COMMUNITY ARCHAEOLOGY

THEMES, METHODS AND PRACTICES

Edited by

Gabriel Moshenska and Sarah Dhanjal

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PREFACE

This book emerges from a conference held at UCL Institute of Archaeology in 2006. The conference, *Archaeology in the Community*, was the brainchild of Michael de Bootman and Neil Faulkner, and was coordinated by Gabriel Moshenska with support of Tim Schadla-Hall. Financial support was received from English Heritage, Heritage Marketing and Publication and UCL Institute of Archaeology. The editors would like to thank everyone involved in the planning and execution of the conference. We are particularly grateful to the speakers and audience for attending a conference which not only coincided with the hottest weekend of the year, but with the opening England game of the 2006 World Cup.

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INTRODUCTION: THINKING ABOUT, TALKING ABOUT, AND DOING COMMUNITY ARCHAEOLOGY

Gabriel Moshenska and Sarah Dhanjal

What is community archaeology? At the end of the *Archaeology in the Community* conference we were no clearer, and by the end of this book we don't imagine you will be either. And that is as it should be. To define community archaeology – narrowly or broadly – serves little useful purpose at this point, and if this book demonstrates one thing it is the rich diversity of activities and initiatives taking place under this convenient banner. A few common threads have emerged, such as cooperation between professional and non-professional archaeologists, and the belief that archaeology does not have to take place in private between consenting companies.

That there is no obvious need to define community archaeology does not mean that it should not be studied, and there have been a number of studies in recent years that have sought to assess the values and validity of community archaeology initiatives (e.g. Simpson and Williams 2008; Simpson 2010; Tully 2007). These are signs of maturity and critical reflection on our practices, but intellectual ruminations should not perhaps be taken to the extreme of turning community archaeology into a principally academic subject – this would be contrary to the spirit of pluralism and openness that characterizes so many of the papers in this volume (and see Moshenska 2008).

One of the issues in doing or talking about community archaeology is the nebulous nature of the term 'community' (the problems of the word 'archaeology' are much more fundamental, and best saved for another time). Community is a sociological term, a buzzword, and a political strategy. *Private Eye* has long satirized the habit of journalists and politicians defining and creating 'communities' as diverse as the transport user community and the outdoor sex community. More seriously, communities can be defined by themselves or from outside. They can be based on locale, class, interests, ethnicity, hobbies, language, sexuality and any number or combination of other factors. They exist as sets and sub-sets of humanity, defined for a range of purposes, many of them deleterious to the group so designated. The term is also divisive: to define a community is not only to decide who is in, but who is out. One task for a maturing and increasingly self-critical community archaeology community is a careful consideration

and discussion of what we mean by 'community', and a growing awareness of the risk of marginalizing those individuals who do not fall within the communities we choose to work with, or who choose to work with us.

Community archaeology: episodes in the a history of the term

Peter Liddle in Leicestershire was coordinating what he described as community archaeology projects from the 1970s, as an initiative of the Archaeology Section of the Leicestershire Museums, Arts and Records Service (Schadla-Hall 2004). In 1985 he produced a handbook aimed at people wishing to both conduct and organize community archaeology projects; *Community Archaeology: A Fieldworker's Handbook of Organisation and Techniques*. In this, he defined the local form of community archaeology as "autonomous local archaeological groups operating in an area normally no more than four or five parishes" (Liddle 1985: 4). Liddle seems to have envisioned community archaeology in Leicestershire as a network of locally-based archaeological interest groups, meeting in pubs or branching out from local history societies, working with a minimum of central coordination and oversight towards a common aim of characterizing the Leicestershire landscape.

In contrast to Liddle's anarchic model, Walker (1988) discusses community archaeology in its incarnation as an initiative of the Manpower Services Commission (MSC), aimed at providing training to the long-term unemployed as well as reducing their politically inconvenient high figures. The MSC funding tended to be used by existing archaeological units to conduct research and rescue excavations using a labour force designated by the MSC and its attendant Youth Training Scheme (YTS). In other regards these were conventional excavations run on a large scale with hierarchical organizational structures. Walker considered community archaeology to be a potential alternative source of progress in archaeological theory, policy and practice, while quoting Heinrich Himmler to highlight the dangers of state interference in archaeology (Walker 1988: 56).

By 2002, with the publication of Marshall's themed volume of *World Archaeology*, community archaeology had taken on a distinctively post-colonial flavour, focusing on work taking place in Australasia and the United States, as well as research projects with formal local indigenous community involvement in other countries. European case studies were notable by their absence, and Marshall discussed this issue while noting that in Britain at least, community archaeology tended to be run by non-university based archaeologists. For this reason, while British community archaeology may or may not have been thriving, it was unlikely to make an impact in high-profile international journals.

One British community archaeology project that has addressed many of the theoretical and practical difficulties of the field is the Sedgeford Historical and Archaeological Research Project (SHARP) (Moshenska 2006). Project founder Neil

Faulkner has written in detail of the philosophical aims of the project as "archaeology from below" (2000) and as an experiment in democratic fieldwork. In this model there are two communities: the local community and the community of archaeologists. It is assumed that there will be significant overlap between these two categories, as well as mutually beneficial social, educational and economic interactions (Faulkner 2002). In a remarkable paper entitled *The Sedgeford Crisis* (2009) Faulkner reflected in some detail on the power-struggle and intense interpersonal difficulties that had affected the project in years past, and the tensions between different elements of the archaeological team and the local community. This open and revealing appraisal offers an insight into some of the many problems attendant to community archaeology projects, many of which will be very familiar to people working in this field.

Themes in community archaeology

The papers in this volume are startlingly and pleasingly diverse, drawing on the expertise and experience of student archaeologists, academics, professionals, amateurs, educators and independent practitioners. Looking through these papers a number of interesting common themes emerge, and it is worth looking at some of these in more detail. Isherwood, Reid, Thomas, Henson and Tripp all engage in different but complementary ways with the nature and significance of community archaeology, including crucial issues of representation and the movement of information, as well as the pleasures and emotional dimensions of engaging with the material remains of the past. These more general, theoretical reflections refute any claims that community archaeology is anti- or non-theoretical, and reaffirm public archaeology in general as one of the most dynamic areas of the wider discipline.

The most notable common theme in most of the papers in this book is education. Several papers including those by Baldry *et al.*, Cole and Orange detail particular schemes of archaeological teaching and learning, albeit to three very different groups. The significance of these differences is important: various groups or communities will want to engage with archaeology in often very different ways, actively or passively, and within the remit of community archaeology there must be the means to shape the processes accordingly. McNeill describes the uses of archaeology within the very different, marginalized educational movement of home educators, discussing ways in which a mutually beneficial relationship can be created and maintained. Cooper's paper described a solution to one of the perennial problems of community archaeology: accessing expert knowledge for the post-excavation analysis of finds assemblages and samples. The course that was created to share and develop these skills is still running and remains popular. This also highlights the common concentration on excavation within community archaeology and the concomitant neglect of post-excavation work, with some honorable exceptions.

The funding of community archaeology is a vast issue, worthy of a volume on its

own account, and this issue is addressed by, amongst others, Simpson, Hawken and Hughes. The various approaches to funding community archaeology include *Heritage Lottery Fund* grants, course fees for educational work, and tapping into funding aimed at social inclusion initiatives. The main lesson for the aspiring community archaeologist is that when it comes to funding sources think laterally, apply widely, and be prepared to shape your proposal to the requirements of the funding source, as demonstrated by Cole's entertaining paper.

Closely linked to funding is the issue of project sustainability in community archaeology – how long projects endure, what they leave behind, and how to measure this. This is the subject of some of the best analysis of community archaeology in recent years (e.g. Simpson and Williams 2008) but remains a significant problem. Several of the projects discussed are based on a specific piece of time-limited funding, and it is recognized that this may limit the long-term impact of the work. Simpson and Cole describe one-off projects based on specific funding opportunities, while Knowles and Hawken discuss larger, medium-term projects encompassing several specific initiatives. For professional community archaeologists, as for professional archaeologists of all kinds, short-term contracts have long been the norm, with their attendant absence of financial and career security. Most significantly those projects that plan for the long-term, such as those described by Baldry *et al.* and Reid, are those where all involved are volunteers, and the expenses do not include salaries. This is a problematic dichotomy, and perhaps the best solution (aside from Cooper's notable educational initiative) is the rise of the full- or part-time community archaeology facilitator, as embodied by Simpson as one aspect of her employment during the Shoreditch project.

Futures of community archaeology

Having glanced at some of the historical background of community archaeology, as well as some of the key issues affecting its current practice, what can we now say about its future? The first and most obvious point is that it has one: community archaeology is driven first and foremost by a popular desire to learn about and interact with the past, and this is unlikely to disappear any time soon. One of the central factors in the growth or decline of community archaeology will be the attitude of professional archaeologists and heritage stewards towards the public. The variation in this attitude can be described as the difference between 'open archaeology' and 'closed archaeology' (cf. Moshenska *et al.* 2007). The former is an attitude that the public have an absolute right to experience archaeology, learn about archaeology in their own terms, and carry out archaeological research with or without professional guidance. In this model the archaeological record is a common treasury for the population to enjoy, exploit and interact with. In contrast 'closed' archaeology is the attitude that archaeology should only be carried out by trained professionals, and that allowing untrained members of the public to carry out archaeology (or in some cases even see archaeology being carried out) is tantamount

to vandalism. These are two extremes, and the vast majority of archaeologist's opinions on the matter are somewhere in the middle. Nonetheless an increase in openness will facilitate a growth of community archaeology, and we optimistically believe that this trend exists in contemporary British archaeology.

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COMMUNITY ARCHAEOLOGY: CONCEPTUAL AND POLITICAL ISSUES

Rob Isherwood

In this paper it will be argued that although the practice of community archaeology has grown rapidly in recent years, it exists in a variety of forms and with little consensus in terms of definition. The overall image of community archaeology is one of fuzziness. The problem is compounded by the fact that practitioners of community archaeology have no established theory to draw on in respect of community archaeology, and thus, that research is required to fill this void.

This paper will provide a discussion of the social and political context for the current practice of community archaeology. This, I believe, is important. Archaeologists and heritage professionals involved in a community archaeology project will be required to engage with one or more communities in order to facilitate a programme of archaeological fieldwork. Such professionals will be trained and skilled in the techniques of archaeology but are liable to be unaware of the complexities of community dynamics or even the political agenda that lie behind the funding of community projects and the political will that may seek to identify and present 'positive social outcomes' as a consequence of community projects.

An anthropological perspective on community will be provided to illustrate the range of concepts and issues that relate to the reality of community as experienced by community members. This is done in order to demonstrate the complexity of community construction and to provide suggestion of a range of problems likely to be encountered by archaeologists and heritage professionals, as outsiders, seeking to engage with community groups.

I will argue that community archaeology projects are individualistic and complex arenas in which the practice of field archaeology is only one aspect and perhaps the least complex. If archaeologists and heritage professionals are to be implicated in the process of 'building' communities and developing the relationship between people and places then surely they should be aware and knowledgeable of the full spectrum of issues that relate to such work.

The problem of conceptualising community archaeology

To begin with, there is a problem in conceptualising community archaeology as there is a lack of clear consensus in respect of what it actually is. Indeed, within the early phases of my research, communications with archaeological curators across the country regularly elicited questions of 'what do you mean by community archaeology?' or even demands for me to provide a definition of 'what is meant by community archaeology?' The background to this confused state, I would argue, originates from the 1980s when the phenomenon of community archaeology first appeared in the United Kingdom.

Within the United Kingdom there has been a long tradition of amateur involvement in archaeological study. The term 'community archaeology' didn't, however, come into usage until the 1980s. The first phase of community projects appears to have been a response to funding opportunities created during the 1980s under the government sponsored 'Community Programme'. Indeed the Institute of Field Archaeologists (IFA) actively promoted the exploitation of this method of funding in its '*Guide to Archaeology on Community Programme*', in which it stated,

> Archaeology will continue to have insufficient funds to carry out its self-imposed objectives… Community Programme is the only major source of additional support available (Drake and Fahy 1987, Introduction)

This phase of community archaeology ended quickly and dramatically once rule changes were made to the programme. The legacy of the first phase has however had two consequences. Firstly, the term community archaeology came into widespread usage, presumably as a means to demonstrate that the various projects were components of 'Community Programme'. Secondly, I would argue, that the idea of exploiting funding opportunities from outside of archaeology to fund archaeological research came to be recognised in the minds of many heritage professionals as synonymous with community archaeology. This was to have clear consequences for the future with the emergence of the Heritage Lottery Fund and subsequent rule changes that allowed funds to be utilised for archaeological research. Inevitably, I would argue, it was this event, coupled with a widespread belief in the potential benefits of communitarianism, that stimulated the second phase of community archaeology that we are currently experiencing in the United Kingdom.

We see here, then, the roots of a major problem for the concept and practice of community archaeology in the United Kingdom. The term community archaeology has appeared as a matter of chance and/or convenience and the practice of community archaeology has begun as a response to opportunity. Neither the concept nor the practice of community archaeology has appeared as a consequence of considered debate from within the discipline of archaeology itself. We are thus confronted with a situation wherein archaeologists and heritage professionals who are facilitating community projects are approaching the problem without having had the benefit of training geared towards the specifics of the job they are attempting to perform. Indeed, the remit of their task is likely to be ill-defined in the absence of shared understandings of what community

archaeology actually is. Moreover, archaeologists and heritage professionals presently lack the support of a theoretical base for the practice of community archaeology in the United Kingdom that could inform and enhance the quality of practice. Inevitably, under such circumstances, the practice of community archaeology will be variable. Such a state of affairs, I would argue, holds the potential for wider perceptions of the social value of community archaeology projects to be brought into disrepute. For example, those archaeologists for whom the practice of community archaeology has been identified as being a means to fund research are likely to view the community component of projects as little more than an adjunct.

   In order to move forward, I suggest that an examination of the social and political context for the phenomenon of community archaeology is required. Alongside this, an examination of the nature and experience of 'community' from an anthropological perspective should provide insight into the processes by which communities are constructed. The purpose of such a body of research would be to inform facilitators of community archaeology in respect of the nature of the arena they are seeking to enter and further, to provide insight that may assist them in the process of establishing more meaningful and effective engagements with communities within the context of community archaeology projects. Such an insight will be necessary if the implications and impact of community archaeology projects are to be investigated and understood.

The social and political context for community archaeology

Active involvement in community projects might naturally be seen as a positive experience by archaeologists and heritage professionals, as a means of contributing to an important social project that perhaps has wide support. Such a viewpoint is understandable and tends to be commonly held. I would argue, however, that the arena of a community archaeology project is far from neutral and conceals a wide range of issues and agendas that may well be the subject of contestation by participants. The archaeologist, I would argue, needs to tread warily in such an arena.

   The origins of community archaeology in the United Kingdom are firmly rooted in contemporary political manoeuvrings. The first phase of community archaeology in the United Kingdom that occurred in the 1980s was most evidently shaped by the social and political conditions of the time. In this first phase, community projects were designed to provide training and improve the pool of skilled workers during a period of high unemployment. In fact, 'Community Programme' projects, funded under the auspices of the Manpower Services Commission, proved to be a cheap and effective means to reduce the jobless total (Drake and Fahy 1987). Projects tended to be created in areas with actual or perceived high levels of unemployment and often involved quite significant levels of public works, such as the reconstitution of archaeological sites and the presentation of such sites for public consumption. This type of project could provide employment/training for significant numbers of individuals. The ten community archaeology projects in each of the boroughs of Greater

Manchester are prime examples of this. For example, Castleshaw Roman Fort in the borough of Oldham was excavated and developed as an educational and recreational amenity. It should be remembered, however, that this phase of community archaeology ended abruptly and quite catastrophically for some archaeology units, once the focus of government spending priorities shifted. For example, within the University of Manchester Archaeology Unit, staffing fell from 400 to 15 almost overnight in 1990 (Norman Redhead, pers comm).

The context for the current phase of community archaeology is, however, very different but just as significant to the provision of funding and the styling of projects. Within a world that has been perceived to have become less secure, much as a consequence of growing privatisation and globalisation, the idea of 'community' has acquired growing attraction within society. 'Community' has come to be seen as a warm and cosy place; a place of comfort and safety (Bauman 2001: 1).

> Men and women look to groups to which they can belong, certainly and forever, in a world in which all else is moving and shifting, in which nothing else is certain. (Hobsbawm 1996: 40)

Indeed, such popularist understandings are increasingly visible in literature produced by community groups involved in heritage projects. The following quotation comes from the published document that resulted from a local history project in the Oxfordshire village of Longworth.

> Many older villagers look back to an age that they perceive as having a much stronger community spirit. Most residents today admire this quality of 'old village life'…[I]f we seek to regenerate this community spirit, it is not simply enough to be living here. Cohesion starts with a sense of belonging, of valuing a shared environment and a willingness to enter into village life. (Keene 2000: 63)

Bauman and Hobsbawm, however, both suggest that the reality of community is very different to the idyllic versions described above. Bauman (2001: 4) argues that the 'warm feel' community is in fact an 'imagined community' and exists only at the level of an aspired to 'paradise lost'. Indeed, Benedict Anderson (1991) has observed how national communities are in fact 'imagined communities', socially and politically constructed and holding the potential for exploitation by particular political groups as a means to justify particular actions or policies. This should be an indication of the need to tread cautiously by archaeologists and heritage professionals.

A further repudiation of the simplistic understanding of community as being a place everyone naturally aspires to be being a part of is provided by Hobsbawm (1996: 40). He has argued that the appeal of the idea of community, and the search by individuals for communities to which they can belong, is in fact illusionary and exists not because of an expressed desire by individuals to belong to a group, but from the 'intensely conceived belief that the individual has no choice but to belong' to a specific group or groups. Hobsbawm goes on to suggest that 'identity politics do not come naturally to people', but rather are 'more likely to be forced upon them from outside' (1996: 41). The implications

of this for community archaeology are clear: are community projects helping satisfy a desire from within individuals and groups to explore and affirm group identity? Or is it the case that community projects are complicit within a political agenda that sees capital in developing particular understandings of community and views the funding projects as a practical means to 'build' such communities.

The political climate of recent years in the United Kingdom, and elsewhere, has seen the idea of community being taken on board by a range of political actors (Studdert 2005: 9).

> Within the mainstream, politicians such as Blair (1996) and Willetts (1994) have espoused communitarian ideas from their respective social democratic and conservative viewpoints. Moreover there remains considerable attraction in the idea of community for many political radicals… (Little 2002: 75)

The idea of community has become central to government policy within New Labour. The term has been utilised broadly and with great versatility. Hoggett (1997: 3) suggests that 'the idea of community is one whose popularity conceals a multiplicity of meanings.' He notes an increasing trend for the term 'community' to be attached to the job descriptions of professionals operating within the public service; indeed, a trend familiar within the world of archaeology. Such versatility of meaning, coupled with broadly positive and warm feelings towards the term existent within society, has only added to the appeal of 'community' to politicians. Hoggett identifies the term community as previously having been used by the state as a form of shorthand for the socially excluded (1997: 11), but as such groups 'became a resource for resistance and struggle, so the state began to develop strategies of incorporation' (1997: 9). Thus he suggests that 'community is fundamentally a political concept' and the way that it tends to be used heavily implicates issues of power (1997: 14). Most significantly, he argues against simplistic understandings of community and for the complex and heterogeneous nature of community (1997: 15).

In spite of the observations of scholars such as Hoggett and Bauman, however, the uncritical use of the concept of community and cooption of communities as a remedy for the ills of society continues seemingly unabated. The response to disturbances in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham was the Home Office report (2001) *Building Cohesive Communities*. Sandercock (2003: 90–1) has expressed strong reservations about the approach adopted in the report, that of turning fractured communities into cohesive ones through the development of 'a common sense of belonging', on the grounds that the effects of the colonial past have not even taken into consideration. She suggests that in effect, 'history has been erased'.

The Home Office Strategic Plan 2004-08 *Confident Communities in a Secure Britain* suggests that effective measures to reduce crime and improve the sense of security felt by individuals can be achieved by building cohesive communities and that this can be achieved by, amongst other things, increasing 'community engagement'.

> Strong communities with active citizens and vibrant civic organisations enable us to build trust with our neighbours and to work with public services on issues that matter to us. (Home Office 2004: 105)

A community archaeology project would naturally fit within a programme aimed at getting citizens active, particularly if that activity might be seen as holding the potential to contribute towards the creation of a shared identity with a common sense of belonging. In such circumstances, it might not be surprising to see politicians uncritically making a link between a drop in the crime figures and the existence of a community archaeology dig in the locality as happened at the 'I Dig Moston' community archaeology project in Manchester for the summer of 2003. I would suggest that archaeologists need to be guarded in their acceptance of such politically loaded data when attempting to evaluate the success, or otherwise, of particular community archaeology projects (see McNeill and Nevell 2005).

An anthropological perspective on community

I have suggested earlier that community archaeology will involve the engagement of archaeologists with one or more communities in a programme of archaeological fieldwork. I believe that in order for this to take place effectively, and democratically, understanding is required of the nature and construction of communities on the part of heritage professionals. Thus, this section will seek to provide an anthropological perspective on community and throw light on the reality of community as well as providing further evidence with which to challenge popularist and simplistic perceptions of community.

The term community 'has proved to be highly resistant to satisfactory definition' and yet is a word which, as we have seen, is frequently 'bandied around in ordinary, everyday speech' (Cohen 1985: 11). Atkinson and Cope (1997: 202–3) have identified community as being a relational and contested concept with multiple meaning. They suggest that it has both social and spatial dimensions. Cohen (1985: 15) identifies the notion of belonging as central to the concept, describing community as 'that entity to which one belongs'. Belonging, then, can operate in terms of belonging to a particular social grouping and/or belonging to a particular place or locality. In order for communities to be identifiable to both members and non-members they require boundaries to mark 'the beginning and end of a community' (Cohen 1985: 12). Identification of community boundaries is, however, highly problematic. This is particularly so for non community members. Community boundary markers don't operate or exist as readily identifiable lines drawn on a map. An example of this can be shown within the case of Moston, Manchester, where a community archaeology dig took place over three summers from 2003–5. A defining map of Moston can be found; it is one of 32 clearly demarked wards in Manchester. The communities that can be found within the locality, however, are not simple bounded entities that conform to ward map boundaries. In fact, very few local people readily identify themselves as 'Mostonians', their own community affiliations being founded on aspects of identity such as religion, age, race, gender, class and social activity. Community groupings thus overlap and intersect in a complex manner, the exact image of which is constantly

evolving and resistant to capture. The ward councillor who may understandably view his constituents as comprising a single bounded community is in effect imagining a community that is not part of the reality of community as experienced by his constituents. This relates very much to Cohen's observation (1985: 13) that markers which define the boundaries of community as perceived by community members themselves may in fact be utterly imperceptible to others.

Within academic literature that relates to community archaeology there is a strong tendency to view community as synonymous with place. References are frequently made to 'local communities' (for example, Derry and Malloy 2003; Start 1999). The conflation of 'local' and 'community', whilst being common practice, doesn't adequately reflect the complex processes or forces at work in the construction of community. It is important to appreciate that one place will rarely equate with one community. Indeed, people themselves are liable to belong to many communities at any one time and with varying degrees of attachment (Atkinson and Cope 1997: 203). Several communities may well inhabit the same space. Gupta and Ferguson (1992) have shown the folly of assuming the isomorphism of space, place and culture. The link between social identity and place can be problematic. A particularly strong example of how places other than that of the 'daily lived' space can be the essence and binding element of communities is that of diaspora communities (Amit 2002; Basu 2001; Orser 2004). Such communities are held together through a powerful attachment to another, and often distant, place. Similarly, 'transient communities' may exist through shared affiliations to particular places which carry particular meaning for that group (Bender 1998; Isherwood 2004). Atkinson and Cope (1997: 203), too, have observed the emergence of growing numbers of non-localised communities or 'virtual' communities fostered by increased access to the World Wide Web. There are clear implications here for heritage managers and community archaeologists. The process of identifying communities with attachments or affiliations to particular places is not simplistic. Indeed, the term 'local community' may often be inappropriate in respect of a particular place.

A fundamental component of the engagement of communities within community archaeology projects is, I believe, that which acts to develop the relationship between people and place. The mechanism that acts to consolidate this relationship is that of 'the sense of belonging' experienced by community members in respect of place. Edwards (1998: 161) argues that belonging to a place also involves a claim on the place in question. To belong will thus have implications in respect of ownership of place. People belong to places and inevitably these places, in return, will belong to the people. Ownership is located and conveyed through this sense of belonging to place. Ownership inevitably will carry with it understandings of value. These valuations are not formal valuations as might be understood by a professional carrying out a 'significance' evaluation, but rather, implicit values collectively understood as a consequence of being part of the repeated interactions and experiences of community members. Significantly, these valuations will not be fixed and will constantly be subject to negotiation. Consensus is unlikely to be fully achievable, with valuations liable to

be contested. The range of valuations is most likely to be contained within the oral histories of these places, within the collective memories of community members. These understandings or values, retained by community members, will not be readily available to non-community members. For outsiders such as heritage professionals, the process of 'extracting' the meanings and values held by community members in respect of place will involve extensive periods of fieldwork, of engaging with community members and subjecting the received communications to analysis (e.g. Harrison 2004; Jones 2004; Waterton 2005).

Participation in community archaeology projects is unlikely to be a neutral experience for individual community members. Such projects hold the potential to act as arenas in which participants may explore the nature of their attachment to place; and further, the meanings and values that individual community members attach to their place are likely to become more focussed as a consequence of participation in a community archaeology project. This then holds an increased potential for contestation as developed understandings are required to be renegotiated. There are clear and challenging implications here for archaeologists and heritage managers.

A framework for researching community archaeology

The first phase of community archaeology in the United Kingdom that ended abruptly did so as a result of a withdrawal of funding as a consequence of changed political conditions. Many of the projects within the current phase of community archaeology are reliant upon Heritage Lottery Funds which are allocated according to the ability of project organisers to match project objectives to specific HLF spending priorities; such spending priorities themselves being derived from dominant political agendas. This state of affairs puts the existence of community archaeology in the United Kingdom at risk. Political climates change, and the current dominant discourse that sees 'community' as a panacea for all ills will inevitably have a limited lifespan; especially if, as I have endeavoured to show in this paper, the understandings of community on which it is based are flawed. If community archaeology is important, and worthy of continued funding in a changed political climate, it will need to be able to demonstrate its relevance to society. If the practice of community archaeology is capable of making archaeology more meaningful in human terms, as has been argued by Yvonne Marshall (2002: 213), then evidence is required to support such contentions. Thus research is needed that will seek to identify issues surrounding the current practice of community archaeology and the social and political dimensions existent within such practice. How do community projects impact on the relationship between people and places? What happens when heritage professionals attempt to engage with community groups, and vice versa? And what effect do such engagements have on the role of heritage managers with respect to managing material culture?

