showcases some of the technical and transferable skills developed as part of the project, which will hopefully benefit the future career prospects of the participants' (Cadw 2014).

Again, regardless of whether Cadw and the project manager's motivations for the project were aligned, the danger with such a statement as that above, is that it was not possible to identify the impact on the rehabilitation of participants. The sentiments in the extract above were also voiced on the *Cadw Community Archaeology* Facebook page during the course of the projects. Inevitably, this attracted a mix of opinion. Many comments were supportive however, one comment which sticks in the memory (now no longer available on the Facebook page), questioned why Cadw was providing such a privilege for young people who should be punished, not rewarded. The suggestion made was that Cadw should instead be offering opportunities like this to his children, who have not committed a crime. Unable to respond as a Cadw employee, the author's personal reaction was that he (the commentator), could offer his children cultural experiences. The fact that he followed the Cadw Facebook page would suggest that he had an interest in heritage and on investigation of his personal profile page, evidence was found to demonstrate that he did indeed take his children to archaeological sites and monuments, specifically when public engagement activities were taking place. The HGP was about offering opportunities to those who would unlikely otherwise experience heritage, or specifically archaeology, and it did this with success. Nine young people participated in the project, many of whom have been documented as having a greater understanding and appreciation of archaeological sites, archaeology as a discipline, graffiti art, as well as increased self-esteem (even if only short-lived) (Pudney 2017b: 9-11). This response from the man however, should not have been a surprise considering the way in which the project was promoted in the public domain.

During the course of the HGP project there was a ministerial restructuring and Huw Lewis AM, was replaced by John Griffiths AM (as is also reflected in the above extract). Once again, official statements from the AM failed to mention the real motivation behind the project and the exhibition. Instead the press releases and sound bites were all about tackling poverty rather than focusing on the real benefits to and achievements of the young people involved. The project was becoming a political tool in which a minister could demonstrate how his portfolio was addressing key WG priorities. While this personalisation of achievements largely follows the rhetoric of Assembly speeches and the inevitable link with rehabilitation was included, the language used by John Griffiths and the 'brand' being presented was far more in accord with the core values and realistic achievements of the projects compared to the image presented by his predecessors. This is exemplified in a Senedd debate on 18th February 2014:

> In May last year, I launched my historic environment strategy following an extensive consultation with people and organisations interested and involved in 'The future of our past'. Our policies are informed by the passion, aspirations and concerns of the consultees, who told us clearly that the historic environment has the potential to boost our economy and to open new opportunities for learning and enjoyment, and that our heritage is at the heart of what makes Wales special.

> ...Today I want to update the Assembly on the wider strategy both to sustain and to realise the potential of our historic environment.

> ...We have a course of educational workshops for adult and young offenders in custody, with the chance to handle archaeological material and gain and develop recognisable transferrable skills and constructive behaviours. This offers something different; totally new experiences to help aid their route to rehabilitation. It has been well received, and Cadw is about to run the project again at Her Majesty's Parc prison. Another initiative, which is related, is the heritage graffiti project, helping young offenders learn valuable lessons from their heritage by introducing them to archaeological artefacts and explaining what they meant to the people who used them. During 2014, young offenders will be compiling and curating an exhibition of their work and I very much hope that we will be able to have an exhibition here at the Senedd for Members to see their work. (Griffiths 2014, with author's emphasis)

Baroness Andrews' 2014 report also included the project by using an attractive, captioned image from the HGP within a section that was '...concerned with the impact of poverty itself, the anti-poverty strategies on the ground as they presently connect with culture, and how they might have greater reach and impact through imaginative, consistent and sustainable partnerships and shared knowledge, tools and training.' (WG 2014: 12).

In some contexts, the successful elements of the project were beginning to morph into somewhat unwieldy, political beasts, being used to promote government departments and political careers.   While of course, this has both positive and potentially negative ramifications, an unanticipated result was that the author found herself attending Welsh Government meetings on addressing child poverty and social inclusion, discussing policy by taking part in focus groups with other sectors of Welsh Government – all as a community archaeologist, on the lower echelons of the Public Sector pay scale yet with a greater responsibility than most working at that level. Colleagues began to humorously label me 'Cadw's social worker', with one colleague joking that 'archaeology will solve the world's ills'.   In the eyes of some colleagues, community archaeology could genuinely do it all, and we (or I) were doing it. For others, it had become farcical and far removed from the core values and purpose of Cadw. These projects and the political spin regardless of personal opinion of the projects themselves, raised pertinent issues such as what can potentially happen when the genuine benefits of a project such as MORTARIA or HGP

gets picked up by politicians or the media wagon, misrepresented or turned into something altogether different. While thankfully, these projects did not become as much of a negative 'brand' as they could have done, the situation has raised considerable implications for the public archaeologist, who in this instance, was naïve and too far down the career/authority ladder to be able to control the ways in which the public image of the projects altered. The failure therefore in the projects was the negotiation of the 'brand' that was emerging as a result of the projects. However, it could have been worse. The actual benefits of the projects could have been completely undermined by the false image that was emerging in the political sphere and in the media. We therefore need to question how this type of appropriation has potential to be dangerous or perhaps even beneficial.

Instrumentalised archaeology: is it worthwhile?

The beginning of this article touched upon how in society now, archaeology projects have the potential to assemble and benefit a variety of social groups, as is suggested by Holtorf (2012). This author would argue, however, that archaeology and heritage cannot solve major societal issues. The projects discussed here highlight that, as part of a wider programme of intervention and education, archaeology can offer an engaging arena in which offending behaviour may be addressed. Archaeology and heritage can only therefore act as a device within a much bigger, and more involved programme of activity and support. That is, it can be a highly effective (and affective), hook for further engagement. The MORTARIA and Heritage Graffiti projects were part of rigorously researched and monitored activity programmes that were initiated and run by major justice and rehabilitation bodies which, in turn, involved trained social workers, prison officers, educators and psychologists (Pudney 2017a and b). The projects discussed here, and what was being offered to offenders, was part of a much broader set of pathways, opportunities and support. This echoes the concept of *translational archaeology*, presented by Zimmerman *et al.* (2010), in that the archaeologists work with other professionals to benefit a given community through a co-productive approach (Zimmerman *et al.* 2010: 444). Specialist knowledge and skills are then converted by those involved into a practical application.

The real danger in the particular instances was when the projects became a sort of 'show-pony' for the organisation to demonstrate its worth. In this case, it was a government body using the project to demonstrate it had met performance indicators. While demonstrating how public funds are being used to benefit the public is of course, perfectly legitimate and to be expected, in doing so the crux of the project and core aim(s) were distorted. The issue therefore, was the resulting skewed public image which has helped to provide fuel for the wide-spread belief amongst archaeologists that archaeology can change lives for the better. Without the material and evaluative evidence to support it we simply cannot assume benefit. As Rockman and Flatman (2012) voice: there are real dangers here if projects are not entered into cautiously and responsibly. As archaeologists, therefore, we need to control the message that we present and not over-estimated the positive power of our own instrumentalised archaeology, instead taking a more considered approach before making such claims. Similarly, we need to be aware of how the funding parties may seek to present the work, especially when addressing such high-profile political agendas. Controlling this narrative is, as the projects outline here, much harder, but made harder still if we are unable to demonstrate the effects on re-offending for better or worse.

This leads us to the qualities required in any archaeologist that is involved in instrumentalised archaeologies. The ethics of the practice of public archaeology are well documented by Richardson and Almansa Sánchez (2015). Among these, there are however, two key points highlighted by MORTARIA and the HGP which require attention. First, we need to reflect further on the qualities necessary in a public archaeologist wishing to pursue these types of projects. These projects were very much dependent upon the author's character, background, training and previous experience. Not everyone would be happy or comfortable spending so much time in a prison environment and/or with   individuals involved

in offending behaviour, who often present a range of challenging intellectual, behavioural, mental health, and substance abuse-related issues (Fazel and Danesh 2002; Fazel and Lubbe 2005; Fazel *et al.* 2006; Fazel *et. al.* 2008). Members of Amgeddfa Cymru staff declined to deliver workshops due to the apprehension of working in such an environment and such decisions were respected. Working in a prison environment, which can be volatile and intimidating, is not suited to everyone. Managing and delivering the projects were also a very steep learning curve. Perhaps the biggest failure, was the inability of the author to handle senior colleagues and the public-facing image of the projects that transpired. Secondly, there are considerable ethical issues that must be considered when working with vulnerable groups such as this so as to ensure any negative impact is minimised (see Petrosino *et al.* 2003), or better still, avoided (Pudney 2017b). The projects were therefore completely dependent on the partner organisation, in this case the particular prison involved – their ethos, their staff and the structure and way in which the prison is run; the mechanisms and programmes they have in place. The partnership arrangements are therefore central to the success of any project such as this, if only to ensure the sustainability of support, interventions, and opportunities for participants, regardless of whether these involved archaeology. With partnerships however, come varied agendas and priorities. A community or public archaeologist must consequently enter into such a partnership with a full awareness of these variations in visions, aims, and motivations so as to allow a greater chance at mitigating any misalignment that may occur. The responsibility and accountability of the archaeologist is therefore weighty.

For the future: cease and desist?

Government funding for heritage is inevitable in one way or another (Belford 2018; Sayer 2014) and the associated priorities change, albeit sometimes over decades, but the division of funding to address such priorities is more fickle.   While heritage bodies, archaeological organisations, and individuals are becoming adept at acquiring funding from these transient sources by promoting social purpose at the centre of heritage projects, the sustainability of individual projects, inter-organisational relationships, and continued participant engagement on a personal level is still an issue. The question remains as to what will occur when the government priorities do eventually move away from 'big society' agendas, or when the vision of what constitutes a Big Society and perhaps more concerning, who is included in the vision of Big Society changes. Will projects still exist that address the same social issues or needs that we are addressing now? Will they continue to be inclusive of diverse communities or exclusive? Or, like with MORTARIA and HGP, will the communities and individuals involved in these projects be abandoned by the heritage sector as quickly as they were engaged?

One way to tackle this might be to consider the potential legacies of projects in the event that funding does evaporate. The MORTARIA and HGP had firm, material legacies such as the mural on the exercise yard in the young person's unit. Despite the lack of continued personal engagement with those that created it, it forms part of a living environment and therefore an enduring presence. Perhaps one way we can consider sustainability in our projects that seek to work in an instrumentalised way is to design them to have socially active material legacies as well as social ones.

As archaeologists we are familiar with the claims that archaeology has the potential to make a positive and real contribution to society. It can be argued that, as the professionals and experts, we have a social responsibility to make sure that archaeologically derived insights contribute to the education and enjoyment of others (Little 2012). What I hope that I have illustrated with the projects presented here is that despite their modest successes, public archaeology projects that involve members of any community where a much wider social issue is being addressed must be done:

- with realistic goals and sustainable legacies;
- in partnership with other trained professionals or experts / organisations / as part of a wider programme of social investment;
- ensuring that claims of any benefits are supported with rigorous evaluation.
- ensuring that the 'brand' is not misrepresentative of the reality.

I would like to propose therefore that we consider the following suggestions for the future. If we are unable to achieve a sustainable and responsible public archaeology or are unable to control and rein in the types of instrumentalised archaeology so as to avoid such hi-jacking and political spin, perhaps we should cease to participate. If we are unable to responsibly and realistically advocate the many beneficial ways in which archaeology (and heritage) can be instrumental in changing lives for the better perhaps we should return to our ivory towers so as not to do any irreversible damage either to communities we work with or to the public perception of archaeology.

Acknowledgements

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Part 2

Arts in Public Archaeology: Digital and Visual Media

Archaeodeath as Digital Public Mortuary Archaeology

Howard Williams

Since 2013, I have been writing an academic WordPress weblog (blog) – Archaeodeath: The Archaeology and Heritage of Death & Memory. In earlier publications, I have published preliminary reflections on the benefits of Archaeodeath as 'digital public mortuary archaeology' (DPMA), considering how it affords a mode of open-access public dissemination of mortuary archaeology, and a venue for debating and critiquing the archaeology and heritage of death and memory (Meyers and Williams 2014; Williams and Atkin 2015). Building on these discussions, this chapter reviews five-and-a-half years of the Archaeodeath blogging to the end of 2018, presenting the character of the blog's content and its reception, identifying challenges and limitations of the medium, and (equally significantly in understanding its utility) considering key decisions regarding how I choose not to deploy this blog. I identify Archaeodeath as more than outreach or engagement, but as a digital platform increasingly both integral to, and transforming, my academic teaching and research practice.

Introduction

In the context of Western modernity's simultaneous fascination with mortality but disengagement from the physical and corporeal traces of the dead, archaeologists increasingly operate as death-dealers (Meyers and Williams 2014; Giles and Williams 2016; see now Büster *et al.* 2018). Mediating and evaluating archaeology's dialogues with death and the dead, 'public mortuary archaeology' extends beyond the ethics of mortuary dimensions to fieldwork, heritage sites, and educational environments and publications (reviewed by Giles and Williams 2016); it also relates to a host of digital engagements and interactions with the archaeological dead across a range of virtual environments, many accessed via the Internet (Williams and Atkin 2015; Sayer and Walter 2016; Nicholson 2018; Williams 2018; 2019a). As part of a spectrum of means by which mortuary archaeology is disseminated and transformed in the digital age, blogging not only offers a textually versatile and image-rich interpretative medium for constructing knowledge about the dead exhibited in archaeological remains (from early prehistory to the contemporary past), but it also promotes key themes in human mortality – dying, death, the dead and commemoration – in archaeological research to wide audiences. Furthermore, blogs offer a flexible medium for in-depth critical evaluations of heritage conservation, management and interpretation for mortuary remains, as well as an environment for candid and robust critiques of political and cultural uses and abuses of mortuary archaeology (Meyers and Killgrove 2014; Meyers and Williams 2014; Meyers Emery and Killgrove 2015). This chapter reviews my own blog – *Archaeodeath: The Archaeology and Heritage of Death & Memory* – as a case study in digital public mortuary archaeology.[1]

Blogging and mortuary archaeology

Blogging is not a new phenomenon: for over two decades archaeologists have been using online environments to create diaries and journals. Mortuary archaeologists and bioarchaeologists have thus gradually embraced the medium (Caraher and Reinhard 2015; Meyers Emery and Killgrove 2015; e.g. Hoole 2016). Archaeology blogs with funerary dimensions have been widely used by commercial organisations, academic and other educational institutions, research projects, collaborations and

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[1] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/. Given the volume of posts, I cannot cite each individually, but direct readers to the website itself, from whence they can search the blog via tags. Occasionally below I cite web-links via footnotes to the tags to facilitate reader viewing.

networks, as well as serving as platforms for personal digital 'diaries' of academics and researchers.[2] Within this diverse range of uses, blogs operate alongside and within other web services (Caraher and Reinhard 2015), some focusing on different periods and places, and varied archaeological theories and methods, and they might include a host of interdisciplinary connections (Austin 2014; Hardy 2014: 104). Blogs have been particularly valuable as public-facing creations driven by researchers themselves, as opposed to most other media which rely on non-archaeological professionals to fashion our stories (such as television documentaries or news outlets). As such, they serve in disseminating and debating archaeological research activities, including those relating to mortuary archaeology and the archaeology of memory, without the restrictions of paywalls and printed components, or indeed mediation by journalists and television producers (Morgan and Eve 2012; Austin 2014; Webster 2014; Morgan and Winters 2015; Perry 2015). Likewise, blogs foster experimentation and innovation in new themes and subjects of archaeological and interdisciplinary enquiry, as well as providing a space for writing about death for both academics and non-professionals (e.g. Whitaker 2014; see also Kirk 2016).[3]

Archaeological blogging harbours the potential to escape from the restrictions of traditional academic publishing formats and structures, not only in being open access to all, and readily discovered via a Google search or via social media, but including interactive, multi-vocal and nonlinear formats (Perry 2015; Caraher and Reinhard 2015). This has a particular appeal for mortuary archaeology, where dialogue with stakeholders and descendant communities is particularly important (e.g. Cook 2018). Further beneficial dimensions include the potential rapidity and frequency of publishing; freedom is afforded from the traditional constraints of formal academic citation systems and peer-review, whilst blogs can readily and effectively draw on a wide range of web-based sources of evidence (Caraher and Reinhard 2015). Importantly, blogs reach fresh and diverse audiences, and are written in different styles and formats, engaging those who might not read academic books and guidebooks. The geographical scope of any individual blog is potentially global. The often provisional, personal, and sometimes cursory nature of blog-posts should be celebrated, not denigrated, as integral to the medium. Yet there is equally no *a priori* reason why archaeological blog-writing cannot be as nuanced, rigorous and reach the same heights of scholarly originality and rigour as other media of published research (Whitaker 2014: 219). Indeed, blogs might readily be the first place where new ideas are aired ahead of more formal publication.

The visually rich nature of blogging is of particular advantage for many archaeological subjects, including those tackling human remains and mortuary environments. Freed from the restrictions on image quality, character and costs associated with traditional publishing venues, blogs can be striking and varied in their interpretative uses of visual media. Disseminated via social media (notably Facebook, Twitter and Instagram), blogs comprising of text and images (and sometimes videos) can both communicate and innovate academic research with fresh ideas and approaches, of interest both to colleagues and to those who otherwise have no knowledge or appreciation of archaeology or heritage (see Meyers and Williams 2014; Meyers Emery and Killgrove 2015).

There is also the issue of *who* is blogging about mortuary archaeology and bioarchaeology: it has afforded avenues for students and early-career scholars, and potentially also amateurs and enthusiasts, with an outlet alongside more traditional venues for promoting their research (Meyers Emery and

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[2] Doug's Archaeology lists (to 2016) 902 archaeology blogs: https://dougsarchaeology.wordpress.com/archaeology-blogs/. Notably few focus on mortuary archaeology, although a handful do explore bioarchaeology, and others tackle mortuary themes for particular periods and places.

[3] https://dougsarchaeology.wordpress.com/archaeology-blogs/

Killgrove 2015). This relates to how blogging can offer a voice to those who might otherwise not be heard regarding archaeology and heritage debates, thus disrupting traditional academic hierarchies. Blogging, furthermore, allows scholars to be proactive (promoting research) and reactive (critiquing popular receptions of research) as public intellectuals (Meyers Emery and Killgrove 2015; for context, see Tarlow and Nilsson Stutz 2013). For example, the critical collective reaction to the television show *Nazi War Diggers* (in which human remains were discovered and poorly handled) offers an example of how social media and blogging rapidly articulated a robust and critical stance from the archaeological community (e.g. Hardy 2014).
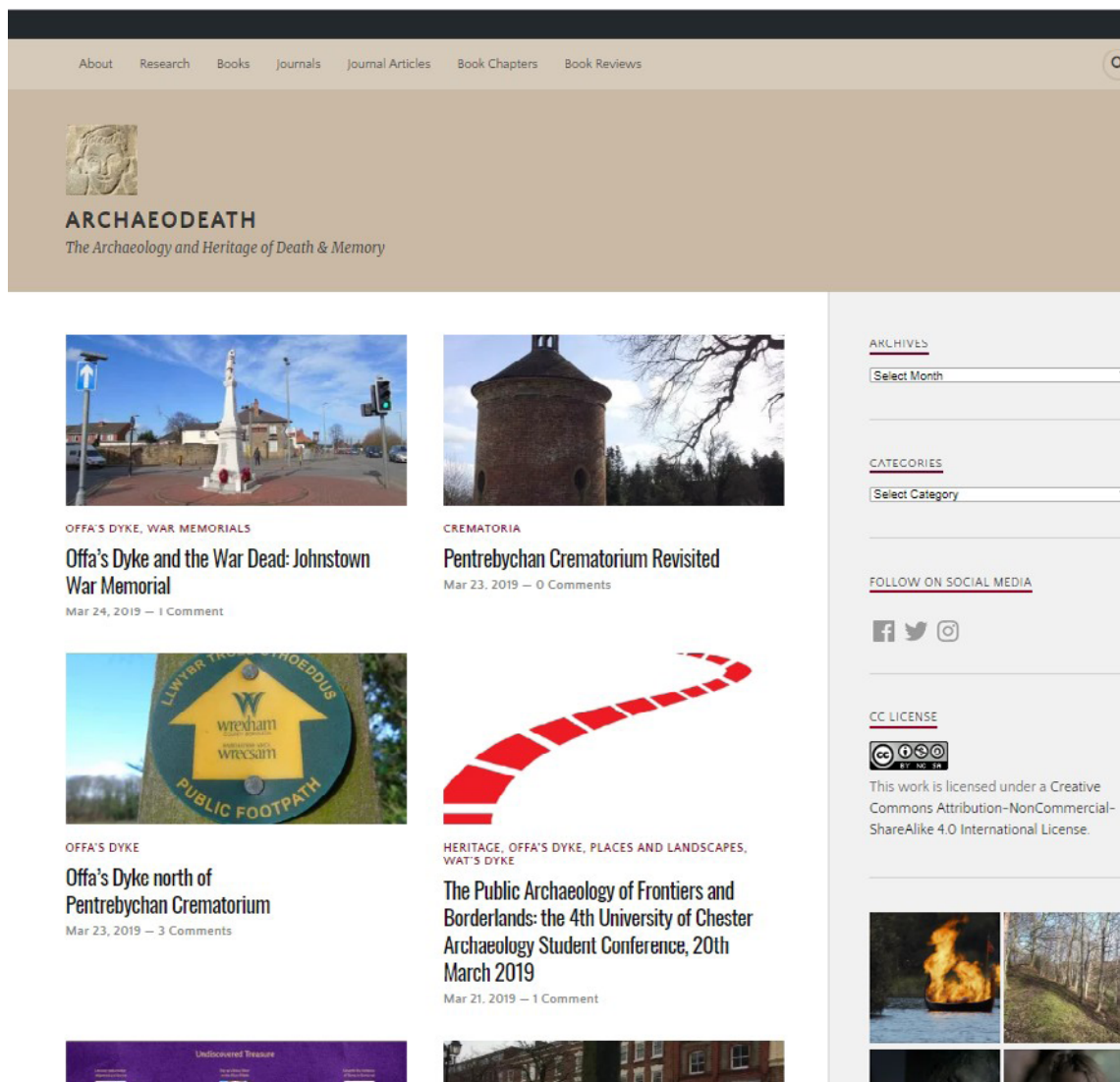

Figure 1: Screen-shot of the *Archaeodeath* homepage, 3 April 2019

Blogs have further value for disseminating mortuary archaeological subjects, and a range of mortuary archaeologists and bioarchaeologists have increasingly deployed this medium (Meyers Emery and Killgrove 2015; Williams and Atkin 2015). The venue affords transparency and clarity to a subject which is often shrouded in mystique and regular accusations of specialist concealment of practice and interpretations (Morgan and Eve 2012; Sayer 2010). Blogs thus allow mortuary archaeologists and bioarchaeologists to operate as educators and enablers to students and the public (Meyers and Killgrove 2014), and sometimes also as lobbyists and public critics of the uses and misuses of mortuary

data (Meyers and Killgrove 2014; Meyers and Williams 2014: 162–163). Mortuary archaeologists can thus join a wider range of online environments for engaging people in mortuary remains and debating death-positive themes (see Myers and Williams 2014: 163; Ulguim 2018).

Certainly, not everyone blogs and there remains inertia and resistance among many to blogging about mortuary topics in particular. Caution over digital engagement can occur for a number of intersecting reasons, including academic pride and conservatism, ethical sensitivies of the material itself and its digital dissemination (Bodies and Academia 2016; Finn 2018; Williams 2018; Williams and Atkin 2015), and necessary and justifiable concerns regarding the need to respect local communities and descendant groups (see Caraher and Reinhard 2015). Blogging and other modes of digital engagement also remains rarely recognised, supported and rewarded within academic and professional spheres. Furthermore, blogging might be regarded by some as subverting the traditional process of knowledge dissemination following rigorous peer-review and without full verification and support of arguments and interpretations (Caraher and Reinhard 2015; Meyers and Williams 2014: 164).

To date, however, there have been few discussions of mortuary archaeology's specific use of blogging as a medium for outreach and debate (Killgrove 2014; Meyers and Killgrove 2014; Meyers Emery and Killgrove 2015; Meyers and Williams 2014). Meyers and Williams (2014) identify key challenges for blogging about mortuary matters: combatting sensationalism; offering candid (sometimes humorous) rather than euphemistic writing; employing analogies between past and present sensitively and carefully when addressing mortuary themes; and being able to afford historical perspectives on contemporary phenomenon (Meyers and Williams 2014: 163–170). The ethics of the visualisation of mortuary contexts were also a challenge (Meyers and Williams 2014: 170–172; see also Bodies and Academia 2016; Finn 2018; Giles 2016), including the particular hegemony of skeletons and cadavers in DPMA and the challenge of retaining contextual information when disseminating images of mortuary subjects which, on the Internet, have often been detached from their physical and historical context (Williams and Atkin 2015). Further challenges for DPMA via blogging and other media include the powerful but problematic popular fascination with named historical personages, the relatively cautious and limited museum and commercial engagement with digital media (see also Webster 2014), and the valorisation of discovery over analysis and interpretation (Williams and Atkin 2015).

There remain further difficulties with evaluating the impact of blogging on mortuary archaeological subjects. A critical issue in blogging about archaeological subjects is that they receive relatively limited audiences (Caraher and Reinhard 2015; Hardy 2014). Moreover, blogs' ramifications for scholarly enquiry and public engagement are often asserted rather than evaluated in detail (Perry *et al.* 2015; Walker 2014). This relates to a collective failure by archaeologists to critically interrogate blogging beyond the positive role it can play in terms of outreach and sharing, including the negative, challenging and limitations of digital engagement (Perry 2015; Perry *et al.* 2015). Among the challenges, blogging may actually enhance disciplinary disparities in status and power (Perry and Beale 2015; Walker 2014), as well as potentially increase the risk of personal abuse and harassment directed at authors, many of whom may be in precarious job situations and/or may suffer from mental health issues as a result (Perry *et al.* 2015). Rather than fostering the de-centring and empowering 'techno-utopian' transformations in archaeological research and its public engagement (see Walker 2014), blogging and other social media engagements should not be considered as positive and impactful by default.

However, while I would concede the scarcity of rigorous evaluations of blogging impact, equally the evidence and arguments for the limitations and challenges with blogging remain just as unquantified and unqualified (Perry 2015; Walker 2014). In addition, there is nothing *specific* about these critiques to blogging about mortuary archaeology, and limited consideration has been given in critiques to mortuary archaeology blogging. Furthermore, the issue remains that if archaeologists dealing with death collectively retract engagement with social media and blog platforms, it will concede cyberspace completely to fringe and pseudoarchaeological discourses, from misuses of DNA results and the

promotion of fantastical accounts of ancient 'races' and cultures, to the sale of human remains and other cultural artefacts (Booth 2018; Huffer and Graham 2017; Williams 2018: 3–4). Even if our audiences are limited and our posts infrequent, the ability to present an authoritative, reliable and/or critical voice on public receptions of mortuary archaeology constitutes one way by which academics can operate as public intellectuals (Tarlow and Nilsson Stutz 2013). Finally, there are some striking success stories in mortuary archaeological blogging that defy academic criticisms, like those reviewed by Perry (2015). Notably, US bioarchaeologist Dr Kristina Killgrove's blog-posts for Forbes regularly receive four, five and six-figure hits, making some degree of wider social impact for her academic evaluations of new discoveries and analyses of popular misconceptions of mortuary and bioarchaeological research beyond contention.[4] Even if most archaeologists are not reaching such a high-profile by blogging, the digital environment retains the potential of reaching new and different audiences, both immediately, and through the enduring legacy of digital media down the years.

Introducing *Archaeodeath*

Inspired by other blogging academic archaeologists (see Meyers and Williams 2014), in the summer of 2013 I started the WordPress blog *Archaeodeath*, initially simply as an experiment in digital public mortuary archaeology (Figure 1).[5] I rapidly adopted it as a regular and integral component of my research endeavours as an academic archaeologist, focusing on my field visits, research activities, and opinion pieces ('archaeorants') about archaeological research by others and media and popular culture receptions of archaeology. I have regularly cross-referenced *Archaeodeath* posts with the Project Eliseg[6] and the Offa's Dyke Collaboratory project websites.[7] *Archaeodeath* is covered by a Creative Commons license which permits the sharing of the material for non-commercial purposes with a suitable attribution.

This review attempts to evaluate *Archaeodeath.* In doing so, I concede that it might fall into the category of what Perry (2015) regards as 'superficial' and 'slapdash' scholarship on archaeological blogging, but I do at least attempt to delve into key aspects of the blogging experience in relation to my broader research in medieval and modern deathways and mnemonic practices. Moreover, it does constitute a longitudinal study over five-and-a-half years, thus affording a sense of how medium-term digital engagement can create an accumulated resource beyond the reach of each individual blog-post. As a proactive and reactive context for digital public mortuary archaeology (see Meyers Emery and Killgrove 2015), *Archaeodeath* can be regarded as taking risks and challenging the parameters and foci of mortuary archaeology in a fashion Perry (2015) advocates blogs should aspire to do.

The frequency, content and character of *Archaeodeath*

In addition to top-header static pages introducing me and my published research, *Archaeodeath* is a constantly shifting composition of individual blog-posts connected by geographical, chronological and theoretical themes linked to my academic research, specifically focusing on the archaeology and heritage of death and memory. Since I started blogging in June 2013, *Archaeodeath* has generally resulted in between 10 and 20 posts per month, totalling 1,143 posts to the end of 2018. My approach is therefore one of rapid and regular public dissemination of ideas and observations, averaging roughly every two days, but sometimes in short bursts of 2–3 per day interspersed by modest hiatuses for some weeks (Figures 2–3). The frequency and timing of posting is largely happenstance, depending on my other commitments. Posts comprise of text of varying length from several hundred to several thousand words, and vary in style from journalistic and informal reviews to more academic evaluations and discussions.

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[4] https://www.forbes.com/sites/kristinakillgrove/#34d4d33416da

[5] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2013/11/26/why-did-i-start-a-blog/

[6] https://projecteliseg.wordpress.com/
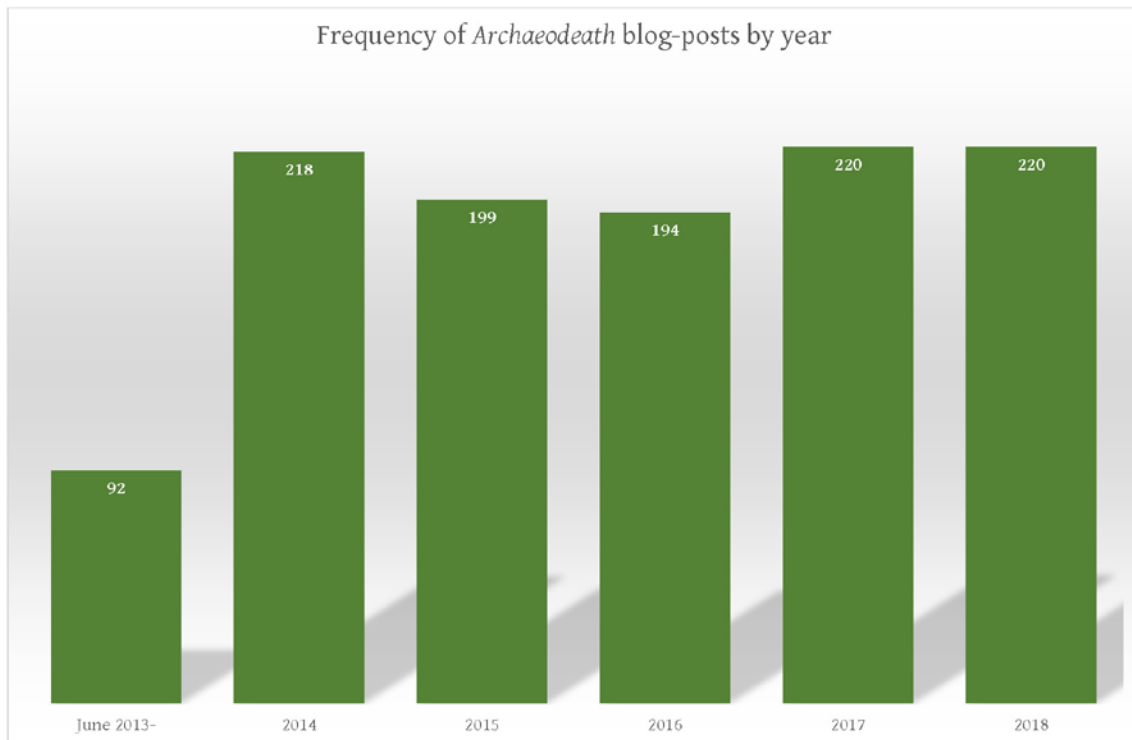
[7] https://offaswatsdyke.wordpress.com/

Figure 2: Frequency of Archaeodeath blog-posts by year

The posts are composed to be stimulating and engaging for different levels of readership (see Meyers Emery and Killgrove 2015). I try to make memorable, amusing and/or querying titles (sometimes including puns) to offer stand-alone statements to be read in combination with the featured image. Indeed, the text is often (but not always) arranged with the presumption that most readers will only glance at the title and/or Introduction and/or Concluding sections. The aim is for the reader to be able to follow-up on the blog to other sources of information, so I try to include hyper-text links to key websites and open-access publications. Sometimes, I augment with academic references to specific publications deployed in the writing of the piece. Equally, I try to make connections to previous posts, and use the 'Categories' and 'Tags' to foster linkages to thematic strands. Indeed, for those simply reading further than the blog-post's title (including seeing it on social media with its single front image), most posts offer multiple images, sometimes as few as 1–2 photographs, but many with up to 20+ images. Sometimes I will use other publicly available images. However, mostly I deploy my own from visits to sites, monuments and landscapes, where appropriate, thus affording a visually rich and detailed exploration of (mainly) UK mortuary and monumental environments from prehistory to the present. Indeed, images are central to the blog format I have pursued: only very rarely are my posts image-free and this occurs where a place-specific or theme-specific image will only distract from the argument or discussion, or when images might be ethically problematic. For those opening most posts, I try to ensure that images (sometimes but not always captioned) provide a visual journey around the environment under discussion. I have deployed an android camera phone, an iPhone, a digital bridge camera, or else a digital SLR camera, and I reduce the resolution of the images in Adobe Photoshop to allow the viewer to apprehend far beyond the standard and stock-perspectives afforded by many official and touristic gazes on monuments, buildings and landscapes. As such, many posts can be appreciated as a gallery of images with or without a careful reading of the accompanying text, and thus while I write only in UK English, the blog is accessible to non-English readers.

The popularity of the blog has risen steadily during this period with 412,554 hits recorded to date (2 April 2019) (Figure 4). Overall this is relatively small for a website compared with the level of views received were I to write pieces for (by way of example) *The Conversation.* Still, it constitutes a regular flow of 8,000-10,000 views per month and 2019 has risen over the 2017 and 2018 figures for total numbers of hits.

The blog-posts encapsulate a wide range of subjects (Figure 5), from records of public talks, research seminars, research workshops, conference papers and conference sessions and conferences organised, to reviews of my own fieldwork and publications. Beyond my research engagement and outputs, I have on occasion addressed pedagogic issues relating to mortuary archaeology and the archaeology of memory, including reporting on field trips with my undergraduate and postgraduate students.
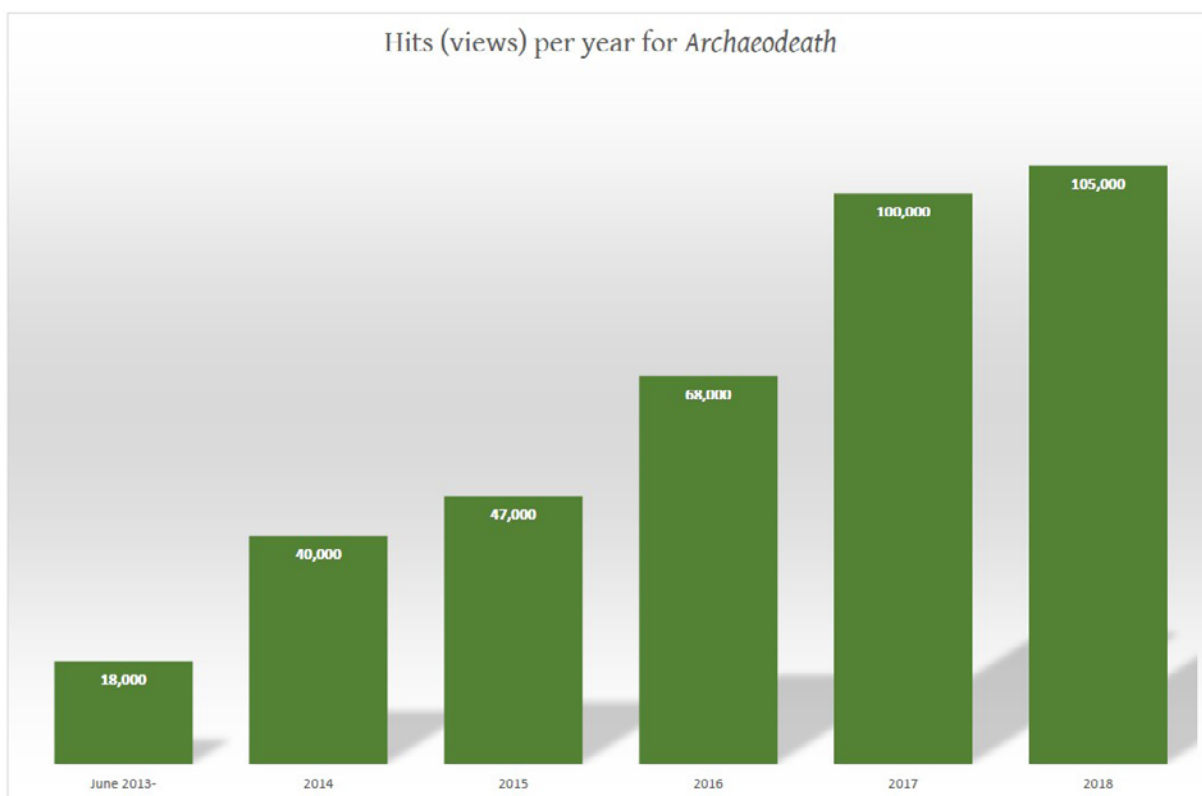

Figure 3: Archaeodeath blog-post numbers per week (varying from 0 to 10) over a six-month period from October 2018 to April 2019

The blog thus contains many posts reporting field visits to a wide range of heritage sites, monuments and landscapes both during my research and free time. In doing so, *Archaeodeath* comments on memorial and mortuary dimensions, as well as heritage themes, in discussing a wide range of site-types, from Neolithic chambered tombs and Bronze Age burial mounds to medieval monastic ruins, castles, medieval and post-medieval church and churchyard monuments; the material cultures, monuments and landscapes of garden cemeteries (19th century to present). The blog also critiques heritage sites and museum displays involving mortuary remains.

One key way in which the blog takes on less-charted mortuary archaeology territories is via the 'contemporary past', including 20th-/21st-century war memorials and other forms of conflict commemoration and public art. *Archaeodeath* has also explored the archaeology and heritage of a disparate range of present-day memorial practices and monuments, addressing themes as wide-ranging as crematoria, gardens of remembrance, woodland cemeteries, roadside memorials and ash-scattering

sites, love-locks, #metoo heritage, football memorials, Stolpersteine and the heritage dimensions of Brexit.

My growing interests in non-mortuary monuments have been represented too, including the linear earthworks of the Anglo-Welsh borderlands and elsewhere: notably Offa's Dyke and Wat's Dyke. This links closely to my work with the aforementioned Offa's Dyke Collaboratory, where themes of memory and memorialisation remain important.
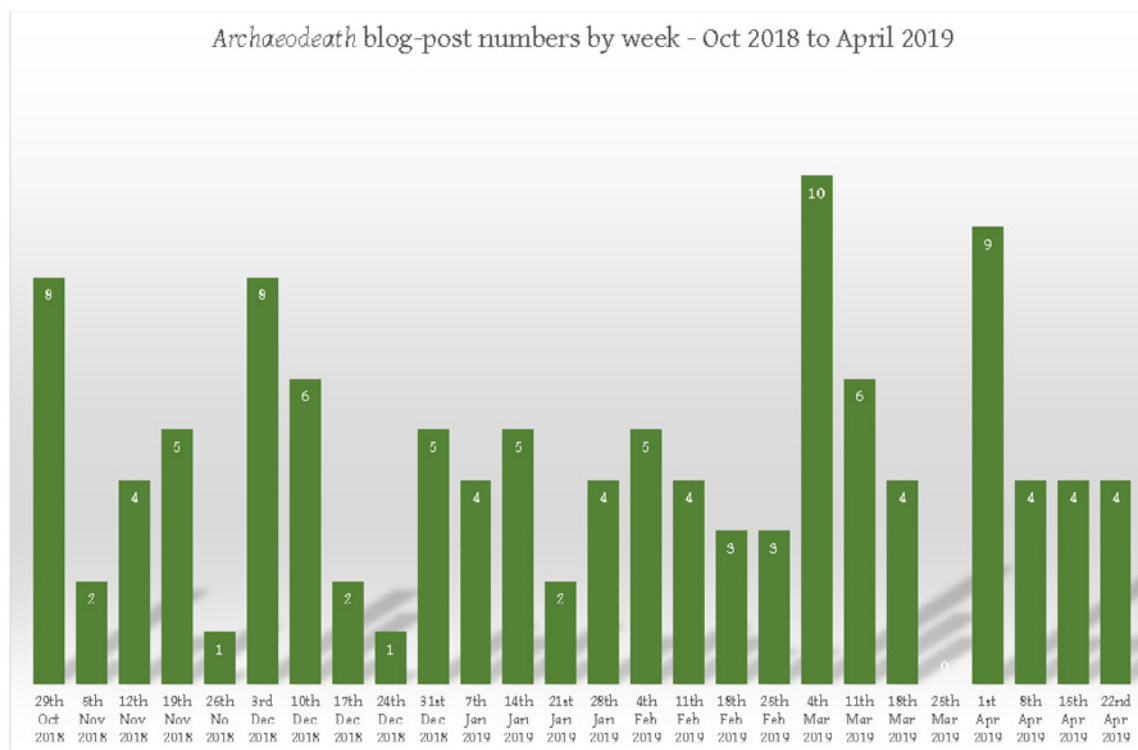

Figure 4: Hits (views) per year for Archaeodeath, rounded to the nearest thousand

The growing readership of *Archaeodeath*

As mentioned above, the blog is (at the time of writing, April 2019) followed on WordPress itself by 758 people. In addition, search engines (mainly Google) are the principal way people find the blog, while many are referred to the blog from my dissemination by Facebook (my personal profile until August 2018 and subsequently by a dedicated page, now with 447 likes) and Twitter (via my Twitter handle @howardmrw, currently with over 4,000 followers). I have also unsuccessfully attempted to disseminate the blog via G+ (shut down from April 2019) and Tumblr. The 2018 top-ten of audiences are (in descending order) UK, USA, Canada, Australia, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, Ireland, France and Poland. In previous years, Norway, Italy, Spain and Finland have also made single appearances in the annual top-ten of countries that most view *Archaeodeath*.

