

Introduction

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INTRODUCTION

Anastasia Dakouri-Hild, Guest Editor

Putting the 'Public' in Mediterranean Archaeology: The 2015 Colloquium

Two decades ago, I received my baptism of fire in public archaeology as a neophyte archaeologist in the Greek Archaeological Service. While this term was not used at the time to describe any aspect of archaeological work in Greece, working in the Service frequently entails immersion in classic dilemmas of public archaeology: for instance, how to parse one's enthusiasm about the archaeological process—excavation, analysis, and interpretation of the material remains of the past—to the public; how to marry an arguably esoteric, dry discipline, with inquiry pertaining to contemporary issues in society and genuinely interesting to lay audiences; how to balance the need to protect, preserve, and curate the non-renewable resource of the past, with the complex needs, desires and visions of various stakeholders in the community.

Nevertheless, the notion of public archaeology remains somewhat alien to archaeology in Greece. This is hardly surprising given that: (a) most archaeological work (putting aside projects run by domestic and foreign academic institutions) is in the form of rescue excavations, which are oriented primarily towards preservation as part of the government's heritage management programs; and (b) archaeology is seen as inherently linked to both national education and national identity. Both these characteristics seemingly eliminate the need to argue for the relevance of archaeology in present-day

communities, let alone consider multiple or ignored stakeholders within a given community, and to identify the unique purpose, value and flavor of the qualifier 'public' in archaeology.

Since the advent of public archaeology in the 1970s in Anglo-American scholarship, thinking on this topic has evolved significantly. As discussed in more detail below, public archaeologies vary considerably in approach and objectives. A common direction is that of public education as effective heritage management and protection. Other approaches include public relations or fundraiser efforts in support of continuing projects, educating the public on the methods, benefits and uses of archaeology, and community service learning. Recent paradigms place emphasis on 'democratizing' the archaeological process by involving the public in all stages of knowledge production (e.g., constructivist, experiential, hands-on, inclusive, informationally open, crowdsourced archaeologies). The very meaning of 'publics' and 'communities' to be served by archaeology, the role of archaeology in shaping community identities, and the inherently political nature (intentional or not) of archaeological work in society have also been intensely scrutinized as part of the public-archaeology debate.

Despite extensive writing and debate along these lines in the broader realms of archaeological thought, especially from the late 1990s onward, community-friendly or 'engaged' archaeologies of the ancient Mediterranean have been comparatively rare, little publicized, or very recent. A colloquium entitled "Public Archaeologies of the Ancient Mediterranean" (116th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, New Orleans, 8-11 January 2015), organized by the author, sought

to take the pulse of public-archaeology thinking in the Mediterranean, with the geographic determination broadly applied (community-oriented activities undertaken in contemporary Mediterranean countries or those closely associated with the Mediterranean world historically, or work related to the ancient Mediterranean without necessarily having taken place in that region). While the colloquium did not aim at comprehensive geographic ‘coverage’ and a Greek predisposition was necessitated by the specific forum where the colloquium was held, an effort was made to include contributions representing a variety of regional perspectives as much as possible. The stated goals of this colloquium, and the resulting volume, are: (a) exploring the emerging roles of archaeologists in the Mediterranean as educators, mediators, and facilitators in the interpretation of the past; (b) gauging the local resonances (as opposed to a priori-determined benefits) and nuances of archaeological work in the daily lives of inhabitants; and (c) showcasing projects that engage a variety of stakeholders (including disenfranchised ‘others’) through excavations, site-based initiatives, community-embedded efforts, media, virtual, online projects, and so forth.

‘Public,’ ‘Community,’ ‘Engaged,’ ‘Democratic’ Archaeologies: A Brief Primer

A vibrant interest in the topic of public archaeology as a significant component of the discipline manifests itself in an enormous number of publications spanning five decades but culminating from 2000 onward, with titles such as *Public Archaeology* (McGimsey 1972), *Community Archaeology* (Liddle 1985), *The Presented Past* (Stone and Molyneaux 1994), *Presenting Archaeology to the Public* (Jameson 1997), *Communicating Archaeology* (Beavis and Hunt 1999), *Public Archaeology* (Merriman 2004c), *Places in Mind* (Shackel and Chambers 2004), *Past Meets Present* (Jameson Jr. and Baugher 2007a), *Heritage, Communities and Archaeology* (Smith and Waterton 2009), *New Perspectives in Global Public Archaeology* (Okamura and Matsuda 2011), *The Oxford Handbook of Public Archaeology* (Skeates, McDavid, and Carman 2012), *Community Archaeology* (Moshenska and Dhanjal 2012), *Archaeology,*

the Public, and the Recent Past (Dalglish 2013); most recently, *Archaeology, Heritage, and Civic Engagement* (Little and Shackel 2014), *Key Concepts in Public Archaeology* (Moshenska 2017b, an ongoing ‘live’ book), and *Public Archaeology* (Gursu forthcoming). A number of dedicated journals have been established in the same timeframe, for instance *Public Archaeology* (2000–), *AP: Online Journal in Public Archaeology* (2010–), *Journal of Community Archaeology & Heritage* (2014–), *Archaeostorie: Journal of Public Archaeology* (2017–). Special issues of *World Archaeology* have appeared on the themes of community and public archaeology (October 2002, May 2015), in addition to an editorial in the *European Journal of Archaeology* (Schadla-Hall 1999). In tandem, there is growing interest in applications of the ethnographic method in archaeological work as it relates to the public (Edgeworth 2003, 2006; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Castañeda and Matthews 2008; Mortensen and Hollowell 2009). Likewise, taking into account the experiences of local communities (Stroulia and Buck Sutton 2010), harnessing innovative/digital technologies for public engagement (Tsipopoulou 2008; Bonacchi 2012), debating the broader relevance of archaeology to society (Holtorf 2007; Rockman 2011), and grappling with alternative viewpoints about the past (Simandiraki-Grimshaw and Stefanou 2012; Cherry and Rojas 2015) are all themes explored within this framework.

If blooming interest in public and community archaeology is evident, the terms ‘public’ and ‘community’ are not transparent or unchallenged. To begin with, the term ‘community’—usually taken to mean a contemporary group of people local to an archaeological site or their descendants—is inherent in the discipline, since archaeology tends to take place at locales meaningful to present-day inhabitants (Marshall 2002: 211). However, it can be misleading in that it assumes the existence of monolithic, static, unchanging communities associated with a place. Not only can communities change over time (Little 2012: 403), but the very assumption that present-day stakeholders constitute a single community disregards the overlapping nature of group membership and identities (Marshall 2002: 216; Tully 2007: 158–59; Carman 2016: 143), to the point that a ‘community’ can

be an archaeological construct of little resonance with the people involved (Pyburn 2011: 29, 31). It is crucial, therefore, to understand the nature of ‘community’ and the nuanced and complex dynamics of local groups as they relate to a place of archaeological interest before the latter can be ‘reached’ and ‘engaged.’