In order to conduct such research, I have reached the conclusion that it is best to conceive of community archaeology not as an entity or even as a discrete set of
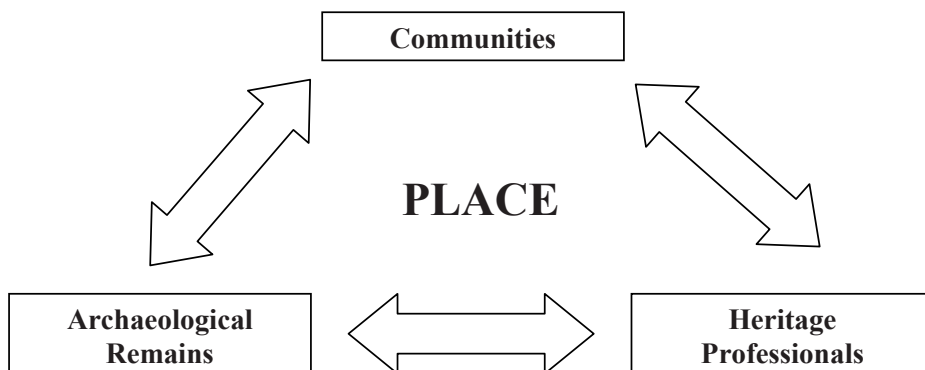
Figure 1. The Framework for Community Archaeology.

practices, but rather, as a set of relations. I have identified what I consider to be the key relations and organised these into a framework which can be utilised within the research programme. Central to the framework is the concept of place because the community projects being researched have as their distinguishing feature the place in which they are located. (See figure 1)

The exploration of these key relations can best be achieved, I believe, through ethnographic study because the evidence that relates to developments and changes within these relationships will be located within the arenas of community projects themselves. Thus, research will be required which employs ethnographic methodologies of participant observation to be conducted on a number of community archaeology projects. Ethnographic research conducted will seek to describe the narratives composed by the 'actors' who participate in the practice of community archaeology and then to read 'the meanings embedded or concretized in the text' (Gray 2003: 227).

The framework itself consists of three key relationships. The first of these relations is that between 'Communities Affiliated to a Place' and 'The Archaeology Existent Within That Place'. Here, consideration will be given to the nature of change within this relationship as a consequence of participation with an archaeological project. It will be important to consider:

> Does involvement in a community archaeology project affect the meanings and values that communities ascribe to the place in question, and if so, what is the nature of any change?

Also of relevance here will be an examination of the origins of projects. For instance:

> Have projects that are 'bottom-up', and perhaps owe their existence to funding opportunities created as a consequence of communitarian derived policy developments, shown a greater tendency to make community groups more assertive in respect of their heritage places?

The relationship between 'Heritage Professionals with Responsibility for a Place' and 'Communities Affiliated to That Place' will inevitably be developed as a consequence of involvement within a community archaeology project. The ethnographic approach will again be utilised to explore this relationship. A range of issues will be considered; including:

> How effective are heritage professionals at identifying communities with affiliations to the 'place' in which projects are located, and what is the nature of relationships formed with such communities?
> How is the right to make decisions in respect of the project negotiated between professions and community groups, if at all?
> Is the notion of 'top-down' or 'bottom-up' a valid means of distinguishing between community projects? And, can such binary oppositions adequately encompass potentially subtle and complex power relations?

The third relationship, that between 'The Archaeology Existent Within a Place' and 'Heritage Professional with Responsibility for That Place', is also liable to be altered as a consequence of the involvement in community archaeology projects by professionals. Questions arising will include:

> Does involvement in community archaeology affect the way heritage professionals view their role and the way they interpret their responsibilities in respect of material heritage?
> To what extent can community projects contribute to improving the knowledge base of archaeological curators with respect to the material heritage contained within the area of their jurisdiction?

Conclusions

Community archaeology has become a widely used term in the United Kingdom to describe a diverse range of archaeological practices and projects. At present, no overview of the situation is available and thus satisfactory debate leading to shared concepts has not taken place. As a result community archaeology exists as an unclear, fuzzy concept, variously understood and practiced.

As a consequence of the conflation of 'community' with 'archaeology' in its title, community archaeology is inevitably bound up within contemporary political discourse and related policy edicts. Indeed, archaeology has been effectively invited into the political arena through the provision of funds made available to it, presently through the Heritage Lottery Fund. Unfortunately for archaeology, the understandings of 'community' adopted by the political mainstream are, I have argued, flawed. The suggestion has been that the 'community' is a straightforward term conveying notions of warmth and security; that 'community' can be sprayed on to any social programme rendering the programme capable of constructing cohesive communities that meet

the aspirations of all (Atkinson and Cope 1997: 202). Archaeologists and heritage professionals who seek to engage with communities in the context of an archaeological project must, I believe, have access to anthropological understandings of community that provide insights into related concepts such as boundary construction, place making, ownership and belonging. Engaging effectively with communities will not happen when those whose role it is to engage have distorted concepts of the dynamics of community.

The research proposed and described in this paper is intended to provide insight into the practice of community archaeology in order to inform future practice; and further, to provide a body of evidence in respect of the potential impact of community archaeology projects on communities that is based on ethnographic evidence as opposed to ill-informed political dogma.

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3

PERFORMANCE OR PARTICIPATION: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DOMAIN

Patricia Reid

Introduction

Thanks to PPG16, more high quality archaeology is going on in the UK than at any time in the past, yet there is a sense of crisis. In January 2006 at the Society of Antiquaries Richard Bradley claimed, to applause, that 'fieldwork was out of control' (Pitts 2006: 6). The Council for British Archaeology (CBA) are lobbying for greater public involvement in archaeological investigation (CBA 2003) yet the reaction of many professional archaeologists to the Time Team's *Big Dig* in 2004 was extremely hostile (Crummy 2006: 12): many professionals see the public as being best served through educational entertainment (*performance*) with doing archaeology (*participation*) restricted to properly qualified, experienced professionals. Nevertheless, the 'out of control' fieldwork referred to by Bradley is not that of the amateur but that of the developer-employed contracting units (Pitts 2006: 6).

Archaeology, I am suggesting, is at present a highly contested space. A multiplicity of groups and individuals compete for access to and, in an important sense, ownership of both the material remains and the narratives of the past. I am going to argue that in this conflict-laden field of action, the voluntary sector can help to mediate and resolve some of the difficulties but only if members of the community are recognised as active participants in archaeological discourse, rather than treated as passive audience to be *shown* archaeology, however entertainingly.

At this point, the use of the term *community archaeology*, itself an increasingly contested concept (see for example Selkirk 2006: 6–7) needs definition for this paper. Put crudely, I see it as archaeology by the people for the people. Whereas many of the case studies in this volume draw on the externally funded products of enlightened professional units or university departments, the project used here as case study was

generated by a local society and is wholly voluntary and internally funded: that this version of community archaeology has both limitations and unique strengths is the subject of this paper.

A case study in community archaeology: Faversham, Kent

This small town (population 18,000) lies on the interface of the chalk North Downs and the salt marsh of the Thames Estuary, where a tidal creek intersects the main London to Dover route. Urban settlement has been continuous since Roman times and although Faversham is not today a wealthy community, local people have a strong sense of communal identity, a distinct culture and a great affection for the place.

Archaeologically, the town is a huge and largely uninvestigated archaeological site (though see Philp; 1965, Philp 2003, and Whiting 1920: 1923) with deposits at least two metres deep near the houses. The surrounding countryside is even less investigated, complicated by the impact of brick making, chalk quarrying and gravel extraction on the historic landscape (Wilkinson 2000).

Besides its heritage and strong local loyalties, Faversham has a further asset for community archaeology in the Faversham Society. This is an exceptionally active and inclusive voluntary organisation which provides archive space, library, meeting hall, museum, exhibition gallery, monthly newsletter and well-established publication avenue. Nevertheless, if ever an area was a contested archaeological space it is Faversham, and the next section examines the contestants in the field.

The contestants

Representatives of the state

English Heritage enters the field through involvement with five scheduled sites in Faversham, three of which are managed in conjunction with the Faversham Society. Representatives of English Heritage and other national bodies work sympathetically with the Society, respecting and making use of local research. (See, for example, Cocroft 1994: 33, on the Oare Gunpowder Works). Links with the Portable Antiquities Scheme are, however more tenuous. Although the national finds database (Portable Antiquities Scheme website) is very useful indeed, the lack of a metal detecting group in Faversham means that the Kent Finds Officer, whilst in principle very supportive, is only able to offer informal help.

At county level, Kent County Council (KCC) archaeologists are deeply embedded in the development and planning system and only become involved in Faversham if a 'site of national importance' is at risk through development. Similar limitations exist for an archaeological field survey of the local borough, Swale, commissioned from a consultant in 2000 (Wilkinson 2000) by Swale Borough Council (SBC) and lodged in the planning department. The representatives of SBC, both councillors and local

authority officers, are sympathetic to the work of the voluntary sector in researching local heritage especially where they see potential for tourism and cultural status in the outcomes, and organised and helped to fund the restoration of the Oare Gunpowder Works. As far as archaeological decisions are concerned, however, they have to defer to the overworked and remote KCC team.

The voluntary sector

Kent has a long established County Archaeological Society (KAS) with an annual journal Archaeologia Cantiana, a lively quarterly newsletter, increasingly useful web site (KAS website) and a reference library at Maidstone Museum. The Council for Kentish Archaeology (CKA) is another county wide organisation, with a quarterly journal the Kent Archaeological Review, website (CKA website) and twice yearly well-attended conferences. These organisations give the only real support for participative archaeology in the voluntary sector, awarding small grants and offering publication avenues, equipment loans and networking opportunities through the conferences. I would suggest, however, that the notion of genuinely participative community archaeology is only just coming onto on their agendas: rather, they offer the 'interested public' the lectures/ guided tours menu which is characteristic of the performative approach. Volunteer participation, it would seem, is seen as acceptable only when directly supervised by paid professionals, a curious assumption when the history of archaeological investigation in this country is examined.

Within the town, the Faversham Society has already been mentioned, and works as a single umbrella organisation. In neighbouring towns, the situation is much more fragmentary: nearby Sittingbourne, for example, has seven different 'heritage' groups all working separately.

Contracting Units

For the last century, Faversham has been a town in decline economically and has only been touched lightly by late 20th century redevelopment: the historic heart remains largely intact and there are nearly 500 listed buildings. Recently, however, developers have been taking a great interest in town centre brown field sites, especially ones near the Creek, and there have already been a number of small scale professional interventions.

The problematic relationship between contractors and local communities has been set out with exemplary clarity in the CBA document Participating in the Past: grey documents and so on (CBA 2003: in particular Recommendations 2 & 4). Even when a socially committed unit such as the nearby Canterbury Archaeological Trust (CAT) is employed, there is no assumption of informing Faversham people about findings, except through the local paper for the more sensational ones. The Trust takes its responsibilities for performative community archaeology very seriously within Canterbury itself, with a fulltime education officer, access to viewing platforms and excellent up to date displays of finds. Opportunities for community participation, however, are limited to humble

support roles such as pot washing and heavy digging, and access to the CAT archives by non-professionals is almost impossible.

Where the work is done by small, commercially focused groups, the situation is highly problematic. The Faversham Society is not notified of the outcomes of desk top assessments or given any details about which unit is working where and when. Although it is not unknown for contractors to donate copies of documentation and even finds to the Society, in most cases everything disappears into the wide blue yonder. Bourdieu would call it an act of symbolic violence (Bourdieu 1977: 183–197). Faversham people call it theft.

This perception is, of course, not very fair. Lack of knowledge of local archiving facilities or contacts, lengthy periods to produce reports in a linear system context, and the rapid turnover of staff in small contracting units are all contributory factors. Furthermore, in the UK, finds (or the monetary value in the case of treasure) legally belong to the owner of the land on which they are found. i.e. the developer. Nevertheless, the near total absence of communication from contracting units lends validity to a sensation in the local community of being looted by fortune-hunters. This will be returned to below, where the Institute for Archaeologists (IFA) code of conduct will be examined.

This list of contestants could be extended (enactment groups, historical researchers, metal detectorists, Kent University, local tourism business groups, freelance professional archaeologists of many types are all active in the area though their impact is, at present, more marginal) but the point has been made. As a local group, we have witnessed the most bitter rows, misunderstandings and threats of legal action on the one hand, and lost opportunities, wasted resources and confusion on the other: at times, the archaeology of Faversham has looked like a ripe plum being torn apart by a swarm of wasps. The desire of many local people to participate more actively in the archaeological investigation of their own town and its surroundings has been largely ignored, except at a price beyond the means of most. Something had to be done.

An experiment in *participative* community archaeology

In 2005, a community archaeology project was launched, under the umbrella of the Faversham Society. The overriding aim of the new Faversham Society Archaeological Research Group (FSARG) was to empower local people in dealing confidently with the archaeology of their home town, the main strategy to develop a low-profile, low cost research project open to participation by anyone prepared to put in time and effort.

The main challenge was to find a significant research question for Faversham people that could be addressed using archaeological methodologies yet which:

a. Did not trespass on the province of contracting units.
b. Investigated a neglected aspect of Faversham's history.
c. Did not require levels of skill unlikely to be possessed by volunteers.
d. Was relatively short term.

　　e. Involved as many people as possible in a variety of ways.
　　f. Caught the imagination of as many people as possible.

The Saxon period (AD 410–1066) emerged as the most enigmatic for Faversham. During the building of the London to Dover railway in the 1860s an exceptionally rich AD sixth to seventh century cemetery had been revealed (Roach Smith 1871, Vol. II: 34–35) and documentary sources suggest that during the later Anglo Saxon period Faversham was a significant, perhaps even royal, centre (Ward 1934; Frohnsdorff 2005). Yet apart from a loom weight found on the Post Office site in the 1970s there has been no confirmed archaeological evidence for Anglo-Saxon settlement in the area (KCC 2003: 8–9, 19–20.) Even so, the *Kent Historic Towns Survey* designates a 'Saxon Zone' in what was assumed to be the oldest part of the town (KCC 2003: fig 14). This is a small triangular area where a low bluff overlooks what was probably the upper limit of the tide on the Creek.

This 'Saxon Zone' is unlikely to have any kind of redevelopment in the foreseeable future (condition i.) and its designation seemed to be based only on common sense speculation and tradition (condition ii.). Because the 'Zone' is largely built up, small scale, short term methods would have to be used for investigation (condition iv.), where a meticulous approach would count for more than uncovering large areas (condition iii.). Residents as well as volunteer archaeologists would be involved (condition v.). Thus *Hunt the Saxons* was born (condition iv.).

The investigative methodology chosen involved the excavation of one metre square test pits in gardens spread across the 'Saxon zone'. Because of the small size of the pits and the expectation of unstratified, churned deposits, a spit excavation and recording method was used. All spoil was sieved and spoil heaps given a final check with metal detectors. A finds processing base was set up in the garden of the Bull Inn, thought to be one of the oldest pub in Faversham, with most finds processing taking place concurrent with excavation. All volunteers were urged to experience all aspects of the process, including recording on spit record sheets and in site notebooks.

After the excavation stage (11 pits were dug out of the 30 sites offered) intensive post excavational work took place, including a post-medieval pottery training session commissioned from a professional archaeologist. The first year culminated in an exhibition in November and the publication of interim findings and test pit reports on the new website launched in December 2005. Householders were given copies of the reports for their gardens and all desired finds were returned to them.

The outcomes can be seen on the website www.community-archaeology.org.uk but here is an answer to the universal question, "Did you find the Saxons?" All eleven test pits produced medieval pottery, five produced Saxo-Norman (AD eleventh to twelfth century) and one produced Roman pottery and a chunk of lava quern. Nothing, however, emerged as unarguably Anglo-Saxon. Similarly, although various features such as pet burials, cobbled surfaces and even what was probably a medieval field surface were identified and recorded, there was no trace of postholes or ditches. This April,

however, plans for *Hunt the Saxons 2006* were thrashed out at a well-attended open planning meeting. The level of analysis about why we might have failed to find those Saxons in 2005 was impressive, and the development of appropriate strategies for this summer showed true *participative* archaeology in action. Watch the website later in 2006–2007 for outcomes.

Lessons learned from this experiment

The strengths are obvious. A cost-free, passionately committed workforce, interested in every aspect of the archaeology of a town which they love, learning like rockets and bringing along a remarkable range of useful skills and knowledge has to be a prize asset. The unqualified support of the local community was also extremely useful, e.g. for gifts of equipment, relevant historical documentary research and oral history, and their interest was profoundly encouraging. I estimate that this small scale project directly touched about 1000 Faversham people, reaching out to more through the friendly cooperation of the local press and still more through the website.

The main limitation is equally obvious – an initially unskilled workforce needing constant direct supervision and training. The 'keep it simple' approach paid big dividends here. All of last year's volunteers are now as familiar with basic recording methods, the use of typologies and interpretative discourse as they are with basic excavational techniques and Health and Safety. The fact that one test pit (TP25, see FSARG website) almost immediately revealed stratified evidence for a tannery, dated by evidence from a sealed context to circa AD 1400, meant that more sophisticated excavating and recording methods had to be employed, and these skills will be developed further in the 2006 season.

Through constant attention to on-the-job training, the skills limitation is already easing, but the problems arising from the absence of an effective external support network are less tractable. Although this could be seen in terms of funding, the real problem is a lack of will to support the *participative* voluntary sector except in an informal, interpersonal way. The absences of monitoring of practice and peer review of website publication material are particular worries.

Finally, the absence of external funding: I see this as cutting both ways. This project met aims of minimum cost and maximum participation: take labour and machinery costs out of the 'business plan' and the sums are surprisingly small. In the longer term, however, financial needs loom. Much skill and knowledge resides in the voluntary sector but, however careful we are to choose projects which are manageable, a point will come when the needs (e.g. for laboratory analysis, expensive conservation or highly specialised knowledge) go beyond us, and the team are just beginning to give thought to this as their confidence increases.

Nevertheless, the absence of commercially-based targets, career aspirations and accountability to an outside funding body is an enormous strength. Good *participative*

community archaeology is project based and yet has a holistic approach which professionals have neither the time nor interest to emulate: the detail bulldozed away by developer-employed contractors is of great interest to locals. Community archaeologists work seamlessly with local historians, collectors and hobbyists whose innovative work is often otherwise free floating. Community archaeologists are unique integrators for their own community and continuity is ensured by the structures of the local society itself, and the absence of profit margins and/or career ambitions is no mean thing in the highly combative contested space of archaeology in the UK today.

Ways forward

The modest experiment in community archaeology in Faversham does seem to show that, in Faversham at least, archaeology 'by the people for the people' works. At the time of writing, the second season of *Hunt the Saxons* is about to start, with ever increasing support and interest. Yet the constraints discussed in this paper do need attention if the strengths are to be built upon. The title of this paper refers to relationships between the archaeological domain and the community. In this section, the different elements of the domain will be considered in turn.

Relationships with the state system

The constraints upon the KCC Archaeological team are fully recognised: they are simply too overloaded to spare time for the local community. We will continue to notify them of what we are doing, although we do not expect any active support from the field team. The SMR is another matter. We already have findings which will need to be notified, and need ourselves to develop an effective way of using this key resource: this process has already begun.

Relationships with contracting units

The following quote is relevant here.

> Principle 4
> 4.6: An archaeologist shall accept the responsibility of informing the public of the purposes and results of his/her work and shall accede to reasonable requests for information for dispersal to the general public. (*By-laws of the Institute of Field Archaeologists: Code of Conduct* Revised edition September 2002)

We are not presuming to criticise the quality of the work being done by contracting units in Faversham but, as has been made very clear, we are objecting strenuously to the lack of communication about the findings. We are trying to persuade the local authority to insert a small clause into PPG16 requirements that copies of all documentation for Faversham projects are deposited with the Faversham Society and that the Society is notified as where the finds are to be archived. The local KCC library is another possible depository for such information. Without some such facility, the valuable

integrative function of the local community group is severely handicapped. One of the most cheering outcomes of the *Archaeology in the Community* Conference has been the realisation that this need for better communication is a national issue.

Relationships with experts

FSARG has already commissioned expert training in post-medieval pottery and local Brick and Tile typologies and dating for the whole team, plus other interested locals. Where the expert makes a living from his/her expertise, payment is considered essential (see below, funding). There is, however, a lot of expertise in the voluntary sector, especially in relation to documents and specialised local archaeology, and steps are being taken to try and improve sharing of skills and knowledge. (See below, voluntary groups)

Relationships with funding sources

Other papers in this volume show a wide range of funding bodies involved in different kinds of community archaeology. Apart from a small grant of £300 from the KAS for the 2006 season, FSARG has not yet sought financial support from anyone, relying instead on loans of equipment, Faversham Society facilities and private generosity. The participants do not pay any fee except for membership of the Faversham Society (necessary for insurance purposes). As I have made clear, I have mixed feelings about external funding. We are already, however, making arrangements to consider the funding situation in autumn 2006 when planning for 2007. Any decisions taken will be on a consensus basis and fully discussed with members of the wider Faversham Society.

Relationships with other voluntary groups

In the Swale borough, there are at least twenty voluntary groups of varying membership size involved in heritage research of one kind or another. A low-cost, low-profile get-together for representatives from these groups has been arranged for October 2006. The aim is to improve communication and skill-sharing between the groups and enhance awareness of the heritage of our fascinating but neglected borough. At the very least, we hope to draw up a list of regular publications such as newsletters, priority research areas and reliable contact details. Identifying common constraints will also be an agenda item. Although this meeting is seen as a one-off, it will end with a "where do we go from here?" item: different groups hosting an annual get together is quite feasible, if felt desirable. Already, an unexpected aspect of this planned meeting is the number of state-employed professionals from the Kent heritage and archaeological sectors who want to come as observers.

Relationships with the local community

These can never be taken for granted: the development of inwardly focused cliques is an all too common phenomenon in the voluntary sector. The FSARG team at present has an age range of sixteen to seventy, with plenty in between, and although white

(Faversham has very few people who are otherwise) is certainly not dominantly middle class. I have already assured many enquirers about the participation of young people that opportunities will be built into the 2007 programme – at present, those under sixteen are limited to workshops and field walking. In short, the issue of inclusivity is, and must remain, under constant review in a true community archaeology project.

Conclusions

If much of the above analysis sounds familiar, it is because many of the problems discussed have been charted in contact situations between the archaeological domain and 'indigenous groups' (see, for example, Marshall 2006). As I have indicated, in Faversham the sensation of being looted by powerful outsiders who care nothing for local interests is very strong. I have already mentioned the strength of the local culture and sense of identity: to construct Faversham people as an oppressed ethnic group is far from frivolous. Within the dynamics of this context, the material remains of the past carry a heavy symbolic load, with the Faversham Society the accepted guardians within the community but not necessarily beyond: we are back to contested space, but this time with local people not as a passive 'general public' audience but as having important rights of active participation in the process of modern archaeological investigation. That there are also pragmatic grounds for recognising this makes the case for inclusion even stronger. For ethical, intellectual and social reasons, local societies must no longer be left out of the loop.

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4

WHY COMMUNITY ARCHAEOLOGY?

Christopher John Tripp

Why do I and many other people bother to dig up archaeological material, both as professional archaeologists and as amateurs, an activity which has been going on for over a hundred years as a recognised academic discipline? For our own amusement? For one of the lowest wages paid upon graduating, having to share a house or flat with several others to spread the cost of rent and bills? To work in all weathers and on dangerous sites, for short-term contracts where the thought of owning a house or having a family is so much 'pie-in-the-sky'?

The reasons are as varied, as simple or as complicated as the colourful band of diggers you will meet on any site working in Britain today. But for me I wanted to touch the past. What does that mean? Finding pots and treasure and old things? Maybe. I could be very happy doing this for myself, as many diggers do, totally bound up with the processes of excavation, as well as the myriad other jobs in which one can specialise in archaeology. But it is primarily, for me, about being interested in people. In this case people that have been dead for a very long time. The past I want to touch, and the people that made that past, even though they are long gone, are our family, to which we all have a direct link. And the reason we need community archaeology? It is because people are interested in people.

That piece of pot was made by someone; that flint tool was made by someone; that skeleton was someone. The material links us to the point of its existence. By finding and touching that object you are connected to the person who touched and made it and the people who touched and used it. Collectively they comprised a community and from that we have the community of the present. As such everyone who wishes to be engaged by the past, no matter how or at what level, should be able to do so. I would say that it is not our job to tell them about the past, but to help them find it for themselves.

An awareness of the past is human nature. Most are not actively engaged by it or if you asked them directly would say they are interested, but all are affected by it and even feel it as an active element in their lives. It has been found that, "survey results indicate a strong desire, from all social classes, to identify with some form of a past"

(Stone 1999: 201). I have been asked many times by site builders why I do this job, especially as they are earning a lot more than me, much to their amusement. "So where has all that studying got you then?" I ask them what their family name is. Where did they get it from? Everyone has this innate sense of connection to the past.

Historical knowledge is a shared, collective, group activity. As the past is a collective experience the interpretation of it is a collective endeavour. "The truth is spherical and seen differently according to the culture, temperament and disposition of those who survey it" (Brooks 2006): so said Bronson Alcott, father of Louisa May Alcott of *Little Women* fame. There is no such thing as a value neutral interpretation of the past. To leave interpretation to a narrow strata of our society narrows and possibly skews our already misty view of the early development of human communities. That is not to say that academic research is for all or none; that we should send all academics out into the rice fields. But such research that is being carried out must run parallel to informed public debate.

I believe that the public can take part in the finding and the interpreting and the questioning. This is a scenario where archaeology is continually evolving and changing through research undertaken by all who wish to do so. Active involvement stimulates further discovery. This adds to the debate and scrutiny of the profession allowing a greater fluidity of ideas from all quarters of our community. That is why we all do this job. To be the first. To create new knowledge. This drive to identify with the lives of others from our own perspective. The relevance of the past comes from understanding that where we have been informs us as to where we are and how we are developing as a unique culture bearing species. Being close to the point of discovery is the excitement of archaeology.

The personal, social and community issues we have today are fixed in the context of the past. It has created the social constructs and the environment in which we live. Creating an image of the past for consumption creates an illusion. We must allow the questions to be asked and the debate to be had which creates an exchange between all parties, that allows that image to be modified and fluid, not set in stone and commodified and fetishised. This avoids the hegemony of one 'truth'. The past is a living presence in the community due to an unbroken line of development; this is the key to relevance. We work with material culture to create an abstract world of the past through our senses, to our minds, to help understand the concrete present. Relevance leads to inclusiveness and diversity.

Diversity in archaeology? That's a big question. I have not seen any convincing ideas as to how to attract people from a broad spectrum of the community, as found in any one of our cities and towns in the 21st century. Merriman's study indicates that, "the less privileged...tended to be more interested in their local past and in experiencing the past through objects" (Merriman 1991: 97). This says to me that the local past is relevant and the objects create the link to the people who made them. We must also highlight the issues of immigration and assimilation of the various peoples that have been arriving in this island and make it relevant to a diverse cultural mix, which this

country has always had. Archaeology has enormous potential to enlighten the whole community to the long, complex history (and prehistory) of cultural development in Britain. I believe that archaeology has a great story to tell of the continuous role of immigration, of the exciting and varied peoples that have made this island their home and given it such a cultural mix over millennia. It also speaks of the effect of all the people who have left material culture behind them, not just the history of kings and queens and the high ranking individuals of the history books.

Archaeology is only just starting to be seen by a relatively large audience through the medium of television. 'Time Team' is the first archaeology programme that is regularly quoted at me by all sections of the public I have worked with, from building site workers to school pupils and people just walking past any site I am working on. But, as to being involved, that audience is stuck in the role of the voyeur and archaeology, in the public mind, is still done by academics, students and volunteers during the summer. "Do you actually get paid?" I am asked. They are amazed that we work in all weathers all year round. As for being involved themselves, it would not even enter their minds.

Heritage generally, on the other hand, would indicate that the passion for the past is strong in the community, with visits to heritage attractions (including art galleries) more popular than several other leisure activities, such as going to a football match or fishing, combined. Some hard work is going into attracting sections of the community poorly represented as museum users and this work is beginning to bear fruit. Heritage professionals are willing to engage; archaeology professionals need to catch up.

Most community archaeologists will agree that access to material culture is essential to the development and future of archaeology as a discipline. We all want to help to instil in the community a passion for the subject, but how do we do it? Studies seem to suggest that archaeology has a low profile in schools, universities are not doing enough outreach work and commercial units are tied up scrabbling around for work.