As is true with most blogs, comments on *Archaeodeath* or direct responses via social media are relatively rare (see also Caraher and Reinhard 2015). Most blog-posts receive only tens to a few hundred views, and therefore are clearly of interest to only a niche audience of followers. However, each year there have been blog-posts that have received many hundreds, even thousands, of views. These more popular posts tend to feature topics of broader appeal across the archaeological community and beyond, particularly when they relate to evaluations of archaeology on film and television, or else comments

and critiques on prominent archaeological discoveries, studies and debates linked to contemporary politics and media stories. However, it is not always predictable which posts will attract attention: for example, a post about US President Donald Trump's border wall with Mexico received relatively few views, but has been cited in a peer-reviewed academic journal (Gardner 2017),[8] yet when I posted about academic behaviours that quoted a lyric by Bob Dylan, it unintentionally served as click-bait for fans of his music due to the inclusion of the singer-songwriter's name in itself. Likewise, for my popular culture discussions, namely posts reflecting on the representation of death and the dead, my posts on death and burial in the History Channel's *Vikings* show have attracted far more attention than my commentaries on mortuary and commemorative practices in the hit TV AMC series *The Walking Dead*.
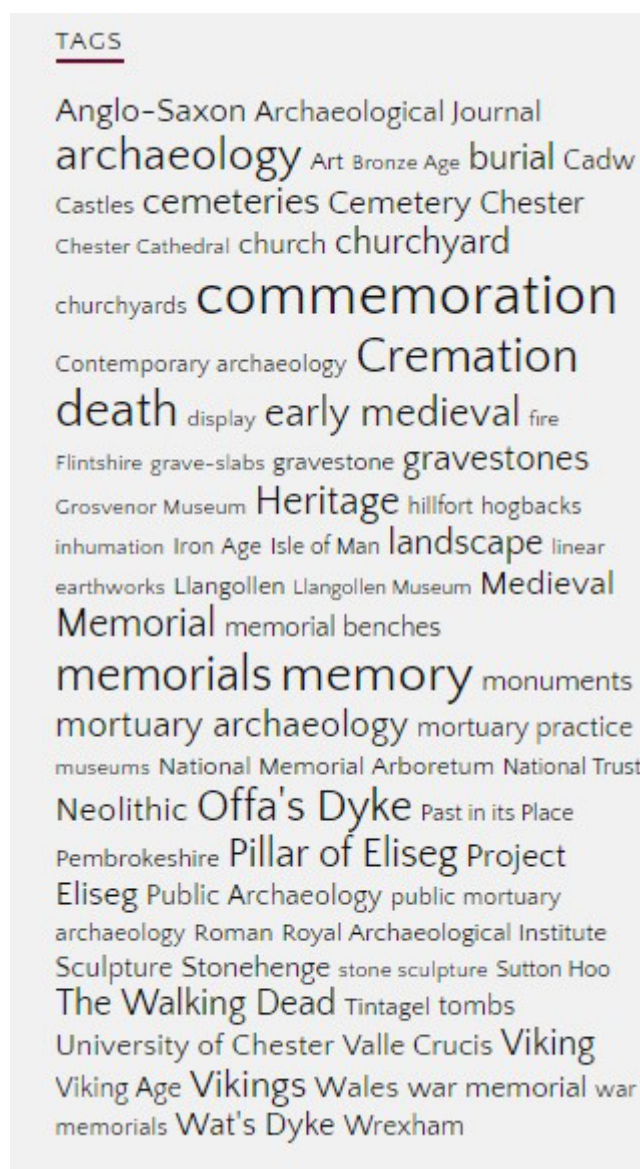

Figure 5: Screen-shot of the tag cloud for Archaeodeath, 3 April 2019

A more detailed consideration of the most-viewed posts each year is instructive, although many of my more rigorous and academic blog-posts have not made the top-ten for any given year. Moreover, posts nearer the end of the year will have their viewing figures divided across multiple years, so the 'top-ten' is only a crude indication of the more popular posts. Still, in the first six months of blogging, my 'top-ten' individual blog-posts (excluding the well-visited Home Page/Archives, the 'About' page and the very popular introductory blog) already showed the ability of this medium to reach a far wider audience than any public talk or peer-reviewed journal article I have ever worked on.

2013

In this first six months of blogging, it is evident that the most popular blog was one that courted controversy in its title and popular subject matter among academics: criticising the popular appeal of the widely lauded project to locate, excavate and analyse the grave of King Richard III of England (1) (Table 1). The attention afforded to the Dylan post has already been addressed and is misleading (2). These were followed by a range of posts about site visits (3, 4, 5, 10), updates on my early medieval archaeological research and public talks (7, 8, 9: see Austin 2014) and also my critical discussion of UK academia's Research Excellence Framework process (6).

Table 1: Top-ten Archaeodeath posts from the start of the blog in June 2013 to the end of that year

Ranking (views)	Post-date	Title	Views
1	28/09/2013	What is truly wrong about digging up Richard III	2,037
2	28/09/2013	Bob Dylan and the bizarre etiquette of academic invitations and requests	1,113
3	07/07/2013	Erddig iron	344
4	05/07/2013	Chirk Castle gone to the dogs	259
5	28/06/2013	Archaeology of the Welsh deserted medieval settlement – Hen Caerwys	222
6	04/09/2013	Archaeology REF	217
7	13/10/2013	Burials of the slain, killing at the funeral, killing the dead: violent Viking funerals	203
8	23/07/2013	Early medieval stone monuments: materiality, biography, landscape	184
9	14/07/2013	Why decorate early Anglo-Saxon pots?	172
10	14/07/2013	In the Welsh landscape with Katy the bone-blog legend	167

2014

The top-ten from my first full year of blogging reveals an overall increase in the views for the most popular posts (Table 2). Beyond welcoming and showcasing the result of a newly appointed colleague (Dr Caroline Pudney: 6), and reporting on a Departmental research seminar (by Dr Melanie Giles: 10), popular posts considered further heritage sites (3). Moreover, there were two popular posts about Offa's Dyke: one criticising the destruction of a section near Chirk (2), another discussing the preliminary radiocarbon dates released by CPAT's follow-up investigations (8). Linked to my then-project on cathedral tombs, my post on medieval and modern effigy tombs proved very popular (4). Also notable is the continued appearance of the introductory post and 4 further posts from the preceding year (2013: 1, 5, 7, 9). These examples indicate that, once posted, posts might endure and continue to circulate and be

consulted on social media, which counters the perception that such posts are ephemeral in the digital arena. Indeed, the Richard III post (1) received over twice as many hits in 2014 as it had in 2013 when first posted.

Table 2: Top-ten Archaeodeath posts from the first full-year of blogging in 2014

Ranking (views)	Post-date	Title	Views
1	28/09/2013	What is truly wrong about digging up Richard III	4,665
2	03/06/2014	Roll up, roll up, take a free slice of Offa's Dyke	530
3	24/11/2014	A bishop's castle, Llawhaden	525
4	30/07/2014	Speaking with effigy tombs	456
5	14/07/2013	Why decorate early Anglo-Saxon pots?	369
6	07/07/2014	Welcome Dr Caroline Pudney	314
7	13/10/2013	Burials of the slain, killing at the funeral, killing the dead: violent Viking funerals	314
8	07/04/2014	An Offa that can be refused? Mercia's past of might and memory	278
9	16/10/2013	Tombs of Vikings? Hogback stones revisited	277
10	13/02/2014	Death and violence in the Iron Age	253

Table 3: Top-ten Archaeodeath posts from the second full-year of blogging in 2015

Ranking (views)	Post-date	Title	Views
1	05/02/2015	*Vikings* Seasons 1 and 2 – an *Archaeodeath* review	1,452
2	14/11/2015	The largest ancient mound in Wales: the Gop Cairn	792
3	09/08/2015	Asperger, heritage and archaeodeath	716
4	20/08/2015	Who kills archaeologists?	670
5	18/12/2015	Vertical death: the coffin the wall at St John's Chester	613
6	27/12/2015	We are Seven	549
7	22/11/2015	Paths of the dead: the ghosts of medieval battle	505
8	12/10/2015	The 'Sutton Hoo Treasure' must be destroyed!	501
9	14/02/2015	The plague of terms: the 'Anglo-Saxon's	493
10	12/12/2015	Landscapes of the dead: exploring Anglo-Saxon mortuary geographies	418

2015

For 2015, the second full year, there is a significant rise in views for the top-ten, and notably all were new posts within the calendar year (Table 3). Popular posts described site visits to prominent ancient monuments (2 and 7), but also posts about new publications (10). There are also new areas of

discussions: museum displays (8), debating broader challenges of archaeological terminology (9), but also discussions of 19th-century funerary monuments and their folklore (5 and 6). Two other notable areas of investigation were included: the most popular post was an evaluation of the first two seasons of the History Channel series *Vikings* from an archaeological perspective, part of my increasing attention to popular perceptions of mortuary archaeology in contemporary society (1). Meanwhile, I chose to write about the ISIS public execution of Palmyra's lead archaeologist (4). Most personal, and pushing the parameters of the blog further still, I wrote a post about the challenges I face visiting heritage sites with my daughter who had been diagnosed with Autism Spectrum Disorder (3). In summary, 2015 saw a consolidation and multi-directional expansion of the blog's parameters and foci beyond site-visits, research updates and the occasional 'archaeorant'.

2016

This third full-year of blogging saw for the first time multiple blog-posts receive over one thousand views, and the overall popularity of the blog continued to grow (Table 4). The most popular topic took the form of a response to a news story that a local history group had been denied permission to photograph gravestones in Birmingham: I reflected on the ethics of photographing memorials to the dead. Next, I composed a discussion piece about Donald Trump's election as US president as a means of critiquing social approaches in mortuary archaeology that presume the deceased's identity is reflected in their burial treatment (2). Heritage issues were a further concern in critiquing the decision of English Heritage to carve the face of Merlin into the living rock by Merlin's Cave at Tintagel (3) and one of a series of blog-posts following this up by evaluating the media and social media furore surrounding the heritage interpretation of the 'Dark Age' phase of the site (6). Next came two posts published in 2015 and appearing in that year's top-ten: showing once again the enduring appeal of some topics, namely critiques of museum classifications and popular cultural uses of the word 'treasure' (5) and my aforementioned review of Seasons 1 and 2 of *Vikings* (4), in this year joined by a review of the mortuary practices presented in the show's Season 1 (7). A further reflection on mortuary archaeological themes linking my research on cremation practices to contemporary science fiction formed the focus of one post on *Star Wars* (8). The last two topics took the blog into fresh territory again: reporting on the (re)discovery of a later medieval fragment of effigial slab, arguably from Valle Crucis Abbey (9) and a response to a *Daily Mail* news story denouncing a colleague at UCL for deploying trigger warnings for his module on contemporary archaeology (10). Again, controversial topics attracted most hits, and those where analogies and synergies exist between mortuary archaeology and contemporary society, politics, and entertainment have proved most popular.

2017

The ever-increasing popularity of the blog overall took the majority of the top-ten to over 1,000 views each for the first time (Table 5). The Donald Trump mortuary archaeology post endured in popularity from late 2016 and became the most-reviewed post of 2017 (1). The grave-photograph post also demonstrated an endured popularity through 2017 (4). The reviews of the TV show *Vikings* have also persisted, as the show has continued to be aired with new seasons appearing throughout the time period (6, 9). My review of Season 1 of the Norwegian comedy and part-parody of *Vikings* – *Norsemen* – proved to be equally popular with readers (7). Again, controversial topics attracted considerable attention, with my response to the social media furore by alt-right commentators over the BBC's representation of ethnic diversity in Roman Britain receiving many hits, where I argued it reveals the centrality of artistic impressions in the communication of archaeological knowledge (3). A dominant and new feature of *Archaeodeath* in 2017 was three of my multiple-post response to the widely disseminated and debated publication of the Birka female warrior chamber grave Bj581 (Hedenstierna-Jonson *et al.* 2017; see now also Price *et al.* 2019). This was a rare instance where I chose to use my blog to critically evaluate both a new academic publication and its media and popular reception (2, 5, 10).

Table 4: Top-ten Archaeodeath posts from the third full-year of blogging in 2016

Ranking (views)	Post-date	Title	Views
1	31/01/2016	What's wrong with photographing the dead	3,551
2	10/11/2016	Archaeologists agree that most medieval tombs were built for complete a***holes	1,656
3	15/02/2016	Putting Merlin to death? Tintagel, art and the death of imagination	1,629
4	05/02/2015	*Vikings* Seasons 1 and 2 – an *Archaeodeath* review	1,212
5	12/10/2015	The 'Sutton Hoo Treasure' must be destroyed!	1,116
6	26/06/2016	The Dark Ages at Tintagel	877
7	09/02/2015	*Vikings* – an Archaeodeath review of death in Season 1	782
8	30/12/2015	Darth Vader's mask strikes back: Star Wars crematifacts explored	773
9	31/03/2016	The smiling abbot of Valle Crucis: an *Archaeodeath* exclusive	702
10	25/09/2016	Cosseted students are scared of the dead? Disturbing mortuary archaeology	682

Table 5: Top-ten Archaeodeath posts from the fourth full-year of blogging in 2017

Ranking (views)	Post-date	Title	Views
1	10/11/2016	Archaeologists agree that most medieval tombs were built for complete a***holes	3,706
2	14/09/2017	Viking warrior women: an *Archaeodeath* response part 1	3,278
3	04/08/2017	Ethnic diversity in Roman Britain: it all kicks off with images	2,041
4	31/01/2016	What's wrong with photographing the dead	1,200
5	15/09/2017	Viking warrior women: an *Archaeodeath* response part 2	1,127
6	09/02/2015	*Vikings* – an Archaeodeath review of death in Season 1	1,073
7	17/09/2017	The archaeology of Norsemen	1,042
8	07/09/2017	The 'Digging into the Dark Ages' conference	890
9	05/02/2015	*Vikings* Seasons 1 and 2 – an *Archaeodeath* review	816
10	20/09/2017	Viking warrior women: an *Archaeodeath* response part 4	795

2018

The popularity of *Archaeodeath* was maintained during 2018, but not significantly improved in overall viewing figures from 2017 (Figure 4). By way of comparison, if over 200 views allowed a post to reach the top-ten for 2013, then a full 69 posts received over 200 views in 2018 (Table 6). In short, the effectiveness of *Archaeodeath* cannot be evaluated solely in terms of hits for any single post soon after its publication, but the overall diversity of themes and issues addressed across multiple posts and multiple years. Another notable feature was the predominance of posts published in previous years,

with only 2 new blog-posts making the top-ten (1, 10). Both relate to reports on local sites visited: one a detailed photographic review of the medieval monuments in Gresford church (1), another visiting the significant archaeological excavations of Offa's Dyke at Chirk Castle by Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust (10). Two further posts illustrate my ongoing posts about contemporary archaeologies of death and memory (7, 9): one a disaster memorial on the Isle of Man (7), one the grave of a late 20th-century comedian (9). New posts are receiving steady traffic, but perhaps it reflects the maturity of the blog, and the year-on-year popularity of reviews of television dramas, that older posts are still attracting continued attention. Strikingly, a total of five posts in the top-ten relate to my reviews of mortuary archaeology in television: three in the series *Vikings* (2, 5, 6), joined by examples of my season-by-season reviews of the funerary scenes, graves, cemeteries and mortuary monuments depicted in *The Walking Dead* (4) and *Game of Thrones* (3).

While it is too early to evaluate *Archaeodeath* for 2019 at the time of writing, a review of preliminary statistics show that the most-viewed posts relate to controversial topics and my mortuary archaeological reviews of television shows: dramas and documentaries. Notably, given the run-up to the final season of *Game of Thrones* airing in the spring of 2019, my most-viewed post of 2019 to April has been my 2016 post about cremation practices in the third season of the show. This post has already received more views in 2019 than previous years, thus illustrating the enduring appeal of certain posts that coincide with broader popular culture trends.[9]

Table 6: Top-ten Archaeodeath posts from the fifth full-year of blogging in 2018

Ranking (views)	Post-date	Title	Views
1	04/03/2018	Gresford's medieval monuments	4,230
2	05/06/2017	Helga's funeral in *Vikings* season 4 part 2	1,588
3	21/05/2016	Fire on the Water: Cremation in *Game of Thrones* Season 3	1,570
4	25/02/2017	"Liar", "Rapist", "Murderer" and "Rich Bitch" – naming and displaying corpses in *The Walking Dead* Season 4	1,427
5	05/02/2015	*Vikings* Seasons 1 and 2 – an *Archaeodeath* review	1,337
6	09/02/2015	*Vikings* – an Archaeodeath review of death in Season 1	1,323
7	02/05/2016	Death, fire and forgetting	1,076
8	14/09/2017	Viking warrior women: an *Archaeodeath* response part 1	892
9	18/12/2016	"Remembered With a Laugh" The Grave of Sir Norman Wisdom OBE	878
10	29/09/2018	The mother of all ditches! Offa's Dyke at Chirk Castle	760

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[9] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2016/05/21/fire-on-the-water-cremation-in-game-of-thrones-season-3/

Archaeodeath research transformations

So far, I have made the argument that *Archaeodeath* has increasingly diversified its scope to encapsulate mortuary matters relating to museums, heritage sites, historic landscapes, media mortuary archaeology, and popular culture receptions, as well as discussions and evaluations prehistoric, ancient, medieval and modern mortuary practices, monuments and landscapes. In addition, I have identified how controversial and challenging synergies between past and present foster most interest among readers of *Archaeodeath.* Yet there are further points I wish to make regarding how the blog has begun to transform how my academic research, and thus forming part of a continuum, rather than a class, of academic writing (Caraher and Reinhard 2015; Perry 2015).

Original essays in DPMA

First, I want to identify some posts that serve as reactive to new publications, and critiques of their public reception. Most recently these include a series of posts about Viking warrior women, but also about the episodes of the television documentary *Legends of the Lost with Megan Fox* featuring Viking warrior women and Stonehenge. For each, I composed my own reviews.[10] In addition, in subsequent blogs, I critiqued other archaeological reviewers' appraisals of the show, suggesting that while there were indeed overt fringe elements that deserved robust archaeological criticisms, the critical focus upon the celebrity presenter and claims she was driving an exclusively pseudoarchaeological agenda are problematic.[11] I argued that these shows deployed cutting edge mainstream archaeological research, including features by talented younger scholars, and that the Viking warrior women episode had been directly inspired by the aforementioned 2017 *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* article (Hedenstierna-Jonson *et al.* 2017). These posts demonstrate my independent critical voice both on public receptions of mortuary archaeological research, and their detractors.

Another area where I have deployed the blog in fashions beyond my traditional academic writing is in promoting new critical commentaries of contemporary commemorative practice. For example, among my reviews of conflict and disaster memorials,[12] I have critically commented on aspects of the centenary celebrations of the First World War. In particular, I focused my critical attention upon silhouettes,[13] as well as poppy and other floral gigantisms,[14] and the deployment of militaria[15] appended to existing war memorials. I have also reflected on the controversial topic regarding when some war memorials might now, with the benefit of hindsight, be regarded as problematically patriotic, even 'gammon' (overtly jingoistic) in their texts and sculpture.[16]

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[10] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2019/01/01/fox-rocks-a-review-of-legends-of-the-lost-with-megan-fox-viking-warrior-women-an-archaeodeath-response-part-7/; https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2019/01/04/foxhenge-a-review-of-legends-of-the-lost-with-megan-fox-episode-2stonehenge-the-healing-stones/

[11] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2019/01/02/reviewing-the-archaeology-reviews-of-legends-of-the-lost-with-megan-fox-viking-warrior-women-an-archaeodeath-response-part-8/; https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2019/01/05/reviewing-the-archaeology-reviews-of-legends-of-the-lost-with-megan-fox-stonehenge-the-healing-stones/

[12] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/category/archaeologies-of-death-and-memory/war-memorials-archaeologies-of-death-and-memory/

[13] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2019/03/09/silent-silhouettes-there-but-not-there/

[14] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2019/02/20/rhosllanerchrugog-war-memorial/; https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2018/08/26/metallic-poppy-gigantism/

[15] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2014/08/24/first-world-war-anniversary-church-shrines/

[16] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2019/02/02/we-need-to-talk-about-the-gammon-dimensions-of-first-world-war-memorials/. For definitions of 'gammon' in current parlance, see Somerlad 2018.

Notes towards academic publication

While the blog has hosted posts that constitute original academic essays that operate as stand-alone interpretations in mortuary archaeology and public mortuary archaeology, *Archaeodeath* also contains 'notes' towards academic publications (see also Caraher and Reinhard 2015). As such, writing them has allowed me to experiment, garner feedback, and to grow a sense of confidence in addressing new and different themes through to publication. Let me select two examples to illustrate this point.

My expertise lies in early medieval archaeology, but I have increasingly posted on later medieval and early modern funerary monuments, including those surviving in churchyards,[17] within historic churches,[18] and those in display at ruined monasteries and thus integral parts of heritage sites,[19] and those in museums[20] and art galleries.[21] In many instances, while my photographs remain amateur, they are a vast improvement on other images available online. Likewise, my reviews of these monuments identify new features and parallels hitherto not published. Thus they arguably constitute original contributions to research, albeit outside of the traditions of academic peer-review.[22] As shown above, in 2016 I was party to the rediscovery of a long-lost fragment of a very-late 13th-century/early 14th-century abbatial effigial grave-slab, arguably derived from the Cistercian monastery of Valle Crucis, near Llangollen, Denbighshire.[23] Having been shown the grave-slab upon visiting Llangollen Museum, where it was on temporary display, I decided to compose an *Archaeodeath* post to promote the museum, encourage people to visit and view the monument, but also in the hope of garnering feedback from both experts and amateur enthusiasts who might help to identify parallels from across Britain and beyond (Figure 6). Indeed, the sustained positive feedback and guidance received from both experts and the wider public via the blog inspired me to develop my posts into an original research article in collaboration with Gillian Smith and David Crane of Llangollen Museum and archaeologist and artist Aaron Watson. I charted the journey from discovery to publication through a series of blog-posts in which I reported on interim stages of research on the 'Smiling Abbot'. This project developed through to publication in a peer-reviewed venue – the *Archaeological Journal* – in under 2 years (Williams *et al.* 2018).

Likewise noted above, I have used *Archaeodeath* from 2015 to write critical evaluations of mortuary archaeology's influence and explicit use within television dramas, particularly the first four seasons of the historical drama *Vikings*, but also *Deadwood, Game of Thrones, Marco Polo, Norsemen, Peaky Blinders, Star Trek: Enterprise, The Last Kingdom,* and *The Walking Dead*, as well as a series of films. For *Vikings*, I have evaluated the many different representations of death, burials and funerary and commemorative practices in the show, including the uses of material cultures, mortuary monuments and landscapes, as part of the storyline.[24] As seen above, my evaluation of the funerals in Season 1, and a detailed discussion of the grave-goods deployed in the funeral of Helga in Season 4 part 2, have been most frequently

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[17] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2019/01/20/sex-sin-and-skeletons-on-a-tomb-chest-at-plemstall-cheshire/

[18] Examples include my posts on funerary sculpture in St Mary's and St Beuno's church, Whitford, Flintshire (https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2018/08/15/whitfords-late-medieval-funerary-monuments/) and St Mary's church, Cilcain, Flintshire (https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2018/08/05/an-assemblage-of-medieval-funerary-fragments-cilcain/).

[19] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2018/08/05/absent-bodies-and-brass-archaeodeath-at-fountains-abbey/; https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2018/06/24/archaeodeath-at-tintern-abbey/; https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2018/06/19/a-tintern-abbot/

[20] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2018/10/31/10-deathly-things-i-liked-most-about-the-dead-normal-exhibition/

[21] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2018/11/11/memento-mori-tombs-and-memorials-in-cheshire-explored/

[22] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/category/archaeologies-of-death-and-memory/church-monuments/

[23] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2016/03/31/the-smiling-abbot-of-valle-crucis-an-archaeodeath-exclusive/

[24] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/category/death-on-tv-and-film/vikings/

viewed. The use of cremation practices in the show has been a particular focus of attention, linked to my early medieval research (Figure 7).

The cumulative confidence and the positive feedback received from these blog-posts inspired me to edit, enhance and revise these posts, using them as 'notes' from which to develop an original book chapter reviewing and evaluating funerals in the show for seasons 1–4 (Williams 2019b). This in turn has inspired further academic writing: with reviews of the show's representation of the treatment of human remains beyond the funeral, and appraisals of the show's portrayal of assembly places, both in the publication pipeline. Likewise, I aspire to write up my evaluations of death, memory and material culture in seasons 5 and 6 of *Vikings*, and perhaps to extend my evaluations of media mortuary archaeology to other shows, including *The Walking Dead* graphic novels and television series.
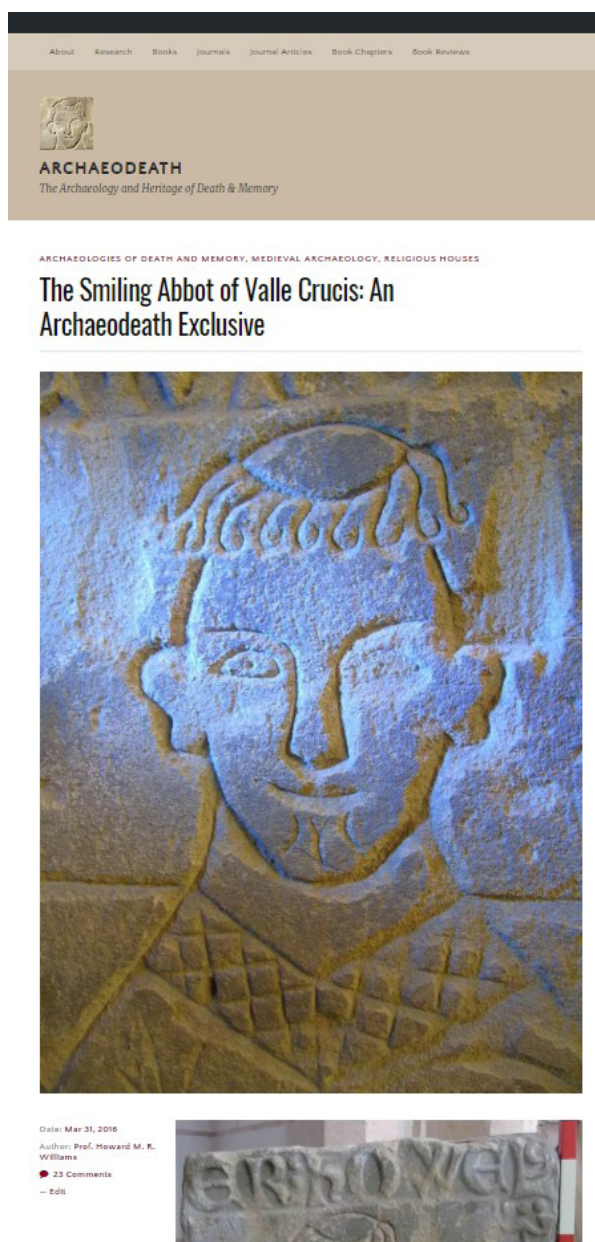

Figure 6: Screen-shot from the initial 'exclusive' report on the 'Smiling Abbot' effigial grave-slab from March 2016

VIKINGS

Cremating the War Dead in Vikings Season 4 part 1

Date: Apr 26, 2018
Author: Prof. Howard M. R. Williams

💬 0 Comments

— Edit

I confess I have missed out a key funeral scene in my review of *Vikings* Seasons 1–4! I jumped to discussing *Vikings* Season 5's funerals without mentioning the cremation of the war dead during the second attack of the Northmen on Paris.

Previously in *Vikings*, we've been shown individual cremation in Scandinavia and mass-cremations during raiding in England, both taking place over water. Aslaug is also burned over water. The show has also depicted mass-cremations on the beach at Kattegat. But a different permutation of landscape, context and cremation takes place in Episode 7 of Season 4 part 1. The war dead are cremated on land, beside the River Seine, following the campaign to tackle Rollo's river defences.

Figure 7: Screen-shot from one of my Vikings blog-posts from April 2018

In terms of DPMA, these examples illustrate the importance of Perry's (2015) argument about regarding digital engagement as part of a continuum of scholarly practices. In this instance, *Archaeodeath* has enhanced and extended my academic writing into new territories, in cases operating as original essays in their own right, or as part of series of posts on a similar theme. In further instances they have come to serve as formative stages of interpretation en route to peer-reviewed outputs. The two examples discussed here are valuable in showing how the blog operates in this regard both for my interpretations of past funerary monuments as well as evaluations of mortuary archaeology in contemporary society.

Discussion: what *Archaeodeath* is not

This chapter has so far reviewed the frequency, character, content and quantitative reception *of Archaeodeath*, and made the case that the blog has incorporated original research essays and notes towards publication. While the blog has developed in significant fashions over its five-and-a-half year history, I have made some strategic decisions regarding what I have *not* done on the blog that are as important as what I have chosen to do. Reviewing these decisions further serves to self-evaluate the character and focus of the academic practice of blogging.

Modest hits and limited comments

Archaeodeath clearly reaches more people, and arguably different audiences in geographical, social and cultural terms, than any real-world public lecture or other activity I have attempted. In this regard, it is an astounding success. Equally though, it is not a massive hit in comparison to the wider blogosphere, let alone the relatively modest attention compared with micro-blogging via Twitter or posting comments on Facebook or Instagram. The relatively low-level of views can be compared with blogs posted by colleagues on media sites like *Forbes* or *The Conversation.* However, in retaining my blog on my own, free WordPress blog, I have retained editorial control and the ability to augment, update, revise or retract posts at my discretion (although to date I have never done the latter). Therefore, in defining this as a form of public engagement and public intellectual endeavour, I have (with notable exceptions) self-imposed restrictions. As noted above, there are limitations in the restricted number of comments, so there is little dynamism: like many blogs, *Archaeodeath* is largely about broadcasting rather than dialogue (see also Caraher and Reinhard 2015).

No to co-production

One of the repeatedly cited advantages of archaeological blogging is the prospect of collaboration and co-production (e.g. Perry 2015). However, I have chosen not to experiment at all with co-production, whether in terms of multiple or guest authors by academics and other researchers, or from the public. This limitation has stifled many possible uses of the blog, yet it has allowed me to retain independent authorship and sole responsibility for its content. The blog thus operates as a solo venture with the attendant advantage of not imposing upon, or exploiting, the intellectual efforts and labour of others in its production (see Perry *et al.* 2015 and Richardson 2018 for the ethics of unpaid/volunteer labour in digital archaeology). This is in contrast to so much academic publishing in general, which takes place at the expense of the often-unpaid labour as peer-reviewers, authors and co-editors, or in terms of fieldwork, often uncredited labour and interpretations.

Regarding the labour and intellectual input on myself, this is an aspect of my academic role for public engagement and research impact, even if it is afforded no specific time allocation and institutional credit. For this reason, I write my blog as an academic and identify my title and academic affiliation, but I do so without a formal connection to my University (cf. Perry and Beale 2005: 158).

No to political neutrality

Despite assertions by some commentators to the contrary, all archaeological practices are enmeshed in contemporary politics in varying degrees and intensitites. While I resist voicing opinions on a raft of social and political issues, the blog refuses to adopt a politically neutral stance. I make clear some of my political views especially when they directly intersect with my academic research. For topics relating to the archaeology and heritage of death and memory, I have been overtly critical of political

violence against heritage assets and professionals,[25] heritage crime,[26] including damage to scheduled monuments, the commodification of past material culture as 'treasure',[27] companies irresponsibly promoting metal-detecting and looting,[28] and the sale of human remains (Williams and Atkin 2015; see also Huffer and Graham 2017).[29] More broadly, I have posted multiple times about the heritage of Brexit[30] and the patriotism and nostalgia of heritage narratives,[31] particularly via commentaries on mortuary archaeology news stories which have prompted angry reactions from the far-right.[32] Furthermore, I've reflected on the Trump presidency's policies relating to the US/Mexican border from an archaeological perspective.[33] By actively critiquing the commodification of human remains and mortuary contexts in multiple posts, I have aimed at promoting a respect and an appreciation for human remains, and mortuary contexts and environments and in some small fashion promote awareness of their mobilisation in political discourse.

Limited archaeological pedagogy via blogging

Only occasionally have I used my blog as a focus of pedagogic debate; this is an area for further potential (Meyers Emery and Killgrove 2015). Still, using blogs to teach has become a minor dimension of *Archaeodeath* relating to both reviews of sites, monuments and landscapes visited with undergraduate and postgraduate level students, and as an element of my guiding of final-year single honours undergraduate students working towards organising and promoting a public archaeology day conference. There is clear potential for further pedagogic debates regarding mortuary archaeology using blogging as a forum (see Killgrove 2014). However, wishing to respect the anonymity of colleagues and students, and because I am not well-versed in pedagogic theory, I have refrained from developing these dimensions.

Curtailed critique of just-published research

I have previously expressed the aspiration of extending my voice as a public academic through blogging,[34] despite the need to resit becoming a mortuary archaeological rentamouth: dishing out judgements on every subject. However, I have refused to deploy my blog to regularly offer commentaries and judgements on just-published academic research (reviewing journal articles, book chapters, edited collections or monographs), with the exception of the 'viral' Viking warrior women research (see above). The reason for this is to avoid my blog serving as an immediate 'book review', passing judgement on scholarship in my field and thus becoming an abusive exercise in academic power relationships, especially in the event that the research involves the ideas and endeavours of students and early-career researchers. Similarly, although I have critiqued television programmes, museum exhibitions and heritage sites, I

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[25] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2015/08/20/who-kills-archaeologists/

[26] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2014/06/03/roll-up-roll-up-take-a-free-slice-of-offas-dyke/

[27] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2015/10/12/the-sutton-hoo-treasure-must-be-destroyed/

[28] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2019/03/17/cadburygate-the-freddo-fiasco/

[29] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2019/02/09/selling-dead-bodies-and-mortuary-artefacts-in-the-uk-today-welbeck-hill/

[30] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2019/03/13/brexit-the-eu-flag-and-commemorating-victims-of-terrorism/; https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2017/05/07/brexit-archaeology-and-heritage-reflections-and-agendas-at-ucl/; https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2017/03/29/brexit-and-archaeodeath/

[31] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2018/07/08/footballs-coming-home-the-repatriation-of-the-game/

[32] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2018/02/27/cheddar-man/

[33] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2016/11/14/the-trump-wall-in-archaeological-perspective/; https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2019/03/02/trump-claims-medieval-walls-worked-they-absolutely-did/

[34] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2014/03/29/blogging-archaeology-where-are-we-going-with-blogging/

have avoided writing evaluations of the merits and validity of new archaeological field-/lab-/library-based research (with a few notable exceptions). The principal exception has been my response to the aforementioned Viking warrior-woman story, where my commentaries on the interpretative problems with the research were but one element of a series of posts focusing primarily on the broader public, media and academic receptions of the open-access peer-reviewed publication (Hedenstierna-Jonson 2017; see now also Price *et al.* 2019). In future, I may revisit this stance, but for the moment I usually delay, or withhold, specific critical evaluations on singular research outputs on *Archaeodeath*.

'No yet' to video blogs

Despite aspirations to the contrary,[35] I have yet to extend my Archaeodeath blog into video-blogging (vlogging) (see Tong *et al.* 2015). This remains a key gap for future development, although it requires technical expertise and further time to invest in this format that I do not currently possess (Meyers Emery and Killgrove 2015).

Conclusions

It is clear that the merits and challenges of archaeological blogging about mortuary and memorial subjects need to be evaluated in a more critical, systematic and comparative fashion. In this review of only one blog, this cannot be achieved. Still, I have identified the versatility and efficacy of *Archaeodeath* as a case study in DPMA, and suggested how, linked to micro-blogging on social media, and to academic publications, blogs like *Archaeodeath* can persist and develop as rich, robust and sustainable dimensions of digital public mortuary archaeological practice. Operating as public engagement and fora for evaluations of public mortuary archaeology, *Archaeodeath* has proved effective in multiple regards.

First, *Archaeodeath* currently has no close 'rivals' in the 'blogosphere': while some individual projects and blogs address relevant connected themes, perhaps only *Bodies and Academia*,[36] *These Bones of Mine*,[37] and *Powered by Osteons*[38] are extant and overlapping in their themes with dimensions of *Archaeodeath*. Sadly, two exceptionally valuable death-focused archaeology blogs by former postgraduate students are no longer running.[39] Thus, *Archaeodeath* has no comparable blogs addressing the archaeology and heritage of death and memory.

Furthermore, *Archaeodeath* has demonstrably reached larger and more diverse audiences than any series of public lectures or public-facing activities a single academic might hope to deliver. This is evidenced by the volume and temporal duration of new hits the blog has received, as well as the geographical spread and varied interests of readers). An additional index of success is that *Archaeodeath* has fostered conversations and actions by heritage bodies and researchers. For example, the National Trust properties at Chirk and Erddig gained impetus from my critical blog-posts to foster new initiatives to promote understanding and appreciation of Offa's Dyke and Wat's Dyke running through the parkland of each historic property respectively.[40] Likewise, my posts evaluating Seasons 1–4 of *Vikings* identified the lack of funerary monuments and cemetery evolution as a limitation of the show's portrayal of death rituals (Williams 2018); whether by coincidence or response, this has been partially remedied in portrayals of Viking funerary monuments in England and Iceland in season 5 of the show (e.g. Figure 8).

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[35] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2014/03/29/blogging-archaeology-where-are-we-going-with-blogging/

[36] https://bodiesandacademia.wordpress.com/

[37] https://thesebonesofmine.com/

[38] http://www.poweredbyosteons.org/

[39] https://bonesdontlie.wordpress.com/; https://deathsplaining.wordpress.com/

[40] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2016/10/17/dyke-denial-at-chirk-castle/; https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2016/10/26/more-dyke-confusion-wats-dyke-at-erddig/

VIKINGS

Iceland's First Grave: Vikings Season 5 part 1

Date: Mar 11, 2018

Author: Prof. Howard M. R. Williams

💬 0 Comments

— Edit

Season 5 part 1 of *Vikings* opens with a boat-inhumation, and so it closes. In doing so, it returns to Season 1 and Season 4 part 1, in which boat-shaped graves are portrayed, rather than the deployment of boats themselves in mortuary contexts.

The back story: Floki leaves the Great Army in England to 'give himself to the sea' but then he discovers Iceland (as one does). He has visions of the pagan gods as he explores and comes to believe the land is sacred to them. He is then inspired to return to Kattegat to evangelise his discovery and encourage true-minded 'believers' to accompany him to Iceland. The settlement of Iceland is thus portrayed as some bid for pagan purity in response to the feuding of Scandinavia and the 'infection' from Christian ways.

He leaves with Lagertha's blessing with Aud the Deep-Minded and Ketil Flatnose with his own craft and two further ship-loads of followers. He wants to create a perfect community free with principles of equality and harmony, free from any violence (apart from animal sacrifices, of course). However, he has lied to the community about the wealth and benevolence of the land, and discord unfolds. A temple to Thor is built by Floki and his followers yet some in the group object to the temple and the tax they must pay to maintain it. The temple is burned and the

Figure 8: A blog-entry evaluating early medieval funerals as depicted in Vikings Season 5 part 1

Over the last 2 years I have started to receive invitations to speak at multiple workshops and conferences based on topics I have researched and blogged about, but I have yet to publish via peer-reviewed academic venues. For example, in the last 12 months I have spoken in public lectures, conferences and interdisciplinary workshops regarding Viking mortuary practices, including 'warrior women', in response to the success of my evaluation of the Bj581 grave's interpretation and both media and popular reception.[41] Hence, *Archaeodeath* is positively affecting how my ideas and research are being received within interdisciplinary academic debates as much as it is extending beyond the academy.

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[41] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2018/08/25/code-narrative-history-archaeogenetics-at-sigtuna/

These positive points are underpinned by a May 2019 *Archaeodeath* survey on Crowdsignal, the results of which are evaluated on the blog itself.[42] Moreover, blogging has enhanced and transformed my academic writing, assisted by self-imposed limitations in its scope and foci which afford a degree of individual authorship and control over content. In the future, however, the platform offers the potential to change and develop my academic research and teaching practice to include collaborations, co-production, video media and perhaps also more robust critiques of new scholarship and its popular reception and political uses and abuses. Whether it involves *Archaeodeath*, the future of public mortuary archaeology is set to include many more digital dimensions. Blogging is currently set to remain and develop as an important part of this portfolio of digital engagement and research for the archaeological investigation of death, memory and material culture.

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[42] https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2019/06/05/the-a%CA%80%E1%B4%84%CA%9C%E1%B4%80%E1%B4%87%E1%B4%8F%F0%9D%96%89%F0%9D%96%8A%F0%9D%96%86%F0%9D%96%99%F0%9D%96%8D-survey-results/

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Archaeology uses many different kinds of visualisations to record and present this information...
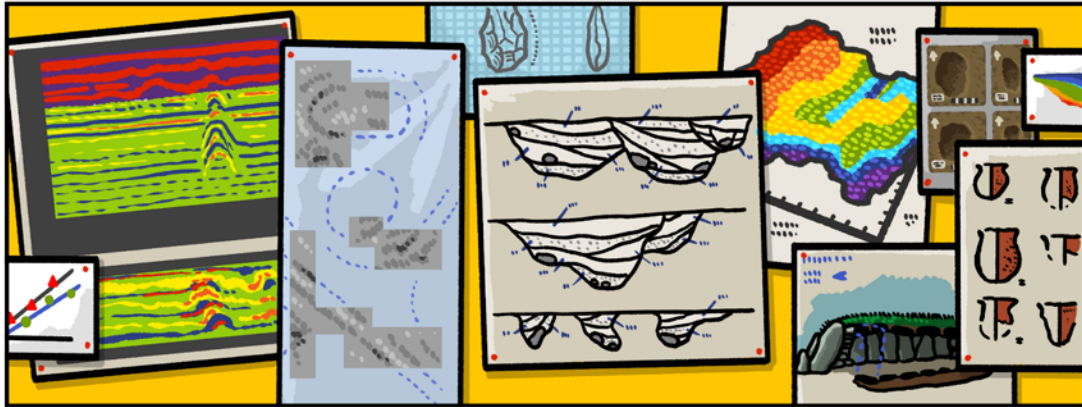
... from drawings of finds, sections and reconstructions, to photography, LIDAR and 3D scanning. When it comes to explaining what we do to non-archaeological audiences, we can often assume that these visualisations are self-explanatory – that they speak for themselves.