While the term ‘public’ in this context is less problematic and usually refers to non-professional groups of people who are interested in or interact with archaeological sites, public archaeology carries different meanings (see Holtorf 2007; Moshenska 2017a, fig. 1.1, for detailed discussion). Some of these meanings include:

- a. Archaeology *for* the public, either state or CRM work undertaken for the public good: ‘the good’ defined as protecting and recording significant aspects of the past, producing information that matters beyond academia (Nassaney 2012: 415–16; see Little and Shackel 2014), and raising awareness about/promoting engagement with issues affecting sites, for instance urban development, climate change, or maritime heritage (Scott-Ireton 2013; Dawson et al. 2017). Usually such archaeologies are funded by the public in some way and are therefore accountable to it, not just in terms of compliance with legal requirements, but also putting funds to good use with an eye to public interest (Merriman 2004a: 2). Enrichment of K–12 school education and curricula, promoting archaeological literacy for preservation purposes, helping non-professional audiences understand the methods and usefulness of the discipline from an outside perspective (techniques, skills, concepts, etc.), delivering content as ‘outreach’ (lectures, presentations, museum exhibits, etc.) also can be seen to serve this general purpose (Stone 1994: 15, 20; Franklin and Moe 2012; Little 2012: 395).
- b. Archaeology *with* the public, which is usually taken to include community archaeology, emphasizing hands-on involvement of the public and collaborations with various stakeholders in the communities at hand (Moshenska and Dhanjal 2012; Little 2012: 395). The community service learning (CSL, Baugher 2007) or ‘citizenship’ model is another

common variant of community archaeology, espousing the embeddedness of formal learning in the real world. The key premise of CSL is that students training to become heritage professionals learn best by exploring problems in genuine settings and cultivate a mindset of sustainable, ongoing civic participation, while providing service to community stakeholders and meeting the needs of the latter (Nassaney 2012: 417–18). In a similar but decidedly more activist direction, ‘engaged archaeologies’ seek to contribute actively to society’s most key and pressing questions: for example, human rights, social justice, gender, race, class inequities, and environmental issues, rather than just conservation, tourism, and land management (Little 2011, 2012: 283, 285). According to this line of thinking, archaeologists are neither teachers of facts nor neutral mediators, but carry the ethical responsibility to engage public stakeholders in dialog with archaeology and with each other on the topics that really matter to them (Scham 2010; Hodder 2013: 26–27).

- c. Archaeology *by* the public represents a spectrum of practices connected with the previously discussed ones, and looking beyond educating or including the public in professional activities. Such archaeologies extend the notion of public engagement with the discipline and archaeological engagement with communities by grassrootsing/‘democratizing’ every step of archaeological inquiry and research (Holtorf 2007: 107; Atalay 2012), including fundraising and publication. Such ‘archaeologies from below’ are meant to be open, community-driven, unafraid of the popular and ‘unauthoritative,’ non-exclusive, and non-hierarchical (Faulkner 2000; Moshenska 2017a, fig. 1.1). They are in full acknowledgment of and relinquishing power structures, disciplinary interests and hierarchies, and their effect on archaeological discourse.

The main criticism of archaeology *for* the public revolves around the threefold question of how professional archaeologists understand their relationship with the

public, how they understand the public's abilities to understand the past, and their own self-perception as producers, keepers, and disseminators of knowledge. A top-down, positivistic, and didactic archaeology tells people what they need to see, what to know, and what to think about the past, on the assumption that knowledge is objective, final, and inscrutable to the uninitiated, and that the public is knowledge-deficient, can only consume, and cannot handle too much (cf. Merriman 2004a: 5; 2004b: 87). Interaction with the public is predicated on one-way communication, simplification, and a polarization of scientific truth and high culture on one hand, and low culture, fantasy, and ignorance on the other (Holtorf 2007: 113; Carman 2016: 143). Although it would be fair to say that not all work within this tradition reflects these attitudes, one-size-fits-all representations of the past can be static, illustration-heavy, overly dramatized, and essentialistic. Narratives can be homogenizing, reducing the past to achievements/highlights of a particular period, culture or segment of society (see Stone 1994: 15; Potter and Chabot 1997: 45; Cherry and Rojas 2015: 3). Sometimes packaging the past for public consumption amounts to little more than infotainment or fancy backdrop for leisure (Copeland 2004: 133, 142). When detailed information is presented, the goal is to assist the public in emulating the unquestioned archaeological gaze, but with the exception of technical processes, silencing biases in archaeological thinking and interpretation (Merriman 2004b: 93).

Further criticisms relate to the efficacy of such education, as well as its possible implicit motives. Teaching the public about the benefits of archaeology can be little more than a thinly veiled PR, job-securing effort serving the interests of the discipline rather than the public (Stone 1994: 18; Holtorf 2007: 107). Paradoxically, if public archaeology is about communication, understanding what people actually want to know is hardly explored, the values or interests of the public are rarely studied, target audiences are assumed, and evaluation of visitor experiences and programs is treated as 'luxury upon luxury,' resulting in blind 'marketing' of the past (Copeland 2004: 139; Merriman 2004a: 8; Jameson Jr. and Baugher 2007b: 4; Bonacchi 2012: xiv). Furthermore, that there is a direct benefit to site preservation as a result of education

programs is not self-evident, while the broader societal benefit of such education beyond the relatively small, self-selecting sample of people who are able and willing to visit archaeological sites and museums is questionable (Stone 1994: 16–20; Merriman 2004b: 86).

By contrast, a bottom-up approach entails a deeper understanding of the different communities involved and ethnography rather than outreach or inclusion (Jameson Jr. and Baugher 2007b: 5, 11–12; Pyburn 2011: 39). Ethnography-based public archaeologies relinquish linear temporality and absolute authority, and focus on the embodied engagement of people with place, enabling new cultural production by the public (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009b: 66–67; 2009a; Hamilakis and Theou 2013: 183, 192; see Aschenbrenner 1972; Herzfeld 1991; Fotiadis 1993). Some projects venture further, into the domains of grassroots archaeology, granting complete administrative control to local trustees (Carman 2016: 144), experimental/total ethnography (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009b: 75), and radical/punk archaeology defined as anti-establishment, anti-authority, and self-reliant (e.g., Caraher, Kourelis, and Reinhard 2014).

Public Archaeologies 2.0

Decentralized, bottom-up archaeologies are more than just creative add-ons for business as usual; rather, they are transformative of the discipline (Marshall 2002: 215; Bartoy 2012: 552; Schofield, Kiddey, and Lashua 2012: 301). While the above approaches are at odds with, indeed react against, the notion of archaeology *for* the public as explained before—the teaching of absolute truths, canned knowledge and predigested interpretations—they are not necessarily incompatible with the idea of educating the public, provided the meaning, mode, and intentions of such 'education' are considered more carefully. The promise of a constructivist teaching philosophy, for example, seems underutilized in archaeology: authentic learning is achieved when the focus shifts from content delivery to personal interpretation; from regurgitating to experiencing and discovering; from learning about to doing; from passively consuming

facts to claiming an active role in shaping knowledge based on one's own experiences, backgrounds, interests, and learning styles. If immersive activities abound in archaeological programs (dig simulations, lab work, reenactments, etc.), it is important for them to be hands-on as well as minds-on: meaning that they do not engender static representations of 'what we do,' 'how they lived,' and 'what happened,' but rather serve as tools for personal interpretation and connections and teach through archaeology rather than about it (Stone 1994: 22; Bartoy 2012: 554–55).

