

EAC Occasional Paper No. 16

Archaeology and Public Benefit

Moving the Debate Forward

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Proceedings of the International Conference
Prague, Czech Republic, 5–7 March 2020

Edited by Sadie Watson

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UKRI Future Leader Fellow, MOLA, London, UK

Published by:

Europae Archaeologiae Consilium (EAC),
Association Internationale sans But Lucratif (AISBL),
Siège social/ Official address
rue des Brigades d'Irlande 1
5100 Namur
BELGIUM
www.e-a-c.org

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ISBN 978-615-5766-44-2

Brought to publication by Archaeolingua, Hungary
Managing editor: Elizabeth Jerem

Edited by Sadie Watson
Copy editing by Kyra Lyubyanovics
Layout and cover design by Rita Kovács

Printed by Prime Rate Ltd, Hungary
Distribution by Archaeolingua, Hungary

Cover image: Shane A. Johnstone, Venus and Cupid, venusandcupidartstrust.org,
Morecambe. © Historic England Archive, Alun Bull

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Introduction/Foreword

SADIE WATSON

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When we assembled in Prague for the 21st EAC Symposium in March 2020 we could never have imagined how the rest of the year would develop and it is with gratitude to the various authors, editors and EAC colleagues that I can present this volume of the papers on behalf of the EAC. The event was kindly hosted by the National Museum in Prague. Over the two days of papers twenty one speakers presented, their presentations are available for download here: <https://www.europae-archaeologiae-consilium.org/presentations-eac-2020>.

The theme of the Symposium was 'Public Benefit from development-led archaeology: moving the debate forward' and the papers here reflect the challenges and opportunities this presents. As outlined in the Valletta Convention (Article 9) the public must be the key beneficiaries of archaeological work and the theoretical concept of public benefit has become well recognised across our profession but there is still some way to go to fully understand and maximise its potential. The concept note for the 21st Symposium asked attendees to reflect upon the challenge of positively shaping the future and embedding public benefit into our practice; from project inception through design and implementation to dissemination. The papers are a fascinating illustration of how public benefit is viewed across the member states, incorporating honest acknowledgements of some of the entrenched challenges involved with creating a new way of working.

This volume naturally follows on from the volume which reported on the 20th Symposium held in Dublin (Corlett 2020), with the focus moving from the responsibilities of a state body to ensure public benefit from sites and monuments to the various complex issues surrounding private development, public regulatory frameworks and the role of archaeologists in embedding and providing meaningful public benefit.

Within all these papers is the thread of the political context of archaeological heritage management, whether development-led or not, which may be different in national settings but nevertheless is similar in that different stakeholders will require different things from us as archaeologists and we must navigate this responsibly. Papers included here highlight the need for communication and collaboration with others to ensure a successful range of benefits are provided, with an additional focus on the need to persuade clients and developers of their obligations when engaging with a shared past. Although many states have yet to ratify the Faro Convention there is growing awareness of the need to enable public engagement and enjoyment of archaeological heritage, and the EAC's work developing online resources and guidance is intended to provide a wider perspective on archaeology (see Sloane, this volume).

There are significant attempts at innovation within this volume, which reflects the concluding session of the Symposium and the wide-ranging discussion around changing current practice to ensure public benefit. I hope that future meetings of the EAC can go ahead safely and successfully to continue this vital work.

Acknowledgements

The Prague event was characterised by a collegiate and collaborative atmosphere and that has continued during the production of this volume. I am grateful to all the authors for adapting their presentation into the papers here, and for achieving this in the chaotic year of 2020. From a personal perspective the opportunity to collaborate with European colleagues is something I intend to continue despite the wider political context, which has brought our obligation as archaeologists to represent the past responsibly into sharper focus than ever before. I would like to thank the team at the National Museum in Prague for their wonderful hospitality. In particular, my grateful thanks as always to Desislava Gradinarova and Barney Sloane of the EAC for their advice throughout my involvement with the Prague Symposium.

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Making the Case for the Public Benefits of Development-Led Archaeology

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Keywords: Amersfoot Agenda, EAC, democratic decision making, public benefit, guidance

Abstract: This paper provides an update on progress of the EAC Working Group for public benefit from development led archaeology, giving the background to the concept as well as outlining why the EAC is developing guidance for establishing public benefit. Understanding that there are many stakeholders all of whom have their own values and priorities will be key. An online resource with case studies showcasing public benefit is under production.

This article is an adaptation of a paper published in 2020 in Austria's ÖZKD journal (Sloane 2020).

Introduction

The European Archaeological Council action plan – the Amersfoort Agenda – was published in 2015 (Schut et al. 2015). Following this action plan, the EAC Board embraced the objective of 'Daring to Choose' (Theme 2). Participants in this theme established three key recommendations that would underpin a sustainable and successful approach to archaeology (Figure 1). In our work on making choices in heritage management (Sloane 2018), a survey of member states revealed that there was a widespread wish for support in explaining the public benefits which were created by development-led archaeology,¹ to policy-makers, developers, archaeologists and the wider public. This desire to be clear about public benefit stemmed from two key drivers: (i) a genuine desire to increase public engagement with archaeology and (ii) an unease that there is a growing – if misguided – perception that development-led archaeology can be an unwelcome financial burden incapable of creating much public value. The Board of the EAC therefore determined, through the establishment of a Working Group, to provide much clearer evidence of the benefits that can be derived from development-led archaeology and thus work towards a means of identifying and capturing its wider

¹ Also known as 'preventive archaeology' or sometimes 'rescue archaeology'.



Figure 1. Round table discussions at the 15th EAC symposium in Amersfoort, 2014

public value. The Working Group was further supported by the European Association of Archaeologists as part of our drive to work more closely together.

This ambition was given further focus through the decision of the EAC Board to endorse a project funded by UK Research and Innovation, the coordinator of the Research Councils of the United Kingdom. The four-year project *'Measuring, maximising and transforming public benefit from UK Government infrastructure investment in archaeology'*, led by Dr Sadie Watson of Museum of London Archaeology, seemed to the EAC to be focusing precisely where the Amersfoort Agenda action plan had recommended and to have relevance far beyond UK borders. The author (BS) was included as a Co-Investigator on the project and Dr Watson was invited to act as scientific coordinator for the Prague symposium leading to this publication (Figure 2).

This short paper sets out the framework within which the Working Group is progressing.

The 1954 European Cultural Heritage Convention (the 'Paris Convention'²) was arguably the first pan-European expression of the acknowledgement that culture is a unifying force, that mutual understanding of different 'peoples' was a key to creating the appreciation of culture, and that fostering the study of the 'history and civilisation' of the member states was a means to create the necessary understanding. While archaeology was not specifically mentioned, cultural objects were. Here lay the seeds of an understanding that archaeology as a discipline could create profound public value far beyond the academic exploration which had characterised its

² <https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/treaty/018>



Figure 2. Barney Sloane (EAC President) and Sadie Watson (Scientific Convenor) at the 21st EAC symposium in Prague, 2020

practice in the decades before. The 1969 European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage (the ‘London Convention’³) developed this notion specifically, seeing the objective of the proper management of archaeological sites and their excavation as contributing to ‘scientific, cultural and educational’ activities, and generating ‘historical and cultural value’. The 1992 Valletta⁴ revision of the London Convention established the need for archaeological heritage management to be built into wider state planning policies and to be appropriately resourced and funded, while also identifying archaeology as ‘a source of the European collective memory and as an instrument for historical and scientific study’. These three conventions thus directly connected the fostering of unity in the European community with the appropriate management of archaeology in the context of land development and state planning procedures.

Primarily as a result of the ratification and adoption of these conventions, and of the consequent improvement of archaeological heritage management across Europe, the scale and intensity of archaeological investigation has grown very considerably over the last 30 years. The investment, whether state or private, has risen to support this. (In the UK, for example, it is estimated that the commercial archaeological market in 2018 was worth up to £238m,⁵ generated by some 6000 archaeologists on upwards

³ <https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/treaty/066>

⁴ <https://www.coe.int/en/web/culture-and-heritage/valletta-convention>

⁵ <https://landward.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Archaeological-Market-Survey-2017-18.pdf>, S. 4.

of 5000 investigations). The contribution that such investment has made to our understanding of the past cannot be denied and, crucially, is increasingly recognised both by archaeologists and by the developers who have funded the work.⁶

However, there is a considerable risk that a didactic, top-down dissemination of the products of this considerable investment, often to a limited specialist audience, is going to miss its target and fail to prove its public value, in the way envisioned in the Faro convention and a number of other charters and conventions pertaining to cultural heritage.⁷ If we can eliminate this risk and create a new way of operationalising public value, a great prize lies within reach, where the regular and authentic involvement of the public in decision-making about their heritage is matched by a widespread, shared enjoyment of the value delivered from those decisions and people can see the direct value of their participation.

Public benefits and public value

Creating the conditions for such a paradigm shift in public involvement will not be straightforward, however. While there is a very considerable international body of research focused on archaeology and public value, and university departments focusing on the transformation of development-led archaeology are emerging,⁸ there are few specific proposals on how to tackle the transformation of practice and management of development-led archaeology in order to create the conditions necessary for the shift. To create such conditions, we believe that it is vital to capture the full range of particular and tangible public benefits of archaeology. Developing a shared understanding of these benefits, we argue, sets the stage for anticipating them within the mechanisms and processes which govern development-led archaeology, and, where they materialise, the means of sharing the recognition of successes with stakeholders. If this approach is authentic and avoids the trap of being top-down or paying simple lip-service, different constituencies should increasingly see themselves as owning those benefits as they accrue, and thus come to value their continuing interaction with the processes that create them. The emergence of such shared value will, we hope, drive further investment of thought and creativity into the processes to enhance the benefits, thus in turn steadily growing that value.

Exploring the range of benefits

It is axiomatic that we support and undertake archaeological research to further our understanding of the past. But such increased knowledge only takes us part of the way toward meeting the goals envisaged in the three conventions noted above. To establish a lasting and deep-rooted public value, we need to think more carefully about how we can define other benefits which development-led archaeology can

⁶ See for example in England: <https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/building-the-future-transforming-our-past/>

⁷ The context of and need for development of authentic public value is artfully explored in Olivier 2020.

⁸ <https://lnu.se/en/education/PhD-studies/archaeology/grasca/>

bring and about how we might make the realisation of the maximum range of benefits part of the planning of each and every future investigation.

So what are these benefits? Past and current debates on this provide a helpful framework on which to build.

Archaeological Commodities

Gabriel Moshenska considered archaeological benefits within an economic framework, viewing them as 'commodities' (Moshenska 2009). He posited that 'commodities' – things possessing value – exist in a variety of forms, but could be grouped into a small number of distinct types.

1. Archaeological materials. This encompasses the material outputs of archaeological research, including both objects and sites.
2. Archaeological knowledge and skills. This comprises knowledge gained by fieldwork or research, and the skills needed to do the work.
3. Archaeological work. The forms of work carried out by archaeologists, for which (in development-led archaeology) they are normally paid.
4. Archaeological experiences. Peoples' encounters with archaeological processes and products such as visits to museums or archaeological sites, educational courses and similar.
5. Archaeological images. The recognisable archaeological themes and images that feature in popular culture representations of the past; in advertising, architecture, film, art and elsewhere.⁹

Neil Gestrinch warned against thinking of archaeology as a purely saleable commodity, recalling the more fundamental fact that "laws governing the protection of archaeological remains were not created in order to provide a market for the commodity of archaeological skills. They were created in recognition of the fact that ... there lies a debate about the past which shapes our identity today. It is this debate that is the actual objective of archaeology, and it is also the reason why people value the commodities that result from it" (Gestrinch 2011). Response to this warning led to a focus on the values in archaeological commodities, identifying a number of forms useful to our framework, including: monetary, cultural, intellectual, social and emotional (Moshenska & Burtenshaw 2011). Moshenska and Burtenshaw also reiterated the principle of archaeology as a public good not a traded commodity, and the need to establish how archaeology contributes to wellbeing and quality of life. They concluded that "the strength of any model of archaeological value lies in its ability to communicate the roundest possible view of the benefits that archaeology offers", a point central to our approach.

Instrumental benefits of archaeology

Others had earlier begun to specify particular instrumental or outcomes-based benefits from archaeology which could help us to flesh out an emerging model for our work. In the US in 2006, Minnis and others asked a specific hypothetical question

⁹ A theme explored in depth in Holtorf 2007.

of US archaeology: “So,” the Skeptic asks, “you expect me to pay taxes so you can play in the dirt digging up old stuff instead of me saving more for my kid’s education or for producing more vaccines against childhood illnesses in the Third World?” (Minnis et al 2006). In crafting a response, they recognised the following tangible benefits of archaeology:

1. Counteracting racism. In the US archaeology has become an important tool for discovering and teaching African-American history and for initiating dialog about the continuing effects of racism.
2. Documenting accomplishments of ignored communities.
3. Providing time-depth as a response to short-termism of modern age. A long-term perspective is worth investing in because it changes public dialogue when the benefits and costs of policy decisions are considered over time periods exceeding a single human generation.
4. Contribution to human ecology. Understanding ecological dynamics for environmental conservation purposes, documenting novel uses of plant resources, understanding strategies for farming marginal lands, expanding increasingly impoverished inventory of crops to combat food shortages.
5. Independent evidence base. Detailed knowledge of the past drawn from archaeology can challenge myths, misconceptions, and stereotypes.
6. Historic context development. Archaeology can assist planning and environmental compliance, and thereby make (for example) mining more efficient and hence profitable for the state.
7. Tourism: wide popular support, as evidenced by book sales, television ratings, and visitations at publicly supported sites and museums.

These reflections, both ‘commodity-based’ and instrumental benefits, raise the matter of ‘customers’ or beneficiaries for them. The good conduct of development-led archaeology offers potentially different benefits to stakeholders– to the investors paying for the work, to the policy-makers and ministers responsible for the framework of archaeological heritage management, to scientists and policy-makers in ostensibly non-heritage domains, to the archaeologists themselves, and to the wider public. What is perceived as a benefit for one constituency may be seen as of limited interest by another, and any framework for realising the full range of benefits would need to recognise this fact.

Towards a framework for understanding the public benefits of development-led archaeology

With these insights we aim to develop a framework which addresses the ethical responsibility to deliver the public good of development-led archaeology, articulates the benefits that can be realised through its practice using real case studies, and offers clear evidence of the economic value and desirability of maintaining coherent and robust policies in its support.

Our first pillar is an ethical one. We will reiterate the reasons behind the existence of state laws protecting archaeology, and their alignment with the European conventions

which have helped shape archaeological heritage management. This reminds our target audiences that the objective was to realise culture as a unifying force and an instrument for mutual understanding.

Our second pillar is an economic one. We will demonstrate the financial impact of conducting development-led archaeology by revealing the evidence of the very low economic cost to taxpayers and investors. Our approach will be to evidence the total cost of development-led archaeology against the total size of the construction industry in each state.¹⁰

Our third pillar is clear proof of concept. We will provide genuine case studies of the delivery of public benefits through development-led archaeology under a number of headings which will be understandable to our stakeholders. These headings are summarised as follows:

1. **Contribution to a shared history.** This is the most fundamental and obvious benefit to society and is enshrined in Valletta (and every other convention on archaeological heritage). Archaeology offers a different scale of history, bringing in a human dimension understandable by all. A requirement for an investment in investigation which has a clearly articulated knowledge 'dividend' will be more readily understood.
2. **Artistic and cultural treasures.** The most frequent archaeological stories in the media, and the most often-asked questions by members of the public revolve around the unearthing of wonderful cultural objects. Such finds can draw international interest to a site and to an investor and can, occasionally, act as dramatic catalysts for inward economic investment to an area.
3. **Local values.** People often express pride or value in the archaeology on their doorsteps, even if that archaeology may not be so important as to make the national media headlines. An investigation which is alive to this local pride is one which may help the investor or developer engage local support.
4. **Place-making and social cohesion.** Archaeology has powerful messages to send about the changeability of societies over time, about the mobility of people, and about the ways in which cultural values can be adopted and shared to create better places to live. Such stories shared as part of investigations can provide a catalyst for understanding and new community perspectives. The physical remains can be used as blueprints or assets for redevelopment of locales to the joint benefit of commerce and public alike.
5. **Educational benefits.** Linked to the above, but wider in impact, this recognises that archaeology can generate specific educational benefits. For example, certain kinds of archaeological site may shed light on past adaptation to climate change. While these rarely provide practical answers to the issues facing 21st-century Europe, they can be remarkable educational tools. Suitably planned investigations can feed such information to school children and colleges.

¹⁰ Current pan-European modelling over a sample of 21 states suggests a cost of less 0.1% of construction industry turnover with variations depending on individual state approaches.

6. **Contribution to science and innovation.** An overlooked benefit of investment in archaeological investigation is the impact on wider scientific research. For example, the recovery of ancient plant remains can provide very important information about past species and variants (and even, on occasion, viable seeds); ancient DNA techniques have permitted the study of epidemics; and recovery of human skeletal remains have informed our understanding of the causes and effects of disease.
7. **Health and wellbeing.** The practice of archaeology can itself be used for helping people who are suffering from a range of conditions.¹¹
8. **Added economic value to developers.** Direct economic benefit to the investor is possible in a development which takes account of the archaeological dimension of the project.¹²

EAC will provide an online resource which will include case studies for each of these different categories of tangible benefit, with an assessment of how the benefit was realised. That in turn will allow us to create the framework for understanding how the capability to create similar benefits in future projects can be built into the processes and mechanisms for archaeological heritage management.

In creating that framework, we hope to ensure a stable basis for archaeology upon which it may then be possible to build a far richer interaction or dialogue between the public and their heritage. Such an interaction will go far deeper than common current and often one-way approaches, such as offering site visits or viewing galleries, websites or school trips. We envisage a process where expert and community views combine to shape our understanding of significance, where the public have a role in decision making, where citizen science helps shape research frameworks, and where dissemination of findings is targeted to the local communities as well as the experts. From this, we all might realise the full public value of our shared archaeological heritage.

If we are successful, we may be able to help reverse scepticism, and allow archaeology to play “a significant role in struggles, for and against the rights to self-determination and participation in public affairs; freedom from discrimination; life and freedom from persecution; education; belief, association, assembly and expression; work and just conditions of work; the highest attainable physical and mental health and an adequate standard of living; and conservation of, access to and participation in science and culture” (Hardy 2017). In doing so, we may be able to meet a good number of the objectives enshrined in the European conventions on cultural heritage first envisioned more than half a century ago.

¹¹ Examples from the UK include the Operation Nightingale project (<https://www.gov.uk/government/news/rehabilitation-through-archaeology-project-wins-new-award>).

¹² “There are considerable benefits to clients from a carefully considered and executed archaeological programme which can be used to boost public relations and leave a legacy to society through increase in knowledge, providing a pride of place for local communities” (written by a consultancy advising developers <https://slrconsulting.com/news/2017/design-integration-of-archaeology-in-a-construction-project>).

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Roman Water Pipeline Approved for 'Adoption' – Public Engagement, Awareness and Benefit from a Development-Led Archaeology Project

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Keywords: archaeological legacy, Germany, collaboration, monument adoption, vocational training, Roman Cologne

Abstract: The construction of a by-pass in North Rhine-Westphalia resulted in the excavation, recording and relocation of one of the most important archaeological monuments in the Rhineland: a stone and masonry aqueduct up to 95km long, which had supplied water to Roman Cologne. As preservation *in situ* was not possible the pipe was lifted in segments; some were displayed on the site, others were moved to sites nearby. The conservation of the segments was undertaken by apprentices from the Chamber of Crafts and the whole project was a successful collaboration between private, public, business and local communities.

When the planning of a by-pass in Hürth-Hermülheim (North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany) began in 2005, it became apparent that the new road would also affect the route of the ancient water pipeline (*Eifelwasserleitung*), which had supplied Roman Cologne with water from the 1st to the 3rd century AD. Built of solid stone and cast masonry and at 95 km long one of the longest water pipelines in the Roman Empire, it supplied the ancient city with around 20 million litres of drinking water every day. The archaeological legacy of this spectacular structure has been preserved underground for a long time and, as a testimony to the Roman settlement landscape and the history of technology, forms one of the most important archaeological monuments in the Rhineland.

Since the new highway had to be built in a low-lying area in order to pass under a railway line, it was not possible to keep the monument undisturbed *in situ*. In the approval process for the construction of the new road, it was therefore – according to the legal basis – agreed to examine, document and recover this testimony of ancient engineering. The condition in which the canal would be found was initially unknown.

The archaeological investigation carried out by the private company Archaeonet GbR (Bonn) in 2016 showed that the water pipeline was in good to very good condition. Its U-shaped gutter, built of cast masonry, ran through the entire excavation area. At a few meters, it also had the vaulted ceiling and even an inspection shaft had been preserved – an extraordinary stroke of luck (Figure 1).

After its professional documentation, the water pipeline was recovered piece-by-piece (Figure 2) and temporarily stored (Figure 3). As compensation for their removal in favour of road construction, the LVR – State Service for Archaeological Heritage (LVR-ABR) and the State Office for Roads (Straßen.NRW), agreed to conserve six pieces and to present them to the public on the spot. Five of the parts were placed into the embankment on both sides of the new road in summer 2019 to illustrate the original course of the ancient pipe. The sixth piece, with its vault and inspection shaft, is located in the immediate vicinity on a bicycle and pedestrian bridge that crosses the new street (Figure 4). Here, the details of this impressive example of Roman engineering are visible close up.

In addition, a project was set up to preserve, restore and present 22 further parts of the ancient water pipeline by offering them to interested parties. The prerequisites for the submission were, that those interested had the sections refurbished and – provided with adequate weather protection and explained by information boards – that they had to be accessible to the public. In return, the property should be transferred from the state of North Rhine-Westphalia to the customers. The interest in this unusual offer, which was supported through mediation by an association called Freundeskreis Römerkanal e. V., was great. Municipalities, companies, associations and private individuals feeling connected to the monument as “neighbours” of the water pipeline or dealing with the subject of water came forward (Figure 5) and – up to summer 2020 – customers have been found for 21 out of 28 pieces.

Within the group of interested parties the STRABAG AG (Cologne), the Chamber of Crafts in Cologne and Peter Schneider Transporte-Baggerbetrieb e. K. (Mechernich) took the initiative to centrally organize the necessary measures for all customers and to bring in considerable contributions of their own. The Chamber of Crafts in Aachen and the Vocational Training Institute of the Construction Industry in North-Rhine Westphalia (BFW) also played a key role in this following process.

In a joint working group of the LVR-ABR, the Cologne district government, the Freundeskreis Römerkanal e. V. and the restorers Stefan Großner & Thomas Sieverding, all aspects of dealing with the recovered parts of the water pipeline were discussed and solutions developed. Questions of logistics, financing, public relations and last but not least conservation and reconstruction as well as the installation and presentation of the completed parts had to be clarified.

From their interim storage facility provided by Straßen.NRW, the parts were finally transported to the training centres of the Chamber of Crafts and the BFW where their conservation was carried out under the technical project management of Thomas Sieverding. This ensured the long-term preservation of the sections. In addition to



Figure 1. The well-preserved part of the Roman water pipeline near Hürth-Hermülheim during excavation. (A. Thieme/ArchaeoNet GbR)

Figure 2. The Roman water pipeline is divided into manageable sections. (C. Ulbert/ArchaeoNet GbR)





Figure 3. Ready for transportation. (Z. Görür/ArchaeoNet GbR)

Figure 4. Placing of one segment of the Roman water pipeline close to its find spot in the embankment of the new road. (M. Zanjani/LVR-State Service for Archaeological Heritage)



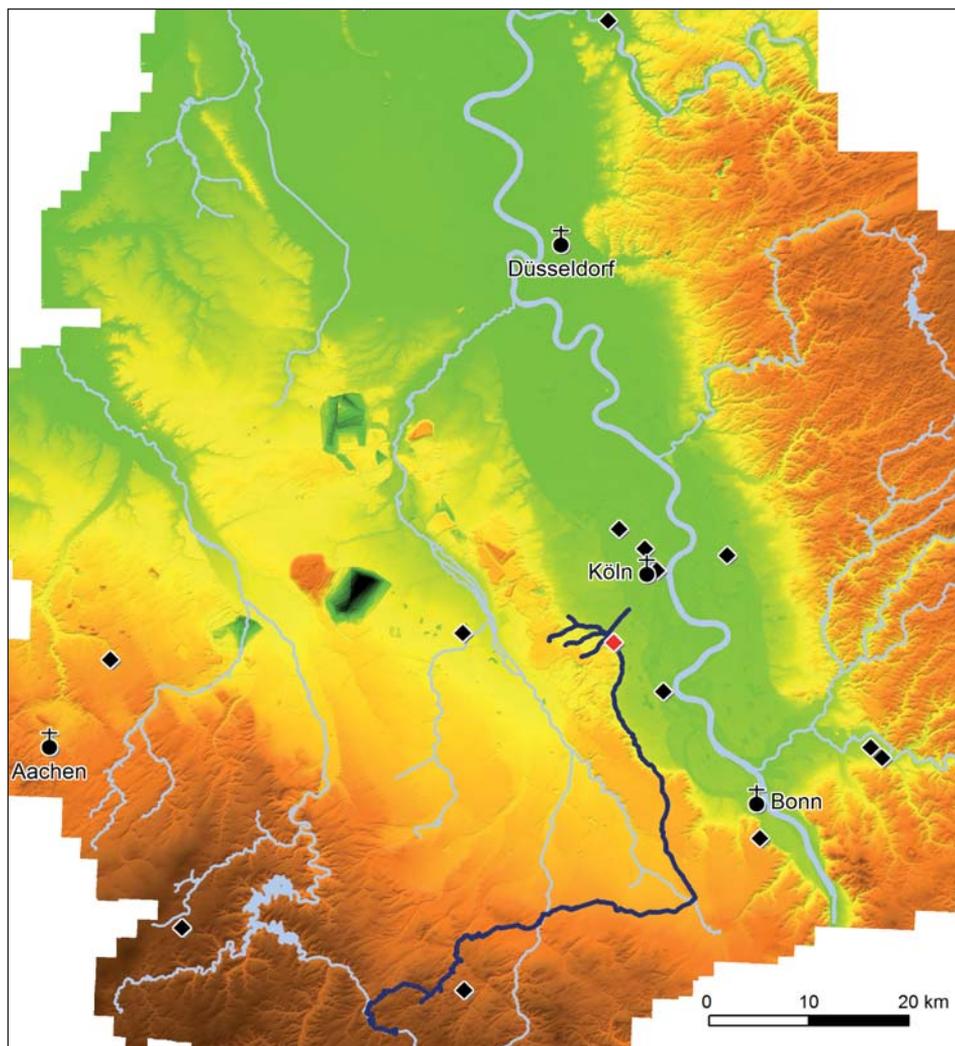


Figure 5. Digital elevation model of the southern part of the Lower Rhine Embayment with major towns and rivers, showing the course of the "Eifelwasserleitung" (dark blue) and fixed future locations (black) of the sections recovered near Hürth (red). The re-installed pieces near the excavation site are not plotted, as well as – due to the scale – one re-installations far apart from the site. (E. Claßen, I. Herzog/LVR-State Service for Archaeological Heritage; base map: © Geobasis NRW)



Figure 6. Trainee from the Cologne Chamber of Crafts during the restoration of a segment of the water pipeline. (Th. Sieverding)

Figure 7. Final re-installation of a section of the Roman water pipeline with canopy and information panel at the Heilig-Geist-Gymnasium in Würselen. (M. Zanjani/LVR-State Service for Archaeological Heritage)



specific personal contributions of the two restorers, the work under the direction of the centres' instructors is largely carried out by the apprentices, who tackled the task with enthusiasm and quality – ancient artisanship meets modern young people (Figure 6).

The vaults were in all cases reconstructed in order to ensure the stability of the gutters and to give the monuments their typical 'look', which often appears as a distinguishing feature of this Roman building in its course from the Eifel to Cologne. After their completion, the parts of the Roman water pipeline are being gradually taken over by their new owners and transported to their final destinations (Figure 7). Together with the restored original monument, they receive not only the title deed, but also individual documentation that includes all stages of the archaeological investigation, recovery and conservation of their almost 2000-year-old protégés in text, image and film. The final task is to place the monuments on site in such a way that they will be protected against damage in the future and will help to bring the Roman past closer to citizens and visitors. The variety of aspects under which this will take place, depending on the perspective of the new monument owner, is just as remarkable as the overall project itself.

Such an enthusiastic and constructive interaction between communities, companies, associations, authorities and private individuals with the aim of preserving a significant cultural monument for the public contributes to raising awareness of the importance of the archaeological heritage, far beyond the individual case.

Acknowledgements

We thank all project partners for their outstanding commitment and all those who have agreed to take care of the conservation, preservation and permanent presentation of a section. In addition, we are grateful to Anneli Wanger-O'Neill (Munich) for the proofreading of this text.

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A Case Study in Archaeology and Public Benefit from an Urban Excavation in an Old Brewery; Cork City, Ireland

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Keywords: Ireland, Cork City, Viking Age, urban archaeology, construction, publicity

Abstract: A major urban development in Cork City entailed dewatering and very deep excavations for new basements. This revealed significant archaeology from the Viking period, which was excavated where necessary. A very successful series of public events followed, with senior politicians visiting. This paper concludes by emphasising the need to provide the public with accurate information.

Redevelopment in Cork, Ireland's second city, revealed evidence for nine-hundred and fifty years of urban development; from the Viking-age to the Brewery that closed in 2009, initiating a much-needed boost for a declining city centre. The new development proposals for the site occasioned the first large scale urban excavation in Cork following the economic crisis of the preceding decade. The inherent challenges presented by such a site in a recovering economic climate were offset by the scale of the opportunities for excavation and knowledge advancement in what has long been recognised as one of the oldest parts of the city. Public interest and sentiment for 'old Cork' ran strong and the unfolding situation was closely followed.

The area enclosed by the medieval walls of Cork is well documented and afforded legal protection under the National Monuments Acts, Ireland's legislation for protecting and preserving historic and archaeological heritage. In 2009 the old Beamish & Crawford Brewery in Cork came up for redevelopment and heritage was immediately flagged as a critical issue as the brewery was founded in 1792 within the most historic part of the city and had expanded over the years to occupy c. one-third of the medieval core. In addition to subsurface archaeological potential two historically documented monuments were known to have once stood on the site; the medieval town walls lay close to the southern and western boundaries and the site of St. Lawrence's Church was attested to by historic maps.



Figure 1. Beamish & Crawford Brewery, a 19th century view and much the same view in 2010 with archaeological trial trenches under excavation. An old beer bottle with the company logo in Gaelic revival motifs

Archaeological excavation which had taken place on adjacent sites since the 1970s showed that cultural layers from at least the early 12th century onwards were a feature of the area and these were generally represented by well-preserved organic materials made in the Hiberno-Norse (late Viking-age) tradition.

Some of the brewery buildings themselves were highly regarded, with the Tudor-style 'counting house' (administration building) having an iconic status as a symbol of 'old Cork', notwithstanding its comparatively modern construction (1920). Above all else, Cork people were strongly attached to the traditional brand (Beamish stout) which contributed to the identity of the site as a local landmark and part of Cork's character (Figure 1).

From the outset it was agreed that public benefit should be a significant element of any proposal; a partnership of Heineken and BAM who were the initial developers. An Events Centre (concert arena/venue centre) had for long been identified as an absence in the economic and social growth of Cork and a proposal was developed putting the site forward as a suitable space for this.

The historic buildings in the central part of the site were to be retained and refurbished, albeit considerably enlarged and modified within the historic fabric but nevertheless preserving *in situ* much of the subsurface area. The greatest initial commercial viability was to be created by four newly built blocks of student accommodation, in part above a basement carpark.

Archaeological testing in 2010 revealed that sub-surface coal bunkers, basements and modern services across much of the site had greatly compromised the site's archaeological potential. The northern central part of the site was considered to be the least archaeologically sensitive and therefore suitable for the development of a basement. By contrast the street fronting area had seen little impact; the archaeological strata there were well preserved. *In situ* preservation of the street-fronting sub-surface was to be achieved by foundation design based on a widely set pile-grid. The excavation of one area at the street front was of course necessary to provide access to the basement and this strip was initially the main focus of the archaeological excavation.

Excavation began in November 2016 and was completed in June 2017. Thereafter, the excavation ran in tandem with the construction process until November 2019.

The most significant findings were a sequence of house floors dating from c. 1070AD (the earliest so far recorded in Cork) to c. 1200AD, but with little structural evidence for the 13th to 17th century period (mostly represented by pits and other sub-surface cut features) and then the stone foundations of 18th-century houses and laneways. The ground plan of the mid-12th century Church, initially dedicated to St. Nicholas and subsequently altered and rededicated to St. Lawrence, was revealed. The floor area and truncated walls were unfortunately ravaged by pipes of a mid-20th century sewage system, services and associated sumps (Figure 2).

The surviving walls are to be preserved *in situ* beneath the proposed 'Events Centre', but cannot be presented visually due to the tide levels which regularly rise and fall in all the low-lying areas of Cork City. This situation leads me to one of the most informative aspects of the excavation, the evidence for reclamation.

In particular, the excavation of the basement area allowed the opportunity to excavate extensively at levels previously only glimpsed briefly at the bottom of deep cuttings in other archaeological excavations in the city. Early excavations in Cork City had stopped at the surface of a layer of grey estuarine clay, at that time believed to be a natural (pre-occupation) estuarine silt. The odd anomalous piece of worked wood or sherd of pottery had caused some doubt for the early excavators, myself included. The hand excavation of sondages to one or two metres into the silt and clay barely assuaged our misgivings that surely these metres of almost sterile silt must be natural. How could these many thousands of cubic metres be otherwise, and all this below tide level too, sometimes even sea level and yet there were nagging doubts about the odd deeply buried anomaly.



Figure 3. Excavation of the basement took place in stages in tandem with construction. The size of individual units was restricted due to subsurface tidal pressure and access requirements

pumps created an environment where archaeologists and machinery were able to work at depths of c. 4m below modern ground level (Figure 3).

It was anything but dry and heavy winter rain made the clays slippery and the mud often rapidly obscured the findings, but the excavation of a full transect from the street frontage to the city wall was a unique achievement. Evidence for the complexity of the reclamation process, beginning by the street frontage in c. 1070AD and proceeding westwards in two or three phases until c. 1200AD was one of the most worthwhile contributions of the excavation. The many other significant and impressive finds are too numerous to detail and beyond the scope of this paper.

Excepting a few organised visits by students and staff of University College Cork and regulatory bodies, there was no opportunity for public visibility due to the confines of a construction site where strict health and safety protocols prevailed.

A visit to Cork by the Norwegian Ambassador to Ireland; Her Excellency Else Berit Eikeland in September 2017 occasioned the unveiling of some of the evidence of Viking-age finds from the dig (Figure 5).

Ms Eikeland urged us to exhibit some of the discoveries to the public. The Lord Mayor and staff of the Cork Public Museum were equally enthusiastic.

These proposals were drawn-up and presented to BAM who agreed to finance the exhibition, prepare a brochure and sponsor a presentation at the museum (Figure 6).



Figure 4. A 12th century reclamation fence embedded in the estuarine silts

While the exhibition was under preparation a presentation to the local archaeological society (Cork Historical & Archaeological Society) led to an unprecedented event where large numbers seeking to attend a full to capacity lecture theatre had to be turned away; this followed from a newspaper interview where the findings were disclosed. University College Cork run a course in Museum Studies and agreed to offer their students the opportunity to work with myself and my excavation team to help prepare the exhibition and brochure. The students came from many different European countries and the United States. Cork City Council and The National Museum of Ireland also lent their support.

The opening of the exhibition was performed by the Lord Mayor of Cork and Ambassador Eikeland and the event was widely covered in local newspapers, local and national television, radio, news bulletins and international magazines.

The exhibition was a great success and ran for over one and a half years and was viewed by an estimated 67,000 people.



Figure 5. Maurice Hurley reveals a wooden Viking-age weavers' sword to the Lord Mayor of Cork, Councillor Fitzgerald and Ambassador Else Berit Eikeland

Notwithstanding the enormous public knowledge dividend created by the exhibition such initiatives can be risky in some respects. In the context of an Irish planning system that allows for third-party appeal, developers are understandably cautious of unbridled dissemination of information that has the potential to ignite public opinion. One aspect of this case study is salutary in regard to third party appeals, whereby a planning application for a modified design of the Events Centre was appealed. The information and illustrations in the exhibition were used to augment an objection taken on the grounds of adverse impact on heritage. While I too share many of the objector's aspirations regarding the potential public benefit of heritage availability, it is unjustifiable to bundle everything that has gone wrong regarding Cork's heritage against a single development proposal which is poised to do so much for the most rundown and underutilised part of the city. The development also carries the opportunity to work with the public to graphically illustrate the history and heritage of the site to a wide and varied audience.

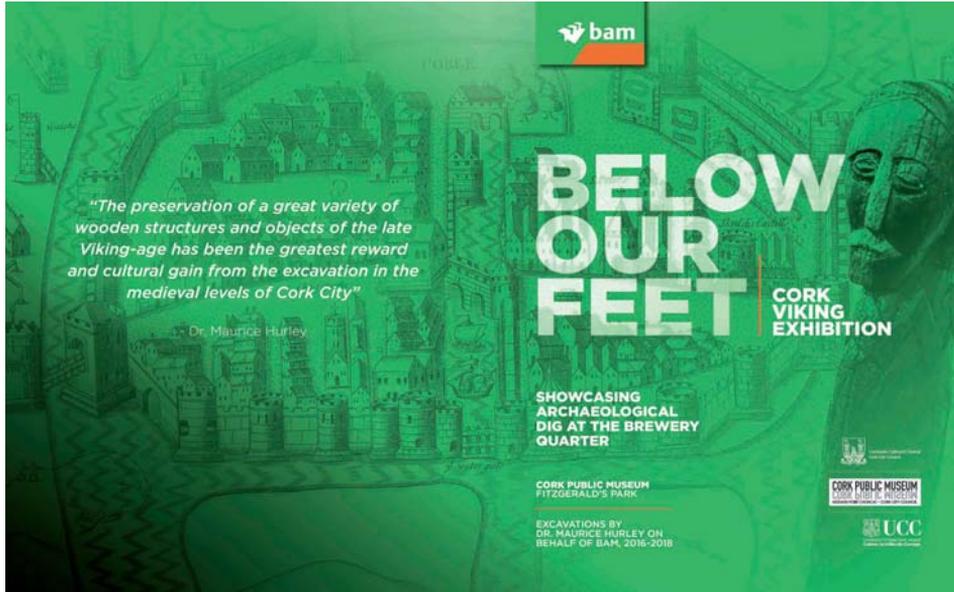


Figure 6. The carved face of the wooden weavers' sword was a visual link throughout the exhibition literature

The objection was not sustained and permission was granted. Perhaps the real merits of this case lie in timely and factual dissemination of information to the public, avoiding ambiguous and emotive suggestion.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Mr Michael McDonagh, Chief Archaeologist, National Monuments Service Ireland, for offering me the opportunity to present this paper at the EAC 2020.

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Archaeology 2030: A Strategic Approach for Northern Ireland

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Keywords: Archaeology 2030, heritage management, Northern Ireland, Ireland, research, archaeology, fieldwork, collaboration, consensus

Abstract: In the Autumn of 2016 the archaeological sector in Northern Ireland came together in the first of a series of meetings and collaborations to consider how the sector needs to change to meet the challenges that it faces, especially in the context of development-led interventions. The products of that collaboration were published in December 2020 as *Archaeology 2030: A Strategic Approach for Northern Ireland*. The core vision of that document is this: that the heritage sector, and the archaeological sector in particular, wants archaeology to be accessed and valued by as many people as possible, led by a sector which is healthy, resilient and connected. This paper is intended to give some context to how this coming together happened, how it has progressed, and to offer some perspective and reflections on where the journey may go in the future.

Context

In 2016 central government departments in Northern Ireland underwent a major reorganisation as part of the Reform of Public Administration (RPA). As a consequence, and for the first time in decades (if not the first time in the history of the State of Northern Ireland) all of the primary statutory heritage functions of central government around the protection of archaeological sites, monuments and artefacts, historic buildings, museums and galleries, and historical state records, were positioned under one government department. This is the Department for Communities, the largest department in the Northern Ireland Civil Service, which also includes in its remit matters of sport, language, welfare benefits, pensions, child support maintenance, housing and regeneration.

This was a major change for the State sector in terms of how it contributes to the management of our historic environment, including archaeological sites and monuments. For some 40 years previously these functions were exercised by the former

Department of the Environment in Northern Ireland, which also included matters about nature conservation on land and in the sea, country parks and dealing with significant aspects of environmental crime (amongst what was, at times, a very broad remit). The Department of the Environment was also the lead government department dealing with the management of spatial town and country planning in Northern Ireland, and for the most part was the department responsible for issuing decisions around individual spatial planning proposals. As part of the Review of Public Administration there was also a major reorganisation of local councils in Northern Ireland, reducing the number of councils from 26 to 11, and with significant new responsibilities passed from central government to those new councils. Most operational spatial planning functions have now been taken on by local councils, though the Department for Communities acts as a statutory consultee about development proposals that may impact upon the historic environment, and advises appropriate conditions necessary for the treatment of archaeological remains in that context. The Department for Communities is still the regulatory authority for archaeological excavation in Northern Ireland, under the provisions of the Historic Monuments and Archaeological Objects (Northern Ireland) Order 1995.

With this major change in government structures, and with new Ministers in post in the Northern Ireland executive (government), attention within the heritage sector started to move from archaeology and heritage protection being seen largely through an environment lens to a keener focus on communities, people and societal impact. It is important to note too, just as had been the case for much of the rest of Europe, the economic downturn from 2008 onwards had a major impact on Northern Ireland. While archaeological fieldwork in commercial projects continued, it was happening at a much-reduced scale than before. Discretionary funding for projects was very limited, and most centrally funded archaeological projects had halted by 2015, with attention focused primarily on core statutory obligations. It would be fair to say that the heritage sector at the time was feeling the strain, and not very optimistic about the future.

These changed times presented a valuable opportunity to re-establish connections within the sector, and to develop a sector-wide discussion about archaeology. While it was convened and initially led by government archaeologists, a core objective had been inclusion of the wider sector. Perhaps the most important aspect of the initiative was that it presented an opportunity to develop meaningful collaboration across the sector, to develop a strategic approach to the challenges, and opportunities, for archaeology in Northern Ireland. The document that has emerged is not an imposed 'solution', nor is it owned solely by the regulatory authorities in Northern Ireland. It has been developed by the sector at large, with an expectation that it will be owned by the sector at large. Regulatory authorities will have an important role, but equally individual practitioners, companies, community groups and institutions will have their part to play.

Developing the initiative

There had been, prior to 2016, ongoing discussion within the heritage sector in Northern Ireland around what archaeology was all about, who was involved and

why, how was the work being done, by whom, and how much it all cost. There was, too, a certain disjointed debate around the value of heritage. For example, a *Study of the Economic Value of Northern Ireland's Historic Environment* in 2012 had identified major positive benefits of the historic environment, including archaeological sites and monuments, which contributed at that time to in excess of £500 million (gross) of output per annum, sustained some 10,000 full-time equivalent jobs, and for each £1 invested by the public sector some £3-£4 was invested by the private sector, with significant scope for increase (DOE 2012a, 2). While local societal value was noted, along with reference to the intrinsic value of heritage as heritage, the primary focus of the reports was around economic value that was largely driven by tourism and the construction sector/built heritage regeneration. Indeed, the only recommendation in the report around archaeological excavation was made in the context of investment at sites for visitor access and tourism development (DOE 2012b, 63).

However, other issues dominated discussions for many archaeological practitioners, individually and within companies, institutions and indeed the government sector. Foremost were largely process-driven issues around the formation, recording, deposition and curation of the 'products' of archaeological excavation, specifically the issue of archaeological archives (Hull 2011). These elements, which underpin so much other archaeological work (and which are, in many instances, primary archaeological activities), continued to dominate the discussion in 2016, and indeed still continue.

In consideration of options to start a conversation, and in the time that followed, the discussions and debate at the 2014 symposium held at Amersfoort, the Netherlands, resonated powerfully with the present author, as there were key themes in common. The discussion was revolving around how we, across the archaeological sector, were collectively managing our archaeological heritage. The proceedings of that symposium (Schut et al. 2015) were particularly relevant in moving the discussion forward, and central to this was the vision presented in the *Amersfoort Agenda* (EAC 2015, 15-23). The vision of the *Amersfoort Agenda* offered reassurance: the kinds of issues that we were encountering in Northern Ireland were not unique, and there were positive approaches one could pursue.

Thus, in November 2016 the Historic Environment Division, an operational division within the Department for Communities, convened a symposium with invited participants from across the archaeological sector in Northern Ireland, including commercial companies, universities, professional bodies (the Institute of Archaeologists of Ireland and the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists), museums, and the community sector including the Ulster Archaeological Society.

In some respects we found we were trying to construct a fire triangle: we had assembled the ingredients to create a reaction, and while we were not seeking to set the world on fire we certainly wanted to light a spark, to move the discussion forward and, most importantly, to work with one another to improve our collective management of the archaeological heritage (Figure 1). At the first meeting it clear that participants wanted to talk about how excavations were conducted, and how practitioners could achieve statutory compliance, but it was also very clear that collectively we wanted to talk

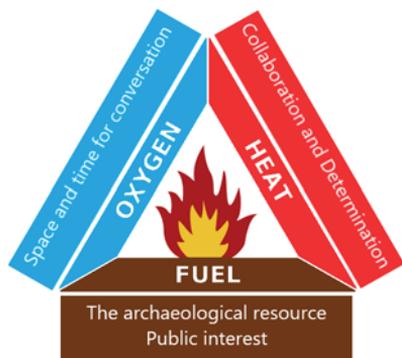


Figure 1. An archaeological fire triangle

about delivering something more and demonstrate greater public value that could be achieved by engaging in archaeology.

Our first meeting in 2016 was a tentative affair. While it was initiated by the Historic Environment Division, it was noted from the outset that it was to be an open gathering, not an assembly for induction or instruction. It was the first significant gathering from across the archaeological sector for the discussion of issues around the management of archaeological heritage in over a decade. There were always, of course, ongoing discussions between professional archaeologists in particular, but often in isolation or away from a shared debate. The sector was perceived to be fractured, often according to the employment status held by one practitioner or another.

The following note appeared on an on-line discussion board:

“There is a massive difference in pay, conditions and job security between archaeologists working in the private sector and archaeologists working for the state. Then there is rivalry between the various archaeological companies and the general animosity between field staff and companies over pay. At least the habit of some academic archaeologists looking down on everyone else seems to be a thing of the past.”

(<https://www.boards.ie/vbulletin/showthread.php?t=2057641311&page=2>; accessed 01/03/2020.)