THIS SECTION CLEARLY SHOWS THE LATE BRONZE AGE FEATURE CUTTING THROUGH THE NEOLITHIC FILLS – WHICH IS BRILLIANT, COZ IT CLEARS UP ONE OF THE QUESTIONS WE HAD WHEN WE LOOKED AT THE GEOPHYS. SEE?

But while a finds illustration, section, reconstruction or LIDAR image may say a lot to the professional archaeologist, it may not actually say very much to anyone else.

I first started working with informational comics in a professional capacity in an attempt to bridge this gap – to find a way of visualising archaeology that really was self-explanatory – a medium where the visualisation went hand-in-hand with an explanation. While these early comics were explicitly aimed at younger audiences, it quickly became apparent that they were both popular and effective with audiences of all ages.


"Çatal Nedir?", Çatalhöyük Research Project, 2005. With Sonya Atalay and Burcu Tung.

In a comic, the interdependence of image and text can help unpick even complex and unfamiliar information and present it in a straight-forward, step-by-step way to non-specialist audiences.

Panels from "Footprints of the Ancestors", National Geographic, 2019.
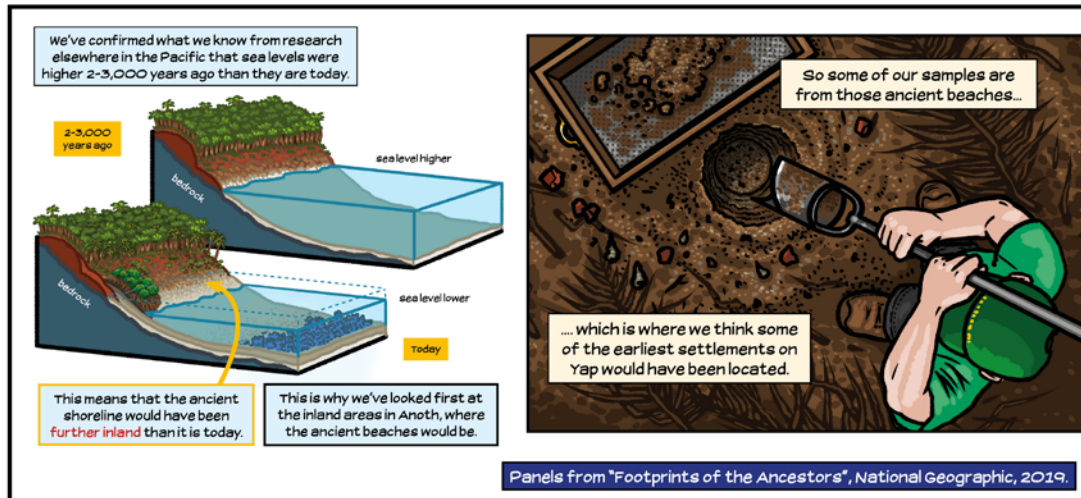
The narrative structure of a comic can use specific examples to illustrate general principles, ... while sequences of illustrations can show process or the train of logic in an argument.

Panels from "Radiocarbon Dating" & "Archaeometallurgy", CAIS, 2016.
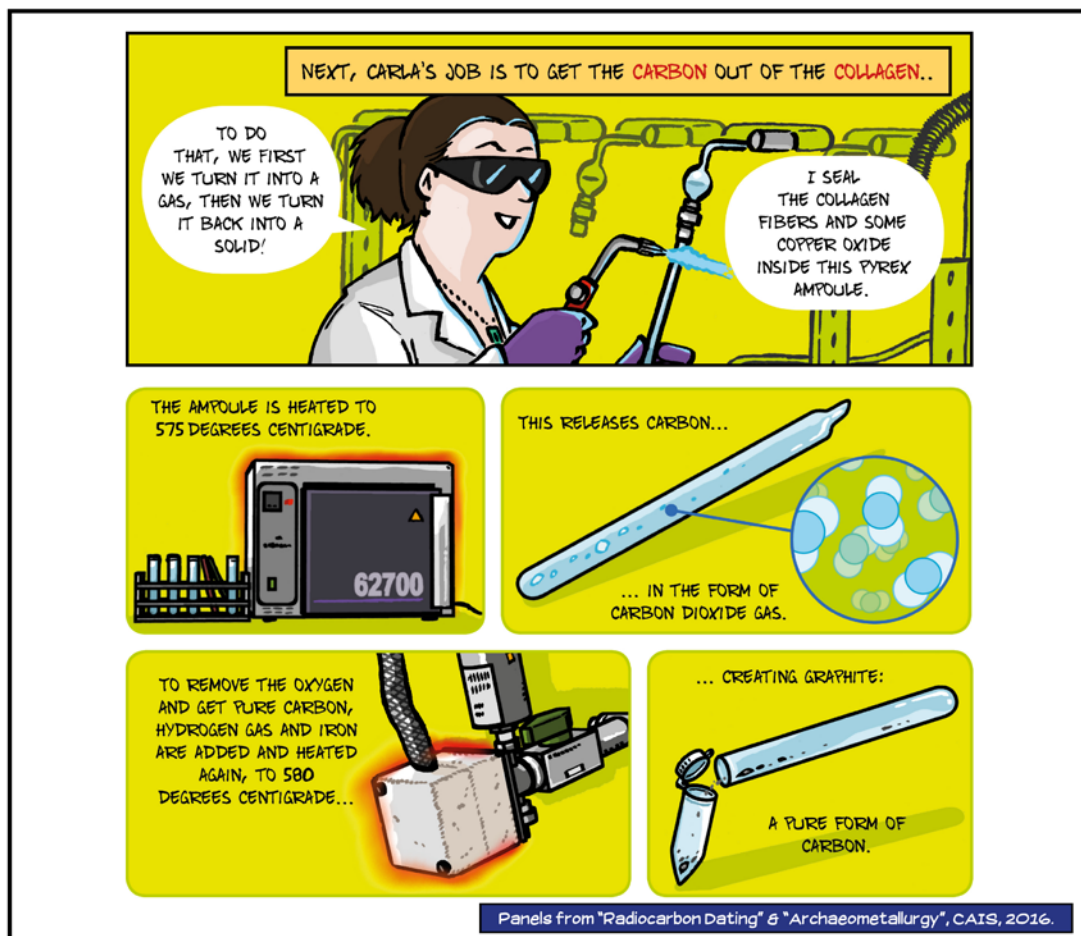
And when real researchers and archaeologists narrate the comics in real labs and on real field projects, it is made clear who does archaeological work –
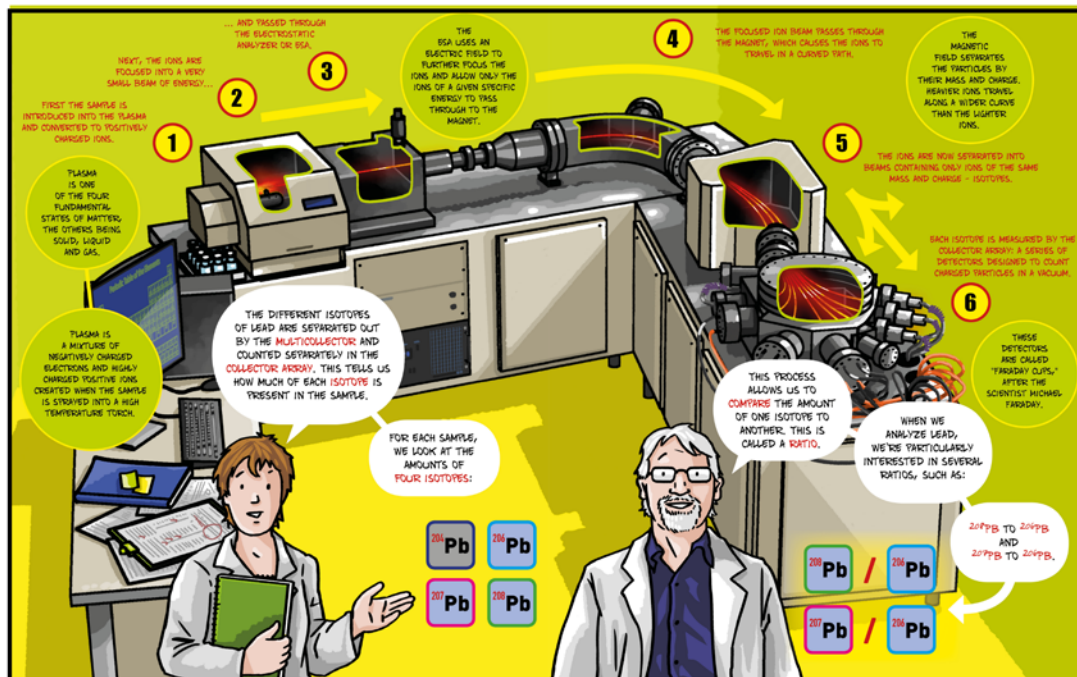
– and why. These visualisations really can be - quite literally - self-explanatory.

Making the professional, science-based investigation of a community's past easier for everyone in the community to understand makes it more transparent and less remote...

"Grenada Heritage Comcics", Heritage Research Group Caribbean, 2018.

... makes it more likely that people will take an interest in it and find it meaningful...

...and provides more opportunities for the community to come forward with their own archaeological stories, and for those to be told collaboratively with specialist narratives.

155

I am now using comics in community-based archaeological public heritage projects to weave together increasingly multi-threaded and complex stories which mingle archaeology with science and traditional knowledge, memory and biography, economics and politics, pride and restitution.

This has become a way to do public engagement which is inclusive and community-focused, which can articulate the variant and sometimes contested nature of our shared past.
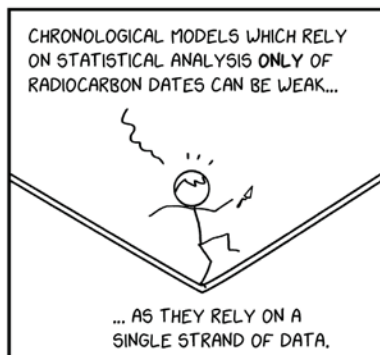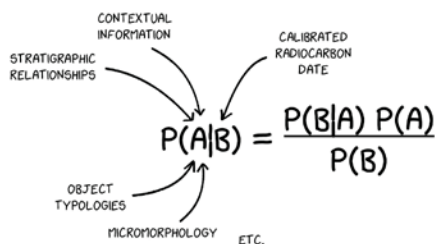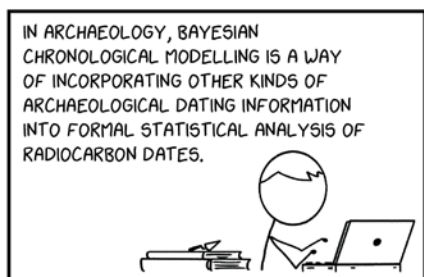
As a "popular", "vernacular" medium, comics can take information and stories about the past to places academic text and interpretation boards cannot. As strips in local newspapers, as posters on public notice boards, or as posts on social media, comics can take public archaeology beyond the museum and the visitors centre, out into everyday spaces in the community.

The Oswestry Heritage Comics give local people the opportunity to feel pride in their town. Local History, archaeology, artist and heritage campaign groups are involved at their conception, and welcome them warmly when they arrive in the local newspaper!

The comics take local heritage off the "dusty shelves of academic speciality" and give readers a tantalising taster of what further study can offer.

Local reader's comment on the Oswestry Heritage Comics in a letter to the Heritage Lottery Fund (2017)

IT WAS AT THIS POINT THAT WE HAD SOME UNEXPECTED HELP FROM OUR OLD ENEMIES – THE TRAVELLERS!

It was at THIS POINT THAT WE HAD UNEXPECTED HELP

IT WAS AT THIS POINT

Sketches from a workshop session with community archaeology volunteers at Prees Heath in North Shropshire (2016). The unexpected social histories of the site that were sketched out during the workshop are not, according to local historians, recorded elsewhere.

Making professional narratives of the past more visible can prompt communities to use comics themselves, to tell their own stories about the past. In workshops and classes, I have seen communities engage creatively with this medium to reflect back to archaeologists and anthropologists their own stories about their past – stories which sometimes differ radically from those told to them by archaeological and historical specialists.

The application of the medium has implications beyond outreach and public archaeology – to research itself. Graphic narrative can unlock unanticipated creative and critical engagements for scholars. Visualising aspects of research can help articulate complexity and reveal the unexpected. The making of comics as a method of "intelligently imaginative" enquiry can both be about communicating research in new ways, and finding new things to communicate.
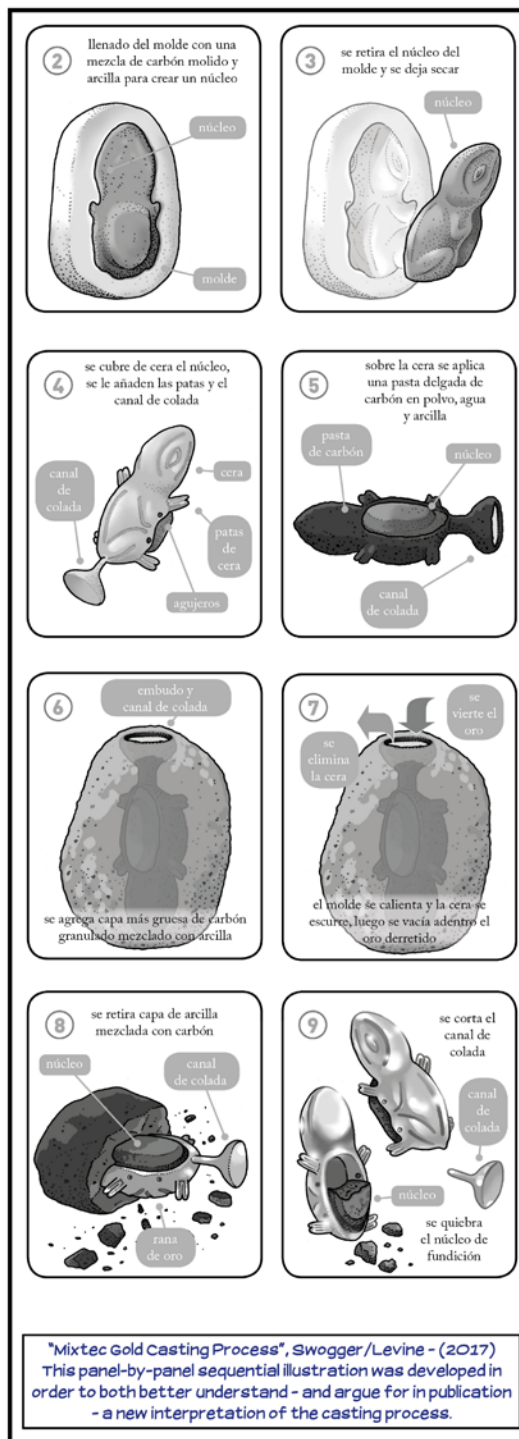
From "The Book of Improbable Archaeoastronomy" - Astroradio.earth/Solarsphere Festival (2019) The comic explores some of the myths and conspiracy theories that surround archaeoastronomy and space archaeology.

NEIL, BUDDY! COME IN!

HOUSTON NEEDS TO KNOW: CAN YOU SEE ANYTHING?

YES...

WONDERFUL THINGS.

From "The Tyrants of Representation: Grace Huxtable, Neolithic Çatalhöyük and the Goddess From Anatolia" (2019) A biography of the archaeological illustrator Grace Huxtable that focuses on her work in Turkey in the 1960s.

As he passed his hands in front of the damaged plaster, it was as if the damaged, broken surfaces were renewed – made whole...

... and for a moment, I could see what he could see.

Those visions of his felt so real! His Çatalhöyük was a place of bright, fiery spirits, full of sacred vitality. No other interpretation of the Neolithic could be so alive.

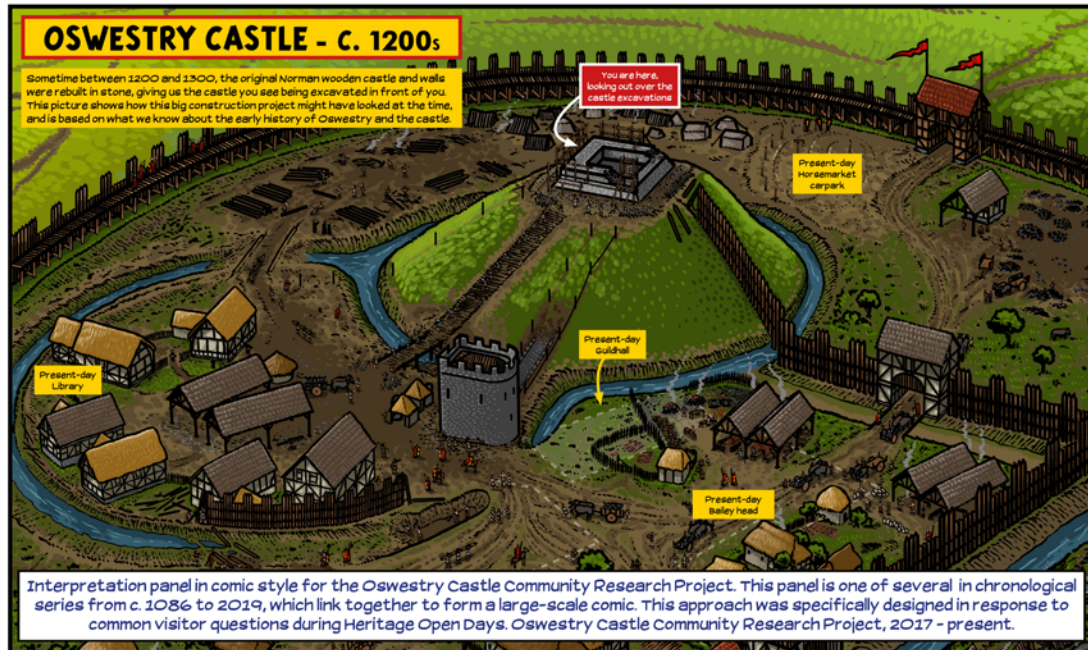If only I could capture that sense of vitality in my illustrations of the site...

And those who explore this kind of creative engagement will discover that comics is an artform rich in a multitude of visualisation and writing styles and approaches – any or all of which may prove useful in going beyond expected ways of articulating both research and practice.

My work with community heritage and community heritage groups has been largely made possible by my use of comics. In such contexts, what starts as a genuine effort by "experts" and "outsiders" to explain what they are doing and why they are doing it quickly evolves into a way of responding to the informational needs and interests of a community, articulating research in a way which is contextualised by the community in which that research is taking place.

Interpretation panel in comic style for the Oswestry Castle Community Research Project. This panel is one of several in chronological series from c. 1086 to 2019, which link together to form a large-scale comic. This approach was specifically designed in response to common visitor questions during Heritage Open Days. Oswestry Castle Community Research Project, 2017 - present.

Articulating not just community heritage practice and research, but the considerations which shape that research and practice can help put that work in an entirely different local context. Ideas about consultation, feedback and dialogue are built into the above image at several levels; the aspirations of the text acquire new meaning and focus as a result. (work in progress, 2018-9)

By using the technical and creative mechanics of comics, this response can evolve into a community-centred dialogue in which the articulation of research becomes an opportunity to explore the relationship between professional engagement and local heritage in a new way.

Notes on the Comics

The comics used as examples in this chapter have all been written and illustrated by myself between 2005 - 2019. The are accessible/available as indicated below.

"Çatal Nedir?", Catalhoyuk Research Project, 2005

This comic is still circulating around central Turkey, almost fifteen years after it was written. Some of the background to the use of comics at the site is covered in Sonya Atalay's book "Community-Based Archaeology", University of California Press, 2012 (p.192 ff).

"Footprints of the Ancestors", National Geographic/University of Oregon, 2019

Available via the Historic Preservation Office in Yap, National Geographic Explorers or through PhD student Matt Napolitano at the University of Oregon Anthropology Department.

"Radiocarbon Dating" and "Archaeometallurgy", Center for Applied Isotope Studies at the University of Georgia, 2016, 2018.

These are part of an ongoing "Carbon Comics" series covering a range of analysis techniques done at the Center for Applied Isotope Studies at the University of Georgia, and are available through their website: https://cais.uga.edu/education_comics.html

"The Oswestry Heritage Comics", HLF/QUBE - Oswestry Community Action, 2016 - 2018.

The collected comics are published in book form and available for sale locally in Oswestry at Qube, the Town Museum and Booka Bookshop. They are archived online on the eponymous "Oswestry Heritage Comics" Facebook Page and on the wesite of QUBE - Oswestry Community Action: https://qube-oca.org.uk/oswestry-heritage-comics/
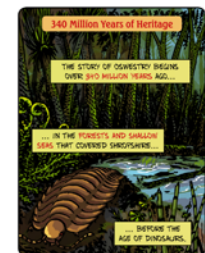
"The Grenada Heritage Comics", Heritage Research Group Grenada, 2018.

This series was delivered digitally in Grenada via social media, and are archived on the "Grenada Heritage Comics" Facebook Page, as well as shared online by various Grenadian heritage working groups.

**"Bryn Celli Ddu: A Social History", UCLAN (forthcoming)**

This work is a community graphic project I am working on through 2019-20 in association with Seren Griffiths and the University of Central Lancaster's public archaeology project at the site of Bryn Celli Ddu on Anglesey. The work will be "distributed" through a series of local exhibitions and small-press publications, ensuring that the story is seen - and consumed first - by the community. At the conclusion of the project, it will be published and made more widely available.

"Journeys to Complete the Work", University of Massachusetts, Amherst/University of Colorado, Boulder, 2018.

This comic about repatriation law and its impact on Native Nations and communities in the United States through examples drawn from actual case studies. It was written in collaboration with Native partners and communities, and made freely available to them through local education and cultural networks, as well as through Indigenous Comic Con and a tribe-owned printig company. The comics are produced in association with Dr. Jen Shannon at the University of Colorado, Boulder, and Dr. Sonya Atalay at the
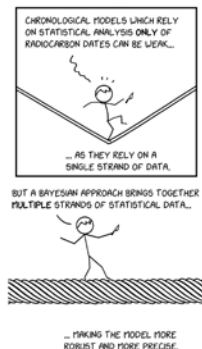
University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Copies are available to download free at: https://blogs.umass.edu/satalay/repatriation-comic/.

"Using Bayesian Chronological Models in Archaeology" Swogger/Napolitano (work in progress; one-page comic originally published by the Archaeology Comics Network, 2018)

This comic takes its stylistic cues from the work of Randall Monroe, whose online comic "xkcd" uses a simple but highly effective combination of stick figures, metaphor and explanatory text to explain and demystify complex mathematical, statistical and data-heavy subjects (xkcd.com). It was the perfect model for a similarly complex mathematical, statistical and data-heavy subject in archaeology. The original one-page comic was produced and distributed at TAG Deva in 2018, attracting the attention of M. Napolitano, who had just completed a significant Bayesian study of radiocarbon dates in the Caribbean. Now we are collaborating on an expanded version of the comic, using his own work as examples.

"Mixtec Gold Frogs" Levine, M., 2018, "Ceramic Moulds for Mixtec Gold: A new lost-wax casting technique from Prehispanic Mexico", Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory, 25(4). https://doi.org/10.1007/s10816-018-9377-z

Similar to the way the use of phase plans and sections can be helpful in clarifying interpretations of stratigraphy, creating a sequential rather than static reconstruction of the steps involved in Mixtec gold casting helped author Marc Levine refine his new interpretation of this ancient manufacturing process - and made it easier to explain his argument in publication.
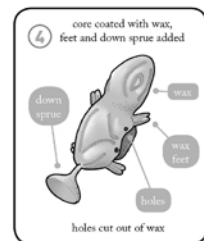
"The Book of Improbable Archaeoastronomy" (work in progress)

This project came at the suggestion of the broadcast team at Astroradio.earth and is being launched at the Solarsphere science festival in mid-Wales (http://www.solarsphere.events/About.html), which brings together astronomers, musicians and artists. The comic is a critique of pseudo-science and conspiracy theories in both archaeology and astronomy.

"The Tyrants of Representation: Grace Huxtable, Neolithic Catalhoyuk and the Goddess From Anatolia" (work in progress)

This is a long-term project of my own, looking at the work the illustrator Grace Huxtable did at the neolithic site of Catalhoyuk in Turkey for James Mellaart in the early 1960s. The biography focuses on the pen-and-ink reconstructions she produced, and the impact those have had on the way the site has been subsequently understood - by later illustrators who worked there, such as myself.

"Oswestry Castle: 1086 - 2019", Oswestry Castle Community Research Project, 2017 - 2019.

Published as large printed panels to use during Heritage Open Days, this series of comic-style illustrations is positioned on-site so as to create a timeline of Oswestry Castle, with each illustration as one panel in the story. The hope is that the project can eventually combine these with other material as part of an actual comic book.

"Community Archaeology Manifesto" Clwyd Powys Archaeology Trust, 2018.

Originally created as part of an outreach programme for a local archaeology trust. Individual panels such as this one were combined in various ways to create posters, etc. used to showcase the Trust's five-part community archaeology pledge or manifesto.

Vox Archaeo: Podcasting the Past

Tristan Boyle

In the wider public archaeology literature there is a distinct lack of discussion of the ways in which podcasts contribute to the digital media landscape. In recent years, new shows have been created and are part of a wave of creators for whom recording their own media is important. The variety of these shows demonstrate the adaptability and flexibility of the medium to accommodate voices that are not often at the forefront of discussions. In contrast to traditional forms of media, podcasting is not typically produced by an organisation but an individual; this means the audience is much closer to the creator in terms of feedback and influence. By drawing upon current areas of research into public archaeology, and by adding my own framework for describing podcasts, I hope to raise the profile of the medium and equip other researchers to be able use podcasts in their own work. I will be using three case studies, each from different content creators who have used contrasting formats to elaborate on the diverse methodologies and audiences that podcasts have. In addition to this I will be including a map of archaeology podcasts that I have traced through online web searches and social media, detailing links between shows and the wealth of topics and themes covered. Finally, I will discuss what separates apart podcasts from other forms of online digital media, and explain in what ways, content creators work with and support one another.

Introduction

According to the Cambridge dictionary, a podcast is *'a radio programme that is stored in a digital form that you can download from the internet and play on a computer or on an MP3 player'*. What sets podcasting aside from traditional forms of media are the lack of rigid conventions and institutions that create broadcast television and radio. The revolution certainly has been podcasted, with thousands of episodes available, but the medium remains under-researched as an important dimension of public archaeology, and frequently only touched upon in syntheses of digital media utilised by archaeologists (e.g. Bonacchi 2017). This chapter seeks to explore the potentials and challenges of podcasting for debating and engaging the public in archaeological research, deploying three case studies in order to identify the variety and distinctiveness of the medium.

Podcasts and archaeology

The general research into podcasts often focuses upon its educational merits (Read 2007; Shantikumar 2009; Smythe and Neufield 2010) and the ability for these forms of media to act as ways of disseminating lectures and providing additional information for revision ahead of examinations or assignment composition. However, when it comes to archaeology, there is a lack of research in the field (Boyle 2017). Archaeology needs a data-driven study much like McKenzie's (2019), which includes both quantification of length of podcast and identifying under-represented subject areas. For example, Admunsen and Belmonte (2018) argue for the requirement of full step-by-step guide on how to create a podcast. In their eyes, the future of podcasting should not reflect a narrowing of topics or styles, but a celebration of difference in styles and works (Admunsen and Belmonte 2018).

As part of this research I collated together information on podcasts that had to do with the past, heritage and archaeology and put out a call to action on twitter for others to let me know about podcasts to add to this (Boyle 2019a). I decided to graphically arrange this list as a map of podcasts (Figure 1). I realised that my list was the only one of its kind and that it only had limited reach on Twitter; there is no unifying repository for these pieces of digital public archaeology. Perhaps there should be questions about how to preserve these parts of outreach and how would we organise them so that more people may access them. A larger collaborative effort could be made to have at the very least a central signposting repository of all archaeology podcasts rather than hosting all the material. This form of aggregation however takes some of the original work away from the creators themselves and perhaps it would simply be better if podcasters included each other's work in their own content more often. For links to individual shows, see Appendix 1.
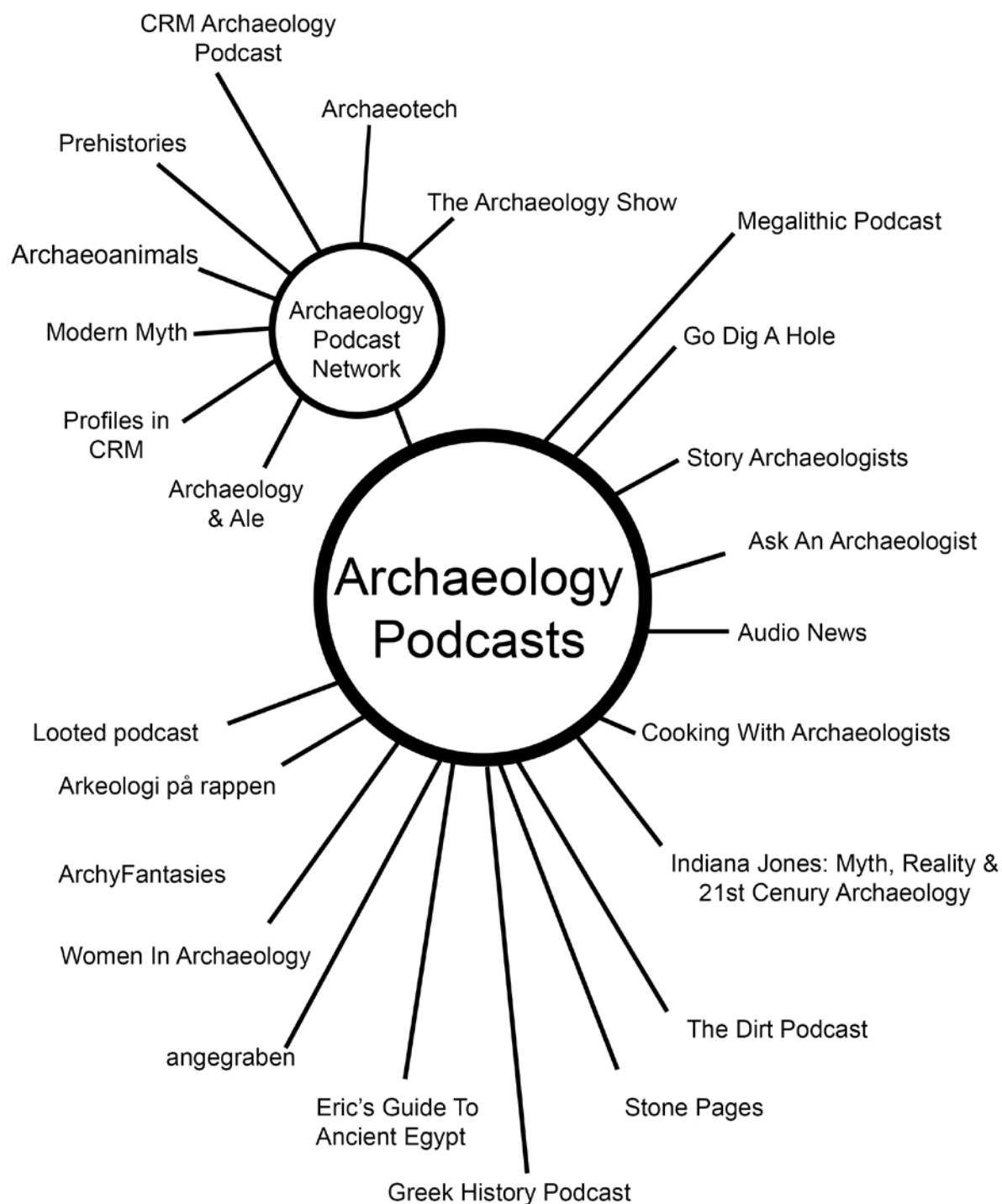
CRM Archaeology
Podcast

Archaeotech

Prehistories

The Archaeology Show

Archaeoanimals

Megalithic Podcast

Modern Myth

Archaeology
Podcast
Network

Go Dig A Hole

Profiles in
CRM

Story Archaeologists

Archaeology
& Ale

Ask An Archaeologist

Archaeology
Podcasts

Audio News

Looted podcast

Cooking With Archaeologists

Arkeologi på rappen

ArchyFantasies

Indiana Jones: Myth, Reality &
21st Cenury Archaeology

Women In Archaeology

angegraben

The Dirt Podcast

Eric's Guide To
Ancient Egypt

Stone Pages

Greek History Podcast

Figure 1: Map Of Archaeology Podcasts

As a form of digital public archaeology, the podcast has many benefits. The availability of free, easily accessible software and a cheap microphone can allow almost anyone to produce a podcast. For listeners, they can benefit from the social aspects of sharing and discussing podcasts with their peers (McClung and Johnson 2010). The benefits of podcasting, however, are not just enjoyed by individual creators and those listening; in many ways, each podcast contributes to, and is part of, a larger archaeology podcasting ecosystem, with collaboration and cross-promotion being an important part of many shows.

By way of example, let me describe my own approach. I have been lucky in my life to have pursued making podcasts since I was 16 years old and while at university I was an active member of the student radio. In my final year at university I had been looking for archaeology podcasts to listen to, but I was unable to find the content I was looking for. There seemed to be a number of podcasts focusing on historical artefacts, but less on the interpretation of the material and public outreach. It was then that I decided to create a podcast myself, entitled *The Anarchaeologist*. One podcast I listened to was the CRM Archaeology Podcast created by Chris Webster, in which he discussed archaeology from the perspective of a commercial archaeologist. In one episode, he spoke about wanting to bring archaeology podcasts together. Following that, I got in contact with Chris and we spoke over Skype over several months in order to put together the idea for a single website for hosting a number of archaeology shows and providing great content together. The Archaeology Podcast Network was subsequently then launched in December 2014, with three podcast, the *CRM Archaeology Podcast*, the *Anarchaeologist* podcast and *The Struggling Archaeologist's Guide To Getting Dirty* by Jenny McNiven. The idea was that by sharing the resources we could collaborate and assist one another.

The process for creating an episode is not regimented but here I will detail an example. There are a number of steps that I take before creating an episode: firstly an idea needs to come to me that underpins the show I wish to make inspired by my reading or discussions with other archaeologists. Secondly, I draw together a written plan, usually outlining points that I wish to make or things in which I feel are important to provide context. It is at this stage where I choose a guest, someone who will be both knowledgeable and interesting to speak to regarding the subject matter through reading their academic work, their blog or through conversation via social media. With this background, I was able to develop the way in which I interacted with people in an interview setting. In asking my questions to the guest, I am hoping for a longer reply than a simple 'yes' or 'no'; I want to give them the feeling that they have the time to fully explain their ideas and give the answer depth. This means that during editing, I have a lot of material to work through, which requires a good investment of time.

My goal in the creation of my podcast is to open up the stage for the person I am talking to.

Categorising archaeological podcasts

Podcasts take many forms, and many are more than recorded monologues or interviews. In addition, many include multiple performative dimensions, including the choice of style of delivery, music and subject matter. Each podcast is thus a carefully crafted and edited form of digital communication, readily created by individuals or small teams, and at little cost. Furthermore, we can envision categories for podcasts various criteria: by presenter style, by the type of guest, by the genre of performance, and so on. However, the divisions between each category are not always clear, nor are these categories mutually exclusive. Rendering classification even more challenging, podcasts can develop over time and producers may experiment, creating inconsistencies in the podcasting format. Hence, the categorisation of podcasts is not always a simple task. Each step in putting a show together reflects the goals of the producer. In many ways a podcast can be coarsely sorted into a particularly style but due to the expansive possibilities of choice within creating a podcast, there are few archetypal podcasts to create a standard.

Despite these difficulties of categorisation, Bonacchi (2017) usefully distinguishes between 'broadcasting' and 'participatory' engagement methods. While podcasts can often be regarded as 'broadcasting' since the feedback does not change the content of the media itself (Bonnachi 2017), I will hopefully demonstrate that already there are examples of podcasting that form collaborative links and incorporate

adaptations to the format and content of shows based on external input from both audience and other creators, thus fulfilling some of the requirements of 'participatory' media. Hence, I prefer instead to distinguish between three key styles in archaeological podcasting that each incorporates broadcasting and participatory elements.

Question-and-answer style

This is an example of a podcast where audience interaction is a key component of the show; the content in this mode of operation is focused on achieving audience response and using that to create the content. The host in a question-and-answer-style podcast often makes calls to action for the listener to follow, either through social media interaction or through direct contact with the producers via email.   There is still a distinction between the show and the audience; despite the participation, the listener is not involved in the creation of the show at any level. Based on the work of Bonacchi (2017), I would place this form of podcast closer to 'broadcasting' than 'participatory' because it lacks the direct collaborative action which separates the definitions of these two modes. An example of this form of podcast is the *Ask An Archaeologist* show which will be examined later on in this segment (MacGarrity 2017b).

Interview style

This form is most directly connected to traditional broadcast media, such as radio. In this style of podcast, a host poses questions for a guest to answer. The principle behind this is to gain information from a source outside the podcast about a topic, sometimes with more general questions being asked as well.   The *Go Dig A Hole* podcast produced by archaeologist Christopher Sims is an example of an interview style podcast (Sims 2018).

Panel style

This is similar to an academic panel at a conference, with questions posed to a number of people to give their opinions on, or share knowledge about.   This can include permanent panel-members or a rotating roster, usually led by a head host or chair. An example of this would be the CRM Archaeology Podcast released by The Archaeology Podcast Network (Webster 2019).

Exploring archaeological podcasts

The following case studies will review different podcasts that demonstrate the variety in podcasting about heritage, archaeology and the past.

Heritage Voices *podcast*

Heritage Voices is a monthly podcast hosted on the Archaeology Podcast Network presented by Jessica Yaquinto and Lyle Balenquah, focusing on Indigenous heritage and archaeology, including working with Indigenous communities and archaeologists. Lyle Balenquah is a cultural resource consultant and a member of the Hopi tribe from Northwest Arizona, and Jessica Yanquinto is the principle investigator of the Living Heritage Anthropology organisation, a cultural resource management company based in Colorado, USA. Importantly, the show does not shy away from difficult topics and it is obvious that the hosts have a deep understanding of the challenges and prejudices that Indigenous people face. One example of this is in Episode 8 (Yaquinto and Balenquah 2017). During a discussion on decolonising archaeology, Jessica Yaquinto, the host, is speaking to Colorado Springs archaeologist Anna Cordova about her interest in archaeology. Anna answers that, from a young age she had considered anthropology having an Irish mother and Native American father, but her resolve strengthened at college where 'there was no representing my cultural group' (Yaquinto and Balenquah 2017). She further explains that her Native American grandparents were very distrusting of anthropologists and it made her realise how important it is to know who was creating history. This personal anecdote illustrates the direct impact of colonialism and anthropology, and how this podcast has become a space in which the past can be explored with respect to living people.

In Episode 16 (Yanquinto and Balenquah 2018), host Jessica asks her guest to talk about how representation in communities can be shaped by a number of factors. The guest, Dr Antoinette Jackson, addressed the history of the town of Archery, Georgia, USA, which is notable for its predominantly African-American population throughout its history, as well as the town being the birthplace of President Jimmy Carter. The episode lays out the difficulty of anthropology and ethnography in light of colonial times; Antoinette says she found it difficult to gain the trust of people and, in some instances, the communities themselves did not think their heritage was significant or important.

Antoinette, along with students, worked with community leaders in Archery in order to collaborate   identify places of interest, such as burial grounds, creating out of this, a map. This was presented to President Jimmy Carter whom Antoinette interviewed; she recounts in this episode how the conservation changed when she produced the material that came out of community involvement, highlighting someone in the community who had been a role model to the President in his youth (Yanquinto and Balenquah 2018).

Heritage Voices aims to 'provide a platform for Indigenous voices in Anthropology, CRM/Heritage, and Land Management discussions' (Yanquinto and Balenquah n.d.) and, in many successful ways, it achieves this by directly interacting with members of those communities. There is a sense of closeness in the interviews that Jessica and Lyle conduct, that their guests feel like having a conversation with jokes, laughter and comment rather than a cut-and-dry question and answer session. This humanises issues and problems by linking people and communities to those questions, that allows the listener to hear 'from the horse's mouth' about topics and ideas that every day they may not come in contact with.

Story Archaeologists *podcast*

This podcast is run by Irish writers and researchers Chris Thompson and Isolde Carmody, who are experts in Irish myth and language. I have included this podcast as a case study because it introduces elements that are often less spoken about in the study of written historical documents, like translation and interpretation. In comparison with podcasts like *The Archaeology News* from Archaeologica or *The Archaeology Show* from the Archaeology Podcast Network, *Story Archaeologists* presents the primary text it operates from as a unique part of the structure of the show. In making reference to standard translations of the old Irish text and combines this with their own translations. Both presenters are enabling their audience to engage in the material itself in a more direct manner. This form of material engagement has a high amount of potential for a broader application in other shows as well. The maturity of the podcast, having been produced monthly since 2012 (Thompson and Carmody n.d.), is evident in the clear style of editing and presentation. Consistent use of music and introductions gives the audience a clear indication of which podcast they are listening to.

One of the more distinctive aspects of the *Story Archaeologists* is the chemistry between the two presenters, who have worked together since 1998. The creation of the podcast came about after Chris and Isolde were involved in a project that utilised and recreated a mythical battle, thus leading to the idea that Irish stories can function as a part of archaeology (Thompson and Carmody, n.d.).   This ability to bounce off one another and work alongside each other makes the podcast an enjoyable experience due to the fact it feels as if instead of being dictated to, we as an audience are part of the conversation and involved in it.

A good textual example of this translation in action can be found on their website at the end of the Saga of Cath Maige Tuired; here Chris describes the text as rosc or roscaid, an archaic poetry form that probably predates written language (Thompson and Carmody 2012).   Entitled 'The Morrigan Speaks Her Three Poems', this step-by-step translation with notes lays out the way in which rosc poetry is dealt with in the podcast.   The careful examination of the text, and demonstration of how translation can affect meaning, is the archaeological component of this show, in so much that the written text is deconstructed and examined in part and as a whole.