What might public archaeologies 2.0 entail? Even a familiar array of tools (lectures, workshops, school visits, lesson plans, school archaeology clubs, pamphlets, museum exhibits, mobile museums, pullout displays, loan boxes or kits, reconstructed sites, reenactments) can be deployed with polyphonicity, self-interpretation, open-endedness, and meaningful inquiry and reflection in mind (Copeland 2004: 134–38). Giving access to primary materials, cultivating cognitive dissonance, giving voice to silenced/uncomfortable aspects of the past, expanding accessible options (Phillips and Gilchrist 2012), and trusting/taking the public seriously in the spirit of partnership (Thomas 2004: 197; Merriman 2004a: 4–5) are more about transforming key assumptions within the discipline than they are about the wholesale abandonment of particular methods. Because research is one of the best ways to learn, a promising avenue is participatory action research (PAR), in which professionals collaborate with communities in all stages of research (including design/thinking about questions, data collection, analysis and interpretation) (Nassaney 2012: 420, 431; Jameson Jr. and Baugher 2007b: 3). Collaborative or community-led museology and writing may also be fruitful in this direction (McDavid 2004: 166; Tully 2007: 159; see Cherry and Rojas 2015). Alongside an attitudinal shift, born-digital resources inherently linked to open scholarship can be harnessed in this direction: for example, crowd-based cyber-museology, open access platforms and the new media ecology (Simandiraki 2008; Massé and Massé 2010; Bevan 2012: 6; Bonacchi 2012: xiii–xvi), open data curation and dissemination, dismantling barriers to

specialized knowledge. Other digital technologies, such as 3D-immersion, augmented reality, and online gaming (Watrall 2002; Tzortzaki 2008; Simpson, Hammond, and McKenzie-Clark 2013), carry potential, but they are not automatically 'experiential'/constructivist if they simply deliver static content and prefabricated interpretation using a different medium. Likewise, online accessibility and interactivity do not necessarily democratize if they merely replicate the 'broadcasting approach' (McDavid 2004: 164; Bonacchi 2017).

Thus, whereas the concept of 'archaeological education' is redeemable to the extent that not all education is top-down, dry, didactic, authoritarian and undemocratic, there is no doubting that more careful attention needs to be paid to the audiences, learning methods, content, objectives, as well as the evaluation of archaeology-as-public-education.

Public Archaeologies of the Ancient Mediterranean

Some notable examples of relatively recent (2000–) or ongoing work designed to involve the public include (the list is by no means exhaustive and excludes projects discussed extensively in this volume):

Greece

- Filmography as part of the Sphakia survey project in Crete, aiming at producing media for classroom and general outreach use (Nixon 2001, 2010).
- Combination film, school-oriented education and PAR project at Paliambela, Kolindros (Kasvikis, Nikonanou, and Kotsakis 2007; see Magro Conti 2007: 64).
- Photographic ethnography project at Kalaureia, Poros, which sought to highlight local discourses about the archaeological site studied (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009a).
- Study of diverse local meanings attributed to antiquities as part of the excavations at Vasiliko, Sikyon (Deltsou 2009).

- Public lectures, sharing of publications, classes for adults and children, experimental ceramics classes connected to the local reproduction business, and special museological exhibits, in connection with the Kilada and Franchthi cave excavations, Argolid (Kamizis, Stroulia, and Vitelli 2010; see Stroulia and Buck Sutton 2009).
- Integration of ancient crafts into local economic activities and public outreach through workshops and involvement of modern ceramicists at Paroikia, Paros (Hasaki 2010).
- Ethnographic study of 'looting' and subsistence digging at Kozani (Antoniadou 2009).
- Extensive, multilingual lesson plans for schools, site and museum tours, and 'theater adoption' in connection with the Corinth excavations (<http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/index.php/excavationcorinth/outreach/>).
- Collaboration with teachers and third sector organizations in the UK to enrich the curriculum with lessons on classical Greek domestic architecture (Fitzjohn 2017).

Cyprus

- Eco-archaeology programs at Yeronisos, off Cyprus (Connelly 2014).
- Exhibitions, educational materials, photographic record, and recording of oral histories as part of the Arediou excavations (Steel 2017).
- Education, school involvement, and volunteer involvement in the Akrotiri excavations, to include locals and wounded personnel of the RAF base (James 2016).
- First-hand experience of excavations by school students and other volunteers in the Paphos Theatre Archaeological Project (Barker 2011).
- School programs, public lectures, curriculum enrichment, and collaborative 'local memory' exhibits highlighting contemporary life in the community, as part of the Atheniou excavations (Kardulias 2013).

Israel and Palestine

- Community-based 'social-educational' project emphasizing multivocality and PAR involving school-aged children and other local volunteers in the excavation of Tel Bareket (Paz 2010).
- Collaboration between Israeli archaeologists and Palestinian residents to present alternative, more inclusive and nuanced tours of Silwan, Jerusalem (Greenberg 2009).
- Reconstruction of a prehistoric village, emphasis on Jewish and Arab reconciliation, involvement of school-aged children, and employment of locals and other stakeholders in excavations at Sha'ar Hagolan and 'Ubeidiya, near the Sea of Galilee (see Magro Conti 2007: 63–64).
- Running an entirely 'open' excavation at Tel Burna, Shephelah, involving local and online communities (Shai and Uziel 2016).
- PAR involving diverse communities and schools at the excavations of Givat Sher, Modi'in and Khan-el-Hilu, Lod (The Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology n.d.).

Jordan

- Ethnography and biography of ancient objects from antiquity to the present day at the sites of Fifa, Bab adh-Dra and en-Naqa /es-Safi in the Levant (Follow the Pots project) (Kersel and Chesson 2013).

Turkey

- Employment of locals as guardians and in excavations, experimental archaeology and PAR, as well as support for alternative events at Çatalhöyük, Konya (Shankland 1996; Bartu 2016; Bartu-Candan 2007; Atalay 2010; Human 2015; see Magro Conti 2007: 63).
- Involvement of local youth, trekking and guided tours through a local docent system at Sagalassos (Degryse et al. 2009).
- Accommodating a contemporary burial on an archaeological site in an effort to respect social

space in the contemporary community at Ziyaret Tepe (Rosenzweig and Dissard 2013).

- Crowdfunded environmental archaeology and video journaling in Sardinia (Holt 2017).

Egypt

- Collaboration, training/employment, presentations, site visits, recording of oral history, creating an audiovisual and educational archive, local museological exhibits, and community-controlled merchandising in the diverse community of Quseir al-Qadim (Moser et al. 2002; Tully 2009; for a complete description and detailed methodology, see Tully 2007: 162–63, 176–78).
- Recording of oral history, involving youth in archaeological work and public outreach in the excavations at Tell Timai (Lorenzon and Zermani 2016).
- A museum as a form of archaeological ethnography and inclusion in partnership with the public (Fisher 2000; MacDonald and Shaw 2004; Stevenson 2015).