For some the glass was half empty. To paraphrase some of the discussions and perceptions that had been expressed beforehand:

- there was a commercial sector who were feeling down-trodden and under-appreciated; those outside of the commercial sector did not really understand the circumstances of the work, or that developers were hard to deal with, and that it was all very difficult;
- that the academic sector could rest in ivory towers, criticising others, while at times the academic sector also felt isolated and disconnected from development-led work;

- the public did not know and did not care;
- that the bureaucrats did not know what they were doing, though again some bureaucrats also felt misunderstood!

Conversely, others retained greater optimism:

- the commercial sector was making new and exciting discoveries, supported by developer funding that was expanding our knowledge of archaeology every year;
- greater overlaps between sectors within archaeology were contributing to research and learning in academia, and personal connections across the sectors were good;
- the public was interested and wanted to know more or even take part;
- the bureaucrats were not so bad after all.

As one can see, what emerged in the discussions in November 2016 in Northern Ireland reflected, very closely the kinds of discussion held in Amersfoort in 2014. While the United Kingdom is not a signatory to the Faro Convention (2005), the language and themes of that convention can be observed in terms of what practitioners involved in archaeology are generally seeking to achieve. To that end, it would be fair to say that the text-boxes that express the three core themes of the Amersfoort Agenda (EAC 2015, 16, 19, 21) closely paralleled the kind of discussion that was emerging in Belfast. The words and phrases in the ‘word clouds’ from Amersfoort could just as easily have been drafted in the 2016 discussion in Belfast (Figures 2, 3 and 4).

Following the symposium, Historic Environment Division drew together the notes and feedback from the day. In January 2017 Historic Environment Division circulated, for consultation, a draft ‘Way Forward’ document to the participants. The core themes that had emerged were:

Theme 1 The spirit of the Faro Convention: embedding archaeology in society



Figure 2. Amersfoort Agenda Theme 1 (EAC 2015, 16)

Theme 3 Managing the sources of European history



Figure 3. Amersfoort Agenda Theme 2 (EAC 2015, 19)

- Engagement and Communication,
- Systems, Procedures, Standards, Legislation and Policy,
- Research Framework and Archives,
- Skills and Training.

Also, in January 2017 the Northern Ireland power-sharing executive collapsed. This was not a result of the archaeology discussion, of course, but it was a factor to be considered. At the time, no-one foresaw that it would be another three years until that Executive was re-established, and there was uncertainty about the purpose of continuing the discussion in the absence of a government minister. However, having started the conversation about archaeology, it was clear the participants wanted to

Theme 2 Dare to choose



Figure 4. Amersfoort Agenda Theme 3 (EAC 2015, 21)

continue. There was a consensus that a new way of approaching the challenges would be helpful, it would allow fuller engagement with the themes and delivering results that would benefit archaeology and the practice of archaeology for society.

The next stages of the process were convened by Historic Environment Division, but it was agreed that the success of the 'Way Forward' discussion would depend upon the participation and collaboration of a wide range of archaeological practitioners. Task Groups were set up for each of the four themes, with senior representation from Historic Environment Division on those groups but that the groups would be Chaired by individuals outside of central government and with representation from across the wider sector. Following much discussion of the themes the groups eventually produced discussion papers to further explore and progress the issues to a Steering Group, also convened by Historic Environment Division. The Chairs of each of the Task Groups sat on the Steering Group, and over the next two years made significant progress in discussing and reporting the issues, along with emerging recommendations. Officials from Historic Environment Division then gathered and refined the recommendations, in consultation with the Chairs of the Task Groups.

Figure 5. July 2019 Archaeology Way Forward meeting (photograph by courtesy of E. O'Sullivan, Institute of Archaeologists of Ireland)



In July 2019 the wider group was gathered once again, this time to consider a discussion document that set out the conclusions of the Task Groups and a pathway to agreeing a final version of the recommendations. The discussion in July 2019 was very open in terms of considering the challenges and opportunities presented in developing the document as a strategic direction for archaeology (Figure 5).

The Steering Group considered the feedback from the meeting, and over the months that followed finalised the document, again in close collaboration with the Chairs of the Task Groups. This aspect of collaboration was crucial to the success of the enterprise, and included endorsement of the process from the Institute of Archaeologist of Ireland and the Chartered Institute for Archaeology (CIfA/IAI 2017).

The outcome of the process

The process has led to the compilation of a new document, *Archaeology 2030: A Strategic Approach for Northern Ireland*. It is a collaborative document, compiled by a broad collection of the archaeology sector in Northern Ireland, and has the following as its key vision statement:

“We want archaeology to be accessed and valued by as many people as possible, led by a sector which is healthy, resilient and connected.”

In order to achieve that vision, there are a series of priorities, objectives and recommendations for action, under the following headings:

Aim 1: Archaeology on the ground

- Archaeological work is conducted in line with internationally recognised standards and guidance.
- The development management/planning system recognises the importance of heritage assets and consistently applies policies and procedures to ensure their protection.
- Licensing and consenting policies and procedures ensure good practice and quality results.
- Procedures and systems meet the needs of archaeological work being carried out now and in the future.
- Archaeological work is well-designed and enables the long-term research value and public benefits to be realised.

Aim 2: Understanding the past

- Broaden and deepen our understanding of the past.
- Build on the analysis of previous research to identify key issues and good practice approaches, to gain maximum knowledge from new work.
- Fully realise the research value of development-led excavations.
- Provide knowledge that is widely accessible and engaging to a range of audiences.
- Provide information that assists in the effective management and protection of the historic environment.

- Publication and dissemination of information is a fundamental priority in all archaeological projects and is built into every project design.

Aim 3: Sustaining the historic environment

- Legislation and related policies are up to date, relevant and fit for purpose.
- The Historic Environment Record of Northern Ireland (HERoNI) is managed and augmented to provide a comprehensive and up to date record which informs appropriate decision-making.
- Archaeological artefacts and their associated records are appropriately stored, curated and made accessible.
- Government bodies and local authorities recognise, understand and articulate the importance of the heritage assets within their responsibility and policy remits.
- Owners and communities are encouraged and facilitated in active management, maintenance and care of their heritage assets.

Aim 4: Engaging and enriching people's lives

- The value of heritage, and the associated archives and records, is articulated effectively, understood and appreciated at all levels and ages of society.
- To advocate for the value and benefits of archaeology to the widest possible audience.
- To reach out by creating new partnerships, opportunities for participation and events aimed at the widest possible cross section of society.
- The sector in Northern Ireland is proactive, collaborative, and focused on delivering archaeology which contributes to society and maximizes the potential of the sector and archaeology.
- The lead archaeology bodies in Northern Ireland are clearly identifiable and outward-facing, connecting with our neighbouring regions and internationally, and providing accessible, user-friendly and dynamic online resources.

Aim 5: Innovation, understanding and skills

- A sector which recognises the full range of skills necessary to deliver the best results for the heritage assets of Northern Ireland.
- Appropriate specialist training is available to ensure the necessary skills are available within the sector.
- Improved opportunities are available to develop and progress within a career path.
- People are supported to undertake training and CPD to develop their knowledge and skills and to achieve accreditation.
- The sector plans for the future and identifies gaps, shortages and innovations.
- Greater collaboration between employers and learning organisations.

The document also contains proposals around the next steps, how to progress the priorities for action and deliver upon them. Those next steps will be key to continuing the success of the process. One could not have foreseen the impact of the global coronavirus, Covid-19, as the Way Forward process happened, but no doubt it will need to be taken into account in the next steps too.

A personal reflection

In essence, the Way Forward process and now the *Archaeology 2030* document draws sharp focus around four areas:

- **Standards:** in the conduct of archaeological work, with a very broad expansion into legislation, policy and practice
- **Research frameworks:** that provide some academic, scientific, or results-based focus for how, where and why archaeological work is conducted, and what to do with the findings of that archaeological work
- **Public benefit:** ranging from the value-for-money discussions of individual projects, the values of the results emerging, the distinctions between simply achieving compliance and making a tangible contribution to public knowledge or appreciation of archaeology
- **Public participation:** ranging from the decision-making process around what is investigated and what is preserved, through to taking part in the discovery achieved in archaeological projects and in particular establishing meaningful participation rather than token acknowledgement.

The strategic approach is being brought forward as a 10-year document; it is recognised that it covers a lot of ground, and it will take time to change processes, systems and perceptions around archaeology. What has perhaps been most important, however, has been the process of co-design, across the archaeology sector. The process has enabled new conversations and provided a space for practitioners to speak with one another on matters of both common and divergent interest. This is not to say that those conversations could not happen otherwise, but the process has enabled a coming together within the sector that has been positive and which was unlikely to have happened at the time had the Historic Environment Division not initiated the process.

This has been a long process. In part this is because most participants took part in a voluntary capacity, fitting it into their workplans and spare time. It also reflects, very much, that the issues under discussion were not easy, that there were divergent views about what success or progress might look like, and that it will continue to be a learning process, until 2030 and beyond.

Reflecting on the *Amersfoort Agenda*, one can see connections to the three themes, viz.:

1. The spirit of the Faro Convention: embedding archaeology in society
2. Dare to choose
3. Managing the sources of European history

While recognising that the Faro Convention has yet to be adopted by the UK, the desire for embedding archaeology in society is very clear. By way of observation, in a Northern Ireland context local history, and by extension local archaeology, is very seldom taught in schools as an 'official' subject. Archaeology and key major monuments are included

in the curriculum, but usually in the context to certain themes such as first settlers or the Stone Age, the Vikings or the Normans. For older schoolchildren history is taught with particular emphasis on western European/north Atlantic, British and to a degree Irish national history (though the national curriculum does make provision for other topics too). There are many individual teachers who will inject discussion of local sites and places, traditions and tales. But for the most part, there is limited opportunity during those first 14 years of educational life for children and young people to engage with archaeology in the formal educational setting.

However, society at large engages with the historic environment every day, and it is evident that a very large component of this is through social interaction, within the places that people live and the wider community. There are many active local history societies, which act both as places of social interaction and as places of life-long learning and sharing of knowledge. There is a particularly strong association with places, and this is revealed through place names and the symbols of those places found in school crests, the insignia of sports clubs, fraternal societies and civic heraldry. Many of these crests and insignia incorporate locally important monuments, buildings or other cultural features in the landscape. In the course of the lockdowns arising from Covid-19 there has been renewed interest in many of the 'open' historic monuments that provide space for exercise, reflection and access to the outdoors.

So far, the process has been largely introspective. While it has engaged the archaeological sector beyond development-led archaeological excavation, it has yet to engage wider society, be that the primary funders of most archaeological work (that is, those involved in spatial development and land-use change, be they private sector or public/state bodies) or the group that is cited as the primary beneficiary of the work, that is, society at large.

There remains much work to be done around procedural elements, the legislation, policy and practice element of archaeological excavation and the curation of the material arising from excavations. There is also a clear willingness of professional practitioners to develop standards and processes around the activity of archaeological work. That said, there was also a focus within some of the discussion about the development of new rules and codes, and greater enforcement of the existing provisions, including punitive measures. This has caused the present author some concern and brought to mind a conversation with a past president of the EAC at the symposium in Athens in 2017 (de Wit, *pers. comm*). In that conversation, about rules and regulations, he noted that there can be a tendency, where one rule or other is not being observed, to introduce a new rule that makes the first one more robust. Sometimes this works, but there may be unintended consequences, outcomes that were not anticipated, and so another new rule is developed and so on. Ultimately, one has to recognise that the enforcement of any rules will depend upon their necessity, the resources available to conduct any enforcement, and the willingness to comply amongst those who are subject to the rules. It is the present author's view that this runs the risk of making the process the most important thing, rather than the outcome, and in any case, resources are always stretched.

Perhaps the most important aspect of the process so far has been establishing and keeping open lines of communication within the sector. This has not always been easy! The archaeology sector in Northern Ireland is small, and there has been a genuine engagement that has committed resources – especially time – for practitioners to take part in the discussion. But there are also continuing issues of ‘hard-to-reach’ stakeholders within the sector. Perhaps this reflects strains on their own resources, or an expectation that little will change despite the discussion. Conversely, there have been challenges about managing expectations. In particular, the ongoing challenges of resources, public or private, to enable the changes sought have been to the fore in discussions. This is likely to continue to be a continuing issue as the process moves forward.

The coming together has been an opportunity to think beyond the immediate challenges, and to work collaboratively toward solutions. If one considers how the sector has engaged, and without reading too much into the body language of one image, the photograph at Figure 5 tells something of its own story. Some participants were eagerly engaged, putting forward ideas and arguments, examples and complaints. Some were relaxed in the conversation, while others were less engaged, defensive even. Others again were preoccupied, engaging with the process but also having to deal with their day-to-day activity. But they were all present, taking part. This has been an achievement that everyone in the process shares.

When the final papers were received from the Task Groups, they contained over 300 recommendations. These have been condensed down to the five core aims with five or six key recommendations, but behind those there are multiple actions that will need to be addressed over the coming years. That will require the oxygen of more space and time for the conversations, the heat of continuing collaboration and determination, and reliance upon the fuel of the archaeological resource and public interest. The fire triangle at Figure 1 will need careful attention.

Looking forward, maintaining the heat in the process will be challenging. It will require similar conversations to be had many times. One of the participants in the process, from a community background, noted that for the archaeologists involved there was a long story that they were familiar with, but that for the wider public much of the story was not known, and there was a clear need to communicate the same message again and again as new participants joined the conversation. In this way, perhaps, the process of embedding archaeology in society can progress, but underpinned by how we work (our standards) as much as why (our professional obligations and statutory compliance), and a willingness to engage outside of the sector early and often.

The sector engaged in something new in taking part in the process. At its most commonly understood definition, archaeology is the study of the past through material remains. To put this another way, archaeologists take the material world, the physical remains of the past, and dismantle those remains, sometimes to destruction. Through that process the archaeologist interprets the remains and uses that interpretation to tell a story of the past. Essentially, archaeologists take the physical world that has survived from the past and turn that physical world into ideas. Those ideas then form

the basis of our story-telling, our narration of the past as it is understood now, and in the future new ideas will challenge that narrative.

The greatest challenge now in this process is to take the ideas arising from *Archaeology 2030* and turn those into physical things, to convert that to a reality for practitioners across the sector, and to embrace and welcome wider society into the process.

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Archaeology and the History of the Lithuanian Resistance in the 19th and 20th Century: In Search of the Public Benefit

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Keywords: Lithuania, political history, Adolfas Ramanauskas-Vanagas, difficult heritage, public interest, shared history

Abstract: Two chance discoveries during development-led archaeology in Vilnius have brought the recent history of the Lithuanian Republic to the forefront. The burials of 20 individuals involved in the uprising against the Russian Empire in 1863–1864 were found on Gedimas Hill in 2017, and in 2018 the remains of Adolfas Ramanauskas-Vanagas, a leader of the guerrilla warfare against the Soviet Union in 1944–1953 were found. These discoveries brought great public interest, and advanced knowledge of archaeology. Notably they also encouraged senior politicians from Poland, Belarus and Lithuania to enter into debates on matters that have historically been difficult to discuss.

The uprising against the Russian Empire in 1863–1864 and the guerrilla warfare against the Soviet Union in 1944–1953 are probably the most outstanding episodes within the narrative of the Lithuanian 19th–20th century resistance and fights for the freedom. The years 2017 and 2018 were of great significance for those two historical episodes. It was known that 21 participants uprising against the Russian Empire had been executed at the Lukiškės Square in Vilnius in 1863–1864. On January 3, 2017, when performing reinforcement groundworks of the slopes of the Gediminas Hill (Figure 1), several burials thought to be these executed participants were accidentally discovered. After their identification was confirmed, the research continued and burials of 20 people in total were unearthed. Only the burial of Rev. Stanislovas Išora has yet to be found.

Meanwhile, in 2018, the remains of Adolfas Ramanauskas-Vanagas, one of the most prominent fighters and symbol of the Lithuanian anti-Soviet resistance were also discovered. A. Ramanauskas-Vanagas was a teacher who joined the guerrilla warfare after the Soviets had occupied Lithuania and became one of the most outstanding commanders of the partisans (Figure 2). He was arrested in 1956, brutally tortured and



Figure 1. Gediminas Castle Hill slopes (photo by Gytis Grižas)

shot on November 29, 1957 in Vilnius. Even his execution was performed in an untypical way: with the executor standing in front of him and shooting him into his left jawbone. He was then buried in the so-called Vilnius Orphan Cemetery where political prisoners were also interred, as we know today.

These two 21st century discoveries, both closely related to epochs studied by every child during history lessons, wouldn't have happened without the commitment of professional archaeologists. As across Europe, modern Lithuanian archaeology is strongly entangled in commercial research; usually related to construction works, and most of the discoveries are minor and of little interest to the public. The majority of the public perceives archaeology as a matter of 'pure science', bringing few public benefits. Of course this is also related to an overall decline in the value placed on the humanities; investment focusses on capital, money, and profit forgetting that strong societies are those who feature high levels of cultural development, which is impossible without a strong awareness of the humanities. No doubt, both the Uprising of 1863–1864 and the post-War guerrilla warfare are among the most important episodes of the history of the modern Lithuanian Republic: *the great narratives* as historians tend to call them, meaning the dominant socio-political historical narratives which both the Tsarist and the Communist regimes tried to erase. It's no coincidence that the

Figure 2. Adolfus Ramanauskas-Vanagas



participants of the Uprising were buried on the Gediminas Hill – one of the best-fortified sites in Vilnius which has always also been one of its outstanding landmarks and symbols. After the Russian Empire occupied and divided the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, there was no public access to the Gediminas Hill since 1794: a Russian artillery squad was deployed here and, after the Uprising of 1831, under the order of Emperor Nicholas I, the Gediminas Hill along with the so-called Hill Park was transformed into a fortress. Public access to this area was blocked until the 1890s, when the Gediminas Tower was adapted to accommodate the optical telegraph station. As the public still had no access to the site it was suitable for the burial of the

participants of the Uprising, based on the belief that no-one would be able to gain access to the graves and turn them into the site of public worship and commemoration. There were almost no sources indicating that the participants of the Uprising were buried there. Partisan A. Ramanauskas-Vanagas was also buried in the cemetery which was used for the burial of stillborn children, homeless people, beggars, orphans, suicide victims, psychiatric patients, convicts and prisoners sentenced to death. This was considered to be the perfect site to hide the grave of the most prominent leader of the anti-Soviet Resistance and also prevent it from becoming the site of worship.

Discoveries of these two burial sites became a sensation not only to the scientific community but also to the public. They raised public interest not only in the historical events but also in the archaeological science itself as archaeologists had enabled these discoveries in collaboration with the historians. Numerous interviews in mass media, publications in the press, public debates and newly published books boosted interest in archaeology and made the historians and more importantly the public to rethink the said events which – especially the Uprising of 1863–1864 – had been out of the public discourse for some time. These two archaeological discoveries which would have been impossible without the joint effort of historians, archaeologists, and anthropologists brought us to an unexpected outcome when even politicians began to talk about the issue of insufficient financing of the scientific centres and that

fundamental discoveries would not be possible without the proper support from the state. Another unexpected outcome of these discoveries was a visit by politicians of the neighbouring countries, with joint debates on historical matters which are often difficult to arrange. The reburial of A. Ramanauskas-Vanagas at the most honourable site of the Vilnius Antakalnis Cemetery in 2018 has given the impetus for debate not only for the Lithuanian public but also for other countries previously occupied by the Soviet Union. Reburial of the participants of the Uprising of 1863–1864 at the Vilnius Rasos Cemetery turned into an event of the national importance for all three states which emerged on the territory of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: the ceremony held in 2019 was attended not only by the President of Lithuania but also by the President of Poland and Deputy Premier of Belarus. Moreover, ordinary citizens of these countries also arrived to pay their respects to the participants of the Uprising in huge numbers and their coffins were carried by Lithuanian and Polish militaries hand in hand.

Can we say that these discoveries brought some public benefits? Or was it just a temporary victory for archaeologists and historians? It's hard to say for sure for the moment how these discoveries are going to be perceived in the future: whether just as a curious scientific fact or as something of more importance within the overall historical context. For instance, the exhibition dedicated to the discovery of the remains of the participants of the Uprising (called *The Awakened: The History of the Rebels Found on Gedimino Hill*) arranged at a new site of a derelict guardhouse was attended by as many as 4000 visitors in the first two days (Figure 3). Public lectures about the Gediminas Hill, the participants of the Uprising, and A. Ramanauskas-Vanagas held at the Lithuanian National Museum and the Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania (8 lectures in total) also enjoyed a great level of interest. New scientific



publications enabled rethinking of the related events for both the scholars and the readers. It looks like the public became more interested in the 19th century history due to this episode: earlier the Uprising of 1863–1864 had been researched intensively but it had never received so much attention from the general public, as the period of the 19th century fell out of the public focus in Lithuania. There are many reasons for this but the Lithuanian-Polish political relations were rather cool for a long time and the discoveries allowed the leaders of our countries to remember episodes of our common history and discuss difficult issues. Also, the discovery and reburial of the remains of A. Ramanauskas-Vanagas gave a new impetus for the debates and research of the anti-Soviet Resistance; the Government has even allocated funds

Figure 3. Sculpture Rebels (by Konstantinas Bogdanas) near the exhibition location (photo by Ričardas Dediala)

for the search of the burial of another legendary Lithuanian partisan Juozas Lukša-Daumantas (for both historic and archaeological research). Therefore, at least in the short-term, the archaeological research has come into the public focus. I also dare to say that these two discoveries, especially the discovery of the participants of the Uprising, have not only boosted the interest in the relevant events of the 19th and 20th century but also in the very science of archaeology which proved to be able to push forwards the boundaries of the historical narrative. Traditionally, the historical narrative was carried out by historians; however, the recent Lithuanian cases have shown that archaeologists, whose meticulous work and cooperation with other scientists not only renewed and fuelled a state-level historical debate but also elevated the value and importance of the very science of archaeology in the eyes of the public, are contributing to the formation of new historical narratives too. And this is the greatest victory of all.

Italian Archaeology: Heritage, Protection and Enhancement

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Keywords: Italy, public archaeology, Faro Convention, private investment, regulatory frameworks

Abstract: Italy has a long tradition of cultural heritage management, which has been framed in an art historical context. This paper outlines the challenges to public archaeology, as it is often seen as a cost rather than as a benefit. Examples are provided showing how museums and heritage sites can be made more inclusive and welcoming to all members of the public, using a combination of private funding and public regulatory frameworks.

Introduction

This paper has several aims. First, it outlines the legislative provisions for the development of public archaeology in Italy. Second, it will consider to what extent such agreements have been successful in the twenty years since Valletta, and lastly, to what extent there is room for improvement.

In order to explain the current arrangements for archaeology in Italy, it is important to understand certain long-standing characteristics of Italian society, and some specific current circumstances in the country. It is well recognised that Italy is the European country that, before others, has developed rules for the protection of its historical and artistic heritage: a direct consequence of an abundance that has few equals throughout the world. Our country has always been characterised by a landscape littered with ruins that was impossible to ignore.

This explains the early protection activity that begins with large projects, such as the Forma Italiae. This is an ambitious archaeological land register project, useful for historical research but also fundamental for the protection of the cultural heritage of the ancient world. The idea of an archaeological map of Italy was formulated in 1885, on the occasion of the first meeting of the Directorate of Antiquities and Fine Arts

of the Ministry of Education. The legislative framework of pre-Republican Italy was the expression of an educational mission. This ideological approach saw the 'Good' and 'Beautiful' as instruments for moral and cultural improvement. This approach was maintained in Republican Italy: the Gentile reform and Bottai law, which enshrined Benedetto Croce's spirit in article 9 of the Constitution, survived intact despite the fall of the Fascist regime, assuring authoritarian and paternalistic forms of social organisation in Italy during the post-war reconstruction.

Despite this early legislative activity, at the end of the last century our country suffered a sort of 'collapse'. First of all, the main legislative reference which gave the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities the task of protecting, conserving and enhancing the cultural heritage of our country is the Legislative Decree number 42 (22 January 2004, Code of Cultural Heritage and Landscape). But this code was already obsolete, since it did not include the Malta Convention which was ratified by Italy only a decade later, with this delay causing extreme consequences.

Moreover, the Code did not contain the word 'archaeologist' anywhere and it was necessary to wait a further 10 years for the law 110 (2014) to include that substantial modification, with the introduction of article 9-bis which finally decreed our 'existence'. But it did not end there as the law 110 provided for the establishment of specific Lists of Professionals of Cultural Heritage, which were established only five years later in May 2019, within Ministerial Decree 244.

During this long process of legislative recognition came an important point of reference, when the ANA (the National Archaeologists Association¹) qualified as a Category Association recognised by the MISE (Ministry of Economic Development) according to the law 4/2013. Currently ANA is the largest association in our country, which brings together archaeologists operating in Italy, protecting the image and interests of our profession.

The state of public archaeology in Italy

The origins of archaeology in Italy had a major antiquarian component with a desire to show the aesthetic beauty of archaeological remains and at the beginning the relationship that developed within society was elitist. Over time, this exclusivity has continued to exist and the archaeological discipline has only been enjoyed in some areas of society. At the end of the last century the great building boom led to the discovery of extraordinary archaeological sites, but the need for civic developments was not well managed alongside the equal need for protection and enhancement of the newly discovered heritage.

This has led in recent decades to an intolerance towards the work of cultural heritage professionals, particularly archaeologists working in the field of public works. The cultural heritage that emerges in these circumstances is always seen as a problem and never a resource. As a matter of fact, the process that brought the public and

¹ <http://www.archeologi.org/>

individual regional communities to recognise heritage as a true common good was long-winded. A great boost to this process has certainly been given by international conventions: in 1972 the Paris Convention of UNESCO (World Heritage Convention), and the Council of Europe's 1992 Valletta Convention (Protection of the Archaeological Heritage) and 2005 Faro Convention (Value of Cultural Heritage for the Society). But the ratification of these conventions took place after extreme delay in Italy and today we are still waiting for the positive effects of the ratification. The Faro Convention is not yet ratified.

But despite this legislative delay, in Italy the concept of public archaeology has started to be acknowledged, influenced by the international debate on the subject already underway since the 1970s. Critical voices were already circulating in Europe towards an archaeology not very attentive to its public purpose and unwilling to involve local communities. Thanks to the First Italian Congress of Public Archaeology² we also reached a first definition in our country: public archaeology is the disciplinary area that seeks and promotes the relationship that archaeology has established or can establish with civic society. The potential of this lies in the ability to create a strong connection between archaeological research and communities (local, regional or national). There are three sectors that fall within its sphere of interest: communication, economics and archaeological policies.

First of all the communication. The Malta Convention itself, in articles 7, 8 and above all 9, makes reference to public opinion, and dwells upon the importance of disseminating information about archaeology to wider society. A good example is with the Ancient Appia Project, an investigation program that has been taking place around the city of Benevento since 2011. The work is done by the University of Salerno (DiSPac) as part of the Ancient Appia Landscapes project,³ with the aim of recognising the environmental context, socio-economic and productive activities which contributed to the settlement and population dynamics along the Appian Way (Figure 1). The project aims to support and enrich knowledge of these contexts, not only the relationship between the environment and the community, but also cultural components such as use of resources for development and self-preservation of communities. This is achieved through a series of design ideas and agreement protocols, which can also be used to encourage tourism in this rural area.

The Appia Project demonstrates how communicating and making the results of research available democratically can help designers, local authorities and inhabitants understand the archaeology and evidence of the past as the drivers of progress, which can then be used to inform the current vision of the area. In accordance with what was defined in 2008 by the Permanent European Conference for the Study of the Rural Landscape, we want to enhance the importance of the cultural perception of the landscape in order to weave embedded identity ties with the places of modern life. These two concepts are necessary in a world now projected towards globalisation,

² <http://www.archeopubblica2012.it/>

³ <http://www.aalproject.eu/>

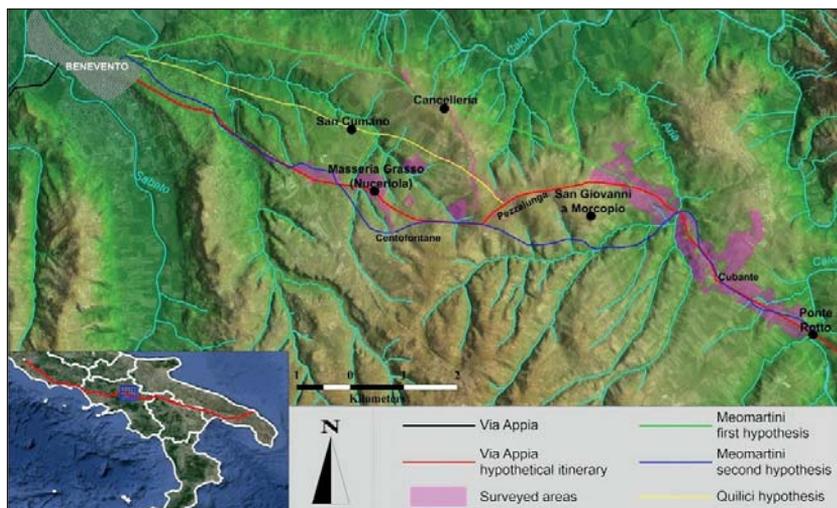


Figure 1. Ancient Appia Landscapes project with the aim of recognising the environmental phenomena, the socio-economic and productive activities that contributed to the settlement and population dynamics along the Appian Way (image source: <http://www.aalproject.eu/>)

while we must also maintain an awareness that protection must go beyond conservation alone.

In Italy, unfortunately, we note a considerable difficulty in transforming scientific excellence into opportunities for socio-economic development. However, some projects do succeed. This is the case of the small civic museum of Sorso, Biddas, in Sardinia. It is a regional thematic museum focusing on abandoned medieval villages⁴. In this museum the distance between the public and the artefact as an object of communication has been ideologically rejected and energy was invested on communication, as part of the desire to create a museum that was actually (not only in the publicity) a museum for all. It was this new concept of communicating archaeology that resulted in the museum winning the prestigious Riccardo Francovich Prize, awarded by SAMI, the Italian Medieval Archaeologists Society in 2013. The communication is innovative, it does not take a didactic or scholastic approach, but instead it focuses on emotional learning by the visitor with the creation of complex learning environments, enabling understanding at a sensorial level using dynamic sounds and images. It involves participatory storytelling, with visitors to Biddas finding themselves immersed in the complexity of the context and looking beyond a few fragmented finds. Taking this perspective, the sense of the traditional museum collection is lost and, the finds become protagonists (Figure 2). They are replaced by virtual artefacts or copies which visitors can examine or touch without the distance created by the display case.

⁴ <https://www.facebook.com/MuseoBiddasunofficial/>

Figure 2. The inclusive exhibition of the Biddas Museum (photo by Prof. Marco Milanese)



A similar experience also occurred with an archaeological park, Archeodromo in Poggibonsi, Tuscany, where some researchers and archaeologists from the University of Siena are reviving a medieval village (Figure 3)⁵. Public archaeology, in short, finally begins to assert itself also in our country, albeit timidly and late compared to the rest of Europe. Archaeological research can be transformed from being seen as a public

Figure 3. The Archeodromo of Poggibonsi (image source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Archeodromo_di_Poggibonsi_Vivi_il_Medioevo.jpg)



⁵ <http://www.archeodromopoggibonsi.it/>

cost to a provider of new economic, social and cultural development. We must get away from the idea that cultural entities are merely a cost and understand that they encourage balanced growth, in which local communities, history and landscape, natural and historical, are incorporated together to form a resource for the benefit of all inhabitants.

However, we must not move towards an inverse process that considers cultural heritage as 'homegrown oil'. This is a distorted and unacceptable idea because it means considering it only from an economic and potentially profitable perspective. Even this comparison does not work, as oil is an exhaustive resource both in its extraction and in its monetisation, while the consumption of cultural goods is a self-sustainable resource that increases the value of the good itself. Once 'extracted', the cultural property becomes a generator of potentially infinite and renewable economic resource as long as it is protected, valued and properly used. The risk, however, is that the economic value becomes predominant over the cultural value, and as a consequence leads to distortive dynamics in the working world of the professions engaged in the different areas of cultural heritage. All this would inevitably lead to an impoverishment of the professional offer in support of the cultural heritage, thus generating a paradoxical contrast with the very principles of the Faro Convention, which instead are appropriate to pursue with far-sighted policies and strategies.

Furthermore, for Italy it is also necessary to analyse the phenomenon of demonisation of the private stakeholder, which derives from the fact that the state operators of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities (MIBACT) are the only ones authorised to contract and manage archaeology. There has always been a strong emphasis on private property rights in Italy. We see it in the limitations of the Code of Cultural Heritage which limited the Superintendent's powers in the precautionary and preventive measures to public works only (article 28 paragraph 4). The Public Procurement Code also makes the same limitation and only recent legislation (Law 106/2011) imposes archaeological control on the public works sector, and includes so-called 'special sectors', which relate to particular projects financed by private individuals but with a major impact on the public. This is a further failure to implement the Malta Convention, which our country could easily overcome with a simple modification of the aforementioned article 28: the addition of the word 'private', to become 'the Superintendent has preventive powers over public and private works'. This omission influences the approach to archaeological heritage protection and management in a number of ways. The real problem in Italy is that only the State manage the cultural heritage, which can be counterproductive both in practice and from an economic point of view as it comes with the risk of a deregulated private market. It falls to the public sector to take political responsibility for including the private sector in the management of cultural heritage in ways that allow the private sector to make profit while also guaranteeing protection. We have seen this phenomenon with the Biddas Museum mentioned above, where the concept of the traditional Italian museum has been renewed. As has been shown, many traditional museums are not inclusive and the majority of visitors are not fully satisfied or involved in the visitor experience. The museum, as the house of the Muses, should reflect our society, which is of course very varied, consisting of visitors who can decode the excessive professional languages that accompany exhibitions as well as a



Figure 4. The guide for the children at the Archaeological Park of Ancient Mileto, “La città di Ruggero” (photo by Associazione Culturale Mnemosyne)

large slice of the public that needs mediators with the language and presentation, in particular children⁶ (Figure 4).

The experience of a museum that does not start from the State but from private business has shown how the creation of inclusive museums can mean creating living museums, interconnected to the region and to the current communities that use it, live it and experience it actively, creating public benefit and improving their quality of life.

Conclusion

So: what can we actually do for the future? Transforming opinions of archaeology from a public cost to a balanced socio-economic-cultural development potential is a real challenge. Clearly the initial capital investment is a major issue, and there are also significant costs associated with ongoing conservation and maintenance on sites and

⁶ For example the experience of “La città di Ruggero”, Mileto: <https://www.facebook.com/AssociazioneMnemosyne>

in museums. Cultural heritage can become a lever for healthy and balanced economic development, but in order to achieve this, it needs wide-ranging policies and also suitable reforms, which make the most of the regulatory framework and the Malta and Faro Conventions. This will place communities, regions and the cultural heritage as the priority at the centre, studied, investigated and protected by responsible professionals and hence enjoyed by all possible stakeholders. The regulatory aspect is necessary to guarantee the protection and usability of our heritage, to preserve our identity that derives from it, and then to produce income and employment in a sustainable and shared balance of priorities.

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Development-Led or “Preventive” Archaeology in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg

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Keywords: Luxembourg, preventive archaeology, development-led archaeology, legislation, public awareness, communes, CNRA

Abstract: The preventive archaeology system in Luxembourg was developed during the 1990s. Archaeological heritage is now managed by the National Archaeological Research Centre - Centre national de recherche archéologique (CNRA), founded in 2011, although there is still no legal framework within which archaeology can be protected. A draft law implementing the principles of the Valetta Convention will provide the structure for the CNRA to assess construction projects and require archaeological investigations. This paper outlines the development of the system, notes the challenges and highlights opportunities to raise public awareness, which are keys to potentially engage the public in local decision making, through the communes.

Introduction

Luxembourg’s archaeological tradition is relatively recent. The very first legislation regarding both archaeology and archaeological heritage dates back to 1927 and 1937 respectively. At that time, archaeological heritage was under the responsibility of the Ministry of Education, and the public servants in charge of archaeological heritage were professors and teachers.

The first archaeologists were hired by the State in the 1960s, following the promulgation of a new law regarding archaeological excavations in 1966 (Paulke 2015).¹ Since then, the Ministry of Culture (former Ministry of Art and Science) is responsible for archaeology and archaeological heritage across the national territory. The legislation regarding the protection and conservation of national monuments dates back to 1983.²

¹ Loi du 21 mars 1966 concernant a) les fouilles historique, préhistorique, paléontologique ou autrement scientifique; b) la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel mobilier (<http://eli.legilux.public.lu/eli/etat/leg/loi/1966/03/21/n4/jo>).

² Loi du 18 juillet 1983 concernant la conservation et la protection des sites et monuments nationaux (<http://eli.legilux.public.lu/eli/etat/leg/loi/1983/07/18/n1/jo>).

At present, archaeological heritage is managed by the National Archaeological Research Centre – Centre national de recherche archéologique (CNRA), which was legally founded in 2011, under the responsibility of the Ministry of Culture.³

In compliance with the law of 1966, a ministerial authorisation is required for all excavations and archaeological investigations: “Research or excavations with the aim to discover or excavate objects or sites of historic, prehistoric, paleontological or otherwise scientific interest may only be undertaken with prior authorisation of the Ministry responsible for the arts and science.”⁴

According to the law of 1983, accidental or chance discoveries of objects or archaeological structures have to be notified to the authorities. If archaeological structures are discovered during ongoing building works, the mayor of the location concerned has to be informed, who in turn is under legal obligation to pass on the information to the Ministry of Culture, or directly to the CNRA. In this particular instance, the CNRA has to assess the archaeological structures that have been unearthed on site, and decide what can be done. It is possible to stop the construction work, to allow the CNRA to plan or to carry out an archaeological excavation. Should an archaeological site need permanent protection, it can be listed as a ‘national monument’ and is then protected by law.

Archaeology and land development in Luxembourg

The Department of Archaeological Monitoring of Land Development

Due to the fast development of the country and a steady increase in population, there are numerous ongoing public and private construction projects in Luxembourg. This led to the development of the practice of preventive archaeology in the early 1990s. The first preventive archaeological operations were the monitoring of road constructions: in 1990 the National Roads Administration (Administration des Ponts & Chaussées) hired a small team of archaeologists to monitor and control major road constructions. When more important archaeological structures were discovered during these construction projects, trial-trenching was also carried out (Le Brun-Ricalens et al. 2003; Le Brun-Ricalens & Schoellen 2000). The National Museum of Art and History (MNHA) also carried out trial-trenching in the early 1990s, but only within the framework of large projects, such as that of sand or stone quarries (Le Brun-Ricalens 1993; Le Brun-Ricalens 2001).

The discovery of several major archaeological sites during these first preventive archaeological operations has proven the importance of this approach. Two years after

³ Règlement grand-ducal du 24 juillet 2011 portant création d’un Centre national de recherche archéologique auprès du Musée national d’histoire et d’art (<http://eli.legilux.public.lu/eli/etat/leg/rgd/2011/07/24/n5/jo>).

⁴ Original text: “Les recherches ou les fouilles ayant pour but la découverte ou la mise au jour d’objets ou de sites d’intérêt historique, préhistorique, paléontologique ou autrement scientifique ne peuvent être entreprises qu’avec l’autorisation du Ministre ayant dans ses attributions les Arts et les Sciences.”

the legal foundation of the CNRA, a new department for archaeological monitoring of land development was created within the CNRA, called Service du suivi archéologique de l'aménagement du territoire (Pösche 2016).

The aim of this department is to develop 'preventive archaeology' in Luxembourg by assessing the impact of urban development projects on known or suspected archaeological sites, and to recommend archaeological field evaluations if necessary, in order to reduce the impact of construction works on archaeological heritage.

Despite the creation of this department, there is no legal framework for development-led or preventive archaeology in Luxembourg at the time of writing this article. Luxembourg signed the ratification of the Valletta Convention only in December 2016 (Schoellen 2018).⁵ And for the following three years, the Ministry of Culture was drafting a new law to implement the principles of the Valletta Convention among other elements regarding the protection of cultural heritage in Luxembourg. This draft law was submitted at the Government Council in August 2019.⁶ Therefore the activities of the CNRA take precedence over the national legal system in Luxembourg regarding preventive archaeology and 'integrated conservation' of the archaeological heritage.

The process of project assessment

Currently, if a project is likely to have an impact on an archaeological site, the CNRA recommends carrying out an archaeological field evaluation. This may be an archaeological monitoring, a geophysical survey, trial-trenching or an archaeological excavation in order to detect, expose, record and rescue the threatened site (and/or artefacts) before construction works begin. For projects evaluated within the framework of a given environmental impact assessment, the CNRA or the Minister of Culture issues a prescription (or expectation) rather than a recommendation.

When the draft law becomes regulation, all development projects will have to be assessed by the CNRA, except for a certain type of project below 100 square meters in the known-archaeological area, and those below 1 hectare in areas where no archaeological site is known. All assessments of projects can lead to a prescription.

In order to shorten the process of project assessment, the desktop study of incoming new projects has been set to a maximum of 3 weeks. In practice, the CNRA can even issue a recommendation or a prescription within 3 days for urgent cases (*i.e.*, when a developer has already received an authorisation from a mayor and is about to start construction works on the following day). But since the number of projects to be assessed will be doubled or even tripled once the upcoming law will come into effect, the assessment period will be extended to 30 working days.

⁵ Loi du 7 décembre 2016 portant approbation de la Convention européenne pour la protection du patrimoine archéologique ouverte à la signature le 16 janvier 1992 à la Valette (<http://eli.legilux.public.lu/eli/etat/leg/loi/2016/12/04/n1/jo>).

⁶ Projet de loi relatif au patrimoine culturel (n° 7473) (<https://chd.lu/wps/portal/public/Accueil/TravailALaChambre/Recherche/RoleDesAffaires?action=doDocpaDetails&id=7473>).

Geophysical surveys and trial-trenching are currently undertaken by accredited private archaeological firms, and financed by project developers. There are three accredited private archaeological firms in Luxembourg (who employ a total of 17 archaeologists) for trial-trenching, which is the most common method recommended or prescribed by the CNRA. Geophysical surveys are recommended only for large-scale projects on large open and unbuilt areas. Due to lack of experts in geophysical surveys applied to archaeology in Luxembourg, this type of survey is carried out by foreign firms.

When the CNRA issues a recommendation or a prescription after assessing a project, the project developer also receives all necessary scientific and technical specifications from the CNRA, which both the developer and the private archaeological firm need to respect when carrying out the fieldwork. Once the developer has chosen an archaeological firm, the archaeologist in charge of the operation drafts a field survey plan, which is sent to the CNRA for assessment. And they also request an authorisation from the Ministry of Culture in order to undertake the recommended or prescribed operation, because all excavations and archaeological investigations in Luxembourg require a ministerial authorisation in compliance with the law of 1966. With the future law, a ministerial authorisation will still be a requirement for all types of archaeological operations.

As of today, it can take up to 3 weeks to obtain a ministerial authorisation. But in practice, the CNRA always tries to follow the three operators' planned fieldwork closely, and to ensure that the authorisations are issued before operations start. To avoid potential delays, the CNRA also requires a meeting with the project developer and the archaeologist in charge of the operation prior to the beginning of a field operation. This might seem to be a minor element in the whole process, but within the framework of raising awareness, we realised that a short meeting on site with all the parties can often sort out potential issues more efficiently. Therefore, we have introduced this new requirement into the general process in 2018, as well as into the draft law.

The duration of archaeological operations depends on the size of the area that needs to be surveyed. Geophysical surveys can usually be done within a day or two for projects up to 3 hectares. Trial-trenching are carried out within 2 to 3 days for projects up to 1 hectare depending on the topography, whereas the duration of an excavation is much longer and depends on many factors. The law that has been submitted states that each archaeological operation should not exceed 6 months, extendable to 12 months.

At the end of an archaeological operation, the private firm produces a technical and scientific report. This report, as well as all archaeological finds uncovered during the trial-trenching, has to be delivered to the CNRA either within 30 working days after the end of the operation if archaeological features have been discovered and a further extensive excavation might be needed, or within 6 months if the operation did not deliver any archaeological features.

Depending on the importance of the archaeological structures discovered during the field evaluation, the CNRA can prescribe an extensive archaeological excavation. Archaeological excavations are currently undertaken by the CNRA and financed by the State, except for projects evaluated within the framework of given environmental impact assessments which are financed by the project developer.⁷ With the future law, geophysical surveys and trial-trenching will still be financed by project developers, since they are considered as the 'polluters', whereas the costs of archaeological excavations will be divided into two, and financed by both the State and the developers.

Currently, should a developer choose not to carry out an archaeological operation despite the CNRA's recommendation or prescription, there is not much that the CNRA or the Ministry of Culture can do. However, if archaeological remains are found during construction works, the construction works can be halted until an archaeological evaluation is carried out by the CNRA. Since the disruption of construction works is usually a source of major financial losses, most developers have a practical approach and choose to finance archaeological field evaluations as recommended or prescribed by the CNRA. With the upcoming law, this issue will in theory be minimised, because almost all projects will have to be assessed by the CNRA, and prescribed field evaluations will therefore be undertaken before construction works begin.

National monuments

Some archaeological sites in Luxembourg are classified as a national monument, which is the highest protection level that a cultural monument can benefit from the State in Luxembourg.

If a development project affects a building protected as a national monument, or located on the ground of an archaeological site protected as a national monument, an authorisation from the Minister of Culture is required. This authorisation states whether the planned construction works can be carried out or not, and if so in what way. These projects are analysed by a specially appointed commission, called the Commission des Sites et Monuments Nationaux (COSIMO).⁸ Since the CNRA is also a member of this commission, the agents of the CNRA give their recommendations directly to this commission upon receipt and assessment of a project located on the grounds of a national monument.

However, it is worth noting that only a small percent of known archaeological sites have the status of a national monument: about 110 archaeological sites out of the 7500 known in Luxembourg are protected in this way.⁹ Another 200 archaeological sites are considered worth being classified as national monuments, and this number

⁷ Art. 3 (1) 4 in Loi du 15 mai 2018 relative à l'évaluation des incidences sur l'environnement (<http://legilux.public.lu/eli/etat/leg/loi/2018/05/15/a398/jo>).

⁸ Règlement grand-ducal du 14 décembre 1983 fixant la composition et le fonctionnement de la Commission des Sites et Monuments nationaux (<http://eli.legilux.public.lu/eli/etat/leg/rgd/1983/12/14/n1/jo>).

⁹ In 2014, only 15 archaeological sites were protected as national monuments.

keeps growing as new sites are discovered through field surveys or research studies of historical maps or LiDAR data.

Public awareness

Throughout the years, the CNRA has developed several approaches to raise awareness of the public benefits of preventive archaeology. From 2013 to 2015, the CNRA developed an archaeological map within the legal framework of general development plans in Luxembourg.¹⁰ The general development plan, known as 'plan d'aménagement général' (PAG), divides the territory of each commune in Luxembourg into various zones. For each zone, the PAG defines the types of use that can be made of each land, as well as the amount of construction that can take place on each plot.