It is rather appropriate that oral traditions are the focus of a podcast show, as rosc poetry was made to be recited (Thompson and Carmody 2012). It would follow then that podcasting is a form of media that suits the material and thus the question is, what are the barriers to widespread use of podcasting

as a form of analysis and discussion of oral history? The *Story Archaeologists* podcast demonstrates that not only can the medium handle ancient poetry but in doing so, bring personality and flair in the presentation style and thus reach a larger audience.

Ask an Archaeologist *podcast*

The final case study to be presented for this review is the *Ask an Archaeologist* podcast, presented by Paul Duncan McGarrity, an archaeologist and comedian. Created in 2017, this podcast is released fortnightly and has two distinct format types: either a one-on-one interview or a question-and-answer session with the podcast host Paul. The podcast is now two years old at the time of writing, and it is associated with Paul's Fringe show in Edinburgh and his stand-up routine. In the trailer for the podcast show episode *Ask an Archaeologist Trailer* (McGarrity 2017a), Paul explains that the purpose of the show, firstly 'interviewing heroes of the heritage industry' and showcasing 'what happens in the industry'. From the start, it is obvious that this podcast is not solely about its presenter; instead, it is framed as a way for him to interact with his listeners. During the first couple of episodes, this connection is encouraged through dialogue in the show (MacGarrity 2017b). On his website, he also encourages people to email in questions.

Several episodes in the *Ask an Archaeologist* podcast are the result of 'crossover' with other podcasts, where the presenter and host from another podcast comes on to the show to be interviewed. Show notes encourage the listener to go and listen to the guest's podcast, as with Paul's interview with Alex Fitzpatrick, who presents the *ArchaeoAnimals* podcast (McGarrity 2018). Paul has also conducted interviews with fellow archaeologists such as Dr Sadie Watson of MOLA about urban archaeology projects (MacGarrity 2018b) and with Dr Brenna Hassett of the Natural History Museum London speaking about the Trowel Blazers project, which seeks to highlight and celebrate women pioneers in archaeology(MacGarrity 2018c).

An outcome of this particular format and style is that those who attend Paul's comedy shows are usually also listeners of the podcast (McGarrity pers. comm.). Importantly the connection between audience and presenter is very close, it allows for a relationship to be created in which people want to engage and discuss. As with *Story Archaeologists*, this personable quality of presenting is that which encourages the audience to participate because they possibly feel part of that conversation.

Discussion

There are many aspects of podcasting for archaeological outreach that have not yet been fully analysed or discussed. A large-scale data collection and summary would be very beneficial to the future of digital public archaeology because of the lack of current material to work from (Boyle 2017). Podcasts provide a space in which archaeologists can explore narratives and histories unbound by an external media producer like a television company. As such the creative freedom to express is a huge benefit to public outreach. The audio of podcast is sent out alongside metadata that is read by the podcast listening app or program; this allows for producers to include text and images packaged together with the show that may provide further information to the listener. This additional information can cite sources or provide links for further reading and the means to get in contact with the podcast's social media accounts. The interconnectedness of social media and the availability of platforms to host audio media mean that the tools of podcasting are in the hands of anyone who wishes to use them; in this way, we could hope that marginalised voices that are overlooked in traditional media settings are able to then create content on their own terms. The way this can be expressed is by the sharing of these episodes via social media like Twitter or Facebook, and beginning the discussion on a certain topic. These difficult conversations are not outside the purview of podcasts, with several shows dealing with topics like the racist narratives surrounding the discovery of Cheddar Man (Boyle 2018), Brexit and prehistory (Boyle 2019b), ableism in archaeology (Sims 2017) and sexism in the field (Head *et al.* 2018).Podcasting is a component of public outreach in archaeology that has not had enough research as of yet to be considered alongside other digital methods, despite this, there are many great podcasts available to be listened to. The diversity of the content and the people who make them illustrate the power that podcasting has as a media and why it deserves greater attention in the future.

Conclusion

In general, podcasting about the past is an active and growing community with content being created weekly and monthly for listeners to hear. The Archaeology Podcast Network has 130,000 subscribers across all the shows it produces (Webster pers. comm.). It reflects a desire by many archaeologists and heritage professionals to engage with their audiences and is not limited to a specific mode or style. The three case studies presented here differ from one another in unique ways: Jessica Yanquinto, regularly hosts guests who belong to Indigenous tribes or work alongside Indigenous communities. Chris Thompson and Isolde Carmody present ancient texts directly to their audience, breaking down the translations of ancient poetry. And finally as both a comedian and professional archaeologist, Paul Duncan McGarrity uses his presenting skills from stand up to better communicate what it is like to work as a professional archaeologist. There are certainly many podcasts out there for people to listen to and enjoy, created by people who are passionate about the work they do. For many creators, this is a hobby, not a full-time job, and as such, there is a significant amount of care and attention placed on the final product, rather than haphazardly making something 'on a whim'. This is an issue since these forms of media provide a vital function of outreach, yet they are not taken seriously enough for people to be reimbursed for their work. There are some institutional podcasts available from the British Museum, however, the majority of archaeology podcasts are independently produced.

As with all forms of digital public archaeology, the platforms that make podcasting simple are ones that also present challenges to others: production requires skill in editing, presenting and recording, and despite the availability of audio-editing software, time still needs to be spent to develop that skill. The benefits speak for themselves, however, as archaeologists have the chance to make their own choices about the media that is created, to define what narratives are made, and how the information is given out the audience. My recommendation would be that podcasters could easily cross-promote one another and feature on one another's content, exposing more listeners to more content they may enjoy.

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Appendix 1

Name	Website
Megalithic Podcast	https://www.standingstones.net/category/podcast/
Go Dig A Hole	https://www.patreon.com/godigahole
Story Archaeologists	https://storyarchaeology.com/
Ask An Archaeologist	https://askanarchaeologist.podbean.com/
Audio News	https://www.archaeologychannel.org/audio-guide/audio-news
Cooking With Archaeologists	http://www.cookingwitharchaeologists.com/
Indiana Jones: Myth, Reality & 21st Century Archaeology	https://www.voiceamerica.com/show/1975/indiana-jones-myth-reality-and-21st-century-archaeology
The Dirt Podcast	https://thedirtpod.com/
Stone Pages	https://itunes.apple.com/it/podcast/stone-pages-archaeo-news/id75238387?mt=2
Greek History Podcast	http://www.thehistoryofancientgreece.com/
Eric's Guide to Ancient Egypt	https://history-podcasts.com/erics-guide-to-ancient-egypt
angegraben	https://buddler.atria.uberspace.de/
Women In Archaeology	https://womeninarchaeology.com/
ArchyFantasies	https://archyfantasies.com/
Arkeologi på rappen	https://soundcloud.com/user-806957364
Looted Podcast	http://www.lootedpodcast.org/
The Archaeology Show	www.archpodnet.com/Archaeology
Archaeology & Ale	www.archpodnet.com/archandale
Profiles in CRM	www.archpodnet.com/profiles
Modern Myth	www.archpodnet.com/anarchaeologist
Archaeoanimals	www.archpodnet.com/animals
Prehistories	www.archpodnet.com/prehistories
Archaeotech	www.archpodnet.com/archaeotech
CRM Archaeology Podcast	https://www.archaeologypodcastnetwork.com/crmarchpodcast

The Art of Balancing Intrigue and Integrity:
The Risks and Rewards of Public Archaeology

Marc Barkman-Astles

Discussing the potential risks and rewards of public engagement via digital media for archaeologists; the creator of Archaeosoup Productions draws on his experience of running an educational YouTube Channel and related social media pages. Since 2010 Archaeosoup has been open to public engagement, questions and criticism but also regularly lectures on the relationship between archaeologists, the media, social media and the public understanding of archaeology. Of particular interest to the author is the question of balance between approachability and rigorous archaeological methodology; charismatic public engagement does not have to compromise academic integrity. Elements of this chapter were first presented in the form of a video in 2015: 'The 5 Risks of Public Archaeology?' It is hoped that a compelling case is made for a considered yet approachable social media presence for all archaeologists.

Introduction: Pyramids in Bosnia?

'Are there really pyramids in Bosnia?' The wide-eyed enthusiasm at the possibility of un-discovered wonders in the Balkans was palpable in an email I received in the summer of 2013. The *Archaeosoup* YouTube channel has been receiving and answering so-called 'Questions of Doom' since 2010 but following more than nine years of public archaeology, this question remains, by far, the most challenging I have yet received (Barkman-Astles 2013a).

Initially, it was easy to share in the excitement of the question; after-all undiscovered pyramids in Europe truly would be remarkable! However in my video response, it fell to me to share not only my enthusiasm for the question but also the concise answer: no. There are no pyramids in Bosnia. The so-called pyramids are geological formations called flatirons (Woodward 2009). Flatirons look somewhat pyramidal in shape, but alas they are not man-made (Figure.1). They are not archaeology, but pseudoarchaeology. They are actively promulgated by bogus archaeological investigations with dubious motives, false claims of genuine archaeological expertise and questionable methodology. The so-called Bosnian Pyramids have been dismissed by the international archaeological community, although it has fostered debate about how archaeologists tackle such claims (AFP 2006; Fagan 2006; Harding 2006; Rose 2006; SMH 2006; Traynor 2006; Woodward 2009; Pruitt *et al* 2012).

The 'Questions of Doom' video received 'passionate' comments from some people in Bosnia, but the full impact of this question-and-answer revealed itself a few days later. One morning, I received a neatly wrapped package in the post, containing a letter covered in human faeces! It was a threat to me and to my wife and this was all because my video risked impacting a Bosnian tea-towel salesman's trade in souvenirs for the tourists who come to see the so-called pyramids (ASP 2013).

Unfortunately, just as this is the one time I have received such unpleasant post; it is also the *only* time I have been compelled to delete a video from my YouTube Channel. Following a brief investigation by North Tyneside Police, we were advised to remove the 'offending media' as the threat, particularly to my wife, was too serious to risk. However, we continue to discuss this and related instances of pseudoarchaeology on YouTube (Barkman-Astles 2011a, 2012, Barkman-Astles & Brockman 2017, Westring 2014).

Ever since I first set foot on an archaeological excavation, one thing has been clear to me: people want to know. The public always wants to know what archaeologists are up to - what has been found? Is there

any treasure? Essentially, 'how does that hole in ground relate to me?' However, archaeologists have not always welcomed this attention; colleagues routinely roll their eyes, sigh and anticipate hearing the same sorts of questions over and over again. These interactions with the public can be problematic; we frequently have to tackle best-guesses, hearsay and uninformed rumours about the past. Archaeologists always risk disappointing people through their work, partly because it is all about understanding what is *new* about the past. We are not in the business of merely confirming that the past happened or indeed indulging archaeological fantasies about treasure, identity, family traditions or community legends. Yet whether an inconvenience, a professional distraction or indeed risking 'poop in the post', we should all be engaged in public archaeology. In this chapter, I outline my case for the power and utility of public archaeology, social media and so-called 'new media' such as YouTube and podcasting. This essay is based largely on my professional and personal experiences and observations over the past nine years and is not empirically informed research into the interactions of archaeology and social media (Walker, 2014a).

Figure 1: Visočica Hill in Bosnia, also known as the 'Sun Pyramid'. (Credit: TheBIHLover, Wikimedia Commons)

Archaeosoup as digital and public archaeology

Archaeosoup Productions has its origins in a dig I joined in South Shields in 2005/6. Briefly, we were there to assess an old graveyard which had been violently redistributed by a bomb during the Second World War. We were required to understand the extent and distribution of human remains and grave furniture which had been hurriedly re-buried as part of the effort to reconstruct a damaged road. As the dig proceeded, members of the pubic gathered at the fence, standing on tip-toes trying to see what we were uncovering. It was cold and wet and none of my colleagues wanted to field the typical questions from the public, so I was nominated to talk to a group of old ladies who were trying to get our attention.

It soon became clear that once the standard questions about treasure and a local myth about an old tunnel were dealt with, they were particularly concerned about the nature of the remains we were recovering. They felt connected to this site; indeed, they may have been related to the dead! By talking to the public,

not only did I have a lovely conversation and reassure them about the nature of our work but to our surprise, they returned with hot sausage rolls for 'the lads'. I was in my second year of undergraduate studies, but this interaction stuck with me. Following graduation in 2007 and time working at the York Archaeological Trust, when I returned to the North East to marry and seek a job during the terrible year of 2010; I decided to create a YouTube channel in order to exercise my knowledge and 'stay sane' in the face of a difficult and un-ending job hunt.

Figure 2: Sharing artefacts, 'What is archaeology?' exercises (including a bin full of rubbish) and a fun archaeology/ history facts quiz at Felton & Thirston Fair, July 2018

I have discussed the origin of the name 'Archaeosoup' elsewhere but broadly speaking it is supposed to invoke the notion that 'a bit of everything goes into the soup' (Barkman-Astles and Harrison 2019). Archaeosoup began as a series of videos, the A-Z of Archaeology and soon garnered an audience which, combined with my experiences in York, inspired me to try and create an educational business, sharing archaeology with the public. Over the years *Archaeosoup's* activities have grown to include commissioned film work for universities and others, school workshops, university lectures, public talks, CPD training for teachers, summer fair stalls, history festivals and the ongoing YouTube channel (Figure 2).

All told, I have produced close to 2,000 films, videos and other media with Archaeosoup. I began filming, editing and uploading videos to YouTube with only a smartphone but over the years I have been able to fund the purchasing of better cameras, equipment and editing software. For example, last year I invested in two '4K ready' Sony PXW-X70 film cameras and recently purchased a DJI Mavic Air drone for aerial shots on location. Partly because of a continuous growth in capacity, *Archaesoup's* style has also

175

evolved over time. I have certainly accrued and been sent an eclectic range of props and curios for the backdrop I employ in the majority of my videos (Figure 3). Along with my beloved bookcases, these are the 'set' that occupies one wall of my office (Barkman-Astles 2017).

Figure 3: 'The Set': a collection of books, props and curios gathered and sent to me over the course of my time doing Archaeosoup on YouTube

However, not all of my videos are 'to camera'. Some series such as the *In Focus* or *Archae-Facts* videos employ a succession of illustrative images and animations with my voice providing narration. A sample of the 'series' which I produce for *Archaeosoup* includes (but not limited to):

- *A-Z of Archaeology*: an exploration of the basics of archaeology, from 'Archaeology to 'Zat's all Folks' with a 'K' that I was particularly pleased with 'K-Ar: Potassium-Argon Dating' (Figure 4).

- *Questions of Doom*: 118 videos: A series where viewers send in all manner of archaeological questions, ranging from 'Why do Archaeologists use Trowels?' to 'Is the Past Static?'

- *In Focus*: 50 videos: Examining the stories of key archaeological sites and discoveries in detail (Figure 5).

- *Archae-Facts*: 148 videos: A bite-sized piece of archaeological/ historical trivia in each episode.

- *Hidden Histories*: 41 videos: Shedding interesting light on aspects of the past which one might previously take for granted, for example the notion of 'children in the past having childhoods' or the notion that 'everyone in the past was shorter than modern people'.

- *Meet the Archaeologist*: 59 videos: a series where I interview archaeologists from around the world in an effort to answer the question 'What is it like to be an archaeologist?' I suspected that there was no single answer and so I pursue a range of perspectives (Figure 6).

Figure 4: The title plate for the A–Z of Archaeology series

Other *Archaeosoup* video series include *Archaeology Gastronomy* (examining and cooking ancient food), *Watching Brief* (where I am joined by Andy Brockman to comment on archaeological news stories of the month) as well as *book reviews* and *site visits* (filming ongoing archaeological excavations on 'location'), *Reel World Archaeology* (examining the relationship and balance between entertainment and historical accuracy in movies) and *Archaeology: 5142* (dispatches from a future archaeological mission to planet earth, exploring what do they make of the archaeology of the 20th and 21st centuries?).

In a typical week I produce and post two or three videos on YouTube and post news stories, videos and commentary to the *Archaeosoup* Facebook Page (22,322 Likes) and Twitter (1,725 Followers) daily. Since 2010, *Archaeosoup* has accumulated more than 16,000 subscribers and has garnered 3.6 million views across more than 1,000 videos on the YouTube channel (Figure 7). The most viewed video, with 930,875 views is currently 'In Focus: Ötzi 'The Iceman' from 2011 and the most controversial video (aside from Bosnian pyramids) is 'Hidden Histories: What is a Celt?' from 2015. It currently has 91,763 views and regularly sees me working 'at the coal face' of conversations with the public, discussing issues of 'Celticism' and the complexities of how modern Europeans relate to Iron Age Europeans, culturally, genetically, artistically and so on (Barkman-Astles 2011b, 2015c).

Figure 5: Title plate for the *In Focus* series

Figure 6: A selection of some of the archaeologists who have appeared on *Meet The Archaeologist*

Archaeosoup videos typically have a high 'like' to 'dislike' ratio, with around 95% of voters giving videos a 'thumbs up'. At the time of writing, 166,600 minutes of *Archaeosoup* was watched in the past 28 days, with 46,700 individual viewers. That is approximately 116 days of video footage viewed in the past four weeks. These numbers do change throughout the year. They go up and down; I have noticed a tendency for a slight drop off at the beginning of the calendar and academic years, when my audience is seemingly busy.
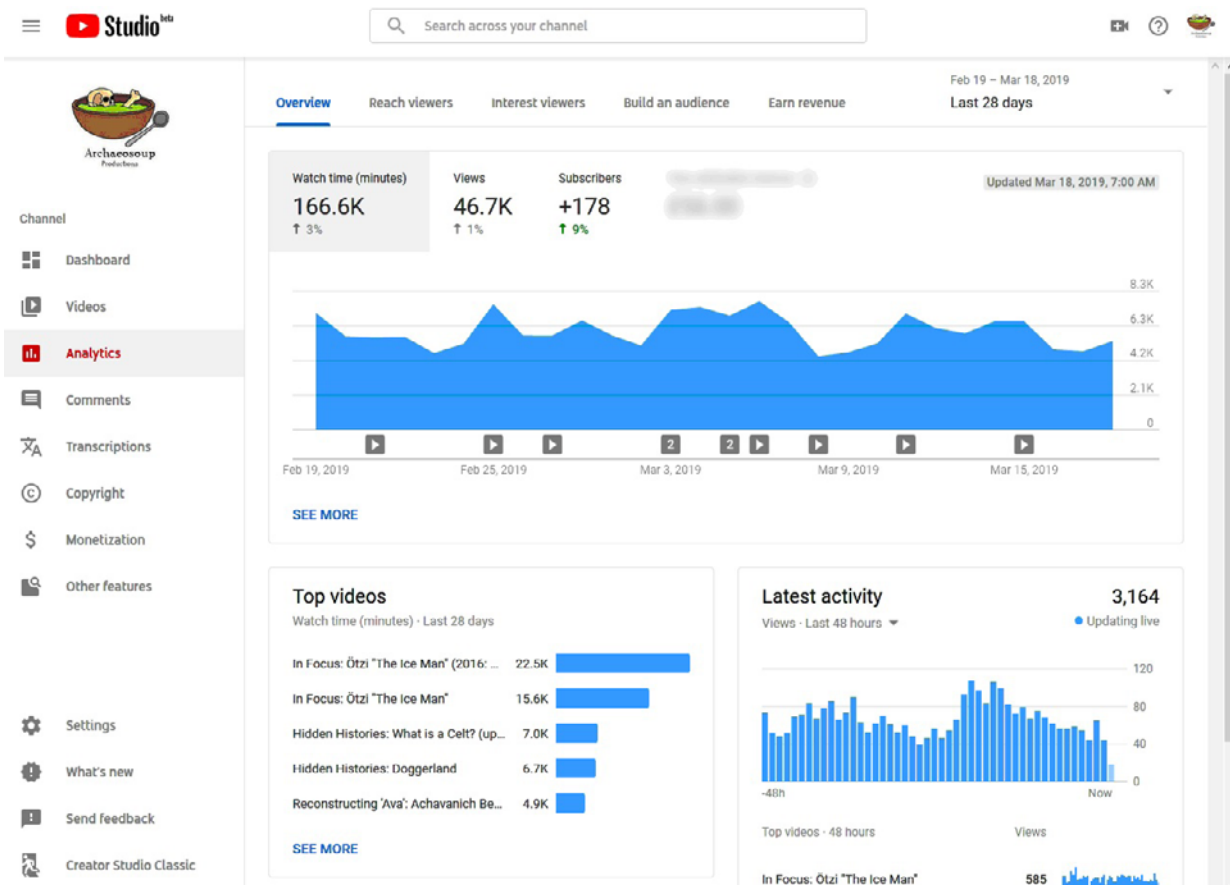
Figure 7: Screen capture of Archaeosoup YouTube channel analytics page, 19/03/2019.

In summary, no one *Archaeosoup* video is the best or a silver bullet to public engagement. Rather, as a cumulative effort, over the years this resource has grown to cover varied aspects of archaeology, history, academic philosophies and even archaeo-gaming (see Reinhard 2018 for more on *that* corner of archaeology). En masse the *Archaeosoup* YouTube Channel represents questions, answers, conversations and on-going debates about 'the sector' and, crucially, what the public and media outlets have to say about archaeology.

Feedback from the public and archaeological colleagues has been extremely positive, engaging and rewarding. I regularly hear from students who have been helped in their work, lecturers who employ *Archaeosoup* videos in their teaching and people who enjoy learning about aspects of the past they might not otherwise have been exposed to outside of doing an archaeology degree for themselves.

However, I recognise that the *Archaeosoup* YouTube Channel represents an extraordinary effort. It is essentially an ethical pursuit, driven by a desire to share good ideas about the past openly and for free. As such, my 'business' tends to come from commissioned film work, lecturing and other forms of community engagement. The YouTube Channel does not make a profit; work-hours are not accounted for in any significant way. Any 'ad revenue', typically less than £50 per month, goes back into producing videos, buying equipment and books etc. This is also supported by subscribers on the website Patreon; this roughly doubles the money that YouTube raises per month.

The future of *Archaeosoup* is ever-in-flux. Ideas about what to do next and where and how to achieve it change with new technologies, media platforms and access to archaeological sites and colleagues of interest. However, broadly speaking, my intention is to continue to develop production capabilities, reach out and work with colleagues and always be adding to the 'soup.

Having here outlined Archaeosoup and my experience doing public archaeology, I do not expect the reader to engage to this extent! Rather, I wished to sketch out elements of my qualifications and experience to think and talk about how archaeologists engage with social media and public archaeology.

Archaeosoup on public archaeology and the media

An aspect of my work on Archaeosoup which crystallised with time has been an examination of the relationship between archaeologists and the public, as typically mediated by a third party. In 2013, I woke on the Summer Solstice and began checking social media and the news of the day with the BBC News Channel on in the background. The anchor was at Stonehenge, excitedly pointing out the fire-breathers, jugglers, hand-fasting ceremonies and the festival atmosphere as the sun rose. However, there was a sudden moment of sobriety as she paused and solemnly stated 'Nobody knows why Stonehenge was built here.' Ironically, the Stonehenge Hidden Landscapes Project had recently published an excellent paper exploring the 'Stonehenge envelope' (Gaffney *et al* 2012) and Stonehenge continued to be one of the most intensively explored prehistoric monuments in western Europe (Banton *et al* 2014) but I did not expect her to know the *latest* research. However, I also did not expect her next statement: '...or who built Stonehenge?' I frowned; after all there are some excellent ideas about who built Stonehenge and where some of those people lived; Durrington Walls being a prime candidate for routines of daily life (Thomas 2011). 'Was it aliens?' she continued, 'Ancient Egyptians? Or perhaps... the Devil himself?' I was astonished. On an international broadcast, the BBC was invoking Satan rather than inviting an archaeologist or a spokesperson from English Heritage to share the latest research going on, on the site!

I immediately took to YouTube to share my astonishment (Barkman-Astles 2013b) The tone of the video was humorous exasperation at how and why the BBC felt they could get away with such nonsense without so much as consulting an archaeologist, most of whom would happily turn up, bleary-eyed, on summer solstice to talk about their work... or so I hoped.

Since then there have been too many instances to conveniently reference here, however an ongoing theme of my observations surrounding the relationship between archaeologists, the media and the public is *the struggle for control of the story*. On the day of the announcement of the discovery of Richard III by the University of Leicester in 2013 (Barkman-Astles 2013c); it was interesting to observe how, despite the 'media circus' of the university press conference, the public announcement was very nearly up-staged by a dramatically trailed Channel.4 documentary. In contrast to the carefully presented announcement at The University of Leicester, the TV advertising 'spots' for the documentary were striking and promised to reveal 'the verdict', akin to the series-finalé of the reality TV series 'Big Brother'. The strong implication of the advertising was that *Channel 4*, not the University, was the place to learn whether King Richard had been uncovered. Yet rather than presenting the story of the discovery of Richard III, the programme was publicly noted for an unsettling emphasis on certain members of the Richard III society and their extraordinarily emotional fixation on the remains (Metro 2013). For many, it was the documentary; with its skewed narrative focus, which revealed 'the King in the Car Park' and to their surprise, a strange love story of sorts was attached to the archaeological discovery.

An egregious case presented itself in March 2014 when National Geographic launched an announcement trailer for their upcoming series *Nazi War Diggers*, produced by *ClearStory* Productions. The trailer showed the presenters clumsily pawing at human remains, plucking bones from the ground like truffles with no apparent methodology or even basic anatomical knowledge (Barkman-Astles 2014). Following a campaign spearheaded, in part, by *ThePipeLine* and *Archaeosoup*, the show was cancelled. However, it was only to return the following year with the footage repackaged as *Battlefield Recovery*. While there were tokenistic subtitles promising that methodology, site recording and archiving had been undertaken, there remained very little evidence of this (Brockman 2016, Barkman-Astles 2016a)

In my responses to archaeology in the media, the question I have returned to repeatedly is: why do 'we' allow an all-too-often disinterested and mercenary media to wrest control of what 'floats to the surface' of public awareness of archaeology? Why do not more archaeologists engage the public via social media and platforms such as YouTube (Barkman-Astles 2016b, 2014c, Barkman-Astles & Brockman 2019)?

Risks and Rewards

Fear of Criticism?

A common objection to 'diving in' to public archaeology, particularly with a social media presence; is the risk, or rather the reality that *one is open to the same level of criticism as everyone else on the platform*. There is a certain academic ego which itches at the thought of all manner of people; amateur archaeologists, pseudo-archaeologists, interested lay people and the general public being able to publicly pass comment on one's work. I understand this instinct; however, I have little sympathy with it. It might not only be 'public' considerations but rather what one's employers, local government, business partners, colleagues might be able to cast scathing comment or get an insight into a work-in-progress. Students might also be shy of opening up to a whole world of potential criticism while they are still forming their research agenda.

The fact of the matter is that, yes, archaeologists' publicly expressed opinions are open to equal criticism. Despite having an informed perspective, crafted and honed by a career 'in the field', our arguments can and should, be subject to critical evaluation by the public. In an open democracy of ideas, your work should be open to scrutiny, weighed and measured against other competing claims on the past. That is not to say that the lay person has an equally valid opinion as a trained archaeologist, or that one should release all one's thoughts in a stream-of-consciousness onto the internet. However in a digital medium where access is open, both the opinions of the professional and the interested-other are equally open to scrutiny. While it is 'true that in a changing world, archaeologists should be wary of misuses and

abuses of archaeology by global hegemonic enterprises, chauvinistic nationalists, 'ethnic' separatists, and dogmatic sectarians' (argued by Hassan, cited in Funari and Podgorny 1998; see also Hassan 1998; Pitts 2018), this is not an excuse to shy away from the public arena. If one's ideas are so delicate and ephemeral that they cannot risk being criticized in the 'incorrect' way, perhaps those ideas require clarification or revision? Exposure to the risk of frustration is worth the refinement of your work in the crucible of the public sphere (Perry and Beale 2015).

Just as one of the vulnerabilities of creating a social media account is the fact that anyone can create a presence on the same platform, we must be careful to remember that this is as much a virtue as it is a risk. Over the course of the past decade I have consulted with many colleagues, archaeology clubs, societies, museums and others who shy away from social media as they do not want to risk 'getting it wrong'. Particularly this is true when bad experiences of engagement, such as 'trolls', pedants and particularly difficult or even offensive conversations unfold online, I certainly understand the wariness of social media. Other such experiences might be linked with a fear of losing control, such as appearing in a television programme and feeling misrepresented by editorial decisions or even being named as a consultant against one's explicit requests (Barkman-Astles and Brockman 2019; Thomas 2015, 2016, 2017). There is sometimes, therefore, a perception that social media is a new archaeological frontier, best reserved for specialists. Yet I would submit that we do not want to overcomplicate matters. That social media can be a wild west of ideas should be an invitation not an impediment. We should encourage colleagues to engage professionally with a digital world which they likely engage with every day in their personal lives, social media. Therefore, on social media; be a rigorous archaeologist but do it confidently and publicly (Duckworth 2016).

Why so Serious?

There is also the suspicion that public archaeology is somehow *too silly for a serious archaeologist.* Public discourse, especially in the realm of digital/new media is often free of jargon with a conversational style. It is approachable and therefore undoubtedly runs the risk of trivializing and undermining academic process and authority (Hofheinz, 2011; Richardson, 2014). This concern can preoccupy those archaeologists who are tempted to dip their toe in the world of social media. However, it is possible to manage the risks of 'open' archaeology and maximise the rewards of engagement with the public without sacrificing the academic rigor of our discipline. Perhaps one might employ the image of a 'jelly head' to elegantly illustrate an aspect of sexual selection and evolution (Barkman-Astles 2014) (Figure 8)? After all, a good academic essay is one which does not rely on jargon in order to effectively discuss the topic at hand. Surely the same is true of effective public discourse?

The purpose of public engagement is not to somehow 'infect' an otherwise pristine host of ideas, theories and process with a messy, un-productive narrative. The boundaries between the world of 'academic' and 'other' are entirely of our own construction and represent a false attempt to quarantine the host (Scham 2003; Ganiel and Mitchell 2006; Harrison 2018). Rather from the outset, education and conversation is the goal. Particularly, since the days of *Time Team*, a precedent has been set, allowing the public 'in' to process and the discussions 'we' have as archaeologists. As my colleague Andy Brockman of *ThePipeLine* heritage news website observed: arguably, TV has always tried to find formats for archaeology. The earliest were the illustrated lecture and the game show, *Animal Vegetable Mineral*, but the most successful format in the UK was actually modeled on a police procedural. *Time Team*, Channel 4 1994 - 2014, had the grumpy eccentric, but brilliant, lead detective, Mick Aston along with his 'everyman' sidekick there to ask the provocative or leading questions, Tony Robinson. There was the veteran salt of the earth sergeant, Phil Harding; the feisty female detective in a man's world Carenza Lewis and later Helen Geake; and the nerdy forensic specialists, Stewart Ainsworth and 'Geophizz'. There was also the pay off of seeing 'who done it' through the excellent reconstruction artwork of Victor

Ambrus. This was a winning formula which saw off all other attempts to find a durable archaeological format until it was overtaken by age and the new, and cheaper, 'muscular storytelling' of American style reality presentation (and editing) on cable and satellite channels. This has seen a tremendous abuse of archaeological process and evidence in fake history strands such as *Ancient Aliens, Hunting Hitler, The Pyramid Code* and others (Brockman pers. comm. 2019).

Figure 8: Still from 'Questions of Doom: Evolution – Life & Death? (Jelly Head), Archaeosoup YouTube Channel, January 2014

However, it should also be noted that 'American-style' productions can have certain 'bombastic' strengths. It is clear, for example, that colleagues such as Steve Ashby are very pleased with particular projects. In a recent email exchange, Steve told me of how he enjoyed and was proud of the 'Stories of the West' episode he made in a series called *Secrets of the Vikings* with the History Channel (Ashby pers. comm.).

One of the key concerns highlighted by colleagues is a lack of confidence that 'we will be able to communicate what you might call the complexity of uncertainty, or nuance, or perhaps multivocality' (Ashby pers. comm.). This is particularly pertinent when considering the presentation of archaeological theory as it relates to practice. Even though formats such as *Time Team* grappled with the idea of archaeological interpretation through discussion and consensus, it was always presented in empirical terms: 'there must be a correct answer'; 'let's find out who's right' (Ashby pers. comm.). It is understandable that most television documentaries do not want to risk getting 'into the weeds' with theoretical debates, and tend to just follow a carefully scripted narrative. One notable exception was a programme Mike Pitts did for BBC Radio 4 *The Voices Who Dug up the Past*, which explicitly engaged with the idea of changing theories associated with particular sites (Ashby pers. comm; BBC 2010). However, this relatively obscure example is somewhat an exception that proves the rule. Perhaps this is an argument for the need for archaeologists to practice their 'pitch'? We should seek to lead producers down pathways they might not naturally want to walk; confident in the inherent interest and even the 'entertainment value' to be found in those aspects of archaeology we are passionate about. Whether working with production companies or producing one's own 'content' on social media or YouTube, passion, intrigue, approachability and rigor should not be considered incompatible notions.

Once again, there is a clear public intrigue as to what archaeologists do. This intrigue has previously been cultivated and satisfied by archaeologists; if archaeologists now shy away from talking about their work and the latest, best ideas on the most relevant social media, video and podcast platforms... Someone else will (and does) satisfy the demand (Barkman-Astles and Harrison 2019).

Ontological Concerns?

The balance between accessibility and seriousness throws into sharp focus the next risk of public archaeology: *How is the public to know what is real or true?* After all anyone can set up a Facebook Page, YouTube channel, Twitter, Instagram etc and instantly obtain the same potential audience as an archaeologist on those platforms. And make no mistake, bad ideas do indeed propagate! YouTube in particular is rife with conspiracy theories, ancient aliens, 'flat earth' videos, 'pseudo' and 'alternative' archaeologies and they are very popular (Serrels 2019). Ashley Landrum has suggested that one of the most popular Flat Earth videos, '200 proofs Earth is not a spinning ball' is effective because it offers arguments that appeal to so many mindsets, from biblical literalists and conspiracy theorists to those of a more scientific bent (Sample 2019). A cursory glance at one such YouTube channel shows that in a little over two years they have garnered around 800,000 subscribers eager to watch the latest alien-driven historical conspiracy video. There is an important ontological crisis unfolding here. Methodology and scientific process - how we know what we know, is seemingly not important to many of the bad actors on social media platforms. Scientific method does not bind such people, and this state of affairs can be rather intimidating to any archaeologist.

It is precisely on the cusp of this ontological moment where the 'social' element of social media is so important. If one engages in social media, it is crucial to have an approachable, human, professional presence online. Dispel the digital ivory tower! Open up to conversations with people (specialists and lay people) you would not typically speak to. Likewise, avoid *only* following and replying to other archaeologists online. The idea of academic disengagement, privileged knowledge, is 'backfiring'; how the field responds to this is crucial to the future relevance and vibrancy of archaeology and related fields (Harrison 2019 pers. comm.; Roth 1995; 1998). Historically speaking, scientific method, best practice and rational, good ideas have always 'floated to the surface' with enough exposure. We cannot influence the tide of bizarre and untested ideas about the past by retreating (Brockman 2016a). Rather it is through a consistent, honest, open and public discourse that archaeological methods (and motives) will show their worth. Archaeologists are, after all, similar to the curious public in that we are seeking answers. Unlike the pseudoarchaeologists of this world, we do not perpetually thrive on the next, unsolvable, mystery (Fagan 2006). Archaeology will not 'win' hearts, minds or the broader ontological debate by ignoring or refusing to engage in these arenas, though we must be careful.

In April 2015 a video surfaced on YouTube from an event at the Mena House Hotel in Giza. It showed a confrontation between Dr Zahi Hawass and Graham Hancock which erupted as Hawass animatedly accused Hancock of being a 'thief' and essentially a fraud. Hancock calmly (and crucially on camera) reminded Hawass that good academics 'don't engage in ad hominem attacks' placing himself firmly in the same category as the exasperated Egyptologist. Dr Hawass was apparently so affronted at being 'door-stepped' and tricked into a debate with Hancock that in the moment his reaction was anger. This was less than ideal and crucially it plays in to the narrative of those who claim that 'mainstream' archaeology is fundamentally at odds with self-styled truth-tellers such as Hancock.

If the goal is to help the public discern reality and truth, we must first be approachable and engaging, slow to anger with a deliberate 'willful buoyancy'; no matter how mistaken or offensive the comment, avoid confrontation, seek to teach and surprisingly often the outcome is more positive than negative (Barkman-Astles and Harrison 2019). For my part, I continue to operate on YouTube in order to offer a counterpoint to the anti-intellectualism and conspiracy theories which plague the platform but also

because YouTube remains the most searched and accessible video platform on the internet (Sample 2019; YouTube 2019).

A Thankless Task?

Many colleagues have expressed a fear that social media is 'yet another thing to do', something which stifles productivity and encroaches on research (Anecdotes and Anon 2016). After all, archaeologists are busy people! They have family, money worries, academic, administrative and digging duties to attend to and in this context social media might seem like too much hassle. Some degree of prioritization has to occur, and while we might like to think that this is driven by what one personally thinks or feels is professionally important; academics in particular are working within a framework molded by what universities, funders, and government prioritises (Ashby pers. comm.). An aspect of this is the increasing need to demonstrate 'impact' of our work; however, this is very strictly defined, is usually project-related, and has to have certain measurable metrics. General, ongoing communication with the public is therefore rarely prioritized over high-profile research projects which come with their own social media requirements. When we also consider that archaeologists can also have family, money worries, academic, administrative and digging duties to attend to, the day-to-day concerns of cultivating an individual, professional, social media presence can end up seeming like at best a labour of love; at worst, a true hassle.

However, public archaeology can serve as inspiration to ask new questions of old data. In January 2015, I was approached by a 6-year-old girl at a primary school workshop. She asked me whether it was possible to know the names of people from the Palaeolithic? My immediate response was to gently tell her, no: 'prehistory by definition is a time before the written word and so names of people in the Palaeolithic are lost to us'. Though on the way home I reflected on this query and a paper from 2013 emerged from the recesses of my memory: a study which posited a series of 'ultraconserved' words from approximately 15,000 years ago and possibly with older precedents (Pagel *et al.* 2013). These comprise twenty-three words in all which include, for example, 'black' and 'ash'. It was remarkably satisfying to recontextualise this research to answer a question which simply wouldn't occur to the typical prehistorian. The following day I made a video for the little girl's class, thanking her for the question and reflecting that if someone was called 'Black Ash', then, yes, we know their name (Barkman-Astles 2015a). I invited the class to play with the prehistoric words, creating their own Palaeolithic stories and in a small yet profound way I was reminded of the potential of public archaeology to inspire and delight.

In more formal realms, public archaeology and social media allow for various forms of collaborative synthesis, interrogating our shared assumptions about the past and even presenting 'Twitter Conferences' (Richardson et al. 2010). Acting in a similar way to peer review, a strategic 'opening up' of oneself to the public can lead to new and unexpected avenues of growth.

A Fruitful Resource, a Biased Sample?

Finally, there is a certain strand of thought which frames social media in particular as a *potentially fruitful resource for gleaning useful datasets and data analyses about the way people interact with archaeology* (Zuanni 2017); but also, *as a potentially unreliable dataset, not necessarily suitable for research applications* (Walker 2014). The potential for frustration here is that social media offers a data set which is not easily definable. Whereas running a social media page automatically produces so-called *analytics* regarding the reach and demographic of one's audience, it is undoubtedly a problematic sample. As tempting and 'solid' as those (hopefully ever-growing) numbers appear, we must be careful not to be blinded by positivistic potential. Even if we discount for a moment, the varied, changing and infamously mysterious algorithms social media platforms employ to recommend 'content' to an audience (Scott

2017); by definition, the appeal of a social media page is a self-selecting group which should not be relied upon for un-nuanced complex data analyses, processing or conclusions (Seitsonen 2017). In 2014 the Department for Work and Pensions concluded that social media can provide indications of information seeking behaviour (which may indicate public awareness of and attention to specific policies, as well as providing an idea of the sources where they get information from). Secondly, they can provide indications of public opinion of specific policies, or reaction to specific media events. However, they also argued that caution is needed in interpreting the results of social media data or generalizing from these data to the public at large. The science behind many of these methods is still developing; and major questions remain regarding how to employ them properly (DWP 2014).

In my experience such utilitarian perspectives rather risk 'missing the point' of social media and public archaeology.   In addition to innate dataset issues, I would suggest that one should not mistake the *analytical data* produced by social media for the *purpose* of social media or as *a desired outcome of engaging with* social media as an archaeologist. The outcome of social media and public archaeology should be *engagement with people as opposed to metrics, inspiration as opposed to interrogation, conversations as opposed to conclusions.* The benefits of such 'open-ended' or 'soft' approaches to sharing something of one's work might not be easy for some colleagues to comprehend but that is not a reason to avoid engagement. To crib from President Kennedy: ask not what your audience can do for you, but what you and your audience might achieve together!

Conclusion

Archaeosoup has been one of the most satisfying experiences of my personal and professional life. As an enthusiastic human being and as an archaeologist, a focus on the social aspects of public archaeology has proved stimulating and fruitful. If we overemphasise the perceived tension between academic and public archaeology, not only do we miss out on the benefits of engaging with a somewhat messy and unquantifiable humanity; but also, we become part of a naval-gazing and evermore isolated intelligentsia. Some of the most influential archaeologists working today are very open, very public and they very much benefit from exposure to and the scrutiny of the public in their work. It is no accident that these archaeologists frequently have gained 'name recognition' in the public sphere. I shall not embarrass anyone by naming them here, but we can all think of well-known, rigorous, publicly active archaeologists, anthropologists and historians.

I once again recognise that this essay, based on close to a decade of experience, falls somewhat short of calls for empirically informed, long and short-term research into the interactions of archaeology and social media (Walker 2014). Though that was not the intent of this piece of work; rather I wished to present a series of thoughts and observations which I have shared previously, in part, on YouTube (Barkman-Astles 2015b). In extolling the virtues of social media, YouTube and public archaeology I recognise that I have a somewhat 'lived-out agenda', a biased sense of how actionable public archaeology is for people whose career is not necessarily focused on 'reaching out'. I do have sympathy for those who remain conservative or have had negative personal or professional experiences of digital pubic engagement, and are yet to be convinced that the risks are worth the potential rewards.