Italy

- School lessons, creation of a collaborative book with students, exploring links between archaeology, gastronomy, and art in connection with the excavation at Terramara di Pilastri, Ferrara (Boschetti and Tassi 2016; see Ripanti 2017: 98).
- Involvement of ‘citizen-scientists’ in digging at Poggio del Molino, Populonia (Megale 2015; see Ripanti 2017: 98).
- Live sharing of excavation results on the web at Castello di Miranduolo, Tuscany (Valenti 2012; see Ripanti 2017: 100).
- Leveraging social media, Sketchfab, guided tours, videos and theatrical performances (‘excava[c]tion’) at the Vignale excavations, Tuscany (Costa and Ripanti 2013; see Ripanti 2017: 100).
- ‘Archaeodrome’ offering living archaeology, experimental activities, funerary ceremonies/reenactments, and an open-air museum at Poggibonsi, Siena (Valenti 2016).

France

- Citizen science program and volunteerism-supporting app (‘Alert’) to address coastal erosion at archaeological sites in northwestern France (Olmos et al. 2016).
- Involvement of local farmers and hikers in collecting data in pedestrian survey at Banassac in south Gaul (Roche 2015).
- The ArkéoTopia NGO initiative, established in 2007, which offers guided tours, school visits, conferences and social media outreach in Paris (ArkéoTopia n.d.).

Spain

- Reconstructions, reenactments, media and experimental archaeology at Calafell citadel (Martín and Alegría 2013; see Pastor 2015: 185).
- Online audiovisual materials, publications and lessons, archaeological trekking, archaeology days, and other touristic development as part of the Arqueología Somos Todos project at Cordoba (Vaquerizo and Ruiz 2013; see Pastor 2015: 186).
- Seamless integration of excavation process and outreach through PAR, site visits, online materials and social media in the Torre dos Mouros project at Lira, Carnota (Gago et al. 2013; see Pastor 2015: 186).
- Online education materials, publications, and involvement of volunteers/PAR as part of the Jamila Environment Archaeological Project (Moya-Maleno 2013; see Pastor 2015: 187).
- Community festival, street parade and participatory performances in Barcelona (Díaz-Andreu and Ruiz 2017); see also a variety of projects discussed in a recent edited volume (Díaz-Andreu, Pérez, and Ruiz Martínez 2016).

Malta

- Volunteerism, school visits, 'hands on-minds on' activities, open days, guided tours, media, consultations, and accessible options at the Kordin III site, Paola (Magro Conti 2000; 2007: 64–66).

Other recent general studies on the topic of public or community archaeology include: Sakellariadi 2010, Touloupa 2010 (Greece), McCarthy 2016 (Cyprus), Scham 2001 (Israel and Palestine), Güler-Bıyıklı and Aslan 2013 (Turkey), Bonacchi 2013, 2014, Brogiolo 2012, Parello and Rizzo 2014, Ripanti 2017, Vannini 2011 (Italy), Almansa Sánchez 2011, 2013, Pastor 2015, Carretón 2016, Temiño 2016 (Spain), Borg 2007 (Malta).

In an attempt to preliminarily gauge ongoing public-archaeology practices and perceptions in a number of archaeology subfields relating to the study of the ancient Mediterranean—including Aegean, Cypriot, Greek, Roman, Anatolian, Egyptian, Near Eastern and western Mediterranean archaeology—an online survey was launched on July 14, 2017. The survey link was disseminated through a number of online forums to reach as broad an audience as possible, including Aegeanet, Greek Arch, Agade, Italian Archaeology, Anatolian Arch, Arzawa, Ancient Cyprus, Ancient Near East, and Public Archaeology. Over the nearly month-long duration of the survey, 74 responses were collected. The questions asked of the participants were the following:

1. What is your main current affiliation?
2. What does 'public archaeology' mean to you primarily?
3. How important is it to involve the public in archaeological work in your view?
4. Are you or have you been the PI or held another significant role in an archaeological project (field-based or not) that was designed to involve the public?
5. Where was the public-archaeology project in question launched (please select as many as apply)?
6. Which of the following approaches have you implemented in your public-archaeology project (please choose all that may apply)?
7. What are some challenges/difficulties you have encountered in implementing your

public-archaeology project (please choose all that may apply)?

8. If desired, please copy the URL of your public-archaeology project below.

Most respondents (61%) are members of a higher education institution (university, college etc.), 15% are affiliated with a research institution (including archaeological schools), 12% are independent, 8% are staff in the archaeological service or a public museum, and 4% are 'other' ('retired' and 'non-profit organization'). Interestingly, there were no responses representing private museums (Fig. 1). The majority of contributors (61%) have held a significant role in a public-archaeology project and therefore have had direct experiences engaging with communities, while 38% have not (Fig. 2).

Most participants (47%) thought that public archaeology signifies primarily educating the public (including schools). Others opted for general heritage management (14%) or PAR (14%). Nine percent were not familiar with the term, 8% chose 'other' (with detailed responses including 'community engagement,' 'dialogic engagement' and 'communicating with the public'), and 7% selected community service learning (Fig. 3). The consensus is that involving the public is a high (67%) or medium (31%) priority, with only one contributor opting for 'unimportant or unwanted' (the latter response was given by a retired non-professional listserv member who feels disenfranchised by professional archaeology) (Fig. 4).

Most projects have physically taken place in Greece (18), Israel (10), global locations (8), and Egypt (7). Italy (4), Jordan, Turkey, Cyprus (3 each) and other Near Eastern locations (2), as well as Sudan, Spain, Syria and France (one each) were also identified by respondents (Fig. 5). The most commonly reported activities associated with these projects are lectures/workshops (39 attestations), site visits (33), lesson plans for schools, and online information or activities (30 responses each). PAR (23), brochures or other printed material (19), museum exhibits (16), activity kits (15) are also reported. Loan artifacts/mobile museums (9) and archaeological fairs (7) are less common. The 'other' category (7) includes ethnography, live Facebook feeds, videos, university and collaborative exhibits, and general socializing with stakeholders (Fig. 6). By far the most common obstacle in implementing projects has