The archaeological map that the CNRA developed divides the country into three archaeological zones. These three archaeological zones reflect the three different levels of archaeological potential. All the communes in Luxembourg received this archaeological map, along with explanations and instructions regarding the administrative procedure of preventive archaeology. The three zones on the archaeological map are meant to be integrated into the PAG, so that developers can see whether their construction projects can have an impact on archaeological heritage or not, and whether they should send their development projects to the CNRA for assessment.¹¹

Since 2015, the CNRA has given lectures on the public benefits and the administrative process of preventive archaeology within the framework of a lifelong learning programme regarding urban and rural planning, offered by the University of Luxembourg.¹² Since most participants of this lifelong learning programme are architects and urban planners, they spread their awareness about preventive archaeology in Luxembourg to their colleagues and clients. As a result, the number of archaeological assessment requests climbed throughout the years, notably thanks to these lectures.

The step-by-step guide about the administrative process of preventive archaeology published on the CNRA's website in 2016 is another useful tool that we developed to raise awareness of the public benefits of preventive archaeology.¹³ In 2017, a leaflet containing the same information was printed in 2000 copies and sent to construction development firms, architects, consulting engineers and mayors of the 102 communes in Luxembourg.¹⁴

¹⁰ Explanation about the amendment of the general development plan (PAG) (<https://guichet.public.lu/en/entreprises/urbanisme-environnement/construction-amenagement-site/construction-transformation-demolition/plan-amenagement-general.html>).

¹¹ Art. 38 in Règlement grand-ducal du 8 mars 2017 concernant le contenu du plan d'aménagement général d'une commune (<http://legilux.public.lu/eli/etat/leg/rgd/2017/03/08/a321/jo>).

¹² Formation continue en aménagement du territoire, University of Luxembourg (https://www.wen.uni.lu/formations/fhse/formation_continue_en_amenagement_du_territoire).

¹³ <https://cnra.lu/fr/amenagement>

¹⁴ https://cnra.lu/fr/amenagement/CNRA-Guide_amenagement.pdf

Generally, developers from large companies, consulting engineers and major architecture firms are those who are more inclined to send in their projects for assessment. Engineers, architects and mayors of some communes, especially of those that have outstanding archaeological sites located in their municipal territory, have also understood the advantages of preventive archaeology. The commune of Schieren for instance, where a large Roman villa (with a *pars urbana* and a *pars rustica*) is known and excavated since 2007 due to the construction of a new freeway, has showed an immense interest in preventive archaeology. The representatives of the commune organized a conference to present the latest archaeological finds from this ongoing excavation to the public. They also inform the CNRA about every new private development project as soon as they are contacted by a developer.

However, it is still a challenge to convince mayors of large cities or towns, as well as small-size developers, to practice preventive archaeology.

Future challenges for development-led archaeology in Luxembourg

Lack of personnel and financial support

The department of archaeological monitoring of land development (Service du suivi archéologique de l'aménagement du territoire) was founded in 2013, and the assessment of construction projects started shortly afterwards. The number of projects assessed by the CNRA climbed from 120 in 2014 to 900 in 2019 (Figure 1). The increase of assessed projects naturally leads to an increase of archaeological operations. Since 2016, an average of 85 trial-trenching and surveys have been undertaken per year, compared to the years before when less than 10 geophysical prospections and trial-trenching were done per year (Figure 2).

The number of excavations however has stayed around 20 per year. This is mainly because excavations are carried out by the CNRA, which lacks personnel. In fact, the number of excavations has also increased, but since it is not possible to do more excavations per year, the waiting list keeps growing. There is not only a lack of

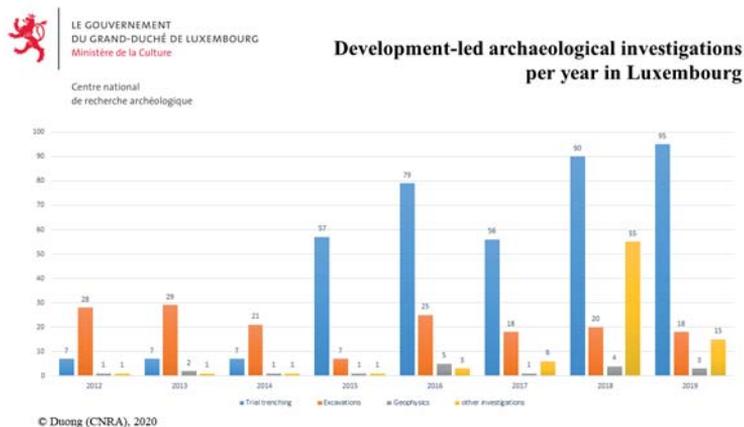


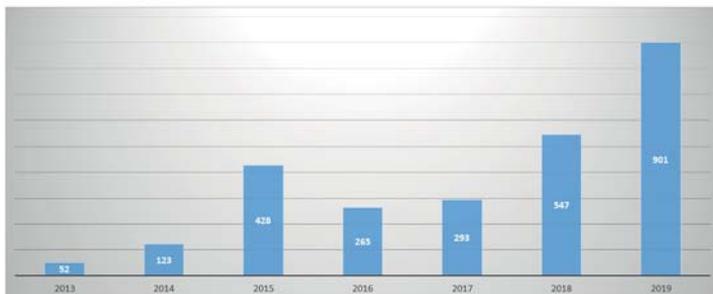
Figure 1. Assessed projects, CNRA



LE GOUVERNEMENT
DU GRAND-DUCHÉ DE LUXEMBOURG
Ministère de la Culture

Centre national
de recherche archéologique

Development projects assessed by the CNRA



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Figure 2.
Archaeological
investigations per
year, CNRA

personnel, but also of public financial support for archaeological research, be it for excavation, publication or laboratory research. With the upcoming legislation, the allocated budget will be increased. But it is hard to predict if it will be sufficient, since on the one hand, the number of workload will increase and on the other hand, the 'polluters' will pay 50% of the excavations.

Who pays?

The question whether private project developers should be legally obliged to pay for surveys and trial-trenching, and to participate in the financing of excavations still needs to be raised:

- Is it fair that civilians who only want to build a small house also have to pay 50% of the costs of an excavation, which can be more expensive than the house itself? According to the future law, the State does not offer any funding to help project owners who need to carry out field surveys. However, the State does provide help to owners who want to renovate their house protected as a national monument.¹⁵
- How should the costs of an excavation be equally split into two? Should the State or the project developer find an operator and make the deal? Once both parties have agreed to the terms, and if an excavation needs to be extended due to unexpected discoveries, will the developer accept to extend the excavation and keep financing the operation? If the developer refuses to continue financing, should the excavation simply be stopped? Clear guidelines need to be established on this matter.
- The construction industry in Luxembourg is healthy and growing with continued housing demands. According to the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies of Luxembourg (Statec), the prices have doubled in ten years, and the average price of a new construction in 2018-2019 is around 6700€

¹⁵ Règlement grand-ducal du 19 décembre 2014 concernant l'allocation de subventions pour des travaux de restauration d'immeubles (<http://eli.legilux.public.lu/eli/etat/leg/rgd/2014/12/19/n7/jo>).

per square meter. If project developers have to finance half of an excavation, the housing prices will certainly increase, as these costs will be added to the selling price, which is in conflict with the current political aim.

Quality of archaeological investigations

Regarding the duration of archaeological operations, the upcoming law foresees that each operation (may it be trial-trenching or extensive excavation) should not exceed 6 months, which can be extended to 12 months. While this can be acceptable for trial-trenching, it is clearly not for excavations. A shorter deadline will certainly lead to a lack of quality in archaeological investigations. This should be avoided.

The CNRA and its missions

Moreover, the following tasks that are important to development-led archaeology have also not been specified in the recently submitted draft law:

- Providing appropriate storage places for archaeological remains and artefacts, and qualified staff to manage archaeological archives.
- Undertaking more exhaustive post excavation works including enhanced laboratory research; because of the high number of excavations that need to be done, post excavation works are often postponed.
- Publishing and promoting scientific research papers following field operations; due to lack of time, the agents of the CNRA can only publish reports of field operations, and can rarely manage to do more research to publish more thorough papers.

Public benefits

Public benefit is yet another challenge for development-led archaeology. If the State wishes to further develop preventive archaeology by giving more funds and personnel to carry out additional archaeological investigations, and by demanding developers to pay for archaeological surveys and perhaps half of archaeological excavations, it is clear that we also need to deliver more benefits to the public.

The State already offers access to information about archaeological sites by giving conferences and tours to specific archaeological sites throughout the year, as well as developing various tools such as virtual guides, augmented reality media guides with 3D reconstructions and smartphone applications for children and tourists.¹⁶ In addition, the Minister of Culture has also decided to make the archaeological inventory public. Moreover, the draft law foresees public consultation for the creation of a national zone, which is 'free' of archaeological remains: developers or owners of plots will be able to help work on this new map by providing proofs that certain areas do not and cannot contain any archaeological remains. Or on the contrary, that certain areas need to be added to an archaeological zone because they can prove that there are still archaeological remains under an already built plot.

¹⁶ https://cnra.lu/publications/rapport-dactivite/CNRA_Rapport-d-activites-2019.pdf, p. 7-9

But is this enough in terms of public benefits? The State might have to encourage a greater public participation in decisions about preserving archaeological sites. In order to do this, we should reach out to the public, not only a public that already shows a great interest in archaeology, but also to a public which may not yet particularly interested in cultural heritage, but who is or will be confronted with the matters of preventive archaeology, especially developers. To reach out to this type of public, perhaps it is best to go through a regional or local level – that of the communes, since communes are in charge of the general public’s welfare in their daily life.

Therefore, it is important to keep cooperating with local authorities to promote public involvement with archaeological heritage. Communes sometimes organise special meetings for its residents to learn more about a specific urban development plan or future construction project. During these meetings, they can inform the public about potential archaeological surveys recommended by the CNRA, or investigations already undertaken within the framework of the said projects. It would be wise to have an archaeologist from the CNRA to be present at these meetings to answer the public’s questions, and thus to develop connections with the public.

The State, and especially the CNRA, should also keep promoting the existing collaborations with private development companies. Developers could also organise public visits to excavations undertaken within the framework of their development project.

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Bulgarian Development-Led Archaeology in the Public Eye. Reception, Reactions, Possible Solutions

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Keywords: development-led archaeology, public opinion, Bulgaria

Abstract: Can the public see the benefit of archaeology without an awareness of what archaeology does? The authors consider this question while exploring the evolution of Bulgarian society's view on development-led archaeological excavations over the past 30 years, by drawing on specific examples. Media coverage of rescue archaeological work in Bulgaria is usually done in a dull, non-systematic manner. Local archaeologists are neither trained for, nor seem to fully grasp the necessity of active two-way communication with the public, particularly in the course of fieldwork. Moreover, project investors often impose restrictions on publicity, not realising that their business is losing out from such a secretive media policy. Nevertheless, some successful media projects have been carried out by a number of Bulgarian archaeologists in recent years and have significantly contributed towards an increased knowledge and appreciation of archaeological work by society. The authors propose particular steps in order to accelerate and enhance this positive trend to keep the public informed and aware of the potential benefits of archaeology.

Introduction

In the context of public benefit discussion, the issue of archaeology's visibility to the public seems to be of paramount importance as it has a direct impact on the appraisal of archaeological work. This paper focuses on Bulgaria's reception of- and reactions to development-led archaeology over the past 30 years in an attempt to analyse the weaknesses and the strengths of the current situation.

Public opinion about development-led archaeology in Bulgaria has changed dramatically. This complex process has been influenced mostly by modifications in the legislation and the media activity of the archaeologists.

The period 1989–2009

Rescue excavations prompted by construction works – whether major infrastructure projects or smaller-scale urban investments – became established in Bulgaria following the painstaking political changes that started in November 1989. Various investors (state, private or municipal) began contracting archaeological institutions in order to conduct development-led excavations.

From the outset, it should be remembered that according to Bulgarian law, archaeology is entirely state-controlled (Vagalinski 2018, 33; Vagalinski 2019). This entails that all archaeological investigation – both regular and development-led – is carried out by state institutions, such as museums, universities, and the National Archaeological Institute. No private archaeological associations exist and scientific research, including excavations, may not be subject to tender since its results are considered public benefit.

Considering this premise, it is not difficult to imagine that these early years were marked by tension between investors (developers) and archaeologists, causing mutual frustration. The investors often lost patience and violated contracts they had signed, especially in the case of large infrastructure excavations where finances were at stake and deadlines were crucial. As a result, several archaeological sites suffered from damage or even deliberate destruction during construction (Figure 1). In 2003, even the government itself put pressure to archaeological work and demanded that the duration of excavations along the Trakia Highway be reduced in half, despite an ongoing contract. Many construction companies refused to consider the archaeological results and carried on with their projects. In some cases, the archaeological institutions felt obliged to take legal action.

These disagreements between stakeholders were largely due to the lack of clear rules as to *how* precisely to set the cost of development-led excavations. In search for the cheapest options, the investors insisted on the establishment of tenders and attempted to turn archaeological institutions against each other in competition for offers. These initial years were also characterised by an overwhelming presence of the investors in the media. They imposed the notion that archaeologists were the ones who were slowing down key infrastructure projects (like Trakia and Maritsa Highways), thus depriving society.

The situation with urban development-led digs was worse, as they almost never received public attention and investors tried to intimidate archaeologists, breach contracts or even demolish sites secretly. A notorious example can be seen in Balchik, where an intact Cybele temple was severely damaged and partly covered in concrete by the investor, despite the attempts of local archaeologists to stop the construction



Figure 1. *Villa rustica* at Arnautito site destroyed by Trakia Highway infrastructure.
(Photos: L. Vagalinski)

of a modern building over it.¹ Problems with investors were happening even in the heart of Sofia, next to government buildings, where the eastern half of the Late Roman amphitheatre of *Serdica* was partly destroyed by the construction of a hotel until finally, after some legal action, the investor agreed to incorporate it in the hotel.²

¹ "Cybele's temple in Balchik was covered in concrete", 19.05.2007. <https://news.bg/regions/zalyaha-s-beton-hram-na-boginyata-kibela-v-balchik.html>

² Arena di Serdica Hotel (venue of the 18th Annual EAC Symposium), now proudly displays the ruins and advertises them as the main highlight, emphasising its own role in financing the excavations: <https://www.arenadiserdica.com/pages/the-amphiteater-of-ancient-serdica>

Meanwhile, Bulgarian archaeologists were slow in realising the growing necessity of active communication, in their own words, with the media and society in general. There had been no such practice in Socialist Bulgaria to learn from. Moreover, publicity in the context of public construction works was regarded by many as unnecessary trouble and even potential disruption. During this period, which was economically difficult for most Bulgarians, society was more or less indifferent to rescue excavations and the issues that surrounded them. With the help of individual archaeologists, the media gradually supported the message that excavations were justified only when they yielded attractive finds, particularly sensational gold.³ What is more, it was perceived that the sole purpose of archaeology is to produce such artefacts, and their value seemed to be the only recognisable aspect of public benefit.

Post-2009

The situation began to change towards a more or less positive direction after an amended Cultural Heritage Act was passed in 2009.⁴ Another step forward was achieved with the 2011 Decree for the conducting of field archaeological research.⁵ Furthermore, The National Archaeological Institute with Museum, Sofia University and the Association of Bulgarian Archaeologists played a key role for the creation and publication of a detailed Tariff that determined the costs for all aspects of excavations, published in the State Gazette in 2012.⁶ Gradually, these legal documents started to bear fruit. The Tariff eliminated the bone of contention for archaeologists and investors. It also put an end to the main instrument for the manipulation of public opinion at the expense of archaeologists and archaeological heritage. A year after the publication of the Tariff, the Director of the National Archaeological Institute with Museum sued the State Road Agency for trying to go around it and prevailed on the claim before the Commission on Protection of Competition and in the Supreme Administrative Court.

Around the same time, archaeologists started to open up to the public. The heads of the National Archaeological Institute with Museum and the Department of Archaeology in Sofia University actively sought media attention and organised press conferences dedicated to excavations. The National Archaeological Institute with Museum started organising annual archaeological exhibitions displaying the most attractive finds

³ "After a 25-century old golden mask, the archaeologists are expecting to find a royal tomb", 22.08.2004. https://www.dnevnik.bg/dnevnikplus/2004/08/22/168351_sled_zlatna_maska_na_25_veka_arheolozite_ochakvat_i/

⁴ State Gazette, issue 19, 13.03.2009, active since 10.04.2009, with several amendments until today.

⁵ State Gazette, issue 18, 01.03.2011; Decree for the conducting of field archaeological research of 14.02.2011: <https://dv.parliament.bg/DVWeb/showMaterialDV.jsp;jsessionid=9C2E15A8D713EF93FCBA117D45147DB3?idMat=45279>

⁶ State Gazette, issue 30, 17.04.2012; the Decree of 14.02.2011 is appended with a "planned budget" table, elaborating types of costs and formulae for their calculation: <https://dv.parliament.bg/DVWeb/showMaterialDV.jsp;jsessionid=FC955F02322DFD40DACAF6ACA1C9A29F?idMat=63396>

from the previous year, particularly from large infrastructure sites.⁷ These events were accompanied by press conferences and award ceremonies to acknowledge the work of journalists who reported the achievements and problems of Bulgarian archaeology throughout the year. The multiple interviews surrounding the legal case against the State Road Agency led to a clearer idea in Bulgarian society about the public benefit of archaeology and rescue excavations in particular. The public no longer talked about artefacts and increasingly the discourse involved the long-term effects of archaeology – people started discussing topics such as preservation, touristic capacity, accessibility etc.

This period also gradually influenced the attitude of politicians and investors. Earlier, politicians were reproaching archaeologists, accusing them openly about the delays in infrastructure projects, presenting their work as a nuisance and the results from it as uninteresting stones and pots. Their tone eventually became softer and this rhetoric was abandoned.⁸ Archaeologists are no longer blamed and there is a tendency among politicians to demonstrate respect and interest in findings. Moreover, showing moral and financial support for excavations seems to have a more favorable effect on the politicians' public image.

Today

Bulgarian society is now more or less updated on the results of the regular (planned) excavations. A growing interest is observed in some sites with a constant inflow of visitors – a good example can be seen in the regular excavations of *Heraclea Sintica* (Figure 2). Very often, the appreciation is so high that there is an unrealistic expectation for fast financial benefit from tourism, on several levels (government, municipalities, or the wider public).

However, there is still much to be desired concerning rescue excavations, both in terms of large infrastructure and urban archaeology.

The number of rescue excavations compared to that of regular digs is increasing all the time. If in the first 20 years after 1989 the number of development-led excavations was much lower, later they became equal, and in 2019 it is almost 3:1 (394:141) in favour of development-led digs (Figure 3). This clearly defined pattern demonstrates that rescue excavations need much more media coverage, requiring the presence of Bulgarian archaeologists in the public eye.

⁷ The annual exhibitions largely feature artefacts from infrastructure excavations – see for instance “3D Virtual Tour of the Thirteenth National Exhibition Bulgarian Archaeology 2019”: <http://naim.bg/bg/content/category/1234/116/>

⁸ Cf. “Bulgarian PM shocks archaeologists with insulting treatment”, 11.01.2012, when archaeologists are reprimanded for working too slow in winter conditions: <https://www.novinite.com/articles/135624/Bulgarian+PM+Shocks+Archaeologists+with+Insulting+Treatment> and “Premier Boyko Borissov visits largest burial mound...”, 28.08.2019, when archaeologists are “greeted for their excellent job”: <https://bnr.bg/en/post/101160326/premier-boyko-borissov-visits-largest-burial-mound-in-the-balkans-near-the-village-of-manole>



Figure 2. Tourists visiting the excavations at *Heraclea Sintica* in summer 2019. (Photo: L. Vagalinski)

This is also visible in terms of the money flowing into various archaeological institutions, demonstrated by the statistics of the National Archaeological Institute with Museum over the past 7 years (Figure 4). The greater income from development-led projects means greater responsibility to the public and therefore more open communication.

In urban development-led archaeology, things seem to have improved, although they are far from perfect. An important role nowadays is played by social networks, particularly local websites. They are alerted to developments in the cities, engage in discussions about the future of their heritage and are usually in favour of the

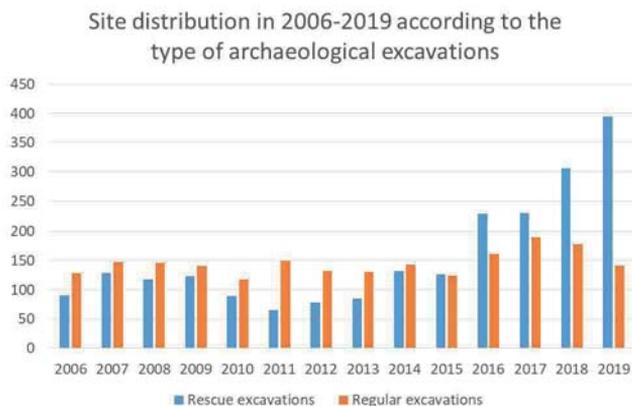
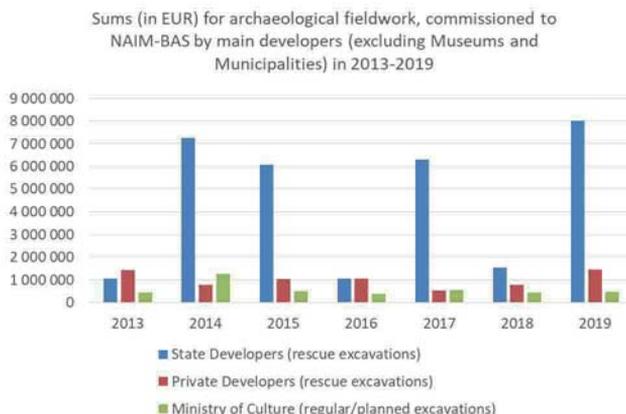


Figure 3. Site distribution of regular vs development-led excavations in Bulgaria, 2006–2019. (Statistics source: NAIM-BAS)

Figure 4. Income (in EUR) for NAIM-BAS by types of developers, 2013–2019. (Statistics source: NAIM-BAS)



archaeologists if there are conflicts with investors. There have been several positive examples in the past years in cities with rich cultural heritage such as Plovdiv, now the second largest city in Bulgaria, which is the descendant of the major Roman town of *Philippopolis*.⁹ After long and problematic discussions, the development-led works in the centre of Sofia also came to a more reasonable dialogue and eventually a positive outcome, with society and media actively engaged in the issues. The ruins of ancient *Serdica* are now displayed *in situ* in and around Sofia's metro, spanning over 9000 sq.m.¹⁰

Infrastructure rescue excavations, though, are still reported in the media inconsistently. Bulgarian society has no idea about the legal framework, or the potential benefit from such excavations. The public mostly hears about them in news related to politicians inspecting the sites and rarely shows a special interest in them.

However, the public seem to be eager for news about these major projects and are willing to discuss the future of cultural heritage as a public benefit, as we recently learned during the construction of Struma Highway when an archaeological site became infamous. After seven months of indifference to the site by the locals and vague interest from the media, there was an unexpected reaction: society misinterpreted the information and accepted the idea that an important ancient settlement, known from sources as *Scaptopara*, was being deliberately destroyed by the archaeological institutions in order to build a highway. The archaeologists did little to clarify the situation. This generated a massive reaction on Facebook by all kinds of social groups, leading to the signing of petitions and protests on site during the

⁹ "Prominent businessmen destroyed priceless ancient mosaics", 15.12.2019. <https://plovdivnow.bg/plovdiv/krupni-biznesmeni-unishtoziha-beztsenni-antichni-mozaiki-27572>

¹⁰ "Sofia's ancient Serdica archaeological complex opens", 20.04.2016. <https://sofiaglobe.com/2016/04/20/sofias-ancient-serdica-archaeological-complex-opens/>

ongoing excavations.¹¹ The archaeologists were vilified for doing their job, accused of corruption and held responsible for the future fate of the site, and their expertise on the identification or the exhibition value of the finds was entirely disregarded.

This came to emphasise the importance of not only *how much* the archaeologists speak about what they find, but also *how* they speak to the public. Sometimes investors include a clause of confidentiality in the contracts of infrastructure excavations. At the same time, even when archaeologists are not advised to restrain from interviews, they lack training in communication with society and the media. Many archaeologists still believe that 'less information is less trouble'. Some go in an entirely different direction, by sharing with the media sensational or inappropriate statements.¹² In either of these cases, no information at all or inappropriate information, the public reacts with mistrust regarding the professional skills of the archaeologists, and is ultimately confused regarding the value of the heritage.

Over the last few years, some Bulgarian archaeologists have been trying to fill the media vacuum. An important role was played by the "Journey to The Past" series on Bulgarian National TV,¹³ which offered an insight to the excavations and gave the opportunity for archaeologists to explain the sites in their own words. This show significantly improved the image of archaeologists in the public eye, drawing more attention to the hard work involved and the value of discoveries beyond attractive finds.

Inevitably, the role of TV, radio and printed publications has subsided in the recent decade and electronic platforms are playing a much greater role. While the websites of institutions like museums and universities still seem outdated and slow in meeting the demands of modern public, other, usually non-institutional platforms relying mostly on social media, are quickly attracting audiences.

A successful example gaining popularity among Bulgarian and foreign audience can be seen in the Archaeology in Bulgaria blog (www.archaeologyinbulgaria.com) with over 12,000 followers and several articles in English on a variety of topics, covering ongoing sites, new discoveries and actual problems of Bulgarian archaeology.

Probably the best known and most influential e-platform dealing with archaeology in the country is Archaeologia Bulgarica (www.archaeologia-bulgarica.com), whose

¹¹ "Funerary procession and human chain for the salvation of Scaptopara", 19.07.2018. <https://www.kmeta.bg/traurno-shestvie-i-jiva-veriga-za-spasyavaneto-na-skaptopara>

¹² Most frequently, commenting on the market value of artefacts or equating them to modern-day prestige goods, e.g. luxury cars.

¹³ The show has visited most of the major excavated sites in Bulgaria, with host Maria Cherneva interviewing the archaeologists on the spot; cf. "Journey to the Past: A Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone", 31.08.2016. <https://www.bnt.bg/bg/a/patuvane-v-minaloto-svetilishte-na-demetra-i-persefona>



Figure 5. “Archaeologists vs Treasure-Hunters” Board game.
(Photo: www.archaeologia-bulgaria.com)

motto is “See the discoveries as they happen”.¹⁴ While it has not covered development-led excavations yet, it is nevertheless noteworthy as its success may point to a possible solution to the visibility problem which development-led archaeology is facing nowadays everywhere. The main goal of the platform is to allow the wider audience to experience what it is like to be a member of the archaeological teams on the field. By taking the viewer on video walks through sites, it rapidly attracted more than 12,000 followers from around the world, and the news reached hundreds of thousands.¹⁵ One

¹⁴ Archaeologia Bulgaria is an NGO created in 2015, in connection with a peer-reviewed scientific magazine of the same name. Since 2018, its e-platform – a website and several accounts on social media – specialises in archaeological news in Bulgarian, English and Russian. It offers video walks, short movies and articles about several sites in Bulgaria; its most acclaimed feature is broadcasting live from ongoing excavations. <https://www.archaeologia-bulgaria.com/en/>.

¹⁵ A good example of the platform’s interactive approach can be seen in a short 2-minute video taken with an archaeologist’s phone on 14.09.2019 in *Heraclea Sintica*: https://www.facebook.com/watch/live/?v=495901774289527&ref=watch_permalink. It was viewed by 9000 people, shared by 108, and was liked by 567. The comment section was rather active; with viewers asking questions with respect and archaeologists responding quickly.

of its achievements was a livestream from the site, broadcasting to children and parents in the Interactive Children's Science Centre Muzeiko (www.muzeiko.bg) in Sofia.¹⁶ Parallel to this, the platform created an educational board game "Archaeologists vs Treasure hunters" in Bulgarian and English, which is gaining popularity in the country and abroad (Figure 5).¹⁷

Conclusion and suggestions

This short overview shows that the legislative framework has changed much development-led archaeology in Bulgaria, but another important role is played by the public image of the archaeologists as seen through the media. There is still a lot to be done in terms of communication, which can influence to a great extent whether the public regards archaeology as a benefit at all. While some archaeologists are already finding successful formulae to maintain a fruitful contact with the audience, there is still an urgent need for guidance and training.

It seems therefore reasonable to put forward two suggestions that may be helpful not only for Bulgaria but for all archaeologists in Europe. Firstly, it seems crucial to develop, with the help of EAC, a digital and accessible guide for archaeologists to help them in their contacts with the media and society (adults and children) during and after development-led excavations. Naturally, the guide should consider some important features such as consistency, appropriate language and measures for a problem-free experience. And secondly, it seems necessary to create a European archaeological information network to combine e-media platforms specialising in 'insider's knowledge' archaeological news which would undoubtedly be of great benefit both for the archaeologists and the public all over Europe and would help understand and value our common heritage better.

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¹⁶ "First livestream Muzeiko – Heraclea Sintica" was an event that took place on 13.09.2019 and was also hosted on the Facebook page of Archaeologia Bulgarica: <https://www.facebook.com/events/2400894340181728/>. It was pre-advertised by the National Radio and popular news website and received much acclaim.

¹⁷ "New board game pits archaeologists against treasure hunters...", 14.12.2018. <http://archaeologyinbulgaria.com/2018/12/14/new-board-game-pits-archaeologists-against-treasure-hunters-in-archaeological-sites-all-across-bulgaria/>

A Tricky Subject – Archaeology in Opinion Polls on Cultural Heritage. Recent Examples from Poland

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Keywords: public opinion, archaeological heritage management, evidence-based cultural heritage management, participation

Abstract: Knowing the public by analysing the wants, interests and expectations regarding their involvement in archaeology is one of the strategic aims of Europae Archaeologiae Consilium (EAC). Cultural heritage has been the topic of several public opinion polls in Poland over the past few years. In 2011 and 2015 the National Institute of Cultural Heritage carried out two representative surveys. Subsequent polls focusing on more specific issues or groups of respondents were undertaken in 2015, 2017 and 2018. Other data from Poland comes from the 2017 Special Eurobarometer survey on cultural heritage. They can be contrasted with archaeology-oriented opinion polls: a European survey carried out in nine countries within the NEARCH project led by Inrap (French National Institute for Preventive Archaeological Research) and several smaller-scale projects, which might be treated as starting points for more representative research. Scope of these surveys includes: public perception of cultural heritage and archaeology, subjective value of cultural heritage, attitudes towards archaeology, relevance of archaeology for the present (also in terms of the socio-economic potential of archaeological heritage), peoples' interaction with archaeology and archaeological heritage, sources of information about archaeological heritage etc. Comparison of this data will serve to establish the relevance of surveys for archaeological heritage management. The author will also examine if the specific nature of archaeological heritage is reflected in the surveys and how the public feels about its most hidden heritage. Based on the results of her analysis, the author will look at the desired scope of a survey aimed at filling the identified gaps and shaped to fit the needs of evidence-based archaeological heritage management.

Introduction

Cultural heritage, as described by the European Heritage Strategy for the 21st century, 'is a key factor for the refocusing of our societies on the basis of dialogue between cultures, respect for identities and diversity, and a feeling of belonging to a community of values'. It is also 'a powerful factor in social and economic development through the activities it generates and the policies which underpin it. (...) It constitutes an invaluable resource in the fields of education, employment, tourism and sustainable development' (Council of Europe 2017, 4). Considering its cross-sectorial impact, the evidence-based decisions in cultural heritage policy making are crucial. However, the slow realisation of this fact has been visible only since the end of the 20th century, along with the gradual acknowledgment of culture (and heritage) as a driver for development and one of the pillars of sustainable development (Giraud-Labalte et al. 2015, 50–51).

Data gathering on a European level started in 2001, when the first culture-related Eurobarometer survey was carried out (European Commission 2002). Six years later, Eurostat published its first cultural statistics pocketbook (Eurostat 2007). In the same year, the European Agenda for Culture put 'developing data, statistics and methodologies in the cultural sector and improving their comparability' among priority areas for action for the years 2008–2010 (European Union 2007, Annex). Recently, evidence-based policy making has been recognised as one of four main principles of European Framework for Action on Cultural Heritage. According to this document, the Eurostat will keep improving the methodology and tools to collect data for cultural statistics, in cooperation with the statistical offices of EU Member States (European Union 2019, 9).

Within the EAC the topic of data gathering in archaeological heritage management was addressed in the Amersfoort Agenda, its strategic document formulated in 2015. Members of the EAC acknowledged that in order to embed archaeology in society archaeologists should 'stimulate and facilitate society's involvement in archaeology'. They should 'monitor changing trends and then forge connections with other policy domains, such as education, economy, the environment and social challenges (...)'. In order to do this, they must know the public through the analysis of their wants, interests and expectations (EAC 2015, 16).

Recent cultural heritage opinion polls in Poland

Conveniently, over the past few years, cultural heritage has been the topic of several representative public opinion polls in Poland. In 2011, the National Institute of Cultural Heritage (NICH) carried out the first pilot survey on the value of cultural heritage to society (Kozioł et al. 2013). Next, a more comprehensive one was led in 2015 (Chabiera et al. 2017). Other representative data from Poland was gathered during the Special Eurobarometer survey on cultural heritage, carried out in 2017 during preparations for the European Year of Cultural Heritage (European Commission 2017).

Scope of these polls corresponds with themes taken up by the EAC within the Making Choices initiative, such as the perception of cultural heritage and monuments, their role and importance, the subjective value of cultural heritage, attitudes towards heritage, its relevance to the present in terms of the socio-economic potential, peoples' interactions with monuments and heritage, preferred sources of information etc.

More specific surveys, focusing on local communities, were carried out by the NICH in 2017 and 2018 and their results are currently being summarised for publication. The former analysed the views of representatives of the so-called Local Action Groups, i.e. private-public partnerships, formalised or not, supporting their respective areas through the implementation of various small-scale projects. In the latter the researchers turned to local leaders, namely village heads or mayors and heads of commune culture centres. Questions in both polls focused on roles and potential of cultural heritage, management, local actions and policies.

The above can be juxtaposed with archaeology-oriented opinion polls. A European survey carried out in nine countries within the NEARCH project led by Inrap (French National Institute for Preventive Archaeological Research) has delivered plenty of interesting data on public perceptions of archaeology and attitudes towards this science in Poland (Richards et al. 2017; Martelli-Banégas et al. 2015a, 2015b).

Important issues of public participation have also been highlighted by two smaller projects. One entitled *Social Engagement in Archaeology (Zaangażowanie społeczności lokalnej w ochronę dziedzictwa archeologicznego w Polsce)* was carried out in 2015 by a team of researchers led by Dr Małgorzata Kot from the University of Warsaw (Kot et al. 2015). It focused on several archaeological heritage related groups of respondents: archaeologists (138 people), re-enactors (17 people), visitors to archaeological festivals (143 people) and local communities in villages with excavations ongoing nearby (53 people). Questions tackled the issues of responsibility for archaeological heritage, its appeal and potential, personal interests and involvement etc. Archaeological expectations of one local community were studied in the project entitled 'Involved Archaeology: society - past - remote sensing', a joint initiative of archaeologists and students from the Institute of Archaeology of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan and the local association for rural development (Razem) from the village of Bieniów in western Poland (Lubuskie Voivodeship), inspired by the latter (Kostyrko et al. 2016, 86). The project, carried out in 2013, included non-intrusive research of an early medieval hillfort, a study of the attitudes of the local community towards archaeology and dissemination activities.

Generally fine

On a European level, the most fundamental observations of the Eurobarometer survey of 2017 were very optimistic. The vast majority of Europeans considered cultural heritage important to them personally (84% of Europeans and Poles responded 'very important' and 'fairly important') and to their countries (91% of Europeans, 89% of Poles responded 'very important' and 'fairly important') (European Commission 2017, 21–24). Similarly high results were obtained also two years earlier in the survey of the

How important are to you the following elements of cultural heritage?
 Answers: very or fairly important

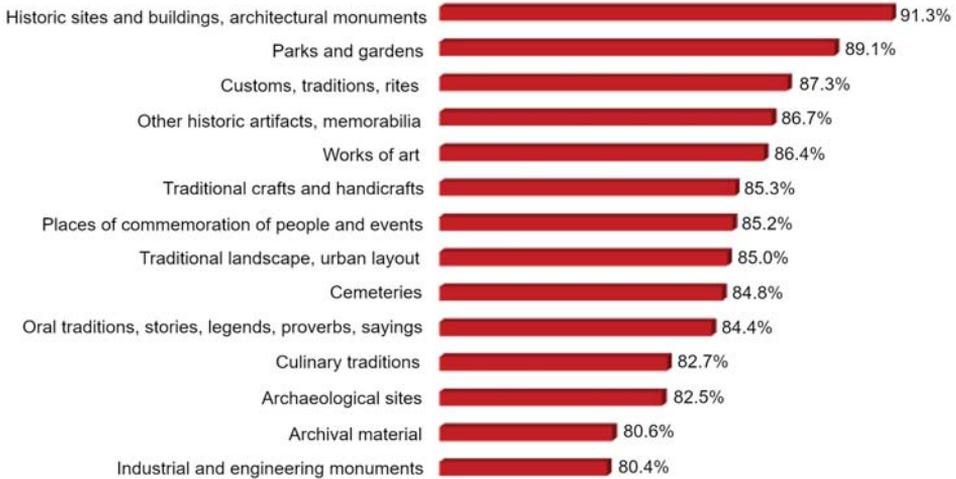


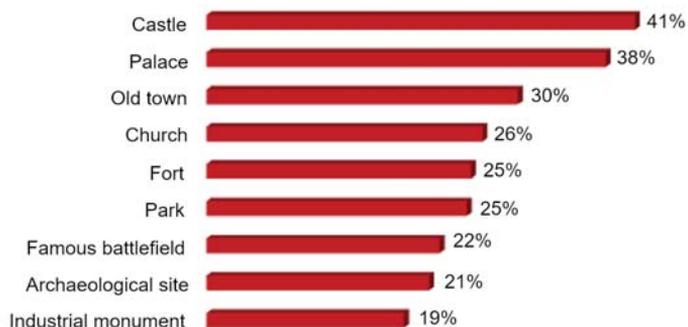
Figure 1. Opinion poll. Source: Fortuna-Marek & Stępnik 2017, 34

NICH, with the respective answers of 86 and 85%. Furthermore, cultural heritage was more often considered important by the older and better educated respondents, which means that its valuation and positive emotional attitude towards it seem to be the offshoots of knowledge and experience (Fortuna-Marek & Stępnik 2017, 24–27).

Appreciation of cultural heritage was also observed when the respondents were asked about the importance of individual categories thereof (Figure 1): all of them received over 80% of answers. However, scrutiny of these results reaches the core of the problem raised in this paper, namely the subjective perception of archaeological heritage and its valuation. Alarming, archaeological sites indicated by 82.5% of respondents are in the 12th place out of 14 possible. Only archives and technical monuments were less valued (Fortuna-Marek & Stępnik 2017, 33–35), and these are the categories that are sometimes not perceived as monuments at all.

In this context, it is not surprising that archaeological sites, coming in 8th place in the surveys of 2011 and 2015, were not a magnet attracting potential visitors (Figure 2). To underline the gravity of the situation: in the survey of 2015 (Figure 2.B) almost 30 percentage points separated archaeological sites from castles, the most popular category, and only 5 from 'none'. In addition, among 268 monuments indicated in 2011 by the respondents asked about the three most important monuments in Poland, there was only one archaeological site (a Bronze Age settlement in Biskupin, now partially

A. What monument would you like to visit?



B. What type of monument would you like to visit the most?

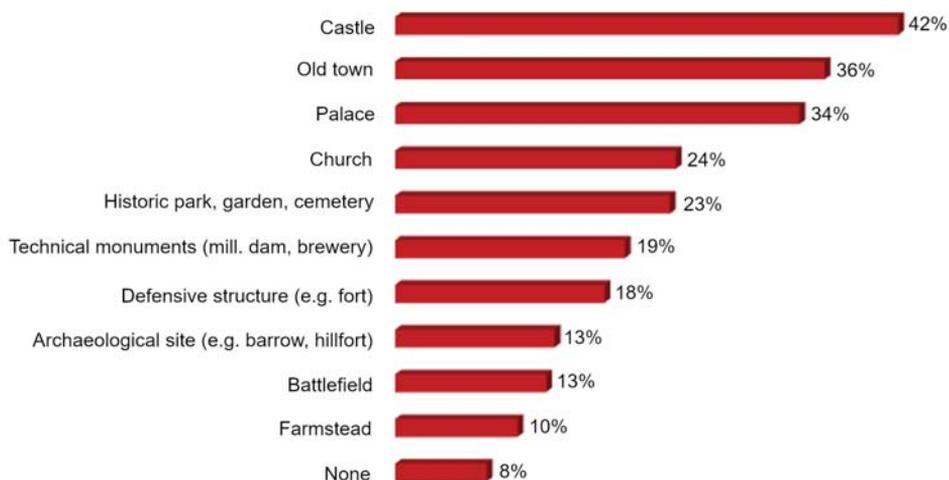


Figure 2. Opinion poll. Source: (A) Koziół, Trelka & Florjanowicz 2013, 73; (B) Dąbrowski & Koziół 2017, 53

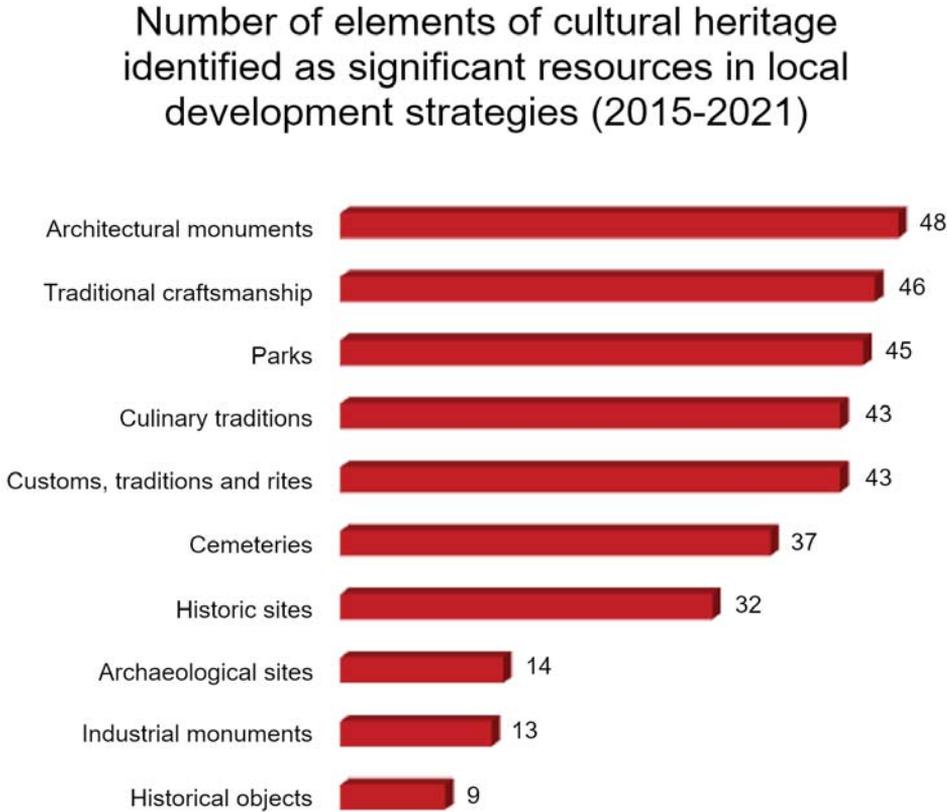
reconstructed and functioning as an open-air museum with 4.5% of selections) and one archaeological museum (Rynek Underground, Branch of the Museum of Krakow) (NICH 2011, unpublished results of the survey). Such a low potential of archaeological heritage seems to give heritage managers every reason to despair, however closer analysis of what the above survey questions implied may offer a beacon of hope for the future.

The pitfalls of categorisation

In the Special Eurobarometer poll on cultural heritage palaces, castles, archaeological sites, gardens etc. have been included in one category of historical monuments or sites (European Commission 2017, 48–49). On the contrary, authors of the general opinion polls, carried out for the National Institute of Cultural Heritage in 2011 and 2015, divided the heritage in order to obtain more detailed results. Though, in the case of archaeology, that solution became the main problem.

In both surveys the respondents were to choose between archaeological sites and castles, old towns, churches, forts, historical parks and gardens etc. Such a choice is false by definition as it ignores the modern understanding of archaeology and the ever-expanding chronological scope of its interests. The essence of the archaeological monument is not a simple derivative of a function, but of location (underground,

Figure 3. Opinion poll. Source: unpublished survey of Local Action Groups, the National Institute of Cultural Heritage of Poland 2017



underwater), chronology (relics of the past) and at least partly, of the state of preservation (unused objects).

Archaeological sites cannot be separated from other remains of the past, just like they cannot be extracted from the cultural landscape. Subsequent phases of construction and use of architectural monuments, ruined or not, or historical parks and gardens are reflected in archaeological contexts buried below the ground. Cemeteries from the modern and contemporary periods are studied by archaeologists just like prehistoric burial grounds. Thanks to archaeological data, chronology known through historical sources can be clarified and even the sole distribution of archaeological objects can provide information on past events such as military actions (Wrzosek 2017, 84).

To rephrase the survey questions in the above context, the respondents were asked to choose between various categories of archaeological monuments, and the one of archaeological sites (exemplified in 2015 by barrows and hillforts), encompassed sites located outside of urban areas, with no architectural relics visible on the surface and dated to prehistory or, in the case of Poland, mostly early middle ages. A similar approach to categorisation was demonstrated in the study of about 80 Local Action Groups from 2017 (Figure 3). Needless to say, the distribution of answers resembled the questions discussed above.

The roles of cultural heritage

Archaeologists communicating with the wider world, be it schoolchildren, students, developers, landowners or various authorities, realise that the meaning and potential of archaeological heritage can be difficult to understand for non-professionals. Results of heritage public opinion surveys confirm this observation.

Generally, people appreciate cultural heritage. In 2011 almost 90% of the respondents said that it had an important social role in the society (Kozioł et al. 2013, 29). Then and in 2015, they thought that monuments improved the quality of life, that was understood as something beyond the purely material aspect. Their value lay in the fact that they were seen as a testament of history and a source of knowledge. They made the place of residence unique and gave communities the feeling of local pride. Increasing the aesthetics of place, they were places of recreation and rest (Fortuna-Marek & Stępnik 2017, 28–33; Kozioł et al. 2013, 30). Additionally, in the 2018 survey of local leaders, in the question about the potential that could be used for economic development, local monuments with 95.4% of answers outranked intangible cultural heritage by over 40 percentage points (NICH, unpublished survey).