But, say that we put efforts into raising the profile of archaeology in the community. That we become adept at marketing and publicity. That more people know that archaeology is going on in their area. What's the point of that if they then find that they have no access to what is being unearthed about their past? This makes a mockery of the idea that 'the past belongs to everyone'. Let me lay this on the line. No matter how much we know that archaeology is not just about 'digging stuff up', that is what people are interested in. It is why I do it and it is why the people I work with do it and I am sure that it is why most of you started off doing it. All the other jobs we do are as a direct result of that initial desire to find 'old stuff'. Some members of the public are already doing other jobs in archaeology, but if you asked them what they would prefer to do I think I know what the answer would be. People want to dig. In my view the expansion of the presently embryonic idea of community archaeology is the only answer to community involvement.

But one important point. There never has been a 'golden age' of public archaeology. It is not 'becoming detached from its roots'. It was never attached. Looking for signs of

community participation thirty or forty years ago, and then trying to take us back to it, is fruitless. What little public activity took place comprised, "the relatively wealthy who had treated archaeology as a part time antiquarian pursuit" (Schadla-Hall 2002: 4). Archaeology came from an elitist background and then turned into an academic one. Public archaeology is brand new.

Archaeology is a young discipline and community archaeology is still a baby. As it grows, as I strongly believe that it will, it must take the best path from its very first faltering steps. Many mistakes will be made at the beginning, but we can learn. It is far harder to learn new tricks later in life, so let us make sure we start off on the right foot. We cannot have community archaeology (which is the only way we are to connect ourselves to the context in which we work), being an add-on, a not very good jerry built extension to the archaeology building.

There needs to be a commitment from the whole of the profession to have community archaeologists as a distinct discipline and not just someone with a bit of spare time. Community archaeology needs to be a core function. In the past it was recognised that excavation needed to be followed by reports written for the archive so that future generations would at least have the information preserved by record, if not the sites themselves. Now is the time to fully commit to this ideal of information dissemination and make community archaeology as vital to our image as professionals as report writing and archive building.

Community archaeologists are not teachers or social workers but first and foremost archaeologists, to be utilised by other professions and the community at large and to be organised at the local level. This is in direct contrast to the de-localisation of archaeology field units. But asking local field archaeologists to make greater efforts is unfair and will not work. It causes resentment in the profession, both with individuals and organisations, already hard pressed to maintain and improve professional standards. The community archaeologist needs to be part of the community, not some part-time digger from a unit bussed in from another part of the country doing the digging in that area at that time. This new area of archaeology is far too important for this mistake to take any more of a hold than it has already. Community archaeology would be given full attention as an excavation was being carried out, which is when field archaeologists more than have their hands full. Units who want to help with community projects should work with an established local community archaeologist in the area in which they find themselves working.

Where can a community archaeologist start to help tell our island story? Last year I was helping a Hackney school on a project to dig in their environmental garden. It may have just been the site of a row of Victorian houses bombed during the war, but to the pupils it was real archaeology that, I am told, they still talk about to this day. This also involved a storyteller and photographer supplied by the Photographers Gallery. We were all funded by the Arts Council as part of the Creative Partnerships scheme set up by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport. I have also been involved in many other projects in schools at primary level but the one thing that stops this work

being a regular feature is, of course, funding. If a community archaeologist was already in place and funded, schools would be able to use them much more throughout the school year.

When teenagers go to secondary schools they rarely touch on anything beyond the last 200 years. They must be given the opportunities to get involved, at whatever level and background, in archaeology and heritage that extends that time period. This can only be done by a full time Community Archaeologist. I have learnt a lot from professional educationalists and they learnt about archaeology. We are archaeologists not educationalists and we should not set ourselves up as such. I have had no specialist training in education and I suspect that many in our profession setting up community projects are in the same position. But we have skills and knowledge that is of use to educators.

Access to archaeology (and I mean excavation) after any form of schooling and educational training then needs to be looked at. Volunteers should be organised by Community Archaeologists, instead of just being dropped in randomly by individual supervisors and project managers. They know and the developer knows that a site needs committed professionals working five days a week, in all weathers, all year round. The use of volunteers needs to be included in the brief so that all will see what part they play, which will benefit all concerned without loss of professionalism and efficiency on site. Again, this is too important to leave to full time diggers to sort out.

If local groups want to set up their own projects they would be more confident in doing so if they knew that a Community Archaeologist would be on hand to co-ordinate available expertise when needed. Low cost machines for geophysical survey are a way to have people doing small scale, low cost work. They can bring in metal detectorists, landowners, archaeologists and community archaeologists working to find small sites to survey, dig and manage as community projects. At the moment training in field techniques on a training dig can be very expensive and only offered for a few weeks of the year. An employed Community Archaeologist would be there all year, employed or funded independently of student fees and could run free, or small fee, local digs for those who cannot afford to pay. Projects that are post or non-excavation can be worked out, with suitable input from community archaeologists, by local groups and units. This can be at all levels, locally and nationally. Most people will find dealing with local authorities, and large professional organisations, daunting. It is much better to have a locally based person as the first contact, already known in the community and by local groups.

Community archaeologists would be a bridge between the various worlds of professionals and with amateurs. The public look to the internet for information but web sites are not updated and immediate in their information. They need a Community Archaeologist as the first and immediate contact. Such a situation would allow the Community Archaeologist to really concentrate on information and communication problems, both between professionals and with the public. This needs to be full time and with a dedicated Community Archaeologist so that museum professionals and

amateurs are in constant contact and developing projects as a natural part of the archaeological activity in all areas of the country. Nothing less would be acceptable on our own terms and the public's. There should be no 'short change' from our heritage service when it comes to serving the public.

So, where have community archaeologists come from and how are we to find more for the future? I can only speak for myself in answer to the first part of that question. I am a dirt digger who believes passionately in public participation in archaeology. I believed it thirty years ago when I was a volunteer. I am working, and hope to remain working towards that goal. I was confident that there were more archaeologists out there that believe as I do. As regards my fieldwork skills, I have not had one day of training in sixteen years as a professional! Is it now to be the same in community archaeology? Who is to provide training and who is reviewing skills? I cannot give all the answers but here are a few of my thoughts on this.

Universities can make a major contribution to how community archaeology can evolve. Not only by supplying courses directed to this area of archaeology but also by such studies as are being carried out at Exeter at the moment. The IFA may want to have community archaeologists as a professional category. It might be better to have a separate body. But something needs to be done to make sure that those setting themselves up as community archaeologists are maintaining a professional standard in all areas of archaeological presentation and instruction.

Like all areas of heritage presentation some standards vary and some archaeologists need support to develop skills and expertise. Not all archaeologists can or want to be expert in all areas of the subject. This is where community archaeologists need to communicate and co-operate to share skills and experience and gain skills from other professions, such as educationalists. Local, regional or national bodies need to be set up to co-ordinate this, which should involve all who are interested, both amateur and professional.

One thing I do know it is field archaeologists, who already have a raw deal when it comes to training, are being asked to train people in archaeological techniques as well as do their own everyday jobs. Professionally trained community archaeologists must be the norm as we move into this new and exciting era of increasing public participation. Trained, confident, passionate and committed, but above all else supported and seen, by the whole of the profession, as vital to the future of archaeology and vital to the communities in which we live and work.

In conclusion I would like to suggest we set up a network of community archaeologists. To set up a web site for the public to register an interest in taking part in community archaeology projects. After a certain number are registered an application for funding would automatically go through an archaeological body to a funding supplier. The advantage of a web site is that it can be bookmarked and people can choose to be mailshotted directly with the latest information. On the network database we can have registered IFA archaeologists who are willing to get involved in community projects and could then be called on by the Community Archaeologist once a project

is ready to run. This database would hold all community archaeologists, professional filled archaeologists, independent heritage workers, amateurs, archaeological bodies, local councils, educational bodies, youth workers, disability groups and funding bodies willing to work in this area helping their local community.

Marketing needs to be low tech as well as high. Information through posters and flyers for those that do not have access to IT and also those of an ethnic origin where English is a second language. Some groups are easier to target than others! Ease of access increases the demand. People get involved if the risk is low and how easy something is to do, so local is best. Sites situated in the community would reduce cost. It is much easier for people to get involved if they can do so in groups rather than as individuals – reducing risk.

According to the 'Participating in the Past' report the Community Archaeologist is the "fixed, sustainable, local contact point" (Farley 2003). This cannot be left to units, museums or volunteer individuals. Only by having a full time professional Community Archaeologist will the public be fully served by those of us that care passionately about 'access and heritage for all'. Let's make that slogan a reality, for all our sakes.

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5

POST-EXCAVATION PROCESSING: A CASE STUDY

Don Cooper

Introduction

Post-excavation processing is the bane of British archaeology: people like the excitement of excavating, cope with the pot washing and marking, but nobody likes the post-processing. Post-processing in this context means the preparation of an archive of the excavation, creating an entry in the National Monuments Record (NMR), formerly the Sites and Monuments Record (SMR); and publishing the excavation and its result. It goes without saying that excavation is destructive, and the only record of what was discovered is contained in the archive (both physical and documentary) and the publication. Thus the route to finding out the result of excavation and, indeed, whether an excavation took place in an area is via the NMR which in turn should reference the location of the physical and documentary archive as well as the publication. Failure of any of these steps deprives the interested public, students and academics of important research information.

In 2003, a sample of known post-World War II excavations in Greater London, whose physical artefacts were stored at the London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre (LAARC), was examined. Out of the 453 sites studied: 83 had no documentary archive, 203 were not adequately published and 76 were not recorded in any of the gazetteers (Cooper 2003). These excavations were carried out by a mixture of professional archaeology contractors and local amateur societies. This sample only covers excavations where the physical archive has been deposited with the LAARC. It does not cover all those digs done locally where the artefacts are still in someone's garage or under their bed. The reason or reasons why post-excavation processing is not carried out by professional archaeology contractors is outside the scope of this essay. However, it suffices to say, that the general view is that in most cases the money for the excavation agreed with the developer of the site ran out before the post-excavation processing could be completed. The issue as far as local amateur societies are concerned is what I would now like to consider; but first to set the scene.

The subject of the case study

The Hendon and District Archaeological Society (HADAS) was founded in 1961 by Themistocles Constantinides with one aim: to find and prove, on the ground, the Saxon origins of Hendon. Since that time the Society has spread its wings; today it covers the whole of the London Borough of Barnet and now carries out excavations and research covering all archaeological periods. It has over 200 members, produces a monthly newsletter, a winter series of lectures by prominent archaeologists and a variety of Summer outings ranging from day trips to long weekends. The Society also carries out at least one excavation a year. It is a registered charity, and is a volunteer and local community based organisation.

Soon after its foundation, the first excavation took place under the supervision of the late Ian Robertson, then an 18 year old student at Oxford, later Curator of the Passmore Edwards Museum, and subsequently Director of National Army Museum. This first excavation was on the site of what was thought to be one of the oldest buildings in Hendon – Church End Farm House (site code CEF61; NGR 228894). It is opposite St Mary's, the Hendon parish church. The site, which had been bomb damaged during the war, was being demolished to make way for the Hendon Technical College, later Middlesex University. This first excavation, spread over five summer digging seasons, produced many finds (pottery, coins, glass, building materials, animal bone, etc), and evidence of the main structure and outbuildings of the original Tudor farm, and its many rebuilds and enlargements. The dig diaries and some stratigraphic documents survived. Two short typewritten reports of the excavations were produced but not published. The site was recorded on the Sites and Monument Record (SMR), but no proper documentary archive was created. The finds were washed, marked with their context, bagged and stored. In the intervening years to the late 1990s the finds had to be relocated for various reasons, and in the course of these moves approximately a third of them had disappeared. During this period HADAS had made a number of attempts to kick start the post-excavation and publication processes for this excavation.

The issues

That these intentions did not come to fruition highlights a number of the issues facing local volunteer-run societies.

- The accurate identification and dating of the finds requires specialist input. You need different specialists for the various types of artefacts (pottery, clay pipes, coin, glass, animal bone, etc.) and the period they are from, such as Roman, Prehistoric, Medieval etc. Nowadays these specialists are few and far between. They are generally extremely busy, working for professional archaeology units and oft-times having to earn a living from other sources as finds processing does not pay very well. Although there may be some members of the society with good artefact knowledge, the total range of specialisms is rarely available from within

a local society, so that local volunteer-based archaeological organisations, such as HADAS, need to be able to:

- Identify a relevant specialist
- 'Persuade' them to do what is typically a small amount of work in a reasonable timescale
- Be able to pay them the going rate
- Have systems in place to control and manage the transactions such as what was sent, where, and to whom and when it was returned
- Sometimes more detailed analysis of artefacts using scientific methods, such as radiocarbon dating and dendrochronological analysis are recommended by the specialist. These also need to be commissioned, monitored and paid for

- Environmental and soil samples (if taken) also require specialist knowledge and need to be sent to relevant laboratories for processing. As with artefacts, the process needs to be controlled and paid for
- Side-by-side with identifying and processing the artefacts, the site drawings, photos, stratigraphic information and survey results need to be collected, catalogued and analysed. This process can generally be done by knowledgeable local volunteers and members of the excavation team
- Once all the reports have been received, then the process of analysing the excavation can begin. Getting the reports can take a very long time, often months and occasionally years. In the meantime artefacts and documents have to be stored in appropriate conditions. This can be difficult for a local society with no permanent premises and having to rely on the good nature of local volunteers and organisations. Some of the tasks involved in post-excavation processing can be carried out by competent members of a local society. However, the amount of work involved is large and needs to be managed. It requires a project manager to be appointed who is familiar with the processing system and who has the time to devote to the tasks. Each artefact is recorded on a database under its context identity. The individual dating of each artefact leads to an overall date for the contexts and ultimately establishes the chronology of the site. Further analysis of the artefacts within their contexts helps to establish such information as areas of different activities on the site, the type and status of the users of the artefacts as well as perhaps information about local land use and trade.
- Researching the history and documentary evidence for the site, collating local maps, documents, photos, drawings, survey details and correspondence, preparing the archive and updating the SMR make up the bulk of these tasks and, as in many societies, there are only a small number of volunteers with both the knowledge and time to work on the project.
- Deciding on the level of publication required for a site is a thorny issue. There appears to be no defined rules. Currently, sites are categorised by the number of contexts recorded in the excavation. A small number of contexts or where little or

no archaeology was found, merits only a mention in an appropriate journal such as the *London Archaeologist* round-up report. A medium size site, say between 20 and 100 contexts, with some archaeology should be published in the equivalent of Museum of London's Archaeology study series or, at least, a full scale article in the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society' (LAMAS) journal or its equivalent. Sites with over 100 contexts and/or with significant archaeology should be published as a full monograph of the excavation.

The solution

One of HADAS' key objectives was to achieve publication of all the old excavations it had carried out in the past. But how to do it? As we have seen above, the task is a daunting one. The option of doing all the post-excavation processing using the volunteer members of the organisation was rejected because the necessary skills were not available, and there weren't enough members with sufficient spare time to devote to the project. Another option considered was to contract out the whole process to a professional contractor who would be given an agreed specification to work to. HADAS is fortunate in having the money to pay for that option, having been left a number of substantial legacies. However, a preliminary search indicated that there were few, if any, contractors willing to take on such a project, coupled with the difficulty of preparing a detailed specification of what was required. It was also felt that nothing would be learned by the HADAS members via this option and the loss of control over the process was a distinct disadvantage. This option may be pertinent to some types of excavation processing where, for instance, there is a discrete assemblage of a particular type of artefact from one period e.g. flints from a Mesolithic site. Various combinations of the above options were considered, but rejected.

The solution that finally emerged was for HADAS to sponsor a training course which would encompass the post-excavation processing of the backlog of its excavations. The course needed to have formal status to attract potential students and lead to a recognised qualification. The fees paid by the students would pay, or at least help to pay, for the course. The course would use the documentation system, standards and coding conventions of the London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre (LAARC) and specifically those of the Museum of London Specialist Service (MoLSS). Ideally it should be run locally, close to the HADAS archives, and to where most of the potential students lived. The Faculty of Continuing Education of Birkbeck College, University of London was approached and agreed to create such a course. The course would be 'hands-on' with the material being from old HADAS excavations. The key objectives set for the course were as follows:

a.   To identify, analyse and record the artefacts and documents surviving from old HADAS digs

b.   To create a physical archive of the artefacts from the excavations to the appropriate standard so that they could be deposited with at the LAARC

    c.   To create a documentary archive to the latest standards so that it could also be deposited at the LAARC

    d.   To produce a publication that would record the excavation and its results, particularly for the local population.

    e.   To create an informative, accurate and comprehensive entry in the NMR.

    f.   To provide course members with the necessary training in post-excavation techniques and expertise so that current and future HADAS excavations can be processed with minimum specialist support.

    g.   To produce an operating manual for all the processes involved in post-excavation procedures both as an instruction manual and an *aide memoire.*

The course would run as an evening class during the standard Birkbeck academic year and leading to a Post-Diploma in Archaeological Studies for students successfully completing course work (essays, databases, lectures) so as to earn the points towards the Diploma. Students would pay the normal going Birkbeck rate for two-hour evening classes, including concessions, where appropriate. It was agreed to run the course at Avenue House, Finchley, a venue more or less at the centre of the London Borough of Barnet and local for most of the potential students.

Organisation and results

The first year of the course started in September 2001. The course was co-ordinated and tutored by Jacqui Pearce, a specialist in medieval and later pottery and clay pipes with the Museum of London Specialist Services (MoLSS). A room at Avenue House, Finchley was secured for two-hour sessions every Wednesday between 18.30 and 20.30 during term time. Between ten and twelve students signed for each year's course with many returnees. A routine was established whereby a specialist guest speaker gave a lecture on a particular facet of post-excavation and finds analysis, and the course members then followed this up by working on the material from the Church End Farm excavation. Artefacts were repacked and re-boxed and were individually identified and recorded on forms as prescribed by the LAARC standards. The documentary archive was analysed and complemented by further research into both the building architecture of the site and the people who lived there.

    The first result was in the form of a publication entitled *The Last Hendon Farm: the archaeology and history of Church End Farm* (Pearce 2006). Chapters were written by six different students and HADAS members, and the publication was edited by Jacqui Pearce. The publication includes full colour illustrations of important artefacts from the excavation, including an article on the fragments of twelve ceramic bird nesting pots found on the site out of only 60 known from the whole of Greater London. Clearly the passage of time, and the lack of a complete archive both physical and documentary, potentially affected the overall result. However, the publication has been well received and is being sold successfully via *inter alia* the Museum of London's bookshop. This success has encouraged HADAS to start on the next site, Church Terrace, using the

same general process. The physical and documentary archive of Church End Farm is in the process of being transferred to the safe custody of the LAARC and the NMR is being updated. An operating manual based on the handouts, lecture notes, standard forms and instructions for their use has still to be produced, it is hoped that this task will be completed during the next year.

Conclusions

The publication of the results of the excavation at Church End Farm, the deposition of its archive and updating of the NMR completes the processing of the excavation carried out all those years ago. The publication makes a contribution to local and regional archaeology and as well as to local history. As the archive is deposited at the LAARC, it will be publicly available to future researchers. The entry in the NMR will both inform and enable interested parties to trace the history of the site and the story of the excavation. This has been a lengthy process, which makes the outcome all the more satisfactory.

There must be many similar archives languishing in the possession of amateur societies. Many of these societies undertook the excavation of important sites in the post-World War II years when professional archaeologists were few and far between. This example indicates a possible route by which these old excavations can be brought to a successful result. The by-products of this process are as important as its completion: a more knowledgeable membership is now better able to contribute to local excavation and post-excavation processes. The course encouraged more people to join the society. The camaraderie of the students on the course has brought together a nucleus of friends which will benefit both the HADAS society and archaeology in the local community. Individual members of the course are specialising in particular areas such as animal bone, local history archive researching, pottery and glass. These new skills can be called upon by HADAS to support local queries and requests. Overall the process has been a great success and will hopefully enable HADAS to complete the publication of all its outstanding excavations, as well as point the way to other amateur societies to undertake similar projects.

Observations

The course continues to run and the next series of excavations, those at Church Terrace in the 1970s, are well on the way to publication. New students join each year and seem to fit in quickly with the process and some old students complete their involvement and move on to other things. The student catchment area for the course has been widened to include members of other local amateur archaeology societies in the area. There is, of necessity, a repetitive nature to the course (to bring new students up to speed), which in turn can make it less attractive to long-standing members of the course, even though the course varies significantly in content from year to year. However, many of them keep returning, relishing the chance to consolidate their knowledge and renewing friendships.

Although the course is currently treated as a single academic year cycle, it would more properly fit into a four or five year cycle so that all aspects of post-excavation processing could be adequately covered. Each year could be designed as self contained dealing with a specific aspect of post-excavation processing such as for instance: (a) artefact marking, conservation and packing, identification and analysis (b) site research both archaeological and historical (c) analysis of the excavation in terms of stratigraphy, ground conditions etc (d) Creating an archive and SMR entry (e) producing a publication.

The course attracted a more or less equal number of males and females, and a wide range of age groups although one issue, which is a disappointment to younger members, is the fact that you have to be over 18 to participate in a Birkbeck course.

Local amateur volunteer-run archaeological societies need to offer their members some form of participatory archaeology to retain their membership and interest. Excavation and field-walking meet this need. However, the post-processing is sometimes a casualty in this scenario for the reasons outlined above. The HADAS solution described here can go some way to providing a solution, but is not a panacea for all those unpublished and unrecorded excavations carried out locally. Other solutions need to be found. The crux of the matter is the lack of specialists with 'expert' knowledge with many of those currently working coming to the end of their working lives and no real sign of replacements coming along. The main reason for this is that the universities are largely failing to offer appropriate artefact study courses and, even where they do, when the students qualify, the rewards of the job are so poor that they go off and make other careers. Perhaps, the course run by HADAS/Birkbeck will spawn some knowledgeable amateurs who will be able to deal with the post-excavation processing of local archaeological excavations. It is to be hoped!

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HOW 'STOP' STARTED: EARLY APPROACHES TO THE METAL DETECTING COMMUNITY BY ARCHAEOLOGISTS AND OTHERS

Suzie Thomas

Introduction

'Community archaeology' is becoming an area of significant interest to academics, as recent research (e.g. Smith & Waterton 2009; Marshall 2002) demonstrates, along with initiatives in the past few years such as the development of the Community Archaeology Forum (see www.britarch.ac.uk/caf). If the idea of 'archaeology in the community' is to involve members of the public in the archaeological process, then it is appropriate in this volume to analyse professional archaeology's relationship to the metal detecting hobby. There are metal detecting clubs in every region of the United Kingdom, and umbrella organisations such as the National Council for Metal Detecting (NCMD), and the Federation of Independent Detectorists (FID). Recent research indicates that there may be as many as 10,550 metal-detector users in the UK (Thomas 2009a: 257). Hence, metal-detector users constitute a significant 'community' interacting with archaeological heritage – with, or often without, interaction with archaeologists themselves.

This chapter emerges from recent doctoral research into the relationships between archaeologists and metal-detector users in England and Wales, with a particular focus on evidence from the Council for British Archaeology (CBA) archives. It is a fundamental view of the author that in order to understand the complex relationships between archaeologists and metal-detector users in the UK, the history of this relationship, and its various nuances, should be more fully understood. Hence, the chapter adopts a historical perspective, discussing and analysing the reactions to metal detecting by archaeological organisations and their supporters in the UK in the late 1970s and early 1980s, during the period in which metal detecting began to emerge as an increasingly popular hobby. The events leading up to major offensives at this time predominantly on the part of archaeologists, but also metal-detector users, notably through the opposing pressure groups of the 'Stop Taking Our Past!' campaign (STOP) and the Detector Information Group (DIG), are analysed. STOP and DIG are both summarised, and

their role in shaping public opinions and also governmental decisions are examined for this period.

The CBA, since its 1944 inception, has always been involved in the safeguarding of British archaeology (Heyworth 2006), including lobbying government offices when necessary. The issue of export of antiquities, for example, had involved and continues to involve the interests of antiques and antiquities dealers, for example the inclusion of representatives of the trade on the Illicit Trade Advisory Panel (DCMS 2006). In contrast, when the metal detecting hobby appeared, initially in the mid-to-late 1960s, not only were archaeologists and antiquity dealers (and collectors) affected, but also a new interest group: those members of the public searching for metal, often ancient, artefacts for recreational purposes. With the manufacture of affordable metal detecting machines, the number of people who took up hobby grew rapidly and began immediately to cause concern among archaeologists (Addyman & Brodie 2002: 179).

Described as 'an initial knee-jerk reaction' to metal detecting (Addyman & Brodie 2002: 179), the now-infamous STOP campaign was planned from 1979 and officially launched in 1980. Authors writing about STOP with hindsight have maintained that the campaign was unsuccessful in its principal goal to persuade public opinion that treasure hunting with metal detectors was unacceptable behaviour. According to Addyman and Brodie (2002: 180), STOP led to 'loss of sympathy and the polarization of attitudes' for archaeology. Bland (2005: 441) also suggested that in the battle for public and political support, metal-detector users were far more successful than archaeologists during the STOP period, epitomised for Bland by the 1974–1976 Prime Minister Harold Wilson being made honorary patron of the NCMD. STOP is certainly regarded as a pivotal moment in the history of the relationships between archaeologists and metal-detector users, and is regularly cited by commentators on this issue (e.g. Addyman 2009: 56–57). However, it has also diverted attention from earlier responses to metal detecting, some of which were more placatory (e.g. Green & Gregory 1978). In other publications, the ambiguity with which some authors have referred to STOP indicates that there is a need for a more thorough study of the evidence, in order to clarify what really happened. This is epitomised by Faulkner's (2003: 175) indirect, and obviously incorrect, implication that the looting at Wanborough may have led to the formation of STOP, despite it having occurred three years *after* STOP had been launched (and see Thomas 2009b for an account of the incidents that occurred at Wanborough). Gregory (1983) suggested that professional archaeologists' failure to communicate with the public effectively at this time had contributed to the growth in popularity of metal detecting. Yet, while metal detecting groups were indeed successful in augmenting support for their hobby, STOP also had supporters from outside of the archaeological profession, and even managed a some victories against treasure hunting. The importance of other factors, such as the impact of legislation and the role of personal opinions must be analysed further to understand the events leading up to and surrounding STOP: the Campaign against Treasure Hunting.

'At variance with the general opinion of archaeologists'

By the time of the STOP campaign, metal detecting had already been developing as a hobby for more than a decade. In 1966, an image of a 'Decco' machine accompanied a caption claiming that the device could detect items at three feet, maybe even deeper (*The Times*, 14th July 1966). A letter in a British newspaper discussed the 'threatened introduction to Britain of the American hobby of treasure-hunting', involving the use of a device described as a 'treasure-finder' (Atkinson c.1969). A more positive take on the arrival of metal detectors was reported in *The Times* in 1969, describing the plans of a Lincolnshire businessman 'to introduce the American science of treasure hunting to Britain' by manufacturing 'Goldmaster' metal detectors (*The Times* 1969: np). This correlates with Green and Gregory's assertion in 1978 that metal detecting had been around at that point for a decade (1978: 161). The rapid growth of the hobby towards the end of the 1970s has meant that later authors have stated that metal detecting did not emerge until the *late* 1970s (e.g. Dobinson & Denison 1995). Statistics available from the Home Office's licensing of metal detectors under the *Wireless and Telegraphy Act* 1949 (a requirement which was ended in 1980), also indicate the rapid growth of metal detector use at this time.

In 1975–6 the CBA and the Museums Association (MA) formed a joint working party to look at the issue of metal detecting (Green & Gregory 1978: 161), the Treasure Hunting Working Party (THWP). By 1979 the decision had been made to embark on a campaign against treasure hunters, following the initial suggestion for such a campaign by *Rescue – the British Archaeological Trust* (Cleere, *pers. comm.*, 10th September 2005), who were by this time involved with the THWP. *Rescue*, an independent charitable trust formed in 1971, had in fact already organised a smaller scale anti-metal-detecting canvass in the earlier half of the 1970s (Cleere to Dalyell MP, 3rd May 1980). This campaign was on a much smaller scale than STOP, and mostly took the form of articles in *Rescue News* (e.g. Fowler 1972: 15). Thus, for many commentators on this period, the most memorable representation of early attitudes to metal-detector users by archaeologists has become STOP. The implication of this is that most professionals in archaeology and museums were involved with trying to reduce public acceptance of metal detecting as a hobby (Addyman & Brodie 2002: 179), due to the risks posed to archaeological heritage by the use of metal detectors for treasure hunting. However, there were also notable exceptions, for example in East Anglia (Bland 2005: 441–2) and Lincolnshire (Richards & Naylor 2009: 169).