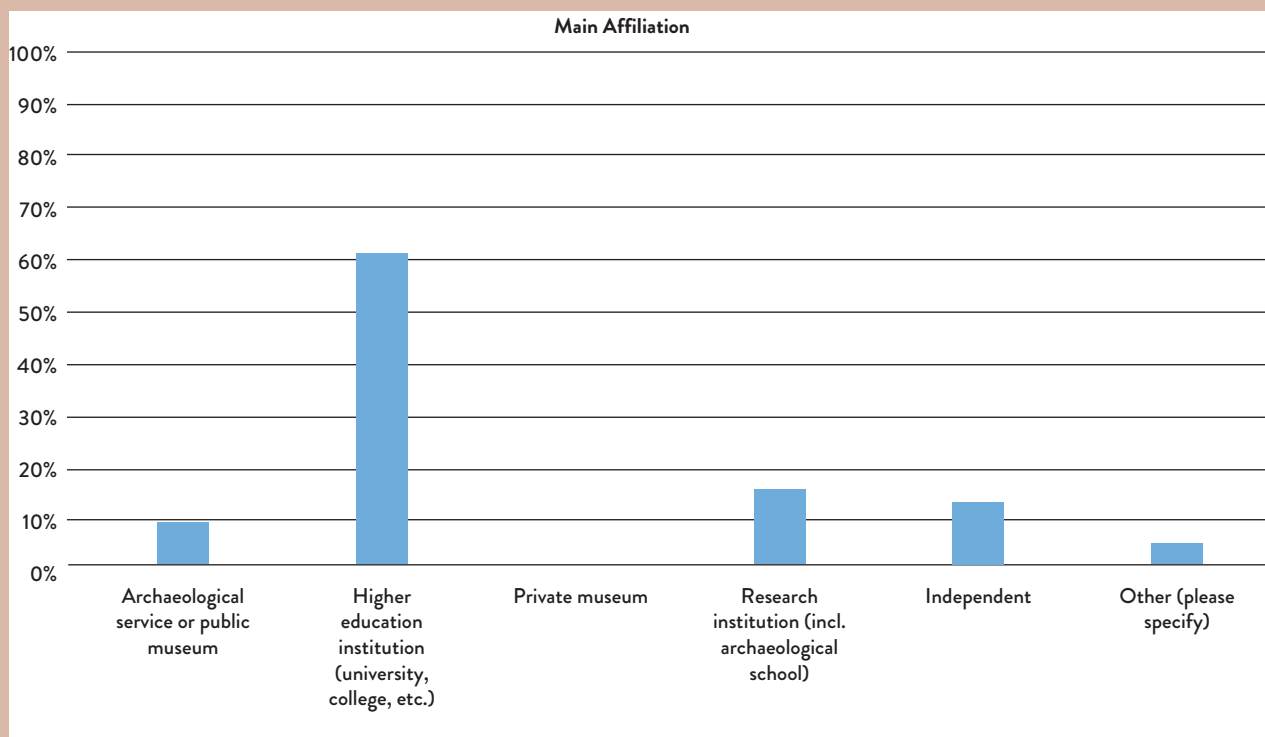


FIG. 1
Main affiliations of survey respondents.

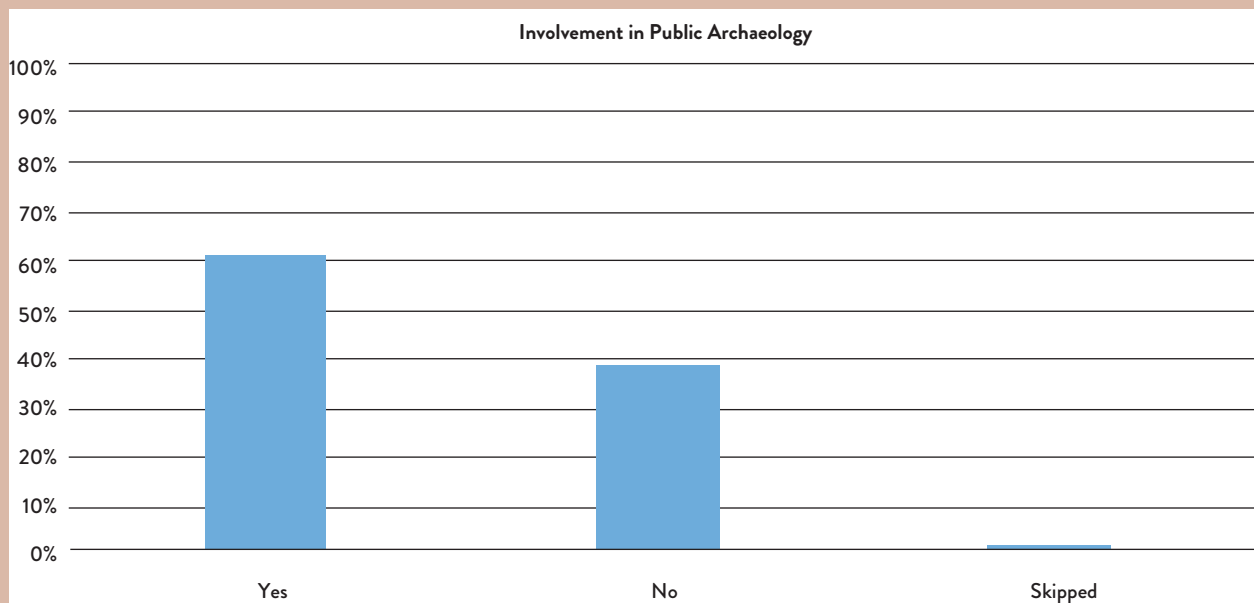


FIG. 2
Involvement of survey respondents in public-archaeology projects.

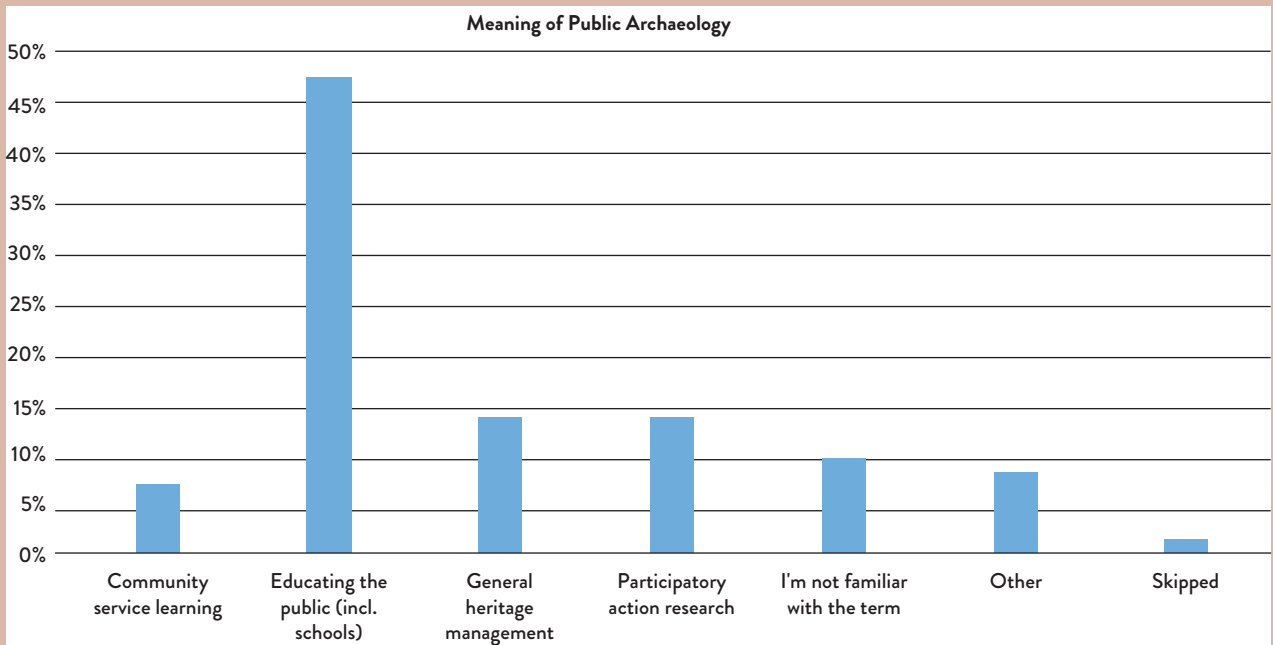


FIG. 3
Main significance of 'public archaeology' for survey respondents.