Despite this I would very much invite you in, if able, to the 'pool', whether to swim or simply paddle. Consider that, perhaps, there are not competing ways of doing archaeology, 'academic' and 'public'. But rather that how we do archaeology collaboratively, publicly, is the key and thus satisfying public intrigue with patient, unwavering integrity... and perhaps having a little fun along the way?

Acknowledgements

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Being Shaped by Engagement: Reflections on Academic 'YouTubing'

Chloë N. Duckworth

In this chapter, I reflect upon my experiences of creating and maintaining a YouTube channel (ArchaeoDuck) aimed at providing educational content about archaeology. Videos are either designed to form part of various 'toolkits' that are aimed at conveying key points of archaeological method and theory; or they are focused on 'people', in that they show the diversity of the profession both in terms of who practices archaeology, and the jobs that they do. In spite of the didactic nature of my videos, the engagement they have sparked with members of the general public and with archaeologists have been profoundly transformative of my own outlook and career.

> Perhaps the most important reason for archaeologists to engage with the public is to encourage practitioners to develop a greater reflexivity about what they are doing and why – to look more carefully at their own motives and come to terms with the triviality of much of our research and the value of honesty in dealing with the public. (Pyburn 2008: 202)

In early 2017, I started an experiment. I began to make videos about archaeology and uploading them to a YouTube channel under the screen name *ArchaeoDuck*.[1] I wanted to see whether I could engage with a wider audience through making online videos. The idea had been suggested to me about a month earlier, at a training day in academic digital media engagement, funded by the British Academy.[2] At the time, I was interested in public outreach to disseminate the results of my post-doctoral fellowship on the investigation of glass recycling, but as I investigated the format, I realised that there was room for something far broader, and decided to create a series of videos introducing aspects of archaeology that would be suitable for people with no prior experience of the subject. I am an archaeological scientist by training, specialising in the investigation of ancient and medieval pyrotechnologies, but after several years of (mostly precarious) employment in higher education, I had become used to teaching a very broad range of archaeological methods and concepts, and felt well-equipped to translate this experience to the screen.

I originally termed this activity 'vlogging' (video blogging), but in truth my videos are neither personally reflective, nor regular enough to merit the use of the term (by contrast, see Tong et al. 2015 for vlogs as part of fieldwork projects). The aim was instead to bridge the gap between the intensive and detailed study of archaeology practiced by professionals and taught at university, and the simplified, often tired narratives encountered in the media.

In this essay, I explore the ways in which I have engaged with various audiences through this endeavour, and what it has taught me. Above all else, it is a reflection on the extent to which those audiences and experiences have shaped me, and the work that I do, both in the context of maintaining a YouTube channel, and in my professional capacity as a lecturer and researcher.

Creating *ArchaeoDuck*

Bonacchi distinguishes between 'broadcasting' and 'participatory' digital communication. While the participatory approach fosters the collaborative construction of meanings, broadcasting operates via the transmission of messages from a sender, to a receiver, over a medium (Bonacchi 2017: 60, 66–68).

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[1] www.youtube.com/archaeoduck

[2] British Academy Digital Media Workshop, Institute for the Study of Muslim Civilisations, London, 5th-6th December 2016. I am grateful to Louise Blythe, BBC Academy, for making this suggestion and offering several tips on academic YouTubing; and to Philip Wood, Aga Khan University, for developing the digital media workshop.

ArchaeoDuck is undoubtedly a 'broadcast' according to this definition, but if we expand our analysis to focus on the multiple platforms now simultaneously operated by most creators, particularly social media (Twitter, Facebook, Instagram), the edges of these categories become somewhat more fuzzy. As well as the YouTube videos, I now create 'memes' and other forms of brief, online content, largely on Twitter and Instagram. Reactions are often direct and immediate, initiating a conversation, or adding new dimensions to the original post.

ArchaeoDuck was originally designed to offer a series of brief and accessible modules on aspects of archaeology that are often taught at university level, but which rarely make it into public-facing archaeology (which is still very much artefact- and site-focused). As such, it consciously mirrors the didactic relationship between university lecturer and student. I am unapologetic in acknowledging that this didactic relationship is at the heart of the channel. Unapologetic because I believe it is still needed: the online visibility of information on archaeological method and theory is dwarfed by the quantity of pseudoscientific, or poorly researched materials. If people are to engage in archaeology, they must first be empowered to speak its language. Apart from *ArchaeoDuck*, I can point to a small number of existing digital resources in this capacity. These include:

- Various MOOCs (massive open online courses).[3]
- An MIT open courseware series on archaeology.[4]
- Open, online resources primarily aimed at the existing archaeological community, including the packages of online resources found on the British Archaeological Jobs and Resources (BAJR) pages,[5] and Historic England's good practice guides.[6]
- *Archaeosoup*: a long-lived and highly successful archaeology website and YouTube channel,[7] providing a wealth of content that is impressively broad in focus.

I was keen to offer something distinct from these already excellent resources. I thus focus on explaining method and theory more than sites and finds and, more recently, on showcasing the people who practice archaeology. *Archaeosoup* is broad in its approach and covers these things along with a wealth of others, so *ArchaeoDuck* was differentiated from this channel via its predominant focus on the five-minute video (usually explaining a single topic or concept), and in its 'pop' aesthetic, which reflects my own personality, and which I hoped would emphasise the diversity of archaeology and archaeologists (on which more below). The channel has a slightly amateurish look; the result of a conscious decision as well as my lack of video editing experience and funding! As commented by Colleen Morgan in 2012, the rise in social media has been accompanied by a low-fidelity, DIY aesthetic that implies a more 'authentic' voice than that provided by a polished film (Morgan 2012: 324), and I believe this remains the case at the time of writing this essay.

The popularity of pseudoarchaeology, of which online manifestations are merely the latest in a lengthy genealogy that goes back to the origins of the discipline itself (see Card and Anderson 2016), testifies to the strength of public demand to intellectually engage with the development of archaeological research and theory, rather than simply to *consume* its products (also illustrated, I think, by the popularity of metal detecting in the UK). Anecdotally, I would argue that if archaeologists as a group are guilty of anything (and I acknowledge a number of glorious exceptions to this rule), then it is of sneering at pseudoarchaeology while spectacularly failing to offer satisfying and viable alternatives for

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[3] For example, https://www.futurelearn.com/courses/hadrians-wall

[4] For example, https://ocw.mit.edu/courses/materials-science-and-engineering/3-986-the-human-past-introduction-to-archaeology-fall-2006/download-course-materials/

[5] http://www.archaeologyskills.co.uk/

[6] https://historicengland.org.uk/advice/find/latest-guidance/

[7] http://archaeosoup.com/

the intellectually curious, short of physically participating in fieldwork, or undertaking a degree in the subject (neither of which are very inclusive solutions). Gatekeeping is alive and well.

The somewhat hubristic original aim of *ArchaeoDuck*, then, was to offer a toolkit that would allow English-speaking internet users (audience limitations that I cannot at present overcome) to engage with archaeology at a deeper level, satisfying the desire to go beyond mere consumption of archaeological knowledge. In spite of this didactic approach, much of the subsequent direction of *ArchaeoDuck* has been shaped by engagement, particularly with: (i) aspiring archaeologists from a number of countries who follow the channel on YouTube (the UK and India are prominent among these); and (ii) professional archaeologists, both commercial and academic (largely in the UK but also elsewhere in the world), who engage with *ArchaeoDuck* via both Twitter and YouTube.

This essay reflects upon my experiences of running *ArchaeoDuck* for just over two years, and the many ways in which I have learnt from engagement. It is not a definitive piece, nor (heaven forbid) a recipe for how to do things, but I hope that some of my experiences may be illuminating to others who are seeking novel paths to engagement.

What does an archaeologist look like? What does an archaeologist *do*?

> Archaeologists are typically and contradictorily portrayed as one or more of the following: obsessive to the point of madness, crazed by greed or ideology, suspiciously heavily-armed, unworldly bookworms and/or globetrotting polyglots. Often they are murdered or at least kidnapped. (Moshenska 2017: 153)

The first ArchaeoDuck episode, 'Archaeology Explained',[8] is centred around commonly asked questions about archaeology on the Google search engine. Two of these were, 'what does an archaeologist look like?' and 'what does an archaeologist do? For many people, their first encounter with archaeology is through popular media. Most people do not personally know an archaeologist or encounter the profession in their daily lives, so it is all they have to go on. These outside perceptions have an effect on who chooses to pursue archaeology, and why. Colley (2005: 56) notes that students in Australia were attracted to aspects of archaeology which did not reflect the realities of professional practice. At the time of writing, our student archaeology society at Newcastle University still holds an 'Indiana Jones and Lara Croft' fancy dress night for incoming freshers. While few would rationally regard these fictional characters as typical archaeologists, their popularity reflects a series of default assumptions that remain predominantly white, Anglophone or European, able-bodied, and heteronormative.

I touch upon these ideas in the video, introducing the subject with visual reference to the 'Indiana Jones' stereotype of the archaeologist as action hero, using a cartoon hat and whip to evoke the idea (Figure 1). I aimed in ArchaeoDuck to showcase more accurately the diversity of the profession, both in terms of the people who make it up, and the variety of jobs archaeologists can undertake. To this end, I initiated a series of video interviews with archaeologists and heritage practitioners in June 2018 (Figure 2).[9] In July of the same year, I put out an open call for archaeologists to film themselves responding to four questions, and used these to create a short film, 'We Are Archaeology' (31st July 2018).[10] The make-up of both groups has been heavily shaped by my existing networks, and it still offers space to only a very limited range of perspectives. One criticism is that, to date, it has been very centred on archaeologists from Anglophone countries. There are obvious linguistic reasons for this, but it is not in keeping with

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[8] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bY5iTiRhJ8c

[9] See the playlist, 'Meet the Archaeologist', on the ArchaeoDuck YouTube channel (www.youtube.com/archaeoduck).

[10] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=adIYpP48w4w

Figure 1: Still shot from 'Archaeology Explained' (4ᵗʰ Jan. 2017)

the global diversity of ArchaeoDuck's YouTube audience, and is currently being addressed with a new series of interviews.

One goal I feel I have pursued successfully to date was to offer space to a diverse range of female voices, showing women as specialists in everything from fieldwork to archaeological science. In the UK, the increasing representation of women in TV programmes about archaeology has not done enough to counter the discipline's macho image, as in many instances women are cast very much as presenters, whose role it is to mediate between experts and the public, or to deliver pre-written lines. The manner of delivery has become a well-established cliché, as any fan of the satirical 'Philomena Cunk', played by comedian Diane Morgan, will attest. Channel 4's *Time Team* (1994–2014) was commendable for portraying real archaeologists, and introduced a wider cast as time went on, but the show's popularity made archetypes of its stars, particularly the male ones, and it has been difficult for archaeology to break free from these. *Digging for Britain* (BBC4, 2010–present) is an improvement upon the aforementioned 'fascinated presenter' trope, because the archaeologists involved in the featured projects provide their own footage, allowing the public a glimpse of 'real' archaeologists on their own terms, albeit within the boundaries set by the show's editors.

There are opportunities to seek out diverse voices online, but one must really know what one is looking for, and so many online resources end up speaking to audiences who are already invested (on the problem of discoverability, see Mihelj et al. 2019). The use of large platforms can help to mitigate this, which is why I opted for YouTube. TED talks – also available via YouTube – are one way in which a handful of archaeologists have successfully reached out to a broader audience (most notably, Sada Mire[11] and Sarah Parcak).[12] On the other hand, these, too, are becoming victims of their own popularity. The highly studied manner of presentation encouraged in the talks is in danger of becoming as clichéd as the TV presenter trope discussed above, and has generated its own swathe of satirical imitations. One

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[11] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V4UQYem6Dvc

[12] https://www.ted.com/talks/sarah_parcak_help_discover_ancient_ruins_before_it_s_too_late/up-next?language=en

such example is The Onion's 'Ducks Go Quack, Chickens Say Cluck' (31st Oct. 2012), an amusing, content-free talk delivered with characteristic 'TED' gravitas, complete with dramatic pauses and 'statement' hand gestures.[13]

Figure 2: Some of the archaeologists who have featured in ArchaeoDuck videos to date. Most are either from, or live and work in, the UK

Come again?

Richardson and Almansa-Sánchez (2015: 195) point out that in the mid-twentieth century, just as Mortimer Wheeler espoused the responsibility of archaeologists to engage with the public, there began the development of an increasingly obscure and 'elitist' academic discourse (on the complex figure of Wheeler, and the public performance of archaeology, see Moshenska and Schadla-Hall 2013). But archaeological theory does not have to be impenetrable. One of the main barriers to archaeological communication – both with the general public and within the discipline – is the use of jargon, which provides a helpful shorthand, but which often serves to obscure the content from non-specialists. The constant challenge of ArchaeoDuck has been to keep my content accessible, while not straying too far from its educational value.

Several ArchaeoDuck videos tackle jargon-rich areas of archaeology, including aspects of theory, and various tools or methods taught to and used by archaeologists. I frequently use analogy as an explanatory tool. For example, the two-minute video shown in Figure 3 explores the fragmentary nature of the archaeological record, and hints at the uncomfortable relationship between this, and our reliance upon a scientific model rooted in testing. I find such uses of analogy helpful in making content

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[13] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tom6_ceTu9s

more accessible to the non-specialist, but they bring with them the challenge of over-simplification, a theme which is explicitly acknowledged in 'Science and Media Bias' (19th January 2019).[14]
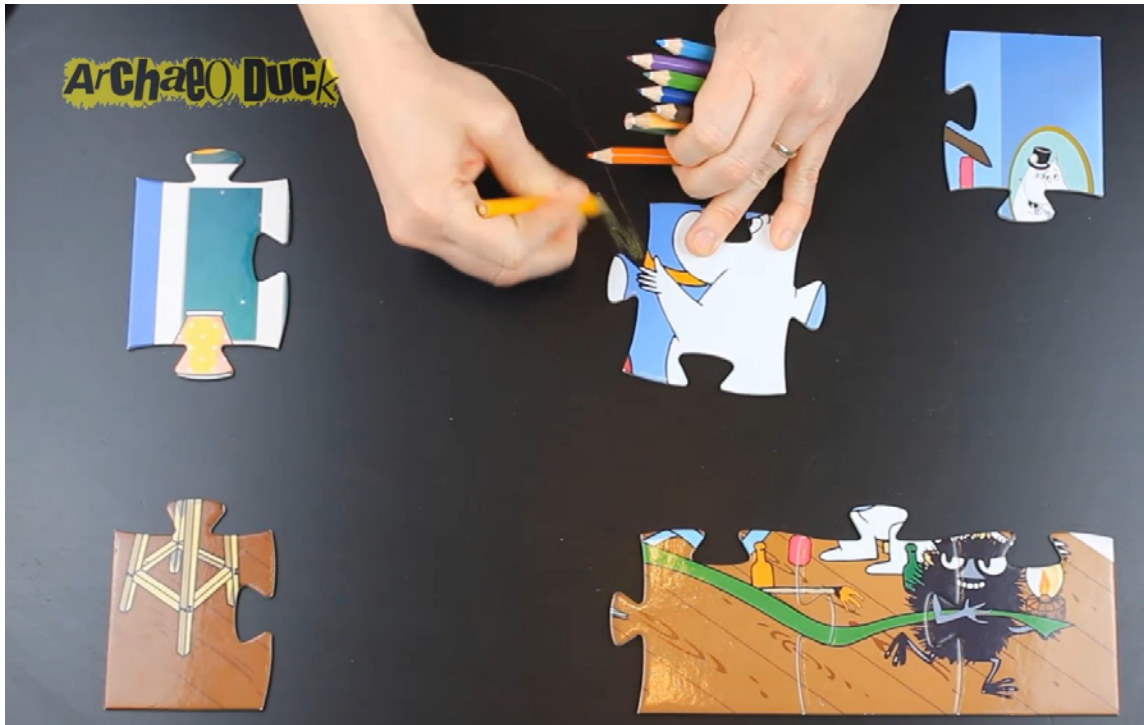

Figure 3: Still shot from 'Archaeology is a jigsaw puzzle' (5th February 2017).[15]

Other videos seek to demystify specialist terminology and to empower the viewer. 'Find out YOUR archaeological superpower!' (8th January 2017) introduces relative dating, and the ways in which archaeologists organize our evidence.[16] Key terms are explained, including 'material culture', 'typology', and 'seriation'. The video mainly focuses upon contemporary examples of material culture with which viewers will already be familiar (e.g. family photographs, mobile phones, kitchenware), demonstrating that most people already possess the skills required to undertake complex-sounding processes such as 'seriation'.

Eventually, ArchaeoDuck has begun to feed back into my teaching practice. 'The Power of Stuff' (25th February 2019)[17] was explicitly written as an accompaniment to a first year module on material culture studies, that I teach at Newcastle University ('Stuff: Living in a Material World'). The video operates on two levels. First, as a stand-alone summary of a lecture introducing first year undergraduate students to material culture studies. Second, as a resource for the students themselves, who are encouraged later in the course to watch the video and identify the unspoken references to the theories they have been studying. I am also in the process of creating open-access learning materials for the two videos on carbon dating,[18] which are currently used as part of a master's class on calibrating radiocarbon dates.

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[14] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DS-xiQPzumY

[15] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KyyLZR-HXpU

[16] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4wDThHiVGqs

[17] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0SyCFZifyvM

[18] 'Carbon Dating Explained' (5th November 2017) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0RwYu1c52fI and 'The problem with carbon dating' (30th December 2017) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7UxlRctd1pM

What were you afraid to ask?

"I applied for a fieldwork project that is taking place in a few weeks. To be honest I am very nervous about it and a bit scared. What are some advise [*sic.*] that you'll give to beginners in field school?" (Facebook user from UAE)

Perhaps it was not one of the original aims of ArchaeoDuck, but it quickly became apparent that one of the appeals of online learning is the degree of anonymity it provides to those engaging with it; the opportunity to ask questions they were afraid to ask in other contexts.

One of the most popular episodes is 'What to take on a dig' (14th July 2017).[19] Responses to this are particularly revealing about the aura of machismo that still hovers around archaeological fieldwork. Fears that might seem trivial on the face of it reveal the importance of fostering a sense of belonging among archaeologists-in-training: 'my trowel came with a holster – should I use it on site or will I be laughed at?' (personal message sent via Facebook). Some of the comments on YouTube, on the other hand, reinforced macho stereotypes by making suggestions relating to alcohol and sexual activity as components of archaeological fieldwork.

The desire to engage in archaeological fieldwork, and archaeology more generally, seems often to be coupled with a fear of being singled out for not knowing something (how something works; how to do something; how to behave). I respond to individual questions, but they can also provide insight into what would work well in a new episode. When a YouTube user asked me "how the layers of history build up over time in the ground," it provided the inspiration to make a video about site formation processes, using various edible goods, along with a few Lego archaeologists (Figure 4). It has since been used as a teaching tool by YAC (Young Archaeologists' Club) groups.

Figure 4: Still shot from 'How does it get in the ground?' (1st March 2017).[20]

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[19] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MggEO-TygdY
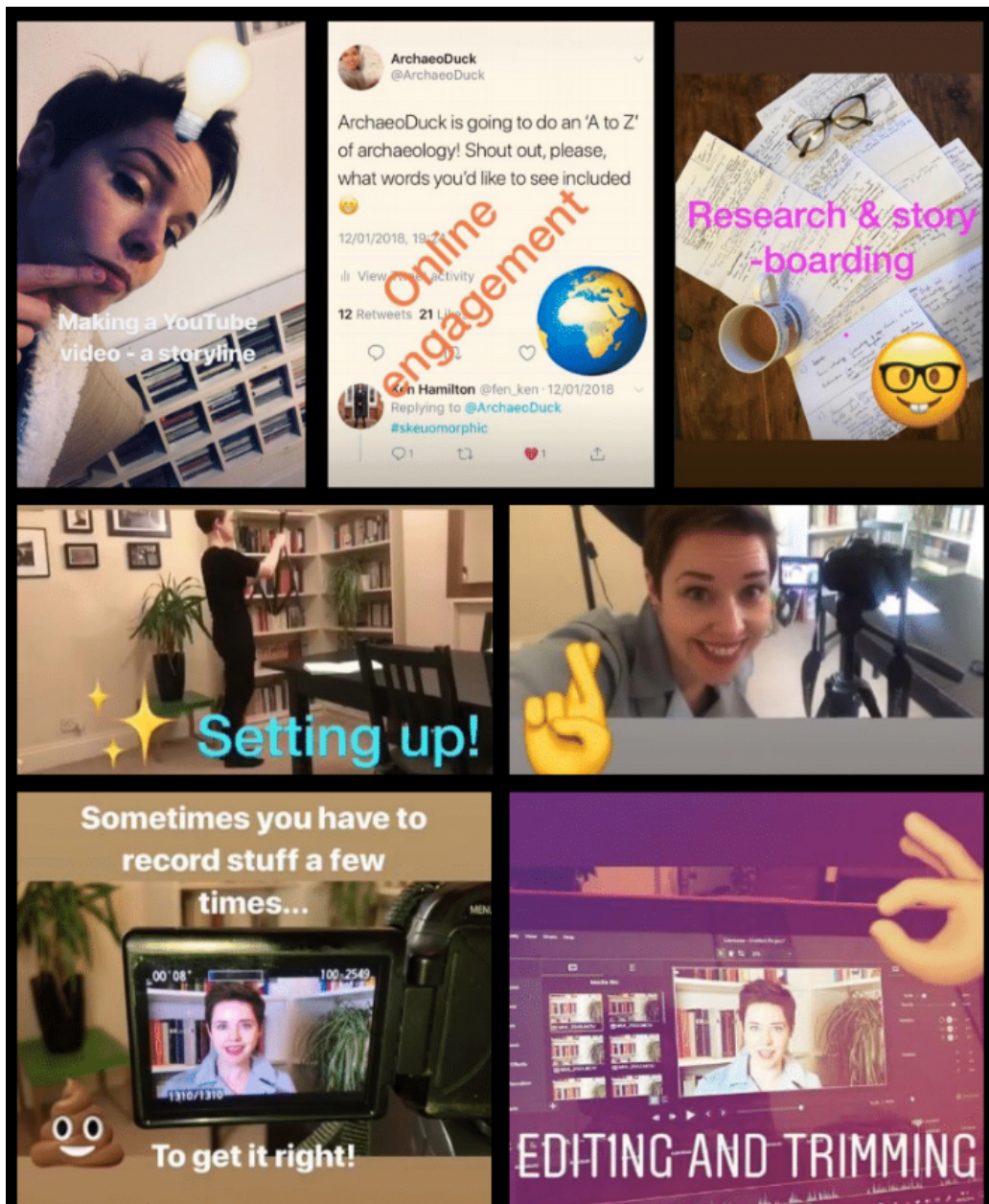[20] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9k9StpXaYSs

Figure 5: Images from Instagram story, 'Making a vlog' (ArchaeoDuck on Instagram, March 2018)

In case you were wondering, the person quoted at the start of this section, to whom I responded with advice on what to wear for digging, got back in touch a few months later to say they had found the confidence to attend the excavation project, and that it had been a dream come true.

Should I, then..?

ArchaeoDuck is not a formal part of my academic profile and is made in my spare time, one of the results of which is that I cannot commit to publishing regular (e.g. weekly) content, *contra* all the advice on how to grow the audience of a YouTube channel. I try to upload at least one new video every month, but even this is sometimes incompatible with a demanding academic career. A five-minute video can take up to three full days to create, once planning, filming, editing and publishing are all taken into account (Figure 5).

Maintaining an online presence (for example, through social media or blogging) is an increasingly prominent aspect of professional life, and is often actively encouraged by employers (e.g. through the provision of training courses). In spite of this, it is rarely factored into workload allocation models or overtime. I suspect that this reflects a sense that it is not really a 'serious' pursuit, which is somewhat at odds with the expectation that (particularly, younger) professionals will perform it. The presence of universities on social media may have an impact on student recruitment (Shields and Peruta 2018), and I have recently been asked to help disseminate content on behalf of my institution, as one of several 'social media influencers' among the academic and professional services staff. Yet social media is developing and changing so fast that it is difficult to quantify its contribution to student recruitment.

It must also be acknowledged that for all the positive stories, the impact of engagement can also be detrimental. Occasionally, I have received personal messages or YouTube comments containing sexually inappropriate and even violent content (which was reported). Comments upon my appearance or mannerisms are not always easy to take. As my public profile increases, I have been offered access to support and training by my employers, which I believe to be an example of good practice that more employers should consider, perhaps earlier in the process (see Perry *et al.* 2015). *ArchaeoDuck* has had its fair share of negative feedback, largely from creationists who disagree with the two videos about radiocarbon dating, but this has not been framed in personally threatening tones: the difference between negative, and abusive feedback is significant in the impact it has upon the content creator.

Many aspects of ArchaeoDuck's content will be open to criticism , but I would prefer to be constructive and to make mistakes, than to indulge in pure critique. Because it does not rely on external funding, it can be planned in the long-term, and can respond to slower rhythms of change. Perhaps it will turn out to be a lifelong project. I expect that both my audiences and perspective will change as time goes on. It is – and must remain – a work in progress, and yet it has already shaped me profoundly as a researcher and a communicator. At the media training event which started me on this journey we were encouraged to first earmark what we thought our research was about, and then to keep 'zooming out' in order to see it from a broader perspective, and to make it more accessible to others; to speak in ways that could be understood outside of our academic disciplines. As I write this, I am developing new research directions that are bolder and more interdisciplinary than anything I would have considered before I started making YouTube videos and engaging in social media. I believe that this is largely thanks to my experience of running the channel, which has ensured that I never lose sight of the bigger issues in archaeology.

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Archaeogaming as Public Archaeology

Afnan Ezzeldin

This note explores the burgeoning field of archaeogaming and its potential as public archaeology. It suggests that while we might celebrate the fictional tropes by which archaeologists and archaeology appear as adventurer and detective in popular culture, archaeogaming offers the potential of many different, rich and complex engagements with archaeological theories, methods and practice; including the encouragement of the gaming community to utilise the knowledge and research done in the archaeological sector to influence and educate the public through an entertaining means.

Archaeogaming is a term that covers both the use of archaeology in games and the archaeology of games (Livingstone *et al.* 2016: 1; Reinhard 2017). Hence, the term applies to archaeological research employed in games, such as the tools and the landscape within the game, how games have evolved over time, but can also apply to the historical aspects of games and their accuracy (Livingstone *et al.* 2016: 1). Many videogames use historical and archaeological settings within their plot and throughout their gameplay. Hence, public archaeologists can benefit from the medium to advertise and educate the public about archaeology. As Copplestone (2017) argues, the relationships between games and archaeological research are difficult to introduce to the discipline, because games have been regarded as for entertainment rather than for education. However, in today's world, communicating archaeology via videogames is merely a medium in which narrative, art, and audio are used to portray a story of any kind, hence opening up new ways to educate and expose a range of publics to archaeological stories and cultures (Copplestone 2017: 87).

Gaming is a learning process: many require an array of skills, such as problem-solving and reaction time (Squire 2008: 17). As the game develops and the levels get more difficult, the games teach the player to respond to the mechanics of the game with simple commands, such as 'jump' or 'shoot'. Through this process, games do not only become addictive, but they consciously educate the player about the game. Video games, therefore, also have the potential to teach players about select aspects of a particular topic or discipline. A game can be entertaining but does not necessarily have to be only, or primarily, for amusement (Huffer and Oxenham 2015). Indeed, there is a long-established strand of 'serious gaming', a concept that provides games with a primary purpose other than entertainment; this includes humanitarian and political ideologies as well as being used to educate within industries such as healthcare, the armed services, and in the aid scientific exploration (Ratan and Ritterfeld 2009; Susi *et al* 2007). For example, *Drowning Simulator (Sortie En Mer)* (Cotton 2014) is a temporary game that was released in 2014 that got widespread and international interest within a year of release, is a game created by French marine wear manufacturer Guy Cotton (2014), that raises awareness about life jackets and boat safety for a short period of time and is then taken offline once its agenda is fulfilled, illustrating the dangers of the sea from a first-person perspective. Short games like this one have a way of expressing the importance of health and safety within the real world, providing the public with an unharmful experience and informed advice via gaming (Markiplier 2015). This suggests that the potential to teach the public about awareness via games is a promising possibility. Meanwhile, on a less visually haunting theme, a serious game about drone warfare came to be in 2012 (The Guardian 2018). *Unmanned* (Molleidustria and Munroe 2012) is a game that allows the player to make timely decisions based on the storyline and plot, which follows a young male who works as a US drone operator. This game thus sheds light on the horror of modern computerised conflict and its parallels with video games themselves. Games like these have the ability to remain entertaining as well as being educational, providing the public with a new way to engage with political, military and safety affairs that they may not necessarily be aware of.

Many games contain little or no relationship to the human past informed by archaeological information, whether we are referring to *Pong* (1972), *Street Fighter* (Capcom 1987) *Super Mario Bros* (Nintendo 1983) or *Call of Duty* (Activision 2003) (Squire 2008: 17). Yet, games can provoke complex thought processes which are reflected in problem-solving skills that can easily be attained when playing any genre of game, an example being *Immune Attack* (Federation of American Scientists 2008), a game developed by the FAS, Browns University and the University of Southern California as an alternative mode of teaching complex biology to students (Annetta 2008: 230). The successes of educational games are promising, and as done abroad in the USA, the ability to bring games into an educational light for archaeology in the UK is possible. The idea of using games in an educational manner is well respected, as it has been tested and proved that sitting faced forward on chairs, taking notes and listening is the most effective way to teach, and to learn (Squire 2008: 17). Indeed, instead of using the word 'games', it could be better to label this technological advancement as 'digital learning'.

Building on increasingly enhanced digital methods of landscape investigation (e.g. Bewley *et al.* 2005: 636) and the aspiration to explore sensual and experimental elements of past landscapes (Gearey and Chapman 2006: 154), virtual worlds hold considerable potential for public engagement with archaeological research and the human past. For example, virtual reality modelling inside the Stonehenge Visitor Centre includes a surround projection of the monument from the perspective of one standing within the monument. The seasons shift and centuries pass as visitors witness successive prehistoric phases. Games also have the ability to convey such somatic experiences through visuals and sound, such as the use of virtual reality in the project of Ename 974 (Plentickx *et al.* 2000). This not only applies to visitors to heritage sites and museums, but to facilitating groups to access prehistoric and historic environments from home via the world wide web who lack physical access to these places. Giving visitors and the public an opportunity to experience archaeological remains through gaming promises to bring the past to a host of new audiences in a fun and sensorial way.

In the light of these games and their potential for digital archaeology, there is little excuse for archaeology in games not to tackle real-world portrayals of the human past, archaeological processes and archaeologists, alongside more familiar fantastical and inaccurate representations. Yet archaeological remains are frequently incorporated into games to provide only a stylised historical settings and for background purposes. Where concepts of archaeology are evident, and/or the core of the game focuses on archaeological endeavours, video games remain heavily reliant on entrenched stereotypes, from the *Indiana Jones* franchise (Atari 1982–1985; LucasArts 1989–2009; Taito 1991) to *Tomb Raider* (Eidos Interactive 1996–2009; Square Enix 2010–present). Both franchises now constitute long-term interplays between series of films and successive generations of video game, which have garnered an authenticity of their own in Western culture detached from archaeological theory, method and practice.

This note does not aim to focus on the misconceptions and long-term stereotypes of both the human past, adventure archaeologists and archaeological research perpetuated via the popular franchises mentioned above (Meyers Emery and Reinhard 2015), however, it serves to remind archaeologists as well as game developers that games can engage with real-world archaeological scenarios and still be entertaining. Moreover, they could be the future of recruitment and funding for potential archaeological projects. Hence, not only reaching new audiences, archaeogaming has the potential of expanding archaeological research (Meyers Emery and Reinhard 2015). Games might be actively used in not only archaeological sites, such as museums, stately homes and listed buildings, but as a mode to entertain and interest the public through archaeology's universal nature. This could be done via the cooperation of game developers with archaeologists, as working together to create accurate representation of the past as well as the discipline would be a promising and revolutionary step for the future of development and recruitment within archaeology.

In conclusion, the development of games and digital learning within archaeology has a promising future. Being able to communicate archaeological research through engaging with virtual environments and the learning structure of gaming will produce new ways to communicate, advertise, and explore archaeological finds via digital archaeology, but perhaps also new ways of knowledge production as familiar sites are perceived from new perspectives.

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Part 3

Art as Public Archaeology

Playful Encounters: Engaging Children in Public Archaeology

Aaron Clarke

This chapter illustrates, through a Playmobil model layout designed by the author for the 2017 Archaeo-Engage Conference, potential museum experiences to engage children and families with archaeological finds and experimental techniques. Playmobil figures introduce representations of life in communities of the past. The model is designed as a multi-period museum, which offers exhibits of British archaeology from prehistory to the late medieval period, a temporary Egyptian collection, and zones for multisensory interaction such as artefact handling points, experimental archaeology, storytelling and interactive displays. Characters are dressed in period costumes and finds such as building materials, domestic utensils, and weapons are simultaneously educational and integral parts of playful possibilities. The encounters, experiences and participation suggested by the model are underpinned by theoretical principles of a playful, interactive approach, and demonstrate the value and relevance of museums in contemporary life. A museum setting, where archaeological finds are displayed and interaction is invited, offers a creative prompt to develop public knowledge. The strength of such playful encounters is to provide opportunities to relate the daily activities of the present to those of the past and future.

Introduction

Active and playful engagement provides rich educational experiences. This chapter explores the learning potential of public engagement with archaeological finds in museum settings, in particular children's encounters, as shown through an interactive and playful installation: a Playmobil museum designed for the 2017 Archaeo-Engage Conference. The installation illustrates the current popularity of archaeology in heritage and popular culture and advocates a playful, interactive approach to engaging children and families. Playfulness is powerful to learning and educational play requires good resources and a thoughtful set up. The overall aim of this chapter is to illustrate, through a model layout constructed for adult delegates, museum experiences to engage children and families with archaeological finds and experimental techniques. The design is underpinned by theoretical principles of a playful, interactive approach.

A Playmobil 'archaeological museum'

Playmobil (a registered trademark of geobra Branstatter GmbH & Co. KG) produce a range of children's small world toy figures. Their range includes themed 'History' sets, which involve characters and artefacts from periods such as ancient Egypt, ancient Rome, Viking and medieval Britain. Van Leeuwen (2005) describes Playmobil as a microcosm of the social world represented through the modality of play. He suggests that the inclusion of historic figures adds a 'context of culture' to the range, which takes children beyond events that can be observed in their everyday life. As such, these toys introduce representations of life in communities of the past.

The author assembled diverse resources, from a range of sets, into a detailed visual and tactile model, thus creating a multi-period museum. The installation (Figure 1) aimed to prompt discussion, explore the medium of educational playful interactivity, and focus enquiry on community encounter, engagement and participation in archaeological exhibits in museums and heritage sites.

Archaeologists have already engaged with toys, including Playmobil, in exploring dimensions of public portrayals of both archaeological pasts and archaeologists. Notably, Holtorf (2005: 52) briefly examines Playmobil in the context of archaeology and popular culture, and critiques the stereotypical depiction of the Playmobil archaeologist as 'adventurer' or 'bearded white man, wearing a safari hat and raiding

a tomb.' This is a glamorous but rather unsophisticated image. In contrast, Izquierdo-Peraile *et al.* (2015: 202) exemplify the use of a Playmobil model for children, depicting a rather more realistic archaeological site at the Museum of Human Evolution in Burgos. Indeed, the current Playmobil Special Plus set 9359 (Figure 2), contains a modern archaeologist at work, with section line and tools, including a trowel and a camera to record contexts. This is a somewhat more positive representation, with educational value and play possibilities for children. Building on these reflections, let us consider how Playmobil can foster our thinking regarding play and the museum setting.

Figure 1: A model museum using Playmobil figures and accessories

Archaeological museums

Simon (2010) notes decreasing audiences for museums over the last twenty years. His analysis suggests that people are turning to sources of entertainment and learning other than museums. However, archaeology as a 'product' enjoys considerable current popularity and offers a range of experiences for 'consumers' in the present that account for peoples' interest in the past (Holtorf 2007), including visiting an archaeological museum. Museums have a social dimension as educational centres: as tools for educating children in equality and respect for heritage (Izquierdo-Peraile *et al.* 2015). The involvement of the public in heritage education, such as museum exhibitions, is increasingly important in the democratic formation of our cultural identity (Von Londen 2016). The encounters, experiences and participation proposed by the installation have the potential to maintain connection of people to cultural institutions and demonstrate their value and relevance in contemporary life: engagement as cultural participants, not passive consumers. The focus upon families concentrates on engaging children, who make new links to exhibits from their existing knowledge (Andre *et al.* 2016). The archaeological finds become an access point to the activities. The installation considers curation of artefacts, and the importance of engaging media to create memories by projected learning as sites of encounter and engagement. An effective museum goes beyond a space to display objects and offers a multidimensional experience (Falk and Dierking 2000; Roppola 2012).

Figure 2: Playmobil Special Plus set 9359 - A modern archaeologist at work

Archaeological themes through playful interactivity

A museum setting, where archaeological finds are displayed and interaction is invited, offers a creative prompt to develop public knowledge through experiential interpretation. The strength of such playful encounters is to provide opportunities to relate the daily activities of the present to those of the past and future, and present archaeological knowledge for long-term knowledge retention (Roppola 2012). This kind of learning is described by Merriman (2004: 102) as 'informed imagination'. Sadly, the world of children in the past is generally under-represented in museums due to the paucity of evidence of children's lives in archaeological remains (Izquierdo-Peraile *et al.* 2005) as well as the implicit default assumption of maturity of human subjects. This presents a challenge for museums to increase resources they have on offer to engage children. This model illustrates some of those playful opportunities.

There is a biological subconscious interconnection when individuals are at play, which sculpts the foundation of learning and development of the brain (Felton and Kuhn 2007). Playmobil develops play into innovation and analytical discussion. Vygotsky (1978), a social constructivist, proposed that learning happens through interaction with knowledgeable others, through language and thought, and that learning happens through hands-on experiences that build understanding of the world. Playful learning through engagement has been promoted by Anderson *et al.* (2002) and Goulding (2009) within the field of museum study. They propose that children create new links to exhibits or knowledge from their existing experience of these modes of play. In this light, my installation focuses on the principle of playful encounter within public archaeology, and a range of strategies designed to engage visitors in a museum environment. The model also draws on best practice in museum design.

Izquierdo-Peraile *et al.* (2005) acknowledge the role of adapted and personalised museum resources as a growing source of recreation and education for families. They propose active learning in a layout that

allows visitors to look at all collections comfortably, read texts without difficulty, offers educational tools for different ages, and temporary exhibitions of interest to younger visitors. With activities for children that promote 'learning through play and discovery… archaeological museums could be truly inspirational' (Izquiredo-Peraile *et al.* 2005: 205). Furthermore, Moore (2017) stresses the importance of developing children's chronological understanding. He proposes innovative and engaging ways of learning about time, sequence and differences between time periods, and encourages educators to allow children to build their understandings in active ways. Furthermore, he urges educators to develop children's historical imagination by 'linking evidence, understanding and imagination to chronological questions' (Moore 2017: 82). Thus, the model illustrates these principles through examples of well-designed playful interactivity.
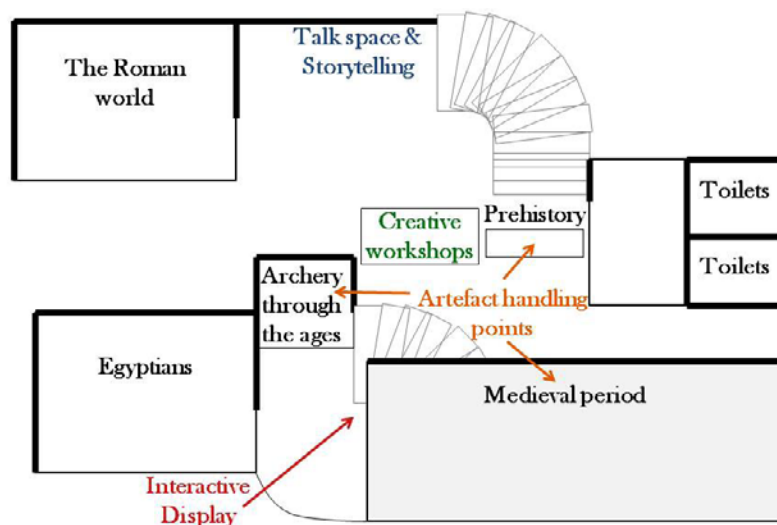
Figure 3: Floor plan of the model museum

Examples of interactivity within the model

The model is designed as a multi-period museum (Figure 3). There is a temporary Egyptian collection and exhibits of British archaeology from prehistory through to late medieval periods, as well as zones for multisensory interaction such as artefact handling points, experimental archaeology, storytelling and interactive displays. Characters are dressed in period costumes and finds such as building materials, domestic utensils, and weapons are simultaneously educational and integral parts of playful possibilities.

Interactivity of artefact handling and experimental workshops

The model is, however, more than a play-orientated materialisation of museum galleries. As Hein (1998) suggests, engaging directly with material connects an individual to the journey of an artefact on display. Handling significant artefacts allows visitors a 'special privilege' (Goulding 2009) within the 'territories of danger and desire'. Handling can constitute intimate encounters between the visitor and artefacts. Artefact handling in any form is thus memorable, after which visitors record feeling more connected to their history and heritage on a local and national scale (Figure 4). Holtorf (2005) uses the term 'archaeo-appeal' and notes how 'simulated participation in scientific practice and the magic of encountering enigmatic objects can provide visitors with very powerful experiences. They are even

stronger when they are part of themed environments that tell exciting stories about the past and modes of discovery, involving the visitor in 'metaphorical scenarios' (Holtorf 2005: 155). The model exemplifies opportunities to draw children's attention to 'thinking routines' (Andre *et al.* 2016) where they are encouraged by approachable costumed characters to 'see, think and wonder' when encountering new objects (Figure 5), images and ideas, through the 'language of thinking'.

Figure 4: Artefact handling at the museum

Figure 5: Interactive experimental archaeology at the museum

Interactivity with stories and storytellers

The model also features costumed storytellers (Figure 6). Storytelling serves as a fundamental prompt to learning (Bedford 2001), and Roppola (2012: iii) describes museums as 'facilitators for experience … as two, three, four dimensional storytellers'. Storytelling has a pivotal role in facilitating children's learning, and child/adult interaction has significant impact as an encounter. Felton & Kuhn (2007) emphasise the story already inherent in any artefact; there is no need to 'invent a story' for dramatic effect. The story of artefacts promotes talk; engaging critical discussion of new material to shape existing knowledge of a subject (Felton and Kuhn 2007).