Such results are impressive, however the weak position of the archaeological sites category presented above indirectly indicates that they probably do not apply to archaeological heritage. These concerns have been straightforwardly confirmed by the NEARCH project. Only 8% of Polish respondents thought that archaeology could contribute to the quality of life. On the other hand, the main roles attributed to archaeology by Poles, namely knowing the history of Poland (57%), participating in the study and protection of the cultural heritage (47%), passing history down to younger

generations (44%), understanding the past to better prepare for the future (40%) and understanding our own place in the world through our shared past (30%), seem quite sophisticated and non-relatable to the everyday life. What is also interesting, against firm beliefs of archaeological heritage managers, the functions of identity building, uniting and entertainment received much lower support (Martelli-Banégas et al. 2015b, Q4).

The economic potential

The overall economic potential of cultural heritage and, more specifically, the monuments has been acknowledged in Poland and Europe. In 2011 86% of Poles thought that you 'could make money on a monument' (Kozioł et al. 2013, 84). Over a half agreed that monuments improved tourism and could bring income to local communities (Kozioł et al. 2013, 34). Four years later, 73.5% of the respondents in Poland still considered the cultural heritage a source of income, workplaces, products and services as well as commercial activities in local communities (Chabiera et al. 2017, 89–90).

In 2017 almost 8 out of 10 Europeans stated that cultural heritage and related activities created jobs in the EU (European Commission 2017, 62). The awareness of the latter was greater among those who came into contact with heritage on a daily basis due to their place of living, personal involvement or interests (European Commission 2017, 66).

According to the most recent study of local leaders, the cultural heritage was already included in strategic documents and used in tourism (93%), culture (76%), education (70%), agriculture and crafts (43%), real estate and construction (36%), and to a lesser extent in creative industries (22%) (NICH 2018, unpublished survey).

As soon as similar questions are asked exclusively with regard to archaeological sites, the results are again not optimistic. In 2018, 9% of the representatives of Local Action Groups believed that there was absolutely no chance that the sites could contribute to the local development, and it was the highest percentage of responses to this question among all the heritage categories. Linked to this, only 10% thought that archaeological heritage could have economic value. Over ¼ of those interviewed found this question difficult to answer (unpublished survey of the NICH), and this also was the highest result for this response.

Responsibility for the difficult heritage

Comparison of answers regarding cultural heritage, and specifically its archaeological aspects, indicate that the general public find it difficult. Archaeological sites are not the monuments they think of and relate to in everyday life. On the contrary, they seem distant and their potential is seen as quite abstract, which is reflected also in the feeling of responsibility for archaeological heritage.

Polish people thought that heritage should be preserved unconditionally (65%) or if it could be, adapted to new functions (25.6%) (Fortuna-Marek & Stępnik 2017, 38–39). This

In your opinion, which of the following actors should do the most to protect Europe's cultural heritage? (Top five answers)

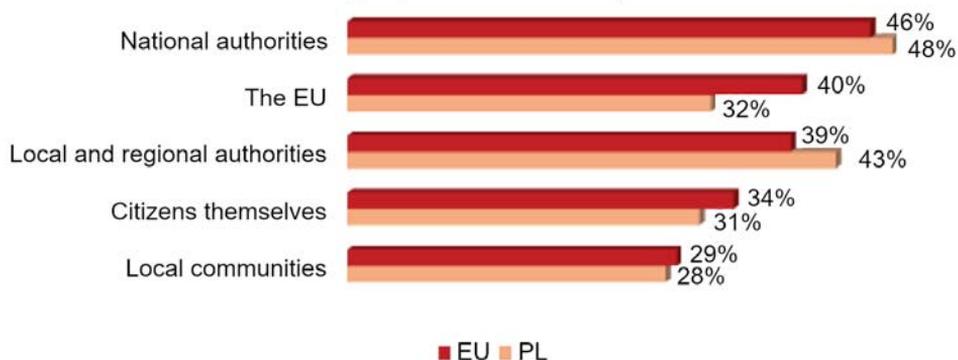


Figure 4. Opinion poll. Source: *Specjalny Eurobarometr 466. Polska, 4, QB11*

view was confirmed by almost all local leaders surveyed in 2018 (98%, unpublished survey of the NICH). Moreover, the cultural heritage preservation was worth public spending (82% in 2011 and 86% four years later) (Kozioł et al. 2013, 63; Chabiera et al. 2017, 94). Therefore, the government and governmental organisations and, particularly according to the representatives of communal self-government, various levels of local authorities, should be mainly responsible for the heritage (Dąbrowski & Kozioł 2017, 71–72; NICH 2018, unpublished survey). The 2015 NICH survey also showed that the awareness of civic responsibility in this regard increased with education (Dąbrowski & Kozioł 2017, 71–72).

On a European level, national governments, the EU and local authorities should do the most for heritage protection and subsequently, it should be the citizens and local communities (Figure 4) (European Commission 2017, 75; Komisja Europejska 2017, 4, QB11). The latter two combined would have come first in the EU with 63% of responses. Polish respondents have given more responsibility to government and local authorities and less to the EU. They also have been among the least likely to mention the citizens (European Commission 2017, 75).

Similar questions have been asked in archaeology-related surveys. Unsurprisingly, the answers were quite different. Almost $\frac{3}{4}$ of Polish respondents in the NEARCH survey have agreed that it was the State's job to manage archaeology (Martelli-Banégas et al. 2015b, Q18). Visitors to archaeological festivals, interviewed within the Social Engagement in Archaeology project, have placed the greatest responsibility for heritage protection on state heritage service (32%), citizens (27%), authorities at

Who is the most responsible for archaeological heritage according to archaeologists? (Top five answers)

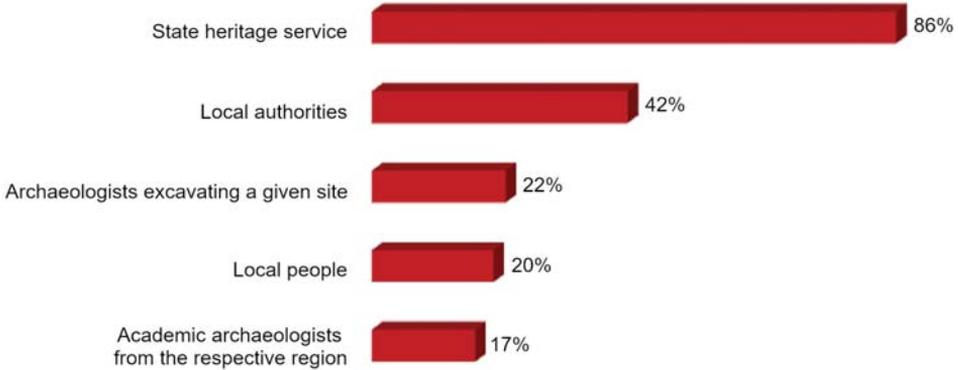


Figure 5. Opinion poll. Based on: Jędrzejczak & Mieszczanek 2015, 217–218. Summed responses 1-3 in a 9-point scale

various levels (25%) and archaeologists (16%). Archaeologists have had much more faith in professionals and officials than local people, with 86% pointing at state heritage service and 42% at local authorities (Figure 5). At the same time, they recognised their professional responsibility (39%), which for them was almost double the responsibility of local inhabitants (20%) (Jędrzejczak & Mieszczanek 2015, 217–218).

Notwithstanding a certain sense of social responsibility for archaeological and more general cultural heritage, the results of all studies indicate that it should remain at the discretion of authorities and state institutions.

Who is going to care?

In the 12 months preceding the Eurobarometer heritage survey, 61% of the respondents have visited a historical monument or site (e.g. palaces, castles, churches, archaeological sites, gardens) at least once; in Poland it was less than a half (European Commission 2017, 48–50; Komisja Europejska 2017, 2, QB4). In this particular instance however, this is not the point. More significant findings came from the socio-demographic analysis of the answers regarding visiting heritage places and events. The list of activities included going to a library or archive (to consult original sources), a historical monument or site, a museum or gallery, a traditional event (e.g. carnival), a traditional crafts workshop, a traditional or classical performing arts event (e.g. opera or folk music) as well as seeing classic European films produced at least 10 years before the survey.

Which of the following adjectives correspond to the image you have of archaeology?

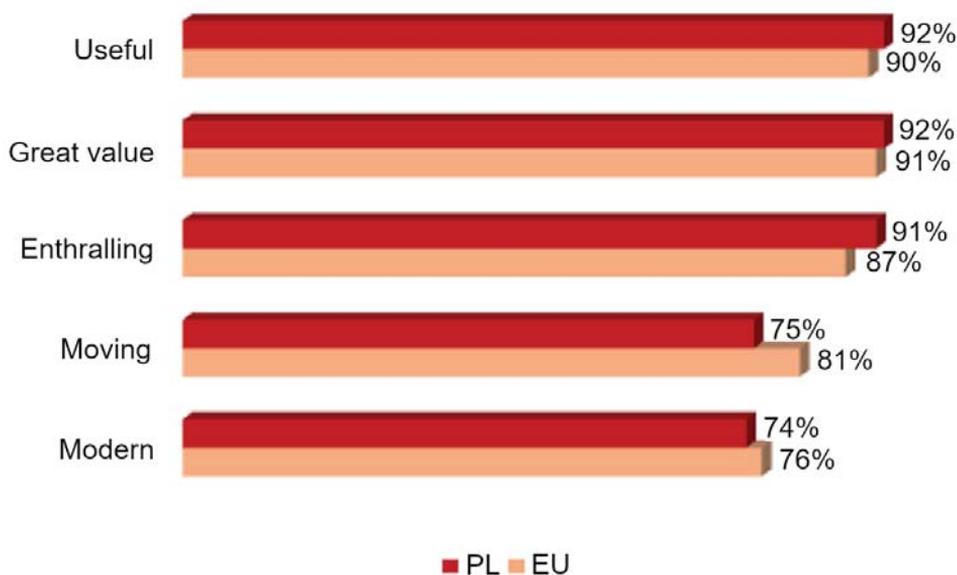


Figure 6. Opinion poll. Source: Martelli-Banégas et al. 2015b, Q13

The Eurobarometer has confirmed on a European level a tendency that was visible in the 2015 survey of the NICH (see above: Generally fine). The longer the education, the more likely the participation in heritage activities with 78% of the respondents who completed their education aged 20 or after having visited a historical monument or site, compared to 34% who completed their education aged 15 or younger. Additionally, the Europeans who lived close to any form of cultural heritage, those who were personally involved in cultural heritage and, not surprisingly, those who were interested in knowing more about Europe's cultural heritage, were more likely to have done each of those heritage-related activities. For instance, 72% of people interested in cultural heritage have visited a historical monument or site, compared to 37% of the uninterested (European Commission 2017, 55).

Since we already know that the increase in knowledge about heritage goes hand in hand with a better understanding of its value, it is the fact that the archaeological heritage is relatively unknown that gives some hope for the future. The more so

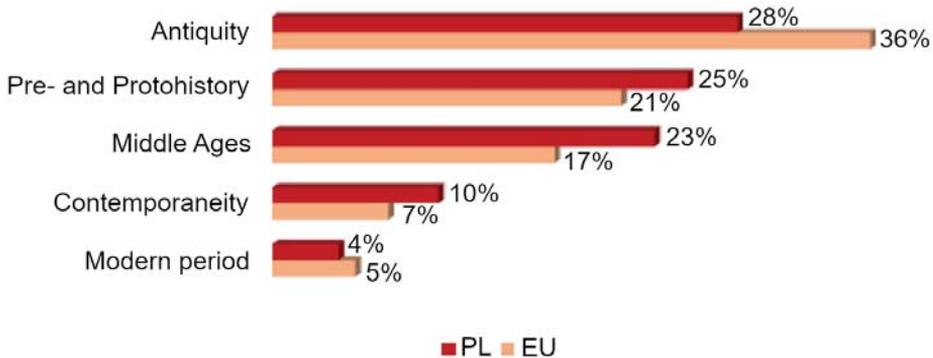
because the survey of the NEARCH project has shown that we have enormous wealth at our disposal; 27% of Europeans and 25% of Poles once wanted to study archaeology (Martelli-Banégas et al. 2015b, Q9), which means that they may still have retained some sentimental approach to this discipline. Their image of archaeology seems to confirm this (Figure 6): 92% of Poles have considered it useful and of great value, for 91% it has been enthralling and for over ¾ it was seen as moving; European results have been only a few percentage points lower (Martelli-Banégas et al. 2015b, Q13). One out of 10 has also believed that the existence of archaeological relics is an advantage to a given location (Martelli-Banégas et al. 2015b, Q14). Furthermore, the survey of the NICH has demonstrated that people visit monuments for personal reasons, out of interest, the will to gain new knowledge, or to share their passion with family and friends (Dąbrowski & Koziół 2017, 47–48). Thus, regardless of the difficulties arising from the specificity of archaeological heritage, it still has positive connotations, a potential that seems the easiest to exploit in tourism and leisure-related educational activities.

The power of attraction(s)

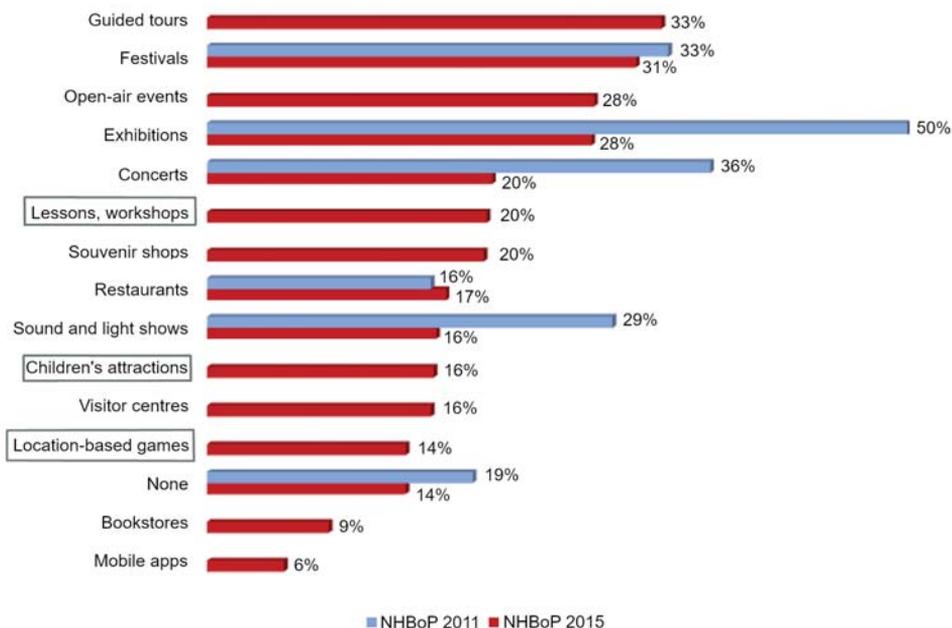
In the light of the NEARCH survey there is a lot to be done in Poland. On one hand, the respondents have considered archaeological exhibitions in Polish museums informative for every age group, on the other too little attention has been geared towards Polish archaeological history. People also thought that there was too little knowledge dissemination about archaeological research and finds towards the Polish public and too little information on what they could see and do in regard to archaeology (Martelli-Banégas et al. 2015b, Q15).

Figure 7. Opinion poll. Based on: Martelli-Banégas et al. 2015b, Q11

If you were going to visit an archaeological site or exhibition in your country, your priority would be to visit the one devoted to...



A. Additional attractions that should be offered at monuments



B. Accompanying events I would participate in

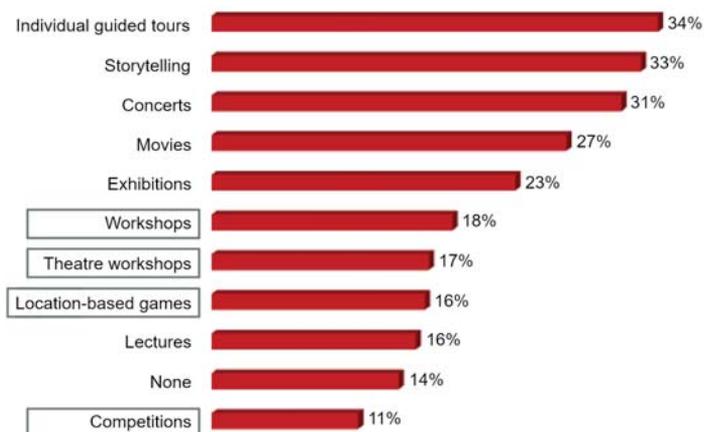


Figure 8. Opinion poll. Source: (A) Dąbrowski, Koziół 2017, 55; Koziół, Trelka & Florjanowicz 2013, 81; (B) Dąbrowski & Koziół 2017, 57. Purely participatory activities are marked with a frame

The respondents considering a visit to an archaeological exhibition or site would have chosen most willingly the ones devoted to ancient Greece or the Roman Empire as well as prehistory and protohistory (Figure 7). Slightly fewer than ¼ would have been interested in places and events related to the middle ages and Polish ruling dynasties. Much fewer respondents have chosen the two world wars, the interwar decades or the modern period. Comparison with results from other countries and the European average shows that a great interest in the history of their own country, especially periods highlighted in school education, is a characteristic feature of Poles (Martelli-Banégas et al. 2015b, Q11).

As for accompanying tourist attractions offered at monuments, in 2011 the Polish people chose exhibitions, concerts, festivals, sound-and-light shows and restaurants (Figure 8) (Kozioł et al. 2013, 81). Four years later the list was completed with guided tours, open-air events, workshops and lessons on local history, souvenir shops, visitor centres and active forms of sightseeing (Dąbrowski & Kozioł 2017, 55). Quite surprisingly, mobile apps received only 6%. They were unwanted, whereas archaeologists have been expressing the need for and the advantages of digital technologies in archaeological heritage promotion. This situation may change with a changing demographic and the spread of online heritage activities but this definitely is an issue that needs investigating, because, according to the Eurobarometer survey, the Europeans who use the Internet daily are much more likely to participate in heritage related activities (European Commission 2017, 55).

In the context of tourist attractions, an interesting observation from the project of Social Engagement in Archaeology should be noted. Visitors to archaeological festivals have rated all the attractions highly, but the highest number of negative ratings went to various participatory activities (Jędrzejczak & Mieszczanek 2015, 147). Similar reservations were observed among members of local communities interviewed within the project (Jędrzejczak & Mieszczanek 2015, 162). This tendency has been indirectly confirmed by the representative surveys of the NICH (Figure 8). Purely participatory activities, such as workshops, location-based games and competitions, were less popular (11.2–18.4%, compared to over 20 or 30% for the most popular attractions) (Dąbrowski & Kozioł 2017, 57).

Exemplary views on the expectations of one local community were collected in 2013 within the smallest of the analysis projects: 'Applied archaeology: Society – past – remote sensing'. Questionnaires were distributed in the villages of Bieniów and Biedrzychowice Dolne in western Poland, before a non-intrusive survey began and 54 questionnaires were completed. The respondents expected cooperation between archaeologists and society. They argued that archaeology enabled them to learn the past of the area they lived in and was more interesting because it had not been part of school education (this last opinion appeared in the in-depth interviews carried out with 20 persons). Two respondents said that thanks to such interactions, people would understand and respect heritage, and one said that archaeologists, often financed with public money, owe information about research to the public. For most of the respondents the preferred forms of future interactions were meetings at the research site or other places and conversations informing about the research and their results.

Some wanted to visit archaeologists during work and significantly fewer wished to join the fieldwork, confirming the views on participation (Kajda & Kostyrko 2016, 17).

This passivity of the public was also noted by representatives of local authorities and cultural heritage NGOs, surveyed at the request of the NICH in 2015 by the Klon-Jawor Association. 70% of organizations and 67% of local authorities' representatives considered the involvement of local communities low. Almost as many thought that the level of awareness of cultural heritage in the local community was insufficient, and actions aimed at raising it were considered one of the most difficult tasks regarding cultural heritage (Adamiak & Charycka 2015, 13; 42; 62; 122). The discrepancy between the expectations of the community and the NGOs is worth emphasising, because the latter found the participatory activities more interesting (Adamiak & Charycka 2015, 44).

Benefits of surveys and the way forward

Sustainable, systemic approach to exploiting the socio-economic potential of archaeological heritage has to be evidence based, however its multifaceted nature makes the comprehensive study of all the aspects and issues very difficult.

Studies of cultural heritage as a whole proved not to be helpful in archaeological heritage management due to the high level of generality. They are appropriate to infer some phenomena on a European scale, however, the lower the level of heritage management, the less useful they become.

Categorisation observed in the representative surveys from Poland (Kozioł et al. 2013; Chabiera et al. 2017) was to be a means of overcoming the above issue. Seemingly, it delivered meaningful data, however closer scrutiny revealed that they cannot really be used as evidence in archaeological heritage management. The divisions used in the questionnaires have ignored the modern definition of archaeology and the broad scope of its interests. As a result, the data on archaeological heritage have been dispersed among categories, while those regarding archaeological sites de facto refer only to prehistoric and medieval extra-urban sites.

The above is a result of the lack of well-founded knowledge on archaeology. The NEARCH project has shown that people in Poland and Europe generally understand what archaeology is. They have thought that it is: a discovery, digging/excavation of objects, artefacts, relics, remains, human bodies, etc. (61%, 37% in the EU); study and analysis of the past (56%, 48% in the EU); study of old civilisations, human evolution, etc. (31%), and study of ancient ruins, sites, dwellings, structures (13%, 11% in the EU) (Martelli-Banégas et al. 2015b, Q1, top 4 answers). On the other hand, if people have not been taught the basic concepts and methods of modern archaeology in school, they have no grounds to question its common but dated understanding that is transmitted by the media. They do not discuss divisions presented in opinion polls but try to fit in.

The flawed data also revealed several warning signs showing that archaeological heritage is treated differently. It is distant and difficult. Archaeological relics are not as

interesting or valuable to the people as architectural heritage or parks and gardens. The confirmation came from the comparison of the cultural heritage and the archaeology-specific surveys, showing the lower understanding of the archaeological heritage potential, and on a more universal level, the benefits of evaluating the general data against the archaeological heritage ones.

Regardless from the reservations expressed above, the surveys we already have at our disposal are important because they allow the testing of expectations and ideas of heritage managers with sometimes surprising results. The examples being the issues of the low demand for mobile apps and the peoples' preference for passive reception of knowledge instead of active participation (see above: The power of attraction(s)).

However, the best basis for the evidence-based heritage management would be the data obtained from opinion polls devoted solely to archaeological heritage. They would have to tackle all the issues from the peoples' knowledge on archaeology to the socio-economic potential and its use. A representative survey of this kind, using also the results of this analysis, was carried out for the NICH at the end of 2020. Its results are yet to be analysed.

I am also positive that heritage managers should focus on those non-professionals who are already interested in archaeology, because, according to the much-quoted statement by the global consulting Bain & Company acquiring a new customer is 7 times more expensive than keeping the old one. Opinion polls should therefore be targeted at the organisers and participants of various outreach activities, archaeological heritage NGOs, museum visitors etc. The smaller projects I referred to above may serve as a starting point (Kot et al. 2015; Kajda & Kostyrko 2016). We should locate our client group, including the ¼ that once wanted to be archaeologists (see above: Who is going to care?) because the emotional appeal is the base that other disciplines do not have.

With the help of sociologists, we should decide whether to meet exclusively the expressed expectations or if we should rather create new needs, especially with regard to digital technologies and participation. The use of marketing theories (e.g. relationship-based marketing) and tools will allow us to retain and expand the interest in archaeology. It will also get the interested part of the general public to help us advocate for archaeological heritage. Only by consuming the results of such research will it be possible to exploit the potential of this heritage to the fullest.

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Shared Archaeological Heritage: The European Archaeology Days

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Keywords: France, Inrap, National Archaeology Days, open days, public access, science

Abstract: A discipline where several scientific fields meet, archaeology studies the material traces of civilisations, from prehistory to the contemporary era. By enriching our knowledge of the societies that came before us, it contributes to a better understanding of today's world and helps sharpen citizens' critical outlook. When it comes to protection, conservation, awareness-raising and education, archaeological heritage is a significant societal opportunity for Europe. At a time marked by concerns over identity and community, archaeology is a source of openness and tolerance. The European Archaeology Days (Figure 1) can therefore help shape a common identity, while preserving the cultural diversity that characterises a Europe of multiplicity. Developing this initiative could encourage open access to culture for all and, among future generations, foster acceptance of the 'Other' in all their differences. In this context, it feels important to give the event a European dimension.

The National Archaeology Days in France, a landmark in the cultural landscape!

In 2010, the French *National Institute for Preventive Archaeological Research (Inrap)* introduced a nationwide event to present the full extent of archaeological activities, "from dig to museum", one Saturday in June. The aim was to maximise public awareness of archaeological heritage and research by seeking to open up these activities to a 'novice' audience unaccustomed to visiting archaeology sites and venues. The full panel of stakeholders in archaeology gets involved in these Archaeology Days with the aim of introducing visitors to the treasures that make up their national heritage and the secrets of the archaeological professions. Archaeological excavators, research organisations, universities, museums and archaeological sites, laboratories, associations, archives and local authorities are all encouraged to organise innovative, creative and interactive activities for the general public.

We have defined three main objectives for the event: showcasing the entire archaeology process to the public; engaging professionals and institutions operating in the field of archaeology; involving new audiences unused to visiting archaeology sites.



Figure 1. Poster advertising European Archaeology Days, 2020 (© Inrap)

In 2010, around a hundred organisers put on a range of activities for the public one Saturday in June. This first event of its kind was a notable success and led to a repeat of the operation over two days in June, the full weekend over the following years, then



Figure 2. A workshop for schoolchildren in Bègles (France). © Auregane Binard, Inrap

extended to three days adding the Friday more specifically intended for schoolchildren (Figure 2), all under the aegis of the French Ministry of Culture.

Since the first year, the event has continued to grow, both in terms of the number of structures involved and the visitors received. In 2018, more than 570 organisations took part in the ninth year of the event across France, welcoming over 200,000 visitors. The event also generated more than 2,000 media mentions, the vast majority of which come from the daily regional press. A dedicated website, journees-archeologie.fr, allows organisers to register and share their programme with potential visitors, who can thus organise their days out using the geolocation function. The website plays a key role in communication and received over 150,000 visitors in the two months prior to the event. It is also worth noting that the National Archaeological Days are a local event, with three out of four visitors coming from within a radius of 20 kilometres.

2019: a first European edition

The outcome of the French event has been highly positive and demonstrates the public's thirst for knowledge while proving that the National Archaeology Days fulfil an expectation felt among the people involved in archaeology.

In 2019, for the tenth anniversary of the National Days, the event was extended to Europe with 18 countries and 1,160 locations involved, including fourteen UNESCO World Heritage Sites. The organisers of the European Archaeology Days put on an array of activities to demonstrate 'archaeology in the making' (Figure 3) and help European citizens get to know and question their past. Interest in archaeology goes beyond the French borders and, according to a survey coordinated by Inrap (Nearch/Harris Interactive project), 90% of Europeans consider archaeology useful, while 85% would like to visit archaeological sites.

With the COVID-19 pandemic, it was not possible to hold the 11th Archaeology Days (EAD) in their usual format. However, under the aegis of the French Ministry of Culture, Inrap launched the #Archeorama event to continue to celebrate archaeology with the public. In addition to in-person events where the health situation permitted, #Archeorama enabled digital events while showcasing online resources. There were, for example, live meetings of archaeologists on social media, the release of unpublished videos, live conferences, virtual tours of exhibitions, and 3D models of archaeological objects and sites.

With nearly 1,000 in-person or exclusively online initiatives, the 2020 European Archaeology Days and #Archeorama were a great success! In total, we counted more than 180,000 consultations of the journées-archéologie.fr website, with 15,000 single visitors during the three-day event (Figure 4).

The European dynamic has continued, with 28 member countries of the Council of Europe taking part in the 2020 edition, and nearly 500 different European organisers.

Figure 3. Fresco and ceramics on the Barberini Vineyard. © Colosseum Archaeological Park (Italy)





Figure 4. Visit of the archaeological repository of the Museum of Nyon (Switzerland).
© Museum of Nyon

Archaeology Villages, archaeology in public space

Since 2010, the Archaeology Days have been centred around two main components: the Archaeology Villages and the notion of ‘Archaeology in the making’.

The Archaeology Villages have been deployed for several years now; they bring together a region’s full array of stakeholders at a single site, and thus involve museums, archaeology research teams, archives, libraries, associations, universities, and so on.

The idea is to set up at a public, city-centre location to connect with local residents and reach out to a new audience not necessarily interested in archaeology at the outset (Figure 5). In fact, in the first few years of the National Archaeology Days, events were mainly held in rural areas and the large populations in the big urban areas were unable to find activities in their vicinity.

In 2019, ten Villages were set up across France to increase the awareness of a broad audience: they now account for 20% of total visitor numbers during the National Archaeological Days.



Figure 5. Reconstruction of a Greek camp at the Archaeology Village of Marseille (France).
© Remi Benali, Inrap

An objective for the European Archaeology Days: Archaeology in the making!

Science is a social process that has always been driven by debates and controversies, from which a consensus eventually and temporarily emerges within the scientific community, all against a specific cultural and political background. The desire to interact with the public is therefore incredibly important: it is crucial to listen to citizens' perspectives and their questions by enabling direct links with scientists and giving them the chance to experiment and manipulate.

Archaeology is a discipline that is part of a mission to encourage better knowledge and preservation of heritage. It is interdisciplinary, concerning both the human and 'hard' sciences, dependent on practice in the field. So, how do we reach out to as many people as possible with 'archaeology-in-the-making'? The opening of excavation sites is an important part of the European Archaeological Days (Figure 6).

In 2019, 32 Open Days were held at excavation site in France during the European Archaeology Days, most of which involved preventive archaeology. This type of event can attract a large audience of around 1,000 people in one day. The reasons for this success are: public interest in the discipline; local factors: this is 'our history'; the fact that excavation sites are not usually open to the public.



Figure 6. Open doors of an excavation site in Narbonne (France). © Myr Muratet, Inrap

A preventive excavation site is not normally accessible to the public, so significant preparatory work is required in terms of logistics, site safety, accessibility and communication. Opening dig sites and research centres to the public is the kind of event that presents significant challenges for implementation. It is also a means of doing away with the clichés surrounding archaeology and showing what the profession is really about. Being accessible is key, which means meetings with professionals.

It is also important that the moment remains 'exceptional', giving visitors a glimpse of what goes on 'behind the scenes' at a heritage site, something that non-professionals don't usually get to see. This increases the appeal and the value of the moment. The various surveys we have carried out among visitors show that opening excavation sites draws a new set of visitors who had never been to an archaeological site or museum before. Of course this is precisely one of the main objectives of the European Archaeology Days: attracting new audiences to archaeology.

Museums are also a suitable venue for presenting 'archaeology in the making' (Figure 7). They can be transformed into 'archaeological laboratories' at no additional cost. They



Figure 7. Open doors of the Underwater Archaeology Centre of Cadiz (Spain).

© Andalusian Regional Government

already bring together researchers and experts working in the field and are able to exhibit the entire archaeological process.

On a site, it is impossible to let people take part in the excavation. However, with the archaeologists' help, this activity can be reproduced in a museum (Figure 8). In addition, museums bring together researchers and give them a chance to talk to the public, recreating laboratory conditions and enabling close contact. In addition, museums can open the areas where archaeological objects are stored, offering small group visits.

Museums are an ideal place for 'archaeology-in-the-making', although of course, going out into the field remains particularly important. In museums, communication is the task of cultural mediators and experts, while archaeologists do not necessarily have the opportunity to speak to the public. Focus on the field, either at an excavation site or in a laboratory, makes it possible to forge links with visitors who are always keen to meet archaeologists and professionals.

How can we develop the European Archaeology Days?

In France, Inrap plays a coordinating role and provides its services to organisers, including as a website (journées-archeologie.fr), downloadable communication



Figure 8. Excavation simulation workshop at the National Museum of Lithuania.

© National Museum of Lithuania

materials and media partnerships to promote the event as widely as possible. Another of the Institute's tasks is to mobilise stakeholders from across the region, 'from dig to museum'.

The event has only been able to reach its audience thanks to national communication efforts headed by Inrap, a national organisation, backed by work from the event organisers via their usual networks. The organisation chosen by France is linked to the French model of heritage protection: national centralisation, local variations. This is not a model to be duplicated, but an example that corresponds to the way the French administration operates.

Depending on the legislation and territorial organisations of each of the countries participating in the EADs, other forms of organisation of these days will be put in place. It is therefore important that the public and national authorities in charge of archaeology in the European countries involved are able to coordinate the event in their countries and include it in their overall policy of promoting archaeological heritage.

We therefore need to set up a network of national correspondents in each country, who will be responsible for mobilising stakeholders and communicating on the event. In 2020, 12 countries took on the organisation of the European Archaeology Days in their country (Figure 9).



Figure 9. Excavation simulation workshop at the Zemeraj Nature Adventure Park (Czech Republic).
© Zemeraj Nature Adventure Park

Finally, what is the context for development of the European Archaeology Days? The most appropriate framework is the Malta Convention, adopted on 16 January 1992 in Valletta within the framework of the Council of Europe. This convention, which provides the legal basis for the core principles to be applied by national policies designed to protect archaeological objects, advocates (Article 9) a policy of “promotion of public awareness” which is defined further:

Each Party undertakes:

- to conduct educational actions with a view to rousing and developing an awareness in public opinion of the value of the archaeological heritage for understanding the past and of the threats to this heritage.
- to promote public access to important elements of its archaeological heritage, especially sites, and encourage the display to the public of suitable selections of archaeological objects.

This ‘public awareness’ policy seems to be the most appropriate framework to make these EADs shine.

How Quickly Should Public Benefit Come from Archaeology? Availability, Use And Influence on Society: Results of the Estonian Salvage and Metal Detector Study

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Keywords: Estonia, social media, metal detecting, professionalisation, museums, public understanding

Abstract: This paper explores the idea of excavation being only the first stage in communicating the benefit of archaeology to the public. The role of museums, social media and scientific publication are all important, as are the support from private developers and the personal role of the archaeologists themselves. The use of social media can be positive but this paper also details problems with metal detectorists groups, some of which are not acting responsibly.

In 1980, an Estonian puppet animation entitled 'Välele Vibulane'¹ about the life of Stone Age people appeared on TV. Two boys from a tribe of mammoth hunters went to find fire, because their tribe was not able to light the fire itself. Through adventures, they reached a tribe of farmers, where they learned to make fire, bore a hole into a stone, make pottery and use a wheel (Figure 1). As someone who studied Stone Age archaeology, while reviewing the film I discovered how scholarly inaccurate it is – Palaeolithic and Neolithic were hopelessly mixed and the references to Estonian Stone Age material culture were extremely stylised. However, to my surprise, I have to admit that the description of the everyday life of the Stone Age as depicted in the animation has become deeply rooted into my subconscious and impacted upon my thoughts about the period.

¹ Based on a story "Kotkakoopa poeg" by Elar Kuus; directed by Heino Pars. Tallinnfilm 1980. – Estonian Film Database. Available online (accessed 19.09.2020): <https://www.efis.ee/et/filmiidid/film/id/7317/>



Figure 1. Frames from the animation “Välek Vibulane” (Tallinnfilm 1980). Stone axes with bored holes depicted on the first frame started to be used on the territory of present-day Estonia when the Battle Axe and Corded Ware culture appeared (Johanson 2006, 100–101) about 3000 BC (Kriiska 2000, 75). On the second frame one can see pots decorated with comb impressions, pits and dimples. These pots had conical (not flat) bottoms; the first flat bottom vessels appeared with the Corded Ware culture, these were mainly ornamented by cord impressions, notches, and grooves (Kriiska 2000, 64–70)

During my 15 years of work in heritage management, I have constantly been in discussion with owners, developers, people from municipalities, and state institutions, who manage land where archaeological heritage is situated (Kadakas & Lillak, 2019, 52). Together with my colleagues from the National Heritage Board, I explain daily the significance of archaeological heritage, values of preservation, and the necessity of study before the excavation. Often the owners raise questions: why is it necessary to do the fieldwork; what benefit can be expected from the excavation of these specific settlement layers; or from studying inhumation burials from the Christian period? Given the context of the personal example presented at the beginning of the paper and the discussions in my everyday work, there is a reason to ask: how quickly should public benefit of archaeology appear and how quickly in fact does it appear, if at all?

In this paper I will give an overview of the present situation of archaeological research in Estonia: mostly salvage work and metal detecting; and how the results of research are introduced to the wider audience in the national and local media, museums, and further in art and literature. Based on my experience I describe how archaeology is seen by Estonian society. Finally, I will discuss how much general public benefit occurs or could occur during archaeological fieldwork.

Situation of defence management of the archaeological heritage in Estonia

The Heritage Conservation Act of Estonia (HCA 2019) follows the principles of the European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage, adopted in 1992 (Malta Convention 1992): the maintenance of an inventory of archaeological heritage, the mandatory reporting by a finder of a chance discovery, to ensure that

excavations are carried out only by qualified persons, and that archaeological heritage is reflected in planning policies etc (Kadakas 2017).

Annually the National Heritage Board goes through over 500 development plans for projects that concern archaeological heritage. Archaeological field studies are required and carried out where necessary. Since 2019 a partial financial compensation for the research to the owners is designated (HCA 2019, § 48). At present it is up to 1000–1500 euros for one project, sufficient in the case of small watching briefs but not enough to cover larger excavations.

As also mentioned in the Valetta Convention (Malta Convention 1992, preamble, 3, iii), metal detecting influences the preservation of archaeological heritage. Estonia has imposed a system of certificates for using metal detectors. To qualify for a certificate, one has to go through special training.² One has to send a notification before going into the field and later present a fieldwork report, which should include information about the fieldwork spots and finds (HCA 2019, § 29). It is possible to get a (monetary) award for presenting the discovered artefacts (HCA 2019, § 28) and the number of people metal detecting for valuable historical artefacts is enormous compared to the number of academic scholars. According to the national registry of cultural monuments (KMR) 30 archaeologists have a certificate of competence,³ but there are c. 500 certificates for use of a metal detector. Based on the size of the social media groups of metal detector enthusiasts, the real number of detectorists is much larger (e.g. the Facebook group “Eesti detektoristid” includes about 2400 people⁴).

Based on my professional experience I would divide the detectorists into two major groups: those who follow the rules in principle and those who act illegally. The first group includes many serious local history enthusiasts, who want to learn about the earlier history of the area, are sincerely interested and cooperate with archaeologists.⁵ The illegal detectorists see detectorism as a profitable source of (extra) money from the state: if the state wants the artefacts, it should pay for these. As workers of the NHC we register signs of illegal activities when inspecting the protected areas, but local people also speak about detectorists who act under cover of night. In a few cases, in

² During the training cultural heritage (and archaeological heritage in particular) and the system of protection is introduced, how to recognise archaeological heritage in the landscape, typical find materials and find contexts are taught; but also information regarding fire arms, explosive devices and war graves because there are a lot of remnants of the 20th century wars in the fields and forests of Estonia.

³ However, the number of people with an education in archaeology is bigger: in 2014 there were 121 (DISCO 2014, 18).

⁴ It also includes archaeologists and people who just take an interest.

⁵ E. g. a group of enthusiasts acting under the name Ajakihid (<http://ajakihid.ee/>) has noted on their home page that they are dedicated to the study, preservation and propaganda of Estonian folklore, traditions and mythology. In their activities they closely cooperate with archaeologists. In addition to them, there are many other unorganised enthusiasts who help archaeologists by looking through soil during salvage works.

cooperation with police, it has been possible to catch the looter(s) (Kretova 2018), but usually they remain unidentified.

Popularisation of the process and results of archaeological studies

In the new HCA effective since 1st of May 2019 it is defined that

‘An archaeological monument is the remains, thing or set of things of human activity and other traces which indicate the multiple layers of time on a cultural landscape and which provide scientific information on the history of mankind and human relations with the natural environment. An archaeological layer is an important part of an archaeological monument (HCA 2019, § 11).’

Archaeological study and popularisation of results are necessary for deeper understanding of the temporal layers of cultural landscape. Most of the field studies are salvage works (Russow et al. 2019, 9–10), which are done as fast as possible with limited resources. The archaeologist usually does not have time (and knowledge) to do press and publicity; the state Heritage Board has no resources for this either. A few commercial companies have accounts on social media, with c. 400 followers.⁶ More interesting finds (both artefacts and structures) from current excavations are introduced in social media posts, although presentation of finds from different periods does not provide a synthesised narrative to the public. However, based on the comments on the pictures, it can be said that information about archaeology presented like this arises positive feelings in the observers. The only journal of archaeology for the wider audience of Estonia has about 1000 online followers,⁷ including journalists. This page introduces information about current fieldwork in Estonia, and research articles by Estonian scholars, as well as exhibitions and events.

More significant and long-lasting salvage excavations (about 15–20 per year) almost always attract the attention of both local and national media. In most cases the story is presented as news (what the archaeologists discovered) and/or as a problem (if and how much it will hinder the construction work). This is understandable, because the larger excavations usually take place in towns, where construction work often disturbs the everyday life. Usually, the prior work done by the NHC is not referred to, including the previous knowledge about the studied area, and why and for what reason the field research was required.

Every year a scholarly collection of articles describing the fieldwork results of the previous year is published,⁸ mostly in English and targeted to specialists both at home

⁶ The company Arheox OÜ had 376 followers on 11.09.2020 on its Instagram account (<https://www.instagram.com/arheoxltd/>).

⁷ The Facebook account of the journal Tutulus (<https://www.facebook.com/ajakiritutulus/>) had 972 followers on 25.04.2020.

⁸ Archaeological Fieldwork in Estonia (<https://arheoloogia.ee/kirjandus/arheoloogilised-valitood-eestis/>).

and abroad. The aim of the articles is to present the primary results of fieldwork, without the ambition to generalise research results. To the Estonian speaking audience, knowledge about archaeology is communicated through media; the above-mentioned journal *Tutulus* or the collected articles from local museums. These articles synthesise the results, explain the context, and enable the reader to understand the historical sites and events. Besides the written output the archaeological discoveries also result in museum exhibitions, whereby in addition to permanent exhibitions thematic temporary exhibitions are produced, concerning a particular region or topic of history.

The question of money

During everyday communication with landowners, developers, hobby metal detectorists and journalists, ie people who do not work in the field of heritage, a rather ambivalent attitude towards archaeology can be observed. On the first moment of direct contact with archaeology, e. g. finding artefacts or learning about the requirement to carry out field study, everything is reduced to two questions: why does the research cost so much, and how much money could I get for this artefact?

The HCA stipulates the precautionary principle as the general main principle in the field of organising protection (HCA 2019, § 3, 43) and preventing the destruction of heritage (§ 33), i. e. it is in the public interest to keep the *status quo* on the landscape. Therefore, it is the obligation of the person who wants to develop a site to pay for all expenses. It has been observed during direct communication with landowners, that despite this the requirement to pay for the archaeological study is seen as unjust. It is understandable, if the polluter pays principle seems unjust for a private person who wants to join his or her house to the water or sewer mains, but also in case of large developments the owners think that if public interest is behind the necessity for archaeological study, then the public should pay 100% for it as well. One does not feel him- or herself as part of the society while using the private property, although cultural heritage is for everyone, and therefore is also everyone's responsibility (Faro Convention 2005, article 4).

Based on my everyday experience of contact with hobby metal detectorists, I can say that in case of much more than half of the detectorists, landowners and people just standing by, it is usual to try to figure out the monetary value of the artefacts. Calculating the value of 'movables' with cultural value on a monetary value scale is a simplified

interpretation of the Property Law,⁹ which creates a feeling of incommensurability in this conflict of values between the archaeologists and hobbyists.¹⁰

As I wrote above, after imposing the requirement of fieldwork or appearance of artefacts from the ground, all other values will be overshadowed by the topic of money. In this conflict the HCA should guarantee that the heritage values are taken into account or are even given advantage. Such a beneficial HCA can be sustained only with the support of the wider audience and the decision makers (MPs). In order to maintain the support, the archaeological heritage and its research as public and general benefit should be evident. Public support for the requirement of excavation before development can be sustained only with the help of continuous popularisation of the fieldwork results.

Professionalisation of the fields of heritage

During the last two centuries, a hobby of the Enlightenment Period has become the scholarly study of archaeology. Researchers specialise in regions, periods, groups of archaeological material, types of sites or technologies, amongst many others. The result of specialisation and professionalisation is a deeper scholarly understanding, but at the same time, the field is moving away from the general public. It brings respect but also disbelief and suspicion (why should we pay for something which we do not understand?).

⁹ Archaeological artefacts are ‘movables’, which means that Property Law is the basis for the regulation presented in the HCA. Property Law is part of Private Law. Estonian law as a whole is based on German law (Pärnamägi 2014), which also includes Swiss law, which is usually referred to in the explanatory memorandum of the regulation of cache finds in the Property Law of Estonia (Varul et al. 2014, 466). It is based on classical Roman law according to which some material objects and features were considered to be more special than others; usually these special, objects – important to the community – were not considered to be part of private property (Siimets-Gross 2002, 49–69). Such a view and division of objects probably comes from even deeper history, from traditional societies, where the commands, forbiddances and taboos directed the behaviour of people in such places and objects considered to be holy. The status of special objects has been elaborated and developed throughout history, but at some point of time all objects found buried underground (old artefacts) or just without an owner (game, fish) were declared to be royal property. In republics the objects were redefined as property of the people.

¹⁰ The term Incommensurability is used in philosophy of science, which comes from the principle of the theory of dependence of observations. The meaning and interpretation of concepts, as well as the decisions of observation, implemented by these, always depend on the theoretical context surrounding these. The main principles of the two competing theories may disparately differ from each other. Therefore, it is not possible to explain the basic concepts of one theory in the language of another. In consequence, the two competing theories do not have a single conclusion in common. Therefore, it is not possible to compare these theories based on logic (Chalmers 1998, 191–194). I refer to a situation described above, when upon emergence of archaeological heritage, the values of different groups of people are so different, that it is not possible to find a common view in practical life.

Besides archaeology, heritage management has also professionalised and become a discipline of its own. Here again the professionalisation has brought with it a migration away from the general public with the values described by professionals often not understood, eg. the owners and developers often find it difficult to understand why they are not allowed to restore a ruined building; why should the new be distinguishable from the old etc. The more complicated the field becomes, the harder it is to keep the general public informed, the arguments become more complicated and are difficult to follow without the background knowledge, causing distrust.