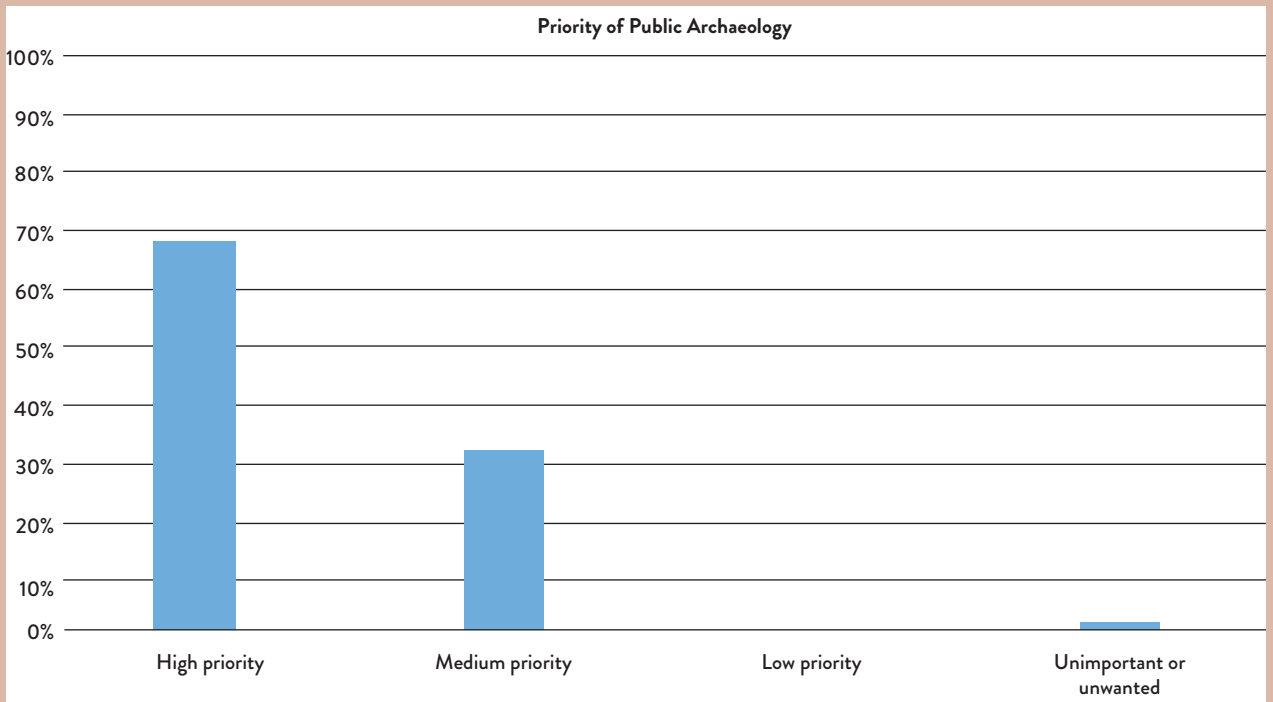


FIG. 4
Level of priority of public archaeology for survey respondents.

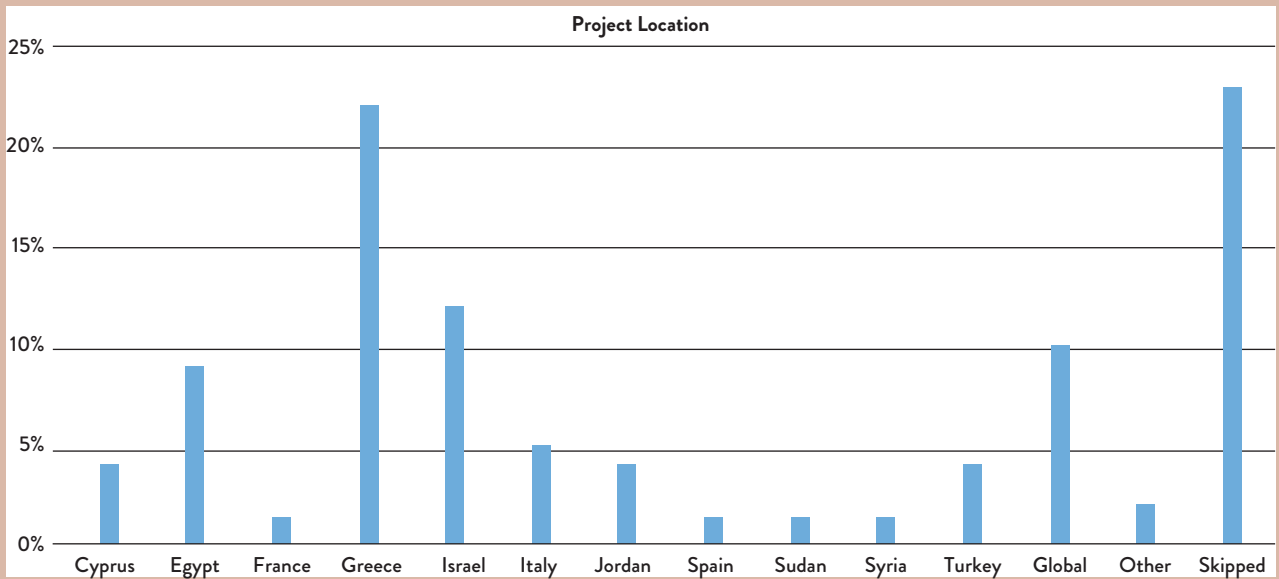


FIG. 5
Location of public-archaeology projects.