Figure 6: A costumed storyteller entertaining the audience

Interactivity through encounters with technology

Audiovisual resources enrich visitors' experience in museums. The model includes digital devices as interactive possibilities. This is designed to allow children to immerse themselves in moving images and see the artefacts in the museum in use as they would have been in the past. The model promotes 'encounters' through familiar technology. Narratives provided by a computer within an exhibit engage visitors. Interactive systems offer a chance to explore clues and mystery through problem-solving activities.

Izquierdo-Peraile *et al.* (2005) note the potential for this development through apps for tablets and smart phones to extend experience of museum artefacts. Lock (2006: 226) proposes that digital applications found in informal learning environments make a significant contribution to 'edutainment'; he uses

museums as an example where 'interactive displays are often effectively used to engage visitors in a dialogue with information', that is 'user controlled and perhaps, most importantly, enjoyable'. These experiences are, of course, not a physical encounter, but enhance and extend the uses of museums as physical spaces of education and engagement with the past.

So, to what extent do digital applications constitute real 'engagement' with archaeology? Furthermore, how might this virtual engagement be best managed? Keene (1998) expresses concern that digital substitution may draw visitors from museums and real world encounters but, perhaps, knowledge of an object or collection via remote internet access may intrigue participants to seek a more physical encounter beyond the initial discovery through virtual engagement. In the installation, encounter and technology meet and complement each other (Figure 7).

Figure 7: The museum exhibits include interactive digital content

Interactivity with funerary archaeology

The display of the dead in museum contexts has been a contentious area of shifting practice and policy (see Giles and Williams 2016). The British public generally agree with the display of skeletal remains under the correct circumstances (Swain 2002). Children often show interest and curiosity in the human skeleton but rarely encounter genuine examples. Engaging children and families in funerary archaeology is represented in the model by including virtual examples of human remains within an

exhibit. The model provides a separate room where a human skeleton is displayed (Figure 8). Careful signage and management provides information about human remains before visitors enter the exhibit room, giving the choice not to proceed if thought this might be an uncomfortable experience. These decisions model ethical treatment of the dead and the duty of a museum to balance education and personal belief. Such an interaction in this carefully designed museum offers a respectful and thought-provoking experience. A consideration of skeletal remains can bridge an acceptance of death (Sayer 2010) and create an opportunity for discussion of difficult topics through museum encounter.

Figure 8: A human skeleton is sensitively displayed

Cleal (2008), for example, believes that human remains are an important part of the educational experience when people visit a museum, where the visual engagement with the ancient dead aids a developed understanding and an emotional connection to the narratives of individuals' lives. Izquierdo-Peraile *et al.* (2005) exemplify the use of a video resource in a museum in Ibiza, which uses child presenters to take visitors on a journey to explain grave-goods in a sensitive story of loss and death, as a narrative which exposes visitors to the family life of our ancestors. The installation therefore incorporates an example of how museums operate as a 'morbid space' for engagement with the past and mortality (Williams 2018).

The model – representation, playful encounter, understanding and future possibilities

The installation illustrated in the chapter prompted conference delegates to reflect on best practice in making archaeological finds accessible to children and families. Via this publication, it now invites the reader to consider ways in which playful interactivity can foster learning. The Playmobil museum is representative of opportunities to interface with materials and objects not encountered or noticed before. Cochrane and Russell 'set out to challenge traditional archaeological perspectives via alternative

media' (2007: 18) and encourage dynamic interactions. They call for archaeologists to re-engage with visual arts, as a visual literacy of archaeological theories, methodologies and narratives and suggest future work as 'a series of installations curated to interact not only with the assemblage of pieces but also with the assemblage of persons' in public and expert spaces (Cochrane and Russell 2007: 14). The model museum has resonance with their ideas. It aims to capture the attention of the audience, both public and expert. It uses the specific medium of Playmobil, as an accessible toy designed to portray a degree of accurate historical detail, and it is informative in its own right. It illustrates encounter and experience for museum visitors, particularly children, in the development of public engagement.

Delegate discussion at Archaeo-Engage 2017 prompted two specific questions of the installation. Firstly, who is the museum for? Such a museum would be for all, although the focus is on playful encounters for children, these are framed to include significant others such as families and educators. Secondly, how might this relate to education, schools, and national curricula? The installation is designed to illustrate broad and varied content. Out of school experiences are an integral part of any curriculum. Children are future heritage users, engagers, and protectors of archaeological artefacts.

The model and discussion suggest that hands-on activities, with narratives and opportunities for play, are most effective when supported by a knowledgeable adult or technological character. The museum acts as an illustrative model through the medium of Playmobil, an educational toy. The installation is a new assemblage (of knowledge and ideas past and present), which invites attention and discussion at multiple levels.

Some archaeologists persist in regarding community archaeology as peripheral and/or unimportant, viewing its remit as beyond the profession and best fulfilled by a specific community archaeologist who might make archaeology accessible to the public, and facilitate a higher profile for archaeology as a whole (Richardson 2017). However, the model presented in this chapter represents a tri-fold future of community archaeology: a physical model that illustrates archaeological museum design; an educational toy that invites playful interaction; and a prompt for discussion of strategies to engage and educate. Community and public engagement for the younger generations has a future which should involve play, encounter, experience and engagement whether in museum and heritage settings, or in other environments.

'Archaeology's critical potential lies in the capacity to open people's eyes, both in amazement at the magic provided by archaeology and through insights into the characteristics and significant implications of that magic' (Holtorf 2005: 158). This model captures some of that magic for children, and provides insight into the implications of a playful approach for all. Although constructed from an existing range of Playmobil items, it is not commercially available as a museum design. However, if it were, it would be a powerful educational toy in its own right to engage children with museums and archaeology at home.

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Reaching Communities through the Stories on the Walls: Graffiti Surveys, Participation and Public Engagement

Ellen McInnes

Traces of ritual marks and graffiti in historical buildings in England were recognised and recorded throughout the 20th century. However, knowledge of this resource was largely confined to building specialists and academics. In 2010 the Norfolk Medieval Graffiti Survey began a large-scale survey of these marks in medieval churches in Norfolk, carried out entirely by volunteers. Further surveys have been established in more than ten counties of England, all involving community participation and led by a range of organisations. The success of the Norfolk project, both within archaeology and with the media, has led to a number of community archaeology awards. However, there has been little other evaluation of this and other similar surveys as a growing dimension of public archaeology in Britain today. This chapter considers this group of historical graffiti-centered community archaeology projects and the different models of community involvement they employ. In particular, the North West Historic Graffiti project is evaluated in terms of its community engagement which ranges from hands-on volunteers to those who interact via digital media. The author, as a director of the project, takes a self-reflexive approach to assess whether aims regarding community involvement and interaction are being achieved.

Introduction

The recording of graffiti and inscriptions in medieval churches has been undertaken by volunteers in Norfolk as part of a project led by Director Matthew Champion since 2010. The Norfolk Medieval Graffiti Survey has inspired a series of similar volunteer-led graffiti surveys subsequently launched across the UK. A range of different groups are responsible for the organisation of these but all rely primarily on volunteers to gather data. The nature of the recording method allows for a more flexible volunteering model that is better suited to the motivations, skills and availability of individual volunteers.

The following chapter explores how the process of surveying graffiti allows for a flexible volunteering model alongside consideration of the shortcomings of these projects. In particular, these issues are explored via a focus on the North West Historic Graffiti Survey (NWHGS), which aims to record graffiti, marks, symbols and burn marks in medieval and early modern buildings in North West England. The research area includes the counties of Cheshire, Merseyside, Greater Manchester and Lancashire. Rather than attempt to survey these areas in person, the project aims to train and work with local groups to enable them to carry out their own surveys.

A little known resource

The presence of graffiti and apotropaic marks in medieval and early modern buildings was noted by scholars during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (e.g. Christiensen 1987; Jones-Baker 1981) but these were often incidental observations (e.g. Emden 1922; Short 1946) or small-scale studies focussed on a specific area, type of mark or motif (e.g. Alexander 1996; Pritchard 1967; White 1994). In part, this piecemeal recording was due to the expensive and time-consuming nature of individual researchers capturing, by hand, each mark, inscription and symbol identified. In recent decades, technological advances, notably digital photography, have allowed large-scale surveys to be undertaken far more easily.

The Norfolk Medieval Graffiti Survey (NMGS), established in 2010, was the first volunteer-led project that aimed to systematically examine and record medieval graffiti, focussing on the wealth of medieval churches in the region (Champion 2011). A number of county surveys have since been launched (Derbyshire, Cambridge, Cornwall, East Sussex, Greater Manchester, Hampshire, Kent, Lancashire, Lincolnshire, North Wales, Nottinghamshire, Rutland, Suffolk, Surrey, Wiltshire, Worcestershire). In addition to these projects, there have been both volunteer and professional surveys at an increasing

number of National Trust properties (e.g. Champion 2013; Cohen and Champion 2013; Cohen 2017), and at a range of sites across London (e.g. Gaimster 2007; Schofield 2006; Wright 2015).

Although much of the work has focused on medieval graffiti, some projects have been extended to study early modern marks. This has been in response to a recognition that graffiti and the use of apopotraic marks continue beyond the medieval period (e.g. Easton and Hodgkinson 2013; Gurney 2012; Jones 1985; Wright 2017). The NWHGS began in 2016 with a survey of St Wilfrid's Church, Northenden; however, the vast amount of alteration to churches in the area in the late nineteenth century means that these buildings offer only a limited resource for studying graffiti and apotropaic marks. As a result, it was decided that an initial emphasis on church buildings should be expanded to include all buildings with an architectural element of medieval or early modern date.

The NWHGS has now worked with nine local groups to survey churches, timber-framed halls, timber-framed agricultural buildings, stone-built farm buildings and a sixteenth-century fortified manor house complex. In addition to providing more opportunities for volunteers to explore the history of their region, this broader remit for the survey allows questions of change and continuity in these practices to be considered. These kinds of research questions can only be examined because of the increasing amount of data made available by the enthusiastic work of thousands of volunteer surveyors.

Figure 1: Volunteers use a torch to cast a raking light across a masons mark to better highlight the mark for the photograph. (Photo: © C. King)

Recording methods and training volunteers

Undertaking a survey of historical graffiti requires little equipment and no specialist skills, making it accessible to a wide range of volunteers. A photographic record can be made using a digital camera, light source and photo scale. The main technique involves shining a raking light across a surface to enhance and highlight faint marks, meaning they are more easily recognised and photographed (Figure 1). This method can be easily demonstrated to volunteers, and basic photographic techniques can be simply perfected through practice. The majority of volunteer surveys also include a written record of graffiti found in a building. The level of detail included in written records varies between surveys

but, as a minimum, it should record the types of graffiti found, and where in the building they are located. Within the NWHGS, the written record captures a number of details about the graffiti surveyed. Each mark is recorded individually, noting aspects such as the surface material, the lighting used, and specific location (Figure 2). Although taking longer to complete, these recording forms do not require specialist knowledge from volunteers, but allow for a large amount of data to be captured about each mark. This depth of recording and the systematic examination of all surfaces can mean multiple visits to a building are required. Whilst this often means that surveys take longer to be completed, return visits and repeated examinations in different lighting and weather conditions can reveal previously unseen marks.

A key role of the NWHGS has been to provide training to interested volunteer groups to enable them to work independently. All aspects of the recording are introduced during a one-day training session that all volunteers with the NWHGS are asked to attend. Training is best achieved via on-site practical experience with guidance notes provided to all volunteers. Training sessions also include best practice tips on working with curators and owners of historic buildings, and an introduction to the wider topic of graffiti and apopotraic marks to allow volunteers to situate their work within a wider context. All training is delivered by the directors of the NWHGS ensuring consistency in terms of training and recording methods across individual surveys within the project.

Once a training session has been completed, volunteers are encouraged to take responsibility for finishing the individual surveys with the photographs and records being collated by the volunteer group. As part of joining, the NWHGS groups agree to provide a copy of all records to the project directors to allow an archive to be assembled. Using that information, a report of findings for each building is produced by the project directors and deposited with the local Historic Environment Record. The volunteers are encouraged, however, to use their data to offer their own interpretations via alternative output material.

Following this model, six churches, four timber-framed halls, one stone built farmhouse and one estate saw mill have been surveyed. A further nine buildings have had a preliminary survey in advance of a full survey, including a public house dating to AD 1622. These surveys have been carried out by a range of local groups and in some cases have involved several groups working together to complete the project. At Ordsall Hall, Salford, for example, members of the South Manchester Archaeology Research Team (SMART) worked alongside Ordsall Hall Volunteers over a number of months to complete the survey. Working with those who are familiar with the building meant the team could access restricted areas, and examine objects more closely than would have otherwise been possible.

By completing surveys over multiple visits, and carrying out repeated examinations of surfaces, a greater number of marks than might have been found with one visit have been identified. This is particularly true for buildings where surfaces have been subject to treatments, or decoration meaning marks can be very faint and difficult to see. Marks made on wooden surfaces can be especially difficult to recognise especially where varnish or paint has been applied. This has been particularly relevant in the NWHGS, as although the walls and floors of many church buildings in the North West have been redressed internal fixtures and furniture often survive from an earlier phase (Figure 3). Pews at St Michael and All Angels, Mottram, had been, in part, constructed from wood recycled from earlier fixtures and marks from their earlier use could be identified (Figure 4). Alabaster effigies at St Mary's Church, Cheadle, for example, featured a range of marks and graffiti including inscriptions, VV symbols, hexafoils (daisy wheels) and a mesh measuring only 10mm by 10mm.

At some properties, graffiti or marks were found on original pieces of furniture, often out of view or hidden amongst a decorative scheme, for example, the Elizabethan Radclyffe Bed at Ordsall Hall has at least two taper burns. The recording of taper burns more generally has been a growing aspect of the NWHGS, particularly as more timber-framed buildings have been examined. At Ordsall Hall, Salford, over 150 taper burns were recorded despite extensive restoration in some areas (Figure 5). Experimental work by Dean and Hill (2014) highlighted the deliberate nature of these marks and there has subsequently been discussion of whether these acts of burning can be interpreted as apotropaic marks (see Champion 2017a for a useful summary). Data collected by volunteers on the frequency and

location of taper burns within a range of buildings in the North West can hopefully contribute to debates over their meaning and significance; here the survey is directly contributing to a new area of research. It is key that the results of all surveys are made accessible to the public and research community to fulfil aims of furthering discussion and enabling communities to explore new aspects of historic buildings.

Figure 2: Detailed recording sheet used by volunteer groups with the North West Historic Graffiti Survey. (NWHGS 2016)

Beyond recording

Data collected by both professional archaeological surveys and volunteer projects have been used to produce a range of published material. Comprehensive summaries of the topic have been published (e.g. Champion 2015a; 2015b; 2016; Easton 2016) together with more detailed articles that focus on a specific building or type of mark (e.g. Boulter 2000; Williams 2017). These published outputs, along with data submitted to the Historic Environment Record, form much of the formal dissemination of material with much of the data drawn from professional work. As the longest running volunteer-led survey there is perhaps no surprise that the director of the Norfolk Medieval Graffiti Survey has published their results widely in a number of media (e.g. Champion 2011; 2012; 2014; 2015b; 2017b) and regularly hosts events and presents talks on the topic. Similarly, both volunteer surveys and professional work

commissioned by the National Trust has been routinely summarised in reports by lead surveyors (e.g. Cohen 2017; Dhoop 2015). As mentioned above, a gazetteer of marks found in each building is prepared by the directors of the NWHGS, with copies lodged with the Historic Environment Records and the building management.

Figure 3: Volunteers examine a wooden screen inside St Wilfrid's Church, Northenden. (Photo: © C. King)

Talks and tours are also delivered by some survey projects and these more informal outputs are key in fulfilling the aim of disseminating the work of the surveys to a wider audience than academic researchers. As directors of the NWHGS it is emphasised that our role is to archive data but not control how it is disseminated. Volunteers are encouraged to communicate information and share their results. The South Manchester Archaeology Research Team (SMART) are one of the volunteer groups that have been trained by, and work with, the NWHGS. The group have surveyed several churches, the seventeenth-century saw mill at Dunham Massey, and Ordsall Hall, Salford. Formal outputs from these surveys have been a digital and paper archive for each building alongside informal talks and reports to local societies. The group have also undertaken to produce leaflets detailing their finds for each building (Figure 6) and are also in the process of creating audio-guides available to download for free as part of a drive to make archaeology inclusive. At Ordsall Hall, Salford, volunteers that took part in the survey and also worked at the Hall are now able to include information about the graffiti and marks into their discussions with visitors. Alongside collating an archive, the NWHGS carried out a number of tours of Ordsall Hall for members of the public that focused on the results of the survey and in addition ran a workshop for students from The University of Manchester.

However, almost all of the graffiti surveys have an online presence: ranging from dedicated websites (e.g. Gwynedd Archaeological Trust 2017; Surrey Medieval Graffiti Survey 2014) to accounts on social media (e.g. Hampshire Medieval Graffiti 2018; Rutland Graffiti 2017). Digital media has not only allowed

the storage and sharing of large numbers of photographs but also facilitated discussion amongst volunteers and fostered a supportive social community. Beyond those already involved in surveys online media have also allowed a wider audience to become engaged in the topic including academic scholars, amateur archaeologists, local historians and the general public. By creating space for online discussion, it is possible for those who do not physically take part in the surveys to nonetheless contribute to discussions and offer interpretations. This form of community engagement is perhaps the most accessible aspect of the project. The ability to share and discuss results with a vast community further enables participation amongst those who are perhaps traditionally unable to partake in archaeology.

Figure 4: Truncated concentric circles on a piece of re-used wood within the pews at St Michael's and All Angel's, Mottram. (Photo: © C. King)

The English Medieval Graffiti group on Facebook has over 1500 members ranging from academic researchers, volunteer surveyors and interested members of the public. Images are shared from throughout the UK prompting discussion of typologies, interpretation, geographical distributions, surveying techniques, and general enthusiasm for the topic. While each regional survey stimulates sociality and conversation amongst its individual volunteers the embracing of social media has created a larger network and platform for this aspect of community archaeology.

There are dangers in relying on these digital platforms as the only method of dissemination. In some cases, only particularly outstanding examples are shared online or an image gallery is uploaded without the written record. As a tool for fostering enthusiasm or stimulating conversation, digital media and social networks are valuable platforms, however, these should be in conjunction with a formal archive to ensure a full record is preserved and made accessible. This is not an issue limited to historic graffiti surveys or to community archaeology, however it is a problem exacerbated by a lack of co-ordination between the community projects across the UK, and made more complex by the different types of organisation involved. There is a need to ensure that archival material is produced routinely and that this data is widely available. Whilst digital outputs can increase the accessibility of data, these need to be curated and maintained in a number of formats to satisfy both research and community requirements.

Figure 5: Taper burns at Ordsall Hall, Salford, as recorded by volunteers (Photo: © W. Olejwniczak)

Surveying graffiti in your spare time

Although the regional surveys vary in the level of detail recorded and the outputs produced, all have attracted volunteers interested in exploring their local heritage and history. The appeal of these projects to those already interested in archaeology and the past is perhaps unsurprising: the NWHGS had drawn a large number of volunteers from local archaeology societies and groups. However, existing archaeology enthusiasts do not account for all volunteers. The organisational model used by the regional surveys has proven successful in reaching beyond the traditional audience for community archaeology projects.

The success of the graffiti surveys is in contrast to a national decline in volunteering (Office for National Statistics 2017). According to the most recently available data from the Community Life Survey carried out by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (2016) the top reasons given by adults in the UK for not volunteering in any capacity were: work commitments, having to care for children, needing to work around the house, and having other interests. Reasons given by those who had stopped volunteering included: not having enough time due to a change in circumstances, health problems, old age, and the activity taking up too much time. It is in relation to these two sets of responses that the successful model of volunteering employed by the graffiti surveys is best explored.

Whilst not identical, there are common features between the different projects: training can be completed in a day and little equipment is needed. Once trained and signed up to a project, volunteers can carry out recording in their own time, alone, or as part of a group.

Participation can range from a one-time event recording a few inscriptions to surveying an entire building. For those who cite time demands as a reason for not volunteering, the flexibility of graffiti surveys provides opportunities that can meet an individual's availability. When joining the NWHGS, there is no minimum commitment beyond the initial training day, volunteers can attend an organised recording session for as long as they are able and surveying can be flexible in terms of days and times (subject to access to the building).

Inside the Tower

On the second floor of the tower you can find elipses crossed with a grid. This could be a medieval demon trap that forced

invading demons to walk in endless circles. This is likely to be the earliest graffiti in the church. Later, three vertical lines (representing a holy trinity) and the initials JR (Jesus Rex/Jesus is King) have been added, possibly for extra protection.

The lead roof of the church is covered in graffiti with carvings of handprints, footprints, early square-toed shoes, dates, initials, protective crosses and circles, knives and a wheelbarrow.

Hidden Graffiti at St. Wilfrid's

St Wilfrid's is built on the site of a medieval church which was mostly demolished in 1873. The surviving elements of the medieval tower at the western end of the church originate from the late 14th to 15th century. This is where you can find historic graffiti.

In 2015, members of SMART, a local volunteer archaeology group undertook a survey of the very old graffiti at St. Wilfrid's under the guidance of the Greater Manchester Graffiti Survey (GMGS).

The GMGS is a project to record graffiti found in historic places. This work is important because it gives us an insight into the lives of people in the past.

Want to know more?

There are a lot more symbols in the church.

To find out more visit @NWHistoricGraffiti

Or visit the SMART webpages

Historic Grafitti Trail St. Wilfrid's Church

St Wilfrid's Church has been surveyed to find its historic graffiti.

Can you spot the historic marks around the church?

Scratched into the pl on the east facing w the tower and sealed behind the 1742 pew this rare sketch is clo the current floor leve Sometime in the 170 someone was sketching desig a hammer beam roo

One of the most common forms of graffiti are initials and dates, sometimes associated with significant historical events.

The earliest being a possible date of 1602 or 1694 located in medieval tower. Can you spot other dates

Inside the Church

The Tatton Screen is behind the choir stalls. This screen may have once been part of a private household and moved to the church at a later date. There are lots of symbols to spot here.

Can you find: a monkey with a money bag, a three faced man and two acrobats?

There are five different Mason's Marks on the stones. The arrow marks were used to show which craftsman made the stone blocks so they could be paid for the work they completed.

There are also dates with initials relating to the 19th and 20th centuries in the tower and roof.

On the outside of the tower you can find some of the oldest carvings, a green man and a triple faced man. Inside the church there is also a carved stone 'celtic' head (Celtic in style). The heads were probably protective.

Sketch plan of St Wilfrid's Northenden (not to scale)
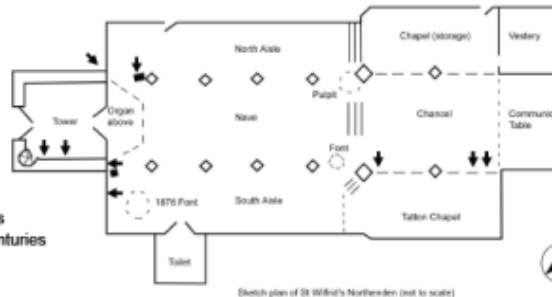
The crossed V sign or upside down W is a Marrion Mark and was the symbol of the Virgin Mary.

These marks were used to ward off evil spirits and are usually found near thresholds; the places where evil spirits might enter the building.

The monkey holding the money bag represents usury or extortionate money lending. We might use the term 'loan shark' today. The monkey is a warning against bad money lending.

One acrobat is holding a staff with a star. The other is holding a crook the symbol of a religious leader. The acrobats are bound together with a cross. The tumblers could represent the wheel of fortune or the opposing worlds of religion and magic.

The three faced man represents the trinity of the father, the son and the holy ghost.

Figure 6: Part of an information leaflet about historic graffiti at St Wilfrid's Church, Northenden, produced by the South Manchester Archaeology Research Team. (SMART 2018)

Alongside the ability to be flexible around other time commitments the surveys are also less physically demanding than many activities associated with archaeology, such as excavation, but conversely more active than attending talks or exhibitions.

The average age of members of archaeology groups has been estimated at 55–65 years (Woolverton 2016; Thomas 2010: 23) and problems with mobility, stamina, fatigue and dexterity increase considerably in, and beyond, this age range (Department for Work & Pensions 2014: 8). These infirmities can restrict participation in physically demanding fieldwork such as excavation or landscape surveys. In contrast, graffiti surveys offer opportunities to remain active at a flexible pace offering an archaeological opportunity that is accessible by a greater range of people.

Recording does not require a high level of fitness and those with health problems, or in older age groups, can participate in a way that suits their own abilities. The majority of graffiti surveys take place indoors in publicly accessible buildings that should be adapted for those with mobility disabilities, although failures in this regard remain an obstacle. Volunteers with age-related mobility issues, ill-health, and physical disabilities have been able to take part in the NWHGS in a number of different ways. Although recording the graffiti forms one of the main tasks, a range of roles centered on aspects such as photography, drawing, archiving and dissemination are also available and can be tailored to individual volunteers.

Whilst there a number of ways in which the graffiti surveys can make archaeology accessible some problems that can be a barrier to public involvement, such as access to buildings and travel costs, remain. The equipment required for the surveys is minimal: a pen, hand tape, camera, and photo-scale. A standard smartphone camera is sufficient but this requirement may still be a barrier to some volunteers. Within the NWHGS, recording paperwork and photo scales are provided for every volunteer. A grant from the Council for British Archaeology: North West has allowed the purchase of lighting and camera equipment that can be loaned to volunteers and it is hoped that it can make the project more accessible.

Although the graffiti surveys all follow a flexible model of volunteering differences in the management of activities impact on the degree of flexibility and accessibility. A small number of surveys are managed by independent project directors, however, the majority are run by archaeological trusts or societies. Membership of these groups is often required to participate and therefore a membership fee can become necessary. This can limit volunteers to those willing and able to join these groups and can remove some level of autonomy from volunteers as events may be centrally co-ordinated.

Those projects that are managed by central directors (Norfolk and affiliated surveys, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, NWHGS) allow greater flexibility for volunteers but require centralised staff to conduct training and co-ordinate the collection of data. In two cases (Norfolk and affiliated surveys, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire), these costs have been met by the Heritage Lottery Fund but with a limited funding period, whilst smaller grants awarded to the NWHGS have contributed to funding the beginning of the project. The cost benefits of being entirely volunteer organised are clear, however the benefits of a central co-ordinator in ensuring a wider reach beyond community archaeology and amongst groups across a county suggest there is also value in such an approach.

Conclusions

A specific aim of the North West Historic Graffiti Survey (NWHGS) is to create opportunities for a range of volunteers to participate in developing the project, carrying out surveys of buildings, and production of output material. Beyond an initial day of training the nature of the activities involved in graffiti surveys means that a flexible approach to volunteering can be taken and the circumstances of individual volunteers can be addressed more easily. This includes greater accessibility of community archaeology projects for those with mobility problems or ill-health. These more flexible opportunities have also allowed for friends and family volunteering where groups of mixed abilities or interests can participate in a shared activity. The sociality of taking part in an active project, as opposed to attending talks, is retained whilst remaining accessible.

Much of the work done so far by the NWHGS has involved existing archaeological groups or societies. Moving forward one ambition is to expand to groups that might not typically consider archaeology as an activity. Work with the Ordsall Hall Volunteers and Pendle Forest History Group have been steps in this direction and shown that there is enthusiasm beyond traditional archaeology audiences. This is a particular strength of the project in comparison to community fieldwork based programmes. The more accessible nature of graffiti surveys and flexible recording system opens up the activity and field of interest to a greater number of people. This benefits not only academic researchers but importantly those caring for historic buildings who are seeking to create opportunities to engage with local communities.

The adoption of digital media has further expanded opportunities for volunteers to contribute in the interpretation and dissemination of survey results. The application of new technologies and media further expands the appeal of the survey by providing further routes by which volunteers can contribute and engage with the project. However, an over-reliance on digital media can also alienate some in the community. The challenge of downloading and transferring digital photographs may deter some from taking part, and an emphasis on the use of social media could create distance and division amongst volunteers. The benefits of sharing and discussion online are perhaps obvious to those familiar with social media but should not cause us to neglect other forms of communication.

While enthusiasm for historical graffiti as a research topic and community archaeology project continues to power work across the UK, the shortcomings of the regional surveys must be acknowledged and addressed. There is currently a lack of centralised co-ordination to guide the archiving and publication of results. This hinders the exploration of larger research questions that reach beyond county borders.

Problems with the way in which surveys are managed and engage with their community must also be acknowledged. As with any community archaeology programmes there is a need to evaluate all aspects of the project to ensure that issues with communication, accessibility and methodology are identified and remedied. To this end, the NWHGS continuously seeks feedback from volunteers and building managers, and has yet to remove the word 'Draft' from the volunteer handbook. As much as research questions drive us to collect more data, a recognition of the importance and value of the surveys as volunteer projects has led our development and we aim to create accessible opportunities that allow communities to engage with their historic buildings and heritage.

Acknowledgements

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Visualising Heritage Complexity:
Comic Books, Prehistoric Rock-Art and the Cochno Stone

Kenneth Brophy and Hannah Sackett

Comic books and graphic-novels are becoming increasingly common media within archaeology, both within academic writing, but also in the field of public engagement with heritage. This chapter discusses the recent development of, and use in school workshops, of a comic book that relates the complex story of a prehistoric rock-art site near Glasgow, UK: the Cochno Stone.

Introduction

The Cochno Stone, West Dunbartonshire, is one of the largest panels of Neolithic abstract rock-art in Britain (Figure 1). Situated on the urban fringe of greater Glasgow, this monument has enormous potential as an educational resource and visitor attraction. Under normal circumstances it would be a famous heritage site. However, due to a troubled twentieth-century (AD) history this monument has been, until recently, known only for a complex biography consisting of ethical dilemmas, community disenfranchisement and unfulfilled potential. A series of creative engagements with the surface of the rock-art panel between 1937 and 1965 included the application of oil paints. Meanwhile, the scratching of graffiti led to the decision by heritage authorities to bury the Cochno Stone to protect it from further damage. This act, carried out in the spring of 1965 at the behest of the Ancient Monuments Board and a private landowner, was a conservative reactive action, deferring rather than resolving the monument's heritage management. The local community were not consulted about the reburial, with negative long-term implications for their relationship with their own heritage. As a result, over the decades, the Cochno Stone has gradually been metaphorically, as well as literally, buried. The Stone has become at best a footnote in academic reviews of rock-art in Britain, and likewise it has been consigned to a distant memory for most local people.

Around the fiftieth anniversary of the Stone's burial, this situation began to be reversed. There was a revival of interest in the Cochno Stone in print media, social media and the creative arts (including the location of the monument being featured in a 2013 film called *The Devil's Plantation*, directed by Glasgow filmmaker May Miles Thomas and based on a blog of the same name). A Facebook page was set up to campaign for the uncovering of the Druid's Stone (as the site is sometimes known locally). This momentum led to an opportunity for collaboration with the local community, and over two weeks in September 2016 a team of archaeologists (directed by one of the authors: Brophy) and digital heritage specialists revealed the surface of the Stone for the first time in 51 years for the purposes of photogrammetrically recording it. The local community were able once again to see this magnificent monument and they visited the excavations in their dozens. At the end of the fortnight, the Cochno Stone was buried once again due to the wishes of the landowners, and constraints of scheduled monument consent (we only had permission from Historic Environment Scotland (HES) to uncover and record the stone, not leave it uncovered in perpetuity). However, this time things would be different about the reburial: there was no mood for the Stone to be forgotten. Since the excavation, a community archaeology project has developed that is actively focused on keeping the memory of the Cochno Stone alive. Its objective is to try to use the rock-art at Cochno, and a dozen smaller examples in the surrounds, for the benefit of the people of nearby Faifley and across Clydebank more widely. This endeavour aims to make the Stone part of the fabric of local schools and the suburban landscape, and explore the long-term future of the monument.
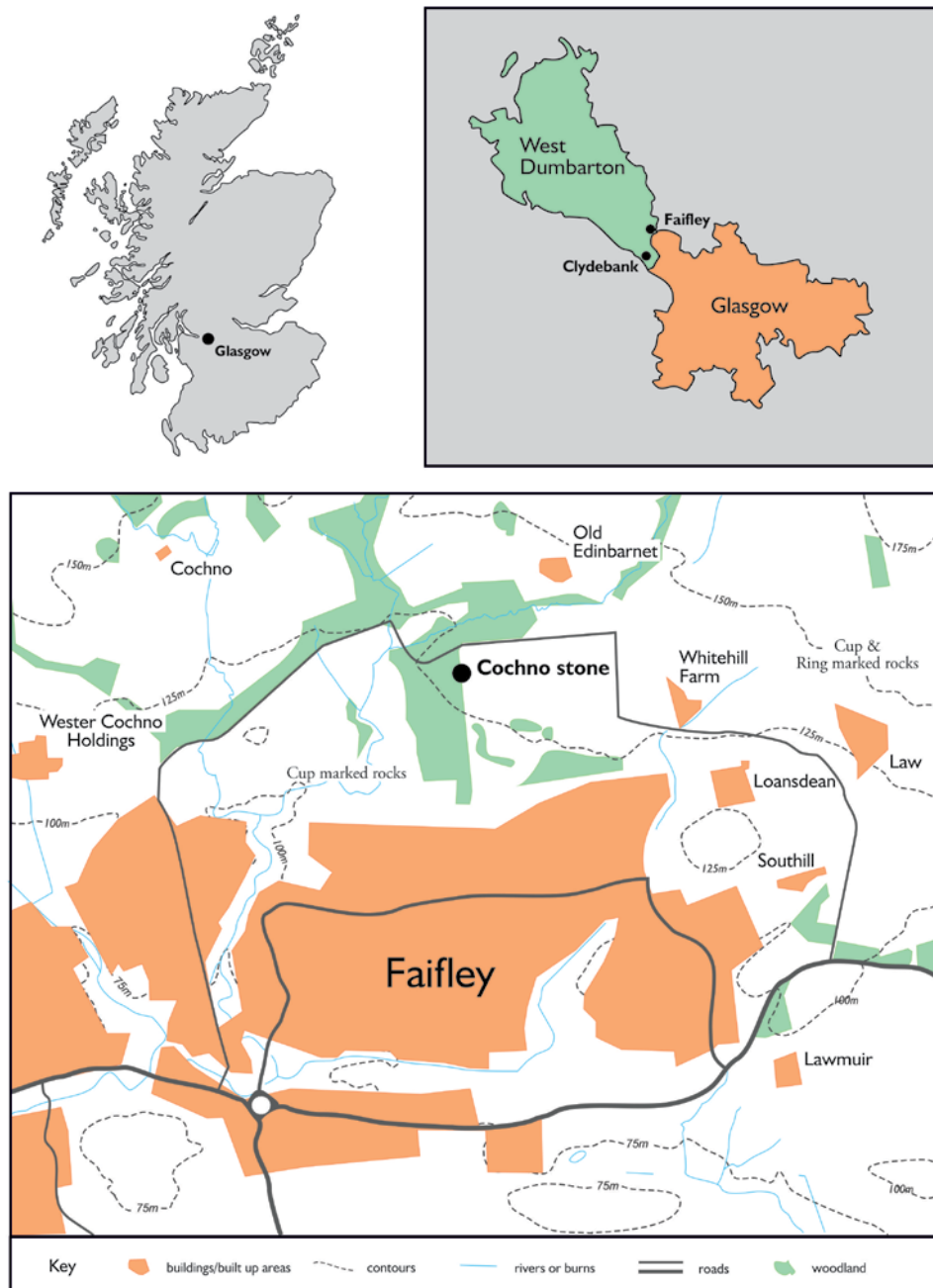
Figure 1: Location map (drawing prepared by Lorraine McEwan)

In this chapter, we want to consider an important element of this community archaeology project: the creation of a comic book based on the complex story of the Cochno Stone. We address the design and implementation of a comic book workshop based on the story of Cochno, which has been already been used to engage with several schools in central Scotland and hundreds of primary school children. As well as contextualising the comic book and workshops, we will also consider the emergent potential for comic books and graphic novels to be used in the heritage sector within and beyond Scotland: they are an increasingly popular option to encourage and support public engagement. Engaging the public with hidden heritage sites, buried beneath their feet, is a particular challenge that requires an innovative

229

and imaginative approach. While abstract, rock-art across northern Europe, whether buried or out in the open, lends itself well to opening up conversations about how we interpret and value the prehistoric past. We hope that the case of Cochno helps to demonstrate the efficacy of comics in communicating heritage complexity: reaching pupils of a range of abilities, and stimulating conversations about social value, heritage priorities and ethical considerations about our shared past.
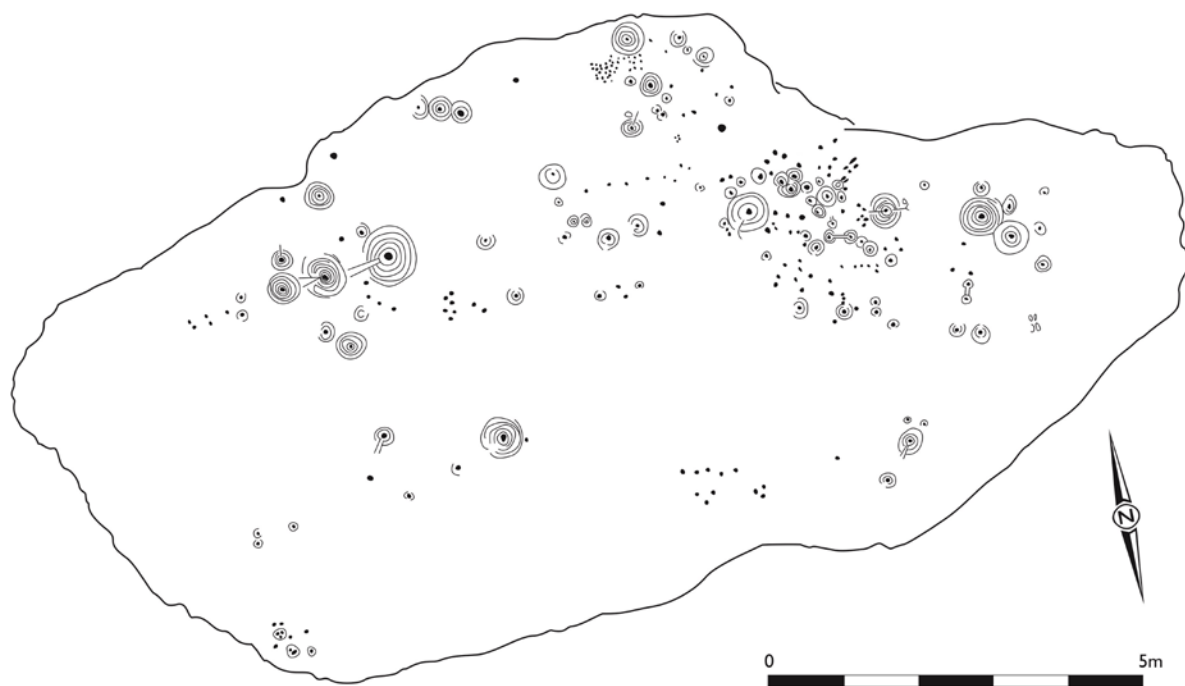

Figure 2: The Cochno Stone, drawing based on laser scan and photogrammetry data (drawing prepared by Lorraine McEwan)

The story of the Cochno Stone

The story of the Cochno Stone is one of the strangest in British prehistory. The monument is in the foothills of the Kilpatrick Hills, on the edge of Faifley, part of Clydebank, West Dunbartonshire, about 30 minutes' drive from Glasgow city centre and easily accessible by public transport (Figure 1). It is a large sedimentary gritstone domed outcrop with rock-art covering large parts of an area of rock measuring some 15m east–west by 8m; most symbols concentrate on the higher parts of the stone. Preliminary analysis of photogrammetric data, photographs, and laser scans taken during the 2016 excavations (see Brophy 2018), show that the Cochno Stone has carved into it at least 45 cup-and-rings marks (one almost 1m in diameter), over 100 cupmarks and a variety of other symbols in much smaller quantities (Figure 2). This density of markings perhaps explains why this monument has given its name to the locality. 'Cochno' derives from the Gaelic for 'little cups'; the earliest recorded documentary record of the use of this place-name can be traced back to the twelfth century (Simon Taylor pers. comm.). In terms of the density, quantity and quality of markings, this is one of the most significant rock-art sites in Britain and based on research and fieldwork at other abstract rock-art sites, the Stone was probably first carved in the third millennium BC.

The site was first documented in the late 1880s by the Rev. James Harvey of nearby Duntocher. He recorded a small outcropping portion of the surface of the western half of the Stone (at the time located

in the grounds of an estate called Cochno), producing a sketch plan and a brief account of the form and quantity of the symbols he recorded. He noted that with 'a little labour, more of these mysterious hieroglyphics may be brought again to the light of day' (Harvey 1889: 137), and this happened relatively quickly, with a more extensive and comprehensive analysis of the stone published less than a decade later. John Bruce and W.A. Donnelly cleared the entire surface of the Cochno Stone (as they called it, the first published use of this name) and produced the definitive plan of the monument, drawn by the latter of the two men. They noted the presence of many cupmarks and cup-and-ring marks, as well as an unusual cross symbol, and two small footprints, both with four toes (Bruce 1896: 208). Remarkably, Donnelly's illustration of the Stone was the only measured drawing of the complete monument from first-hand experience to be published until the excavations 130 years later. A small sketch of the stone drawn by T.C.F. Brotchie, published firstly in the *Evening Times* newspaper in 1909, and then in his book *Some Sylvan Scenes near Glasgow* (1910), depicts only a square metre's worth of symbols. In other words, the Stone is a monument that has rarely been drawn.

Figure 3: Ludovic Mann (left) and George Applebey on the Cochno Stone © HES / George Applebey

Popular with visiting walkers and writers, school visits, archaeology (and other learned) society fieldtrips and – increasingly – people living nearby as urbanisation crept closer, the Cochno Stone had a period of relative stability in the decades after its formal archaeological identification in the late

nineteenth century. A drystone wall was constructed around the visible extent of the rock-art, while a wall that ran across the stone – a land ownership boundary – was removed. (The Cochno Stone to this day straddles two land-holdings, the local authority on the west side, a private landowner to the east.) A stile on the wall facilitated visitors who wished to climb into the compound with the Cochno Stone and there was nothing to stop those visitors walking on its surface, probably causing minor wear and damage to the monument after thousands of years of being protected by a thin covering of soil, turf and weeds.