Yet only one year before the STOP plans were initiated, the CBA and the MA had been discussing the text for a joint statement on metal detecting which, while not condoning all metal detecting, did concede that:

> metal detecting is not a transient phenomenon, it is becoming increasingly apparent that many metal-detector users are motivated by the same interest in the past as archaeologists. (CBA & MA 1978)

The joint statement also acknowledged that, since the early 1970s, attitudes of 'total opposition' adopted by archaeologists created 'a polarization of attitudes, with unfortunate and undesirable results' (CBA & MA 1978). The intention had been to release the statement concurrently with a 'Code of Conduct for Metal Detector Users', which was intended to help metal-detector users who followed the code to establish 'a constructive partnership between them and archaeologists'. Henry Cleere, then the Director of the CBA, had even been in discussion with Sid Clayton, then the President of the National Association of Metal Detecting Clubs (NAMDC), a forerunner of the NCMD, on the development of this code (Cleere to Ditchfield, DoE, 3rd February 1978). The Department of the Environment (DoE), a representative of which had recently been in attendance at the NAMDC seminar in Bournemouth in 1978, was willing to offer a ministerial foreword to the final Code and even some financial support from the DoE (Ditchfield to Cleere, 31st January 1978). The DoE's presence there demonstrated, if nothing else, the politicisation of the metal detecting hobby by that time.

The proposed code, although apparently receiving support both from metal-detector users and a government department, was ultimately not accepted by the archaeological profession itself. The two organisations involved in the THWP, the CBA and the MA, were reliant on approval from their councils for any actions to be taken. It was the MA that was first to reject the proposed joint statement and code of conduct, with some of its council members feeling strongly that any compromise that might be seen as encouraging the hobby would be unacceptable. In particular, the MA's rejection of the proposed actions was influenced by the strong opinions of certain individuals on the council, who apparently worked hard to convince other council members not to support the statement (Capstick, MA, to Cleere, 10th February 1978). However, practical issues such as the insertion of text relevant to Scotland, referring to the different treasure legislation, were also cited (*ibid.*).

The initial reaction from Cleere was to try to action the proposed statement and code of conduct as a CBA-only venture, without the support of the MA, pending the approval of the CBA's Executive Board and Council (Cleere to Capstick, February 1978). In the months following, the MA did in fact reconsider the proposed joint statement and code of conduct (again rejecting it), although in April 1978 the Society of Museum Archaeologists (SMA) added their support to the proposal (Davies to Cleere, 6th April 1978). However, although some regional organisations did write in support of the draft code and statement, such as the Archaeology Panel of the Area Museums Service for South Eastern England (Gowing to Cleere, 26th April 1978), others were as equally opposed to it. For example, the Surrey Archaeological Society and the Working Party on London Archaeology wrote to the CBA that 'the code of conduct would give respectability to the use of metal detectors and that this would result in more harm than good' (McCracken to Cleere, 11th May 1978).

Although many were opposed to any form of cooperation or communication with metal-detector users, there were also, as mentioned earlier, regions where steps had

already been made to communicate and in some instances to cooperate with metal-detector users. The most-cited case is that of Norfolk, with a finds-recording policy that shortly after its formation rolled out to include Suffolk (Green & Gregory 1978: 161). Green and Gregory have suggested that the initiative was in response to the lack of archaeological policy to the threat of uncontrolled metal detecting at a national level, no doubt exacerbated by a failure to reach a consensus by the MA and the CBA councils and executives. This policy, involving a leaflet offering advice to metal-detector users who find archaeological material (Scole Archaeological Unit 1978), was considered so exemplary that it eventually formed the basis for the nation-wide Portable Antiquities Scheme (Bland 2005: 442). Yet it should be noted that even in Norfolk not all professional archaeologists were in support of the cooperation with metal-detector users. Robin Walpole, Chairman of the Norfolk Museums Service and the Area Museums Service for South Eastern England, indicated his disapproval in a published letter in *Museum's Bulletin* responding to Green and Gregory's (1978) *Museums Journal* article about their work with metal-detector users:

> The recent article in the Museums Journal by two members of the Norfolk Museums Service is of course a professional and personal approach but I must make it clear that it is just that and does not reflect the less naïve attitude of the Committee and its chairman. (Walpole 1978: 52)

In other regions of England and Wales, some archaeological units and museums were also taking preliminary steps to creating links with their local metal detecting clubs and societies. The CBA's regional Group 2 reported that 'formal links between some museums in South Wales and metal detecting clubs' were developing (Lynch to Cleere, 1978). Lancashire, Hampshire and Yorkshire were also regions where contact between archaeologists and metal-detector users had been established for 'many years' by the time that STOP was under way (STOP Committee minutes, 10th June 1980).

By September 1978, the Executive Board of the CBA had rejected the draft code of conduct and statement, considering the cooperative tone 'at variance with the general opinion of archaeologists' (Cleere to Smith, Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments – North Wales Office, 25th September 1978). The next step, reworking the draft statement moved more towards the anti-metal-detecting tone associated with STOP. The reworked CBA statement made it clear that the organisation felt that 'treasure hunting' (a change from the original; proposed joint statement's use of 'metal detecting'), was 'not in the public interest'(CBA 1978). The new statement did concede that some metal-detector users might have a 'genuine interest in the past', but that:

> in the interests of our common heritage in the landscape, however, and not least in the interests of their own ultimate satisfaction, their participation, as for everyone else, must be on archaeology's own terms. (CBA 1978)

This time an approved code of conduct did not accompany the statement.

STOP is formed

After several months of planning and committee meetings to develop strategies, the STOP campaign was officially launched on 12th March 1980. The campaign's full title was STOP: The Campaign against Treasure Hunting. Originally it had been planned to coincide STOP's press launch with the introduction of Section III of the new Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979, which provided for the restriction of metal detectors on scheduled sites (Cleere to Ridley, DoE, 14th May 1979).

The campaign was a direct development, as discussed earlier in this chapter, from the THWP's deliberations on how to deal with the issue of treasure hunting with metal detectors, and was influenced by an earlier anti-treasure-hunting campaign by *Rescue*. However, STOP took place on a much larger scale that *Rescue's* campaign had, with support from at least 32 separate organisations. The seven core organisations forming the STOP Committee were:

- CBA
- MA
- *Rescue, The British Archaeological Trust*
- Standing Conference of Unit Managers (SCUM)
- Association of County Archaeological Officers
- SMA
- United Kingdom Institute of Conservation

The other supporters of the campaign included, as to be expected, a number of organisations with interests in the nation's heritage, such as the National Trust and the National Monuments Record for Wales. In addition some organisations with wider remits were also willing to lend their name to the support of STOP, such as the National Farmers' Union and Institution of Park and Recreational Administration. The support of these organisations indicates that other concerns were attached to the growth of metal detecting beyond the safety of archaeological material. For example, the Country Landowners Association might well have been concerned about landowners' rights in the case of a finder discovering artefacts classified as Treasure Trove on their land, as often under the contemporary treasure trove common law (repealed in 1997), the finder only received the reward money, but not person on whose land the object was found (Cleere to Jones, landowner, 18th June 1980). For both landowners and farmers, the issue of trespass was also likely to have been a factor in deciding support STOP.

However, not all those contacted by the STOP Committee were positive about the campaign's strategies, which included a Core Document stating the aims of the campaign (CBA 1980). Patrick Cormack, Conservative Member of Parliament (MP), for example, was approached but was not accommodating towards STOP, feeling, '... that the title is very unfortunate and the whole tone too negative...' and he suggested the press release could be made:

> more appealing to young people. I believe, for instance, that it is unrealistic to expect the total banning of metal detectors, and that if they were used under supervision you

> could actually recruit young people to the 'archaeological brigade'. (Cormack to Cleere, 12th February 1980).

Concerns were even raised by some professional archaeologists about the possible effects of STOP. Robert Rutland, of Leicestershire Museums, expressed concern that the local treasure hunting club in Leicester, who had a good record for responsible behaviour, were all 'angered and puzzled' by STOP. He warned that if this the effect on a responsible society, what would it do to the 'rogues'? (Rutland to Cleere, 16th April 1980).

Media, government and the influence of DIG

The Association of District Councils (ADC) and the Association of County Councils (ACC) supported STOP, not only because of the threat to archaeological heritage in their areas, but also because of the potential for 'physical damage of land and property' (ACC 1980), particularly that which fell under the ownership and responsibility of county or district councils. The ADC and the ACC were in fact both pressuring the Home Office at this time for the right to issue local bye-laws which would enable local councils to control where metal detecting could take place (Thornley, ADC, to Capstick, 24th January 1980). Initial responses from the Home Office to these requests had been of the view that there was no harm in using a metal detector, and that for digging offences there was already the *Criminal Damage Act* 1971 (Thornley to Capstick, 24th January 1980). This attitude was a cause for concern for the STOP Committee members, particularly as when the Home Office reconsidered their stance with regard to byelaws, it was with the proviso that district councils have a consultation with any local metal detecting clubs before adopting any byelaws (Elder 1980: 137). Naturally there was concern among archaeologists that the Home Office had mentioned metal detecting club members as people with whom to consult, but had failed to include museum staff and professional archaeologists (Cleere to Cormack, 23rd September 1980).

This attitude by the Home Office may be an indicator of the greater success experienced by metal-detector users than archaeologists in influencing public opinion and therefore politicians, which is acknowledged by Bland (2005: 441). Certainly metal-detector users, while mostly voluntary (although with the support of metal detector manufacturers), were able to organise their own publicity and lobbying groups to defend the interests of the hobby. The Detector Information Group (DIG) was formed in 1979 in direct response to the development of the STOP campaign and the other activities being carried out at that time by archaeologists (DIG 2003). DIG's name was even chosen, according to a founding member, with the specific acronym in mind:

> it was the idea for the name because I just thought well, 'dig's' the thing always coming into use in archaeological terms and I thought, if we could get a name and get under their skin, every time we mention that word it's gonna …it's gonna grate. I thought, how can we get DIG? And I just worked out Detector Information Group with the particular letters (Mellish, pers. comm., 26th October 2007)

Significantly, DIG not only represented metal-detector users, but also 'manufacturers and retailers involved in the hobby of metal detecting' (DIG Committee 1980). Thus, although it was 'entirely founded by voluntary contributions' (DIG Committee 1980), it was considered likely at the time that there was a reasonable fund available to DIG, (Morris, CBA, to Cleere 9th May 1980), probably from the metal detector manufacturers supporting it.

Like STOP, DIG had a priority of using the media as a tool to raise the profile of their cause. Press releases from the same time as STOP indicate that DIG was well organised, with even a list of regional contacts available for press (DIG Committee 1980). What is also indicated is that, at times, the information provided by DIG was designed to present metal detectors both as numerous – 'at least half a million tax paying supporters' (DIG Committee c.1980) – and therefore a politically significant proportion of the population, but also to provide inaccurate information about STOP, for example claiming that STOP's funding ran to as much as £15,000, when in fact the funds were less than £1000 in mid-1980 (Cleere to Regional Group Secretaries, 14th July 1980). It is hard to tell whether this information was deliberately falsified, or the result of assumptions on the part of DIG about how much money was actually available for archaeological campaigns. However, the regular press releases to media, organisation of democratic protests such as running a rally in Parliament Square, followed by a march to Downing Street to hand in a petition at the Prime Minister's residence (DIG Committee 2003) in 1979, demonstrate that the strategy of DIG was very determined in raising the profile of the metal detecting hobby both in a public sphere and at Government level. This development of the political aspect of DIG's campaign was particularly critical, given the perception of 'Official Archaeology' as having 'its access to the 'corridors of power' in both local and national government' (Hunter 1981: 25). DIG organisers may have also been aware of the political influence of large museums such as the British Museum and the National Museum of Wales, through the involvement of their trustees in Parliamentary debates (e.g. HL Deb, 8th February 1982, col. 30).

Another phenomenon which faced museum archaeologists and curators in the early 1980s was a type of letter which a number of museum archaeologists and curators received, asking about the whether the rumours and recent local news articles were true that local museums were refusing to identify objects brought in by metal-detector users (e.g. Souch, metal-detector user, to Bateman, Oxfordshire Museums, 28th March 1980). It was widely believed that these letters were being used as a prelude to legal action, possibly organised by DIG, and thus care had to be taken by museum staff when replying to them (Sparrow, CBA legal advisor, to Morris, 25th April 1980).

In another example, a letter was published, which readers were asked to detach and send to their local MP demanding the '*immediate investigation*' of public spending on archaeology, to discover '*what the tax-paying public has to show for its money*' (Boudicca 1982: 31). This tactic seems to have had an effect at Parliamentary level, as two Written Answers appeared in the House of Commons in April 1982, (the same month that the letter template was published). These dealt with questions about the cost of

archaeological funding and the output that materialised for that spending (HC Deb, 6th April 1982, col. 319–320; HC Deb, 7th April 1982, col. 365–366).

Treasure Hunting, a magazine for metal-detector users, also contributed a number of provocative articles, some of which were not entirely accurate. Payne's (1979) article 'STOP SCUM (that's you)' misrepresented the title of the STOP campaign, although it is unclear whether this was a deliberate action or the misreading of plans, as SCUM was the acronym for the Standing Conference for Unit Managers (who were on the STOP Committee). That this type of offensive against archaeology could occur, is perhaps an indication not only of the types of strategies employed by metal-detector users to raise their hobby on the political agenda, but also of a wider issue of the interests of the 'public', versus the vested interests of groups classed as 'authorities', such as archaeologists (Skeates 2000: 85), and the apparent failure of professional archaeology to 'take enough notice of the perceptions of the past held by the public' (Stone 1994: 195).

Even some of the publicity developed by the STOP Committee, such as a series of posters designed by Bill Tidy, a popular British cartoonist, were limited in their success due to their limited distribution. STOP Committee meeting minutes and letters from that period indicate that material such as the posters, and also car stickers and badges, were having to be *sold* rather than distributed freely to assist with the financial provision for STOP (e.g. STOP Committee minutes, 3rd October 1980). Despite car stickers and other stickers selling quite well, by December 1980 only a few hundred STOP posters had been sold (STOP Committee minutes, 1st December 1980). If these posters had been distributed for free, one can speculate that more posters would have been visible nationally than only a few hundred, and it is perhaps another issue for archaeology, i.e. funding and sponsorship, that is most to blame for this. It perhaps points to another issue that archaeology has not always been most successful at securing funding and sponsorship, as initial investment would have been needed to cover the costs associated with producing posters or other items for free distribution. Layton (1994: 18), for example, has commented on the importance of gaining public interest and support, since so much in archaeology relies on public spending. The issues of financial support for archaeology can again perhaps be linked back to the success or failure of archaeology to gain public support and understanding, although to raise awareness in the first place in order to gain public interest, as with the visibility of STOP posters, it may just form part of a vicious circle.

One of the most significant legislative victories of the metal-detecting lobbyists still cited decades later (e.g. DIG 2003) was the successful petition against Clause 100 of the Kent Bill. The Bill was 'to re-enact with amendments and to extend certain enactments in force within the county of Kent' (Dyson, Bell & Co, 1979–80: 1). Clause 100 was a provision to grant Kent County Council new powers to control metal detecting, not unlike the ACC and ADC requests to the Home Office for the power to enact byelaws on this matter, already discussed in this chapter. The Clause had three petitions against it, from C-Scope (a metal detector manufacturer), DIG

and a private landowner (STOP Committee minutes, 15th July 1980). One of the results of this defeat was the publicity released by C-Scope (1980), which also cited the exemption of metal detectors from the Wireless and Telegraphy Act 1949 requirement to have a licence as a further victory and 'freedom for individuals' (C-Scope 1980). In the battle to use the media to greatest effect, STOP responded by placing their own positive spin on the removal of metal detector licensing:

> Now the licence for metal detectors has been abolished, treasure hunters can no longer claim the spurious respectability of being 'officially licensed by the Government' to carry out their hobby, when in fact the issue of a licence gave no right to extract objects of antiquity from land, whether public or private, without the owner's permission. This will help to make it clear to the public at large that it is archaeologists, not treasure seekers, who are truly interested in recovering the evidence by which we understand and appreciate our country's past. (STOP July 1980)

Another Bill that could have altered matters in favour of archaeology, but was not successful, was the *Antiquities Bill* 1981, known as the *Abinger Bill*, presented to the House of Lords 1982. This Bill had already been pursued in 1979, when it lapsed with the fall of the Labour Party administration (Bennett & Brand 1983: 148). The Bill, '*an act to provide for the better protection of small antiquities discovered in the ground and elsewhere; to amend treasure trove; and for connected purposes*' (Abinger 1981), was introduced a second time in 1981 under the Conservative administration, when it again failed. The reasons for the second failure of the Bill were various, but certainly there were connections with the results of the STOP Campaign.. The Bill sought to broaden the categories classed as Treasure Trove, and to remove *animus revertendi* – the 'guessing game, in which one seeks to decide the intention of the person who deposited something in antiquity' (Hanworth 1995: 174). It was successful in the House of Lords, but was finally 'deliberately and cynically killed' in the House of Commons according to Cleere (1984: 57). More recent parliamentary debate suggests that the Abinger Bill failed, 'not because of opposition in either House but because of a lack of parliamentary time' (HC Deb, 8th March 1996, col. 571). However, Halfin (1995: 20) suggested that the Government 'was fearful of the effect… …on property laws and on the rights of ownership' that the changes listed in the Bill would entail. Whatever really happened, it was not until over a decade later that the treasure trove law was finally discarded and replaced by the *Treasure Act* 1996.

While the metal detector licence from the *Wireless and Telegraphy Act* 1949 was repealed, and it was to be another 16 years until treasure trove was reformed, the archaeological community did experience some success in the 'STOP period' in bringing about legislation to protect archaeological heritage from different threats, from agriculture and town planning, to metal detecting. There had been an *Ancient Monuments Act* from 1913 with several amendments already (HL Deb, 5th February 1979, col. 454). There had also been an attempted prosecution under the 1913 Act of two people accused of '*injuring or defacing a scheduled monument*' in connection with the Mildenhall site, but the prosecution had failed (Munro to Dalyell, 14th April

1980), illustrating the Act's weakness. The *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Bill* (AMAA Bill) sought to strengthen and enhance the existing provisions, including pointing to the significance of rescue archaeology (HL Deb, 5th February 1979, col 457). Unlike the *Abinger Bill*, which was a Private Members Bill, the AMAA Bill had Government support, and was devised as a team effort by the DoE, led by Andrew Saunders, the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings (Cleere, *pers. comm.,* 22nd October 2008). The Bill's origins may also be found in a 1974 consultation document issued by the DoE (Wainwright 2000: 920).

When the Bill was introduced in 1979, the proposed Section 42 in Part III ('Miscellaneous and Supplemental'), which proposed forbidding metal detecting without permission on protected sites and monuments, was significant to the (not yet launched, but certainly planned) STOP Campaign. As Baroness Stedman explained at the debate in the House of Lords at the time of the second reading of the Bill:

> The need for this restriction arises from the recent hobby of 'treasure hunting' with the aid of electronic detectors. This can be an innocent pastime, but it can lead to irreparable damage and loss of knowledge. It is not, of course, the detector itself that is harmful but where the metal object it locates is below ground, the action of digging up that object is very likely to be harmful to an archaeological site. This is because the removal of the object from its context, that is the stratum of soil in which it was contained, destroys a relationship that would be significant to a scientific understanding of the site. (HL Deb, 5th February 1979, col. 462–463)

The mention, in the same debate, of developing a strategy to educate treasure hunters may be another reference to the development of STOP, particularly as Baroness Stedman suggested that any work should be led by the CBA and its associated branches and organisations (HL Deb, 5th February 1979, col. 487). However, she also stated that, 'the Department is certainly willing to help as much as it can in the education of treasure-hunters by giving advice or in any other way which is possible' (HL Deb, 5th February 1979, col. 487). This would seem more in line with sentiments of the 1978 THWP draft statement discussed earlier in the chapter, and eventually abandoned ahead of the more hard-lined STOP Campaign.

The Parliamentary debates around the AMAA Bill consistently referred to metal detecting. There were arguments that the use of metal detectors, increased by the growth in popularity of treasure hunting, posed a threat to archaeological sites if not controlled (e.g. HL Deb, 5th February 1979, col. 479; HC Deb, 4th April 1979, col. 1371). On the other hand, statements such as the one below by Arthur Jones MP, indicated that views of advocates of metal detecting were not being ignored either:

> It is difficult to say that metal detectors should not be used elsewhere, because they have been instrumental in revealing sites that might not otherwise have come to our notice. (HC Deb, 4th April 1979, col. 1371)

The eventual enactment of the AMAA Act 1979 must have been considered a success, as it had support from Rescue, the CBA, and the wider archaeological community

(Cleere, *pers. comm.*, 22nd October 2008), many of whom were also involved with STOP. While scheduled monuments had some legal protection before, the provision in Part III Section 42, which actually came into force in 1981, made a significant political statement by drawing attention specifically to metal detecting. It also indicated the difficulties faced by most Private Members Bills, such as the *Abinger Bills* and even the 1994 version of the *Treasure Bill*. Government support for the AMAA Bill and indeed the 1996 *Treasure Bill*, which became the current *Treasure Act* 1996, may well have been crucial to their enactment.

Conclusions

The STOP campaign ran for only a brief time, as a letter from Henry Cleere to Mr L.G. Tagg (Commerce and Technical Librarian, Central Library, Newcastle) in early 1983 regarding STOP's inclusion on a mailing list explains:

> This campaign was a relatively short-lived joint activity of a number of organisations for a specific purpose. Although it has not been formally dissolved, I think it is fair to say that its work is completed. (Cleere to Tagg, 26th January 1983)

Although STOP had effectively ended by 1983 its repercussions are still felt today. There are certainly metal-detector users still actively pursuing their hobby who remember with genuine sadness the difficulties they faced in the early 1980s, as uncovered by the author during her doctoral research. While many commentators have remarked on the relative failure of STOP to influence public perceptions as successfully as DIG (e.g. Bland 2005; Addyman & Brodie 2002), this chapter has demonstrated that there were nonetheless some successes which can be attributed to STOP. For example, where some observers have criticised the number of different archaeological organisations in existence in England and Wales, let alone the UK as a whole (e.g. Austin 2009: 121), the STOP Committee did at least bring seven of those major organisations together in a united effort. Equally, the ability to gain endorsement from at least 32 quite different organisations, demonstrates that STOP was not without its supporters. The National Trust, for example, was directly influenced by the prevailing views of STOP when it adopted a policy of not allowing metal detecting on its land (Thackray 2001: 21). This policy, based on the view that artefacts were better off left *in situ* in the absence of professional excavation, but not taking into account the threats of modern agriculture, was only questioned twenty years later (Thackray 2001). The insertion into the AMAA Act of legislation specifically prohibiting metal detector use on protected sites was extremely significant.

However, the metal detecting community was also successful in its publicity and political campaigns at this time, and had the support of both a national magazine and metal detector manufacturers such as C-Scope, particularly in its lobbying to drop Clause 100 of the *Kent Bill*. In addition, if DIG claims were true, then half a million Britons were metal detecting in 1979-80 (DIG Committee c.1980), which historically

certainly seems to be the period of the hey day of metal detecting. Ultimately, if there was a battle for public opinion between STOP and DIG, many have claimed that DIG was more successful than STOP (e.g. Bland 2005). As one metal-detector user observed about archaeologists and STOP, 'they really did think that that would work. Well, we beat them' (Wood, *pers. comm.*, 20th November 2006).

Drawing comparisons with conclusions drawn by Stone (1994: 201) from the survey of four English urban areas in 1983-4, more people would appear to have been interested in, or at least to have been able to have the opportunity of, accessing the past through the metal detecting hobby (whether their motives were to learn about that past, or to make money out of it), than in accessing it through information provided by professional archaeologists. This was in part due to the failure of archaeologists to 'disseminate their findings widely and in an acceptable form' (Stone 1994: 201). The 1978 Joint Statement, rejected by the majority of MA and CBA officials, which looked to opening a dialogue with metal-detector users rather than trying to 'stop' them, is a case in point. The statement and the proposed code of conduct were even welcomed by at least some contemporaries, who seemed to have been more aware of this lack of public communication in archaeology: 'In essence, I feel that the metal detector problem is merely a symptom of a general failure by archaeologists to communicate with non-specialists…' (Kerr to Cleere, 11th May 1978).

It is worth noting that in 2006 a code of practice, the *Code of Practice on Responsible Metal Detecting in England and Wales* (CBA *et al.*), was launched – almost 30 years after the THWP's initial attempt, mentioned in this chapter. Other metal-detector user-led codes of practice or conduct exist, devised by the NCMD and the FID (2008 and 1996 respectively). Ostensibly, and certainly compared to the era of STOP, the achievement of 2006 *Code of Practice* of garnering support from both archaeological and metal detecting bodies, albeit only applicable for England and Wales, seems impressive indeed. While there are some limitations in its actual application, it is particularly significant when placed in the context of so many other codes and regulations devised by different heritage and Government organisations that affect metal detecting, such as the English Heritage advice leaflet for 'Users of Metal Detectors' concerning Scheduled Ancient Monuments and protected archaeological areas (1985). Austin (2009: 121) suggests that these different regulations and guidelines, especially if produced without consultation with the NCMD and other metal detecting organisations, are counter-productive, and that the Portable Antiquities Scheme, as an archaeological organisation with a tradition since 1997 of cooperating with metal-detector users across England and Wales, should be the main channel for communication between archaeologists and metal-detector users:

> I want to send a clear message to all these bureaucrats: 'get off our case', leave the responsible hobby alone. You are preventing serious co-operation by trying to inflict archaeological controls; matters that relate to the detecting hobby should be channelled through the Portable Antiquities Scheme. The Scheme had already succeeded in gaining our confidence while you were messing about formulating rulebooks! (Austin 2009: 121)

Austin's comments indicate, certainly from the perspective of the metal detecting hobby, that the multiplicity of professional archaeology and its various agencies and organisations, and the failure at times of these different organisations to coordinate their strategies, especially regarding interfaces with the public, is not only potentially confusing but may even have a negative effect on developing relationships with different communities and stakeholders.

The issue of communication between archaeologists and metal-detector users has nonetheless improved, with '*closer integration and mutual understanding*' favoured in more recent times (Hodder 1999: 7). Ultimately, the question of professional archaeologists' abilities to engage with the public at large is the bigger question of which metal detecting is only one part. This is something which the current *zeitgeist* of 'community archaeology', if practised in a fully inclusive and sensitive manner, has the potential to address.

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COMMUNITY ARCHAEOLOGY: A CATCH-ALL STRATEGY?

Justin Hughes

There are many heritage organisations engaged in community initiatives across the British Isles. Some of these are part of formal strategies, for example, within the Museums Association, and in regional 'outreach' departments of English Heritage, and they can be the integral feature of an organisation's make-up, such as the local heritage initiative. There are many more community archaeology programmes of an informal nature which are borne out of short-term projects funded by heritage award bodies.