Museums, which in Estonia are the main communicators of archaeological knowledge, have also been in constant development. In the professionalisation of museology a shift in the opposite direction to that of archaeology and heritage management can be observed, with the main focus of museology (at least in the second half of the 20th century) being vigorous movement towards the (local) people. Museums have been developed into regional centres of culture and entertainment, carrying out studies, mediating, encouraging people to ask questions, and offering a 'wow' experience. Referring to the concept of the three socio-technical stages of culture, concerning the creation of social and economic values by Pier Luigi Sacco, it could be said that the museums of Estonia are in the stage of culture 2.0, and some probably in 3.0. It means that the stage 1.0 where museums were considered to be temples of knowledge, has been passed. Currently the museums are passing through the stage of being a place of entertainment, to become a platform for the community (Sacco 2018). This also offers a possibility for archaeology: to bring the communities closer to the apparently incomprehensible heaps of soil, complicated typologies, or new knowledge about the life and activities of predecessors, with the help of the natural sciences.

Archaeological heritage as public benefit during field study

Despite the fact that archaeological heritage is one part of heritage management, in close connection to cultural landscape, property and income/expenditure, it is not possible to understand this type of heritage without scholarly research. It means that the role of the specialist in contextualisation of heritage and description of values cannot be underestimated.

It is not possible to get a public benefit that would be understandable for everyone, from every salvage excavation episode, during the fieldwork alone. During the last 10 years about 90%, in some years even 99% of the total excavations have been salvage excavations, of which 75% take place in towns or medieval centres like churches and castles (Figure 2). Due to this, the salvage archaeologists cannot work often in e.g. Stone Age or Early Metal (Bronze) Age sites and keep themselves updated with the research problems of a particular period or monument type. The archaeologist responsible for a salvage excavation may lack the "big picture" about every period. Minimal analysis is done during the salvage works, so the essence of the site may reveal itself only later, when a specialised researcher reaches the collected material. If the salvage archaeologist lacks deeper knowledge about the potential of a particular site, an interview given from the trench may give the public an impression that the

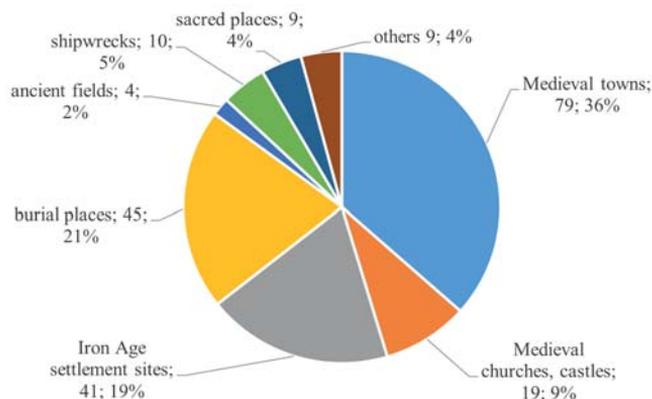


Figure 2. Types of archaeological heritage studied in 2019. Source: National Heritage Board, Estonia

decision by the Heritage Board to demand the archaeological study is not founded and justified.

Many field studies take place on sites where there is almost no archaeological material that would be recognisable to the wider public. Until the 13th century the building traditions of Estonia did not include lime mortar, with timber, thatch, straw, clay and dry wall used at this time. Very early horizontal beam structures started to dominate, which leave almost no traces into the soil, compared with post constructions. Therefore, the traces of prehistoric settlement are very faint in the landscape. Only artefacts, burned stones, working and food remains mark the cultural layer and when lucky, one can find traces of a fireplace (Figure 3) or 3–4 stones that mark a foundation of a house.



Figure 3. A hypothetical fireplace from the 10th–17th c. in a settlement site of Viira on the island of Muhu. The stratigraphy of the soil layers is impossible to understand without archaeological expertise (Photo: Rivo Bernotas)

Many villages of Estonia have been situated in the same place for at least 1000 years. Therefore, the earlier settlement structures are often disturbed by later ploughing or construction work. Often only a few shards of pottery refer to settlement of the Bronze or Early Iron Age within a later settlement site. If the salvage archaeologist is not able to distinguish the Early Metal Age artefacts, he or she will obviously not notice their potential. Often a single shard of pottery does not speak alone, and only a synthesised study can tell us whether we have a settlement pattern of single farmsteads of villages, are there any of the peculiarities of coastal and inland settlements etc.

Salvage studies are always carried out with limited budget. The developer wants the field study to take place as fast and smoothly as possible, so that it will not hinder the construction process. Therefore, the activities provided for the public also have to be limited. It can happen during development that the developers do not want any publicity of the discovered heritage, e.g. when new residential houses are being built on top of a former cemetery. In case of other types of heritage, there are many examples where the developer has initiated publicity, getting a positive advertising for its business. In Tallinn in 2015 a development company Metro Capital OÜ popularized the discovery and field study of a medieval ship, and a construction company YIT AS organized several events in 2018 during the field study of a suburban dump site with exceptionally well-preserved medieval artefacts.¹¹

As mentioned by archaeologist Tõnno Jonuks at a seminar organized by NHB for archaeologists on 31 January 2020, on sites where publicity cannot be done for the reasons mentioned above, the archaeologist with his or her personality and attitude can still create a positive impression. The knowledge will reach the community through personal contacts and can create a positive background to understand the necessity of the field study. 200–250 field study episodes take place in Estonia in a year, 2/3 of these are various minor watching briefs – laying of powerlines, pipes for water and sewage (Russow et al. 2019, 12). Such works often last 1 or 2 days, a week or two in case of major pipelines. During such a time, an archaeologist probably meets 3–10 people, who can learn what and why is studied. Jonuks said at the seminar that the impression about the work of the archaeologist depends very much on the personality of the archaeologist and on how he or she positions him- or herself compared to the developer and construction workers: is he or she a member of the team, who has to find good solutions to fit the construction work with the necessities of archaeology, or is he or she only the Big Scholar, bored by the lack of spectacular finds, with a patronising attitude to the construction workers, which does not help to develop a good public image of archaeology. With personal contacts, during one year Estonian archaeology can reach to 1000–2000 people, who perhaps would talk about their experience to another ten people (friends, family). This way about 20,000 people in Estonia may hear something about archaeological heritage each year, which includes about 1.5% of our population. Is it few or many?

¹¹ Press notice of YIT OÜ: 'The largest medieval find assemblage in Estonia has been discovered on a construction site in Kalamaja'. Available online on the home page of YIT OÜ in 20.09.2020: <https://www.yit.ee/ettevottest/uudised/2018/pressiteade-vaike-patarei-jahu-krundi-ajaloolised-leiud>

Conclusion

If we look around, the influence of cultural heritage on our everyday life can be observed. Historical sources, including the archaeological sites and artefacts, provide people with employment. We see elements of heritage, including archaeology in art – from handicraft to high culture. Via literature and films based on history we study our story of becoming human and also describe the present-day life.

If we were to take archaeology as a scholarly discipline out of the interpretive and educational process of archaeological heritage, we would fall back to the early times of archaeology, the amateur collectors of curiosities. We have gained a lot of knowledge during the last centuries thanks to the professionalisation of archaeology, we have learned to see and contextualise cultures and features long gone. Therefore, it seems unlikely that the local communities would abandon such a potential to gain deep and content-rich knowledge. If archaeological excavations have taken place in the area, it has been broadcasted on news, the local museum has made an exhibition with related activities, then it can be seen, how the local people start to see their area with new eyes, and the interest in bringing the surroundings of archaeological monuments into an orderly state starts to develop.

Archaeological field study is one of the first 'pieces in the chain' in the process of understanding the archaeological heritage; the public benefit for the heritage community appears only when one looks at all the 'pieces in the chain' as a whole.

In order that people consider the archaeological heritage as a natural and undetachable part of landscape, understand and appreciate the essential values of it, the awareness of history has to grow considerably. In Estonia the media and the archaeologists work to achieve this, although it is mainly the contemporary museums who are successful, working actively with the marketing of history and engagement with the public. Based on the knowledge and experience obtained, other kinds of culture are created, from literature and films to computer games. Every such element brings the awareness of the values of history closer to people.

It is not possible to measure the benefit of every single archaeological field study for the public. It is the job of archaeologist to mine 'raw material', which is 'refined' through synthesis by the specialised scholars, popularised by the museums, and 'finished' by the creators of culture, from artisans to directors of films which become cult classics. The more we know about history, the more meaningful culture we can create, as once said Estonian art historian Villem Raam. Then the generations of future could possibly be content with us, as I am content with the creators of the animation 'Väleik Vibulane', thanks to whom I possibly studied archaeology.

Translated by Villu Kadakas

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Prehistory, Playhouses and the Public. London's Planning Archaeology

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Keywords: London, development control, planning conditions, public benefit, public outreach, Elizabethan playhouses, attractions, economics

Abstract: Three recent examples of public benefit following archaeological discoveries in London are presented, alongside an explanation of the policy context that supports them. The examples are provided from the perspective of planning archaeologists who advise decision makers and developers on managing archaeological sites in compliance with local and national policy.

The cases illustrate ad hoc public benefits secured both following surprise discoveries at an excavation in Tottenham, and also long term benefits resulting from staged investigation and negotiation of two Elizabethan playhouses in Shoreditch and Aldgate. We discuss issues around encouraging and operating permanent visitor attractions and how to best secure the benefits deriving from those places through the UK planning system. We suggest some ways for this young field to develop further.

Introduction to the Greater London Archaeological Advice Service (GLAAS) and the policy context

As planning archaeologists at the Greater London Archaeological Advisory Service, we work to create different types of public benefit from commercial archaeological projects. Although a part of England's national heritage body (Historic England) GLAAS exists to provide archaeological planning advice to local planning authorities in London, similar to the role of County Archaeologists in the rest of England. GLAAS advises all the London planning authorities except for the square mile of the City of London itself and the London Borough of Southwark, which both have their own advisers.

Recent changes in national and regional public policy in the UK, as well as specific government initiatives resulting from those, have emphasised the aim of securing clear public benefit as an outcome of decision making. These changes include new national laws such as the Public Service (Social Value) Act, 2012, policy updates such as the 2015 government adoption of the UN Sustainable Development Goals, as well as more locally focused measures such as the Mayor of London's emerging London Plan.

In relation to archaeology, the spirit of these changes can also be traced back to the principles of the 1992 Valletta convention, specifically Article 9 on the promotion of public awareness. This seeks to encourage public awareness in the value of archaeological heritage for understanding the past, and seeks to promote public access to archaeological sites and finds displays.

Alongside this, the application of archaeological participation to the fields of wellbeing and mental health is being increasingly discussed as a desirable outcome in heritage work (Reilly, Nolan & Monkton 2018).

Aims around public benefit are embedded in England's National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) (UK Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2012), the policy context in which our work in managing the archaeological impact of new development takes place. The NPPF emphasises the desirability of developers and planning authorities recognising the cultural, economic and social benefits of positive heritage management in new development schemes, encourages new development to contribute to local character and identity, and also requires developments to enhance the significance and public understanding of the heritage assets they affect.

Development since 2012 must accord with the heritage elements of the NPPF, and GLAAS encourage this from an early stage in project planning. Developer-funded archaeological investigation and arising public benefits can be included as conditions of planning consents granted under the NPPF. Sympathetic management of archaeological heritage in a final scheme can be a factor in positively determining a planning application.

The following will highlight some of the ways in which we can secure public benefit, and give some high profile examples of archaeological projects in London that are resulting in permanent cultural benefits, as well as gains for the heritage involved.

Securing public benefits

We have grouped our methods for securing public benefits into four sometimes overlapping categories:

1. Standard planning condition

At the most basic level, public benefit is integrated into GLAAS' day to day advice within the wording of our standard planning condition, which states that an approved written scheme of investigation for archaeological fieldwork must include: ... *details of a programme for delivering related positive public benefits (where appropriate).*

This provides developers with the opportunity to incorporate a programme of public outreach into the archaeological work phase of their project, and also gives curators a fall-back if unexpected discoveries on a site mean that it would be beneficial to the public to find out more about the site through for example open days, social media and talks to local interest groups. However, the general wording of the condition

means the scale and ambition of the work involved is left open to interpretation by planning officials, a developer and their consultants.

2. *Bespoke planning condition*

For sites where there is a known high potential for archaeological remains, we have the option to prepare a bespoke planning condition in addition to the fieldwork condition, to specify that a more involved programme of public outreach is necessary. This would require its own method statement to be submitted and approved, and could for example contain details of the number of public open days to take place during the excavations, provision of intellectually accessible interpretative materials and holding educational activities for local schools.

3. *Section 106 agreement*

For the highest profile sites, the most secure way to ensure relevant public benefit takes place is through a legal agreement such as a Section 106 agreement. This is a legally binding way of guaranteeing the resources are available to make the public benefit element happen. It applies most often to cases with significant archaeological remains that are to be preserved *in situ* and put on permanent display, or where part of a development scheme is to be used for cultural activities associated with the heritage of the site, for example an on-site museum or performance space.

4. *Ad hoc arrangements*

On other sites, activities involving the public can happen in an ad hoc way, for example if outstanding and unexpected discoveries warrant extra publicity. This could take the form of a spontaneous site open day, or a press release during or shortly after the fieldwork stage. This requires goodwill from and negotiation with a developer who will be juggling various commitments and a development timetable alongside the archaeological issue.

This was the case for a site we were advising on recently in Tottenham in north London, see below.

Welbourne, London Borough of Haringey

The Welbourne site in Tottenham Hale was part of a large multi-site regeneration scheme. The archaeological planning condition had been applied a number of years ago and its wording pre-dated our current version, omitting public benefit. This meant that archaeological fieldwork and journal publication alone would satisfy the planning condition. However, once the archaeological fieldwork started, it quickly became apparent that the site contained significant and unexpected archaeological remains relating to Saxon settlement in Tottenham and some extensive early Mesolithic finds likely representing a "home base" site.

In the resulting discussions with the developer, GLAAS and the archaeological contractors endeavoured to draw out the significance of the archaeological remains, and the benefits of opening up the site to the public as a way of letting local people who had often been hostile to the development know what was being found there. Despite



Figure 1. Schoolchildren on site.
© Pre-Construct Archaeology Ltd

this leading to extra work and potential delays in their development programme, the developer agreed to open up the site for a day: the morning for school groups to visit and the afternoon as a drop in session for members of the public (Figure 1). The events were led by the site archaeological contractor, Pre-Construct Archaeology.

The archaeologists on site explained the archaeological findings to around 180 local school children in the morning, as well as describing the archaeological process. The children and their teachers were engaged and enthused about the archaeology and about learning more about how the landscape had looked in their local area thousands of years ago. During the afternoon over 100 members of the public attended the site, and many gave positive feedback in person and on social media (Figure 2).



Figure 2. Explaining artefacts.
© Pre-Construct Archaeology Ltd

Despite the success of the event, some issues were highlighted in running events like this in an ad hoc way. Primarily, the speed in which the organisation of the event had to take place meant there was no audience development work to target diverse groups of people, and there was no real ability to widely advertise the events. This resulted in the public open afternoon being mainly attended by people who were already heavily involved in heritage and archaeology in London through local societies or personal associations with professional archaeologists.

Historic England prepared a press release, however the developer did not want this disseminated outside the local area, and also wanted restrictions on social media use. These are common issues that are encountered when archaeological fieldwork is on-going on a site. Developers can be understandably guarded and cautious about letting people know what is happening on sites, especially if there is local opposition to a development as a whole. This demonstrates that there is a limit to what can be achieved when this type of event is not programmed in from the project inception. Doing something is obviously better than nothing, however the impact is limited, and public engagement work undertaken in an ad hoc way doesn't help to formalise the approach, or help to make it a fundamental element of the archaeological work as a whole.

Additionally, within commercial archaeology there are relatively few professional archaeologists who are qualified and experienced in organising, promoting and delivering events like this, and to do the face to face explaining of archaeology to different audiences. There are many people who do a brilliant job of stepping in, leading site tours and enthusiastically engaging people by talking about finds; but those individuals are likely to be asked to participate again and again and may not necessarily always want to do what is often a demanding and exhausting role.

Although encouraged to try to count numbers of visitors, the few archaeological staff were not able to monitor entries nor gather structured feedback, which was a missed opportunity from what was a popular event.

Although some archaeological organisations have a specific education and outreach department, for many it is not a formalised role. This highlights the crucial importance of having trained outreach staff. We are hopeful that the more opportunities for events like this that we as curators push for, the more reasons archaeological organisations will have to take it seriously and employ qualified staff.

Two playhouses

The remaining case studies concern two preserved late sixteenth century Elizabethan playhouses in the centre of London. These are sites of national importance in the UK, being some of the country's first purpose-built theatres and thus the earliest ancestors of the places where the English dramatic tradition developed, traced all the way through from the time of William Shakespeare to the modern West End today.

The first successful purpose-built public playhouse in England was called simply The Theatre and opened in 1576 in Shoreditch (Bowsher 2012). It hosted William Shakespeare's company and staged his plays at the beginning of his career.

The Boar's Head was another playhouse, built a little later in 1598, that stood behind an inn of the same name near Aldgate. It has connections with many other Elizabethan theatrical figures – actors, playwrights and impresarios such as Thomas Middleton, Thomas Heywood and Will Kemp (Berry 1986).

Academic and public interest in these historical performance spaces straddles the archaeological and the theatrical sectors, something which opens up opportunities for us to connect the two fields and benefit the public's experience of both. This can include less tangible benefits such as the leverage of art and culture in a heritage context to address mental health and wellbeing matters.

We have long known the approximate locations of both playhouses from historical records, but the sites were deeply buried under nineteenth and twentieth century buildings and deposits. It was only when private developers sought to build on the sites, as part of London's recent property boom, that an opportunity arose to examine and positively manage them.

The sites had no legal protection at the time and were managed through the UK planning system rather than through more robust ancient monuments legislation. The Theatre has since been protected as a Scheduled Monument in UK law, as a result of the developer-funded investigations carried out.

The Theatre, London Borough of Hackney

Archaeological work ten years ago first revealed the remains of the north east corner of The Theatre, as well as some of its ancillary buildings (Knight 2013). The remains were fragmentary but still very legible. As well as the 1576 playhouse, the archaeological work showed the company's re-use of buildings and material from Holywell Priory, a mediaeval nunnery that preceded The Theatre.

These structures seem to have been used as the box office, prop or costume stores, or possibly as dressing rooms, helping to shed light on the operation and backstage organisation of these early sites (Figure 3 and Figure 4).

The site developers are a charitable trust, and from the beginning they acknowledged the importance of the site and its archaeological remains. They wanted to include preserved remains in a design for a new, modern playhouse on the site, one that demonstrated continuity with the site's Shakespearean heritage.

A decade ago, UK public policy was not as alive to the opportunities that archaeology can offer to show off a place's distinctive character and how it can contribute to healthy, sustainable and economically vibrant communities. Policy had not caught up with

Figure 3. Excavation works.
© MOLA



archaeologists' aspirations for public benefit and focused on recording of remains and preservation without display.

However, the developers wanted to preserve and enhance the site's heritage voluntarily, and Historic England supported them in pursuing their dream of building a new playhouse that respected and celebrated the old one. We hoped that the case would be an exemplar for the future, albeit a rare and very specific one. The site of the first successful playhouse in England would, we planned, become one of London's first privately funded arts and archaeology sites, with free access to the remains for the public.

The developer's aims to build a modern playhouse on a space-constrained site met many subsequent challenges, not just archaeological ones but also challenges over engineering, providing modern facilities and safety measures, meeting building height regulations in a Conservation Area and party wall issues with neighbouring properties.



Figure 4. Excavated floor tiles.
© MOLA

Four or five early design options reached us for comment, some with the remains on display in a basement, some with them covered over but visible through the floor, some with the remains left ‘floating’ over a deeper basement beneath.

After seven years of changing plans it became clear that the dream of building a new Theatre on the site of the old was not feasible on this site. It simply wasn’t practical to have modern fire and access provision, scope for backstage space, and catering alongside a reasonable number of seats.

New planning policy had developed in the interim too, in the form of the NPPF – policy that took greater account of developers providing demonstrable public benefit. In 2017, under this new planning policy regime, GLAAS and the developer entered into new discussions over a commercial office block at the site, instead of a new theatre. The new build was to be called The Box Office.

The proposals had changed but we were now armed with new thinking and up to date policy about what public benefit from the scheme might look like, and these heavily influenced the result in responding to a now very commercial development.

Specialist Historic England colleagues, the developer’s archaeologists, their architects and museum consultants and GLAAS all influenced the content and practical details of the scheme as it has developed into reality.

The Box Office scheme will open in autumn 2021. Figure 5 shows a mock-up of what at the time of writing is almost fully built and fitted out, having had its opening delayed by Covid.

Although the site will have four floors of private offices above, the ground floor will become a free to enter exhibition space, with the characteristic polygonal playhouse form beneath marked out on the ground in plan. Alongside the physical display inside, there is an extensive programme of cultural and educational events, online material and collections and curatorial input from the Victoria and Albert Museum.

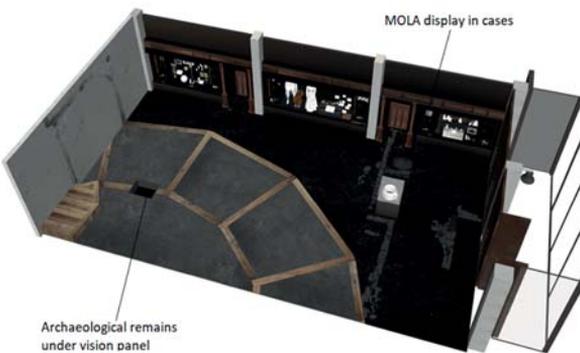


Figure 5. Exhibition space on the ground floor. © Nissen Richards Studio

Figure 6. Exterior of
"The Box Office" development.
© Gallus Studio



Throughout the exhibition development stage, GLAAS bore in mind what we understood to be the main principles of public benefit – intellectual and physical access, an explicit schools and education aim, and also positively responding to and enhancing both the significance of the remains and the area's unique local character as London's first theatreland. This included securing links with another nearby Shakespearean playhouse, the also recently excavated Curtain Theatre, where GLAAS have helped guide the creation of public benefits in a new development, showing how one exemplar scheme can act as a spur to maximise the benefits from subsequent discoveries of the same type.

Above is a mock-up of the exterior of the new building, which at the time of writing is almost complete (Figure 6).

The local council had a number of aspirations for the local street scene and public realm. They had long considered the street to be dowdy and underutilised and it was straightforward to persuade them that continuing the heritage display into the public realm could help achieve the more engaging and attractive streetscape they desired.

Figure 6 shows the planned shared space outside, with Tudor brick diapering design on the walls and pavements, the building frontage designed to look like Elizabethan theatre galleries and a bench statue of Shakespeare himself for immortal selfies.

Despite long term management concerns from the archaeologists, the local council were firm that a glass floor displaying some of the physical remains be included as a public benefit.

As the playhouse archaeology sits on the natural geology, there are some outstanding worries regarding the illuminated display going mouldy and growing moss. The display was something that the council members would not negotiate on and so contingency to monitor and rebury the remains had been included in the consent regime, should they begin to deteriorate in the future.

The Boar’s Head, London Borough of Tower Hamlets

The site of the Boar’s Head playhouse boasted similar remains, but its circumstances were different. The site was acquired by a commercial developer of student housing who sought to build a 24 storey tower, along with a double basement beneath.

The developer’s archaeological consultants had considered the possibility of encountering remains of the playhouse in their initial scoping report, but despite the positive planning and public benefit results at both The Theatre and The Curtain nearby, the proposed scheme did not envisage a need to secure more than the simplest level of public benefit from any development there, instead proposing an excavation and a report on the results.

In late 2018 when a planning application was made, GLAAS raised the issue of the



playhouse and the Theatre and Curtain schemes not far away. GLAAS were not able to support the developer’s original plan and recommended the proposals not be permitted in that form. Instead, GLAAS used the NPPF to require early fieldwork to characterise the remains and then inform the design of a workable new development around them, along with possible presentation.

The developers had already detailed a tightly timed plan to build quickly and open in time for a new academic year. The possibility of managing nationally important archaeology had not been factored in; however, phases of archaeological fieldwork were quickly commissioned and undertaken in order to establish the condition and extent of the playhouse remains.

Figure 7. Excavation phase. © GLAAS

Figure 8. Tudor walls of the Boar's Head. © MOLA



These remains turned out to be more fragmentary than those at The Theatre or The Curtain and were also heavily disturbed by later developments. They were also up to 4m below modern ground level. However, with an archaeological eye and the extensive historical records of the playhouse, it was possible to identify some of the walls, the playhouse yard and the location of the stage on site (Figure 7 and Figure 8).

The results of the fieldwork allowed the site to be split into zones of highest, medium and lower archaeological significance (Figure 9), which led to the developer's team redesigning the scheme, eventually moving the lift cores and piles to locations outside the important playhouse zone, as well as removing the basement from the design completely. Archaeological fieldwork to investigate and record remains in other zones, where different levels of impact could be accepted, was agreed.

With a conservation-led design agreed and secured and the key remains set to be preserved *in situ*, it allowed us to think in detail about how public benefit might be created at a site where deeply buried and very fragmentary remains of a nationally important site were present.

Given their condition, displaying the remains as found was agreed to be of an appreciable but still quite small benefit. A different approach of heritage celebration and interpretation was adopted instead.

A further stage of negotiation, research and design resulted in a totally re-imagined ground floor that now includes in its centre an indoor double height space, congruent and coterminous with the playhouse that is buried safely below. The key elements of the playhouse plan are to be marked out on the ground.

This new space is planned to be commercially operated as a new cultural and performance space, as well as a café during the day, allowing extensive public access for visitors and customers. Visitors might buy a ticket to see a play being performed there in the evening, but they might also see a band, an art show or some stand-up comedy.

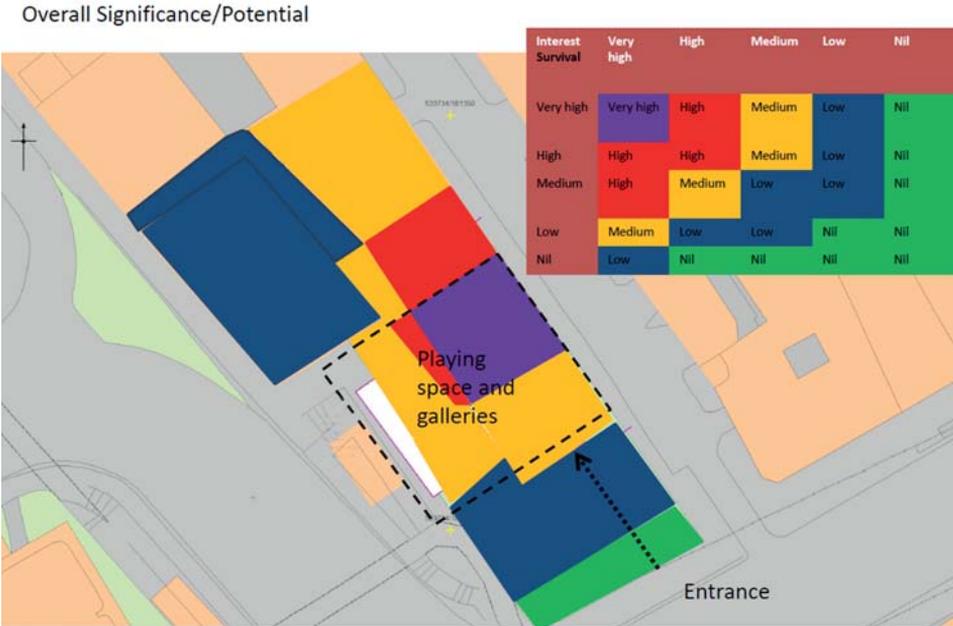


Figure 9. GLAAS’ Archaeological model of survival and significance. © Historic England

Alongside the performance space is a discrete archaeology exhibition space so visitors will get a more traditional heritage experience too, alongside their cultural one. We suggest that this means that heritage is being introduced into the lives of people who might not seek out an Elizabethan playhouse for their entertainment and edification. The 400-year-old performance heritage of the site re-emerges with the playhouse acting as a justification for the performance space and the performance space then bringing visitors to learn about the playhouse.

GLAAS formulated a bespoke planning condition for the resulting necessary fieldwork and outreach as well as a condition to control the piling works, alongside recommending a Section 106 legal covenant for the operation of the cultural spaces after completion.

This includes a Management Plan which we intend will include gathering data on users and so help us determine what does and does not work about the heritage benefits of the attraction. We also intend that it will include measures to promote the heritage of the site in its advertising and importantly that it will identify and sustain links with schools and other key groups. Our approach is similar to that adopted by the City of London for the display of the Roman Temple of Mithras at the Bloomberg office development. However, the Bloomberg site was a far bigger and more expensive scheme, with plenty of local footfall, visible remains and commitment from the very beginning for public realm display, art and education.

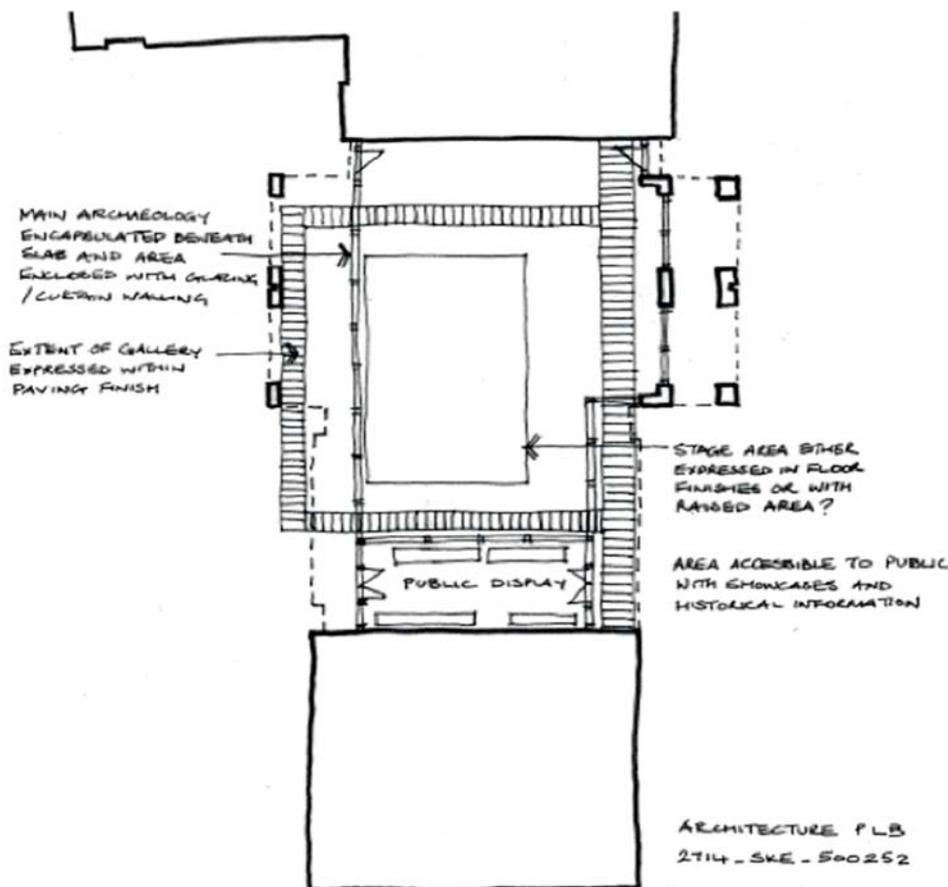


Figure 10. Sketch plan of the exhibition space showing the public display space and the paving finish inside and out marking the playhouse's extent around the performance space. © ArchitecturePLB

In its favour as a sustainable location, the East London area surrounding the Boar's Head site already has a rich tradition of culture and creativity but the central location lacked accessible performance spaces, so the change was seen by locals and council members as a strong community benefit as well as part-mitigation for any local impacts created by the 24 floors of undergraduates soon to be living in the area. The local council officers also saw the attraction as fitting well with their aspirations for the main arterial road that the site lies on, and in its potential to draw people along that road from other attractions nearby, such as the Whitechapel Art Gallery and Brick Lane.

The archaeology of the site is therefore acting here firstly as a trigger and then as a lever to create a wider cultural and public benefit that extends beyond the archaeology

itself but which feeds back into improved public understanding and enjoyment of the archaeological heritage.

The importance of the playhouse means that the benefit is also one that might otherwise not be considered appropriate to require from a developer of a single building, when striking an already complex planning balance.

At the time of writing, the new tower was being constructed and is due to open in September 2021.

Because the remains were only briefly visible during the fieldwork, before being buried, a programme of public open days, walking tours, lectures and social media about the site, during the fieldwork and afterwards, was carried out by the archaeologists on site, MOLA. MOLA also produced a self-guided visitor walk between the various Elizabethan theatre sites in East London.

Conclusion

We have presented examples here of three of the wide variety of public benefit schemes that GLAAS have been involved with recently. Every site we encounter presents different challenges and opportunities, to not only preserve and interpret archaeological remains for public benefit, but also to introduce archaeology into people's cultural, educational and recreational lives when they might not be expecting it, or even looking for it.

We can even achieve this when there is no formal requirement for it and when the archaeology is poorly preserved or almost illegible, through negotiation and by focusing on other ways to leverage it that complement wider policy aims and public benefit objectives. In turn, these resulting attractions will improve public understanding of that heritage.

Sometimes, we can go further and create a tangible economic asset, one that can even operate commercially, creating quantifiable benefits that developers and decision makers understand: "jobs", "public events", "customers" etc. As the sites become operational and we collect more experience and data in this field, we can begin to try to put a clearer balance sheet value on sympathetic archaeological heritage management. We can draw on the Wellbeing agenda to support us too and create benefit in allied areas.

The examples of the Elizabethan playhouses when they are completed will, we hope, increasingly help to convince decision makers of the potential of archaeological preservation, display and interpretation as a "gain". This is a young field and we sometimes struggle to convey the potential of this area to others in the development industry but each successful new project builds our case and raises the profile of archaeological sites in London. In the future, we hope that structured collection of user data, derived from the marketing exercises and visitor surveys that the sites will carry out will help inform new schemes and shed light on what does and what does not work

in creating sustainable public benefits. At present we can look at established tourist attractions for help and data, but currently there is little comparative information to draw on from successful developer-funded archaeological attractions.

Maintenance and upkeep can be secured through planning agreements, and in some cases commercial operation can provide an impetus to seek out and attract audiences. We are mindful of the failures of past efforts to engage the public with heritage in London – outdated and vandalised interpretation boards, mediaeval walls left crumbling in office basement car parks, jargon-filled leaflets – and want to find a way to leave the sites that we find well managed for everyone's benefit.

Today, there are few archaeologists with more than a site or two like the East London playhouses under their belts to draw experience from. Designing public benefit schemes and managing archaeological attractions is a specialism in itself, and the need for these skills must be considered from the outset of a project, instead of sometimes being seen as an add-on obligation to be done to minimum standards. Planning archaeologists, archaeological planning consultants and fieldwork units certainly do not possess all the skills to design and run a successful visitor attraction or commercial venue.

We think therefore that there is an interdisciplinary skills and resourcing gap here that needs addressing, alongside the willingness of UK planning archaeologists to have the ambition to ask for these sorts of benefits in the first place. It is no coincidence that common issues regarding an absence of agreed benchmarks for success, common guidance and appropriately trained archaeologists have also been identified in UK community archaeology (e.g. Simpson & Williams 2018, Frearson 2018).

The wording of the NPPF allows for the incorporation of public benefit schemes into archaeological projects in the UK, and these can be secured through the planning system and legal agreements. Our involvement in aspects of public benefit schemes such as site open days has highlighted the disparity in the ability of archaeological contracting units and their clients to always plan and deal effectively with this work. There is a lack of suitably skilled staff in many organisations, and we have a long way to go in considering reaching diverse audiences, or in collecting data about those who have visited sites and attended events.

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to thank all the archaeologists involved (RPS, PCA, MOLA) for both their hard work on site and their invaluable interpretations of the finds. We would also like to thank Gallus Studios and PLB Architects for their work in developing public benefit ideas into concrete proposals. Finally, we are grateful to Nina Dierks for her editing work, German abstract translation, and helpful comments on improvements to the text of this article. Any remaining errors are those of the authors.

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Public Benefit: The Challenge for Development-Led Archaeology in the UK

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Keywords: construction, infrastructure, collaboration, public benefit, public input, evaluation

Abstract: The challenge of providing public benefit from development control archaeology has been a concern across Europe since both the Valetta and Faro conventions encouraged the view that the public must be the key beneficiaries of archaeological work, and since then the theoretical concept of public benefit has become well recognised across our profession. However it seems to me that the archaeological sector does not yet provide this in a meaningful way or know how to maximise the public benefit potential of our work, indeed this is acknowledged at the highest levels (e.g. British Academy 2017, 33).

The EAC established their Working Group on Making the Case to investigate examples of best practice and provide a practical toolkit for the better articulation of public benefit arising from development-led archaeology (EAC 2019). In the UK the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists has published a briefing document that outlines the potential for public benefit offered by archaeology (ClfA 2020). This dovetails well with a new research project, funded by United Kingdom Research and Innovation (UKRI) and hosted at Museum of London Archaeology (MOLA), intended to ensure that public benefit is at the heart of decision-making throughout the development control sector in the UK (MOLA 2019). This paper provides an introduction to the rationale behind this project and outlines how the project ambitions could be achieved with a careful navigation through the complex structures of development programmes' procurement and management.

The planning, development and construction context

As a practicing archaeologist working in the development-led sector since the mid 1990s I have worked on many projects of all sizes, largely within the City of London where the archaeology is deep and complex. Logistical considerations and extensive truncation can complicate the programme and it has usually been the case that the archaeological works take place behind hoardings installed by the client, to shield



Figure 1. Archaeologists welcoming the public onto site at 8–10 Moorgate.
(Photo by Margaret Cox, MOLA)

the construction works from public view. Exceptions to this are rare but include the Bloomberg excavations undertaken by MOLA between 2011–2014, where the City of London Corporation included public provisions in the planning condition ensuring a programme of activities was designed and provided during the fieldwork, and similarly large excavations at 8-10 Moorgate (also in the City of London), where public access was granted on specific days (Figure 1). The developers of The Stage, where Shakespearean theatre remains were anticipated, incorporated high cost public focussed plans in the new development (MOLA 2018). Notably, this project has in turn encouraged similar sites to consider their public benefit provision (see Davies and Single, this volume).

There are collaborative projects working to advance the provision of public benefit in the UK, both from within the sector (Wills 2018) and from central Government. The Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) have launched their Cultural Heritage Capital project, intended to provide a framework for policy makers and public spending plans to assess the potential for positive social impact in terms of the impacts on cultural heritage. This leads on from a project led by the Department for the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA), intended to provide a framework for assessing the capital inherent in the natural environment (DEFRA 2020).

Cultural heritage is now acknowledged as a major provider of positive social impact (Pennington et al. 2019; Reilly et al. 2018), but the precise mechanisms for measuring

and evaluating this are not yet established. The DCMS project is due to run for a decade and will only specifically relate to public spending projects, although this will also be hugely relevant to development-led archaeology, particularly those projects that are undertaken on publicly funded developments such as infrastructure.

The potential (and obligation) with infrastructure

The infrastructure sector is one of the most significant funding streams for archaeology in the UK and is growing steadily (FAME 2020). Examples include roads, energy, air travel, and of course rail. The proportion of funding from infrastructure is set to grow over the next few years due to increased plans for transport infrastructure (Gov 2020b), with total spends into the billions. These publicly-funded infrastructure projects operate outside the usual planning regime, with development enabled through parliamentary bills, which in the context of the historic environment offer the opportunity to adapt regulations and methodologies to target specific research aims (HS2 Ltd 2017, 4-8). High Speed 2 is one such project, of a truly mammoth scale, with a total of 60 sites offering a 'once in a generation opportunity' (HS2 Ltd, 2018). This project was established with an expectation that 'work will be focussed on outcomes...which will include real and substantive public benefit' (HS2 Ltd 2017, 2) but there is currently no robust way of specifying, assessing or measuring this. Projects that are funded by taxation are subject to evaluations set out in HM Treasury Green Book which provides guidance on managing public money (HM Treasury 2018) by introducing the concept of economic appraisal of investment based on the principles of welfare economics or social value. Most aspects of major schemes such as HS2 and road projects are assessed using the Green Book criteria supplemented by associated guidance in the Magenta Book, which outlines the appropriate evaluation steps and methodologies (HM Treasury 2020). Archaeology and the public funds spent on it are glaring omissions from this widely accepted and well-used evaluation process.

The lack of established evaluation procedures for development control archaeology stands in contrast to recent developments in the wider cultural and arts sector, which understands the need to provide assessments of impact and public benefit, specifically in relation to its value to individuals and society (Crossick & Kaszynska 2016, 159). Notably, within the Crossick and Kaszynska review (Ibid) and during background research into the value of the arts and cultural heritage there was very little mention of archaeology, despite the significant funding it attracts through the development-control system. The subsequent establishment of the Centre for Cultural Value (Leeds University 2020) is intended to influence cultural policy through rigorous research and evaluation (Ibid). The focus for this is the arts, culture and heritage sectors, although again development-control archaeology was not well represented. I have the feeling this is due to our own reticence to explore beyond our own sectoral boundaries, and problems with our external communications rather than a rejection of our value by the wider cultural sector.

The UKRI proposal seeks to broaden communication between archaeology and other aligned disciplines, to fill this gap. It will establish relevant and useful criteria, with the aim of positioning public benefit as the focus for future projects.

The challenge with commercial restraints

A major sticking point for any progress in the meaningful consideration of public benefit provision is likely to be the complex procurement and management structures common on major infrastructure projects (Figure 2). On the HS2 project the client are HS2, an executive non-departmental public body set up by Act of Parliament and sponsored by the Department of Transport (Gov 2020a). HS2 Ltd employ Tier 1 contractors to design and build the railway through direct relationships, who in turn employ a plethora of consultants, sub contractors and others, cascading down to Tier 5. Archaeological organisations undertaking mitigation works along the route are employed as sub-contractors by Tier 1 (joint ventures of large civil engineering firms), during both the enabling and civil engineering stages of work. Most of the archaeological work has been packaged up and allocated to joint ventures or consortia, established by archaeological organisations to enable the provision of large, mobile teams and spread any financial risk of taking on a large contract. Their reception amongst field archaeologists has been mixed (DF 2020), although the job opportunities offered are significant.

Where the problems arise is with the loss of any flexibility in decision making and the hierarchical management structures. Coupled with an often negative public opinion of the HS2 project, this means that public access to the archaeology during work is controlled and restricted. However the outward-facing aspects of the archaeology are

Figure 2. Open day on large-scale excavations on the A14, Cambridgeshire, England. (Photo by A14CSH courtesy of MOLA Headland Infrastructure)



designed and produced by the sub-contracting organisations and there have been some projects and events run by Wessex Archaeology and MOLA for example. There will undoubtedly be many successful aspects to this, and members of the public will be entertained and educated.

Ideally however, the issue of fore-fronting public benefit in archaeological projects means a degree of input from the public themselves at early stages, to determine how they see the project developing, whether there are any local research aims that need to be considered in the project design, and to enable a collaborative approach which will remove the problem of the 'us and them' relationship often observed in public engagement which is itself an assumption of passivity on the part of the public. There is an obvious danger with assumptions based on the need for the public to 'understand archaeology' inferring that a lack of understanding is somehow responsible for lack of participation; when in fact this leads us down a road of paternalistic assumptions about our relative status as keepers of this knowledge (Fredheim 2020) embedding the concept of exclusivity in the very space within which we need it to be eradicated.

A collaborative and consultative way forward

To ensure that our practice is inclusive in a meaningful way we should attempt to ascertain public views on their heritage, on both local and national scales. It is difficult to see how we as archaeologists can fully understand what public benefit might be without consulting those we seek to provide benefit for, although this will be hugely challenging in practice. How this is undertaken is yet to be decided, particularly as there is an ethical obligation to engage with a wide variety of traditionally 'unengaged audiences'.

We know from a previous survey that some members of the UK public believe that heritage should be preserved using public funds, and used for education, entertainment and employment (Kadja et al. 2018, 100). Most had a positive view of archaeologists and believed they were undertaking scientific study (Kadja et al. 2018, 102). The UK respondents were aware that the funding is due to the development control system suggesting there is wider awareness than we usually perceive. Also of positive note was the support for excavation prior to development, with postponement of construction seen as important by a majority of respondents (Kadja et al. 2018, 104). There was also significant support for public involvement in decision making processes in their area (Kadja et al. 2018, 104), an idea which has not filtered down to UK planning policy or practice, but which we will be further investigating within the auspices of this UKRI project.

As with any public consultation, the questions asked and the manner in which they are framed is crucial. We should be willing to collaborate with audiences who have no interest at all in archaeology, but who instead could benefit through other allied provision of public benefit that might occur as an indirect result of funding for archaeology, for example urban design or public art. It will be crucial to acknowledge and listen to what we are told – we have become a conservative sector but we need

to open up to new ideas and approaches, and to be prepared to hear what the public have to say – even though it might be challenging to some of us.

Archaeology and construction: Interrogating the relationship

It would be positive if archaeologists and the publics we seek to serve with our work were in project design and implementation discussions at a much earlier stage, and able to communicate ambitions for better public benefit to the developers more effectively. In order to establish a process and programme for this the UKRI project will undertake some ethnographic research into the commercial and project-specific relationships between the construction industry and archaeologists. There will be challenges involved with this work; not least the client-contractor relationship which can be hard to see beyond, but it is intended that with the aid of a professional ethnographer this phase of work will highlight existing problems and opportunities with the current situation. The ethnographic study of participants themselves is not routinely undertaken in fieldwork, whether academic or commercial in scope. Previous studies (e.g. Edgeworth 2006; Thorpe 2012) have highlighted the relevance of this to the potential advancements within field practice and associated public benefit but there has not yet been the commitment to further this field of study in a more commercial sphere. This aspect of the project will offer the first opportunity to engage with the archaeologists and construction teams in a specific attempt to fully assess the capacity for better integrating our work into the wholesale churn of a development project and any potential barriers that might be as a result of language, approach, behaviours and assumptions. From personal experience if the message is successfully and strongly communicated through the construction team there will be adherence to its concepts on site, whereas if we as archaeologists are left to make the case for our role and archaeology, as is often the case, it becomes an unfair burden to place on an individual who can be faced with hostile reactions and made to feel generally unwelcome. This project is founded with the intention as much to ease that relationship on the ground, as it is to influence policy at higher levels.

Conclusions

A career in field archaeology is an ambition for many and I am forever grateful to have been able to work on many exciting and challenging projects. I have tried to communicate these feelings to others, and have felt a reciprocated excitement about what has been excavated. There remains a disconnect however, between the public and the archaeology itself; which remain divided no matter how many village halls I fill. The passive concepts of ‘presentation’ or ‘engagement’ are no longer sufficient and as I have been drawn to the idea that our very practice, its method and results should be incorporated into a more participatory approach. It is this that my project seeks to evolve through careful negotiation of the complex systems of development-led archaeology.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to the EAC for inviting me to be the Scientific Convenor for the Prague Symposium, and in particular the President Barney Sloane and Executive Assistant Desislava Gradinarova. The Prague event was notable for the collegiate atmosphere and I would also like to thank the EAC members for a stimulating and enjoyable time. I would like to thank my colleagues at MOLA Kate Faccia, Harald Fredheim, Emma Dywer and Sara Perry for discussions round this paper. Any errors or omissions are of course mine.