The process of change accelerated dramatically in the summer of 1937 when the eccentric amateur archaeologist Ludovic McLellan Mann took an interest in the Stone, assisted by his friend George Applebey (Ritchie 2002). Although by then some graffiti had been carved onto the stone's surface, Mann left his own enduring mark. In the late summer of 1937, he covered the entire surface of the Cochno Stone in a complex grid of coloured oil paints, which would have completely transformed the appearance of this ancient monument (Figure 3). This work was undertaken ostensibly to prepare the site for a visit of the Glasgow Archaeological Society (GAS) in the autumn of that year (Ritchie 2002, 51). In fact, it was really an opportunity for Mann to play out his theories about the nature of ancient rock-art on a grand palette. The stone was covered in a complex and very detailed grid, consisting of yellow, red and blue lines, in some places giving the stone the appearance that it had been transformed into megalithic graph paper. The prehistoric symbols, as well as graffiti and natural markings, which Mann mistook for ancient carvings, were painted white and green. The colour scheme allowed him to demonstrate his theories that the symbols related to prehistoric measurements and cosmological stories. Unfortunately, Mann published little on the specific meanings of the colours used and what he believed the symbols to mean, although one published diagram suggests he read an obsessional level of detail into each element of the carvings on the stone (Figure 4). In this example, he suggested that a pair of adjoining cup-and-ring marks told the story of the ability of people in prehistory to predict eclipses, and thus defeat the 'evil serpent' which 'eclipsed and swallowed' the 'sun god' (Mann 1939: 14).

Mann's painting of the Cochno Stone is an act that continues to split opinion and remains a problematic ethical and conservation issue.[1] The uncovering of the Stone in 2016 revealed that much of the paint remains *in situ* and is still vibrantly coloured, tangible evidence for an act that could be viewed as vandalism or creativity, perhaps both. Opinion was also split at the time. It is easy to imagine the charismatic Mann walking on the stone, pointing to things and lecturing to the appreciative visiting GAS members and other guests (such as the now defunct Kirkintilloch Antiquarian Society) on fieldtrips that autumn. Using records held in Register House, Edinburgh, it is possible to trace the official – and less positive – impact of Mann's actions, which led to the stone becoming a scheduled ancient monument by the end of 1937 (Brophy 2018), but also attracted a steady stream of visitors to the monument. These visitors, as well as local people in new housing estates being constructed in nearby Clydebank, increasingly began to make their own marks on the stone (hardly discouraged by Mann's actions). Excavations in 2016 recorded over 100 individual pieces of historic graffiti, mostly names, dates and initials, carved onto the stone's surface, a few probably Victorian but the majority dating to the 1950s and 1960s (Douglas 2017).

Finally, a meeting of the Ancient Monuments Board in March 1965 decided on the drastic step of burying the Cochno Stone. The Stone was soon after buried beneath between 0.5 and 0.75m of soil (not quite the three feet that was asserted by Morris (1981: plate 111 caption) that was needed to protect the Stone from 'vandals from nearby towns'). The wall surrounding the monument was also largely dismantled. This seemingly radical act was in fact an extreme response to the ongoing heritage management problem,

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[1] The painting of prehistoric rock-art symbols red or white was commonplace in Norway and Sweden from the early twentieth century, as a means to make symbols clearer to visitors, although this practice is no longer encouraged (Bjelland and Helberg 2006: 72).

an action that appears to have been undertaken with no public consultation or warning, and with little long-term planning for the future of the monument. The disenfranchisement of the local community, some of whom used the cups on the Stone to play marble games on (as evidenced by the discovery of marbles on the stone during the excavation (Brophy 2018: 16), and conversations with local people who played at Cochno), is still felt keenly within Faifley even today. Some local people who visited the excavation told team members of a sense of shame about the burial of the Stone half a century ago.
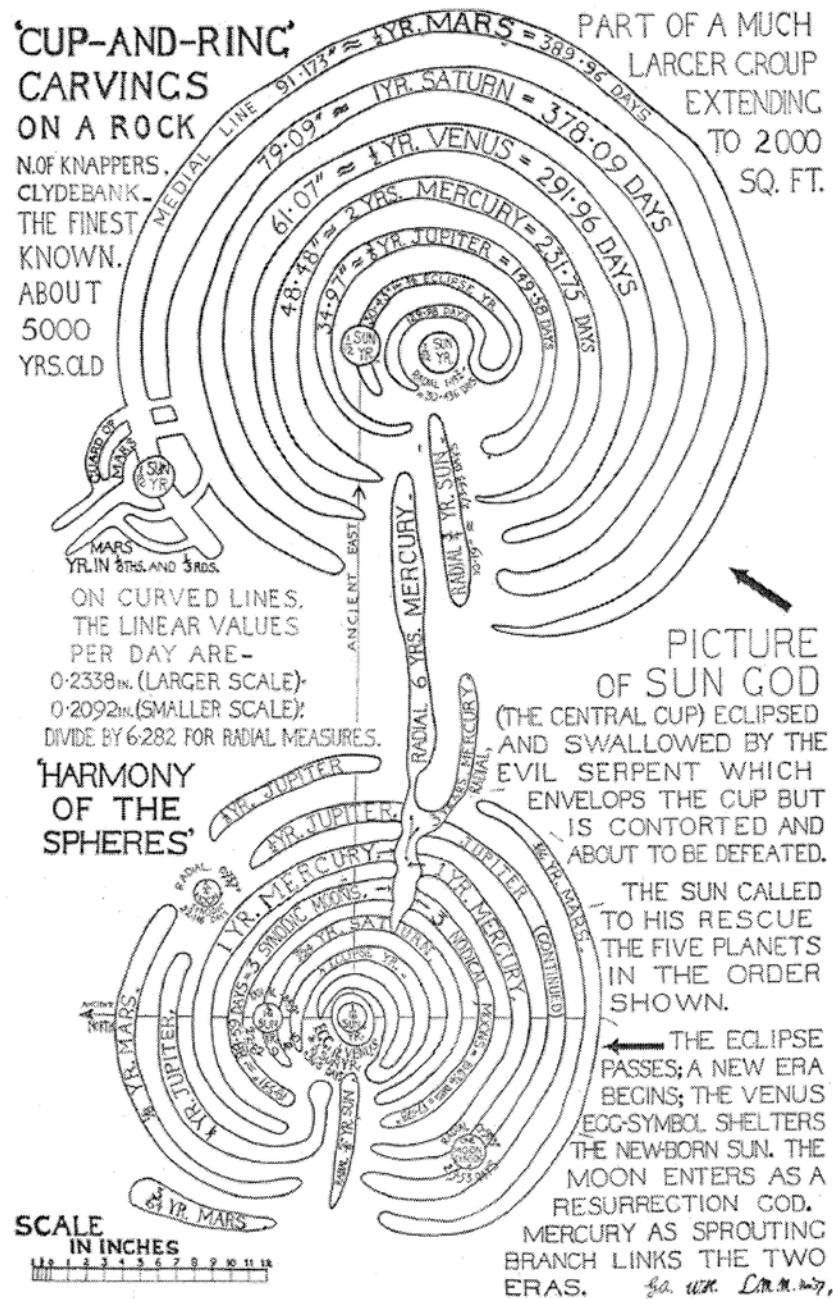
Figure 4: Mann's sketch showing two large cup-and-ring marks on the Cochno Stone, and the cosmological stories he supposed they meant (Mann 1939)

Public engagement and the Cochno Stone

Since 2015, concerted efforts have been made to make reparations for the loss of the Cochno Stone to the local and wider community, with the combination of a local campaign group, the enthusiasm of film-maker May Miles Thomas, and media interest around the fiftieth anniversary of the Stone's burial, giving momentum to a project to uncover and record the Stone. This project, a collaboration between the University of Glasgow and digital heritage organisation Factum Arte, has from the beginning been explicitly about reviving public interest and awareness of the Cochno Stone, with the aspiration to give renewed access to the monument in the future (with a variety of possible means to do this available). In other words, this is very much a public engagement project, with archaeological information about prehistoric Cochno regarded as a secondary consideration. The primary goals were about documenting and understanding modern engagements (pre- and post-burial), foregrounding the rock-art in the life of the local community, and to canvas for opinions on the future of the Stone.

Figure 5: Revealing the Cochno Stone in 2016 (Photo: K Brophy)

The excavation of the Cochno Stone in September 2016 exposed the stone for less than two weeks (Figure 5), but was a pivotal event in the life of the monument because it allowed data to be collected that could be used for future activities and research without the need for the Stone to remain exposed. The data therefore might not only contribute to future research, but also facilitate the creation of a full-scale facsimile of the Stone in the future. Finally, the data could be used to help create alternative ways of experiencing the monument, including augmented reality and 3D modelling. These endeavours followed on from a trial excavation in September 2015 (for summary results of both excavations, see Brophy 2018). Taken together, these events, which were essentially watching briefs accompanying topsoil removal, successfully allowed a detailed photographic and digital dataset of the Stone's surface to be recorded, shedding light on the various markings on the stone from prehistoric motifs to historic graffiti (Figure 6). The Stone was buried again at the end of the process.

Figure 6: Docherty graffiti, featured in the comic, and revealed during the 2015 test excavation of the Cochno Stone (Photo: K Brophy)

Since the end of this phase of fieldwork, a series of events and activities have taken place locally and across central Scotland to raise awareness about the (pre)history of the site, and gather memories of, and stories about, the Stone before it was first buried. Simultaneously, the events and activities facilitated consultation about future plans for the Cochno Stone and other rock-art in the Faifley vicinity.[2] These activities are ongoing and will be documented elsewhere (e.g. Brophy and Douglas in

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[2] There are at least 16 other rock-art sites in the vicinity, none on the scale of Cochno, mostly documented by Morris (1981).

prep.); they include school visits, workshops, fieldtrips, public talks, gathering oral memories, meetings with stakeholders, and an exhibition (Figure 7).

Figure 7: A talk about the Cochno Stone in Faifley, April 2017 from team member Ferdinand Saumarez Smith (photo: K Brophy)

A key aspiration of the project has been to work in schools using the story of the Cochno Stone in various contexts and lessons. In part, this has been facilitated by the introduction in Scotland of the Curriculum for Excellence (CfE) which spans primary and secondary education and is much less proscriptive in terms of course content than previous curricula; teachers have the opportunity to develop modules and lessons which transcend traditional subject boundaries. Despite not formally being taught in schools in Scotland, archaeology is a good fit with this new Curriculum because it cuts across subject boundaries, encourages innovation and creativity in the classroom, facilitates outdoor learning, and has both academic and practical aspects (Brophy et al. 2014). Rock-art lends itself especially well to being used in the classroom. For instance, it was observed that the fact archaeologists do not know what cup-and-rings marks actually mean was considered empowering to school children and their teachers, and so suggestions made in the classroom and playground were perceived as valid and listened to. The abstract imagery of the rock art is accessible to children of all ages and abilities, and this distinctive art form can inspire creative and imaginative responses in word and image.

The Cochno Stone has so far fed into various sessions run in schools in central Scotland as a direct result of the excavations undertaken, related to ethics and heritage (secondary level), and rock-art

and symbolism (primary level). In one instance, in tandem with teachers at St Mungo's High School in Falkirk, a module was developed that fitted in with the People and Society course, aimed at National 3 and 4 levels (courses offered from secondary fourth year onward, 15–16-year-old pupils). This course provides opportunities for lower achieving students to study a range of social subjects together, instead of focusing on only one discipline. There are three units within People and Society, one of which is 'making decisions' (Brophy et al. 2014), a suitable theme for Cochno because we wanted to challenge the pupils to reach a considered decision regarding the fate of the Cochno Stone going into the future. To do this, a series of lessons were developed which included topics such as the story of the Cochno Stone, how archaeologists have studied British prehistoric abstract rock-art, and the social context of rock-art around Faifley. A fieldtrip to the 2016 excavation was also included in the first iteration of this course. For their coursework, the pupils had to design a poster about the Cochno Stone (Figure 8). The course's final assessment challenged the pupils to reach a decision about whether the Cochno Stone should be uncovered permanently, or remain buried for its own protection, with mixed responses drawing on a range of arguments and evidence. This course continues to be delivered annually, with the materials being developed for national dissemination. Ethical considerations related to the Cochno Stone can open up further debate about local heritage and how we value it: the Antonine Wall runs through Falkirk and is situated in a largely urban landscape, with complex interaction between past, and present, and ongoing contested development and ploughing of cropmark elements of the Roman complex in the area.

By way of contrast, a single class session, nicknamed 'Chalkno Stone', has been developed and so far trialled in schools in Hamilton, Edinburgh and Faifley. This involves working with classes of children to mark out the outline of the Cochno Stone in chalk in the playground, using a plan of the stone and 30m measuring tapes. The pupils are then encouraged to fill in the Cochno Stone using chalk to draw symbols commonly found in prehistoric abstract rock-art (cups, rings, spirals) as well as those specific to the Cochno Stone such as the four-toed footprints (Figure 9). After doing this, and prompting conversations about what the symbols look like and might have meant 5,000 years ago, the children are then allowed to add their own symbols to the chalk version of the Cochno Stone, including initials, names, school logos and so on. This interactive and outdoor learning experience works best with senior primary school children (8–11-year-olds) and allows discussion and learning about symbols and identity, as well as attempting to shed light on one of the more mysterious elements of prehistory.

As well as these school activities, other public engagement events have taken place, with the aims of:

1. keeping the public updated about the results of the excavations and ongoing data analysis;

2. consulting with local people and organisations about what they would like to see happen with the Cochno Stone in the future (to uncover or not?), other local rock-art and how information related to the project might best be disseminated;

3. finding out what the Cochno Stone means to people who remember it from before burial, and how locals interact with the extant rock-art panels.

A range of strategies have been utilised to raise awareness of the Faifley rock-art as well as consult as widely as possible and gather memories, these include: workshops, local talks, an exhibition (see below), lectures made available online, news media coverage, social media and blog publication of all results. Connections have been made with local organisations such as housing associations, the local community council, primary and secondary schools, local government, Clydebank local history society, Clydebank Museum, Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF), and members of the Scottish Parliament, Scottish Youth Parliament, and local artists. Going forward, based on consultation undertaken since the excavations, we would argue that the Cochno Stone can only benefit the people of Faifley and

Clydebank if the information and sites are used in ways that make sense to local people and that are relevant and forward-facing. The Cochno Stone project would not have thrived had this merely been another prehistory project; public engagement is at its heart. It was in this spirit that the idea of a comic book was developed, to tell the story of the Cochno Stone, help raise awareness, engage families and try to get across the complexity of the history of this site.
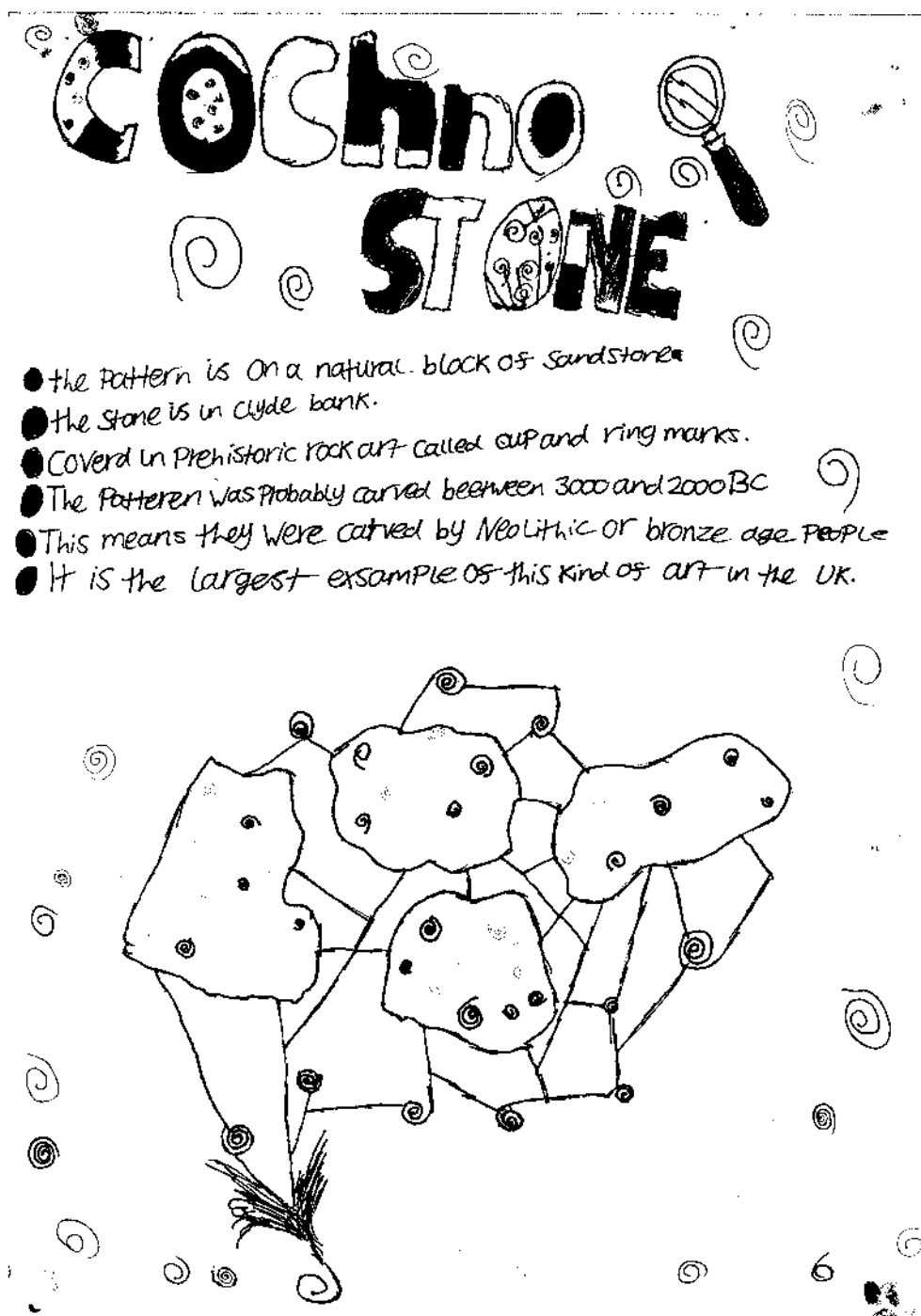
Figure 8: Cochno Stone poster created by a pupil at St Mungo's High School

Figure 9: A 'chalkno stone' created by pupils of Clifton Hall School, Edinburgh (photo: K Brophy)

Lost and found

Funding was applied for and received in spring 2017 for an event about the Cochno Stone as part of the Being Human festival. This is a festival that takes places over a week each November, mostly in the UK, that celebrates humanities research and public engagement (Being Human 2018). In 2017, the theme for the festival was *Lost and Found*, and the Cochno Stone event was funded as part of a broader suite of events proposed by the University of Glasgow. The event was entitled *Ludovic Mann and the Eclipse-Eating Monster*. The aspiration was to tell the story of the monument to local schoolchildren via Mann's bizarre engagement with Cochno, outlined above, with a focus on his striking notion that, in prehistory, eclipses were explained by stories about a monster that ate the sun, and that cup-and-ring marks on the surface of the Stone told this story. The Being Human event was conceived to revolve around a specially commissioned comic book telling the story of Mann and the Cochno Stone, accompanied by a workshop to be delivered in local schools, culminating in an exhibition of artwork related to the project, excavation information, and comic books and drawings created by children to be held in Faifley. From early in the process, it was also the aspiration for the comic and related activities to continue to be used beyond the Festival.

The use of a comic book, aimed at primary school children (aged 7–11), to tell the story of the Cochno Stone, was an attempt to explore how complex heritage site stories could be told using a simple and clear narrative.

Figure 10: Extract from the comic *Treasure* ©Hannah Sackett

This was not to be a dumbing down process, but rather an attempt to foreground the parts of the story that convey important moments of human interaction in the biography of the monument, whether that be the carving of symbols in prehistory, Mann's paintjob, 1960s graffiti, or the burial of the stone. The
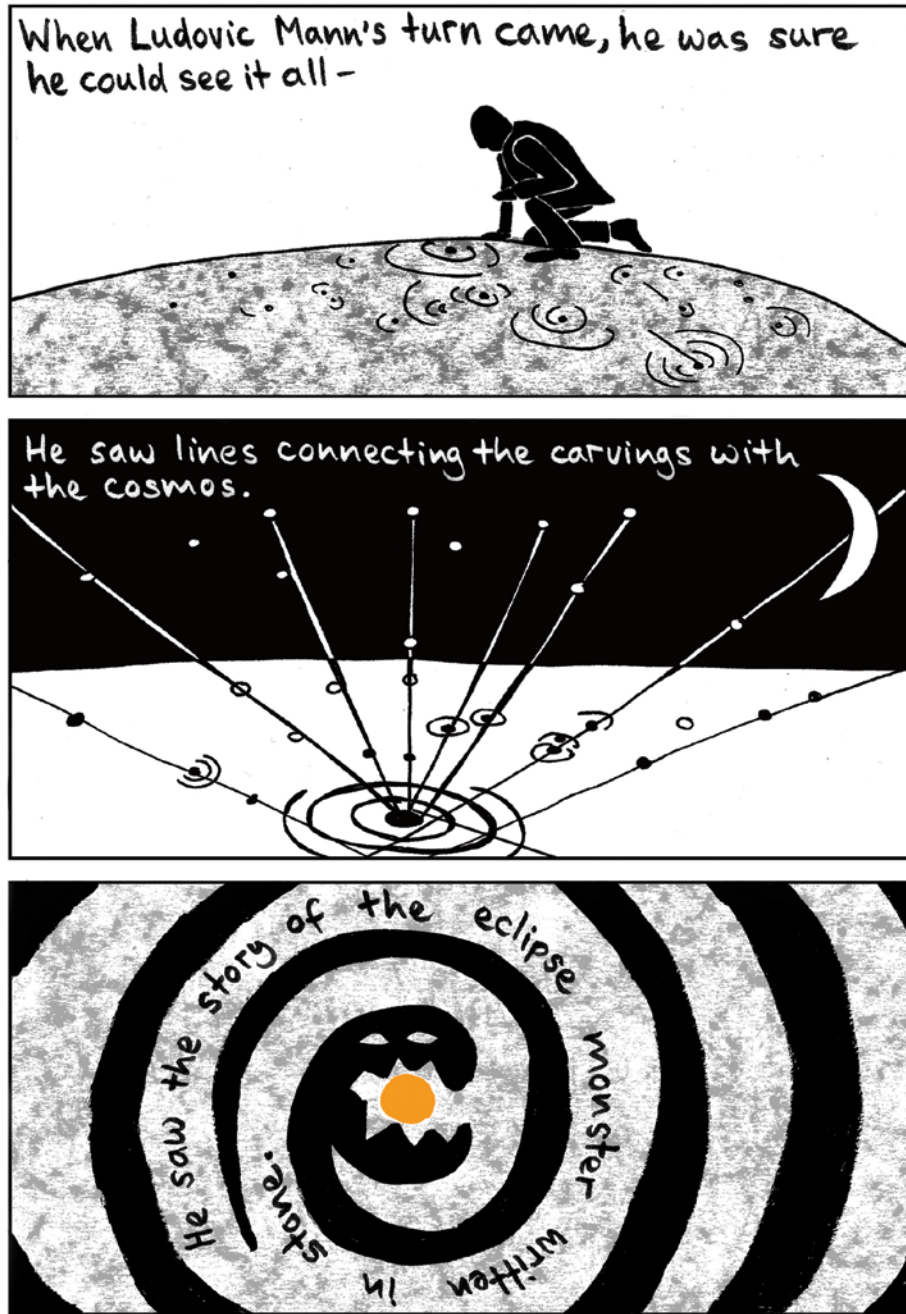
Figure 11: Page from the Cochno Stone comic book © Hannah Sackett and Kenneth Brophy

comic book was neither to be about facts and figures nor ethical judgements, but rather a compelling story of a place that had – and still has – magical qualities. The story of the Eclipse Monster was, in this spirit, not a factual account of what happened in the past, but a mythologising of the stone that would, if the comic book worked, transcend rote learning. The wished-for outcome of this process was for local children to see the place that they lived in a different light, as a special and magical place (rather than a 'run-down housing' estate as Faifley was characterised by the *Daily Mail* during the excavations).

This augmented sense of place was more important as an outcome than conveying archaeological knowledge, and so the workshops would be an essential part of this process, moving beyond passive reading to co-producing a new mythology for their hometown. Some of this magic dust might also be sprinkled on parents whose children took a comic book home with them, or who would visit the exhibition to see the work on display. The funding would allow not only the comic to be commissioned and workshop materials designed, but also enable enough copies of the comic book to be printed and given free of charge to all the children we would work with.

The Cochno Stone comic book design process

The comic book was designed and drawn by one of the authors (Sackett) who had already been following the story of the Cochno Stone via *The Urban Prehistorian* blog (Brophy 2016), and was excited to get involved in making the comic and designing the educational resources for the workshop. She had worked on several rock-art related projects already (cf. Bradley 2002, 2005; Jones et al. 2011) and featured rock-art in previous comics (e.g. 'Tales from the Rock Face' *Prehistories* 2018; 'Winter Skiers' *The Human Seasons* 2017). She also had her own encounter with the archaeology of Ludovic Mann, having had the opportunity to help catalogue his extensive and eclectic artefact collection for the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum in Glasgow.

The brief for the comic and the workshop materials was to focus in on Mann's interest in the Eclipse Monster, as well as his painting of the Cochno Stone site with coloured lines and markings. With only a few pages for the comic, a balance was needed to acknowledge the prehistoric origins of the carvings and the time depth of the site, while giving enough space to explain Mann's activities and the subsequent burial of the Stone. The comic draws a narrative line from the Neolithic, through different points in history, before focusing in on Mann's activities and then looking ahead to what other events and understandings of the stone may transpire in the future.

Visually, the comic is similar to folklore comics Sackett had made in the past (Figure 10). While it was tempting to use all the different colours employed by Mann in painting the Cochno Stone, it was decided that the artwork would have more visual impact with a limited palette. The finished comic was printed in black and orange, in order to emphasise the cosmic themes present within the narrative. The design of the Eclipse Monster, which was based on the cup-and-ring marks at the centre of Mann's cosmological interpretations, provided an opportunity for using a more energetic style of artwork than is usually found in archaeological illustrations.

The aim of making the comic was to present a concise and engaging history of the Cochno Stone, in a form that would connect with children and adults alike (Figure 11). While a block of text can be off-putting and sometimes hard to access, the images and low word count in a comic can draw a reader into the story, and recent research has shown that information accessed via comics is more easily retained than information presented purely as text (Aleixo and Sumner 2017).

The comic was not designed simply to impart information to the reader, but also to inspire them to make their own drawings and tell their own versions of the story. The workshop activities involved a drawing activity and a comic-making activity. The drawing activity was supported by a worksheet, prompting children to design their own image of the shape-shifting Eclipse Monster. Handouts supported the comic-making activity, which gave basic tips in drawing comics, and offered suggestions that might inspire a story about the Eclipse Monster. The resources were designed to give children enough information about how to make a comic, and what kind of storyline that comic might follow, without being prescriptive or limiting in any way.

Figures 12: Cochno Stone workshop photo showing children consulting the comic book and help sheets as they work (Photo: K Brophy)

Delivering the workshops and exhibition

As part of the Being Human event, six comic book workshops were delivered at a local primary school, and subsequently four further workshops have been run at two other schools in central Scotland. In total (at the time of writing), 180 children aged 7–12 have had the opportunity to create their own Cochno Stone comics, draw their own Eclipse Monsters and receive a free copy of the comic book. In the evening of the festival workshops, over 120 Eclipse Monster drawings were exhibited in a local venue in Faifley, and 65 people came to see these, half of them parents eager to see the work of their children on display. Also on show that evening was a display of materials related to the history of the Cochno Stone. This included some of the original artwork developed during the comic design process. There was also a short talk on Ludovic Mann's association with the Cochno Stone, and how this related to his broader excavations and research in greater Glasgow (Mann 1939; Ritchie 2002). The comic books were widely enjoyed by the children; we read through them together at the start of each workshop, and the comics were almost always open on the table as work commenced (Figure 12). Many children expressed surprise and delight that they could take one away with them.

Figure 13: Examples of depictions of the Cochno Stone (Drawings by Penny, Grace, Emma and Brooke)

The comics produced by children during the workshops varied in style, subject and production method. Some retold the story of the Cochno Stone in their own words and images. Lots of children made lively drawings of the Cochno Stone and the carving of the stone in prehistory (Figure 13), while many drew Mann's painted lines on the rock – some in appropriately bright colours (Figure 14). The depiction of the Cochno stone in so many of the children's comics, as a consistent feature of the story through time, was notable, and graffiti was added in some cases as well as various cup-and-ring mark motifs (with no real difference made between these two types of carving). However, what made this especially interesting was the recurring placement of people in the story. As archaeologists, we are often guilty of illustrating archaeological sites in isolation, detached from the people who shaped and used them. Such self-censorship was not evident in the comics drawn by children in the workshops. Some even drew archaeologists working on the Stone, making connections that we did not push, but were implicit in the aims underlying the workshop.

Other children chose to focus their comics on the Eclipse Monster, some adapting the snake-like creature shown in the comic book version of the story (Figure 15) and others creating their own vision of the monster (Figure 16). The children's comics demonstrate both an understanding of the site and its (pre)history, and an imaginative engagement with the images of the stone and the story of the

Eclipse Monster. There was a particular focus on creatures with huge mouths, and common depictions of the sun inside the stomach of monsters, striking and memorable images which could help in the mythologisation of place discussed above.

Figure 14: Mann on the Cochno Stone cartoon (Drawing by Millie)

We noted that different age groups engaged with the Eclipse Monster exercise differently, which has implications for the future delivery of this workshop, but also more generally may be of use to others considering working with comics in the classroom. The youngest children we worked with drew abstract and colourful monsters, which appeared to have derived from their imaginations. Older children were more logical in their approach, with drawings of monsters that were in effect dinosaurs, dragons or aliens, suggesting a greater cultural understanding of what a monster might look like. The oldest children we worked with tended to be inspired by popular culture, in particular television and films, for inspiration for their monsters, whether specific super-heroes (such as Spider-Man variants), the giant robots from the movie *Pacific Rim*, or images that appeared to be derived from Manga comic books. In doing so, children demonstrated their knowledge of imagery gained from activities outside school, and took advantage of the workshop situation to create artwork based on their own interests within a classroom setting (Wilson 2005). Younger children almost always went straight for the coloured pencils and crayons and drew freehand, whereas the oldest children we worked with were more considered, preferring pencil drawn originals which they could then colour in. Therefore, the Eclipse Monster workshop was an effective learning tool for a wide age-range but different conversations and outcomes might be expected when running this with seven-year-olds as opposed to eleven-year-olds.
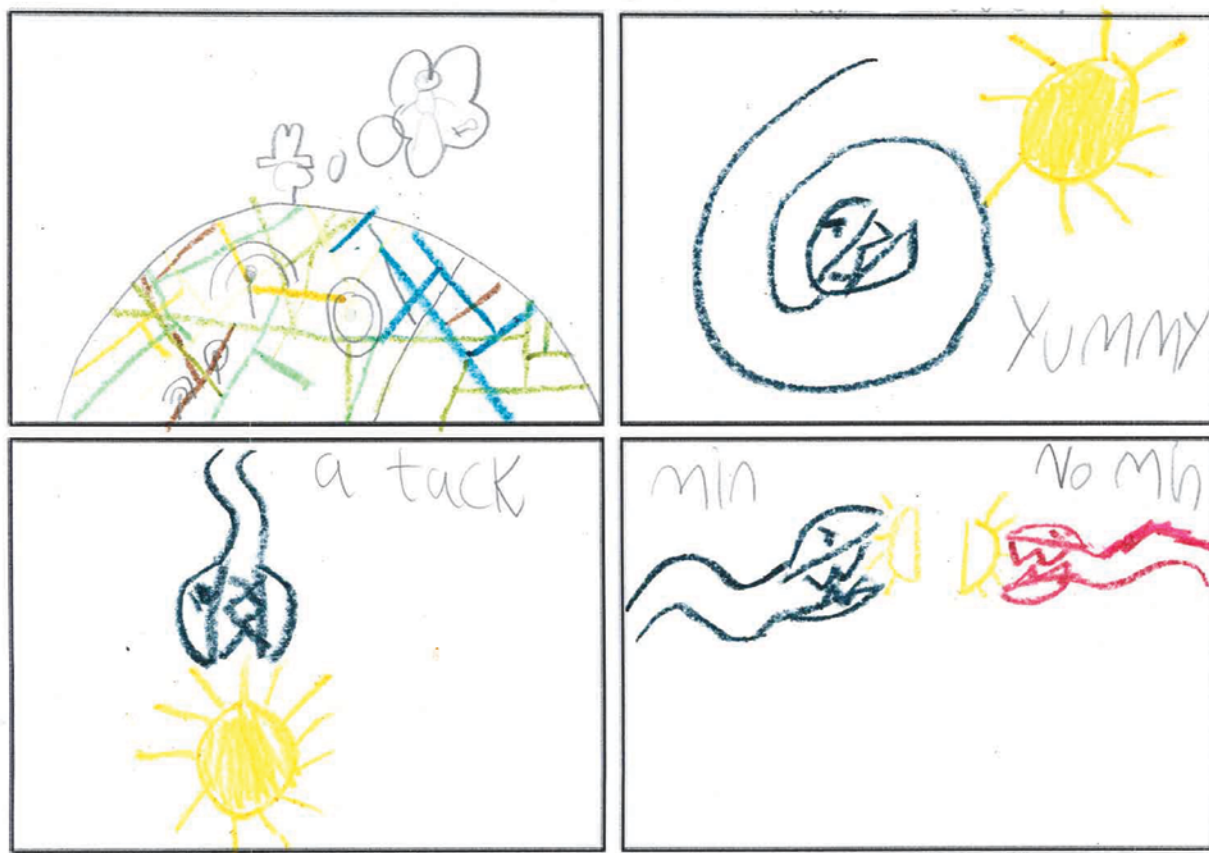
Figure 15: Examples of a comic strip (Comic by Iain)

The comic book workshops appeared to be a great success when we were running them. Throughout, children asked questions about the Cochno Stone and what would happen to it next. Engagement levels appeared to be high and the children had fun. The pedagogical value was important as well. One teacher reported after a workshop that the comic was a 'great way to get children engaged in what can, sometimes, appear to be quite obtuse topics' and various teachers commented to me on the value for pupils with a wide range of abilities. One told us, the 'lower ability class ... really do benefit from more visual learning.' Another informed us that 'the open-ended nature of the [workshop] tasks proved very effective in engaging a wide range of abilities ...for those at the lower end this meant that they remained engaged and part of the lesson without being singled out with differentiated material. For those at the upper end ... the comic book / graphic novel nature of the task allowed for them to make more nuanced, higher order, links between the text and images.' The medium of comics was especially valued by the teachers who helped run Eclipse Monster workshops, one noting that this format benefitted the children due to its accessibility and that the 'pictures were not only able to stimulate conversation but also .... thinking.'

The exhibition also appeared to be a success, with participants leaving positive feedback. One person wrote on our feedback forms: 'Lovely exhibition tonight, so much new and interesting things myself and my family have learned!' Another wrote: 'This was very interesting. I didn't know much about the Cochno Stone and found the information tonight really interesting.' Such comments suggest that the comic book material being on display facilitated new connections with the local community, but also raised awareness of the Cochno Stone (Figure 17). By the end of the evening, several parents had signed

up to an email list that is maintained for keeping those interested informed about post-excavation work and future Cochno Stone events. Interest in the Stone may have been stimulated further among the families of participating students by the children returning home with comic books.

Figure 16: Examples of Eclipse Monsters (Drawings by Jack, Holly and Euan)

Evaluation of the Being Human event was positive, with feedback from exhibition visitors and school staff informative and encouraging. At the time, we did not push evaluation with the school children we worked with, in part because we felt this would intrude on the workshop flow. However, we plan to return to the same schools and speak with the cohorts we worked with in 2017 to gauge the impact the comics and workshops had, and whether it had genuinely delivered on the positivity identified by teachers and students who participated in the sessions. We know anecdotally that the workshop had a lasting impact on some participants, with at least two children we worked with joining the archaeology club at their new secondary school. It is also gratifying to find the story of the Cochno Stone encouraging other activities within the schools we worked in. For instance, one teacher told one of us (Brophy) that she has since worked with her Primary 2 pupils to 'complete a piece of fictional writing about the Eclipse Monster.' However, in other respects we are not able to measure the impact of the free comic books being taken home: did the story of the Cochno Stone 'trickle-up' to parents? We plan to run workshops in a broader range of local schools in the near future, with more immediate evaluation mechanisms built in, and means to track the journeys of the comics. It is vitally important that we are able to target our resources and materials into activities that genuinely raise awareness and engage broadly across the local community.

Discussion: comics as public engagement tool in archaeology

The use of comics and graphic novels within the discipline of archaeology is not a new development. Cartoons and comic-strip formats have been used in introductions to the discipline of archaeology, for instance, from cartoons in popular approaches to the topic (such as Holtorf 2007 or Bahn and Tidy 2012) to the student-aimed 'textbook' *Archaeology: the Comic* (Loubser 2003). Academic deployment of the format has also been evident on occasion, for instance Bender (1997) used a comic strip narrative to outline her own background and beliefs to contextualise her approach to Stonehenge, while Holtorf (2005: 13)

and Johnson (2009) have both deployed their own cartoons to characterise aspects of archaeological theory. Academic journal papers in graphic novel or comic book format are still rare, but this is an emergent phenomenon (see for instance Kiddey *et al.* 2015 and Swogger 2015a). However, comics are also increasingly being used to disseminate research and engage audiences beyond academia and the 'usual suspects' archaeologists often end up working with (white, middle-classed, retired, interested in heritage), influenced by similar developments within a range of different subjects such as history and geography. At the forefront of this movement is the proliferation of comics relating to medicine (see *Graphic Medicine* 2018).
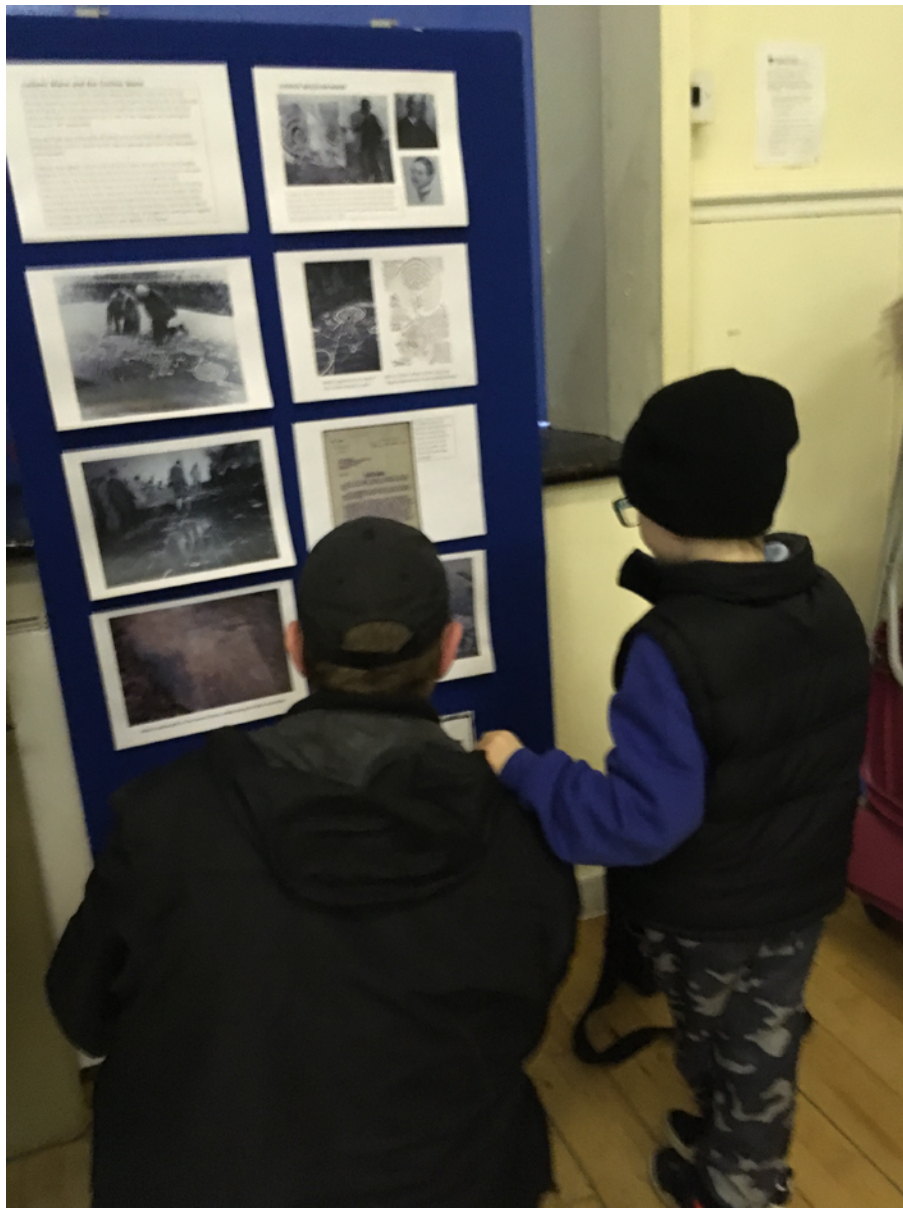
Figure 17: The exhibition in Faifley following on from the Being Human workshops (photo: K Brophy)

A recent example of comics being used as public engagement tools in archaeology can be found in 'The Oswestry Heritage Comics' (Swogger 2018) published weekly in the print edition of the *Oswestry and Border Counties Advertiser,* and online. The short, four-panel format of the comics makes them quick and easy to read, while packing a large amount of information into a small space. In addition to the

weekly comic strip, cartoonist John Swogger has also run workshops and taken part in Heritage Days as part of the year-long project. In this example, the comics work as a source of information, and as an enticement to people in the Oswestry area to go out and explore the museums and archaeological sites in their locality. As with Cochno, the comic here is, to an extent, a tool to increase participation.