This paper aims to illustrate areas where archaeological organisations can, and do, tap into formal and informal community schemes, which may not be part of their usual remit. A subsidiary aim is to emphasise that, because the profession plays a part in managing a public resource, there is a duty to reach much wider audiences when resources make this possible. This is easier to realise if 'outreach' staff are part of the unit team, but specifically funded work is also enabling further opportunities, outside the traditional areas of partnership (for example, with archaeological societies). The paper therefore proposes some topics for a fuller exchange of ideas by exploring the following possibilities:

- Local Heritage Initiatives, that is, field programmes which engage those who have leisure or research/training interests, and wish to pursue these actively or casually.
- Designing projects for groups with learning difficulties by creating and using visual representations of the physical past with sites and artefacts.
- Improving access to curatorial collections for hands-on experience of archaeology, particularly for the visually impaired and those with physical and learning difficulties.
- Creating collaborative projects with the public and voluntary sectors in the service industries and with developers.

There is not a suggestion that any of these are original as concepts, rather it is hoped that discussing them will assist with an enhanced store of ideas and designs for community projects.

Some engagement with these identified groups has been made in the Worcestershire area through formal channels, such as school and university work experience, and,

with an informal build up of a voluntary network, attempts are being made to reach wider audiences. Some of the practical examples of these demonstrate that archaeology and heritage fascinate a remarkable range of people, either in formal education or in leisure organisations, so that it is not difficult to satisfy public appetite, but it may be difficult to provide or deliver relevant programmes.

A practical demonstration of these discussion areas will assert the contention (which is widely shared) that hands-on study of the physical imprints of past cultures in the landscape, and of their surviving material remains, has profitable outcomes for those in all walks of life. A successful scheme (focused on Rossendale Quarry) in Lincolnshire, for the Aggregates Levy, included guided walks for a range of community groups and recruited excluded teenagers to undertake drystone wall construction work, within the setting of an ancient, quarried landscape. Such initiatives attest to the notion that there is potential to attract new audiences to heritage projects.

Worcestershire Archaeology Service has been involved in two local heritage initiatives with a large local community element being the main driving force, in the town of Stourport, and at the Commandery Museum in Worcester. In the first of these, at Stourport Canal Basins, where the Staffordshire/Worcester Canal terminates at the River Severn, British Waterways commissioned excavations designed to engage with residents and specialists in related fields. It was made possible by a substantial Heritage Lottery Fund award for restoration of features of the early Canal Age at the Basins, and the Service's connection was twofold: firstly to run a community excavation staffed by local people, and secondly to make recommendations about designs for the reinstatement of historic features.

Given that the fieldwork was undertaken during a very cold week (in November 2005), and with a little help from local radio and BBC Midlands, the archaeology aroused much interest amongst residents. The event not only attracted British Waterways' artists and historians, but also developers, tempted by the possibilities of buying a large disused property, the Tontine Hotel, built in the 1770s by the Stourport Canal Company. The Georgian building has since been reinstated to its former glory and, for the purposes of the community project, it provided a very useful focal point; and what started as a small dig, which explored former phases in the layout of the hotel gardens, and the site of a tollhouse demolished in the 1950s, became a well attended spectacle.

In one of its many guises the hotel was converted into private apartments (in 1842) and, one of its more recent residents, came along with her own photographic and written research details of three generations of her family who lived at apartment no.9 for most of the 20th century. Undocumented culverts and storm drains, dry dock warehouses and other details of Brindley's Canal Age, are creating further research projects relating to Stourport's heritage, and the local Civic Society is working with British Waterways on further community initiatives.

At the Commandery in Worcester, two seasons of work on a much larger community training excavation, of less significance to Stourport locals, but of continued interest

to residents of Wyld's Lane in Sidbury, the local Worcester Archaeology Society, and many other residents, have been completed. The current Civil War Museum is housed in a building which has changed in appearance, and in function, several times since its 11th century beginnings as a monastic hospital. A large volunteer team exposed and recorded the impressive remains of two phases of a sandstone-built chapel (thought to be originally commemorated in the name of St. Gudwal, by Bishop Wulfstan). Excavations also revealed several other medieval stone structures, which will enhance local understanding about the life of the hospital, and the character of the site, which went into private ownership after the dissolution of the monasteries in the 1540s. The work was a mixture of research and rescue (the project forming part of a Heritage Lottery Fund grant) but, during the 12 weeks of public activity over two summers, 150 volunteers received formal training, and many schools and members of the general public attended workshops and guided tours.

One of the favourable outcomes of these two formal community training programmes has been the experience it has given to students of archaeology, who are able to demonstrate new archaeological skills which form part of their course assessment, and assist with employment opportunities on completion of their graduate studies.

A second, no less significant result, is the enthusiastic engagement of local volunteers, and the keen reactions of the towns' residents. These gratifying projects have a self-sustaining side too, because a good number of people are keen to commit free time to finds, environmental and data processing, giving a refreshing perspective to technical, professional analysis.

There are plenty of case studies to feel upbeat about, and although those engaged in community projects are asked to make a measured self-evaluation of what they achieve, public demands for hands-on archaeology only appear to be silenced when the resources are not there or when advertising is poorly targeted. In Worcestershire, there has been a welcome increase in the number and type of community-based archaeological projects since the arrival of the Heritage Lottery Fund and the Aggregates Levy in particular. The projects have explored two fundamental areas: first, methods of interpreting physical evidence of the past, and second, how to communicate with individuals and groups in the wider community, in ways which are relevant to their curricular activity. One of the common approaches to this style of activity is concerned with social interaction and discussion of features of the past, whether it is with a group with learning disabilities, or with a class of pupils. Because learning environments are important contrasting approaches are required, so activities are conducted in both professional and educational facilities.

Two sessions have been designed for targeted groups, one in an archaeological office, the second at a college venue. This has given participants a chance to discuss and assess what they have learnt from the experience, and a chance for the Service to adapt further sessions. The office activity uses a Saxon theme but it can be adapted to other periods. A short question and answer approach is used to explore past cultures by studying period reconstruction drawings and (replica) examples of material culture,

with a Saxon inhumation and grave goods. The aim is to open discussion areas, with the group scrutinising personal items of ornament, clothing and ritual goods, symbolising the transition of life, through to death and beyond. The Saxon period is very useful in communicating ideas about culture, social organisation and spiritual belief, so the intention is to design activities representing wider chronology, in order to embrace a deeper knowledge of time spans of the past; for example, with prehistoric toolkits, Roman vertical looms and domestic items of all periods. For many groups timelines are very helpful. When studying objects and drawings, learning disabled adults express interest in 'how we did things differently before', and so, with the prompt of written and visual themes, and with time spent making coil pots and weaving, or flint knapping, it is feasible to think that a little bit of empathy with the past is happening in the room.

Reaching new audiences is about widening opportunity, and a good teacher of, for example, groups with disabilities, will seek a wide range of learning programmes. If service providers and users (or teachers and students) know that there is an archaeological resource to tap into, they will incorporate it into the prescribed syllabus, so that a broader outlook is made possible. For example, a local group, which practises horticulture, has experimented by planting species of wheat known to have been cultivated in the late prehistoric period, to compare yields from past and current grain species.

Such activities serve to demonstrate that there is a demand, but that archaeological collections and reconstructions of past cultures in a landscape setting, are great ways in which to fire the imagination of people who are intrigued by 'old' objects which, when observed and touched, can lead to a connection with people from the past. Again, although not an original idea, contact has also been made with students at the RNIB College in Worcester, some of whom have a different 'sense' of the past, but are attracted by the same curiosity as those without impaired vision. There are three sessions used, to give partially sighted students an opportunity to think about past cultures, by examining different fabrics and forms used in the manufacture of pottery. The specific artefacts are chosen to illustrate distinct variations in style, texture and surface design, with the hope that students leave with the feeling that they have actively participated in the activity.

This was a pilot scheme for Worcestershire, focussing on medieval pottery unique to the region. The intention is to use reproduction pots, handled alongside sherds recovered from excavations. The collection will allow the teaching of the physical construction and function of specific forms, by describing through touch. The sessions will take the students through changes in technology from the prehistoric period onwards, allow them to make coil pots, examine changes in design and origin from the medieval into the early post-medieval period, and to analyse pottery in an archaeological context in order to draw conclusions about the specific past communities represented.

The overall scheme has been put together to complement a particular college syllabus for the partially sighted, but it is an ideal artefact form to use with a whole range of groups, not least in the national curriculum with pupils, many of who find

written tasks a daunting prospect, and respond to learning programmes which develop practical, transferable skills. Auditory and tactile resources are very under used in the world of learning, and should be seen as a valid enhancement to existing curricula. Such collaborations with the RNIB, and with disability groups, have been valuable because the activities have been presented in familiar and unfamiliar environments. To develop these projects further it is important to seek the ideas of service providers and users, so that future, shared learning exercises are possible.

As with all endeavours, there are debates concerning the concept of community archaeology, particularly with regard to the subject of who, or which organisations, would potentially benefit from heritage programmes. *Current Archaeology* has carried articles about how and where projects should be generated; should heritage organisations look for the demand and then supply; should English Heritage and regional archaeological units, with an interest in popularising their work, generate projects and design them to meet educational interests; or should they go to educational groups and other community bodies, to seek their curriculum aims and objectives?

The collaborations cited here show that there are audiences waiting to engage. One approach to that evaluation and information process is to create on-line resources in order to reach non-heritage organisations. Worcestershire's county website has a Community and Education link, which currently targets research groups in the main, but the 'outreach' content is being expanded to meet perceived demands. If the inclination is to use this information, heritage organisations can increasingly combine the commercial necessities of their business, with working with service providers and users from the non-heritage sector. New areas of work are already happening, with other county departments asking for team-building exercises, and with other disabled groups who have made approaches because they have become aware of such programmes. School teachers express enthusiasm about receiving new resources with which to enhance the content of the curriculum. It is hoped that more of these, and other community projects, will be generated by working alongside quarry companies, and with civic and industrial developers in the future.

In conclusion, well organised and planned community archaeology projects, whether part of short or long-term strategies, will attract new areas of work for the archaeological profession, and will broaden outlook on what local heritage initiatives should be trying to achieve.

AIMHIGHER AND DESERTED MEDIEVAL VILLAGES

John Knowles

Introduction

Since 2002, the Widening Participation Unit at the University of Lincoln has held an annual series of 'master classes' for able pupils, called the 'Summer University' as they have taken place in June and July when lecture theatres and seminar rooms become available. About 100 to 120 pupils from four or five schools attend each session, and the sessions are repeated to allow as many schools to attend as wish to. The events are targeted at pupils in Years 8 and 9 (ages 12 to 14), and were initially planned in partnership with Aimhigher coordinators from schools in Hull. Deserted medieval villages (DMV) were chosen as a topic because of the way in which the study of DMV sites can combine documentary and archaeological evidence, and because 'Archaeological evidence is probably least used in key stage 3. This is unfortunate, as it can provide opportunity for sophisticated first hand study of primary sources.' (Henson 1996). The events also build on the popularity of TV archaeology, including Time Team and Meet the Ancestors, and allow pupils to understand how archaeology can give us insights into the lives of the common people who did not leave their own documentary records: the title of one of the mini lectures is 'Medieval Social and Economic History; it's not all Kings, Queens and battles'.

Background

One context for these events comes from the Medieval Village Research Group's (MVRG) 1984 Memorandum to the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, which said that 'The sites may be promoted as an educational resource. They would be the 'outdoor' classrooms and laboratories of schools and colleges…'. (MVRG 1985: 31−32). A second context comes from the Aimhigher initiative to raise aspirations towards Higher Education (HE) by under-represented groups, and, by raising their aspirations, their self esteem and their confidence, to raise their attainment to allow them to enter HE. Aimhigher's specific target groups are young people in schools and

colleges who meet one or more of the following criteria: they live in low participation neighbourhoods, have no previous family history of participation in HE, come from lower socio-economic groupings, are disabled, or are in public care. Aimhigher also aims to support those at risk of under-achievement, and to encourage the more able. The events enable younger pupils to sample life and work on a university campus. So the community for these events comprises these young people, their schools, their teachers, and (when possible) their parents.

In his Annual Report for 2002/03 (OFSTED 2004: 31), the Chief Inspector of Schools states that although activities for 'gifted and talented' pupils '…outside normal lessons are often stimulating and extend the experience of the pupils involved, they do not generally link well with mainstream work'. We have been very careful in our planning to ensure that these events do have good linkages with school programmes and with the National Curriculum, so the third context comes from the National Curriculum for History, which has as one of its four key elements; 'Pupils should be taught how to find out about aspects of the past from a range of sources of information, including artefacts, pictures and photographs, adults talking about their own past, written sources, and buildings and sites'. Unit 3 in Key Stage 3 History, 'How hard was life for medieval people in town and country?' requires pupils to be introduced to 'a wider range of evidence, including documentary and archaeological evidence,' and to 'make judgements about the significance of information' (DfES 2005).

The topic also allows for the involvement of a range of partners and organisations, in this case the University, the Hull and East Riding Museum (HERM), the Humber Archaeology Partnership, and a professional field archaeologist. It also allows for a range of teaching and learning styles and activities, including lectures, site visits, museum visits, a finds tray exercise, and internet research. Finally pupils are encouraged to consider the interpretation of evidence through a piece of empathetic writing, in which 'Choices have to be made about what information to present and what story to present' (Henson 1996).

The first of these events took place in 2002, and in subsequent years other local authorities in the University's region have become involved. Similar events for Aimhigher Lincolnshire and Rutland have allowed pupils and parents to experience field survey and recording using the DMV site at Riseholme, part of the University's School of Agriculture. The events include three short lecture sessions, one on DMVs to set the scene, the second is an introduction to archaeology, delivered by a professional field archaeologist, and which includes a finds activity, and lastly one on medieval social and economic history, focusing on the life of the medieval peasant.

Pupils always react strongly to the difference between the peasants' lives and their own, and between the peasants and the upper classes. The limited diet of the peasant is compared with that of the nobility, and the bill of fare from the celebration of the enthronement of George Neville as Archbishop of York in 1465 both astonishes and disgusts them. They are also surprised by the limited leisure time available to the peasants, and interested in evidence for the activities which were available to them.

HERM has a display on medieval cooking and catering, and another on recreation, with dice, counters, and a game board for Nine Men's Morris.

Schools tend not to insist on uniform for these events, and many pupils arrive in the local Hull Sharks or Kingston Rovers rugby shirts. This provides an opportunity to make linkages with what is possibly a local survival of a medieval version of something akin to rugby. In North Lincolnshire the Haxey Hood is supposed to date back to the 14th century and on Twelfth Night the inhabitants of two villages still meet in a large unorganised rugby scrum and compete to get a stuffed leather tube (alleged to replace the original bullock's head) back to one of their pubs. The game has only one rule; 'Hoose agen hoose, toon agen toon, if tha meets a man, nok im doon (but doant 'ot im)'.

Both the East Riding and Lincolnshire have long lists of DMV sites and reasons for depopulation, and with the site of Wharram Percy to the north of the Riding extensive use can be made of the excavation reports and historical records. In 2005 it was possible to tie the events in with the special exhibition at Malton Museum, which had amongst its aims to 'Demonstrate how sites like Wharram Percy can be used to encourage life-long learning about history, archaeology and the landscape', and to 'Work with local schools to demonstrate how archaeological sites and museum collections can be used as inspirational learning resources.' (Alfrey 2004). The range of sites allows the DMV lecture to be partially customised to the schools attending.

The DMVs provide good examples of issues which interest and involve pupils, such as climate change and coastal erosion; they also include other interesting topics, such as the induction of the vicar of Argam, where the new vicar of the long demolished church in the no longer existing village was presented with a lump of earth from the site of the church. By the time of a court case about the living in 1632, no one was sure where the church had been, and it was reported that 'Lest the induction be mistaken, Mr. Gibson did cut up a sod or piece of earth upon either side of the place where the wall stood and another in the midst thereof.' (cited in Beresford 1954: 100). Pupils can examine an oblique aerial photo of the site and make their own speculations about the possible site of the church.

Owthorne is one of the villages lost to the sea in comparatively recent times, and Poulson (1841: 414) has a dramatic illustration of the church at the very edge of the cliff. Bulmer's Directory (1892: 465) records that 'On the night of the 16th February, 1816, after a storm of unusual violence, a large portion of the eastern end fell, and was washed down the cliffs, and coffins and bodies in various states of preservation were strewn upon the shore.' Pupils enjoy the story cited by Sheppard (1912: 148) of the rector and the clerk fighting for ownership of a lead coffin, exposed during the erosion of the chancel. The cycle of the building up and erosion of Spurn Point is covered in geography lessons, and the opportunity is taken to build on and to link that knowledge with the history of settlements at the tip of the peninsula, including the borough and port of Ravenserod, washed away in the 1350s (De Boer 1996).

As it has proved impossible to gain access to good DMV sites within a travelling

distance that would fit the timescale of the events held on the Hull campus, site visits have made use of Beverley Westwood. The Westwood has been common pasture since 'Ownership of Westwood was eventually granted to the town by the Archbishop of York for £5 a year in 1379–80.' (Allison 1989: 211–8). Previously it had been the Archbishop's hunting park, and as a result multi period earthworks are well preserved and easily accessible. These include Iron Age linear bank and ditch boundary earthworks, a small area of ridge and furrow closer to the town than the main area of the common, medieval sunken ways, dew ponds (now drained), clear tree bowls resulting from timber extraction, and evidence for medieval quarrying for lime making. Because of the possibility of damage by metal detectorists, no mention is made of small group of Bronze Age bowl barrows or a larger group of Iron Age Arras culture square barrows.

In Lincolnshire the University benefits from having the site of the DMV of Riseholme (National Monuments Number 22766) on the campus of the School of Agriculture. This scheduled monument has well preserved earthworks to the south of an ornamental lake associated with Riseholme Hall, completed in 1744. The earthworks represent an east/west main street with tofts and crofts on either side and, to the east of the village, the remains of a monastic grange. Excavations took place in 1955 and 1956 and the report gives a clear plan of the village (Thompson 1960: 97, fig. 30).

On site, pupils are encouraged to form hypotheses about what the earthworks represent, based on the information given in the introductory lectures. In small groups, they make a measured sketch plan of a section of the site, when they have to consider issues of which points to select for measurement, how to represent the earthworks in their drawings, and how the act of measuring changes their initial interpretations. Finally they relate their drawings to the site plan from Thompson's report, a more recent plan which is more tentative in its interpretation of the site (Everson *et al.* 1991: 158, fig 114) and the SMR record. On behalf of Aimhigher Lincolnshire and Rutland similar events are held to give 'tasters' of higher education for parents of pupils involved in Aimhigher activities, and these are timed to link into National Archaeology Week.

Pupils taking part in Hull are able to visit the Hull and East Riding Museum, which holds the bulk of the Wharram Percy archive. The Museum has a recently refurbished medieval gallery, and is within easy walking distance of the University. There is a wealth of material on display, including the timber framing of a medieval building which pupils can relate to the peasant houses, and see how the lighter timber supports for the daub and wattle are sprung into grooves in the structural timbers; there are also examples of joinery and joiners tools. They also see conservation in action, with the Hasholme boat housed in the Museum's 'Boatlab'. A display of leather shoes, including some finely worked children's shoes (and an adult shoe with cuts in the leather to relieve the pressure on bunions) always interests the pupils, and allows for further discussion of conservation, and the influence of the find's environment on its preservation.

Over the years a range of strategies have been developed to better explain concepts and techniques to pupils; these include relating reasons for depopulation to the map, and explaining the benefits of aerial photography. When discussing the reasons for

depopulation and the numbers of villages which have disappeared, use is made of a PowerPoint slide of a map drawn up by the Boundary Commissioners in 1885. The DMVs with known locations are then added to the map. On arrival pupils are issued with a voucher for a drink after the first lecture and some of these are marked with coloured symbols. The pupils are asked to stand and imagine themselves as villages. Those with a wavy blue line on their vouchers are told to sit down as they represent villages lost to coastal erosion or to flooding of the Humber banks in the 14th century. Further symbols represent depopulation abandonment because of poverty subsequent to plague, changes in farming practice including sheep and enclosure, emparking, monastic solitude, those abandoned for unknown reasons and those whose sites are not located. As each group sits down, examples are given of sites depopulated for that reason. At the end about half the pupils remain standing as villages existing today.

A large variety of resources are made available to pupils. These include Sites and Monuments Record (SMR) sheets from the Humber and from Lincolnshire, so that they can see the amount of information that is held about sites, and how that information accumulates over a period of time, and from a variety of sources. The SMR records include plans and photographs of sites, and other examples are included so they can see the range of evidence that can be obtained by comparing photos of the same site from different viewpoints, different times of the year or different weather or lighting conditions, under different crops, and older and newer photos.

This enables them to gain some understanding of the importance of aerial photography, and how the photos are interpreted. To help explain this, two photos of a densely patterned carpet, one from 'ground level' and one vertical view, are compared with similar views of village earthworks. Alongside the graphic representation of sites through photographs and plans, pupils also work with illustrations of artefacts, and interpretation illustrations of sites, such as the interior of a peasant house at Wharram, and are asked to consider how the various pieces of evidence are assembled to create the reconstruction, how accurate they think the illustration might be, and what different interpretations they might make.

The pupils particularly value the opportunity to handle artefacts, rather than seeing them through a glass display case. The artefacts include a large Humber ware sherd with thumb pressed decoration, so the pupils can make a direct contact with the 13th century potter, and compare the size of their thumbs with the potter's. This is similar to Magnus Magnusson's account of a chipped stone from a wheelhouse on South Uist with dark 'sweat marks' which exactly fitted his palm and fingers, and which 'acts as a time machine… [and] brings these long-dead people to life in a way that no history text book could do' (Magnusson 1973: 7–8).

Pupils take part in a finds tray exercise, using fragments of early medieval to modern pottery found on allotments beyond the medieval boundaries of Beverley. The concept of typology is introduced through car design (equivalent to Montelius' train carriages but closer to pupils' experiences), by getting pupils to decide which of the five cars illustrated is the earliest and which the latest, with a requirement for them to state the

visual clues which inform their decisions. They then select five pieces from their tray and sort them into the chronological order they decide on, and receive feedback on their sorting. The medieval pottery is then compared to photographs of pottery from the Leeds kiln experiment, and they are encouraged to think about what size and kind of vessel some of their fragments might represent. (Interestingly clay pipe fragments are frequently identified as pieces of bone.)

As part of this process of stepping into the past, we use the Prologue from the Canterbury Tales to give pupils a feel for what the language may have sounded like, although it is pointed out that the Prologue is poetry and not everyday speech. This leads to the purchase by pilgrims of small ampullae of holy water or oil from shrines, and that if something cost half a penny, you got literally a half penny in change. At intervals during the lectures, pupils' interest can be refocused by topics which capture their attention, skeletons, the medieval diet (including the details of Archbishop Neville's feast), gruesome information on the Black Death, and so on.

Many pupils are fascinated by the information that can be gathered from the skeletal record beyond age, height and gender, including a report (CBA 1995) showing that examination of the arm bones of the adult burials suggests that 16 per cent of the population of Wharram Percy were left handed, compared to some 8 per cent of modern people; that adolescents were much smaller than their modern counterparts (Mays [2004] shows that a 14 year old was no taller than a modern 10 year old, although by adulthood they were only a few inches shorter), and that tuberculosis can be demonstrated by its effects on the skeleton. Evidence for medieval surgery always surprises them; examples used include the 12th century case of the premature death of a pregnant young woman from tuberculosis and an attempt to try and save the baby by caesarean section (Lewis 2005), and evidence for the survival of an 11th century peasant whose head injury was treated by trepanning (BBC 2004).

A section of one of the lectures looking at St Martin's Church at Wharram Percy introduces the idea of standing archaeology, and the ability to use visual clues to read a building's development. A photo of the interior of the south wall allows the pupils to follow the phases of alterations, and evidence including changes in masonry, unbonded joins, and re-used stone. They are encouraged to look for clues in their local churches, including the identification of putlog holes, and evidence for seasonal lifts (Rodwell 1981: 126–7).

The nature of the record also allows for these younger pupils to be entertained by references to a variety of excrement, including the excavation of a well preserved bone spoon from a garderobe at a monastic site in Beverley, and the possible explanations for it being there, the use of urine to fix the dye in medieval wool, and use of dog faeces in tanning. The large fragment of Humber ware has usually been passed over half way round the lecture theatre before it is pointed out that it too was found in a context which suggests it was thrown out with the night soil!

Pupils have time to carry out internet research to supplement the information from the lectures. Their computer accounts give access to a series of bookmarked web

sites, and they have worksheets to record their findings. They are asked to record any information which is of particular interest to themselves, as well as specific information on life for the villagers, activities in a medieval village, the Black Death, the medieval diet, the annual cycle of farming activities, and the role of women and children. These worksheets, along with the lectures and museum and/or site visits, form the resources which they use for the empathetic writing in the final session. They are reminded that, although they are aiming to produce a written piece, the information they gather may be visual as well as verbal, and of the need to differentiate between primary and secondary materials and between evidence and opinion.

Feedback from pupils who have taken part show that they have enjoyed the sessions ('I liked going to the museum and researching on the computers. I thought I learnt a lot from it'; 'It was good to do different things all in one day'; 'I liked the creative writing exercise and found it interesting'), that they feel they have developed their understanding of the topic, and that the majority intend to follow up in some way, either by visiting a site, returning to the Museum, or by reading or web research. Feedback from the school staff who have accompanied the pupils has also been overwhelmingly positive; they have asked for copies of the PowerPoints and lecture notes, they have been enthused to make more use of the Museum and its handling collection themselves, and many have been surprised at how close their schools are to a number of good DMV sites, which they intend using as resources.

In conclusion, the important lessons we have learnt about the factors which contribute to the success of these events include:

- Don't talk down to the pupils.
- Make clear links between the activity and the school curriculum.
- Get the school staff involved during the day.
- Have contingency plans for schools arriving early or late, or needing to leave early because of bus company requirements, or even turning up when you're not expecting them!
- Give them (pupils, teachers and schools) things they can use. We send out a CD after the event with the lecture notes, PowerPoints, additional resources, a web directory, and examples of the pupils' work.
- Send all letters through the head teacher but copy them directly to the staff involved; don't rely on them being passed on.
- Plan the event in partnership with the schools, do it with them and not to them!

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THE STANWELL MOTHERS PROJECT: REACHING ARCHAEOLOGISTS AND COMMUNITIES

Trudie Cole

Introduction

Babs was not your typical archaeologist. She did not sport a beard and open toe sandals, she was eighteen and had two small children. However, what she did share with Indiana Jones, Mortimer Wheeler and the archaeological greats was a thirst for knowledge. Babs was one of a group of young mothers who took part in a project looking at food and farming through time. The funding hook was to improve the mothers basic skills and attitudes to food through archaeology. I worked with one of Surrey County Council's Widening Participation Officers to devise a course which allowed the young mothers to explore and interpret artefacts and the landscape using archaeological methodology and a reflexive approach.

At the end of the course the young mothers produced an exhibition about the project. The exhibition did not turn out as I anticipated, it was far more. The young women had really got to grips with the subject, and their exhibition was the story of their project. They designed it to be accessible to a broad section of the community and they embraced the concept of plurality. By the end of the course they were looking at their environment with new eyes, eating new food and exploring skills they had never thought of before. I also benefited from their insights. I also began to look at evidence in a slightly different way and I drew personal strength from my interaction with them. This paper is a discussion of that project, its successes and failures and a celebration of the Stanwell Young Mothers who advanced my own archaeological education by years. This was not just an archaeology project that involved the community it was a community project that affected archaeology.

Background

The Stanwell Mothers Project was a community archaeology project that I was involved in during the Autumn of 2004. The project introduced a group of young mums to archaeology through a series of six two hour sessions. The initial impetus for the project

was organic and grew out of several chance events. It was not until after the project had finished that I began to reflect upon it and think about what underlying issues influenced it. As I will demonstrate the arguments for community archaeology fall into two main camps; those following the deficit model and those following the multiple perspectives model (Merriman 2004: 5–8). I believe both these models had a part to play in the development of the Stanwell Mothers Project and it is my purpose to examine those here. I will also outline the development and content of the project. It should be stressed that I am not relaying a method for delivering community archaeology, but a reflection of my involvement as an archaeologist with a community group.