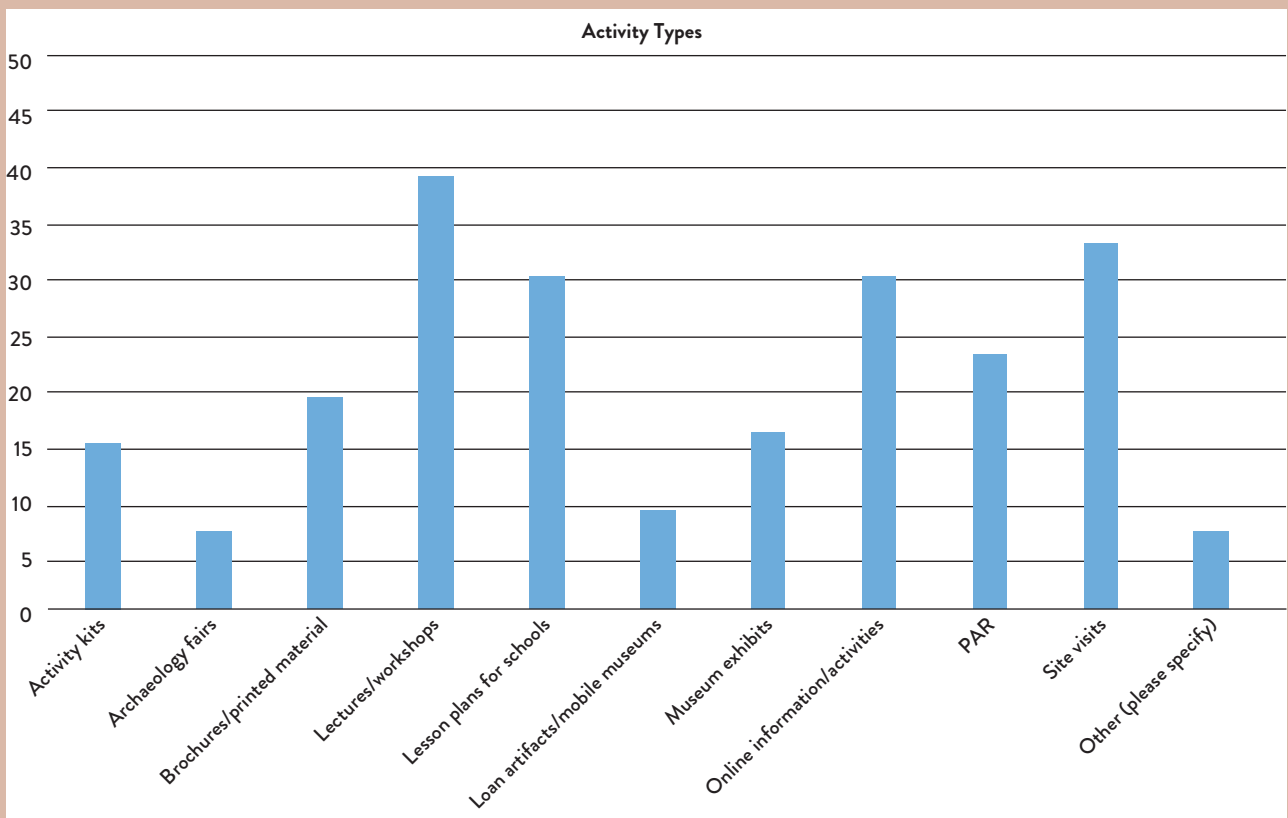


FIG. 6
Types of activities in public-archaeology projects.

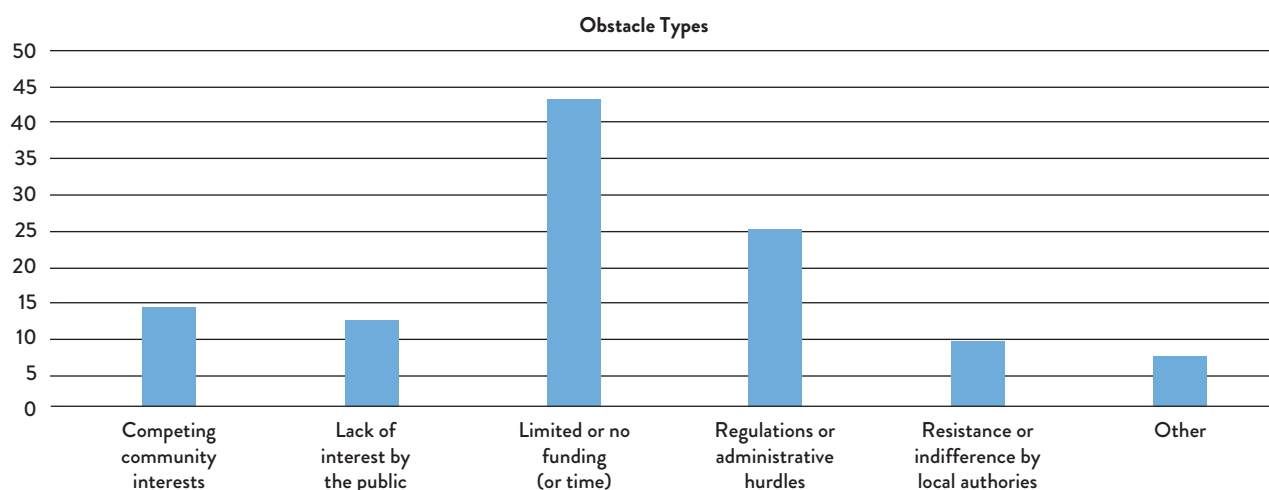


FIG. 7
Types of obstacles in public-archaeology projects.

been limited or no funding (or time, related to funds, 43 responses), followed by regulations or administrative hurdles (25), competing/conflicting community interests (14), lack of interest by communities (possibly in part a marker of program maturity/duration and/or design, 12), and resistance/indifference by local authorities (9). Some of the additional obstacles reported under 'other' (7) include data hoarding by archaeologists, inflexible school curricula and lack of professional motivation by potential academic participants in programs (Fig. 7).

In summary:

- a. Traditional outreach methods are utilized to engage the public. The survey responses, specifically, show that the notion of public archaeology as education remains prevalent among respondents.
- b. Film, digital and social media, ethnography, experimental archaeology, and PAR are also employed, in many cases in conjunction with the previous. The same can be said about the survey responses.
- c. There is growing interest in openness, multivocality and inclusion, and an understanding of the need to respect the multitemporal and contemporary social spaces to which archaeological sites belong.
- d. Among the respondents (admittedly a self-selecting sample of mostly professionals and in particular

academics interested in the topic) there is strong interest in engaging the public in a variety of ways and this is considered a priority. It is unclear how other types of professionals or non-academic independents think about this issue, however.

- e. Good intentions can be undermined by lack of funding and/or time to pursue sustainable public archaeology programs, resistance and hurdles of various kinds, local politics, as well as a relatively low value placed on such work in terms of professional promotion (tenure, etc.) and data sharing practices within the field.
- f. Given that each of the lists used to disseminate the survey enlist hundreds of contributors, the response sample of 74 across all lists is rather small. Whether this bespeaks a lack of interest in or understanding of the topic, a disvalue placed on the notion of public archaeology, or some other factor (timing, academic politics, level of engagement with the list or the internet, etc.), is unclear.

The Articles in the Present Volume

What is the relevance of the past for today's communities? How to incorporate it more fully in everyday culture in ways that are meaningful to these communities? How

complex are these communities exactly? What is the role and value of archaeology in local cultures? Can we articulate the value of archaeological finds in local terms, beyond well-established national themes and paradigms? How to engage communities in participatory stewardship and encourage authorship of the past, while maintaining the professional standards of the discipline? These are some of the general questions asked by the articles in this volume.

National and Non-Hegemonic Readings of the Past, “Top-Down versus Bottom-Up Heritage”

A. Simandiraki-Grimshaw (An Archaeology of/for the Disenfranchised) enumerates the systemic limitations to public archaeology in Greece posed by administrative structures, a top-down approach, capital-P politics and upheavals in recent years, and curriculum lacunae in higher education. She discusses various forms of public engagement, which tend to be of the outreach variety, in tandem with insidious forms of alienation and disenfranchisement, such as the use of jargon inspired by archaistic language and silencing of certain aspects of the past. She fleshes out the potential for public archaeologies that move beyond the ethnocentric model, advocating for inclusive, decentralized practices and better service training.