The co-production of heritage comics with schools and communities is at the heart of the work of Magic Torch Comics. They run workshops in schools in Inverclyde tied in with Scotland's Curriculum for Excellence where everyone works together to create comics, such as the wonderful *The Doom that came to Gourock* (Gourock Primary School 2016) and *Stonesongs* (St Stephen's High School 2017). Here, stories emerge from working with school children within their local context that often differ from official heritage narratives.

Gertrude Bell: Archaeologist, Writer, Explorer (Miers 2017) meanwhile, uses comics as a way of engaging the public with an online resource – the digitised version of the Gertrude Bell archive at Newcastle University. This collaborative project employs a series of narrative comics in order to explore different periods in Bell's life. The comic works on different levels, allowing the reader to gain an overview of Bell's career, as well as giving them the option to access the relevant letters, photographs and other artefacts in the archive via links embedded in the online comic.

Archaeological comics have also been used as part of museum displays, interpretation panels, and as an alternative to site brochures. For instance, colourful reconstruction drawings with a comic book feel were commissioned for noticeboards and a guidebook associated with the Maelmin Heritage Trail in Northumberland in the 1990s (Waddington 1999). Colourful cartoon characters are an increasingly common means to guide visitors and particular children through heritage properties spread across a number of signs and noticeboards, from Denbigh Castle (Howard Williams pers. comm.) to the Great Orme Copper Mines. More recently, Cadw have developed, in collaboration with Swogger, a series of graphic novel guidebooks to their properties in care on Anglesey, such as the henge and passage grave Bryn Celli Ddu, Anglesey (Swogger 2015b). These are available in English and Welsh, include puzzles and games, and are free both as hard copies and downloads. Artist Peter Fowler has also created two comic books for Cadw, in this case telling famous Welsh stories and myths (e.g. Fowler 2015). Swogger (2013) has noted that his brief was to make complex connections part of the story of each prehistoric site, with (for instance) the Bryn Celli Ddu narrative not simply about prehistoric construction and use of this monument, but also about contemporary use of the monument by pagans, druids and re-enactors and some of the tensions this can entail.

The ways in which comics can be used is rich and diverse, and no one style, or approach, should be adopted simply because a project is dealing with archaeology as opposed to medicine or natural history. It is important to bear in mind that comics are a medium, not a genre (McCloud 1994: 6). The increasing range of narrative approaches and art styles within fictional and biographical comics – both mainstream and small press – can also be applied to archaeological comics. In commissioning or creating an archaeological comic for a public engagement project it is important to consider which style, approach and format will best serve the project and the project's intended audience, and these were all key factors underlying the conception and design of the Cochno Stone comic book.

Conclusion

As the Cochno Stone comic book has demonstrated, reading comics about archaeology may help the public to understand more about a site or project. In addition to this, allowing readers to make their own drawings and comics based on this new understanding provides a further way of connecting with a heritage story. The many children who have drawn their own Eclipse Monster, who learned the story

of Ludovic Mann, or who created their own comic strip narratives about the Cochno Stone, are now caught up in a relationship with the site. They are now part of its biography. Hopefully, some will continue to have an imaginative and productive connection with the site over the years as its future is discussed and debated within their community. In effect, these children now have an informed position and can take part in decisions about their own heritage should they wish to; future visits to work with these same children will aim to assess to what extent this is really the case, and build on this baseline.

The story of the Cochno Stone is one that is both compelling and complex, and the use of a comic book has, we believe, been very effective at conveying this to school children aged 7–12. The comic book has been deployed as one element of a broader awareness-raising programme of activities, but has allowed the project to reach more people than anything else done since the excavation in 2016. The collaboration between artist and archaeologist has been energising and allowed a creative and powerful new resource to be created that offers a new chapter in the bizarre and complex story of the Cochno Stone.

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Dig! Arts Access Project: Finding Inspiration in the Park

Melanie Giles and Karina Croucher

Dig! Arts Access Project brought together excavation with artistic interpretations using collage, painting, drawing and poetry, to engage school learners in the legacy of the Whitworth Park Community Archaeology and History project. Through a series of workshops and site visits with local schools, participants expressed some of the ambiguities felt by urban children about parks. However, by the end of the sessions, they had increased their understanding of the history and heritage of their everyday places, and were more confident about visiting parks. The project demonstrates the far-reaching, deep impact of community archaeological education projects, with improved confidence in using park spaces and changed perceptions of the value of local history and heritage. The creative approach enabled the exploration of complex reactions to park spaces, and the reclaiming of marginal, liminal places as community assets, of value to today's urban populations.

Introduction

Whitworth Park was opened by the Whitworth Institute in 1890, from the philanthropic bequest of Joseph Whitworth: local precision engineer, inventor and industrialist. The Park was leased to the City Council in 1904, and the Whitworth Institute was purchased by the University of Manchester in 1954 to become The Whitworth Art Gallery. The design was the epitome of a late Victorian 'woodland park and pleasure ground' (as the opening day poster described it), complete with band stand, lake, drinking fountains, pavilions and shelters, raised mound and walkways, flower beds and tree plantings, laid out on a radial pattern around a centre circle (Figure 1). Statues of King Edward VII and a sculpture of 'Christ Blessing the children' provided ideological focal points, whilst a meteorological station enabled the park to play an important role in recording weather data. However, by the 1930s, the lake was infilled to make a shallow boating pond. From the 1950s onwards, the fortunes and finance of the park varied. It was very fondly regarded in the 1970s–80s as a vibrant multicultural space, used for sports and leisure as well as public protests relating to pay and pension disputes, anti-apartheid, civil rights and anti-war protests. Yet by the turn of the millennium, the infrastructure of the park was run-down, with low maintenance, little investment and a reputation for crime. The story is one shared by many public parks in the UK and under the direction of its then-chair (Lord Rothschild) the HLF flagged urban parks as a major target for funding in the mid–late 1990s. Within two decades however, the HLF (2014) raised concerns that this new investment ran the risk of going from 'renaissance to risk'. Restoration was merely a starting point – there needed to be greater public and partnership commitment (in lieu of diminished state responsibility and funding) towards the long-term care of these sites.

The Whitworth Park Community Archaeology and History Project (WPCAHP) was developed in response to these issues, and ran between 2011 and 2015 as a collaboration between the Archaeology department (University of Manchester), the Manchester Museum, the Whitworth Art Gallery, the Friends of Whitworth Park, and the Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre (Jones *et al.* 2013). The latter partner provided a knowledgeable and sensitive link to the diverse ethnic communities on the park's doorstep: the 2011 UK census records the Moss Side area as having a 25.7% White British population, with significant ethnic minorities including 17.3% mixed ethnicity (White and Black Caribbean), 10% Black/African Caribbean/Black British, and 7.4% Asian/Asian British/Pakistani. It also helped introduce us to some of the local schools we wanted to work with, which face particular challenges in terms of disadvantaged incomes and opportunities amongst their schoolchildren. In 2018, the number of children in poverty within the Manchester Central zone was still a startlingly high 47.5%. Our project was part of a wider suite of fund-raising and development initiatives led by the Friends of Whitworth Park under the inspiring leadership of its late chair, Ken Shone. Their vision was to improve the park and its facilities for local residents as well as the frequent visitors from the nearby hospital complex, university staff and students, and gallery visitors. Leadership on the WPCAHP was provided by Prof. Siân Jones, working with co-directors Dr Hannah Cobb and Dr Melanie Giles. Major funding was provided by the HLF through a 'Your Heritage' Grant.

Figure 1. Excerpt from the 1907 Ordnance Survey map, showing the Edwardian era park, in the context of a growing Manchester suburb of back-to-back housing (Copyright Ordnance Survey - reproduction of Historic Map by kind permission of the O.S.)

The project investigated the social, material and natural history of the park, as a means of engaging present-day communities with their rich urban heritage. Inspired by a wider movement towards social responsibility and public engagement now broadly characterised as 'community archaeology' (see Dalglish 2013; Skeates and McDavid 2012;), it used a combination of archaeological survey, excavation, finds analysis and oral history, to investigate the past of the park and its many meanings to local communities, past and present (Figure 2). Learning from comparative projects (Moshenska and Dhaniel 2012) our initiative was designed as a collaborative endeavour, with the dig led mutually between the University of Manchester and the Friends of Whitworth Park. As well as providing training for university students, volunteer opportunities for the Friends, and placements for the long-term unemployed, the project invited a variety of local schoolchildren (from primary school age to college students) to dig with us. It was thus also designed as an 'open-air' participatory project: intent on involving everyone in the practices of both discovery and interpretation (Colton *et al.* 2013). For those unable or unwilling to dig, there were lunchtime site tours, object handling sessions as well as open days, oral history tents, and family fun-day activities to complement the excavation and finds-work (see Jones *et al.* 2015 for a fuller summary of these activities and their impact).

The project revealed the 'hidden history' of the filled-in lake, its boathouse and pavilions, bandstand and meteorological station. It discovered lost brooches, buckles and keys, bottles, nuts and shellfish thrown into the lake, and the toys that were loved, lost or left behind, by children playing at its edge. These intimate insights into late Victorian and Edwardian life helped connect both diggers and site visitors to the lives of people in the past, revealing aspects of class, health and wealth, as well as ethnicity and gender, at the height of Manchester's expansion into an industrial city. Yet we were aware that opportunities for children to actually visit the site during the dig were limited to a few classes. From conversations with both pupils and their teachers, we also realised that the dig and its finds were an

Figure 2: Edwardian-era Whitworth Park (left) and excavating the filled-in lake (right)

important starting point for creative explorations of their own, which we did not have time to enable or facilitate on-site.

As a result, Karina Croucher and Melanie Giles secured funding from the University of Manchester's 'Arts Access Fair' (funded by the Martin Harris Centre and Manchester Alumni Office) to run 'Dig: Creative Interpretations'. The project worked with local primary and secondary schools, to inspire artistic reactions to the park, namely through painting/drawing/collage to create artworks, and through poetry. The workshops were intended to prompt discussion around the dig itself and its finds, as well as encouraging a greater sense of ownership of parks. It also aimed to encourage schools to connect with the archive and collection that was accessioned by the Manchester Museum, giving this local, historical archaeology parity alongside its famous Egyptology and Roman galleries. Yet the project also hoped to improve children's confidence in 'claiming back' what had become rather unloved, marginal spaces due to a lack of public funding and anti-social behaviour, and can thus be seen as part of a wider cultural initiative to invest in, and care for, the whole nation's parks (HLF 2014).

The workshops were designed and led by Ellon Souter (Archaeology Widening Participation Fellow / Archaeology PhD student), Alison Burns (MA student, Archaeology), Jenna Ashton (Art History Widening Participation Fellow / Art History PhD student), and Jodie Kim (New Writing Widening Participation Fellow / New Writing PhD student). Workshops were run with four schools, representing a total of 120 pupils from primary to secondary levels. Manchester Academy and Medlock Primary School were part of the original dig partnership identified from their proximity to the park. Sale High School (to the west) had also participated in the earlier project but Matthew Moss High School (to the north of the city centre) had not been able to attend the actual excavations, so this represented a new partnership: going out into the school itself. The high schools were identified through outreach in the main project, for having an explicit interest in using the dig within the history curriculum or to attract their students to AS-level and A-level Archaeology courses, once delivered through the Manchester AQA-exam board. All participants completed a consent form at the start of the workshop (for use of their outputs and images in an anonymous manner), and an evaluation form at the end. The evaluation questions were designed to assess frequency of park use, motivations for using parks, the content and character of the workshop and the difference it might have made to their feelings about parks. These comprised:

- How often do you visit parks? (every day, weekly, monthly, hardly ever, never)

- Which parks do you usually visit (if any)?

- What is your main purpose for visiting parks? (passing through, using facilities, peace and quiet, privacy, to spend time with friends, other)

- Did you enjoy today's workshop? (Strongly Agree–Strongly Disagree)

- As a result of today's workshop: (Strongly Agree–Strongly Disagree)

- o are you more likely to visit Whitworth Park?

- o are you more likely to visit your local park?

- o do you feel more confident about using parks?

- o do you feel that parks are valuable for local people?

- What did you enjoy most about today's workshops? (free text response)

- What would you change about today's workshops? (free text response)

We kept in touch with participants following the project through their teachers, including inviting them to the resulting exhibitions. While the project was aimed at school pupils themselves, the intent was that there would be a 'ripple effect' as the participants reported back to their parents, siblings and other family members, and peers. Our aim was to widen the communities involved in the project and create a sustainable legacy amongst the next generation, who would be more aware of the heritage of their green urban spaces, and thus more confident about using them and caring for their future.

Figure 3a: Above: postcards from the past (which begins 'no doubt you think I have forgotten you but do not forget old friends...'). 3b and c: lost-and-found - toys from the dig (marbles, knuckle-bones and five-stones, a doll's hair-brush, soft toy eye and miniature tea plates)

The workshops

Park montage

The workshops were entitled 'Memory and Public Space in Whitworth Park' and consisted of several components. First, an overview of the excavations was given, alongside viewing and handling of Edwardian postcards (Figure 3a) which featured images of the day with hand-written messages and stamps. Replica clay pipes, marbles and the game of 'five-stones' were also used as a tactile handling collection, alongside some of the artefacts found during the excavation (Figure 3b and c). We then used two different forms of activity to playfully engage the pupils with the archaeology – visual art and creative writing.

With the youngest participants, we encouraged them to make their own postcards using collage materials. Dried flowers, scraps of fabric and magazines, copies of the original postcard images, paintings by the famous Manchester industrial artist, L.S. Lowry and wax crayons allowed primary school children to create a visual montage with three-dimensional texture. The preparation stage of this saw some students avidly stockpiling resources and cutting-out images from magazines: revelling in the freedom of collage to assemble a hoard of materials. Petals, stems and flower-heads brought the lush vegetation and colourful planting of the park to the fore (Figure 4): design aspects which were essential to the Victorian vision of creating the 'green lungs' of the city, aimed at improving physical health of the working classes.

Figure 4: Flower and fabric images produced by project participants (above), and a postcard of the statue of Christ and the park's plantings in their heyday (below)

Older children used these materials to make more sophisticated images: one glorious postcard used the foreground of the lake and pavilion set against the rosy glow of a crayoned sunset to capture an idyllic view of the Edwardian park (Figure 5a). Another pasted the word 'garden' into a montage of trees, gold-threaded textiles and a bright blue butterfly (Figure 5c). Quite a few of the images 're-presenced' people in the park, cutting out Edwardian figures or Lowry crowds, and resituating them in a park-like setting: promenading together or clustered by a hand-drawn bandstand. It captured a real sense of the difference of the past, either through their demeanour or clothing. The architecture of the park, especially the fountain and the railings, but also statues, boats and benches also intrigued the children and featured quite strongly in a number of images, including one that re-imagined a perspectival view from the lake edge across to the meteorological station, yet excised people from the image. Others used this 'art brief' to create pleasing images which did not attempt to reproduce Whitworth Park itself, but instead suggested metaphorical resonances - what parks *meant* to them - a gentle river cutting through orange banks, rainbows which stretched across the sky or suns which dominate the image frame (Figure 5b). Play equipment also featured strongly: lakes and ponds, swings, slides and sea-saws. Together, these images provide a rich insight into the joy and pleasure children associate with visiting a park.

Figure 5a, b and c: Idyllic visions of the park

Yet other children produced images that moved us in a different way. In one, the small silhouette of a child leans against the low railings separating them from the lake (Figure 6a). The figure is isolated, and conjures a sense of solitude and longing, despite the fact that this is a public place for play. In another, the sunset silhouettes a pair of empty, still swings; capturing the slightly haunted feel of a park at sundown once the children have gone home (Figure 6b). This was from a child who stated that she 'didn't *do* art' yet it is one of the project's most powerful images. One postcard used the simple medium of graphite pencil to embody the stark feeling of a wintry park with a lone visitor sat on a bench. Two images by teenagers used the artwork in a different way: cutting out cartoons with themes of slight violence or sexuality, merged with images of rappers and allusions to local gang killings and innocent victims (Figure 6c). These images by older pupils used a clever mix of over-painting and layering to conceal some of their content, conveying the darker, more hidden meanings of the park for this age-set. Whilst the excavation team were familiar with the poor reputation of the park in previous years, especially during period of public funding cuts and high local crime rates, this art brought out more liminal meanings of such spaces which surprised and affected us.
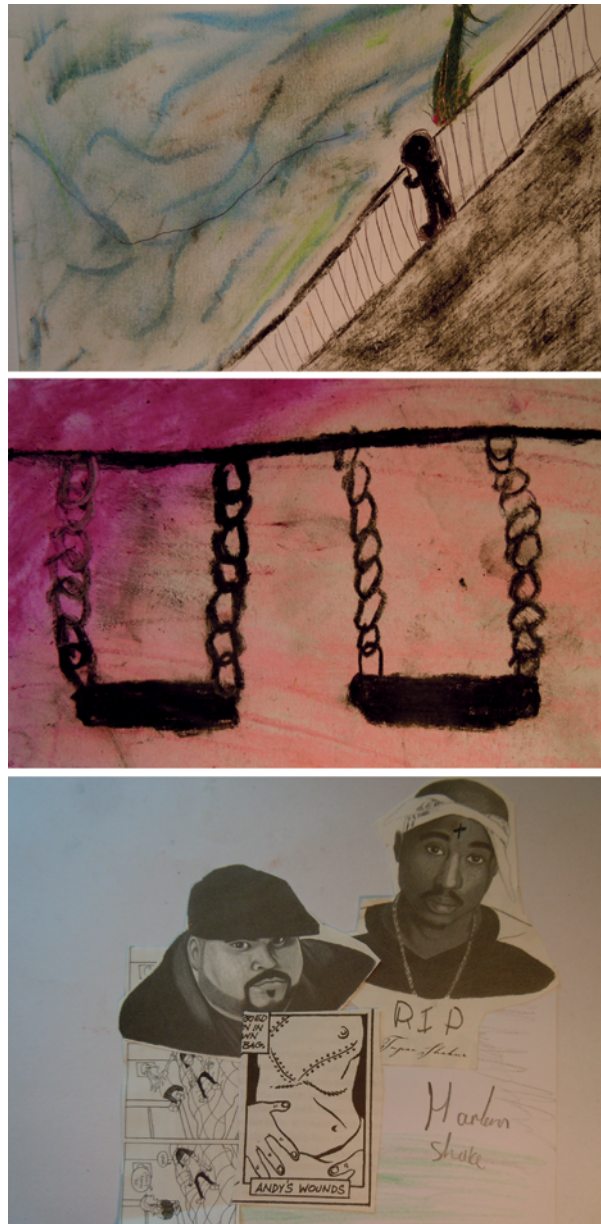

Figure 6a and b: Loneliness, absence and c: teenage issues postcard

In contrast, other children deliberately sought out images of crowds to saturate their scenes, creating a busy and vibrant image (Figure 7). Some eschewed the collage materials to create their own 'stick figure' scenes, or characterful portraits such as a flat-capped smoker or purse-clutching granny. One child cut-out Lowry figures to create a family scene, with one 'matchstick child' pasted onto a hand-drawn slide. Another selected photographic images from the 1960s–70s, to create a multicultural scene, saturated by green grass and a bountiful orchard-like tree. This notion of the park as an idyllic space where you could watch, meet and mingle with people from different ethnicities and classes was not merely the vision of the Victorian philanthropists: it also emerged strongly from the oral histories we conducted with older park users during the dig, in fond memories of their youth.

Figure 7: Crowds, characters and social paradise

Postcards from the past

The above themes were echoed in the second workshop design, focused on creative writing. The children were encouraged to read the messages on the reverse of the cards and respond by making their own 'Facebook profile' for an Edwardian man, woman or child, or by writing their own 'postcard from the past'. We pointed out that some of the original postcards were sent as holiday greetings or remembrances of trips out to the park, to an old friend or fond relative. Others acted more as 'text messages', conveying a brief note about when someone expected to arrive home – with more than one post a day, they could be sent secure in the knowledge it would reach home before themselves! This involved the children in acts of historical imagination, and the detail conveyed in the images as well as the archaeological finds helped them situate themselves into very different times and attitudes towards dress and behavior, in which so many aspects of class, gender and power were embodied. Whether explicitly conscious of this or not, many of the children adopted a tone of formality and civility which seemed to mimic the constrained demeanor of the adults and children they saw in the images. They were also intrigued by the hand-writing, and made efforts to craft messages with flair, adding curlicues or flourishes to their message. This was both touching and impressive (Figure 8).
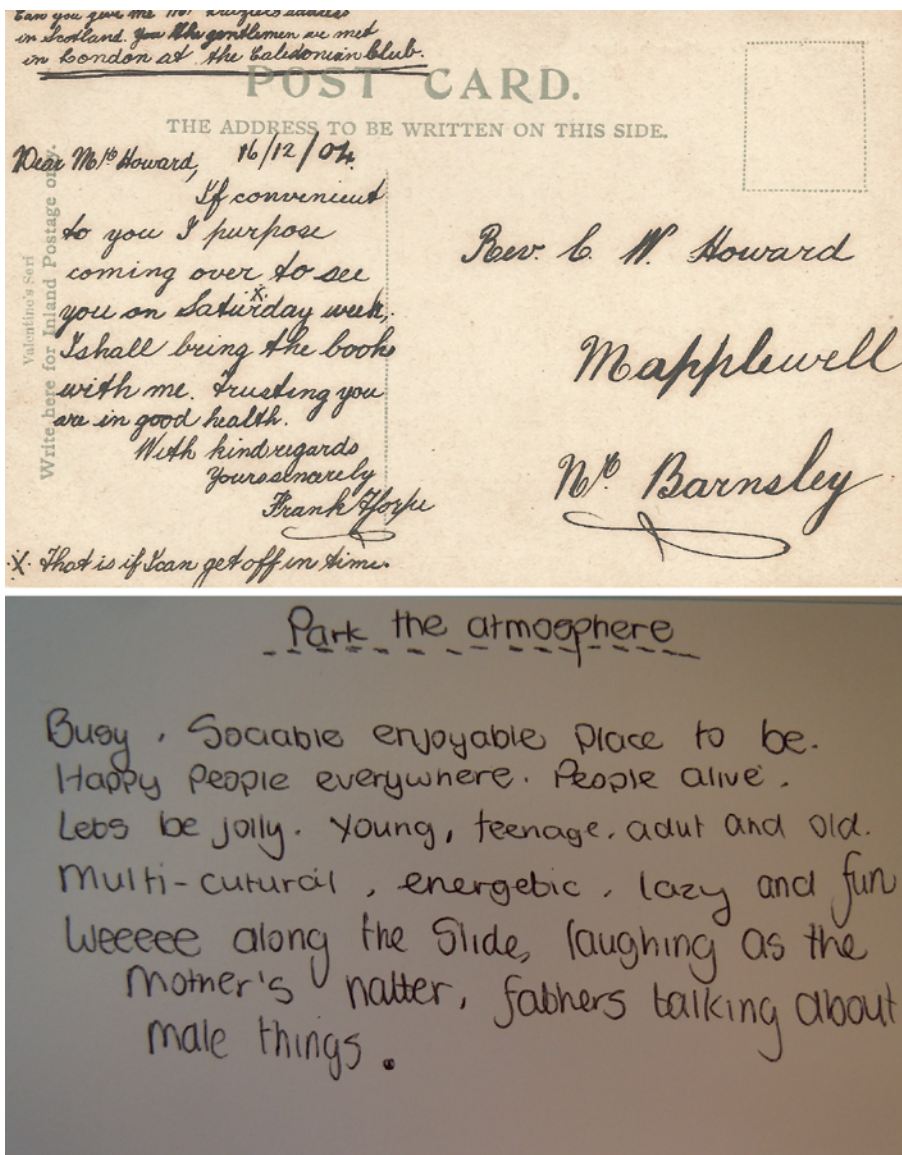

Figure 8: Messages from the past (above) and the present (below)

The other written task that the workshops facilitated was poetry. We started by reading aloud prose and poems about parks, drawing on the approach and materials used by the Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre as part of the main project (NB.: results of both strands of the workshop are presented below). These texts exemplified how green spaces can inspire creative writing, becoming spaces of both leisure and pleasure, but also occasionally fear and menace. Ali Smith's *The Definite Article* (2009) was inspiring:

> I stepped out of myself and into the park. I stepped off the pavement and into a place where there's never a conclusion, where regardless of wars, tragedies, losses, finds, the sting or the sweetness of what's gone in a life, or the preoccupations of any single time, any single being, on it goes, the open-air theatre of flowers, trees, birds, bees, the open vision at the heart of the city.
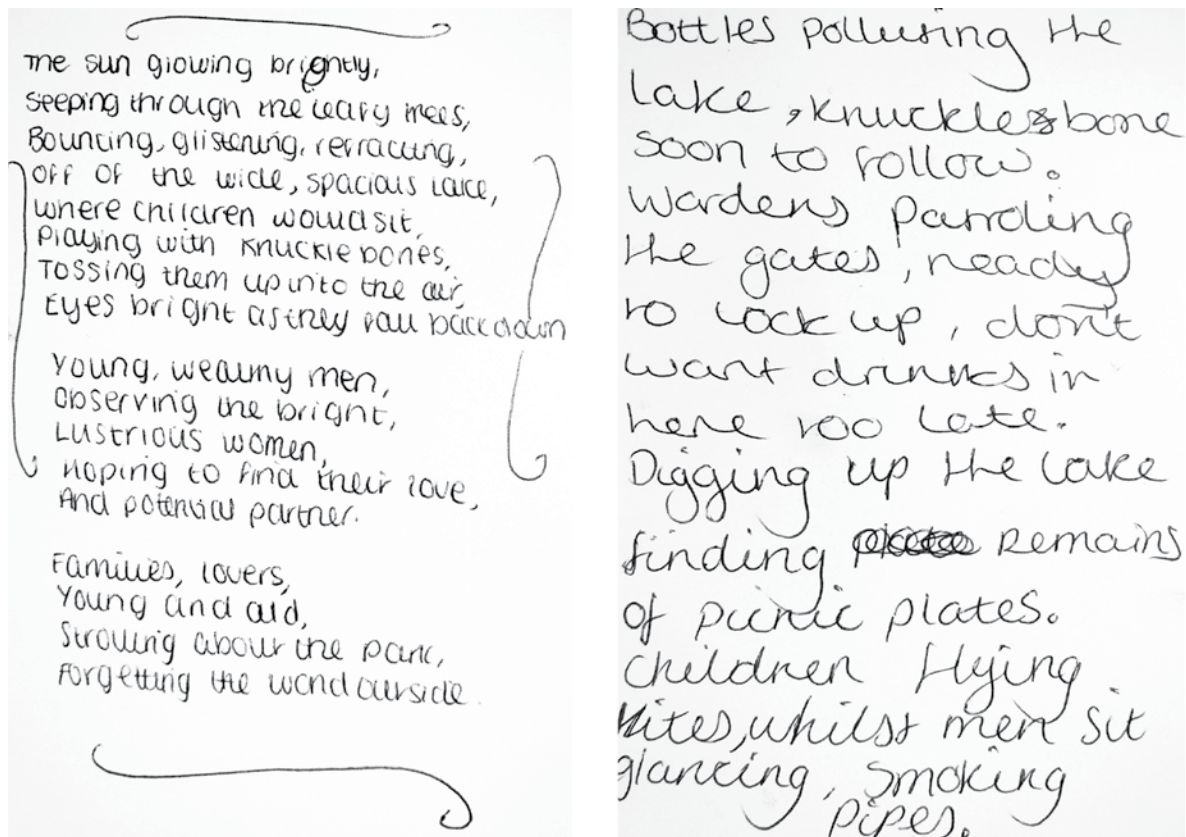

Figure 9: A paradisiacal poem about the park (left) and a poem that collapses time in the park (right)

Yet this idyllic sense of possibility can be contrasted with the more ambiguous feelings articulated in '*Parks and ponds*' by Ralph Waldo Emerson (1950):

> Parks and ponds are good by day;
>
> I do not delight
>
> In black acres of the night,
>
> Nor my unseasoned step disturbs
>
> The sleeps of trees or dreams of herbs.

This widened the children's appreciation of how parks meant different things to different people, and how this can change through time – both within the diurnal rhythm of the park, day to night, and its longer-term cycles of seasonal and generational change. Ordnance Survey maps from between 1850 and 1950 helped us illustrate these transformations, showing how features such as the pavilions, shelters, lake and bandstand, came and went. Some teachers picked up on these changes, encouraging the children to either respond to what they could see in the original images that had now disappeared or to create poems about what parks meant to them in the present day. A few of the poems effectively 'collapsed time', moving between the Edwardian inhabitants of the park and the dig itself (Figure 9).

Figure 10: One of the 'postcard' trees, at the Arts Access Exhibition, Martin Harris Centre

The students were able to use rich imagery, simile and metaphor, as well as evocative aphorisms and memories, to conjure their positive feelings about the park:

'The leaves rustle and the trees sway/As the children play on the soft green grass'

'Flowers smell like honey'

'It was the breeze waking up the trees'

'The grass is so smooth if feels like feathers'

'Playing football... All day through, with I don't know who'

'...wonderful places/I love the big spaces'

'The park is a place that takes all your troubles away'

'Staying out until it starts to get dark'

Sensorial engagement was a key feature of many of the poems – the taste of ice-cream, the cool of the water, the sound of children having fun. These ideas were particularly powerfully distilled in some of the acrostic poems:

Trees all around

Happiness

Energy everywhere

Playing

Annoying children

Relaxed

Kites

Yet some of the other park poems we read with them appeared to give the children license to voice their fears too: in one couplet, the rhyme scheme for 'playing games' was 'calling names'. As public places where children from different streets and schools met, it could also be a place for confrontation, bullying or aggression. (This was still the case when the archaeological survey began in 2011, and a security guard used to regularly patrol the grounds at 4pm, to intervene in altercations as children spilled out of the local schools!) In a prose piece, one child wrote: 'I want to try and make a friend with kids who are playing further than me but I don't know how. Actually they are looking dangerous.' Another child recalls an incident of bullying and the retaliation that followed: 'I started to think what I could do. I kicked the football at his face.... Me and my friends started to scare them, they try to run away.' Some children recalled accidents they had witnessed 'Someone has fallen beside me/And I realise it's stopped being fun.' Public spaces also attract other kinds of urban activity, as in this poem about the nearby Garside Park: 'People do not respect/They just drop litter and drugs/People ride quads and motorbikes/Throwing fireworks...Dogs run round and have fights.... I don't really go there anymore.' The selection of quotes below embody similar fears, chiming with the postcard imagery above:

'The teenagers, just like wolves hunting and destroying'

'Feeling scared – no-one shared'

'Graffiti on the dull climbing frames, rubbish rustling around the chewing gum filled tarmac'

'Why are we them children that are scared to go in the park because they think that they will get shot?'

The last comment relates to the murder in 2006 of 'Jesse James': an innocent 16 year old boy accidentally shot in the nearby Broadfield Park – an area of intense gang rivalry. Nearly ten years later, this incident still haunted the teenagers, overshadowing their impression of these supposedly safe, green spaces. There were also some interesting reactions to the pharmaceutical bottles we pulled out of the lake, concerned these might be drug-related: 'Medicines getting took'. Others were quite shocked by the prevalence of pipe-smoking in the postcards, stating 'I should stay away, 'cos I hate the smell of tobacco 'n' decay!' The poems certainly encouraged the pupils to give public voice to their ideas, memories and concerns, and towards the end of the sessions, some of the children read aloud their work: immersing themselves and their peers into the parks they had helped re-imagine in the classroom.

Project outcomes and evaluation

The main outcomes from the project consisted of two exhibitions in 2015, one within the Martin Harris Centre itself as part of the 'Arts Access' initiative, and one within the Manchester Museum, as part of a major 'Big Saturday' event about parks. The latter event was supplemented by further art activities including collage and plate decorating. In each venue, we used two 'PhotoTree' stands from which we could hang multiple postcards, both image and text, allowing the viewer to move around the images and read the messages and poems at their leisure. Small clips permitted individual cards to be unhooked and read up-close, if required (Figure 10). All of the participant schools were invited to visit the opening event at the Martin Harris Centre or drop-in to the Manchester Museum exhibition, which complemented the major temporary exhibition 'Whitworth Park: Pleasure, Play and Politics'. However, take-up of these invitations was slight, and in the future, we would seek to take these highly portable resources back into the participant schools as a 'pop-up' temporary exhibition. This would have enabled them to become involved in arranging the images and deciding on relations with poems, whilst learning from looking at each other's work. Long-term curation of the images and texts was secured through the online archive hosted through Archaeological Data Services, as part of the wider Whitworth Park project.

The feedback forms from our workshops were designed in tandem with the main project, and the results presented here draw upon insights from both, in order to create a wider understanding of the role of parks for 21st-century urban schoolchildren. Thirty-three percent of participants returned evaluation forms. These asked how regularly they visit parks, whether they had visited Whitworth Park, and their main purpose for park visits (including passing through, using facilities (such as playground on sports fields, for peace and quiet, privacy, to spend time with friends, or 'other'). Responses were unsurprising in that students visited parks closest to their homes and schools. Of our teenage respondents, 29% visit a park at least once a week, and 52% at least once a month. The most dominant reasons for visiting park were meeting with friends or using facilities, followed by seeking peace and quiet. Encouragingly, 91% thought that parks are a valuable local resource. Another use focused on 'passing through': this was especially the case for Whitworth Park which acts as a 'crossroads' between residential housing and the busy corridor of Oxford Road, effectively cutting off the corner of Moss Lane and providing a green walk-way parallel to this busy main road. Nonetheless, this also demonstrates the value of the transient visitor to park spaces. Under the category of 'other' for visiting spaces, this included 'visiting with families', 'buying an ice cream', dog walking, or for one respondent, 'to get away from problems', demonstrating the diverse values and utilities of park spaces for individuals.

Teachers expressed the value of learning about local history: 'the children are gaining an understanding of the history of the park next to their school... they walk through it every day yet have no idea of the journey the park has gone through', reflected too in a pupil's comment that 'it's like, where you live, it's your background, so it's really interesting to find out about what happened'. Children too reflected on the value of the learning through the workshops, including one pupil who wrote after a poetry workshop that it had encouraged them to 'explore the links between literacy and history'. This had a resonating effect for some participants, one noted that 'I will think about its history every time I walk through the park'.

Participants were then asked whether they had enjoyed the workshop, and whether as a result they were more like to visit Whitworth Park, and whether participants felt more confident about using parks,

or felt that parks were valuable for local communities. We also asked what they had enjoyed most about the workshop, and what they would change. The experiences of the workshops were overwhelmingly positive, with 19% agreeing and 76% strongly agreeing that they had enjoyed participation. One of the greatest successes of the workshops was the increased confidence in using park spaces, totalling 76% of respondents. Participants also enjoyed the license to voice their fears as well as their enjoyment of park spaces. However, pupils wanted more one-to-one supervision, rather than the 'free floating' and 'drop-in' light touch we had adopted during the art and poetry sessions: they felt this would increase group attention, enhance focus and provide swifter responses to questions.

Teachers were also asked for feedback. This included asking whether the workshops had been a valuable experience for their students, whether the workshops had helped develop team working, or were likely to increase attainment, and whether students' personal or academic aspirations had been raised through participation. We also asked whether they anticipated an impact on students' development, including increased motivation to learn, increased confidence, and feel more positive about themselves. In addition, we asked them to identify the aspects that the students had most enjoyed, whether it provided sufficient challenge, and how they intended to take the workshop experience forward with students. We also asked for areas for improvement, and suggestions for the future, and whether there were any anecdotes they could share about differences in behaviour or engagement during the workshop.

Teachers reported that students enjoyed the tactile elements the most, where students were involved in 'a kinaesthetic activity where they could be creative' (Jones *et al.* 2015: 130). This was also supported by the opportunity to handle replicas of finds, enabling connections with the types of objects uncovered during the excavations, such as clay pipes and five stones, alongside a small suite of uncontextualized 'real' finds... a brooch, buttons, a key, marbles and several sherds of pottery. This aspect prompted comments such as 'in the past they had different toys' and that they were 'finding out how the past used to look' (Jones et al 2015: 134).

The activities had an impact on future career potentials too, highlighting careers in archaeology, but also, as one workshop pupil observed in a lovely pun, that they would think 'not just about *collage* but college'. It is especially rewarding that a relatively short activity and intervention can potentially impact on future career directions and motivations to study.

Conclusion: lessons learned?

In the main section of our chapter, we have foregrounded some of negative attributes of parks as perceived by the children: as liminal and sometimes fearful places, where loneliness can be keenly felt. Yet this must be set against their statements that through the workshops, they felt more confident about using parks. By providing them with a creative forum in which to express such hidden feelings, we hoped the workshops helped them to discuss the reality of these risks and sensible ways of staying safe. This is a dimension of the project which we had only thought about in quite formal ways (e.g. in relation to Health & Safety Risk Assessments and Safeguarding Policies) but would certainly re-evaluate in the future.

What was very clear was the undoubted value of parks in their everyday lives, as places of play, leisure and enjoyment, both amongst their own age-group and for their families. Occasionally this was expressed as something much deeper, relating not just to their physical but psychological wellbeing, as one child put it: 'Walking and thinking about your feelings/In too much crowd and muttering/Come and calm yourself down' (cited in Jones *et al.* 2015: 129). They also appreciated the way in which we made parks a space of creative imagination and inspiration, on their doorstep. The art workshops encouraged a multi-media approach with physical montages that we hoped would inspire them to make their own collages. Meanwhile the postcard poems and messages developed deeper historical understanding of their local environment, and nurtured empathy with Edwardian children as they imagined themselves into these roles. This occasionally helped enfranchise the students. As one child poignantly put it after looking at the beautiful flowerbeds and lake fountain: 'How come children in the past had nicer things than we do?' Having raised their aspirations for their local environment through this project, we hope it will have a long-lasting legacy on their care for parks, and a personal investment in their future.

Acknowledgements

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Afterword

Seren Grifffiths

Why do you do public archaeology?

What other kind of archaeology could there be?

Any archaeological practice should be 'public archaeology'. As a discipline focusing on the universal inheritance of our shared past, how could anyone, in good conscience do otherwise? It is impossible to be a considered archaeologist without considering public archaeology in practice. Public archaeology forefronts the engaged, political practice that occurs every time we undertake archaeological work. To hoard material culture or knowledge might seem attractive to some, but such an approach is ultimately self-defeating. Not least, because after the initial excitement discovering something — identifying a pattern in data, finding something through the process of excavation, or making an intellectual connection between two bits of an archive — the next most exciting thing is sharing that knowledge with others. Because in emphasising contemporary archaeology as person-centred, practice-based and creative, there is the potential to subvert existing narratives and power structures. If one accepts the futility of hoarding — stuff or ideas — then a logical corollary is that there is power to develop a discipline and subvert gatekeepers through openness and engagement.

These twin ideas — of engagement and creativity — are the most powerful themes in this volume. They are reflected across the different contributions, and it is exciting to see such stimulating variety here. As there are diverse projects, people, and purposes in archaeological work, so public archaeology *should* always be highly varied and creative in its practice, and this is why public archaeology covers such a range of themes in this collection and likewise in other recent works. But, the ethical context of archaeological practice is also central to the ethos of public archaeology. This is why public archaeology has distinct flavours in different parts of the world, because the existing power structures that it needs to challenge are distinct. The intersection between engagement, creativity and ethics is important because the most eloquent solutions to engagement *are required* to be creative and playful. In making methodological openness central, with an emphasis on playful and creative processes, we can de-centre the gaze, the narratives, the research aims, and the practices from the narrow focus of traditional academia. Playfulness and creativity facilitate engagement. Engagement subverts established disciplinary 'just so' stories or practices. This applies as much to school children's visits to archaeological sites, archaeological video game design, engaging with different communities and so on. It also applies to the origins of this volume.

It is very important to understand that this volume grew out of an undergraduate conference held as a taught component in the University of Chester Archaeology degree programme. It is particularly exciting to read students and others offering challenging approaches to inclusion and practice *in all contexts* through art/archaeology interactions. As such, this volume is testimony to its editors' commitment to a creative and playful approach. Such perspectives might seem ill-defined, or unimportant when first encountered, but this kind of 'soft' practice can challenge and change disciplinary boundaries. In emphasising new and experimental forms of public archaeology, we are changing the practitioners as well as our practices. Public archaeology as political practice therefore represents the latest development in the discipline as part of a wider history of the *social* construction of science and scientific knowledge.

What does 'good' public archaeology look like? Does it matter?

If the themes of creativity and engagement should therefore be central to the ethos of public archaeology, is it necessary to identify and value good practice? As an archaeological scientist, I believe that data are powerful, and using assessments of different projects and practices will be a necessary part of any undertaking. However, there are tensions between the importance of creativity and playfulness, and exercises in quantification and review. As essential elements of any project good governance, some forms of evaluation will be required. Developing better understanding of practice, through self-reflection, assessment and monitoring should be essential. But these must be designed with the specific goals of the project as central.

Good public archaeological research will be very different at different times and places. Recognising the importance of a deeply transformative experience for an individual is as important as the passing enjoyment of many people in a different context. This is important however because assessment exercises can feed directly in project funding, commissioning, and continuation; the ways in which public archaeology projects are measured and classified as part of management or assessment exercises represents an most important challenge and opportunity for the discipline. Poorly designed assessment exercises have the potential to constrain creativity and diversity. There is potential tension here therefore between the experimental, innovative and ethical ways that public archaeology should be undertaken, and the potential for the banality of bureaucracy to constrict these approaches.

In Britain certainly, the current social care crisis, and the growing 'neutral-isation' or instrumentalisation of 'public academia' in higher education for 'impact' presents a dangerous trend that may have implications for public archaeology. How do we negotiate the growing outsourcing of social care butting up against an emphasis on academic social impact? What ethical considerations need to be made about desires for public academia, perhaps done for best intentions, but wholly unfit to plug the gaps of local government funding cuts? Negotiating the instrumentalisation of the engagement with 'the past' in the present represents *the* most intractable issue in our contemporary political context. A self-aware reflection on practice will be critical to resist these processes. Retaining an emphasis on creativity and engagement will be essential, together with the recognition that assessing 'good' public archaeology needs to be as diverse as our practices. As with taste, the 'best' public archaeology will depend on its audience, context, politics, timing, originality, and commitment of its practitioners. Perhaps it would be easier to assess 'less successful' public archaeology using the specific research aims of the practice, and using the assessment criteria of:

- ethical practice;
- creative practice;
- engagement evidence;
- variability in production?

Such assessment criteria may provide a means to identify the instrumentalisation or the constriction on public archaeological practices by established institutional priorities. By identifying the key themes of creativity and engagement, this volume therefore evaluates the most important themes in terms of the ethics of *all* archaeology practice into the future.