Food and farming and quern stones from Goa – the concept

In Autumn 2003 I was appointed as the Archaeological Education Officer for Surrey County Archaeological Unit (SCAU). SCAU are a developer funded unit and had secured a grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund to create my post. SCAU's base is at the Surrey History Centre, which, at the time, had a public exhibition space. Shortly after I took up my appointment, it was our turn, as a unit, to create an exhibition for public display. We decided the theme would be food and farming in Surrey. Shortly after the exhibition was mounted, I was chatting to one of my non-archaeologist colleagues. She was quite excited about seeing the quern stones. She told me quern stones are still used to grind flour in the village she came from in Goa. The conversation reminded me of something I had read as an undergraduate.

> ...[W]hen he [an archaeologist] finds a circle of post-holes in the ground and says 'this is a house', he is influenced by evidence of modern roundhouses lived in by many Africans and American Indians...And the notion that circles of post-holes indicate houses is so deeply enshrined in archaeological teaching that the archaeologist may not question the ethnographical origin of the idea. (Hodder 1982: 11).

I knew that there is a range of ethnographic, ethnohistorical and contextual evidence for the interpretation of quern stones as implements for grinding flour. However, I did not know who first drew this link and what evidence they used to support their conclusion. The interpretation of a quern stone is like Hodder's circle of post-holes, it is a given for archaeologists. I was reminded that I draw upon such givens constantly without any consideration to their sources and that ethnographic analogy was implicit in most common archaeological interpretations. I started to wonder if it might be interesting to round up some artefacts and ask people without archaeological training what they thought they were and why. What analogies would the general public draw when confronted with mysterious archaeological objects?

A couple of days after the conversation described above I had an additional significant, but chance conversation with another colleague, Surrey Museum Consultative Committee's Museum Development Officer. She had recently attended a social inclusion in museums training session. The Museum Development Officer told

me that the trainer had mentioned that the most viewed exhibition in the country was outside the public toilets at Clacket Lane motorway services on the M25. The trainer had remarked that the exhibition is one of the first introductions to British history that asylum seekers see while on route from Heathrow or Gatwick (Reynolds pers. comm.).

Both these conversations planted the seeds of an idea for a project in my mind. This was an amorphous and slightly woolly process involving a couple of 'eureka' moments. My idea was to work with a group of asylum seekers using analogy to reinterpret archaeological artefacts and thereby create links between their identity and British archaeology to promote social inclusion. It has been well reported that connecting with history is vital for cultural identity and inclusion (Murray 1993: 107). The next step was to locate a community to work with.

Multiple perspectives deficit model

As I stated earlier reasons for undertaking community archaeology normally fall into two camps, the deficit model and the multiple perspectives model (Merriman 2004: 5-8). The deficit model argues that we, as archaeologists, must involve and educate the public to ensure support for our projects (e.g. Skeates 2000: 54 and 105). Proponents of the deficit model also remind us, that in a climate of short-term funding and competitive bidding, working with the public brings in the cash (Stone 1989: 203–4). On the other hand the multiple perspectives model comes from a post-processualist tradition of plurality. Excluding the public from involvement in archaeology serves to remove power from communities or keep the powerless, powerless. Numerous authors have commented on how archaeology has been and is used to control power relations in society (Bennet 1999; Bodieu and Darbel, 1999; Gosden 2001: 249; Murray 1993: 108; Small 1997: 55; Stone 1989: 196). It has been argued quite strongly that involving the public in archaeology, or at least listening to multiple voices, can be empowering, particularly for disenfranchised groups (Dodd 1999: 132; Layton 1989: 3; McDavid, 2004; Murray 1993: 107–108; Poovaya Smith 1997: 151). Smardz has summed up the multiple perspectives model in saying that we should involve the public in archaeology because it is the right thing to do, that involvement should be for the good of the public (Smardz 1997: 103).

Therefore, community engagement is the product of two quite conflicting motives. One is essentially selfish, that is to say, involving the public in archaeology, helps ensure and preserve the interests of archaeologists. The other is altruistic and seeks to empower the public through engagement with archaeology. Before embarking on the project I thought I was quite clear about my motives. My aim was to use archaeology to promote social inclusion. I completely bought into the arguments for the multiple perspectives model. To what extent the multiple perspectives model actually guided my input will be discussed later.

From idea to project

A short time after I had had the initial idea for the project one of Surrey County Council's Widening Participation Officer's, Doreen Barlow made an appointment to meet me. Fortuitously, Barlow had access to community groups and was looking for projects. I had a project idea and needed a community group. I described my idea and we both agreed that such a project might be both interesting and of benefit to the public involved. We recognised that funding would need to be sought to pay for any resources the project might need. Barlow also thought that funding could be obtained from the Learning and Skills Council if the project was pitched correctly. Therefore to satisfy the funders we designed the project as a course hinged around a healthy eating outcome: through studying archaeology associated with food and farming, the community involved would hopefully develop new attitudes by understanding and acknowledging the origin of food and the nature of agriculture.

In order to hedge our bets, we included the secondary aim of augmenting Basic Skills. We intended that the group involved would create an exhibition by the end of the course, which would showcase their reinterpretation of artefacts associated with food and farming. The exhibition would need researching and writing which would involve literacy skills. The exhibition also gave rise to an additional unwritten aim that it should be a chance for the young mothers to have a voice, to communicate their thoughts on archaeology.

Initially, we wanted to work with a group of asylum seekers, based on the initial idea. However, we needed access to an established group and unfortunately we could not find a community of asylum seekers in Surrey. Instead Barlow found a group of Young Mothers from Stanwell, who she felt might benefit from involvement in the project. The young mothers met at a community centre in Stanwell, North Surrey (formerly Middlesex). The group met once a week to socialise, support one another and learn new skills.

Six weeks – from frozen lasagne to foraging

The funding application was successful and we began the project in Autumn 2004. In the space of twelve hours it was my job to devise a programme which would encourage the young mothers group to handle and interpret archaeology with confidence and help them to understand where their food came from. I also had to guide the group towards an exhibition at the end of the course. Handling artefacts was an important aspect of the course, as was trying to make sense of them. I invented a series of easy exercises to try and explain typology, analogy and taphonomy. I tried to encourage observational skills when handling objects. We thought about how and where we get our food from today and traced subsistence back through the ages.

We also thought about the landscape and how could we see changes over time; for example, what traces would be left of ancient ploughing? We devoted one session

to a Roman cooking demonstration, to understand how archaeologists might use experimental archaeology to understand artefacts and other archaeological evidence. We had a go taking photographs of artefacts and landscape features. We thought about background and scale. The group used some of their photographs in the final exhibition.

The course aims week by week are broken down below:

Week 1 – Introduction: Aims
- To understand how we know what archaeological objects are.
- To understand the traces left behind by different subsistence regimes
- To handle and interpret artefacts

Week 2 – Experimental archaeology: Aim
- To make and taste Roman food using Roman recipes and replica Roman cooking artefacts

Week 3 – Farming in the landscape: Aims
- To understand the imprint different subsistence regimes have on the landscape
- To identify and examine the traces on the landscape left by agriculture
- To handle artefacts associated with agriculture

Week 4 – Photography: Aims
- To understand why and how to take archaeological photographs
- To develop note taking skills associated with photographs
- To practice taking photographs

Week 5 – Exhibition: Aims
- To think about exhibitions we have seen and what makes us interested in them
- To decide on themes for the exhibition, and divide up the work

Week 6: Aim
- To complete the exhibition

Inclusion or tokenism?

> Are museums using hands-on activities to involve the visitor in a personal process of discovery or are they just a token gesture towards providing greater intellectual and physical access… (Owen 1999: 173)

At its end the course was hailed a success by all those involved. The exhibition was complete, the evaluation sheets filled out by the group were positive and several of the young mothers had enrolled in further courses or had imminent plans to do so. Working with the young mothers group was an inspirational experience for me. The group had worked hard to understand unfamiliar material and had been enthusiastic

throughout. As the course was a perceived success I tried to write about it several times. This involved unpicking the threads to the idea in the first place. In order to help me do this I engaged in some further reading about public involvement in archaeology and the influence of multiple voices. It was while undertaking this reading I came across the first explicit mention of the deficit model and the multiple perspectives model. I also read the quote above from Owen and this pricked my conscience. At the time of designing and delivering the course I had not considered how bending the course to meet the aims of the funders might dilute my aims of social inclusion. I started to think more critically about the entire course. As I stated earlier, ideas aligned to the multiple perspectives model led me into involvement with a community group. However, reflection has changed my perception on this matter.

It was my task to ensure the funding aims had been met by the end of the course. I had a short space of time to encourage the group to feel confident enough to create their own interpretations. Twelve hours to understand mysterious objects which were incomplete, out of context and unfamiliar. Archaeologists have spent years researching these artefacts, comparing evidence from a range of sources. Archaeologists also had the benefit of seeing the artefacts in some sort of context. These strands of evidence and knowledge were not available to the Young Mothers Group, they had to rely on me for secondary information about context.

While I was designing and delivering the course I thought I was encouraging free interpretation and sticking to the ideals of plurality. However, now I see that in fact I adopted a very didactic approach. I selected the objects which I had already decided related to food and farming. This limited the scope of the interpretations I was prepared to accept. I also ensured the young mothers were introduced to archaeological concepts, analogy, ethnography and typology. Although, I believe it was necessary to give the group a set of tools to interpret the artefacts which were presented to them, particularly in the absence of contextual evidence, there was no discussion of the validity of these methods.

Throughout the course the young mums often asked me if they were correct in the conclusions, and at the time I was surprised by this. I wanted them to make up their own minds, not defer to me. Stone comments that in a survey on public attitudes to archaeology in the mid-1980s few people responded because they felt they did not know enough (1989: 198). It was therefore, really no surprise, that I was viewed as the specialist with all the answers. Unconsciously, I was perpetuating the idea of the archaeologist as a specialist, with my instruction on archaeological methods of interpretation and by pre-selecting artefacts that had already been determined as being related to food and farming.

On the one hand I openly said I was interested in what they thought, but at the same time I was instructing the group on how to reach conclusions. How would my funders have reacted if at the end of the project the mothers had decided all the artefacts were ritual objects associated with the cult of clay and stone? My aim was to educate the group about how we identify food and farming through archaeology, there was no

room for interpretations not associated with this theme. I had done exactly what the deficit model indicates: I had used community archaeology to justify my own position and create a reason for additional funding.

However, the project did get archaeology into the hands of non-archaeologists, and the final exhibition surprised me. I had anticipated the exhibition would comprise a series of pictures and explanatory text identifying archaeology by analogy with objects and features they understood from their own experiences. Although the exhibition did this to some extent, it was really the story of the group's experience: what they had done and what they had learnt. They went to great lengths to ensure the text was easy to understand for everyone.

Despite my control over the content of the project, I was very pleased and surprised by the exhibition. Firstly, it was owned by the group themselves and was not my thoughts in their words. Also it brought home the idea of a reflexive approach. Previously, although subscribing to the ideas of plurality and multiple interpretations I had no real idea of how to move these ideas from theory into practice. However, interaction with the Young Mothers Group helped me to understand how to engage with multiple voices in a practice.

At the end of our course several of the girls went straight into further courses. They also had a new interest and were looking at their local environment differently. As a result of the Roman cooking session, one girl had given up eating shop bought bread and baked her own instead. The confidence of the young mothers grew almost tangibly and the youth workers who facilitated the group were amazed how engaged the girls were: they forgot to take cigarette breaks, a sure sign they were interested so I was told.

Stanwell is one of the most deprived wards in Surrey. The percentage of people between 16 and 74 with no qualifications is slightly higher than the figure for the whole of England and nearly 6% higher than the rest of the South East (Neighbourhood Statistics 2001). The Index of Multiple Deprivation for the area is in the top third of most deprived areas in England. These trends were reflected in the Young Mothers Group. Many of them faced considerable difficulties. Some had been bullied at school, most of them were short of money and they were all young and had the responsibility of caring for children. Most of the group had not finished school. Low self-esteem was a problem and most of the group lacked confidence in their own abilities and intelligence. Yet, they were all articulate and interested.

If I am honest I dreaded the first session. As Lee Davis says "Archaeology is simply not as accessible as we may want to believe. Even the word 'archaeology' creates intellectual barriers. . ." (1997: 85). Unfortunately, these barriers have created a bit of a bad name for archaeology. Despite the interest in archaeology on television, archaeological artefacts are not interesting to the general public (Merriman 2004: 3). Archaeology has a tendency towards being associated with bearded sandal wearers, dusty museums and boring history lessons, in short a turn off. What if the group had not wanted to learn about archaeology? After the first session one of the girls admitted to me that she had thought the course might be boring, but actually she had revised her opinion. So even

if I had not succeeded in fully engaging with a pluralistic approach, I had succeeded in bringing archaeology to a new audience.

Reaching communities?

Before I was involved with the Stanwell Mothers Group Project I was committed to community archaeology following a multiple perspectives model (although I was unaware of that particular label at the time). I considered myself to be a post-processualist and as Kohl states

> We post-processualists by definition are involved in a critical process of self-examination, engaged introspection, reflective inquiry on the multiple meanings of the past for the present, the present for the past, and all possible permutations thereof (Kohl 1993: 13).

However, in reality I did not understand how to apply this body of theory to my everyday work: I undertook community archaeology due to deficit model justification: to generate funding. The Stanwell Mothers Group Project was a journey in my archaeological development. It developed my understanding of how archaeologists work and the nature of working with the public. It helped me to understand the two different sets of arguments for undertaking community archaeology, and that despite seemingly arguing for the same thing, the ideas do in fact conflict in practice. Meeting funding targets does not allow the freedom for communities to construct their own outcomes.

Despite the funding constraints and my tendency to direct the course a little too much I do believe the Stanwell Mothers did benefit from involvement in the project. They grew in confidence and knowledge. What was unexpected, was how much I learnt. I developed considerable respect for the group, and I felt strongly that I should continue to work with communities. I learnt to question myself more, and take a truly reflexive approach. I started the project wanting to question interpretations and by the end of the project I had started to question my very motives for undertaking community archaeology. The Stanwell Young Mothers Group taught me how to move the ideas of plurality from other people's case studies in books into the very heart of my own work.

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10

THE USE OF ARCHAEOLOGY
AS ALTERNATIVE EDUCATION

Helene McNeill

Introduction

Community archaeology has extended the arena of local heritage for those who want to learn about it. The majority of this paper has very little to do with archaeology and everything to do with learning from within a community. It is interdisciplinary, somewhat theoretical and, if you are a professional educator, it may be controversial. Those of us who research archaeology are continually inspired and intrigued by the many different ways our study provides a positive impact across the modern disciplinary fields. Here we will examine how the study of archaeology has found a consummate niche as a form of alternative education used in learning – not only for regular-schooled and home-educated children, but also for the benefit of other members of the community such as *adult learners*, senior citizens and teachers. Most directly, this discussion considers what alternative education means today, why families opt for it, some ways they go about it, and how the study and practice of archaeology coupled with methods in autonomous learning can transform traditional means of education into a more engaging experience. Times are changing, and with these changes our resources, options and methods in education are nearly boundless. The aim of this paper is to examine how the composite of community archaeology and alternative education will promote lifelong learning, critical thinking, and inspire others out of the classroom and into the field.

For those of you with very orderly minds and lifestyles, the concept of "free-range children" may be disturbing (Dodd 2006). This is understandable as Western society is designed to work with a nationalized school system, from within its constructs and around its somewhat restrictive schedules. Yet perhaps unsurprisingly, alternative education for school aged children is currently growing by leaps and bounds (EO 2006). Many primary schools are trying to accommodate a shift in parenting where one or both parents are asking to play a larger role in the day-to-day design of their child's education. For some families this means more parental involvement at regular schools,

for others it means participating in half-day or 'flexi' programmes, and still for others it simply means withdrawing their children from institutionalized education altogether and choosing to home educate. In order to support the ideas introduced here and to start asking larger questions about methodologies in modern education and community archaeology, this paper will look at two seasons of excavation with the Saxon County Primary School in Shepperton Green, Middlesex. Following an exploration of the case study, the discussion shifts to a synthesis of ideas and practices that have come out of our somewhat unorthodox community archaeology project, and will hopefully address unanswered questions while possibly creating a few new ones.

Home Education

Most often 'alternative education' refers to an unconventional approach in learning which is apart from the classroom environment and utilizes little structure and planning while encouraging spontaneity, creativity, and the joyful pursuit of knowledge (Holt 1981). For children, this typically means home educating as opposed to going to school. So, who does it and why would they want to? John Holt, a pioneer of home education in the US once put forward the questions: How many people are in home education and what kind of people are they? His answers remain appropriate twenty years later: Nobody knows and all sorts. Home educating families comprise a myriad of demographics. We simply do not know the actual numbers involved because of inconsistent regulations for child registration throughout Britain (and North America). Additionally, many families are nervous to voluntarily register as they have witnessed individual schools and Local Education Authorities (LEA's) treating home educating families with prejudice (EO 2000).

Concerning the steady growth of home education, we can say that *Education Otherwise*, Britain's largest membership organization for the support of home educators has had an almost 40% increase in paid membership over the past year. Also, by evaluating the information we do have available through membership and the LEAs, *Education Otherwise* has determined that there are at least 200,000 children between the ages of 4–16 in home education in Britain today (EO 2006). These are both important figures as they reflect an emergence of parental concern that has resulted in a modern shift of educational practices with parents reclaiming their rights and responsibilities to oversee their children's education. The number of families involved is not an uncontested figure, however. Mike Fortune-Wood, an author on home education in Britain, estimates the actual number of British home educated children as being much lower, closer to 50,000 – which he estimates is .05% of all 'compulsory' school-aged children (Fortune-Wood 2006). A problem with his evaluation is that it does not take into account any of the *Education Otherwise* membership and works solely from theoretical factors that gradually build up to his number. In one sense, this is an almost backwards approach, as what is likely to be the most accurate method

would be to first consider the total number of all school-aged children in Britain, less the number of those we know are *in school* and work down with factors such as emigration, employment, truancy and death. The exact number remains unknown, but the continual growth in membership does tell us that increasingly, British families are finding effective alternatives to the traditional state school system.

There are many different ways to go about home educating. Some families work with a curriculum, but most families in the UK seem to practice *unschooling*. This is the idea of child-led or autonomous learning. The objective is to *facilitate* learning with compassion and by following a child's interests. Home educated kids are normal children who grow up; a large percentage attend university and they become successful, content and knowledgeable adults within our society (Ray 2003). Consequently, we are now seeing guideline changes in colleges and universities that are shifting their previously staunch admissions policies in order to address and include this growing class of quality students.

So why do people home educate? Is it because our primary schools are failing us or that the National Curriculum is incomplete and inflexible? Not entirely, and maybe not at all. Home education is not for everyone. The strongest reasons for doing it tend to be highly varied between families yet consistently include both emotional and practical elements.

Some reasons why people Home Educate

Flexibility in life style. This is the notion of living without the stress of school schedules. In particular it includes the freedom to take holidays at leisure and not having to cope with the trauma of bedtimes and morning rush hours. Also, there are no standardized national exams to worry about.

A Natural Way. From anthropology, this is the idea of tribal formations, where children learn and play together within mixed age and social groups. One result is that children become naturally comfortable talking to and asking questions not only of their own parents, but of other adults and other children. For example, on a recent home education outing to London, during a 30 minute train journey one six year old boy asked his mother twenty (or so) questions on varying topics but in a sequence that made sense. His sibling, a three year old, asked about ten questions in the same fashion. They waited for answers and calmly formed their next questions based on these, while at the same time they did not have to worry that their mother was going to rush off.
Unschooled children become comfortable forming questions and being critical of the answers to the point that questioning becomes second nature to them. This is one way their learning happens. By contrast, in a regular school environment, children are seldom afforded this amount of uncontested attention – so they often respond by employing strategies which involve even less interaction with adults.

Enjoy being with kids. Of course, most parents enjoy being with their children. But far fewer are comfortable being with their children all day long, every day. Home educating is not easy. It is very different and it takes time getting used to being with each other most of the day, but it does build family bonds and trust. There is also great satisfaction for parents who truly enjoy being around their children and watching them grow and learn daily.

Personalized education. By home educating, children do not have to cope with 'wasted' and curriculum-controlled time at school, or studying subjects they have absolutely no interest in. Instead their 'wasted' time ends up being at home where they make the choice of what they aren't going to do and how they aren't going to do it. Essentially, this allows more choices in learning for both children and parents.

Coming out of school. Most often this is due to overwhelming peer pressures. Bullying happens both in and out of school, but there tends to be less of it in home education because parents tend to be more proactive and children do not have as much social tension, such as those surrounding school schedules, exams, or highly organized competitions. Very often, bad experiences at schools lead families into home education whereby they go through a period of *deschooling* in order to renew comfort and trust in the learning process.

There is no set formula to *unschooling*. Children learn together, they learn apart, with family, friends, people in their community and online, all the time. They do not have a 'down-time' and they do not have a 'learning hour'. They simply go after knowledge on their own, when playing or resting and whenever they choose. *Unschooled* kids gain knowledge the same way the rest of us do – to simplify, they learn by building upon synaptic connections which link experiences that are engaging for them (Kandel *et al.* 2000).

Jasmine, a home educated 15 year old, had a pet hamster, Nala, that died this past Spring. As a conscientious person, she was distressed by this and in all earnest started researching ways in which people cope with death. She then came across historic types of burials and remembered previously learning about Ibn Fahdlan, a 10th century Muslim chronicler and the early medieval boat burials on the Volga. As Jasmine lives on the Thames and is a sailing enthusiast, she decided to build a miniature replica Viking ship in order to have a boat burial for her pet. In doing this, she reinforced connections between the earlier positive experiences of sailing and discussing captivating historical events, with a personal need for creativity and the expression of grief. All this combined causes a learning environment that is created, controlled, and made significant by the child as opposed to an outside agent such a subject tutor (Holt 1967), or the designers of the National Curriculum.

Perhaps not quite so dramatic as the Ibn Fadlan version, Jasmine did not actually set the boat on fire, but to good historic form, she did ask the other pets if any wanted to accompany Nala into *Hamster-halla*. Certainly, the joking and playfulness in the research was lost on no one, especially Jasmine. Indeed the silliness and conceptual

absurdity of the event encouraged her study. And why not? The point is that linear or not, learning happens. Jasmine, with her quiet anxiety and subtle sense of humour found ways to make History, Archaeology, and Design all relevant to her personal studies. In home education the children go after knowledge because it is important to them and they want to, not because there is an assigned project or test, and not because they are being forced to. As a result, the education garnered over time is a rich one, not only personalized but continually built-upon and specialized from a relatively early age.

Methodology, connections and learning

To *facilitate* their children's interest, home educators often use the expected resources such as computers, games, books, film, libraries, and visits to museums and historic places. Most home educating families also keep an eye out for progressive, fun and informative websites such as *Wikipedia*, *Google Maps*, *British Museum* and *How Stuff Works* that are easily accessed through most search engines.

There are also some unexpected approaches, such as constantly playing, inventing games and songs; and also what I refer to as *The Homer Simpson approach*, which means doing absolutely nothing and in fact, leaving the children to invention, whatever it may be. Not only does this encourage trust and build confidence, but it can lead children into subject areas that are akin to a 'natural calling' by giving them the freedom to experiment and direct their own time.

There is also a process called *Strewing*. This is an *unschooling* term originally coined by Sandra Dodd, an author and self-proclaimed 'radical unschooler'. During an interview Sandra was asked how she 'taught' her children and she replied that she did not teach them as much as she simply strews their paths with interesting things (Ekoko 2005). Later this idea evolved beyond unique bits and bobs you can leave around your house to stimulate your children's senses, to meta-strewing which is like taking a different route home, going to a different grocery store, or visiting a new construction site. All being input, most often unique, that the child will choose to consider in greater depth or not, but either way something fun to experience together.

Home education is a huge and important topic that deserves far more discussion and debate than can be reasonably included here. This is only a background summary into alternative education for the purposes of illustrating some of the theory, practices, and methodologies taken from this unique approach to education for the benefit of other learners – such as regular schooled children, as will be seen in the case study with the Saxon school.

Excavations at 87 Briar Road 2005–06

In May 2005, Jill Stephens, a governor for the Saxon County Primary School in Shepperton, Middlesex, approached the Spelthorne Museum with the idea of excavating

her back garden which lies immediately adjacent to the Saxon school playing field. Jill had been previously restricted from any attempt at excavation at the school because the field is a scheduled ancient monument due to the early medieval cemetery underneath it (Canham 1979). Surrey County Archaeological Unit (SCAU) excavations have additionally revealed an 8th century Saxon midden within the field boundary. Some of the important material to come out of the SCAU excavation included decorated bone combs, bone pins, weapon fragments, and an abundance of evidence for early metal working (Poulton 2003). The site has also produced two rare early medieval coins, and is very likely only a small part of a much larger early medieval cemetery that has been lost, along with a fair amount of other historic and prehistoric archaeology, to the gravel extraction industry along the Thames (Longley and Poulton 1982; Cohen 2003). The governor's proposal had the full support of the Saxon School Head Teacher, Shirley Lawrence. When asked why they would want to organize and take part in a garden excavation both noted they were interested in edifying their students and the community about the 'Saxons' under the school, but also, they hoped to promote the school – and help keep it open as student numbers have been dropping.

The project went forward with the preliminaries of most community archaeology undertakings:

   a. A project design that calls for industry standard recording and archiving.
   b. Obtaining some semblance of a blessing from the county archaeologist.
   c. Perhaps somewhat uniquely this was designed as both an archaeological and educational research project for the community, with the intention of sharing the results.

Fortunately, Shirley Lawrence is a rare head teacher who is willing to experiment with national dictates in education and allows archaeology for her students even though the study and practice is no longer a specific part of the National Curriculum. This does not mean that children are no longer learning about archaeology, it just means that teachers are now more creative in how they qualify and involve archaeology or 'material culture' in lesson planning. One of the most important elements in this project was the training sessions for the teachers on alternative approaches to education (i.e. unschooling as above). Also, our project design called for mixed age groups on site and no planned curriculum activities at our 'field school' beyond a commitment for expert teaching of excavation techniques and recording practices. In other words, beyond the basics, the teachers were encouraged to 'go with the flow', to see where the children's interests led them and consequently how these could then be considered in the greater context of the National Curriculum.

David Bird, then Surrey county archaeologist, was agreeable so we gave the project a name: The Briar Road Big Dig. This is an all volunteer run project though we have received whispers of promises for funding from the local council for conservation work and environmental research as we develop.

In addition to the Saxon School children, there were also local home educating

families, Young Archaeologists Club members, regional historians, and our trenches were opened by two chapters of members from the University of the Third Age – with an average age of about seventy-five. Primarily, three archaeologists were involved from both the Spelthorne Museum and the local community, myself as the archaeological director. We have also had assistance from several other archaeologists between the seasons, and as luck would have it, the site owner, Jill Stephens is an historic environmentalist. For one week each in September 2005 and in May 2006 nearly 200 participants between the ages of 3 and 87 excavated archaeological finds, suggesting continuity from the Neolithic through to WWII.

Even though most of the finds were in unstratified and heavily tilled soil, an exciting variety came out of each section. Throughout the week enthusiastic participants unearthed prehistoric worked flints, Roman brickwork, late Medieval pottery, Georgian blue and white sherds, Victorian iron fittings, WWI bullet casings, 1950's coke bottles, bones galore and nearly everything in between. For the children and other participants this continuity of occupation was inspiring. Instead of a formalized lesson plan all were encouraged to consider the material as it was revealed. When they came across Victorian material we discussed the local buildings. With the Tudor sherds we invoked images and tales of Henry VIII and his nearby Hampton Court palace. And when we came across worked Neolithic pieces, the children identified the material with *the Flintstones* so we trailed off onto cartoon and film history and because there was no set plan, there were no wrong answers. Not only did the children enjoy the experience, but the teachers were clearly encouraged by this approach because it meant that they did not feel a responsibility to know all the answers at once, and that this was a sustainable practice. They could build upon this experience once back in the classroom. It was fun, it was archaeology, and there was learning. All involved were building upon connections from the *finds* to extended disciplinary subjects that stimulated their interests, promoting deeper considerations and critical thinking.