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Social Impact Archaeology: Pontefract Castle and the Gatehouse Project

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Keywords: Theory of Change, evidence framework, evaluating impact, public participation

Abstract: Archaeology is said to add value to development, creating a deeper sense of place, community identity and improving health and wellbeing. Accentuating these wider social values has been welcomed by a profession keen to broaden its public relevance and legitimacy and protect its seat at the table in modern cultural life, but how much, if at all, do the public actually benefit from developer-led archaeology? Benefits to individuals and communities from archaeology projects are often abstract, intangible and difficult to attribute, and the discipline arguably lacks a satisfactory frame of reference around which it can express and design for these additional social values. Drawing on the language of social impact investing, this paper will explore how the UK based collaborative platform, DigVentures, has addressed this challenge. It introduces a 'Theory of Change' and 'Standards of Evidence' framework to account for the impact of development-led archaeology programmes, illustrating the causal links between activity and change through the case of the Pontefract Castle Gatehouse Project. It is complemented by a short documentary film exploring the spectrum of digital and physical opportunities for the public to participate alongside a team of highly experienced professional field archaeologists, demonstrating how development-led archaeology can be designed to accomplish far more than answer a planning brief.

Link to accompanying film: https://youtu.be/rr_bc_aTsk8

Background

Pontefract Castle has a rich and nationally important heritage; one of England's strongest fortresses throughout the medieval period and beyond, it played a crucial role in politics and the balance of power in the North of England (Figure 1). The site is mentioned in numerous historical sources, including by Oliver Cromwell, who described the castle as 'one of the strongest inland garrisons in the kingdom', and

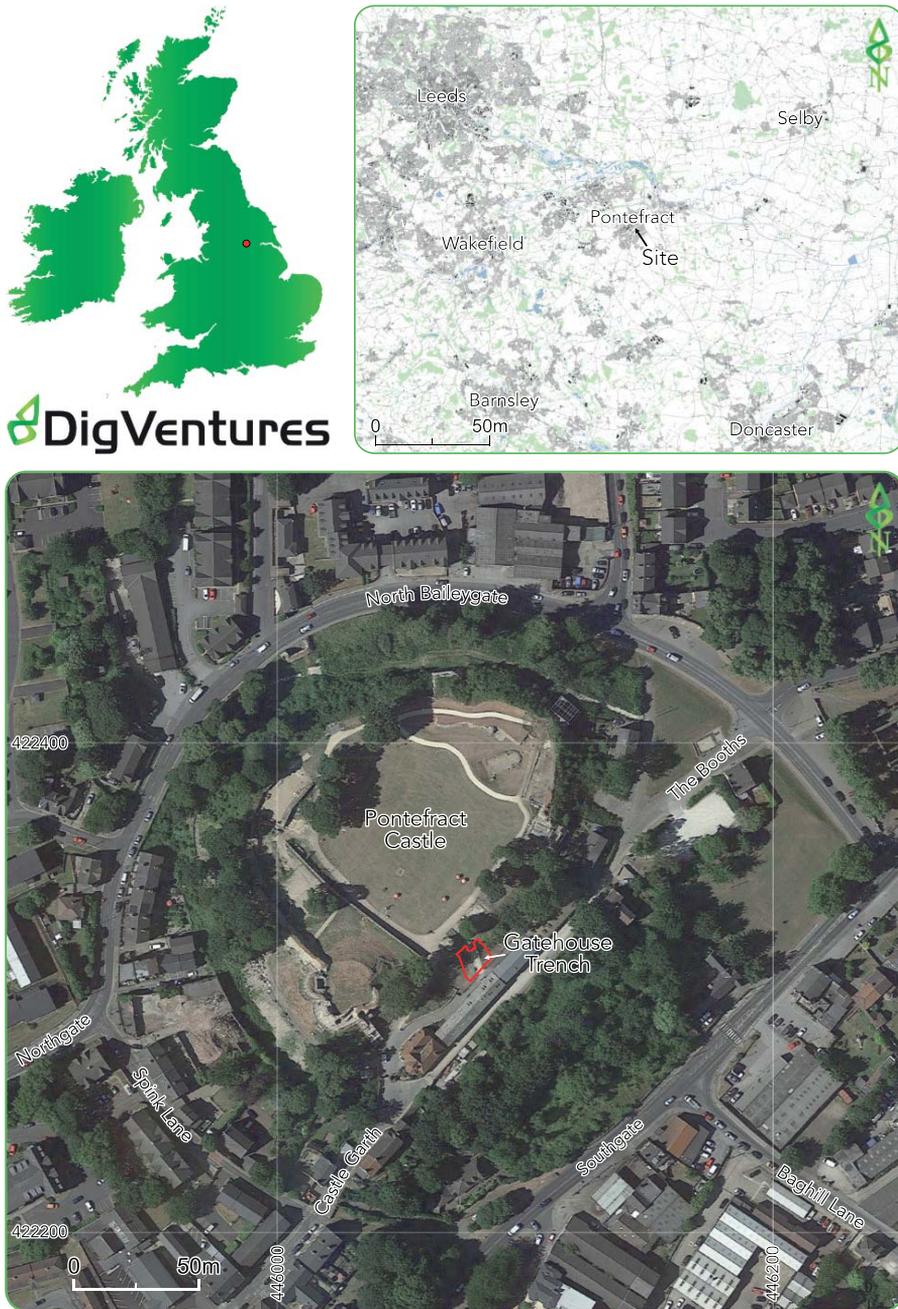


Figure 1. Site location

William Shakespeare, who wrote in his play Richard III of Pontefract Castle ‘Pomfret, Pomfret! O thou bloody prison’. Despite this national significance, relatively little is known about the archaeological resource and the recent discovery of a previously unidentified gate house indicates that much is still to be learned about the physical structure of Pontefract Castle.

In 2019, development-led archaeological investigations were undertaken in order to enhance access and to improve visitor access as part of their ‘Pontefract Castle: Key to the North’ project, supported by a £3m grant from the National Lottery Heritage Fund. When previously unidentified structures associated with a gate house complex were revealed during pre-development works, an additional application for NPPF Emergency Funding was made by the site custodians, Wakefield Metropolitan District Council (WMDC). Historic England (HE) granted this application on condition that archaeological research was undertaken alongside community participation, fulfilling WMDC and HE’s overarching vision to increase public awareness during the site’s redevelopment, and to improve understanding of Pontefract Castle and its environs.

Pontefract Castle is situated within an area of significant deprivation, with 18% of residents falling within the top 10% of most deprived in England (data taken from the Index of Multiple Deprivation based on the 2011 census). The ‘Gatehouse Project, Pontefract Castle’ therefore provided a major opportunity to stimulate the heritage-led regeneration of the site and its environs, engage the local community in their heritage, provide skills training and practical experience to the public, and build an audience and local appreciation for the castle’s instrumental contribution to regional and national history. WMDC and HE undertook a public procurement exercise, with tender evaluation slanted towards the best archaeological design (rather than the lowest price), in line with the requirements of the Social Value Act for public sector bodies to consider the social, economic and environmental benefits of contracts they award. DigVentures proposed a creative approach to excavation, with an intelligently designed mix of professional excavation and public participation programmed



Figure 2. Local community participants digging at Pontefract Castle

over the course of an eight-week investigation, creating a breadth and depth of participation opportunities from informal site visits to structured field training (Figure 2). This blended model comprised six weeks dedicated primarily to servicing the commercial imperative and research brief, with public events running alongside, interspersed with two weeks of public participation and training in the trenches in line with tuition based on National Occupational Standards. What follows is a brief summary of how this toolkit was applied in the context of a development-led project at Pontefract Castle; a broader discussion of the theoretical basis of this approach has also been published for reference (Wilkins 2019a and b).

Theory of Change and Standards of Evidence

Whilst many project leaders can clearly justify the purpose of their work (the 'why'), there is much less certainty concerning the tools and methodologies they should use to measure the social impact of their work (the 'what' and 'how'). The DigVentures (DV) framework for measuring social impact has been informed by the work of two funding organisations in particular, combining the deep sector knowledge of the National Lottery Heritage Fund (NLHF) to provide guidelines on heritage programme outcomes ('what' to measure), and the standards of evidence devised by Nesta, the UK Innovation Foundation ('how' to measure). The result is a customisable evaluation framework comprising a toolkit of three interrelated tables enabling archaeologists to design participatory field research projects whilst simultaneously measuring the efficacy of their work (Figure 3).

In response to a commission by the NLHF to assess the efficacy of their approach to evaluation, Hewison and Holden (2004) refined the notion of Public Value to encompass three interlocking kinds of Cultural Value: intrinsic, instrumental and institutional. These three concepts were then refined into an operational outcome framework designed to encompass the range of intrinsic (outcomes for heritage); instrumental (outcomes for people); and institutional values (outcomes for communities and society) that characterise NLHF grant-aided projects (Clark & Maer 2008). Exactly how a specific set of activities result in the achievement of desired goals can be pictured as a 'Theory of Change' (Figure 4), an approach that requires organisations to clearly articulate their social mission: why they exist, what change they are making, and who they are making it for.

The DV Theory of Change is divided into three rows, each dedicated to a separate outcome theme following the NLHF Cultural Value model, from the intrinsic outcomes for heritage more readily associated with research excavation to the instrumental outcomes for people and communities. This model describes the joined-up thinking between the activities our organisation undertakes (Figure 4, column 1 and 2 from left) and how this is hypothesised to realise the broader mission (Figure 4, column 4 and 5). Outputs are a measurable unit of product or service, such as a community excavation (Figure 4, column 3); outcomes are an observable change for individuals or communities, such as acquiring skills or knowledge (Figure 4, column 4). Social impact, 'conceived as the difference that ventures make to people's lives over and above what would have happened in the absence of that venture' (Nesta 2017, 7), is the effect on



Figure 3. The DigVentures evaluation framework, a toolkit consisting of a theory of change, standards of evidence and project specific evaluation matrix

outcomes attributable to the output, measured against two metrics: scale, or breadth of people reached; and depth, or the importance of this impact on their lives.

If the first hurdle is defining the ‘what’ to evaluate, the next challenge is to implement a robust methodology managing the practicalities of ‘how’ to measure. The credibility of a Theory of Change rests on the level of certainty that organisational activities are the cause of this change. In order for this certainty to be achieved, the correct data must be collected to isolate the impact to the intervention, and attention to detail paid to this process on an even par with excavation strategy. By progressing through

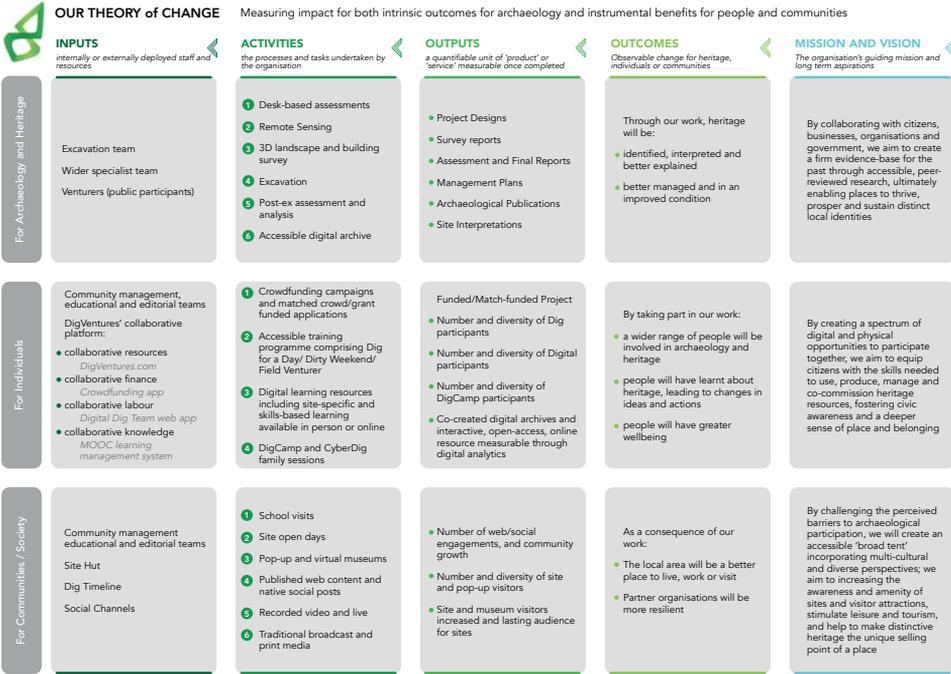


Figure 4. DigVentures 'Theory of Change'

five steps of ascending surety, Nesta's 'standards of evidence' framework has been designed to provide a structure around measuring impact, ensuring that evaluation strategies are appropriate to the stage of development of a variety of different products, services and programmes (Putrick & Ludlow 2012).

Following this model, the DV standards of evidence framework details the required evidence burden (Figure 5, column 1 from left); the suggested method for collecting evidence (Figure 5, column 2); and how this specifically relates to the outcomes for heritage, people and communities (Figure 5, column 3, 4 and 5) as detailed in the DV Theory of Change. Evidential standards begin with Level 1 (Figure 5, row 1), where practitioners are able to give an account of hypothesised impact, providing a logical reason why project activities could have an impact on outcomes, and how that would be an improvement on alternative provision. For a project to achieve Level 2 (Figure 5, row 2) practitioners will be gathering data that shows some change amongst participants, but this may not be sufficient to provide evidence of direct causality. At Level 3 (Figure 5, row 3) practitioners will be able to demonstrate that they are causing the hypothesised impact, by showing less impact amongst those who don't participate in the project or receive the product/service. Progressing to Level 4 (Figure 5, row 4), and practitioners can explain why and how the project is having the impact observed, with results potentially independently verified. Finally, at Level 5 (Figure 5, row 5),

	 STANDARDS OF EVIDENCE				
	EXPECTATION	SUGGESTED METHOD	OUTCOMES FOR HERITAGE	OUTCOMES FOR PEOPLE	OUTCOMES FOR COMMUNITIES
Level One	<p>Providing an academically rigorous framework, whilst ensuring that impact measurement is appropriate to the stage of development of a variety of different products, services and programmes.</p> <p>A low threshold, appropriate to very early stage innovations, which may still be at the idea stage. Involving little more than a clear articulation of why the intervention is needed, what it will aim to achieve why this is better than what currently happens. Project owners will be able to give an account of impact, providing a logical reason why their intervention could have an impact and why that would be an improvement on the current situation.</p>	<p>Steps needed to ensure correct evidence is collected to determine whether or not a venture is making a positive difference</p> <p>A clear rationale to show why the product/service could have an impact, and why that would be an improvement on the current situation.</p> <p>Articulated as a theory of change and logic model, linking activities, outputs, outcomes to hypothesised impact.</p>	<p>Intrinsic benefits relating to the research dividend and evidence baseline required for successful management of archaeological sites and landscapes</p> <p>A fully illustrated Project Design, signed off by statutory stakeholder, outlining key archaeological research questions, roles, procedures, stages and outputs.</p>	<p>Instrumental benefits for participants and platform users, enabling the voluntary sector to scale in a sustainable and ethically responsible fashion</p> <p>A training or activity plan, linking activities to outputs, outcomes and impact, and an explanation of how the outcome could be measured.</p>	<p>Wider social impacts received by those who may not be direct participants, but benefit through increased amenity value, tourism and local distinctiveness.</p> <p>A training, activity, audience development and/or heritage resource management plan, linking activities to outputs, outcomes and impact, and an explanation of how the outcome could be measured.</p>
Level Two	<p>At Level 2 projects will be gathering data that shows some change amongst those receiving or using the intervention. At this stage, data can begin to show that there is a change in the measure of the outcome among the recipients of the product or service, but this may not be sufficient to provide evidence of direct causality.</p>	<p>Pre and post-survey evaluation; cohort/panel study; and regular internal surveying.</p>	<p>Assessment Report; Management Report, base-lined against previous investigations</p>	<p>Evaluation survey for participants to quantify demographics, socio-economic characteristics and spatial data, followed up with a pre and post-survey qualitative evaluation using a separate questionnaire methodology to determine any changes as a consequence of taking part</p>	<p>Evaluation survey for site visitors to quantify audience demographics, socio-economic characteristics and spatial data, followed up with a qualitative study using a separate questionnaire methodology to determine any changes that took place as a consequence of the visit</p>
Level Three	<p>At Level 3 projects will be able to demonstrate that they are causing the hypothesised impact, by showing less impact amongst those who don't receive the product/service.</p>	<p>Robust methods using a control group, or evaluating a random selection of participants, begin to isolate the impact of the product/service.</p> <p>All products/services at Level 3 will be well documented, with necessary skills, training (and other delivery requirements) outlined clearly, to enable effective replication in alternative places, situation, contexts etc.</p>	<p>Analytical report, synthesizing specialist reports with previous work locally, regionally and nationally, to determine significance, importance and potential of the site.</p>	<p>Meta-analysis of evaluation results with those derived from projects delivering similar community-based activities, including archaeological/heritage and other unrelated arts/citizen science projects.</p>	<p>Meta-analysis of evaluation results with those derived from projects delivering similar community-based activities - including both archaeological/heritage and other unrelated arts/citizen science projects.</p>
Level Four	<p>At Level 4 projects can explain why and how the intervention is having the impact observed and evidenced so far, supported by an independent evaluation to validate the findings. This will also assess the extent to which the intervention can deliver impact at a reasonable cost, and whether it can be replicated and purchased in multiple locations.</p>	<p>Robust independent evaluation that investigates and validates the nature of the impact; this might include endorsement via commercial standards or industry kitemarks, underpinned by a documented standardisation of delivery and processes, data on costs of production and acceptable price point for customers.</p>	<p>Quality assured by the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists (CIfA) under the Registered Organisation scheme, and involving independent site inspections and documentary audit.</p>	<p>External audit of quality of training programmes and activities by CIfA, The Archaeological Training Forum, Register of Professional Archaeologists, Skills Passport and National Occupational Standards.</p>	<p>External audit of community programming and impact by specialist consultancy, undertaken independently of project team.</p>
Level Five	<p>At Level 5, projects will be able to demonstrate that the intervention could be operated up by someone else, somewhere else and scaled up, whilst continuing to have positive and direct impact on the outcome, and whilst remaining a financially viable proposition. For a service, this will establish whether it can be delivered by different staff in different locations.</p>	<p>Evidence will be derived from multiple evaluations of the product/service in different settings (at least two evaluations, one of which will be independent) to demonstrate that the product/service can be used in different settings (which could be in different settings geographically and/or with different types of product/service users). Appropriate methods at this level will include multiple replication evaluations; future scenario analysis; or fidelity evaluation.</p>	<p>An excavation manual, underpinned by a broader operations manual and 'culture deck', detailing how the DigVentures project model should be applied in differing contexts.</p>	<p>A syllabus and training manual, underpinned by a broader operations manual and outline spectrum of engagement, detailing the participant's journey from digital supporter to experienced field digger.</p>	<p>An audience engagement and communications plan, underpinned by a broader operations manual and tailored 'culture deck', detailing how the intervention should be applied with clear and measurable benchmarks.</p>

Figure 5. DigVentures 'Standards of Evidence'

the project methodology is robust and well-evidenced enough to be scaled up and operated by other teams or organisations, whilst continuing to have positive and direct impact on the outcome and remaining a financially viable proposition.

	ACTIVITIES the processes and tasks undertaken by the organisation	OUTPUTS a quantifiable unit of 'product' or 'service' measurable once completed	OUTCOMES Observable change for heritage, individuals or communities	STANDARDS OF EVIDENCE Data collection and confidence rating demonstrating the positive difference made by an intervention
For Archaeology and Heritage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Stakeholder consultation with national and local heritage bodies, societies and local authorities Archaeological investigation of nationally significant site Accessible archaeological archive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Scheduled Monument Consent Archaeological Project Design Archaeological Assessment Report with recommendations Archaeological Archive 	<p>Through our work, heritage will be:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> identified, interpreted and better explained better managed and in an improved condition 	<p>Level 3 – Analytical report, synthesising specialist reports with previous regional, national and international work to determine significance, importance and potential of the site.</p>
For Individuals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Half-day family friendly DigCamp sessions CIFA endorsed half-day Finds Lab workshops CIFA endorsed half-day excavation skills training Heritage skills workshops 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Excavation and finds room skills training for 81 YAC members 163 DigCamp participants (children under 12 and their parents) Excavation and finds room skills training for 132 participants 20 Participants in photogrammetry and creative skills workshops 	<p>By taking part in our work:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a wider range of people will be involved in archaeology and heritage people will have greater wellbeing people will have learnt about the archaeology and heritage of Pontefract Castle, leading to changes in ideas and actions people will have more skills in excavation and finds processing, giving greater confidence to get involved 	<p>Level 3 – Field school training programme quality assured and endorsed by CIFA.</p> <p>Level 2 – Project evaluation report including survey data for Finds Lab, DigCamp and project participants to determine changes for individuals as a consequence of taking part, and highlighting scalability, implementation and ability to meet local needs.</p>
For Communities / Society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Education programme for primary schools Daily site tours during archaeological investigation Published web content and native social posts Traditional broadcast and print media 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 372 school pupils from six local schools benefit from tailored education content Daily site tours reach new and more diverse audiences (438 people) Visitor numbers of Pontefract Castle increase by 138% to 14,810 500,000 combined impression across Facebook & Twitter 7,000 unique microsite views Coverage by BBC Look North, BBC Radio Leeds, Wakefield Express, Pontefract and Castleford Express 	<p>As a consequence of our work:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> more and a wider range of people will be involved in heritage people have learned about archaeology and heritage, leading to change in ideas and actions the local area will be a better place to live, work or visit 	<p>Level 2 – Collection of evaluation survey data for participating schools, visitors to the archaeological site, temporary exhibitions, aiming to quantify audience demographics and determine any changes which took place as a consequence of the visit</p>

Figure 6. Project specific Evaluation Matrix

These two tools are the basis of the DigVentures social business model, providing rapid feedback to understand social impact in real time, enabling the organisation to pivot activities if target communities are not being reached, or quickly scale activities that successfully engage target groups. This framework is utilised in the design of all projects, where social impact is devised through a third tool – a project specific evaluation matrix (Figure 6) drawing on the relevant sections of the Theory of Change that align with specific project activities (Figure 6, column 1 from left). The hypothetical linkages between measurable outputs (Figure 6, column 2) and potential outcomes for heritage, people and communities can then be determined (Figure 6, column c). The level of certainty that these outcomes were a direct consequence of either the particular archaeological methodology or the community activities, rather than something that would have happened anyway, can be assessed against the standards of evidence matrix (Figure 6, column d).

The following sections describe how the complex, deeply stratified excavation at Pontefract Castle was designed to enable public participation opportunities, and how a carefully considered impact evaluation strategy ensured that both the 'community' and 'archaeology' outcomes were delivered with equal importance.

Outcomes for archaeology and heritage

Fieldwork was undertaken initially between 30th September and 3rd November 2019 to investigate parts of the gatehouse structure exposed during an earlier archaeological watching brief at Pontefract Castle, located at the base of the Victorian steps leading from the visitor centre into the castle's inner bailey (Caswell et al. 2020). The community excavation was conducted in two stages: the first three weeks comprised hand and machine excavation by a team of professional archaeologists, followed by a two-week programme of excavation, recording and finds processing involving members of the local community (Figure 7). Based on the results of the work in 2019, a second phase of excavation was undertaken in 2020 targeted to reveal the full stratigraphic sequence within the previously identified drawbridge pit. This phase of work comprised hand excavation of sealed deposits exclusively within the drawbridge pit and was completed by a team of three professional archaeologists (Figures 8 and 9).

Beginning with outcomes for archaeology and heritage, activities contributing to the archaeological research were designed in a conventional fashion, following Historic England's MORPHE project model (Management of Research Projects in the Historic Environment) as a condition of permission to excavate under Scheduled Monument Consent. Four aims and 16 objectives were defined in the Project Design (Casswell et al. 2019) devised in accordance with priorities articulated in the Historic England Research Agenda (2017) and Historic England Corporate Plan (2018-21). These aims were achieved through a number of traditional field and archaeological science activities, including aerial and ground-based photogrammetry; auger survey; archaeological investigation; palaeoenvironmental assessment (pollen and plant macrofossils); faunal assessment; and finds assessment (pottery, metalwork and struck flint).

During fieldwork, weekly meetings were held between the DV team, Neil Redfern (HE Inspector), Ian Sanderson (West Yorkshire Archaeology Advisory Service) and representatives from WMDC to ensure the direction of the project was in accordance with the research aims and objectives. Resulting outputs (Project Designs and Reports)



Figure 7. Community participants supervised in the drawbridge pit by professional archaeologists

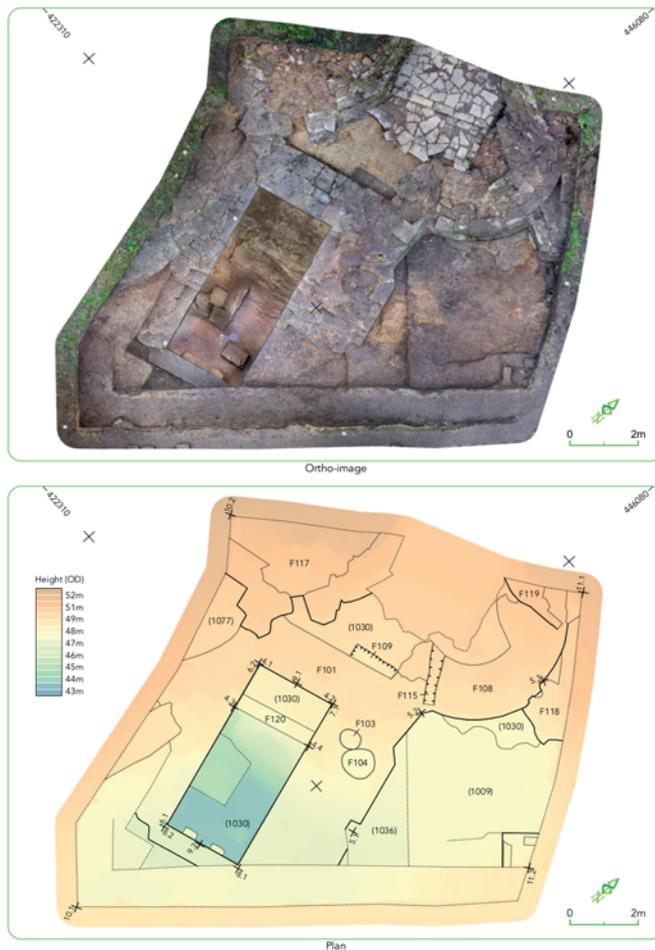


Figure 8. Post-excavation ortho-image and plan of the Pontefract Castle drawbridge pit indicating depth below ordnance datum

determining the significance, importance and potential of the archaeology were also signed off by this stakeholder team, a governance structure that ensured that claims made regarding heritage outcomes (better identified, interpreted and managed) could be firmly evidenced (level 3). In addition to all DV's work falling under the quality assurance of the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists (CIfA), these additional checks and balances ensure that civic participation can be scaled to meet demand whilst still maintaining the commitment to quality archaeological research.

These intrinsic outcomes for heritage are familiar ground for archaeologists, where collegiate peer review forms the basis of quality assurance strategies. A social impact

model will design volunteering activities with an eye to both intrinsic and instrumental outcomes, ensuring that the time volunteers spend digging increases the quality of the historic environment whilst also benefiting individual participants. As these outcomes are often abstract, intangible and difficult to attribute, data collection strategies to evidence impact should be designed and incorporated into fieldwork from the outset (see Figure 6 and below).

Outcomes for people

For the Pontefract Gatehouse project, two slightly different data collection strategies were undertaken to encompass both project participants and site visitors; participants were interviewed pre- and post-dig experience (99% completion rate, 347 in total), and visitors completed a questionnaire following their experience (24% completion rate, 104 in total). The age, gender and professional background of participants was derived through digital analytics, with categories mapped from the Office for National Statistics, followed by more in-depth analysis designed to reveal 'whether or not people will have learnt about heritage, developed skills, changed their attitudes and/or behaviour, and had an enjoyable experience'.

Outcomes for people were achieved with a combination of activities designed to ensure that 'a wider range of people will be involved in archaeology and heritage'. To help flatten perceived barriers to participation, accessible half day sessions were offered including Finds Lab Workshops, Dig Experiences and DigCamps (Figure 10 and 11), all of which followed DigVentures' ClfA-endorsed Field School curriculum, including:

- Guided tours (5th October until 3rd November) – 438 participants
- Educational sessions for school classes (8th until 17th October) – 372 children from six schools
- Excavation and finds room training for YACs (12th and 13th October) – 81 YAC members
- DigCamp in the trench and the finds room for children and parents (19th, 20th and 26th October until 3rd November) – 163 participants
- Excavation and finds room training for adults (21st October until 3rd November) – 132 participants
- Two photogrammetry workshops (26th November and 2nd November) – 10 participants
- Two creative workshops (3rd November) – 10 participants

Gender profiles for participants were broadly balanced, with 54% female and 46% male, with the youngest aged 4 and the oldest 76 (Figure 12). All age groups and socio-economic backgrounds were well represented in the data, with a marked improvement on existing community archaeology provision compared with the typically retired, over 65 local civic society groups (Wilkins 2020, 33). In addition to widening the demographic and socioeconomic range of participation (when compared to existing community archaeology provision), the project attracted an overwhelmingly new audience for archaeology, with 80% of participants having never taken part in archaeology activities before. Pre-experience interviews were completed with all project participants to help



Figure 10. Finds room activities for children and families

understand why each had decided to get involved in something entirely new to them, and provide a baseline understanding against which the impact of the experience could be determined through post-experience interviews. Participants answered in their own words, and the response were coded into ten categories (see Wilkins and Ungemach 2020 for a comprehensive analysis of this motivational and experience data, assigned to level 2 in the evidential standards framework). Bench marked against our evaluative framework, evidence that we were responsible for the changes observed for participants was assigned to both level two and three, as some well-established elements of the programme (such as ClfA endorsed training) ran alongside innovative experimental activities (such as creative art activities designed to attract new audiences).

Outcomes for communities and society

Alongside structured activities for project participants, other lighter touch opportunities were provided for site visitors to ensure that the project delivered outcomes for communities and society. Interpretation boards were placed alongside the trench-side fence,



Figure 11. Parent and child DigCamp excavation of the Victorian deposits



Figure 12. Age, gender and socio-economic background of project participants

and observers were encouraged to talk to and interact with the team and drop into the adjacent Finds Room to see what had been discovered. These more informal audience activities were supplemented with structured, hour-long tours of the trench and finds room, detailing the history of the site, explaining the research process, and highlighting the day's latest finds. Visitors were encouraged to complete a short evaluation form after their experience (24% of those visitors who took part), to understand the impact the project made on the wider community.

In response to this additional archaeological programming, a substantial 138% year-on-year increase in visits to the castle were recorded during October 2019 (14,810, up from 6,800). Given that 67% of visitor survey respondents stated that the dig was their main reason for visiting Pontefract Castle, it is not unreasonable to assign a large part of this uplift to the archaeological programming, supporting the wider project outcome that a 'wider range of people will be involved in heritage.' This audience was predominantly local, with 62% of visitors living within 10 miles of the site, 19% within 50 miles, and the remainder (including a small group of Australians) travelling from further afield (Figure 13).

Many of these visitors were surprised to have stumbled upon "an actual dig in progress" in the first place, and by "the sheer scale of it all", "the depth of the drawbridge pit" and how "much more [there is] to discover". Many also put forward what they learnt on the tour, such as "that Cromwell hadn't destroyed the castle", "how far back the town existed" or "the amount of knowledge you can find from the dig" in general. Of those surveyed, 80% of respondents had never taken part in a site tour or visited an archaeological site before. These visitors described an improved perception and impression of archaeology (34%) or strengthened in their pre-existing interest for the discipline (66%). A further 77% of respondents found archaeology to be more exciting

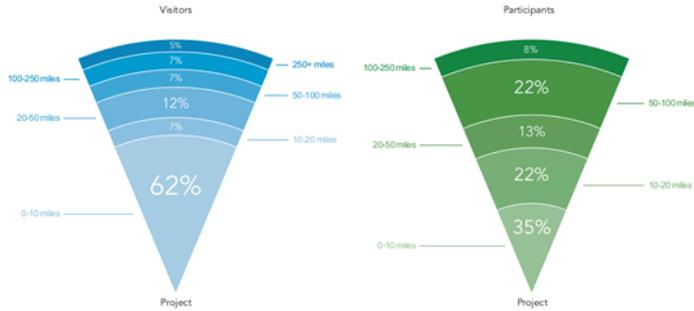


Figure 13. Average travel distance to site for visitors and participants

as a consequence of their visit, and when asked whether they would like to get more involved with archaeology in their local area, 80% agreed, of which 34% showed a very strong interest in future involvement (Figure 14).

As well as changing opinions of archaeology more generally, visitors also described an improved perception of the immediate Pontefract locality, supporting the social outcome that “the local area will be a better place to live, work or visit”. In total, 83% of respondents who claimed that their impression of the local area had changed, with one respondent clearly stating: “Pontefract has more to offer than I thought”. Another noted that they “hadn’t been too impressed of [sic] Pontefract up till now”, but now

Figure 14. Age, gender and experience impact for site visitors



found it all very interesting. People from further away admitted that they were “not aware of the area” before their visit. Locally, the positive impact of the project went even further and provided visitors with a better understanding of their local archaeology, with people saying that they gained “increased awareness of local history” as well as its former importance. Furthermore, Pontefract and its surrounding area has become a better place to live for visitors who now “feel privileged to live here!”

The project’s digital content also achieved significant breakthrough during the same period, achieving 500,000 combined impressions across Facebook and Twitter, and 12,000 post engagements (likes, shares or comments). A 3D virtual tour of the dig attracted 2,500 views on Sketchfab, driving 7,000 unique page views of the more in-depth archaeological content published on the project microsite: <https://digventures.com/pontefract-castle/> including background information, dig updates, and archival site records. Traditional TV and print media also covered the project with news stories published by BBC Look North and BBC Radio Leeds and featured in articles by the Wakefield Express and the Pontefract and Castleford Express.

Conclusion – Social impact archaeology

This short article has presented a Theory of Change and evaluation framework for measuring the social impact of public participation with archaeology programmes, ensuring that both ‘community’ and ‘archaeological research’ outcomes are designed with equal consideration. It should be read in concert with the companion piece to this work: a short documentary filmed and directed by DV Community Archaeologist Maggie Eno (see link in the abstract). Further analysis of the Pontefract Castle evaluation data can be found in the site assessment report (Wilkins & Ungemach 2020), and this will be expanded upon in the forthcoming journal publication, alongside consideration of whether the Gatehouse Project was a uniquely special case, and the potential challenges implementing this strategy on other development-led archaeology projects.

DigVentures was founded with a robust evaluation framework designed into our work as an essential step to scaling a model that now accounts for over 1,000 dig participants a year. The organising principle of this framework is that claims made regarding social impact of public participation in archaeology are as substantively evidenced as conclusions about the past drawn from the excavation itself. Increased evaluation requirements have recently been called out as just another form of audit trail for funders, or PR gloss for partners; but we see it as an opportunity for an organisation to learn, adapt, and improve their contribution to public benefit: a real-time process of equal importance to financial reporting for the health of an organisation. Just as a hole in the books would be dealt with as a matter of fiduciary responsibility, a similar rupture between the delivery of public benefit and the realities of archaeological working practice should require swift and decisive action. For other practitioners perturbed by an arguably growing deficit in archaeology’s ‘public benefit books’ we hope that the DV evaluation tool kit and Pontefract Castle case study will be of some guidance.

Acknowledgements

We would like to offer a sincere thank you to Historic England, in particular Neil Redfern, for the support and enthusiasm given throughout the project, to Merrill Diplock, Angela Routledge, Ian Downes and the entire team at Wakefield Metropolitan District Council, Jenni Butterworth from Drakon Heritage and Conservation, Ian Sanderson from West Yorkshire Archaeology Advisory Services, and huge thanks also to all the staff and volunteers at Pontefract Castle. Final thanks for the enthusiasm of hundreds of Pontefract volunteers who helped us dig, without whom none of this would have been possible.

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Public Benefit as Community Wellbeing in Archaeology

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Keywords: wellbeing, therapeutic, strategy, young people, inclusion

Abstract: This paper outlines the theory and strategy behind Historic England's new Wellbeing Strategy. It acknowledges the relevance of wellbeing to HE's core purpose, and proposes ways in which wellbeing can be built into archaeological and heritage projects. There is an evidenced link between access to heritage and wellbeing, which now need to be better integrated into project design and implementation. The paper concludes with an outline strategy for Wellbeing-led projects, and a discussion of how the success of these projects could be evaluated.

Introduction

Historic England is the UK Government's advisor to the historic environment in England. It carries out a variety of statutory functions, such as maintaining a list of 'Buildings at Risk', advising Government on buildings suitable for designating on the statutory list (that is the National Heritage List for England) and providing advice to Local Authorities within the planning system. It has a central and regional structure, managing strategic approaches, research, grant giving and guidance between them. Regional offices work closely with local partners to support regeneration and public engagement within a variety of programmes.

As an organisation Historic England aims to be an inspiration to, and a resource for, the sector in multiple areas relating to the protection of the historic environment. The concept of how we perceive the historic environment has evolved since the 1950s when it was primarily about the issue of monuments in care, to late 20th century questions about the 'power of place' and 'public value'. The public value of archaeology is not a new concept in the UK but the scope of its definition and potential is expanding. This is seen not least in the EACs own work on defining what public value comprises (see Sloane paper in this volume). Within the EAC proposed framework for public value in archaeology there are 8 areas: (1) Shared history (Meaning making and identity, part of something bigger); (2) Artistic Cultural Treasures (Stories, media interest, ways into

the subject of the history of people derived from outputs); (3) Local Values (Local pride and engagement with benefits for the project and the community); (4) Place-making and social cohesion (Messages and stories from outputs to creation and recreation of places or assets); (5) Educational value (Broad cultural education from outputs); (6) Science and Innovation (Research as a result of finds especially human, plant and climate science); (7) Wellbeing (Therapeutic intervention through the practice of archaeology) and (8) Added Value to developers (Direct economic benefit resulting from the archaeological element).

Wellbeing as a therapeutic intervention through the practice of archaeology exists in small pockets in the UK where it has focused on meeting a particular need. However, the idea of wellbeing as a policy objective at a more strategic level has been gaining ground across the arts, cultural heritage and archaeological spectrum. In terms of the historic environment generally the debate has been rumbling for much of this century. In 2005 Tessa Jowell, then the Secretary of State for Culture stated:

‘we need a new language to describe the importance of the historic environment... [we need to] increase diversity in both audiences and the workforce, to capture and present evidence of the value of heritage, to contribute to the national debate on identity and Britishness, to create public engagement and to widen the sense of ownership of the historic and built environment.’ (Clark 2006, 7)

Since then the language has gradually changed and now, I would argue, ‘wellbeing’ is part of a way of articulating what this collective of value and impact actually does, and could, look like.

Wellbeing might usefully be thought about in two key ways:

direct: that is the subjective wellbeing of how a person or community is doing and

indirect: that is working with the social determinants of health and wellbeing.

Expanding this further one might articulate wellbeing as an **individual issue** (how does one feel things are going), a **collective issue** (how well is a community or area doing), and a **population level issue** (how well are policies affecting change for the country as a whole). Each is focussed on what difference we can make and all are relevant to how we approach wellbeing. Each is related to how one feels and how one is affected by the social, economic and environmental context of daily life.

Whilst wellbeing (in the sense of improving lives whatever their starting point) is itself a worthy aim, arguably the real goal is to address wellbeing *inequalities* as a means to provide better chances and opportunities to all in society. Wellbeing is a mechanism through which we can address issues of social impact, health inequality, productivity, diversity and local identity.



Figure 1. Shane A. Johnstone, Venus and Cupid, venusandcupidartstrust.org, Morecambe.
© Historic England Archive, Alun Bull

Why we should do this, beyond the inherent moral imperative of making lives better in our communities, is a simple matter of pragmatism. In addition to ‘delivering’ wellbeing outcomes looking at our work, at all levels, through a ‘wellbeing’ lens will enable us to deliver to the public value frameworks we work to thus establishing organisational relevance and therefore resilience. The concept of ‘public value’ has a particular meaning to UK public bodies as a result of the 2017 Barber Report¹ which called for a more results-based culture in the public sector and requires that in order to demonstrate the value to the public of a publicly funded body there is a responsibility to show what positive difference the investment has made.

Our core purpose at Historic England is now identified as being ‘to improve people’s lives by protecting and championing the historic environment’.² Wellbeing is both a tool to help deliver this improvement and an outcome that demonstrates the potential values of the historic environment to society. In summary therefore wellbeing is essentially a way of thinking about our social impact and demonstrating it helps provide evidence of our ‘public value’ in the context of the Barber report. I believe our role should be to create *change* through our impact and therefore the tenour of

¹ <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/sir-michael-barber-report-into-improving-value-in-public-spending-published>

² <https://historicengland.org.uk/about/what-we-do/corporate-strategy/>

this document is about active participation and process as much as outputs; success is dependent upon a combination of ideological focus, outlook, and risk taking as much as the, still important, traditional delivery focus on skills, resources and opportunities. As will be seen below wellbeing is as much about a way of doing something as it is about what we do.

The main part of this paper will consider the following three areas. They will be necessarily brief but I hope they will provide some information and food for thought on how development-led archaeology and wellbeing can inter-relate and how this can sit within a broader strategic framework.

1. Opportunities for improving local wellbeing: a strategic framework
2. Examples of wellbeing and archaeological excavation
3. Critical success factors

Opportunities for improving local wellbeing: a strategic framework

In my experience there often appears a slight tension between the idea of strategic thinking and the drive to just 'do' projects. On the one hand, whilst preparing a strategy, one is often asked, what difference will it make on the ground or a feeling of just wanting to get on with things; on the other hand, working in practice may well lead to interrogation as to why something is being done in a certain way and a search for a rationale behind decision-making.

This paper has as its focus the possibilities for the strategic focus. Its main purpose is to show how the development of a strategy is a necessary process is defining direction and purpose. My hope is that by suggesting a strategic framework for considering wellbeing as a lens through which to see our work, it will show three things: how to conceptualise archaeology and its constituent practical parts as a force to improve wellbeing; how to explain to others what we mean when we talk about it; and provide a model for how we might report and answer questions about what difference we make to society at a professional, organisational or project level.

What do we mean by wellbeing?

Although I have referred to some basic principles above it is worth alluding to the meaning of wellbeing in a little more detail. In the 1940s the World Health Organisation defined Health as 'a state of complete physical, mental and social wellbeing and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.'³

The UK government defined wellbeing in 2010 as 'a positive physical, social and mental state; it is not just the absence of pain, discomfort and incapacity. It requires

³ Preamble to the Constitution of the World Health Organization as adopted by the International Health Conference, New York, 19–22 June 1946; signed on 22 July 1946 by the representatives of 61 States (Official Records of the World Health Organization, no. 2, p. 100) and entered into force on 7 April 1948.

that basic needs are met, that individuals have a sense of purpose, and that they feel able to achieve important personal goals and participate in society. It is enhanced by conditions that include supportive personal relationships, strong and inclusive communities, good health, financial and personal security, rewarding employment, and a healthy and attractive environment.⁴

The latter in particular emphasises the two key aspects of wellbeing mentioned above – that is the factors that contribute towards one’s potential for wellbeing – henceforth known as the **social determinants of wellbeing**, and an individual’s own cognitive and affective evaluations of his or her life – henceforth known as **subjective wellbeing**.

The Aboriginal health and medical research council of New South Wales – Australia, states that:

‘Health is not just the physical wellbeing of an individual but also the social emotional and cultural wellbeing of the whole community, in which each individual is able to achieve their full potential as a human being, thereby bringing about the total wellbeing of their community.’⁵

This particular definition suggests an approach which is more community orientated than many and links the individual and the community together; at the same time it alludes directly to a concept of ‘cultural wellbeing’. Assuming this more holistic and culturally sensitive definition is a result of the needs of the Aboriginal communities to have their cultural life maintained as an integral part of their wellbeing, it offers a useful perspective on how cultural life as an entity is inter-related into collective wellbeing. This is potentially useful for cultural organisations which are looking to see how to show the value of a community’s cultural inheritance and engagement with that inheritance can be expressed.

The historic environment is a powerful part of that cultural inheritance. Wellbeing is personal and subjective, but also universally relevant. Heritage is a profession and concept based on values (arguably what matters to society) and wellbeing likewise is values focused (what matters to an individual). In theory therefore they should be compatible.

The What Works Centre for Wellbeing provides a useful summary of the nature of wellbeing and its challenges:

‘Wellbeing encompasses the environmental factors that affect us, and the experiences we have throughout our lives. These can fall into traditional policy areas of economy, health, education and so on. But wellbeing also crucially recognises the aspects of our lives that we

⁴ Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (2010) Measuring Progress: Sustainable Development Indicators 2010, www.defra.gov.uk/sustainable/government/progress/documents/SDL2010_001.pdf

⁵ <https://www.ahmrc.org.au/>

determine ourselves: through our own capabilities as individuals; how we feel about ourselves; the quality of the relationships that we have with other people; and our sense of purpose.⁶

These psychological needs are an important part of what makes us human, along with our ability to feel positive and negative emotions. It matters how often, and for how long, we experience positive emotions – such as pleasure and a sense of purpose – or potentially negative emotions, like anxiety.

If we accept that some aspects of wellbeing are subjective, we can better understand the interactions and trade-offs between different experiences. We can also take into account the longer-term effects and the different importance of these things to different people.

Part of the value of wellbeing as a concept is that wherever you are and whatever your cultural background or personal circumstances, people intuitively understand the value of happiness and wellbeing. But this universality that adapts to so many different contexts and perspectives, can sometimes make it difficult to share a common understanding of what exactly wellbeing is.

Two key challenges: complexity and contestation

This description by the What Works Centre for Wellbeing encapsulates a key challenge in thinking about wellbeing: Wellbeing is complex, multi-faceted, ever-changing and highly personal. As a result there is the potential for multiple expressions of wellbeing at any one time, which raises challenges within organisational frameworks which tend to focus on fixed plans, clear impact and predicted outputs. This can lead to organisational anxiety about how to identify actions and outputs that are robust and meaningful in a seemingly endlessly complex environment.

The first thing to say in response to this is simply that having a strategy at least explains to others why you are doing what you are and provides a basis through which others can respond to or add to your own understanding of the issues. For example, we will be talking to Mental Health charities and other parts of the health sector about our strategy to do a reality-check to ensure we understand the issues we are trying to influence.

The second response is that despite its inherent complexity there are some established means of considering what wellbeing looks like for society, providing a statistically validated set of approaches and a set of invaluable base-line data.