In a different, but related direction, E. Pappa (A Mere Addition to Someone Else’s Genealogy? Perceptions of Ancient Cultural Heritage, Public Policy and Collective Memory in Portugal) gives a ‘contrapuntal’ perspective on perceptions and attitudes about antiquity among the public comparing case studies in Greece and Portugal. She argues that in Greece the public is invested in antiquity for reasons other than mere top-down indoctrination, sometimes conflicting with hegemonic/state discourses, because of strong links with collective memory and the sacrosanct character of antiquity in that country. By contrast, the exogenous Phoenician culture in Portugal is seen as detached from the national agenda and tied more to ‘place’ rather than the origins of a contemporary people, which offers possibilities for public engagement that do not rely exclusively on essentialist identity politics.

Which ‘Community’? Multiplicity of Actors/Interests and ‘the Local’

T. Carter (Nothing to See Here! The Challenges of Public Archaeology at Palaeolithic Stélida, Naxos) teases apart the complex politics and social nuances encountered while running a project in an affluent resort community, consisting of multinational stakeholders and representing conflicting interests, while working under a state archaeology permit and interfacing with local authorities and cultural organizations. He considers a variety of problems, such as engaging the public with an era (the Paleolithic) that does not resonate immediately with non-specialist audiences, the negative initial image of archaeologists as trouble-makers, anti-foreign backlash during the financial crisis, balancing the ethical obligation to ‘engage’ with respect for the privacy of locals, and questions of sustainability.

In a similar vein, E. Kyriakidis and A. Anagnostopoulos (Engaging Local Communities in Heritage Decision-Making: The Case of Gonies, Crete, Greece) look at the complex local or interregional politics and networks of power in which archaeological sites are uncomfortably entangled. Their project, “Three Peak Sanctuaries of Central Crete,” serves as an example of archaeological ethnography, engagement of local communities in key decisions (including research goals, process, and outputs), and a focus on ‘place.’ The authors also discuss pragmatic difficulties, such as a lack of interest of locals in certain time periods, administrative structures, and limited funding in implementing such projects effectively and sustainably. They argue that sustainability can be ensured by interweaving archaeological research with local economies.

V. Apaydin (Heritage Values and Communities: Examining Heritage Perceptions and Public Engagements) explores a variety of community perspectives in relation to the past, utilizing three different archaeological sites and their corresponding contemporary communities in Turkey as case studies. He asserts that one-size-fits-all, state-run, top-down archaeology and formal education disenfranchise local communities, which has an impact on how the latter understand and connect to the past. The community approaches

represented range greatly, from relative indifference to the ancient site in question due to Islamic or ethnic pre-occupations, to fully embracing hegemonic, top-down narratives. He advocates for more inclusive, non-essentialistic public archaeologies in Turkey that truly engage communities.

A. E. Killebrew, D. DePietro, R. Pangarkar, S.-A. Peleg, S. Scham, and E. Taylor (Archaeology, Shared Heritage, and Community at Akko, Israel) discuss three separate but related community-based projects focusing on diversity and shared heritage centered on the notion of place. Their Total Archaeology projects reveal the difficulties and potential of engaging multi-ethnic groups with antagonistic values in highly contested territories. Recognizing traditional approaches as both politically and economically suspect and alienating of the public, they see community archaeology as an ethical stance and a means to promote social justice, empathy, and co-existence through the sharing of knowledge. They explore the impact of heritage in the daily lives of communities and perceptions of World Heritage designations and discuss the benefits of participant-centered, grass-roots programs.

Urban Heritage, 'Place,' and Conservation

A. Papadaki and A. Dakouri-Hild (A Past for/by the Public: Outreach and Reception of Antiquity in Boeotia, Greece) examine public-archaeology efforts in a landscape that is at once mythical, archaeological, and urban. The paper contrasts a number of outreach programs organized and run by a regional office of the Archaeological Service, with perceptions and readings of the Boeotian past that emanate from other sources including: general understandings of Greek antiquity, national/hegemonic narratives internalized through general public education, experiences of ancient remains through everyday inhabitation in Boeotia, and local 'elite' appropriations of antiquity for social capital. While a discrepancy between the two is discerned, both the official programs and the more personal/local narratives or 'flavors' of the past are validated.

E. Hemo and R. Linn (Sustainable Conservation of Archaeological Sites with Local Communities: The Case

Study of Tel Yoqne'am, Israel) debate the benefits of a local community project specifically in the direction of conservation, as well in terms of the local economy and community bonding. Similarly to other papers, they discuss public archaeology within the conceptual framework of 'place,' arguing that sustainable conservation management begins with ethnographically understanding the importance of place in the local communities and the variety of values associated with it. They also offer insight on the needs and methods of evaluating the success of such programs.

J. Moore ('The Alexandria You Are Losing'? Urban Heritage and Activism in Egypt since the 2011 Revolution) reviews ongoing threats to Egyptian heritage after the 2011 revolution, which heightened plundering, vandalism, and digging of sites, and the efficacy of activist groups (mostly young people) in protecting local heritage. Against the background of manifold challenges posed by urban development, the politics of conservation, 'façadism'/Disneyfication, tourism pressure, and neglect, the author sees the involvement of activist community groups and independent writers, local businesses and architects as a positive development. Their innovative public education programs are seen as drivers of growing public interest in modern heritage and recognition by the state.

Overall, public archaeology is valuable beyond its role in contributing economic value (Burtenshaw 2017). As B. Little (2012: 395–405) has remarked, it can help society address a multitude of social questions, such as justice, peace, civic renewal, multiculturalism, tolerance, migration, poverty, power, urban decay. However, there are many aspects to carefully consider besides the ones discussed above and in the papers. For instance, is it possible to have 'too much engagement' affecting site preservation (metal detectors, etc.)? How do we balance the requirements of the discipline with the need for openness and preservation (Flatman et al. 2011: 70)? Can there be too much sharing? Is there a risk of creating 'digital serfs' by sharing labor for free while advancing the logic of digital capitalism and human capital entrepreneurship in the broader scheme of things (Richardson 2017)? Is there a risk of reducing the past to something sensationalized, trivial, consumable,

a plaything (Merriman 2004b: 102), subject to industrialization and business imperatives (Stone 1994: 20)? Is professional participatory rhetoric possibly retaining existing hierarchies as it envelops 'grassroots' (Richardson 2017), and is it relying on extant social asymmetries and digital divides (given that cyberspace is not inherently 'democratized,' for instance) (McDavid 2004: 63)? Moreover, what are the dangers of creating new kinds of tribes beyond our control (Bevan 2012: 10–11)? Might we unwittingly support extreme relativism, the mainstreaming of destructive perspectives (Merriman 2004a: 7, 14), the justification of colonialism, bigotry, and white supremacy (Moshenska 2017a) for instance? Tellingly, as this introduction was being written, Charlottesville was in mourning: a life was lost and many injured as a result of a white supremacist rally in support of Confederate 'heritage.' If heritage is a universal value, a path to wellbeing (Jameson Jr. and Baugher 2007b: 7), and key in building a sense of place and community (Carman 2016: 143), public archaeology *must* navigate the increasingly difficult and even dangerous appeal of 'heritage' to some groups in a globalized world.

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