Roman building material is abundant throughout the area (Bradley 2005; Bird 2005) and just holding these pieces and feeling the different material fabrics fully delighted the children. In this physical manner, their contact with the past became inextricable and sparked creative discussions on the way *things* are made. With the extensive amount of found animal bone and animal 'sand' bodies, participants discussed the princely burials at Sutton Hoo in Suffolk. From this momentum, we continued with the local 'Middle' Saxons, the early medieval cemetery under the school, and the other contemporary sites in our region (Hayman and Reynolds 2005; Wheeler 1935; Meaney 1964).

Most essentially, the children were absolutely captivated by a natural curiosity that archaeology encourages. For those involved, these unimportant, unstratified finds represented the mystery of previous cultures, the significance of their ways and means, traditions, and best of all…rituals! (Parker Pearson 1999) All of this calls to us if only for a short while, but it is long enough to launch connections into deeper considerations. It is long enough to have questions asked and where there is one question effectively answered there is learning.

The primary aim in this project has been to utilize the study of archaeology as a significant tool in education, a springboard into other connected disciplines as well as for promoting critical thinking and extended learning. In addition to introducing and applying methods in alternative education, this project was also conducive to our teaching practical and theoretical archaeology in the field. We did not 'dumb down' terminology and from the start children learned about archaeology as a study of their past, rather than a 'treasure hunt'. Not only did participants become familiar with archaeological field practices and their own local heritage, but they were also introduced to other research organizations such as the Surrey SMR and English Heritage.

Discussion

Combining archaeology with the unschooling experience is not a difficult process as both are well-suited for a merging of ideas. More than anything it is a matter of not clinging to a curriculum in the field and instead going forward with what does (or does not) come up (Dodd 2005), while keeping in mind good archaeological practice. This approach is particularly suitable for the Saxon School archaeology because the material from the heavily tilled soil is so historically varied that the element of surprise is inevitable, captivating participants and harnessing their enthusiasm for learning. With the vast prehistoric landscape of this mid-Thames region (Carew 2006), the proximity of the Roman road, the adjacent early medieval cemetery and midden, and with the later occupied settlement, there was a strong potential for material from nearly every period in British history and prehistory to 'pop' up, and much of it did.

John Carman suggests there are two systems of archaeological work in the world: state and private (2002: 61-95). With the increasing amount of responsible community archaeology, there is clearly a third system as well. Through direct and personal connections to the heritage, individuals in the community can design, present, utilize and support archaeology. Much like our unschoolers, this is not because they have to, but because they want to. Not only has the Briar Road Big Dig inspired the children and staff to undertake fairly advanced levels of research, but now the local community are keen to participate, and as a result, the project has extended from being a small experimental research endeavour into an annual Saxon heritage and archaeology extravaganza. All very exciting, but mostly this strikes at the point that practicing archaeology has such tremendous potential to bring children and their community together in a productive and meaningful way.

The student numbers at the Saxon School have in fact increased during the year since we started the project, but this may have nothing to do with us. And even though we came across a lovely collection of worked flint tools, and late medieval pot sherds, we did not find our Saxons: there was no distinctive early medieval material from our finds. Are we bothered? No way.

What has changed in the community is that people seem to be thinking about their

heritage a lot more. Our local museum is being completely refurbished and schools are interested in learning about alternative methods in education. There is a revived interest not only in popular archaeology but practical archaeology, which has previously been difficult for community participation, mostly because of PPG16 and thus replaced by county and professional units. For the community at Shepperton Green, the Briar Road Big Dig has been a unique opportunity to make connections to the communal past through a 'hands on' and intuitive exercise.

Our meagre finds may be of little interest to most, and are certainly of no interest to the local archaeological units, as they have seen plenty of this, but there is an intense importance for this collective material by the local community. That is, where no one else would want to, these folks have created a utility and a value for this material that reaches beyond the mere production of knowledge (Carver 1996) and into the important realm of communal knowledge. Here, identities in the present are influenced by the tactile exchange with the material past. Throughout the community, the dig participants of all ages considered these scrappy finds as evidence for communally-linked past mentalities and personhood that they have been associated with through oral and documentary sources for much their lives. The excavations at Briar Road gave the community the opportunity to not only enjoy fun new ways of learning, but also fun new ways to value, appreciate, and connect to their past through archaeological practice.

All this leads to a broader debate in community archaeology that cannot be fully addressed in this paper, yet raises the question: if this is our community, is this our archaeology? And if so, what is our access and how can we make *use* of it? Hopefully this paper has provided greater insight into the importance of, and potential for, archaeology as alternative education within the learning community.

Acknowledgements

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COMMUNITY ARCHAEOLOGY AND HUMAN OSTEOLOGY: THE SEDGEFORD EXPERIENCE

Susannah Baldry, Charlotte Burrill, Martin Hatton and Hilary Snelling

Introduction

The Sedgeford Historical and Archaeological Research Project (SHARP) was set up in 1996 to investigate the entire range of human settlement and land-use in a typical north-west Norfolk parish from the earliest times to the present day. It is strongly rooted in the local community, run solely by volunteers, and funded almost entirely by individual donations and the charges it makes for courses. A major part of the Project's work for the whole of the past decade has been the excavation of a cemetery site dating from the middle-Saxon period. This has produced over 270 individual human skeletons plus a large amount of disarticulated human bone. The post-excavation analysis of these remains is all being carried out in Sedgeford by SHARP volunteers. These remains are also studied on courses on human osteoarchaeology run by SHARP and it is our experience of running these courses that is the subject of this paper. Before describing SHARP's courses however, it is appropriate to consider in a little more detail why they are being run and who they are designed for.

Why does SHARP teach osteoarchaeology?

SHARP is firmly committed to 'archaeology for all'. It is also committed to the highest standards of fieldwork and post-excavation analysis. Hence, in the words of Neil Faulkner, SHARP's founding director: '…anyone willing to learn how is entitled to participate.' (Faulkner 1998). Unfortunately the opportunity 'to learn how' is not widely available. The practice of archaeology in general often seems to be the preserve of professionals who are university graduates. And specialisms, such as human osteology, are frequently assumed to require an even more exclusive level of qualifications.

In contrast, so that its post-excavation work on human remains is open to all, SHARP runs a human remains course for which no entry qualifications are required. No prior knowledge of either archaeology or anatomy is assumed. However, to

ensure that this course is useful to both the participants and SHARP, and not just an opportunity to have a 'dabble at doing bones', it has to be both academically rigorous and impart real, practical skills. Participants on SHARP's human remains courses have been aged from 14 to over 70; with formal academic qualifications ranging from none at all to post-graduate degrees; and with background knowledge ranging from people who did not know their coccyx from their olecranon to others who were qualified medical professionals.

The basic human remains course – origins

SHARP first offered a one week course on 'the recovery and analysis of human remains in archaeology' in 1997 (Faulkner 1996: 22). Each of the participants spent some time engaged in excavating, recording, lifting, cleaning, marking and finally conducting the osteological analysis of a human skeleton. Teaching consisted largely of demonstrating each of these activities. A year later a more structured approach to the analysis part of the course was introduced using the methods and recording system in the *Standards for Data Collection from Human Skeletal Remains* published by the Arkansas Archaeological Survey (AAS)(Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994).

Although this course format was very popular with the participants it had its problems. If the burial was complex there might not be enough time for first-time excavators to do the job as thoroughly as we, and they, would have wished; skeletons were being 'held back' to use on the course rather than being excavated at the archaeologically appropriate time; and the SHARP principle that 'the finder … would also be [the] excavator' (Dennis and Faulkner 2004:17) was being compromised in favour of those who were on the course.

Developing the basic human remains course

Partly to address these problems and partly in order to focus in more depth on the osteological aspects, and to incorporate other related topics, the hands-on practical excavation, cleaning and marking was dropped from the basic human remains course in 2001. The format then introduced has continued, with only small evolutionary changes, to the present. Participants who are particularly keen to excavate skeletons can still volunteer for other weeks with the Project. They then take their chance with all the other volunteers that they may get the opportunity to excavate a burial. If they are not experienced diggers they also have to sign-up for the basic excavation course run by SHARP. When those with the necessary osteological knowledge excavate human remains they are strongly encouraged to also do all the post-excavation work, including the analysis, on 'their skeles'.

The current basic human remains course

The timetable for SHARP's current basic human remains course covers six days, and is shown in the Appendix. The introduction part of the human remains timetable is very short and specific to the course; induction and matters relating to the Project in general having been dealt with on the previous evening. The first requirement is to introduce the disparate group of up to twelve people on the course to human skeletal anatomy. The aim is to quickly develop the skills participants need to recognise and name all the adult bones of the limbs, torso and head; details relating to the hands and feet are allowed to develop a little more slowly. They learn to identify features on all the bones so that they can correctly side and orientate them and they become familiar with the technical vocabulary that this involves. Students are also introduced to some of the standard textbooks that they can use to help them with identification.

Only when these practical skills have been covered is consideration given to a little bit of the science that underpins the study of skeletal anatomy. Emphasis is given to bone growth and skeletal development because these lead neatly on to teaching the practical skills of estimating age at death; using skeletal variations to assign sex; and using bone measurement to infer stature. For all of these students are taught to follow the methods set out in the AAS *Standards*.

More detail is then introduced in terms of extending recognition and identification skills to teeth, non-metric traits and pathology. Participants learn how to differentiate between deciduous and permanent dentition and about patterns of tooth wear. They apply this knowledge to ageing. They also learn how to record non-metric traits, which can be used to look for genetic links between individuals. In palaeopathology students are shown a wide range of injuries and diseases which affect the skeleton. Emphasis is placed on teaching them how to accurately describe and record signs of pathology in preference to just assigning a diagnosis.

In the latter part of the course participants are introduced to the interpretation of patterns found in skeletal populations, both in terms of burial and osteological variations. Factors relating to in-ground survival and change, excavation methods, and conservation are studied. Finally, questions relating to the ethics of excavating human remains are explored.

The current course – teaching methods

As can be seen from the timetable (see Appendix) the course is structured into topics and each day comprises a series of informal lectures or seminars followed by practical work. Participants form themselves into three groups of up to four and each group is given a skeleton to analyse and record. They will work on this skeleton throughout the rest of the week. This group working ensures a high degree of peer assessment, which is beneficial to the learning process. The recording system is explained and everyone is provided with the necessary documentation. During this stage students are expected

to use reference books as well as the knowledge they have gained from the preceding lectures. At least one tutor is on hand at all times to keep an eye on things and to answer (and ask) awkward questions.

Sometimes it is possible to give groups skeletons that have not been looked at before. Knowing that what they are doing is 'for real' makes students particularly conscientious. Often, in order to ensure that they are working on fairly complete skeletons and that they are not all the same sex and age, students re-record remains that have already been studied. However, even this re-recording has a value beyond teaching since it provides a check on previous recording.

The methods used for the taught sessions vary depending on the subject being covered. All recognised learning styles — visual, audio, and kinaesthetic – are catered for. Many of the methods employ a simple 'show and tell' process in which good examples from SHARP's archive are handed round amongst participants so that they can readily see the points being made. There is, of course, a danger that this could be too much like rote learning. A more interactive process of questions to and from the tutors is therefore another feature of the teaching, as is informal 'round the class' oral quizzing of the students.

The session on excavation is taught on site if there are skeletons currently being excavated. If there are not, then SHARP has made its own video showing these activities which is used instead. The session on interpretation includes an exercise on the strategy for excavating a cemetery. Each group does this independently and reports back to the other two groups and one of the trench supervisors who provides instantaneous feedback on their proposals. When the recording of the skeletons is complete each group makes an informal presentation on their skeleton to the others. In this way everyone at least gets to see skeletons of both sexes and a range of ages. The ethics session is done as a role-play exercise of a public meeting that is being held to discuss the disturbance of human burials by local building works. Everyone participates and draws their role by lot; a wide range of views is therefore guaranteed.

The *grand finalé* for the participants is when they all work together to stage a short presentation to the general public. This can be on any aspect of human remains that they choose, although if they have been working on previously unrecorded material it is likely that this will be a major feature. These presentations invariably demonstrate the high level of confidence and competence that the students have reached.

Assessment for teaching and learning

Since SHARP wants its human remains course to be useful to both the participants and the Project it needs to ensure that the teaching and learning are effective. One way of doing this is by careful supervision and critical review of all of the practical work. Another is by including a graduated series of assessments in the course (see Appendix). The first of these is on the second day and is designed to test the basics of skeletal

anatomy. Students are required to identify and side a number of bones (or parts of bones) and record some of their features, for example the names of parts. Once the exercise is complete a tutor goes through all the bones and discusses the answers, thus giving course members immediate feedback. The second assessment three days later additionally tests students' ability to age and sex bones and to apply this knowledge to the whole group of bones to determine the minimum number of individuals present. The third assessment towards the end of the course tests accuracy of measurement; consistency in recording; and observation of pathology in addition to the subjects covered in the previous tests. The review and feedback processes for the second and third assessments are the same as for the first. At every stage most people are pleasantly surprised by how much they have learnt.

As well as assessing the students, the courses themselves have been subjected to third party assessment. In 2002 SHARP was nominated for the Pitt Rivers Award. The judging panel spent several days over a number of weeks on site scrutinising all aspects of the Project. This resulted in SHARP being awarded the Graham Webster Laurels 'in acknowledgement of the Project's outstanding contribution to education in archaeology'. This covered all of SHARP's educational work; not just the human remains courses.

Not content to rest on its laurels, in 2004 SHARP invited Vernon Trafford, Professor of Education at Ashcroft International Business School, Anglia Polytechnic University (now Anglia Ruskin University) to look at its teaching methods. Once again this study covered all of SHARP's teaching but human remains had the added stimulus of having Prof. Trafford's wife enrolled as a normal participant for the whole of one of the basic courses.

Last, but by no means least, we routinely ask the participants for their assessments of our courses. They give us these orally and by means of course evaluation forms, which can be anonymous if they so wish. Courses have been refined in response to their comments but, on the whole, students have been very positive in their assessments. Perhaps even more convincing than their kind words alone has been their willingness to back these with demands for further, more advanced, human remains courses.

Comparisons with other osteology courses

Although not widely available, there are a number of levels at which adults can formally study osteology. These range from two-hour day or evening sessions over a number of weeks and weekend full day courses to undergraduate and postgraduate part or full-time degrees. Between us the co-authors of this paper have experienced all these forms of study except for one-day courses. We all teach on the SHARP course and three of us have also been participants on it in earlier years. We therefore think we are well placed to make comparison between SHARP's basic human remains course and other courses on the subject. One objective difference would seem to be the

amount of time spent on these courses. We believe that the six day SHARP course offers, possibly uniquely, the best timescale: it is short enough to be accommodated in a typical employed person's holiday schedule yet long enough to obtain real insight into the subject. It is not just a 'quick overview', but a fully hands-on practical and theoretical training experience.

Furthermore the time differences may be more apparent than real. SHARP's course is 48 intensive hours long. In terms of content it may be compared with the module 'Introduction to Human Skeletal Studies' which one of us took as part of an MA in Osteoarchaeology. This module consisted of a practical seminar on human remains lasting two hours a week for twelve weeks; these were taught sessions on parts of the human skeleton with marked tests. And there were a further two hours per week on recording and analysis of a skeleton; thus giving, over a twelve week term, 48 hours of supervised teaching. Similarly, typical continuing education courses, which two of us have attended, would be for two hours a week over one or two terms. Whether the 'saturation' approach used at SHARP is better than the weekly alternative depends, in part, on the learning styles of the individuals concerned. It certainly has practical advantages: skeletons don't have to be unpacked and repacked every session, which would reduce learning time and possibly have a detrimental effect on the bones.

Our experience of introductory courses is that they are generally similar in content. Where SHARP's course differs from some is the order in which subjects are covered. Some courses and many textbooks begin with some of the more scientific aspects, such as bone biology. By contrast, SHARP's course is observation and practice led. Science and theory come later; and more abstruse subjects, like the nature of scientific data, later still. Ethics is deliberately left until the last day when everyone in the group will feel most confident about participating in the debate. Another difference is that of cost. On a like-for-like basis – for example the proportionate cost of just the introductory module of an MA, or the number of hours in a short course – courses from formal providers are typically between two and four times the cost of those provided by SHARP.

It might be argued that a University course gives so much more: time for individual study, resources, and fully qualified tutors. Our reply is that at SHARP we encourage people to stay on to consolidate their learning; our library of books and papers is growing; we can provide internet access and IT facilities; and new remains requiring study are being excavated all the time. Although SHARP does not pay its tutors this does not mean that we are 'amateurish' in our approach to teaching. We may not have climbed through the ranks of academia to get here but that just means that we are not tied down by official red tape and can get on with what we enjoy most - getting down and dirty with the osteology and passing our experience on to those who wish to share our passion for the subject.

SHARP and Continuing and Higher Education

Another thing that a University course can give is a qualification at the end of it. Since 2001 many of SHARP's courses, including the basic human remains course, have been recognised by the Centre for Continuing Education at the University of East Anglia (UEA) as credit bearing modules in their Certificate in Practical Archaeology. Whilst participating in the same basic human remains course as everyone else, the UEA students have also had to do additional assessed work in the form of a short written examination at the end of the course and an essay after finishing it.

Many of the volunteers working with SHARP are archaeology students getting the fieldwork experience required by their universities. Some take the human remains courses, either to supplement their university courses or because their degree omits human osteology altogether. Those with the necessary knowledge, gained with us or elsewhere, are very welcome to increase their practical experience by assisting with the human remains post-excavation work. SHARP can also usually provide facilities and advice for one or two postgraduates undertaking osteological research.

Administration and organisation

Despite working with UEA, as outlined above, SHARP has complete control over the administration, scheduling, timetabling and general running of its courses. This gives us the flexibility necessary in an organisation in which everyone – directors, dig supervisors, course tutors, administrators and organisers – is a volunteer. And this, in turn, allows us to keep the cost of our courses low. SHARP also benefits from its in-depth community support. For example, its archive is housed in the Old Village Hall. This archive of excavated material is the core resource for teaching human osteology. Other equipment, from tables and chairs to wired-together teaching skeletons, has been donated or loaned by friends and supporters. Fortunately, most osteology depends on careful observation and measurement using simple instruments. Even these we have sometimes made ourselves. And when we have needed something a bit more high-tech – the X-ray of a jaw for example – we have benefited from local goodwill and had it done at no charge. Our experience shows that it is possible to do serious work on human osteology on a minimal budget using volunteer effort. But, obviously, if we had more money we could certainly make good use of it.

Too many cooks …?

Notwithstanding the efforts made to ensure an academically rigorous approach, many people would point out that the inaccuracy that can be brought into an osteometric dataset by inexperienced observers is, potentially, a major problem: it may render the collected information both internally inconsistent and not comparable with other osteometric datasets. This problem of 'inter-operator errors' is well known and SHARP

is aware of it. Hence it was the subject of an undergraduate study and dissertation by one of the authors of this paper (Baldry 2005). This explored the extent of variation in measurements performed by observers with various levels of experience. It showed that although consistency and accuracy increases with experience, some mistakes are also due to a lack of concentration - misreading the scale, or neglecting to 'zero' the calipers for example.

The inaccuracies relating to poor confidence and inexperience seem to be overcome with practice, familiarity and continuing involvement in studying human remains. Those that are simple mistakes can be avoided by being aware of the risks of losing concentration; a mistake only needs to be noticed once to make the observer more conscientious in future. The habitual mistakes of some individuals, such as misunderstanding the Standard measurements, can be removed simply through working as a team: asking opinions, comparing results and general communication can improve the consistency of the team's observations. In the light of this study, to mitigate potential problems we now place more emphasis on teaching osteometrics, supervise practical work more critically, and test consistency of recording in the assessments.

Other SHARP human remains courses

In response to the demands from students, SHARP has provided two different advanced human remains courses. The first consisted of a two day taught element and a four day mini research project. The taught part concentrated on juvenile remains and dealt with pathology in more depth than the basic course. Participants had selected a project in advance and, working in small groups, studied correlations between sex, age and tooth loss; sex and evidence of right and left handedness; the prevalence of dental hypoplasia; or the design and construction of a mandibulometer. The second took a different approach and concentrated on the more difficult situations that confront human osteoarchaeologists. It included both burial practices and osteological interpretation. It looked at neonates and juveniles as well as disarticulated remains and fragmentary skeletons. There were also lots of practical exercises and sessions recording and analysing such remains.

Human remains also feature in a third course: a one day introduction to archaeology that SHARP runs specifically for the visually impaired. The tactile nature of bones makes osteology an ideal topic to include in this course. Although it is not possible in a couple of hours to go into the subject in any great depth, participants can literally get their hands on a wide range of skeletal material and explore its significance.

Human osteology and public archaeology

The course for the visually impaired is one example of SHARP's commitment to public archaeology in general. This includes engaging with those whose interest in archaeology

may not extend to being actively involved. Visitors are welcome on site every working day between 11am and 4pm. They come primarily to view the excavations. However, most are also fascinated to see work on human remains. We have had many discussions about the ethical aspects of excavating and displaying skeletons. This issue is not unique to SHARP and there have been a few papers on the subject recently (e.g. Carroll 2005; Mays 2005). These have shown that most of the public expect to see human remains displayed at archaeological sites and that this is acceptable if done carefully. Pre-booked visits by schools include a range of hands-on activities. In one of these, children of all ages are shown the positions of the bones in the human skeleton and record them using standard osteological visual recording forms.

    Each Friday afternoon during the summer season there is a formal site tour which is open to everyone. This usually starts with presentations in the marquee. If there has been a human remains course during the preceding week then one of these talks will be given by students from that course. On SHARP's annual open day displays of various aspects of human remains work are set up in a portacabin and knowledgeable people are permanently available to explain them and answer questions.

Conclusions

It is sometimes assumed that human osteology can only be studied at the highest academic levels and it therefore has no place in community archaeology projects. In this paper we have sought to show how 'anyone willing to learn' can be taught the skills necessary for them to make a real, practical contribution to the subject. Moreover, at Sedgeford we have almost a decade's experience of actually doing it.

Acknowledgements

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Appendix

SHARP: Introduction to Human Remains: COURSE TIMETABLE – 2005

DAY	AM	PM
SUNDAY	Introduction 1 Introduction & Site Basic anatomy, bone identification and orientation Terminology & Portfolio	Introduction 2 Introduction to skeleton to be recorded during the week Guide to HR recording system Inventory of assigned skeleton
MONDAY	Development Development of the human skeleton Estimating Age, Sex and Stature	Recording Further recording of assigned skeleton using techniques learned so far. ***ASSESSMENT 1 : 30 mins***
TUESDAY	Dentition Basic dentition Ageing skeletons from dentition Recording dentition	Recording Intro to non-metric traits Further recording of assigned skeleton, especially metrics and non-metrics
WEDNESDAY	Excavation; Video/On-site Excavation of skeletons Taphonomic processes Conservation of bones	Pathology Trauma & Disease Identification of pathology Describing pathology
THURSDAY	Interpretation of Data Recording disartic. (MNI) Data construction and Sampling Cemetery excavation strategies ***ASSESSMENT 2: 30mins***	Recording Completion of recording of assigned skeleton Inter-group presentations on findings
FRIDAY	Ethics & Conclusions Ethics seminar Check and collate recorded results 'How was it for you?' forms and feedback ***ASSESSMENT 3: 45 mins***	Public Presentation Preparation and delivery of a presentation for the site tour.

12

'MIND THE GAP': ARCHAEOLOGY AND ADULT EDUCATION

Hilary Orange

'Our lives and careers are not linear' (Hughes 2005: 7).

Introduction

For five years, from 2000 to 2005, I found myself in the lucky position of teaching archaeology within further and adult education in Cornwall; a region which is particularly rich in prehistoric and industrial sites. In September of each year I met my new groups of students; some, aged sixteen to nineteen, were studying archaeology as part of their full-time A Level studies and others, ranging in age from fourteen to late sixties, had joined a part-time A Level in Archaeology evening class.

In March 2006 the *Times* reported that the 'cost of evening classes is to double for more than two million people to help to fund job training for low-skilled workers' (Halpin 2006: 1). This announcement can be placed within the context of a declining trend in traditional liberal education over the last fifteen years as successive governments have targeted funding towards accreditation and vocationalism. A 'Policy-Watch' report by the examination board Edexcel recently suggested that a new way of thinking and a new vocabulary were needed to raise the profile of adult education within government policy. There is a generally held perception that adult education is a 'worthy if peripheral activity' but not something 'of strategic importance' (Besley 2005), and furthermore, it is often stereotyped as a middle-class 'pleasure and leisure' pursuit (Jarvis 2004: 44). To make matters worse archaeology can be regarded by policy-makers and funding bodies as a marginal subject; interesting but arcane and of little economic value (Malone *et al.* 2000: 122). However, there has long been public interest in the subject; an interest which can be statistically demonstrated through book sales, TV viewing figures and ticket sales at heritage sites (Finn 2001; Holtorf 2005). Indeed, a 2001 government statement on the historic environment noted that an 'increasing public interest in local heritage, archaeology and genealogy demonstrates a keen appetite among all age-groups to learn about the past' (DCMS).

It is an expectation that the increase in night-class fees will close courses and further education leaders are expecting 'one million places' to be lost overall (Halpin 2006 :1). How archaeology is affected has still to be seen. This paper draws on my experience of teaching adult education in order to consider the value of archaeology in adult education and current opportunities for adult learning at a time when an increasing gap seems to be opening up in its provision.

Adult Education – terms and definitions

One of the problems when discussing adult education is the plethora of terms in use and the regular relabeling of existing labels. Firstly, a distinction needs to be made between terms as applied within educational theory and practice. In practice within formal education in schools, colleges and further education institutes, adult education typically refers to liberal part-time education, usually in reference to night classes. Within educational theory and teacher training adult education refers to both formal and informal learning and can mean 'any educational process undertaken by adults, whether general or vocational and located in the spheres of adult, further or higher education or outside the institutional framework entirely' (Jarvis 1995: 22).

In its recognition of different types of learning; informal, self-directed and experiential, the 'theoretical' definition of adult education given above, is also reflective of the meaning of lifelong learning. Over the last decade lifelong learning has become a dominant paradigm within adult education in the United Kingdom and can be broadly defined as any process of learning which continues throughout one's life (Jarvis 2004: 65; Lock 2004: 55). This broadness of definition makes the 'practical' use of the term extremely confusing. Whilst it has value within philosophical and social discourse it is too diffuse in practice and in formal education tends to become subsumed within existing structures, particularly where other terms (for example, further or higher education) carry more common currency.

Adult education within a wider context

The term 'lifelong learning' originated in the United States in the 1970s in response to demographic and social changes including a declining birth rate, ageing population and increased leisure time (Hiemstra 1981: 120). It is, therefore, emblematic of a period of great social, economic and technological change. In the United Kingdom, from the late 1990s, under New Labour, the concept of lifelong learning was adopted for certain specific economic goals, namely 'the continuous development of the skills, knowledge and understanding that are essential for employability and fulfilment' (DfEE 1998: 16). These economic goals were to be achieved via a cultural shift towards a 'learning society' (Lock 2004: 56). As a result the implementation of lifelong learning within the education sector is constrained by economic imperatives and political ideology and

the role of adult education has moved towards a position which is more concerned with maintaining employment, economic development and social cohesion (OECD 1996: 13). Not surprisingly, funding is targeted towards these instrumental goals to the detriment of other cultural values, such as 'interest,' 'pleasure' and 'self-development'. One of the direct consequences has been the increase in night-class fees.