In the UK, the most useful is that provided by the Office of National Statistics, which was requested to create wellbeing indicators for society in 2010. They stated that:

⁶ <https://whatworkswellbeing.org/about-wellbeing/what-is-wellbeing/>

'Wellbeing, put simply, is about 'how we are doing' as individuals, communities and as a nation and how sustainable this is for the future.

We define wellbeing as having 10 broad dimensions which have been shown to matter most to people in the UK as identified through a national debate. The dimensions are: the natural environment, personal well-being, our relationships, health, what we do, where we live, personal finance, the economy, education and skills and governance.

Personal wellbeing is a particularly important dimension which we define as how satisfied we are with our lives, our sense that what we do in life is worthwhile, our day-to-day emotional experiences (happiness and anxiety) and our wider mental wellbeing.⁷

There are two key reasons why this definition is important, one is that it characterises the two dimensions of wellbeing highlighted earlier: that is, social determinants along with the sense of personal assessment of how well we are doing (SWB). The second is that the ONS provides us with base-line data for assessing wellbeing impact and changes in national wellbeing that could be used as benchmark information across the country and its localities, and give a clearer picture of where different priorities might exist across the country.

This strategy therefore considers our role, and that of the historic environment, in both the social determinants of wellbeing and subjective wellbeing. Wellbeing might be seen as a way to pull together these factors and enable the complex ecosystem of their interdependence to be articulated and considered.

In addition to this we need to consider, in my view, the issue of how contested a field heritage and archaeology actually is and its relevance for the wellbeing agenda.

The rhetoric found in the policy field tends to associate the work of cultural institutions and activity as being inherently positive for wellbeing outcomes. This belies an unwritten assumption that all heritage or cultural engagement, archaeological or otherwise is 'good for you'. The heritage sector is not one cohesive entity – and in particular the process of archaeology and its results and outcomes are often highly contested. Whilst this may have been focused recently in the public eye in many parts of Europe on the issue of statues and either colonial or political pasts associated with oppression, it is something which has the potential to emerge in multiple ways. Starting from an assumption that heritage is essentially good for you risks a lack of awareness of the potential for difficulty. Acknowledging the difficulty means risks associated with projects are at least considered. Many organisations are highly risk averse and it raises the question whether considering wellbeing and heritage together demands some element of risk taking to carve out successful outcomes and learn from our mistakes.

⁷ <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/wellbeing/articles/measuresofnationalwellbeingdashboard/2018-04-25>

Having said all of this, this notion of ‘wellbeing’ is easily presented as a new imperative. Of course, people have been doing brilliant work with archaeology and communities for years. Often the benefits of those projects were aimed at one of the suggested 8 public benefits of archaeology listed above – most commonly that of education – whereas now we want to be able to articulate the values associated with archaeology and heritage in more complex ways. The question is not simply, what did someone learn from access to an excavation or participation in part of an archaeological process, but what difference did it make to them and their lives. This difference then has the potential to affect their subjective wellbeing and the social determinants of health and wellbeing.

In the UK whilst there are scoping surveys of archaeological and heritage-based projects that aim to look at their wellbeing outcomes,⁸ the most common issues raised include questions over comparability and validity of evaluation, ability to collate evidence, quality of evaluation and lack of availability of results. Knowing that you achieved what you set out to do is one thing, but being able to show that to others in a way that is comparable to a broader context is now needed to make your case. Essentially there is a dichotomy between grass-roots community work and the desire for networks, alignment, resources and consistent measurement.

Towards a strategy

Historic England is developing a Wellbeing and Heritage Strategy that will provide a framework within which to consider how we and the sector can deliver wellbeing outcomes. Set against the background of complexity above, the strategy is needed to attempt to establish a framework through which we can operate, be seen to operate and report against. Therefore, its purpose is partly to map our existing activities against, and identify gaps in, our potential for delivering positive wellbeing outcomes. It is to enable us to show others what we are doing; it is purposefully straightforward, aims simply to capture the kinds of opportunities and to be scaled up or down as required. That is, it is hoped that it can be applied to any project, programme, organisational or sector context.

Four domains of action

As an historic environment organisation we are well-used to thinking about any kind of ‘heritage asset’ as something which may benefit from protection (designating, interpretation, conservation, presenting and maintaining). It can also include a responsive approach reacting more specifically to deterioration or change, whether caused by neglect, development or the ravages of time and climate. These ways of thinking are core to much of our activity and the planning of our programmes of intervention with regard to all kinds of places.

The Wellbeing and Heritage Strategy will propose that we consider this in combination with an approach that focusses as much on people as on place. For some this feels

⁸ <https://whatworkswellbeing.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Heritage-scoping-review-March-2019-1.pdf> <https://www.iriss.org.uk/resources/insights/evaluating-social-prescribing>

like a shift away from the so-called core function of heritage bodies, as the so-called 'intrinsic' qualities of our cultural heritage are enough and there is no need to 'instrumentalise' our work in this way. In response to this view I would argue that the need to demonstrate the benefits of archaeology and heritage have never been greater. Several small countries have started to redefine their approach to public policy through creating a wellbeing strategy against which to measure success. New Zealand, Scotland and Iceland are at the front on this movement and are founder members of the Wellbeing Economy Governments (WEGo).⁹ Wales introduced the Wellbeing of Future Generations Act in 2015 and even the House of Lords in the UK has pressed for a similar approach in England although the government has not yet taken this on board. The way we talk about value and culture has changed and continues to change. We hope the Wellbeing and Heritage Strategy will provide some structure to how we consider our response to that change. At the time of writing it is being suggested the strategy has 3 key aims (Figure 2).

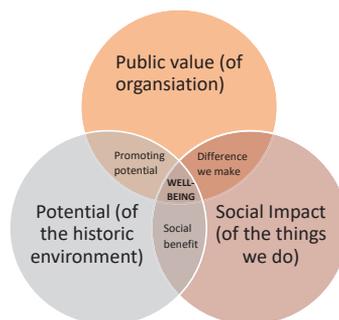


Figure 2. Our wellbeing aims

- 1: TO DEVELOP THE WAY WE ALREADY WORK TO MAXIMISE **PUBLIC VALUE** THROUGH WELLBEING
- 2: TO DEMONSTRATE UNEQUIVOCALLY THE **POTENTIAL OF HERITAGE** TO DELIVER WELLBEING
- 3: POSITION HERITAGE IN THE WIDER CONTEXT OF HEALTH AND WELLBEING TO ENABLE OTHERS TO DELIVER **SOCIAL IMPACT**

All of which will contribute towards a vision that heritage, whether through archaeology, interpretation, regeneration, research and so on will support flourishing communities in healthy places.

The health sector has long spoken about prevention and cure as their two-pronged approach to health. Whilst I would not advocate the use of the word 'cure' in relation to heritage assets or indeed any work with communities the sector engages with, it does arguably mirror the sort of proactive response that we as a heritage sector work within. If married together then the relationship of our work and the health sector unites to form a focus on the interaction between places and people. This is expressed by the below simple 2 by 2 matrix (Figure 3) where we are suggesting each domain (from A-D) provides a sense of the primary driver for some form of wellbeing work. This approach can be used, as here, to apply to an organisational portfolio, or to an archaeological programme or strategy. The use of logic models are more common in

⁹ <https://wellbeingeconomy.org/tag/wego>; <https://nationalperformance.gov.scot/scotlands-wellbeing-report>; <https://neweconomics.org/2019/07/wellbeing-as-economic-steer-new-zealand-leading-the-pack-again>; <https://www.treasury.govt.nz/publications/wellbeing-budget/wellbeing-budget-2019-html>; <https://wellbeingeconomy.org/iceland>

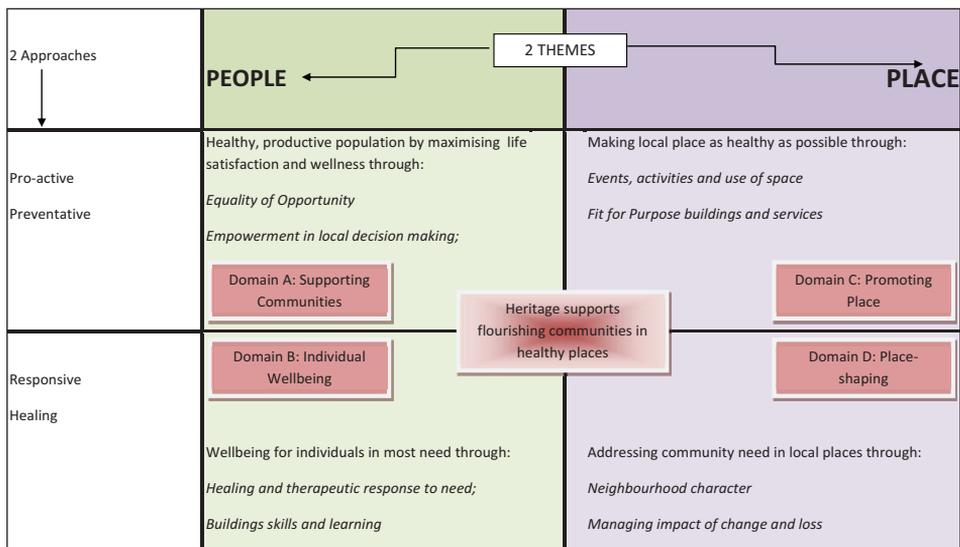


Figure 3. The four domains of wellbeing and heritage in a proposed 2x2 matrix

Figure 4. An indicative example of the application of the four domains of wellbeing and heritage to an organisational portfolio

	PEOPLE	PLACE
Pro-active Preventative	Healthy, productive population by: <i>Equality of Opportunity</i> <i>Empowerment in local decision making;</i> Creative engagement with research outputs, historic environment, knowledge and artefacts (festival of archaeology, heritage schools, community archaeology) Building processes to ensure local people are included in change and decisions (co-production models)	Making local place as healthy as possible through: <i>Events, activities and use of space</i> <i>Fit for Purpose buildings and services</i> Creative engagement with research outputs, historic environment, knowledge and artefacts (communication, dissemination, events, campaigns) Planning and conservation advice, place-based activity with local authorities, prioritisation
Responsive Healing	Wellbeing for individuals in most need through: <i>Healing and therapeutic response to need;</i> <i>Buildings skills and learning</i> Targeted volunteering, focussed archaeological programmes, Social prescribing, Development-led archaeology	Addressing community need in local places: <i>Neighbourhood character</i> <i>Managing impact of change and loss</i> Development advice, responding to regeneration projects through specialist advice Heritage at Risk and responding to loss and neglect through advice, grants and community engagement

	PEOPLE	PLACE
Pro-active Preventative	Healthy, productive population by maximising life satisfaction and wellness through: <i>Equality of Opportunity</i> <i>Empowerment in local decision making;</i> pre/post & excavation	Making local place as healthy as possible through: <i>Events, activities and use of space</i> <i>Fit for Purpose buildings and services</i> post-excavation
Responsive Healing	Wellbeing for individuals in most need through: <i>Healing and therapeutic response to need;</i> <i>Buildings skills and learning</i> excavation	Addressing community need in local places through: <i>Neighbourhood character</i> <i>Managing impact of change and loss</i> development

Figure 5. Indicative example of how the archaeological process at a simple level relates to the four 'domains'

the public sector than they used to be and if one preferred that style of presentation one could simply see this as articulating the headings of 'objectives' (text in normal or a colour) and 'goals' (italic text) in such a format.

In terms of what this means for us as an organisation at Historic England and in order to explain how this translates, Figure 4 includes indications of the kinds of activities that might fall within each category. In some we might be leading on pilots and projects and for others we might be providing advice and guidance. These are indicative only and the full strategy includes more complex active SWOT analyses and mapping exercises.

What is immediately telling is that the suggested activities in the people/healing box are ones that we currently do not undertake. The most comprehensive gap in our portfolio at the time of writing is work that focusses on a particular person or community-based need. And yet, there is considerable research to suggest that the bigger wellbeing benefits can be gained for those who are most deprived or affected by disadvantage in some way.

One way to think about how this applies to organisational practice is to consider a hierarchy of intervention, depending on what it is that is the primary goal, for example:

Level 1 – **stay** as we are.

Level 2 – **adapt** existing work to take into account subjective wellbeing measurement so where we do engage we can measure individual wellbeing along with other metrics.

Level 3 – **expand** what we do to answer wellbeing imperatives, developing new projects and guidance.

Level 4 – **change** at a systems level that requires new language and approach to reflect wellbeing and inclusion as goals of equal significance to positive heritage outcomes and creates new models for prioritisation.

Taking development-led archaeology as an example – if one considered how this overlays onto the archaeological process at a simple level one might ascribe which of the four ‘domains’ and associated goals relates best to which part of the archaeological process. For an example see Figure 5.

Examples of wellbeing and archaeological excavation (past and potential)

Whether or not projects set out to achieve what might be captured under the term wellbeing improvements or outcomes there are examples of archaeological project work that has shown its potential. One of these was carried out in the 1980s: the University of Arizona archaeologists launched Project Origins, working with autistic and disabled young adults in an archaeological context and related laboratory work. “Participants identified and collected surface artefacts; dug; pushed wheelbarrows; screened sediments to expose cultural materials; operated systems to float organics out of sediments for analysis; and cleaned, sorted, and labelled”. In this project it was observed that there were benefits for the assistants as they learned, shared, and otherwise connected to places, objects, one another, and the collected materials’¹⁰

In a development-led context an example can be found in the Port Angeles dock, Washington, where in 2003 construction was underway. A poor archaeological assessment meant that there was no expectation of finding remains but almost 300 burials found from an indigenous cemetery. Locals from the indigenous community associated with the land on which their ancestral burials were found were involved in the archaeological process that followed. As reported by Mapes (2009:166), “One of the best things about the discovery of the site, tribal elders say, was that it gave tribal youth the chance to discover their culture with their own heart and hands.” There was a strong connection for many between the link with history and identity and the relationship to wellbeing that that can bring and which was created not from the work taking place but from the community being involved in the work directly. Despite this, the process was not all about wellbeing – the discovery of burials where bones had been used to fill pipes was very traumatic and contested for some.

More information on this can be found in an article from Current Anthropology (Schaepe et al. 2017) in which the authors summarise their findings on this and other projects as follows:

“Archaeology has untapped potential to elicit and confirm connections among people, places, objects, knowledges, ancestries, ecosystems, and worldviews. Such

¹⁰ <https://asunow.asu.edu/colleges-and-units/asu-origins-project>

interconnections endow individuals and communities with identities, relationships, and orientations that are foundational for health and well-being. In particular, archaeology practiced as place-focused research can counteract cultural stress, a pernicious effect of colonialism that is pervasive among indigenous peoples worldwide.”

In the UK there are a number of archaeological initiatives that relate to the wellbeing of veterans; they take the form of research excavations rather than development-led but their now established format means they provide a basis for understanding the potential benefits of the archaeological process when tailored in this way. One of the best known of these is Operation Nightingale, a military initiative developed to use archaeology as a means of aiding the recovery of service personnel injured in recent conflict, particularly in Afghanistan. A recent analysis of the programme found that ‘Soldiers reported a mean of 13%–38% improvement across the self-reported domains’ (Nimenko and Simpson 2014). The results demonstrate decreases in the severity of the symptoms of depression and anxiety, and of feelings of isolation, along with an increase in mental wellbeing and in sense of value. There are poignant and persuasive stories of individuals involved in the process, including a wounded-in-service veteran, who lost a leg due to an improvised explosive device, excavating the foot and boot of a British soldier from the 1917 Battle of Bullecourt. As before however it is a pre-requisite of any therapeutic work such as this to be set within a support framework for dealing with trauma and with specialists in the effects and symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Syndrome (PTSD) for example. Just because the potential outcomes are good does not mean it is straightforward to implement (see Everill et al. 2020).

New and emerging projects

Considering the suggested framework for considering gaps identified above in the therapeutically-led work at Historic England we have been doing three things – collectively these will help build the evidence base for archaeology and wellbeing through specific application. One is to look at our existing work in the area of our Heritage at Risk projects and highlight the ways in which we have already been delivering public value so we can see how to build on this through reflective practice; we have also been investigating the potential to engage with particular wellbeing and health agendas in the UK such as ‘social prescribing’ and thirdly we have initiated research into the feasibility, and we hope – once the social distancing implications of the COVID-19 pandemic have eased – also the practical application, of new approaches. One such study is focused on what archaeology and heritage interventions could do for younger people who are vulnerable in some way. Although draft at the time of writing the aim is that our wellbeing strategic approach will have four priority wellbeing areas: two focused on particular social challenges at the current time: mental health and loneliness (and of course exacerbated by the circumstances surrounding the pandemic) and two highlighting two parts of society where we feel we could make a significant difference: young people and older adults.

In thinking about young people, we are suggesting that for the current time we consider three ways to consider where we might target resources and these are set out in Figure 6, providing categories of engagement that are likely to require different

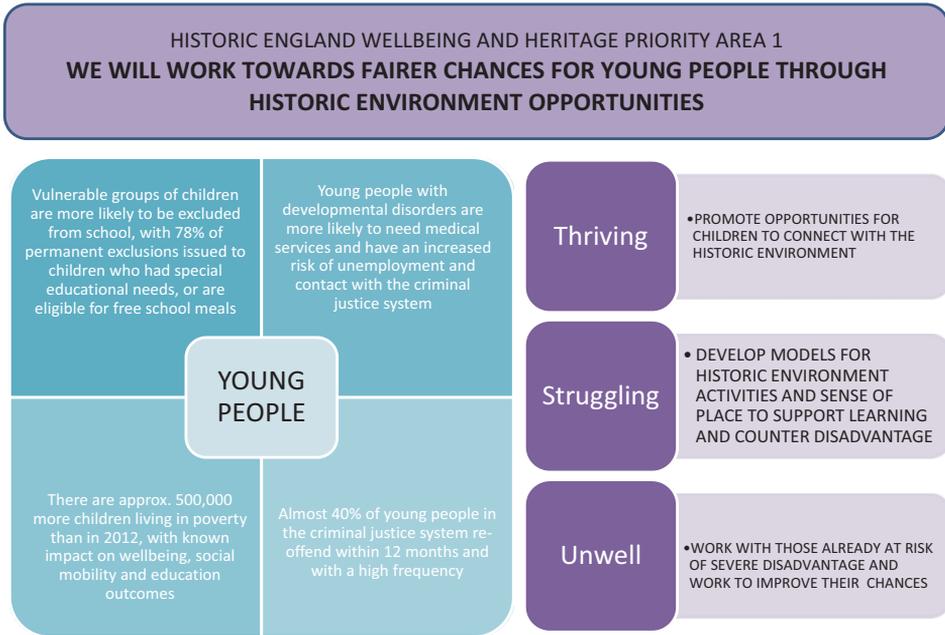


Figure 6. An example of a wellbeing priority for heritage and archaeology taken from Historic England’s draft strategy

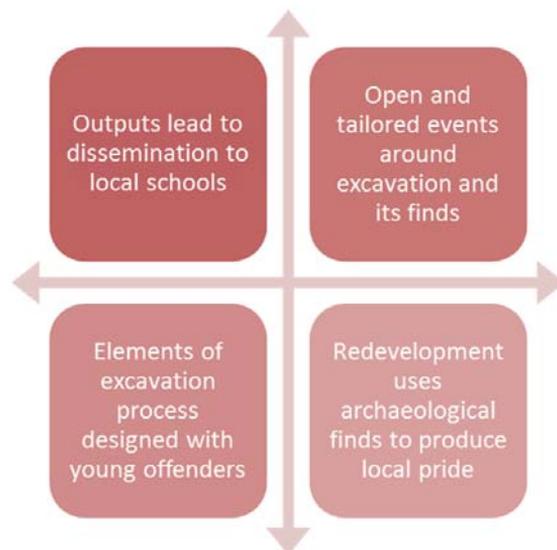
approaches and a structure against which we can report what we have explored or produced. Therefore Figure 5 shows these three categories and these are duplicated for all of the 4 wellbeing priority areas of loneliness, mental health, ageing and young people. Some programmes of work may focus on a general level of population engagement targeted at children and minors: development-led archaeology has many examples of this in terms of education and engagement with the fact that an excavation is taking place through site visits and other initiatives. However there is a question about where we can make the most difference.

Figure 5 also summarises some of the issues that young people face and which commonly puts them at a disadvantage in society.

Figure 7 shows the kinds of ways the four domains can help direct the kinds of interventions in an archaeological development-led process if focussing on young people as an example.

There are clear links between developmental disorders and entering the criminal justice system, clear links between living in poverty and low wellbeing and challenges for those in the criminal justice system escaping it. No one project can hope to address any of these issues in their entirety but we can aim to work in these areas to explore

Figure 7. Example of applying young people's interventions on the four domains in relation to the archaeological process



ways in which archaeology can contribute towards making a difference. As a result we have commissioned Wessex Archaeology to conduct a feasibility study on what working with young offenders or those working in the criminal justice system might look like. It will be dependent from the very start on understanding the needs of the organisations that already serve these young people and on the needs of the young people themselves; it will need to take into account the safeguarding required and the particular opportunities that heritage and archaeology might bring to the table. The feasibility stage will end on 31st March 2021 with a view to looking for funding to carry out some collaborative pilot projects based on learning and partnerships established in the feasibility stage. Some of the reasons for working in this area are well laid out in just one of the UK's local authority's strategic needs assessments which states the following:

- The rate of suicide in boys aged 15–17, who have been sentenced and remanded in custody, may be as much as 18 times higher than the rate in non-offenders;
- Some 18% of 13–18-year-olds in custody have depression, 10% have anxiety, 9% have post-traumatic stress disorder and 5% have psychotic symptoms;
- Of children and young people on community orders, 43% have emotional and mental health needs;
- Some 60% of boys in custody have specific difficulties in relation to speech, language or communication.¹¹

Figure 8 contains a list of possible success factors that might govern a successful outcome and which will be considered in the feasibility stage.

¹¹ These are from <https://www.calderdale.gov.uk/v2/residents/health-and-social-care/joint-strategic-needs-assessment/children-and-young-people/young>

Collaborate with Prison Service
 Understand **need**, issues and opportunities
 Ensure support **infrastructure** is there
Co-design with young offenders
 Consider having a **control** group
 Design a pre and post evaluation based on **validated** measures that can be compared to larger context and works for both organisations
Long-term impact evaluation

Figure 8. Likely critical success factors for working with young offenders

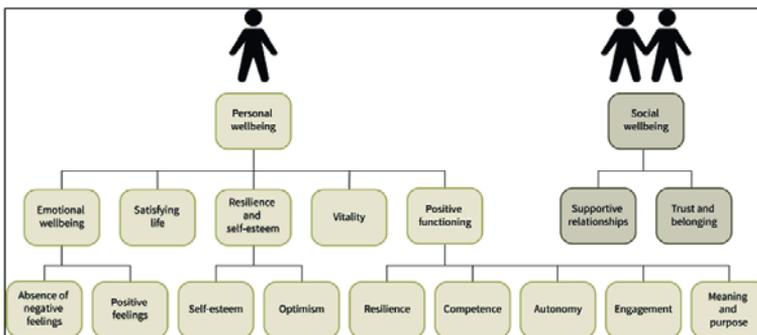
Measurement and evaluation

Whilst investigating ways of doing something is crucial, there is a further issue of how to measure and evaluate success so that the benefits of action can be demonstrated. Part of the purpose for measurement and evaluation is to make the case for archaeology at various levels of governance, whether national or local; part is about constantly reflecting on methods and approaches to learn lessons on how to improve or adapt options for the future.

This topic of wellbeing measurement is a large one and here I aim to focus on some key principles and guidance that currently exists to point towards approaches. As our pilot work progresses we also hope to develop new guidance on what works best in what circumstances. Any such guidance will be made publically available.

When talking about subjective wellbeing of individuals there are some helpful established assessments of what types of change in individuals – and to an extend communities – engender a positive uplift in wellbeing. The New Economics Foundation example (Figure 9) shows some of these.

Figure 9. New economics foundation indicator structure adapted from their national accounts framework (source: Ander et al. 2015)



Our role as an historic environment body, therefore, might be to see how certain types of activity can produce the changes in individuals here identified on the bottom row. If we can show that some work carried out with individuals created an increase in positive feeling or increase in self-esteem then we can rely on existing evidence, such as shown here, that links these changes to wellbeing outcomes. Simply put if personal wellbeing is achievable by supporting confidence and resilience, self-esteem and feelings of competence then we should be designing projects that can achieve those feelings as collectively these will lead to improved wellbeing.

In terms of working with archaeological projects there are many obvious ways in which involvement at pre, main or post excavation stage of individuals or communities could engender self-esteem, competence through skills learning, meaning and purpose. This could provide the foundations for what it is we are trying to assess when setting out on a project and wanting to think about what we might actually measure. Although there is considerable general anecdotal evidence for archaeological projects achieving many of these objectives there is little rigorous recording of the degree or longevity of such changes. The next step is therefore to look at whether the project or programme records any changes in these areas.

For the recording to be most valuable its objective needs to be clear. For example, if it is simply a case of understanding your project and how it works then semi-structured interviews with participants can give you a feel for the sorts of experiences encountered. Engaging in this sort of evaluation before and after a project or programme enables some identification of change to be captured and can be especially useful in articulating the nature of change and creating stories of benefits to individuals for illustrative purposes.

However, if one of the objectives of the measurement and evaluation is to show what difference an intervention makes in a way that be compared and contrasted to other methods then it is essential to use validated methods with standardised approaches that are available to all. These enable comparison and a building up of evidence by collating data over time and multiple projects.

At the current time in the UK the ONS as referred to above provides one possible model and most importantly base-line data against which projects can be compared. However, at the scale most archaeological projects work it is worth ensuring that base line data is captured for the project at hand, that is, before the project begins.

In terms of a project-level subjective wellbeing evaluation the most cited is the so-called Warwick-Edinburgh model, a set of questions that have been validated for understanding and appreciation of the question and there are toolkits and advice available for how to use them. The shorter version of the Warwick-Edinburgh is recommended as a way to create a proportionate questionnaire for small projects. As with all evaluation proportionality and awareness of the burden it can impose on participants is an essential consideration (Warwick 2020).



Figure 10. The five ways to wellbeing, based on: <https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/mental-capital-and-wellbeing>

The *What Works Centre for Wellbeing*, one of several What Works centre set up by the UK government, has a wealth of advice, tools and methods available on its ever-expanding website.¹² It also has conducted a scoping review of heritage and wellbeing projects.¹³

Why archaeology works for wellbeing

In this section of this paper I want to look at some of the reasons why archaeology works for wellbeing and some critical success factors for involving wellbeing in archaeology. In 2008 the UK Government Office for Science published 'Five Ways to Mental Wellbeing'.¹⁴ This identified five actions individuals could do which in combination would support mental good health and build resilience (see Figure 10).

I believe that if we looked at archaeology as practice we could easily see how archaeological activities could enable all of these five positive and supportive approaches to self-care.

Equally if one takes the factors that the New Economics Foundation (NEF) identified (Figure 9) one can see how archaeology has the potential to create results in areas of confidence, self-esteem etc. Figure 11 provides an early attempt at capturing how and why archaeology might be especially well-placed to deliver to multiple outcomes in these two frameworks. The words in bold relate to the five ways to wellbeing and

¹² <https://whatworkswellbeing.org/> and <https://measure.whatworkswellbeing.org/>

¹³ <https://whatworkswellbeing.org/resources/heritage-and-wellbeing-2/>

¹⁴ <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/five-ways-to-mental-wellbeing>

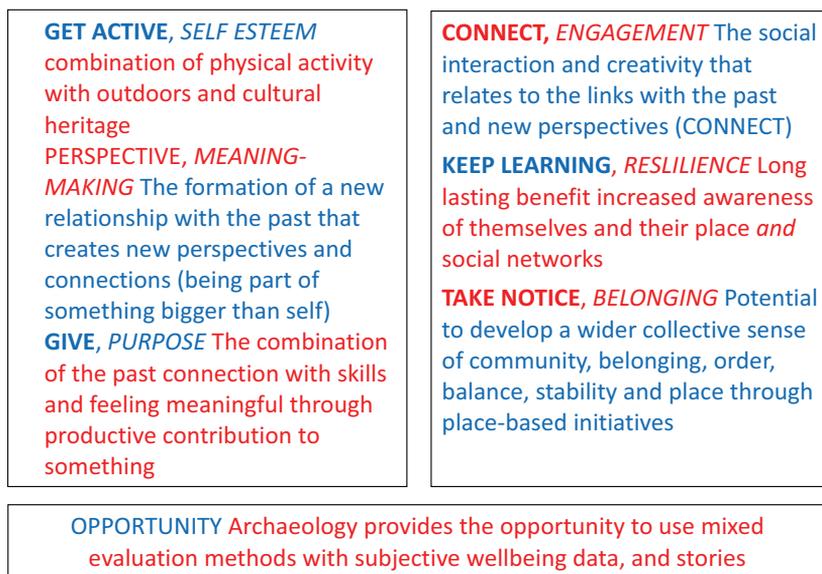


Figure 11. A proposal for the unique selling point of archaeology for delivering wellbeing

the italics to the NEF framework. Added to this and as referred to above there are good opportunities within archaeology to articulate this benefit through upping our game in robust measurement, through adopting more rigorous evaluation techniques and considering the possibility of longitudinal evaluation to see longer term impacts and through capturing stories of individuals deeply affected by their connection to an archaeological project.

The proposition here is that when we start to consider projects and programmes in this way we can start to see patterns emerge about the particular qualities of archaeology and heritage.

Although this is only a high level and simple articulation of the relationship between archaeology and wellbeing it might form the basis of what a 'unique selling point' (USP) for archaeology and heritage might look like when considering making the case for its collective benefits.

It is accepted here that there is more work to be done on issue of causality with regard with regard to some of these suggested links.

Given that wellbeing is as important in terms of thinking about how to design, deliver and measure a project as it is in terms of identifying specific objectives, it is worth thinking about what a model for a successful wellbeing project looks like. The below is a suggested way to approach a wellbeing project:

1. Advance work on what is needed – what are you trying to achieve, what are the areas where you could make a difference in your locality, what evidence already exists of good mechanisms for delivering benefit to a particular group of individuals.
2. Build relationship with project partner - co-production is much spoken of at the current time but its importance can hardly be over-stated. Our Young Offenders project will work with local probation and mental health partners to work out what a successful project would look like and how it could be safely delivered. There is no point in re-inventing the wheel as many specialist social organisations are already skilled in working with young people, or other specific groups with particular needs.
3. Create safe infrastructure and support – clearly the above co-production or co-design process will help create safe and stable structures for delivery. Personal support for people is important in any work environment but particularly so if you are working with vulnerable groups of any kind.
4. Get to know your group and listen – co-creation is also something of a buzzword at the current time but in essence it is about talking to people with lived experience and ensuring that they have an equal voice in decisions about the project or programme. Whilst we all may accept that certain issues like health and safety have structures and approaches which may be fixed there are plenty of ways individuals who are selected, recommended or come forward for a project can be active participants in what is important to them and how things might be done. Following the principle of ‘doing with’ rather than ‘doing to’ will already begin to make the project more empowering and therefore increase its wellbeing potential.
5. Be person-centred – this means it is important, even though a project might have a primary driver of archaeology in a development setting, to look at individual projects and interventions aimed at the general public to be centred on what matters to people and what works for them.
6. Be creative – creativity has been shown to be a key success factor in achieving wellbeing outcomes in projects and for individuals in many settings. Drawing finds, photographing a site and displaying finds are all examples of particular creative aspects within a project that could be a focus for ensuring creativity. Whilst the very nature of the process of archaeology might be considered creative by some through its revelation and discovery, it is important to include multiple aspects of the process in offer of an archaeological project looking to achieve wellbeing outcomes so it can provide multiple opportunities for individuals to relate their needs, experiences, skills and aspirations to the project.
7. Be social – the social character of an excavation is in itself a social activity with considerable potential for team spirit.
8. Be engaging – the concept of discovery is part of the engagement inherent in archaeology but there are lots of particular ways to provide engagement within the process to individuals of different needs.
9. Encourage meaning-making – again we might argue that archaeology is especially well placed to deliver this as people gain a perspective on the past,

see the fitting together of elements or stories through the process of revealing hitherto hidden evidence.

10. Be flexible – it is an important part of any project with communities to allow for some flexibility and to have some back-up plans for project delivery as things change. It cannot be expected that all people will respond to a challenge in the same way and therefore some flexibility needs to be built into the process.
11. Use authentic cultural material – there are multiple examples of the value of authentic cultural objects being used in a museum context to support healing and therapy of individuals in a hospital setting.¹⁵ The advantage of archaeology is perhaps its inherently authentic character as whatever is discovered is authentic and contextualised. Allowing handling of objects during or post-excavation can be important for creating connections and feeling engaged.
12. Encourage learning and skills – this area is already one in which archaeology is well-versed. Maybe the wellbeing agenda can help refine it by considering how we can show the benefits of learning and skills in more detail and link this to how it makes a difference to the lives of people after the ‘event’ of the archaeological excavation is over through confidence, competence and enhanced resilience. This set of factors shows how and why wellbeing is in fact an approach as much as it is an activity.

There are also arguably some key factors in successfully making the case for wellbeing outcomes, listed on Figure 12.

Critical Success Factors for making the case:

Be Purposeful

Be Costed

Be well-Documented

**Measure
Evaluate**

**use mixed methods of quantitative and qualitative data and personal stories
be consistent in your use of terms and data
where possible include longitudinal analysis of impact
be aware of the broader research context for benchmarking**

Celebrate and Communicate

Figure 12. Important or critical factors in making the case for the benefit of wellbeing in archaeology

¹⁵ <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/culture/projects/museums-on-prescription>

Where now?

At Historic England I am suggesting that we consider wellbeing as a journey. It begins with considering language and approach as much as anything else: doing with not doing to; and considering how co-production and co-creation could form part of many more of our conversations and projects. It would be unfair to assume that all staff would immediately buy into this idea and working with them to consider best ways of implementing ideas is crucial as well as training on what a wellbeing project might look like in particular contexts. However, wellbeing does not need to be seen as a completing new strand of work that has to be done as an add-on to everything else. We are not asking people to become wellbeing experts as well as heritage ones, but we may be asking them to consider how to commission and design with others so that individual and societal wellbeing can be achieved. Figure 13 shows four stages on this journey.

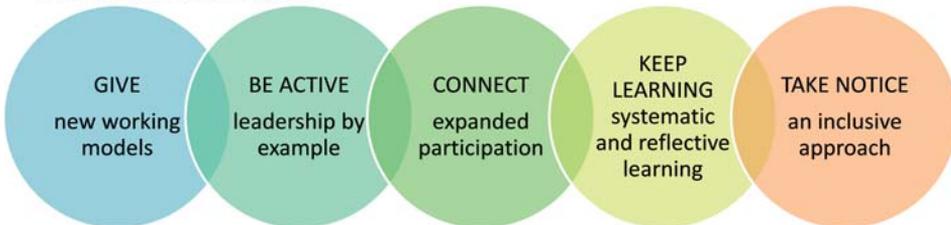
One might argue that for us, like other heritage organisations, we have always been focussed on care and protection, that the very nature of much of our work is rooted in sustainability of a valuable resource and creativity in how to elucidate that resource and celebration of its potential. Given this, maybe archaeology is especially well-placed to adopt an approach that brings specific social benefits to its heart. Much of what is needed is about refining and shifting existing practice, thinking about

Figure 13. Stages on the journey to having wellbeing at the heart of what we do and five ways to drive an approach to achieve this

How we will encourage development of the heritage sector



A first step towards embedding wellbeing is to use the Five Ways of Wellbeing to drive our approach to deliver the following sector goals:



what we are aiming for and being purposeful about how to get there. Decades ago when the inclusion and diversity agenda became a topic in its own right, required to create awareness of need and potential, it helped established methods that could be questioned and slowly evolve. It was considered that success would be achieved when it became a golden thread that ran through a project, programme, organisation, community and society. Maybe we would do well to consider the wellbeing agenda in a similar way – our goal to create a golden thread - engendering social change, social inequalities and making people’s wellbeing better in a highly tangible way.

I believe that creating successful wellbeing outcomes is the result of embedding it within a programme or organisation through language and attitude, developing staff so they know what it is about and how to recognise opportunities. After this, the things I refer to here, especially with regard to projects and processes, can be applied to the way an organisation works (systems change), the way a project is delivered (e.g. research excavation), or the way a type of activity or programme is designed (e.g. development-led archaeology). This is not to say it is easy or quick but right now in a world questioning the dominance of Gross Domestic Product as the only way to measure policy success it is especially relevant to consider how we can nudge change towards a more wellbeing orientated approach that puts improving people’s lives at the heart of all that we do.

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No More Polluter Pays Principle: Opportunities and Challenges of Public Benefit Provision in UK Development-Led Archaeology

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Keywords: archaeological project management, FAME, public benefit, UK, partnership

Abstract: Key to the success of archaeological projects and the provision of public benefit as a result is partnership working, whether between archaeological practices, consultants or departments within larger organisations, commercial clients or regulatory bodies. This paper presents case studies from each of these as examples of successful public benefit from development-led archaeology and outlines the move away from the 'polluter pays' principle towards a more nuanced understanding of what archaeology can provide. A Postscript refers to the Planning White Paper in England, which could have significant implications for how archaeology is treated within the planning system.

Prelude – the 1980s

Development-led, developer-funded and commercial archaeology are three different, related concepts.

Archaeological work can be required by development without the specific developer having to pay anything (if the state covers the costs) and an obligation on the developer to pay for archaeological work does not necessarily lead to the commercialisation of archaeology, as the developer might be paying (possibly hypothecated) taxes to the government for this to be done.

The United Kingdom has a long tradition of development-led archaeology, going back to the 1970s, and of that work being funded by the developers of land where archaeological deposits lie. That work is now carried out by organisations operating on a commercial basis, with business models based on carrying out precisely this work. Commercial practice became the accepted norm first in the City of London,



Figure 1. Stratigraphy – Tim Neighbour, James Drummond-Murray, Alex Bayliss in background. 145–146 Leadenhall Street, EC3. Source: <https://www.hobleysheroes.co.uk/images/Images/89-LEN89/len-89-stratigraphy.jpg> Location: <https://www.google.com/maps/@51.5136997,-0.0855139,17z> Photo by Jerry Youle

then across the rest of central London in the 1980s, and then throughout the UK in the 1990s.

The leveraging of market opportunities generated through competitive tendering in UK archaeology led to the potential for UK commercial archaeology to grow extremely rapidly from the late 1980s until 2008 (figure 1 in Aitchison & Edwards 2008, 17), and then again from 2012-2019 (table 12 & figure 1 in Aitchison & Rocks-Macqueen 2020, 15). This created the opportunity for successful companies to secure work away from their immediate hinterlands, and without this archaeology would have been forever shackled by enforced, parochial territoriality.

Figure 1 shows a site being excavated by the Museum of London's Department of Urban Archaeology (DUA) in a development-led project, funded by a private developer and delivering public benefit in 1989.

The DUA was formed in 1973 to undertake archaeological work on sites threatened by deep-basement office redevelopment in the City of London (Ottoway 2005, 11), the financial district that is also the historic (Roman) centre of London.

In the second half of the 1980s, the DUA encouraged developers to fund excavations prior to construction; the alternative was to wait for government funding, and created a business decision for the developers – was it more cost-effective to pay for the work, or to accept the losses that delaying the project would bring?

Paying to undertake the work was clearly the preferred option, and by the end of the 1980s virtually all excavations in the City of London were funded directly by developers (Spence 1993, 24).

On the back of this developer funding, the DUA (and its sister within the Museum of London, the Department of Greater London Archaeology, which undertook work outside the defined City of London core) both grew rapidly, and by the end of the 1980s, "At the height of the property boom, in 1989, the Museum of London's

Departments of Urban and Greater London Archaeology were employing well over 400 archaeologists” (CBA 1991, 1).

From the 1990s onwards, the overwhelming majority of archaeologists working in the UK have been working in commercial, development-led and developer-funded archaeology. The work these people do is ultimately for the public benefit. They do not work for the public – they work for the private companies that employ them, who are contracted to do this by commercial clients, and it is those clients that deliver public benefit by financing the archaeological work.

So commercially-funded, development-led archaeology is not a new concept in the UK, it is not a challenge to orthodox models – it is, in Raymond Williams’ (1977, chapter 8) terms, the dominant culture. By 2007, 93% of archaeological investigations in England were development-led, public benefit projects delivered by commercial companies (Aitchison 2009, 661).

The case studies presented here highlight the work of members of FAME, the Federation of Archaeological Managers and Employers. FAME is the trade association for organisations like MOLA, Oxford Archaeology and Headland Archaeology who will feature in the case studies and that carry out commercial, development-led archaeological work in the UK and the Republic of Ireland. The association has existed since 1975, supporting commercial businesses for nearly half a century. And FAME’s Vision Statement sets out that the association wants:

“To strive for a business environment where archaeological organisations can operate safely and sustainably, the well-being of employees is prioritised and archaeologists feel empowered to build careers and expertise, so that collectively we can conserve and advance knowledge of the past for the benefit of society” (FAME, no date).

The last phrase is key – “conserve and advance knowledge of the past for the benefit of society”. This may be a business association, but it is very much focussed on delivering public value.

The largest of FAME’s member organisations such as MOLA, Oxford Archaeology, and also Wessex Archaeology and Cotswold Archaeology, each employ hundreds of archaeologists, and in both 2018 and 2019 each of these four organisations were paid more than €12m (£10m) by clients to undertake archaeological work (charitable or trading activity figures extracted from Charity Commission 2019a, 2019b, 2019c, 2019d).

And while all of these organisations are constituted as commercial, limited companies, they are simultaneously charities – bodies that are given certain dispensations by the government because they deliver real, visible public benefits and that cannot distribute profits, to owners or shareholders. Any surplus (it can’t be called profit) that these companies produce must either be reinvested in the company or given away to other ‘good causes’.

Furthermore, FAME members work in partnership with local government archaeological advisers (whose association is ALGAO, the *Association of Local Government Archaeology Officers*) who ensure that every project is aligned with public benefit requirements, and in partnership with their clients.

Every commercial archaeology project is a partnership project and every commercial archaeology project is a public benefit project.

How commercial practice delivers public benefit is elaborated here through three case studies, focussing on aspects that could be transferable, with the overarching principles behind the case studies specifically highlighted.

A14C2H

The first case study is of the archaeological work on the A14 road between Cambridge and Huntingdon in the east of England. Between 2016 and 2020, 34km of road was upgraded and a new bypass was built by Highways England, a government-owned company that is responsible for the operation, management and improvement of major roads and motorways in England.

Figure 2. Neolithic henge at TEA12. MOLA Headland Infrastructure for Highways England 2018. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/189689015@No6/50213762348/in/album-72157715448378967/>. A14 Cambridge - Huntingdon. Location: <https://www.google.com/maps/@52.2827237,-0.280687,11.19z>



The archaeological work on the A14 project was commissioned by Highways England, the client, who worked with Cambridgeshire County Council's archaeology service – the local curator (ALGAO member) – and two archaeological contractors – companies – Headland Archaeology and MOLA, who worked through a joint venture instrument called *MOLA Headland Infrastructure*. Figure 2 shows the excavation of a henge monument immediately beside the A14.

The A14 project was planned to deliver public benefit, as the road is considered to be a "... vital road transport corridor between the West Midlands and East Anglia, and is of local, regional, national and international significance. The section of the route between Huntingdon and Cambridge carries a high level of commuter as well as long-distance traffic and provides a strategic link between the A1 and the M11 motorway. The A14 carries around 85,000 vehicles per day; 26% of this is HGV traffic (against the national average of 10%). It is frequently congested and traffic is often disrupted by breakdowns, accidents and roadworks" (Highways England no date a).

On the A14 project, prior to and then during the planning and environmental impact assessment stages of the project, the enormous archaeological potential of the landscape that the road runs through was recognised.

The earliest fieldwork – geophysical prospection – took place in 2009, seven years before construction work began, and subsequently over 350ha were excavated in 40 separate interventions. This has been the largest archaeological investigation funded by Highways England (both in terms of money spent and the numbers of archaeologists working on the project – 250 individuals at peak) (Highways England 2018).

With archaeological work forming such an important component of projects like the A14 Cambridge to Huntingdon, the commercial archaeology firms have to play a major role in project design and delivery. They work with the clients as partners, not as generic subcontractors brought in to deal with a technical issue.

The project delivers the public benefits identified by Highways England through improving communications and environmental qualities. Archaeologically, the project has led to significant development in the understanding of the region's past, from the Palaeolithic onwards and particularly to the later Iron Age – Roman – early medieval periods. Methodologically, this project has led to new approaches in the delivery of complex projects, as the archaeological partners have improved the quality and efficiency of their work and abilities to work together (Coleman 2019).

This project has been funded by the state, through a government-owned company as client, advised by local government archaeologists, and with the two contractors forming a joint venture to deliver work that has facilitated the client's demonstration of clear public benefit.

The key outcomes have been:

- advances in public understanding
- development of improved methodologies

The overarching principle at work here is:

- the client's legal obligations benefit both the public and professional archaeology.

Crossrail

The second case study is Crossrail, a project that was been described as “Europe’s largest infrastructure project” (Crossrail, 2018). This is a new railway line extending across central London and continuing beyond the urban core to Berkshire in the west and Essex in the east.

Crossrail is the name of both the project and the company delivering it; the Crossrail company is completely owned by TfL, the local government body responsible for the transport system in Greater London. Work began in 2009, and the line is anticipated to start to open in 2022 (Duffy, 2020).

Figure 3. Crossrail Archaeology Dig. Photo by Matt Brown. Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/londonmatt/17087614179> Location: <https://www.google.com/maps/place/Liverpool+Street+Station/@51.5187516,-0.0836261,17z>



A lot of archaeological work was generated by Crossrail and delivered by FAME members Oxford Archaeology (working with international consulting engineers Ramboll) and MOLA; the scale of the project is considerable, with 118km of rail line, including 42km of tunnels, eight new stations and upgrading 28 existing stations. This resulted in over 40 archaeological sites being investigated between 2009 and 2015 (Dempsey, 2017), including the excavation of a Roman road, ditches and burials beneath a later, post-medieval burial ground (MOLA 2019) beneath the main ticketing hall of Liverpool Street Station as shown in Figure 3.

Applied commercial archaeology has only been able to develop and exist where clients (or client organisations) are willing to pay for it to be undertaken. And, realistically, this has only been achieved through legislative compulsion, and now can only be delivered through partnership working.

Commercial archaeology in the UK is a partnership process, exemplified by Crossrail. Commercial archaeology in the UK is delivering public benefit through partnerships between developers, FAME members and ALGAO advisors to local government.

At Crossrail, the archaeological contractors and consultants had to work very closely with their client partners to ensure full integration with the construction programme, on occasion having "... to come up with solutions to accelerate the work, including increased resources, extended hours, and carefully agreed work stages to allow construction and archaeology to continue concurrently" (Jay Carver, quoted in Excell 2014).

Projects like Crossrail are megaprojects – infrastructure developments of such significant scale that they are strategically important at a national level. In addition to the public value of project delivery, these projects also look to improve quality standards and competences within the construction, and construction-related sectors – such as applied archaeology.

And to this end, Crossrail formalised its intention to collate and disseminate "good practice, innovation and lessons learned from the Crossrail programme aimed at raising the bar in industry" (Crossrail no date) through the creation of a Crossrail Learning Legacy.

This approach means the work "... contributes to an overall body of knowledge on major construction projects" (ibid.). It aims to share:

- "Knowledge and insight gained during the lifetime of the Programme that may be of benefit to future projects and programmes.
- Documents and templates that have been used successfully on the Programme that can be 'pinched with pride' by other projects.
- Datasets that can inform future research projects" (ibid.).

This involved contribution from the archaeological partners in the project, in terms of methodological developments for archaeological practice but also to help engineering and construction partners work more effectively with archaeologists and vice versa.

This Crossrail learning legacy built upon the work previously undertaken for the London Olympics (London 2012, no date). The creation of Learning Legacies has become accepted practice on megaprojects, and this approach is being emulated by Tideway (a major expansion to London's sewer network) (Tideway 2017), by the HighSpeed 2 railway connection between London and Birmingham (HS2 2018) and was planned for an intended expansion of Heathrow airport (Heathrow Skills Taskforce 2018).

The underlying key principle here is:

- the importance for public value created by the ability of the archaeologists to develop and maintain a very close working relationship with the construction and engineering teams they were working alongside.

The key outcome:

- Crossrail learning legacy, benefitting the public and all sectors working together on this and future major infrastructure projects.

Commercialisation does not automatically lead to applied archaeology always being done for the cheapest possible price – because the perceived cost to developers is any negative outcome – not just price paid, but also delays and perceived reputational damage (Blockley 1995, 111–112) - and so the cheapest price quoted might not always equate to the lowest cost to the client. Furthermore, while there might be occasions when the would-be developer is presented with a choice between paying for work to be done quickly and professionally by a commercial company, or for it to be undertaken over a much longer period by well-meaning volunteers, the longer a site is left undeveloped the more this costs the developer (CgMs 2001).

Bloomberg

Risks of delays and reputational damage are particularly relevant in the final case study, Bloomberg London. This site is in the City of London, and here the archaeological work was delivered by one FAME member, MOLA.

The City of London – the financial district also known as ‘the square mile’, and not to be confused with the entirety of Greater London today, which extends across 1,572km² – is a discrete political entity, that covers 2.9km² (1.12 square miles). Unlike other parts of London, where local government is through Borough Councils, the City of London is governed differently, under what it considers to be “the oldest continuous municipal democracy” (City of London, no date). In large part, the boundaries of the City of London are defined by the walls of Roman London (whether they are still visible above ground or not), and so Roman (and medieval) stratigraphy survived across most of the



Figure 4. Bloomberg archaeology. Excavation in progress at the Bloomberg site in 2012, looking north, with 1 Poultry to the left and St Stephen Walbrook church to the right of the site. MOLA for Bloomberg L.P. Source: <https://data.bloomberglp.com/company/sites/30/2017/11/BLA-web.pdf>
Location: <https://www.google.com/maps/@51.5126328,-0.0931317,17z>

City until the advent of deep foundation skyscrapers in the second half of the 20th century (Biddle, Hudson & Heighway, 1973).

Archaeological work in the City of London has been of enormous significance for both the development of practice and the delivery of public benefit, as the coincidence of economic demand (at the centre of the primary financial district) and of well-preserved, deeply stratified archaeological materials has resulted in a great deal of high-quality, commercially funded archaeological work being undertaken.

Bloomberg London is the European headquarters of Bloomberg L.P., an international financial analysis and information company, which is strongly identified with its eponymous majority shareholder, Michael Bloomberg. The site was bought by Bloomberg L.P. in 2010 and construction work was completed in 2017 (Architects Journal, 2017).

Previously, Bucklersbury House, a 1957 modernist office block (in its day the tallest office building in the City of London [Salih, 2017]) had occupied the site – which

had been bombed in 1940-41. When the site was cleared to prepare for the 1950s construction, Roman deposits, including the site of a Temple of Mithras – a *Mithraeum* – were exposed, and this led to enormous public interest. The site was excavated (at public expense, as was universally the case in the 1950s) and the Mithraeum was reconstructed nearby (Grimes, 1968).

The demolition of the 1950s structure revealed there were still significant deposits surviving beneath its footings, and MOLA were commissioned to undertake the excavation (as shown in Figure 4) – and also to contribute to the development of the interpretative museum on site and the relocation of the reconstructed Mithraeum to very close to its original position (it is slightly offset to preserve some walling excavated in the 1950s that had not been relocated) in a publicly accessible exhibition space – known as London Mithraeum Bloomberg SPACE – beneath the Bloomberg building (MOLA no date).

In two of these three examples, the client is the project – and the total association of client with project is the key point to be taken from the Bloomberg case study.

Part of the development is a free to visit museum, combining the reconstruction with displays of artefacts and contemporary art. The archaeological work had to be done for the new building to be permitted, but the outcome was very public focussed – as well as the London Mithraeum Bloomberg SPACE, public art celebrates the Walbrook, the ‘lost’ stream (now culverted underground) that the Mithraeum stood beside (King, 2017).

The public benefits are strongly associated with Bloomberg L.P., and with its owner – who wants to be seen as doing things that benefit the public. Michael Bloomberg is a politician, but one who also politics on behalf of his organisation – working to make it publicly trusted and popular (Bloomberg, 2019). Public benefit can also be private benefit. Archaeological work for a private client results in public benefit – when the work is a partnership that has public benefit as one of its defined goals.

When the client is either a public body, or directly funded by the public purse, it can paradoxically be harder to demonstrate public benefit from archaeological partnership work; Michael Bloomberg and Bloomberg L.P. were never going to be shy about the reasons for their work, or shy about their desire to showcase the public benefit of it.

The underlying key principle here is:

- private clients want to be associated with and recognised for the projects they are funding.

The key outcome:

- when clients are seen as partners in creating public benefit, they will actively support this.

Conclusions

Archaeological work does not take place in a policy, or economic vacuum.

There has to be an economic need for archaeological work to take place.

And the economic need has to be structured by political policy.

But as archaeological deposits are fundamentally economically valueless, how can there be an economic need, a market for commercial practice, and how can it be to the public benefit that there is?

When archaeological remains are treated as environmental assets, then the theory and practice of environmental economics can be applied to find ways to calculate archaeology's economic value, because having an understanding and knowledge of these environmental assets can have value (Carman, Carnegie & Wolnizer 1999, 145). This has meant that a market for archaeological knowledge has developed - the clients of archaeologists will pay for archaeological fieldwork and analysis that transforms valueless deposits into knowledge that the clients can then use – often to demonstrate that they have complied with conditions placed upon them by regulators.

Without legislative underpinning, no-one would pay for archaeological remains to be investigated – and the relevant legislation will always refer to the social, cultural or environmental value to the public (not the financial value) of the archaeological remains which then present the *raison d'être* for investigation as a form of mitigation leading to the positive protection and management of the environmental resource.

This has been exemplified in the UK, where state agencies, museums and universities do still undertake some fieldwork – but they have become minor players. Even MOLA – once an acronym for Museum of London Archaeology – is no longer part of that museum, but a separate, standalone organisation (MOLA 2011).

In the UK, political, social and economic norms have meant that commercial companies have been able and allowed to flourish.

The client commissions a company, for whom the archaeologists work. Archaeologists are not directly employed by clients such as Highways England, but by archaeological companies who then work in partnership with their clients. Oxford Archaeology (who also worked directly with Ramboll, international consulting engineers) and MOLA, two of the largest companies in UK archaeology, undertook the archaeological work for Crossrail. MOLA again worked in partnership with Bloomberg L.P. to carry out the work which resulted in public benefit at the Bloomberg SPACE, and Headland MOLA Infrastructure were Highways England's partners in delivering the A14C2H.

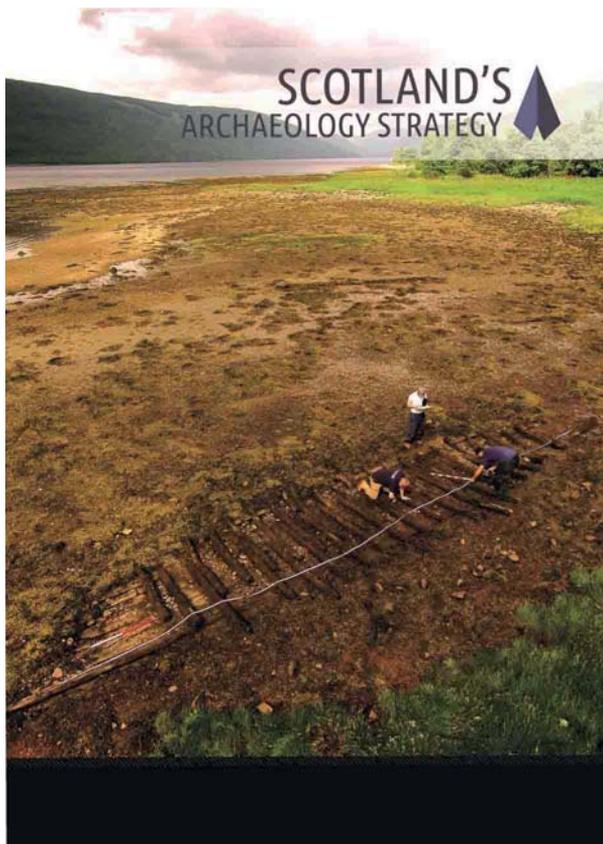


Figure 5. Historic vessel recording by maritime archaeologists at Loch Fyne 2015. Photo by Jonathan Benjamin. © Dig Art! 2015. Source: http://archaeologystrategy.scot/files/2016/08/Scotlands_Archaeology_Strategy_Aug2016.pdf Location: <https://www.google.com/maps/@56.2585179,-4.9522857,13.71z/>

Postscript

Scotland's Archaeology Strategy (Scottish Strategic Advisory Committee 2016) (Figure 5) is an ongoing component of a decade of political consideration about the past, and its multiple values. It is a light-touch policy document, curated but not owned by the national heritage agency (Historic Environment Scotland) – and this has been welcomed by the commercial, applied archaeology sector. There are only four references to 'commercial archaeology' in the 28-page document; one is in a quote from Tim Holden, a director of a company that is a member of FAME, appreciating the backing for training that the Strategy will provide, and the other is from FAME itself, welcoming and supporting the Strategy.

While the cultural economy is being protected through environmental economic models, stemming largely from the concept of sustainable development as established by the UN in "Our Common Future" – the 1987 report of the Brundtland Commission, commercial archaeology in the UK no longer operates under the concept of the 'Polluter Pays Principle'. That was a legacy of environmental economic theory

that underpinned the earliest legislation and guidance, and is an assumption that the requirement to fund archaeological work is seen as a (legal) 'remedy' for the consequences of economic development.

There are no references to 'polluters' in *Scotland's Archaeology Strategy*. This is a policy document that recognises that developers are delivering public benefits, and archaeologists are working in partnership with them.

The key principle is: politics frame responses to economic and financial pressures.

And so the ultimate outcome is: appropriate political handling (both the informal politics of liaison with client-partners, and political decision-making at local, national and European levels) leads to better opportunities for archaeology to deliver public benefit.

This will, by its very nature, be a continuous and ongoing process. Political priorities change, and so that political 'handling' has to continue to be undertaken at every level.

A series of political announcements in June and July 2020 that revealed the UK government's intention to reform the planning system in England (Johnson 2020, underpinned by Airey 2020), prompted the Chair of FAME and the leaders of six other archaeological sector representative bodies to write to the Prime Minister reminding the policy makers of archaeology's place in delivering sustainable development through the planning system, and that this was not an area in need of reform (Hinton et al. 2020).

This was justified by making reference to archaeology not being cited as reason for major delays by developers (Cornerstone Projects 2017), nor that it has been identified as a factor that contributes to the "significant gap between housing completions and the amount of land allocated or permissioned in areas of high housing demand, and make recommendations for closing it" (build-out rates) (Letwin 2018), and that it transfers cost away from the public to do this (Rocks-Macqueen & Lewis 2019, 16).

At the time of writing this article, no public response to this letter had been issued.

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Development-Led Archaeology and Public Benefit from a Swedish Perspective

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Keywords: Sweden, regional organisation, communication, scientific research as public benefit

Abstract: There has been a specific national policy for culture in Sweden since 1974. Since then, the issue of public access to culture has been a central political objective. The ambition to distribute culture to the whole population includes knowledge about the past. Making sure that the results of development-led archaeology are beneficial for the general public has therefore been an important issue in Sweden for quite some time.

Introduction

The invitation to this symposium argues that development-led archaeology needs to make a strong case for its support by proving that it creates a public value in terms of tangible benefits to state, public, developer and archaeologist. The invitation also argues that archaeology should engage in a two-way process with the public to ensure that archaeological work is seen as a socially inclusive legacy. In addition, the symposium also asks if archaeologists are ready to cede control over some aspects of their projects in order to facilitate sustainable, meaningful public benefit.

The organisation of development-led archaeology in Sweden

In order to understand how issues of public benefit and inclusiveness are handled in Sweden it is necessary to understand how development-led archaeology is organised. Development-led archaeology is regionalised and deregulated. The major stakeholders are the County Administrative Boards, the archaeological investigators, the developers, and the National Heritage Board.

County Administrative Boards are government controlled regional authorities. There are 21 in the country and it is their responsibility to decide whether a developer needs to finance an archaeological excavation. They are also responsible for deciding which archaeological investigator gets to carry out the excavation and how much it can cost.

If the regulations deem it necessary to carry out a competitive bidding process it is the County Administrative Board's responsibility to choose the winning bid. When choosing the best bid, they do not necessarily have to select the cheapest option as the scientific quality of the proposed excavation must be weighed into the decision. The archaeological investigators are museums as well as publically and privately owned businesses. Their role in the system is to carry out the investigations the County Administrative Boards have determined necessary. The developers' role is simply to bankroll the archaeological investigations required by the County Administrative Boards. The Heritage Board has an overall responsibility for ensuring that the system works but is not directly involved in the day-to-day business going on in the counties.

Two ways of benefiting the public

Two different approaches to the issue of public benefit within the field of museums, heritage management and development-led archaeology can be identified in Sweden. The two approaches have created tension and disagreement within the heritage sector for the past 20 years. The first way of approaching public benefit can be described as authoritarian. Archaeologists are considered to be scientific experts who investigate the past and pass on their scientific knowledge to the general public in a one-way process. The value archaeology creates for the public is the possibility for them to obtain a scientifically validated awareness of the past. The other approach is more inclusive and open to the public's participation in the creation of knowledge. The ambition here is to establish a two-way process where museum officials, heritage managers and groups from the public influence each other by sharing experiences and perspectives. In this way knowledge about the past becomes more adjusted to the ideas and needs expressed by the general public (Svanberg & Hauptman Wahlgren 2007; Burström 2014).

Looking at some of the heritage conventions produced by UNESCO and the Council of Europe during the past decades it is possible to identify both approaches. It is even possible to argue for an ideological shift where a more authoritarian doctrine has been replaced by more inclusive principles.

In the World Heritage Convention from 1972 experts occupy an important position of authority when identifying monuments, buildings, and sites of outstanding universal value. The general public is not really included in what can be described as a top-down process. However, in contrast, the considerably more recent European Landscape convention from the year 2000 actively promotes inclusion and participation from the general public when identifying important landscapes. The same can be said of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage from 2003 that ensures the participation of communities and groups and even, if appropriate, individuals, when recognising important intangible heritage. Finally, the Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society from 2005 also promotes inclusiveness by introducing the concept of heritage communities.

The desire to listen to the public expressed in recent conventions is a clear indication of how issues of inclusion, diversity, participation and two-way communication

have become increasingly important within the international policies of heritage management. The new approach towards the public has also influenced archaeologists working in museums and within heritage management in Sweden.

Tension in museums and within heritage management

The ambition to transform museums from authoritarian institutions into meeting places for sharing experiences and perspectives has been criticised and debated for the past 20 years. The arguments put forward by both sides of the debate and the way the debate has unfolded has even become an object of research itself (Svensson 2014).

The aspiration to change how museums present the past has created a division within museums. Some employees want museum exhibitions to be centred upon facts based upon expert knowledge. Others want to use museums as instruments to oppose different issues in present day society such as discrimination and xenophobia. Critics have argued that the ambition to transform museums has induced the questioning of archaeologists' and museums' authority and has created the possibility for just about anyone to use history for their own purposes. Politicians in government have consequently been caught up in the debate and have been accused of attempting to use state funded museums to serve their own political agendas (Wong 2016a, 2016b; Eng 2018).

Critics support their objections with the fact that there has not only been a long standing parliamentary approved objective to distribute culture to everybody in society. Since the inception of cultural policy there has also been a fundamental objective that the contents of culture, i.e. what is exhibited in museums or played in theatres needs be free from political control. The notion that cultural institutions need to be independent from political meddling was originally based in John Maynard Keynes principle that the distribution of support to cultural institutions should be carried out at 'arms length'. The principle was created by Maynard Keynes in response to concerns about state governance of cultural institutions that had risen in the milieu of totalitarian regimes connected to the second world war (Johansson 2017, 174).

Development-led archaeology and public benefit in Sweden

The schism regarding political influence that has characterised discussions about museums in general and the mediation of archaeological knowledge within museums has however not affected contract archaeology. Development-led archaeology has perpetuated an authoritarian, top-down, one-way, relationship with the general public. Archaeologists within development-led archaeology are respected and their expertise and integrity is seldom, if ever, questioned by journalists or otherwise debated. A reason for this state of affairs is probably that the Historic Environment Act requires that the scientific quality held by development-led archaeology must be good. This requirement empowers archaeologists at the County Administrative Boards to uphold standards set by the scientific community and not be tempted to prescribe that archaeological investigators need to develop methods adhering to policies of inclusiveness and two-way communication in their tenders. The obligation

to uphold a good scientific quality within development-led archaeology does in fact mean that archaeologists at the County Administrative Boards are protected and kept at arm's length from political control concerning the contents and direction of the archaeological investigations they order.

In a recent bill the Swedish government has pointed out that it expects development-led archaeology to contribute to the advance and distribution of new knowledge about the past (Regeringen 2017, 150–152). The ambition to find out new things about the past is clearly deemed enough in itself and it is therefore not necessary for development-led archaeology to identify other ways of measuring how it benefits the public, state or developers.

Two changes

To increase development-led archaeology's ability to benefit the public the regulations that make up the system and the interpretation of the regulations have been altered twice during the past 30 years, the first time in 1994 and the second in 2014. Before 1994 development-led archaeology's only concern was excavating and documenting ancient remains. The intended recipients of excavation reports were universities and museums where new information about ancient remains was to be taken care of by researchers and turned into knowledge about the past for the benefit of the greater good.

When it became clear that this system wasn't working effectively, the interpretation of the Historic Environment Act was revised. In a research bill the Government proposed that development-led archaeology needed to do its own research. Documentation of ancient remains was not considered to be enough anymore. To make sure that excavation results were useful for the research community it was important that development-led archaeology presented its results within the framework of an advancing research process (Regeringen 1994, 146, 147). It suddenly became possible for County Administrative Boards to broadly interpret the Historic Environment Act's regulations concerning good scientific quality. The County Administrative Boards began to require that developers financed, not just the documentation of ancient remains, but also the presentation of the excavation results within a scientific framework aimed at contributing to the advancement of new knowledge. Since then, archaeological investigators have produced a vast amount of research, presented in a variety of books, papers, peer-reviewed papers and conferences, benefiting the development of knowledge about prehistory and history in Scandinavia.

The second development of the system came about in 2014 when Parliament altered the Historic Environment Act. The concept of communication was incorporated in the law giving the County Administrative Boards authority to force developers to pay for the communication of excavation results and research results to the general public. This improvement gave development-led archaeology the means to achieve the political objective of distributing knowledge about the past to the general public. Since then, there has been a significant increase of guided tours of excavation sites as well as the production of popular science published in books, magazines and websites.

The production of popular science for the benefit of the public has been successful. However, it has also raised questions concerning if there are groups in society that are excluded from the possibility of receiving development-led archaeology's communication. At the moment the Swedish National Heritage Board is funding a research project aimed at identifying how development-led archaeology can improve its communication with groups in society with different disabilities. The projects objective is primarily to identify methods that will improve access to excavation sites (Engström 2017). The National Heritage Board hopes that the projects results will be of use for the County Administrative Boards in the future when they decide if developers need to finance guided tours of excavation sites and how those tours need to be set up.

Conclusion

Development-led archaeology in Sweden has not been affected by changing international heritage policies in the direction of inclusiveness, participation and two-way communication. It also hasn't been asked to prove its value for solving other issues in society as that would be at odds with the arms-length principle prevalent in Swedish cultural policy. Instead, the growth of development-led archaeology has been focused on creating legal instruments for enabling archaeologists to do their own research and to produce meaningful new knowledge about the past as a way of benefiting the general public.

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The Public Benefits of Archaeology According to the Public

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Keywords: public survey data, impact measurements, development-led archaeology, public benefits, wellbeing

Abstract: While the knowledge creation benefits of archaeology are widely understood, there is less awareness or assessment of other potential benefits. These can be associated with wellbeing and health, including mental health. These are significant given that archaeology is a creative and outdoor activity with the potential to enhance social bond through collaborative working. Using data from the NEARCH survey of 2015, this paper seeks to encourage wider participation in archaeology, enabling much more public benefit to be realised.

Introduction

National and international politicians and policy makers responsible for cultural heritage consider cultural heritage, including the domain of archaeology, a driver of social and/or economic development. For more than two decades, (international) conventions, declarations and other policy documents have been expressing this; they increasingly expect and encourage citizen involvement in cultural heritage (management) and the empowering of marginalised groups through heritage (e.g. Council of Europe 2005). Even though it is acknowledged by national and local authorities, by heritage professionals and by scholars that citizen participation in heritage projects can indeed have a positive impact on local development and may contribute to the wellbeing and quality of life of those involved, it is not always apparent how to achieve this. In particular for archaeology this brings along specific challenges. Due to EU-policies as well (in particular the 1992 Valletta Convention of the Council of Europe), archaeology has evolved in most European countries into a predominantly development-led practice (e.g. Olivier & Van Lindt 2014; Stefánsdóttir 2018a). Moreover, this practice is increasingly contract-based and in various countries commercially operated. The question is how to create public benefits in such a development-led setting. This was the topic of the *Europae Archaeologiae Consilium* (EAC) annual heritage management symposium of 2020, held in Prague. Participants aimed to move the debate on archaeology and public benefit forward by discussing

past experiences and future strategies. The main question addressed in this paper is what actually the wider public considers and experiences as public benefits of (development-led) archaeology. What can we learn in this regard from (quantitative method) measurements of how archaeology affects people's life? It is furthermore discussed what these insights can tell us in terms of opportunities and unique selling points of development-led archaeology.

Assessing the public benefits of archaeology

Like the wider heritage sector, archaeology increasingly needs to demonstrate its relevance to society. This goes for archaeology as an academic discipline, an applied professional sector, and as a heritage industry. Professionals active in these fields often experience this as a difficult task. This is particularly the case in the context of development-led archaeology, as the EAC's Amersfoort Agenda (Schut et al. 2015) and the discussions during the 2020 EAC annual symposium on heritage management once more highlighted. For the wider heritage sector, a demonstration of its societal values was captured in the Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe-report (Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015). It showed through quantitative and qualitative evidence of benefits and impacts that heritage represents a cultural, social, environmental and economic capital. However, the report does not provide much insight on archaeology as a specific component of the heritage industry and it does not mention development-led archaeology at all. It is therefore up to the archaeology sector to study and demonstrate its societal benefits, of its academic discipline, of the professional applied sector and their subsequent heritage components (e.g. narratives, historical objects and heritage sites).

A major challenge for development-led archaeology, however, is that it is not its core business to demonstrate its (socio-cultural or economic) benefits for society. Its prime aim obviously is to save archaeological remains from being destroyed by infrastructural and building development or other ways of soil disturbing land-use. Its prime product is the historical narrative of the place investigated, usually offered by means of an obligatory (technical) excavation report. Additional public benefits are mere side-effects as in this development-led context it has turned out a particular challenge to implement the Valletta Convention's article 9 on public outreach (e.g. Olivier & Van Lindt 2014). In the past decade, public participation in development-led archaeology has in several European countries thus remained an exception (see for a Dutch example Van der Velde & Bouma 2018) rather than a standardised practice (e.g. Stefánsdóttir 2018b; van den Dries 2014). There is thus little active citizenship involved in the daily archaeological practice, in interpretation and in governance, maintenance and preservation.

For some professionals conducting development-led archaeology, this knowledge generation represents the main and only public benefit of their work. For them, archaeology does not have (or needs to have) an additional social or economic impact on the community. They may not even have a clue how their work can in practice contribute to (local) sustainable development or any other societal goal (international) policy documents express. However, the Amersfoort Agenda (Schut et al. 2015) and the

discussions during the 2020 (and former) EAC-meetings demonstrated that a growing number of professionals do have the ambition with the development-led practice to do more than disseminating the knowledge it generates. According to their representatives present, an increasing number of responsible national heritage boards and state agencies aim to comply with the Faro Convention principles and encourage people to participate in research activities and to benefit from archaeology in terms of sustainable development (see other contributions in this volume). There is however still a need to better understand what the public benefits of archaeology exactly are or *can* be, and how to generate such benefits in a development-led daily practice (see also Stefánsdóttir 2018b).

As said, a similar comprehensive, Europe-wide value assessment like the Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe-report (Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015) unfortunately does not exist for archaeology. Hitherto, the only Europe-wide and elaborate public survey on the values of archaeology was conducted in 2015 by the NEARCH research project (www.nearch.eu), which was funded by the European Commission in the framework of the “Culture Programme”. It included a statistically representative sample (a total of 4,516 adults, age 18 and older) from nine European countries (England, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Spain and Sweden). This survey (for details see Kajda et al. 2018; Martelli-Banégas et al. 2015; Marx et al. 2017; Van den Dries & Boom 2017) and some case studies on community engagement that were carried out during the NEARCH project (2013–2018), offer valuable insights on public benefits that may also be of use for the practice of development-led archaeology. They show what members of the *public* consider the benefits of archaeology and how they think it affects their life. Some of the insights it generated will be discussed below as they may inspire and support professionals to further increase the benefits of development-led archaeology for society.

Knowledge as a prime benefit

The NEARCH survey made clear that across Europe, members of the public seem to consider archaeology first and foremost an academic endeavour (69%). We saw some difference between individual countries regarding numbers, but without exception all respondents primarily associated our profession with the production of knowledge, mostly generated by experts (from universities, public research institutes or museums). The role of archaeology mentioned most often is ‘to pass history down to younger generations’ (47%), so to tell stories. This was also reflected in other surveys in The Netherlands, which showed that the public’s prime motivation for participating in archaeology is the wish to gain knowledge, to learn about these stories (e.g. Van den Dries et al. 2015; Van den Dries and Boom 2017). For instance, in a public survey that our Leiden University students conducted prior to a community excavation in Oss (Netherlands), a majority of 68% of the respondents expressed that if they would join the dig, they would do so for educational reasons (Van den Dries et al. 2015, 227). Moreover, in a case study in Landau in der Pfalz (Rheinland-Pfalz, Germany), where we explicitly asked about the gain of knowledge among survey respondents who had visited a Neolithic house reconstruction, an overwhelming number of 101 people (out of 106) said to have learned something new from their visit (Boom et al. 2019, 37).

Apart from ‘gaining knowledge’, other benefits of archaeology seem much less obvious to the public. In the NEARCH survey very few European citizens linked archaeology to for instance social and economic values. Only 8% think it contributes to identity building (8%) and 6% indicated they think archaeology contributes to local sustainable development. Even less (4%) think it adds to quality of life, and also 4% consider it a leisure activity. Participating in the community excavation in Oss was not immediately connected with wellbeing benefits either (Van den Dries et al. 2015, 227). In the eyes of the public, archaeology thus does not add much to a wide array of public benefits. They probably do not connect such benefits to the particular practice of development-led archaeology either, as it turned out that not many people actually know how archaeology in contemporary society is organised. Only 10% of the survey respondents said they were familiar with the concept of development-led archaeology.

Impact on individuals?

To what extent the public experiences (or expects) an increased knowledge about archaeology as also having a direct impact on their life or wellbeing, is not clear. To my knowledge, this has not been evaluated by means of a representative, transnational quantitative study. There are, on the other hand, some indirect indications which suggest that the public may not consider such benefits or impacts very high for them personally. For example, the respondents to the NEARCH-survey did not demonstrate a strong *personal* connection with archaeology. While 91% says archaeology is of great value and an advantage for a town (86%), while 85% would want to visit an archaeological site and 70% had done so, a much smaller number (54%) said archaeology is a field for which they feel a personal attachment (Figure 1). Among the younger people (18–24 years of age) this attachment is even less (40%).

This limited personal attachment is also reflected by the fact that 73% of the NEARCH survey respondents think archaeological research is mainly carried out by staff members of universities, museums or public research institutes; a much smaller number (55%) think of amateur archaeologists. Among young people (18–24 years),



Figure 1. The NEARCH survey (e.g. Martelli-Banégas 2015) demonstrated that many European citizens link archaeology to a remote past and do not feel a strong ‘personal attachment’ to it. However, when they can participate in activities like an art competition, they do so massively and subsequently report positive personal (wellbeing) benefits. The photo of the tattoo was submitted to an art&archaeology contest. Wearing such a tattoo suggests this lady does have a personal attachment to archaeology. (Photo courtesy: Charline Meyer-Vasseur, France)

the number of respondents who think of amateur archaeologists is even smaller (41%). A majority of the public thus associates 'doing archaeology' with experts; they do not immediately think of it as a leisure activity or a voluntary job for themselves.

A third indication of archaeology literally being at 'a distance' to members of the public is reflected by another interesting figure from the NEARCH-survey. When the participants were asked to indicate the era of their main interest (on which they would want to visit an exhibition), "antiquity" received the largest number of votes (selected by 36% across Europe, to over half in Italy and Greece); "archaeology of the contemporary era" the smallest (7%). This suggests the prime association of the concept of 'archaeology' is with a more distant past and with 'antiquity'. Many members of the public do not immediately think of archaeology as a source of information relevant to their own past or heritage. Moreover, it has been observed in various studies with small local groups of Dutch residents that the public usually connects the act of excavating primarily with doing (or expecting) spectacular and important discoveries (e.g. Wu 2014, 51; Bosman 2019; Schneider 2020).

Health and wellbeing benefits

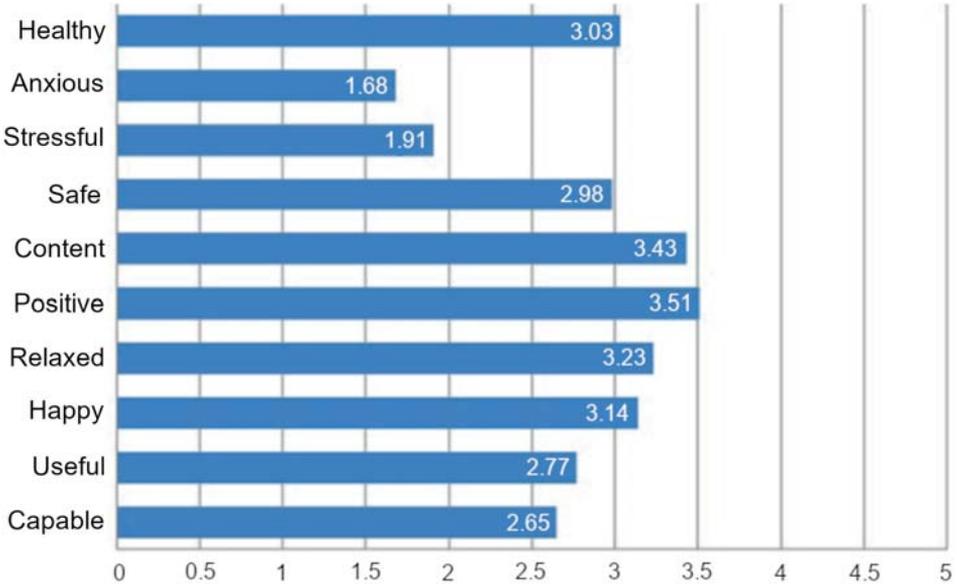
The fact that members of the public across Europe do not immediately associate archaeology and participating in archaeological activities with personal benefits other than gaining knowledge, does not mean there are none. For instance, Fujiwara et al. (2014) demonstrated their existence in the United Kingdom (defined as 'primary benefits' for individuals' wellbeing and 'secondary benefits' for employment, tourism etc.) through statistical analysis. The UK's Heritage Lottery Fund and English Heritage (Reilly et al. 2018) have shown positive evidence as well. We also know from our own case study research at Leiden University that in particular social benefits, like an increased social cohesion, *can* be generated with people who participate in archaeological activities. For example, in the community dig case study of Oss (Netherlands), a quantitative survey among potential participants showed 30% would join the excavation for social reasons. They liked the opportunity of doing things together with other people and to strengthen social cohesion with neighbours (Van den Dries et al. 2015). Moreover, 60% expected that joining a community dig would yield personal benefits, like meeting other people with whom they share the same neighbourhood.

The case studies that were included in the NEARCH project showed furthermore that activities which actively engaged participants (e.g. the You(R) Archaeology art contest and a city tour revealing Invisible Monuments via a mobile app) had high impacts on positive emotions, like feeling relaxed, inspired and healthy. Such activities had in fact higher impacts than for instance a more passive visit to a fancy exhibition (e.g. the DomUnder exhibition in Utrecht, Netherlands) (Boom 2018, table 6.11). Active participation in the first two public activities let participants report a 3.6 for feeling energetic and a 3.5 for feeling happy (on a scale from 1–5, with 1 being low and 5 high). The more passive DomUnder visitors reported a 2.6 on happiness. Even though 'feeling healthy' had on average been impacted least (2.6) out of a total of nine positive emotions that were measured (seven for DomUnder visitors), this was

still considered a serious positive effect – and in any case surprising – as these activities had not explicitly aimed to affect the participants’ feelings regarding health at all. It also needs to be noted that we did not give the participants a definition of ‘health’. Maybe if we had provided the definition of the World Health Organisation, according to which health “is a state of complete physical, mental and social wellbeing and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity”, the scores might have been even higher, as our participants presumably only considered the physical and/or mental aspect, not the social.

These case studies also showed it would vary from one activity to the other as to which emotion got the highest score on impacts that people experienced. For example, the participants of the Invisible Monuments activity felt the strongest impact on their health. Boom thought this could relate to the fact that the activity involved some physical exercise (Boom 2018), as they walked or biked from one historical site to another in the Greek city of Thessaloniki (<http://www.nearch.eu/news/invisible-monuments>; Theodoroudi et al. 2016). Participants of the You(R) Archaeology art contest felt most impacted on feeling inspired and capable (Boom 2018), which probably related to the creative nature of the activity (<http://www.nearch.eu/news/european-competition-you-r-archaeology-portraying>).

Figure 2. Impacts on positive emotions (in weighted average) as reported by 87 survey respondents during a visit to a Neolithic house reconstruction in a horticultural show (Boom et al. 2019, 40)



We found comparable testimonies of wellbeing benefits in other case studies as well. For instance, in the community excavation in Oss (Netherlands) we asked participants to appraise their participation afterwards and 11 out of 12 respondents said the activity had been good for their wellbeing/health (Van den Dries et al. 2015, 230). The same was the case with visitors to the Neolithic house reconstruction in Germany (Landau in der Pfalz). Even though the visitors' engagement with this prehistoric representation consisted mostly of passive information processing and little physical activity (e.g. doing things manually), they nevertheless reported surprisingly high socio-cultural impacts with this encounter (Boom et al. 2019). A majority said they experienced positive feelings, such as being 'content', 'relaxed' etc. (Figure 2). Three-quarters also indicated their visit had contributed to feeling happy and healthy.

It thus seems apparent that participating in an archaeological activity can generate social and wellbeing benefits, but the public may not yet realise.

Opportunities for development-led archaeology

On the basis of the benefits that most members of the public spontaneously associate with archaeology, and those that have been measured, an apparent imbalance can be noticed. Moreover, the public's focus on knowledge gain as the prime and almost single benefit suggests there is also a mismatch between the expected benefits as expressed in policy documents and those the public acknowledges. This implies that if archaeology wants to 'sell' its development-led practice as an endeavour that yields social public benefits or adds to individuals' quality of life, some work needs to be done. One should in any case make the contemporary archaeological practice better known to the public, as well as its (potential) benefits for society. With regard to the latter, the possible values and public benefits of archaeology, there is a growing body of literature showing what these are. What seems to be most difficult within the context of a development-led practice, is to think of opportunities to capitalise on these values and to put them into practice. I will therefore focus on this in the remaining part of this paper, by discussing what we can learn from the public's testimonials in terms of opportunities for development-led archaeology to put its public benefits into practice and what its unique selling points may be.

A first valuable insight that was gained from asking the public to report on benefits, is that a relationship could be seen between the level and kind of benefit that participants report on, and the kind of activity – so the nature of the engagement – that was being offered. If one offers activities with a focus on (for example) education rather than on entertainment, or social cohesion, or on individual wellbeing, education is subsequently the aspect that is impacted most. This sounds logical and may exactly be the reason why most people associate archaeology primarily with producing knowledge. It could very well reflect the focus of the activities or engagement the public was hitherto offered most. The same goes for the public's fascination with important discoveries (for the Netherlands see for instance Bosman 2019; Schneider 2020; Wu 2014); this presumably also reflects what the public is being shown most. Important finds and their academic value is what they usually hear and see in the media – at least in the Netherlands (e.g. Barel 2017; Bosman 2019, 56) – which in Europe

usually is the main source of information on archaeology for members of the public (Martelli-Banégas 2015; Marx et al. 2017).

This perception of archaeology may seem like a disadvantage to the daily development-led practice, which does not exclusively yield the big stories. However, this cause-effect relationship also creates opportunities. It implies that one could further attribute to other societal benefits, like wellbeing, by doing things differently, by offering purposeful and dedicated activities which put an emphasis on such benefits.

One of its unique selling points and thus opportunities is that development-led archaeology is an active, outdoor activity. This is exactly to what we attributed some of the positive impacts on wellbeing that people reported on; the fact that visitors were involved in outdoor activities. It was for instance the case in Landau (Germany), where the Neolithic house had been built in a garden, as part of a large horticultural show. It has actually often been claimed that doing activities outdoors or being in a natural environment can be good for wellbeing (for overviews of relevant sources see for instance Carpenter and Harper 2016; Mansfield et al. 2018). The same was said for community archaeology projects in the UK (e.g. Simpson 2009). It is in any case increasingly being recognised, across the discipline and beyond, that various types of archaeological activities can be useful for improving mental, physical and social wellbeing (e.g. Darvill et al. 2019; Reilly et al. 2018).

The positive effects that participants mentioned in the Landau survey made us recommend offering more outdoor archaeological activities or to connect archaeology with existing outdoor activities (like a horticultural show), if one would like to contribute to wellbeing benefits (Boom et al. 2019). Development-led archaeology seems to be a perfect candidate to offer such activities. Even though partaking in archaeological fieldwork surely differs from experiencing the look and feel of a life-size Neolithic house, and may not generate identical effects, it is inherently an active and (social) outdoor activity. As such it is likely to contribute to feelings of wellbeing such as reported by our survey participants.

However, as there will be little or no direct impact from encounters with the historic environment on people's lives without participation, barriers to access need to be broken down if the archaeology sector aims to increase its relevance and benefits for society (see also Reilly et al. 2018; Linda Monckton, this volume). The NEARCH-survey indicates there are possibilities to do so. A majority of (61%) of the European citizens expressed an interest in taking part in an archaeological excavation. Another 51% were interested in getting involved in the decision making process of a nearby archaeological project. It is actually a recurring pattern that survey respondents express an interest in getting more actively involved in archaeology. Various public surveys conducted in the Netherlands all showed that there is still a considerable group of potential participants for archaeological activities (see Van den Dries 2019 for more details). Only small numbers of respondents indicated *not* being interested in archaeology or in visiting sites; in the NEARCH survey this was only 10%. Moreover, as archaeology usually means 'digging' in the eyes of the public (e.g. Martelli-Banégas et

al. 2015; Bosman 2019, 103), development-led archaeology in particular seems to have a huge volume of potential participants.

It is in this context also noteworthy to mention that in the participation projects the NEARCH project studied (DomUnder, You(R) Archaeology and Invisible Monuments), Boom noticed that in some activities older people seemed to be affected less than their younger fellows (Boom 2018, 160), except when they participated in volunteer work. Volunteering had a strong influence on their feeling of social cohesion (ibid). Boom thought this lower receptiveness to impact could relate to the wider experience older people already have. Moreover, in some other surveys, seniors (60 years and above) turned out to be less enthusiastic to the idea of getting involved in the actual fieldwork during excavations (e.g. Martelli-Banégas et al. 2015; Van den Dries et al. 2015). This is again useful information in the context of development-led archaeology; while public outreach activities in archaeology often address either children or senior members of the public, it is worth the effort to try to engage young people (young adults) more, as they are more interested in excavating and generate a higher social return on investment.

Regarding costs and the (social) return on investment, an equally interesting result was noticed with our three case studies, namely that public benefits could be achieved at a relatively low cost. In fact, participants in less expensive activities (like the art competition) that were conducted during the NEARCH project reported higher impacts on some personal benefits than those involved in the more expensive ones. Krijn Boom therefore concluded that it is not the financial input, but rather the goal and nature of the activity, together with the receptiveness of the audience, which seem to determine its impact (2018, 179). This could be another valuable insight for development-led archaeology, which usually does not generate a high budget for outreach and participation activities. Low budget activities could in principle be more easily conducted during a (short running) development-led project than an expensive and time-consuming fancy exhibition.

In sum, it could be considered an inherent quality of development-led archaeology that it is a creative and active outdoor endeavour, in which people gain knowledge and strengthen social bonds through close collaboration. A chance to experience this could in principle be offered to a wide and diverse audience at a relatively low cost by encouraging local (young) people to participate in (co-created) low-budget ordinary activities or just in the daily on-site routines. This combination of circumstances and values is exactly its unique selling point which development-led archaeology may turn into its societal capital.

Challenges

While the survey data and case studies that I based this paper on revealed opportunities for development-led archaeology to increase its public benefits for society, they illustrated some challenges as well. The main challenge is that there is no one-size-fits-all-solution to achieve benefits for the public. The NEARCH public survey and presentations at EAC meetings (and their publications) show a high level of differences

in what members of the public do, need, expect and appreciate across Europe. There are also huge differences between gender groups, age groups and socio-professional groups. Things that work for one country or one target group (gender, age category, socio-professional category), may have no (or the opposite) effect on another. This implies that one needs tailor-made approaches. To be successful, one thus needs to be willing to work seriously on public benefits. It should not be an afterthought. One needs to have a genuine interest in the public, in involving (underrepresented) target groups and in addressing their needs. Moreover, one needs creativity to be able to recognise and subsequently utilise the opportunities for engagement of a project at hand. In short, a successful outcome requires a dedicated and professional approach. It also implies that this kind of labour should be valued and appreciated – and rewarded in terms of salary – (at least) equal to the other tasks that need to be carried out during a development-led project. If public engagement work will not be valued more positively among academically trained professionals than hitherto experienced in academia (e.g. DelNero 2017; Maynard 2015; Watermeyer 2015), it keeps having a lower status and low priority in comparison with other tasks. This may keep public engagement in archaeology from becoming a more popular activity (see also Van den Dries 2015) in which staff members would like to gain expertise and maybe specialise.

Another challenge is closely connected with the former and concerns the issue of professionalisation and gaining knowledge. For development-led archaeology to be able to also operate as a ‘heritage industry’ producing more societal benefits than it hitherto does, it needs to better understand public benefits and how they can be achieved with various, so far underrepresented groups. We also need to learn how long any of these impacts last and what exactly the benefits in the long term are. We furthermore need to know if there could be potential negative impacts as well; if one target group benefits, could this have negative impacts on others?

We therefore need to keep conducting surveys, impact assessments and evaluations of participation projects. Studies like the NEARCH public survey have already proven to be highly appreciated and valuable – its results were mentioned by several participants during the 2020 EAC meeting – but we also need evidence from the field. The number of community archaeology projects is growing slowly, but mainly in some countries and with the usual target groups. Moreover, these projects hardly operate within a daily practice that is primarily development-led and commercially operated, with some exceptions (e.g. Van der Velde & Bouma 2018). We thus need to learn from best practices in this context as well, in order to assess both options, approaches and opinions from professionals and experiences from participants. Policy makers, both at the national and international level, should strongly encourage (and grant funds) to collect such data in a (commercially operated) development-led context. Not in the least as it would also better ground and justify the claimed heritage values in current policies and their calls to mobilise cultural heritage as a driver of public benefits.

Conclusion

In various European countries, most members of the public consider archaeology first and foremost an academic endeavour (Martelli-Banégas et al. 2015; Kajda et al.

2018). In their eyes, archaeology is the domain of experts and primarily concerned with the production of knowledge about a past from a long time ago. Survey participants indicate they hardly consider archaeology a leisure activity and they do not yet associate it with social or economic benefits. Moreover, it does not seem to be considered of importance for their own (quality of) life or (mental) wellbeing. However, when we include participants in activities and measure effects, for instance on social cohesion or wellbeing, many more benefits come to light. Archaeology can add to wellbeing and quality of life, and has opportunities to do so on a larger scale, even in the context of development-led archaeology. Thus archaeology does not need to be humble about its values and benefits for society.

However, if development-led archaeology projects would like to amplify their relevance for members of the public and have an impact on people's life, some work needs to be done. It turns out that this specific branch of archaeology, in particular its specific circumstances, is not very well known among the public (and policy makers and heritage researchers either). Moreover, it is also not the prime aim of development-led archaeology to have a local social or economic benefit for the public. This makes it difficult for development-led archaeology to demonstrate or further elaborate its public benefits. It implies this industry needs to further open-up and encourage more active participation, by a more diverse audience, as without participation there is presumably no direct impact on people's lives at all. The good news is that there are opportunities to do so if we look at it from the perspective of the public; the NEARCH-survey revealed that a majority of 61% of the respondents across Europe have an interest in taking part in an archaeological excavation. It therefore seems to be first of all up to the authorities, policy makers, developers and archaeologists to make it happen.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the organisers of the EAC meeting in Prague (2020) for inviting me to give a paper. Such meetings and its discussions are mutually beneficial and certainly informative for further developing university training and educational policy.

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