The British Government is directed by economic necessity. Firstly, rapid technological change requires a flexible, multi-skilled workforce prepared and willing to retrain throughout its working life. Secondly, recent reports have highlighted the basic skills gap within the adult population; five million adults lack the literacy skills expected of an eleven year old and the United Kingdom has one of the highest drop-out rates from education and training of any country in the developed world (Leitch 2005). In the face of increasing competition from the emerging economies of India and China, the focus is on the role of further education colleges to provide vocational and basic skills training (Foster 2005; Hope 2006).

Where does the subject of archaeology fit within these shifting paradigms? The Council for British Archaeology (CBA) emphasise the importance of supporting learning at all ages from schoolchildren to retired people through, for example, the Young Archaeologists Club (YAC) and National Archaeology Week (Henson and Davidson 2004: 82). Currently high on the CBA agenda is the present situation where teenagers have to leave the YAC at 16 and may be left without access to continuing archaeological participation (Stone 2004: 7). In 2004, despite a campaign by the CBA to save the qualification, the Assessment and Qualifications Alliance (AQA) examination board announced the closure of the GCSE in Archaeology citing administrative costs and low student numbers. The course was the best opportunity to teach a chronological overview of British prehistory within the British school system. On its demise the *Guardian* reported that 'although only 350 students sat the exam this year, up to 10 times that number are estimated to want to tackle it, if appropriate teaching can be found' (Wainwright 2004).

Informal archaeological education has also suffered. Through the 1980s and 1990s the Workers Educational Authority (WEA) provided non-accredited, adult education programmes, often in locally accessible venues including courses in archaeology, Egyptology and local history (Nolan and Johnson 2003: 37). However, the availability of European Union (EU) funding during the 1990s gradually reorientated the WEA's educational provision towards EU agendas: namely social inclusion, community relations and economic development (WEA 2006).

The provision of formal archaeological education has, of course, largely rested with universities and currently some 56 university departments provide courses in archaeology with 5,425 students taking degrees in archaeology in 2000–2001 (APPAG 2003: 28). Over the last decade universities have been enormously responsive to the need to increase the number and variety of part-time courses within departments of lifelong learning (Henson 2004: 20). In 1999–2000 there were fifty archaeology certificate courses, two

diplomas, nine undergraduate degrees and two postgraduate degrees available through continuing education departments and in addition there were approximately 1,000 course units available for study, most of them credit bearing. According to Henson the number of people studying archaeology by this method rivals the number studying by traditional full-time higher education (2004: 20).

Despite the benefits of expanding higher education provision many adult students have problems accessing departments. In some cases easy to access evening and weekend courses have been replaced by weekday classes (TAF 2006: 8). Most universities are located in urban areas and for many adults time and cost negate the possibility of campus based study. Currently the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) will only fund courses which are accredited and students who do not wish to study accredited courses have been left with very little choice at all levels. Accredited courses may be off-putting to prospective learners who may wish to gauge their suitability and commitment to a subject, or level of study, by initially studying at an introductory, non-accredited level. The role of further education colleges, schools and other education centres is therefore vital in providing local, community based opportunities for informal learning as well as formal courses through which students may progress through to higher education.

A survey of learning opportunities at historic sites *Opening Doors: Learning in the Historic Environment* (Kirwan 2004: Kirwan and Moses 2004) identified educational activities which focus on adults as a 'seriously neglected area' (Kirwan and Moses 2004: 31). The report noted that at the majority of sites guided tours were considered sufficient and occasionally adults were offered amended versions of school programmes. The overwhelming majority of learning opportunities were aimed at schools, particularly primary schools. The authors of the report rejected the suggestion that children are the audience of the future and therefore educational efforts should be directed towards the young due to the fact that the vast majority of visitors to sites were adults either alone, with other adults or with children or that the main audience for historic sites tends to be people who are over fifty (Kirwan 2004: 43). As a comparative example, research on museum learners has revealed that middle-aged adult learners frequently pursue an interest which has lain dormant since early adulthood once careers are established (Sachatello-Sawyer 2002: 5).

In fairness the problems that historic sites (or museums) face in providing for adult learning are mainly economic and strategic. Within the museum sector Hooper-Greenhill has noted that central and local government funding has over recent years decreased whilst at the same time there is an increasing emphasis on quality and provision (Hooper-Greenhill 1999: 255). Adult groups are far harder to research and identify than schoolchildren, they form a huge and complex audience and therefore require more staff time and resources (Kirwan 2004: 43). There may also be a cultural perception within museum services that education exists to deal solely with children (Talboys 2000: 63).

Besides taking an altruistic standpoint towards an adult learner's personal development – archaeology in education affords disciplinary benefits. 'If we engage with the public, the argument goes, then more people will understand what archaeologists are trying to do, and will support their work more' (Merriman 2004: 5). Schadla-Hall has also argued that it is important to correct 'alternative' or 'lunatic' perceptions of archaeology (2004). If we do not mind the gap in archaeology and adult education, those adults, who for various reasons cannot access local opportunities for learning, or attend higher education institutions, will have little choice but to turn to publishing houses and electronic media. I do not wish to rehearse the well-known and by now familiar arguments around non-academic or alternative archaeologies but to state more simply that the public will further lose the opportunity to develop the types of knowledge and skills which archaeologists can provide and instigate.

The A Level in Archaeology

The A Level in Archaeology has been available since 1970 and the numbers of students taking the examination rose steadily from 25 in 1970 to 232 in 1980 to 700 in 1990 (Henson 2004: 17). In the summer of 2005 1241 candidates sat the AS qualification and 595 sat the A2 qualification (AQA 2005).

With the introduction of Curriculum 2000 A Levels became modular; candidates now sit three modules to gain an intermediate qualification, the Advanced Subsidiary (AS), and a further three modules at A2 level to gain an A Level. In 2003 the AS or AS/A2 qualification was offered at 110 colleges of schools in England (Henson pers. comm.). The new structure has some distinct advantages. Typically students studying full-time in further education now study four AS subjects in their first year and this has certainly helped to raise student numbers for archaeology. Greater flexibility and choice over levels of examination has also helped in attracting adult students who may feel reticent about returning to study. Furthermore, students now have the opportunity to retake individual modules and in some cases this can substantially increase the eventual pass grade.

The AS course provides students with a good introduction to archaeological process and methods, and develops an understanding of the role of archaeologists and related specialists. Importantly, the AS also addresses political and ethical debates in regards to the presentation of archaeological data within contemporary societies (Grant *et al*. 2002: 120) whilst a thematic module introduces concepts of religion and ritual. For the latter centres can choose from one out of following four topics:

a. Prehistoric Britain and Ireland (Neolithic to Iron Age)
b. Ancient Egypt (Pre-Dynastic to New Kingdom)
c. The Maya (Pre-Classic and Classic)
d. The Roman World to AD476

The A2 course focuses on the following broad themes within world archaeology which

can be exemplified from any temporal or geographical position:

- e.   Settlement
- f.   Social Organisation
- g.   Material Culture
- h.   Technology
- i.   Economics

Finally, a personal study of circa 4000 words allows the student to evaluate archaeological methodology or to investigate a local site through a range of survey techniques (AQA 2006).

Truro College, Cornwall – the A Level Archaeology evening class

The majority of students who enrolled on the course had full-time careers in the public sector, notably health, local government and education. Each successive year a few students followed the course as a prerequisite for entry into Higher Education, usually to study history or archaeology. For those working in museums, education and countryside stewardship the course was of vocational importance. The majority joined the course to fulfil long held ambitions and interests and were specifically interested in local archaeology. The process of archaeology and its sense of discovery held an exotic kudos but this romanticism was firmly attached to a local context; in one case a student had a bronze age stone circle at the bottom of her garden – the archaeology was at home.

Initial sessions focused on identifying expectations and prior learning. The question 'what is archaeology?' usually evoked one or all of the following responses – 'it's about digging,' 'the ancient past' or 'finding things!' This is, perhaps, not as bad as it seems, all of the above illustrate that archaeology is about the material human past. More perturbing is the conflation of archaeology with palaeontology or geology provoking responses along the lines of 'rocks,' 'fossils' and 'dinosaur bones.'

When asked why archaeologists excavate, the general feeling was that all archaeological research naturally results in excavation and the prime objective is to find artefacts. There was very little awareness of the link between planning, development and the tendering of archaeological services, or the varied nature of archaeological work in the United Kingdom today. Furthermore archaeologists are perceived as working as independent researchers or are perhaps linked to university departments. This is the 'Indiana Jones' effect. After a day on site fieldwalking one student complained that as she hadn't found anything exciting it wasn't 'real' archaeology. On TV archaeologists always seem to have good days.

Over the period of the year students were given basic training in surveying techniques and were taught that excavation was only 'one component of a broad canvas' (CBA 2003). However, despite genuine interest in survey, excavation still had the greater appeal; not necessarily because it was 'real' archaeology but because it provided a

very personal experience which takes the student to the interface of discovery within a sociable community. As Manley states, 'excavation is collectively undertaken and appeals intellectually, physically and emotionally; it is the interaction of these three different sorts of experience that produces the 'buzz' (1999: 110).

The strong scientific element within the AS course, in particular Unit 2: Post Excavation Processes, Dating and Interpretation, proved challenging for students who lacked strong or recent experience in the sciences. Students were required to learn the basic principles and applications of a range of analytical techniques used on common archaeological materials including radiocarbon dating and lithic, ceramic and metallurgical analysis. The most popular aspect of archaeological science was the analysis of human remains; forensic investigation of skeletal remains could not fail to excite students again due to its 'personal' element. Links with museums, craft specialists and university departments were particularly useful for delivering practical workshops. For example, when students took part in a workshop at the School of Geography, University of Plymouth, analysing real pollen samples taken from a site at Dozmary Pool, Bodmin Moor, they could, by the end of the day, identify pollen spores and reconstruct landscape change from the Mesolithic to the present day.

Surrounded by well-preserved prehistoric sites it was logical to deliver the module on Religion and Ritual through Option A: Prehistoric Britain and Ireland. Unequivocally, students were fascinated by prehistory, for some the appeal was with death and mortuary practice whilst those with a strong sense of Pagan or Cornish-Celtic identity felt a close 'connection' to some prehistoric sites. For others it afforded their first opportunity to study in depth the development of societies before the first century AD, an area not covered in school history lessons.

The A2 course is very different in nature when compared to the AS. It is largely thematic, provides a deeper theoretical underpinning and widens the course in terms of a world perspective. It provides the opportunity to use classic case studies to exemplify different concepts and evaluate techniques and interpretation. For example, students researched different aspects of society and settlement at Çatalhöyük using Internet sources, examined colonisation and social collapse and change on Rapa Nui (Easter Island) and argued over gender studies in archaeology. Flint technology provided a case study for diachronic change within an artefact type and the study of art and technology enabled the class to focus on the technology of Palaeolithic rock art including the replicative work of Michel Lorblanchet at Pech Merle, France. Closer to home a visit to Geevor Tin Mine in Penwith provided exemplification for mining in the industrial period.

In the personal project students investigate a question, problem or issue within an archaeological context usually based on a local site, museum or the work of a pioneer archaeologist and consider how archaeologists today might approach the question, as well as evaluating methodology (Grant *et al.* 2002: 264). Students could choose from any period of site including industrial and historical archaeology and undertake original research including survey and the production of plans, drawings and photographs.

Since leaving the course several students progressed to study within Higher Education; one gained employment on a long-term project in Ireland. Many former students have become active members of the Cornwall Archaeological Society and a regular 'team' comprised of students from different year groups are contacted by professional archaeologists in the county to work on projects. Through giving up their time to work through shillet and rain they have become experienced in site recording and excavation and are valued for their contribution to projects constrained by time and resources. All of the students have taken their passion for archaeology back to their communities.

Conclusion

The current emphasis on a results-driven, market orientated and formally assessed culture is a one size fits all model and is at odds with the paradigm of lifelong learning which is by nature fluid, informal and driven by a desire for learning rather than a desire from quantifiable results. Different types of learning experience are needed, accredited, non-accredited, inexpensive and local – I would argue that there is, after all, a strong desire to learn about the local and to feel a personal sense of discovery about the past. With different types of adult learning we can effectively demonstrate the value of archaeology to society and that communication can be very effective on a small scale. The A Level in Archaeology demonstrates that that when you are working with a group of individuals over a period of time it is possible to create a learning programme which complies with assessment and institutional demands, but by grounding it in the local area it is nonetheless personal, flexible and creative.

There exists a lack of awareness amongst graduates of career opportunities within further and adult education; surprising considering graduates who are currently prohibited from primary and secondary education can become qualified to teach post-compulsory education. As Jones states, 'the future of archaeology in Further Education is very much in the hands of the further education providers, and, more specifically, the lecturers themselves' (2004: 41). If we want to, we can create more archaeologists and a better informed and interested public. However, we have competitors for potential 'customers' from the media and from home entertainment and tourist industries (Manley 1999: 111). There is a gap in the market for archaeologists to act as facilitators to public learning, and adults want to learn regardless of their age.

Acknowledgements

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13

COMMUNITY ARCHAEOLOGY PROJECTS AND DEVON'S HERITAGE: RECENT APPROACHES AND CHALLENGES

Sean Hawken

Introduction

The paper outlines different methodological approaches and experiences in community archaeology gained from two consecutive projects hosted by the University of Exeter and primarily funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund. The results of the 2001–4 Community Landscapes Project (CLP) have informed the development of the new 2006–9 project Exploring Archaeology (XArch) and provide a case study in how community archaeology projects can adapt to the experience of their successes and the challenges they face.

CLP – design and aims

The unique Community Landscapes Project (henceforth referred to as CLP) was designed and directed by Professor Tony Brown (Geography, University of Exeter), with co-director Frances Griffith (Devon County Archaeologist) and managed by Sean Hawken (Archaeology, University of Exeter). It commenced in Devon in 2001 with funding primarily from the Heritage Lottery Fund, with further funding and support from the University of Exeter and Devon County Council (project total £165,000). Whilst this certainly was not the first archaeology project to involve public participation within the county of Devon or elsewhere, it was one of the first non-site specific projects that provided public participation in landscape archaeology. This incorporated training in the use of Geographical Information Systems (GIS) for the archiving of data. The use of the environmental sciences was also integral to the project. A further distinctive addition to the project was the two assistants, Lucy Franklin and Charlotte Hawkins. Both received funded studentships and completed doctoral research as a primary research output of the project. The geographical areas selected for the study were aimed to fulfil specific research questions provided by the directors as well as a desire to investigate contrasting landscapes in different parts of the county.

The landscapes included the mid-upland of the Blackdown Hills, the lowlands of the Clyst valley near Exeter, the wind swept grasslands of Hartland on the north coast and the sheltered bays of Bantham/Thurlestone on the south Devon coast. Whilst for further contrast the heath lands of Knowstone Moors in mid Devon were added to this list, with time and research constraints playing a part this area received only a low level of attention.

The CLP project design had a number of aims and objectives. It proposed to provide for the public's growing fascination with archaeology whilst increasing the public's understanding of the archaeological sciences through active participation in landscape studies and palaeoenvironmental fieldwork and all whilst still producing meaningful research as a key output. Equally important, was the aim of actively researching study areas set within Devon's lowlands, rather than the sharply contrasting uplands such as Dartmoor where most previous research has been conducted. Here the aims of the project were to promote greater public appreciation for a landscape incorrectly perceived by the public as lacking in archaeological potential in comparison with the uplands of Dartmoor and Exmoor. By way of a long-term objective, it was anticipated that an increase in direct participation would promote a greater awareness and understanding of Devon's archaeological heritage and thereby encourage better preservation of the heritage. In the same vein it was hoped that long-term awareness could be encouraged by the project team actively taking archaeology into the schools of Devon.

CLP – methods and techniques

Whilst overall the project could be, and was, considered highly successful, the project did struggle with three of the main challenges faced by all community archaeology projects. First, what was the best way to engage large numbers of people who had a real desire to gain understanding of the past through archaeology, but of their own 'backyard history' rather than via broader set themes and processes? Secondly, how to ensure the involvement of a true cross-section of 'the community'? Thirdly, how is it possible for community projects to incorporate the complex issues of archaeology into educational packages that are acceptable to teachers when the subject is not officially a part of the national curriculum taught in schools? In other words, how do you get the school door open to archaeology?

Although not seen by the public (and sometimes even archaeologists) as 'real archaeology', landscape archaeology was considered a more versatile tool than site-based fieldwork and excavation when involving several locations and larger numbers of volunteers for 3 years. Other benefits are the lower costs (an important point for small groups repeating the process), and the ability to rapidly set up the project in different locations. The public also gain the basics quickly and perhaps most importantly landscape archaeology is a non-intrusive tool that involves both the physical outdoor aspect of archaeology (i.e. the recording of earthworks, field boundaries etc) with the more all-inclusive in-door element of documentary research. Ultimately from the point

of appreciation of the heritage it provides the public with a very tangible understanding of how people in the past moved, worked and lived within the landscape, and how people interacted with their environment, both socially and economically. As a result this design clearly offered something for everyone and provided the opportunity to involve healthy numbers of volunteers over the project's lifespan. As for the palaeoenvironmental aspect of the project this was both popular in the field and in the laboratory. Furthermore it enhanced the landscape analysis and provided the public with a view into past landscapes that was noticeably new and invigoratingly unique.

Perhaps odd for a landscape project was the lack of field-walking venues. However, in view of the fact that most of the study areas sat in pastoral countryside rather than arable, the traditional venue of field-walking was somewhat redundant. Furthermore, the result of just one good days' fieldwalking can create a massive amount of post-field-walking material that needs storage space and examination by specialists. For many projects this is all too costly. In such pastoral conditions, the preferred option was survey of earthworks and their surrounding environment. Whilst this method did prove highly profitable with the discovery of several previously undiscovered features, for example Iron Age/Romano-British hill-slope enclosures with possible iron smelting platforms, it still had its lessons. For instance, although the employment of a dGPS (Global Positioning System) was initially seen as 'high-tech', and especially popular among one particular age and gender group, its monotony of use eventually resulted in the equipment spending time registering passing satellites to an absent audience! In reality such tools do not address the engagement of large numbers of eager participants. It fails to employ the incoming public skill sets. This was combined with the limitations of long-term sustainability of this method; few community groups are unlikely to have the vast sums necessary to hire or purchase this equipment for themselves and so the training was seen as wasting the potential of these communities. Far more useful methods were the identification of archaeological features and supplementary fieldwork skills such as use of total stations (EDM), automatic levels, and above all offset measurement techniques. These methods contributed to learning to plan to scale and understanding conventions for archaeological mapping. For example, off-setting with tapes is quick to learn, allows volunteers to work in groups making them feel more at ease. It introduces the public to field archaeology, generates a plan in the field thereby providing a direct sense of involvement and accomplishment. Above all these skill sets are far more likely to be re-used and cascaded through the community and thus enabling sustainable archaeological projects to be developed. Finally the use of geophysical survey and a laptop in the field can be an added bonus since it brings to light archaeology that cannot otherwise be seen. When combined with the earthwork survey of features the results were an immediate sense of achievement for those involved and highly profitable results for archiving with the county's HER. These field-based methods were augmented by opportunities for volunteers to collect historic and map data from Exeter's Public Records Office and to input GIS data and observe the process of pollen analysis in the work-rooms and laboratories at the University of Exeter's Streatham campus.

CLP – results

The project's implementation of landscape archaeology and environmental sciences with the combination of public participation was without doubt very successful. This is reflected in its final involvement figures with over 50 fieldwork survey days actively involving over 350 members of the public. The result of the fieldwork was nearly 30 identified archaeological features. These included two previously unidentified Late-Iron Age/early Romano-British hillslope enclosures, both with immediately adjacent (and radiocarbon dated) early Romano-British period iron working sites. Also identified were two equally large-scale sets of earthworks representing the remains of possible 11/12th-century earth and timber castles of the motte-and-bailey type as well as an associated deer park. There were nearly 30 earthwork and palaeoenvironmental reports in addition to the documentary research, data input training and data collection. This output primarily involved around 200 volunteers directly transcribing 16 of Devon's 19th Century Parish Tithe Maps and Apportionments into the Geographical Information System.

The project was therefore a success not only in producing profitable results for the archaeological record, but also maintaining a good level of public engagement throughout the project and producing effective training for long-term value. These results were however off-set by the project's lack of time to engage with the second challenge, that of archaeology themed educational packages for schools. This is not to say it was completely devoid of success here, since it did pilot new National Curriculum led workshop packages for schools that especially aimed it at those schools in less affluent areas. More recently this package has been reviewed by ex-teacher and Exeter University post-graduate Erin Schroeder and as a result it was possible to produce an educational package that would act as a foundation for a second project.

XArch

The latest project, Exploring Archaeology (XArch) commences in June 2006 and will reach completion in June 2009. This project is again funded by Heritage Lottery Fund with match funding from the University of Exeter. The aim is for XArch to build on the strengths of CLP but to address some of the challenges that CLP faced. XArch therefore primarily aims to directly tackle those three main challenges faced by all community archaeology projects. Firstly, the project will focus on empowering and supporting community groups who wish to gain a greater understanding of their own backyard and it will act as a catalyst to encourage greater levels of public participation and awareness in areas where interest in landscape heritage is currently lacking.

Secondly the issue of inclusivity will be addressed by links to volunteer agencies such as the Exeter Volunteer Bureau. With their assistance XArch aims to include socially excluded members of society by providing a programme of activities that can assist in learning and retraining.

Finally as part of an objective to advance long-term heritage conservation XArch will run a parallel programme of archaeologically themed activities set within educational workshops. As noted earlier these are designed to integrate within the National Curriculum and provide children with the opportunity to experience archaeological thought, methods and the sciences whilst at the same time increasing our children's awareness of archaeology. This will be offered to schools targeting primarily the urban areas and will primarily be aimed at Key Stage Two, Years 5–6 and above up to and inclusive of College students.

As with CLP, the XArch project will involve a project manager (Sean Hawken) and two Exeter Graduate Fellows, who will assist the project and conduct doctoral research integral to the success of XArch's research outputs. One PhD student's research will focus on the critical evaluation of the effectiveness and context of community archaeology projects in the UK. The second PhD will investigate how local communities in the historic past have constructed and negotiated their identities and social memories through material culture. In combination, these two researchers will augment the project and enable it to continue to evolve in response to the needs and interests of the public.

Conclusion – from CLP to XArch

The development of community archaeology projects based at the University of Exeter and funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund can be seen as an evolving and innovative process in which a range of different aims have been met, and a diversity of methods and techniques have been utilised in bringing archaeology to the public. It is expected that, by 2009, we will be in a position to move community archaeology at Exeter into new, innovative areas. But at this stage, at the very beginning of the XArch project, there is still much to be resolved. What is clear is that XArch aims to bring archaeology to Devon's communities in new and interesting ways.

SHOREDITCH PARK COMMUNITY EXCAVATION: A CASE STUDY

Faye Simpson

Introduction

In 2005 the Museum of London undertook its first community archaeology project and excavation in Shoreditch Park, Hackney, with support of Hackney Council, Shoreditch Trust, the Ministry of Defence, Channel 4's Time Team, University College London and funding from the Big Lottery Fund through MLA, with a Their Past Your Future grant. It took on the challenge of making archaeology a community experience, by engaging the public in their past, not in the usual way of telling them what was happening in their local area, but by encouraging them to participate in all of the stages of the archaeological investigation. Community archaeology had to be just that; a project that involved the local community in planning, research, excavation and the processing and cataloguing of finds. The project culminated in the dissemination of information gained from the three-week archaeological excavation to the public, ensuring the whole process was one of partnership.

The importance of such a project reflects the prominence now being given to 'community archaeology' in universities, museums and commercial units. PPG16 and developer funding effectively excluded the public. The Shoreditch park project sought to change that by being proactive, striving hard as a profession to include the public. This paper seeks to explain why the Museum of London and its partners felt that this was such an important step forward for its public outreach programs. It's aim is to highlight the educational aspects of reaching new audiences, whilst answering some important questions about how such an approach to community archaeology worked in practice. In addition, it seeks to answer the question as to why such projects that actively involve and engage local communities are important to the future of archaeology, on both a local and national level.

An important step forward?

Community archaeology has become the latest buzz term in academic, commercial and public sector fields of archaeology. The use of community archaeology reflects a growing disparity between archaeologists and the communities they frequently claim to be serving. This separation is partly due to the increasing hostility towards professionalism in archaeology, and this can be linked directly to the formulation of Planning Policy Guidelines 16 (PPG16) in 1989 (Wainwright 2000). These guidelines were introduced in order to preserve the past from destruction during a period of increased urban development and lack of government funding for archaeology; this movement of archaeology away from a public sector activity to one of commercialism has shifted the balance between archaeology and the public.

In creating a new professionalism we have excluded the public, and in doing so we have threatened the very profession we sought to create. PPG16 was needed to preserve the past from destruction without recording by developers, but is only a guideline. Without the public and government understanding of the importance of archaeology these guidelines could become insignificant words. Shoreditch Park aimed to show that archaeology is not just academically but also educationally and publicly beneficial; each holding equal validity in the current commercial and political environment.

I wish very briefly to explore the definition of community archaeology, what it means and how the term has been used. When Neal Ascherson (2000) asked in his first *Public Archaeology* editorial 'what is public archaeology?' he was unable to arrive at a formal definition. His confusion usefully highlights the issues that community archaeology projects face and reinforces my belief that community archaeology is a complex and environmentally contingent activity.

Frequently you hear mentioned in the academic, museum and commercial archaeological fields the need to promote 'access', 'learning' and to 'reach new audiences' yet seldom do they address what those words actually mean. All too often there is a sense that they are merely ticking boxes, saying the fashionable words they feel should be said, playing the political game.

What we as archaeologists have failed to ask is the simple question: what do the public want, what we can actually do to engage the public in archaeology? The museum's aim was to find answers for this simple but often-overlooked question and to formulate strategies to break down barriers between the profession (museums/ archaeologists) and the public. Shoreditch Park sought to put some substance back into what were, and in many cases still are, empty phrases, because most importantly it is about breaking down the barriers that we archaeologists have so often placed around what we like to call our own profession. Community archaeology is something we have created to serve as a continuation of what many describe as a hobby. Yet what we have actually done in trying to preserve our love of investigating the past is to isolate ourselves within a profession and possibly even contribute to its demise. In a world of ever-increasing financial constraints on the public section, and service industry, isolation really is no

longer an option, because if archaeology is only for the select few we are no better than the antiquarians who made archaeology a hobby. We have tried to make it into something else yet now want the public's money to do so: we have to ask what can we give them back in return.

How it worked in practice

To commemorate the 60th anniversary of the end of the Second World War, the Museum of London undertook a community archaeology excavation of Shoreditch Park, Hackney. The dig ran from the 4th to 24th July 2005, and was open to local schools, community groups and families. The project aimed to offer the public an opportunity to learn more about the Second World War and Hackney's history through the first hand experiences of working with archaeologists and historians. The project was funded by the Big Lottery Fund, alongside the 'Their Past Your Future' travelling exhibition hosted by the Museum of London in July 2005. With the help of the local community, Museum of London archaeologists unearthed the story of the people of Dorchester Street.

History

The area now known as Shoreditch Park has had a varied history: old maps of the area show that before about 1850 the area was used as market gardens. The rapid development of London in the mid 19th century dramatically changed the area's land use, as it was built on to provide homes, churches, schools and factories. These maps reveal that the area was covered in densely packed terrace housing.

During the Second World War much of the area was severely damaged by bombing, in the Blitz and subsequently V1 and V2 rocket attacks. The 1950s saw the demolition of the surviving terraced housing and the building of temporary 'prefab' houses. These were later removed to create the park we see today.

The finds

The archaeological investigation involved three trenches. The main trench was located on the northern side of what had been numbers 31–34 Dorchester Street. Digging revealed that each house comprised of a front room, dining room, kitchen and outside washroom and toilet, located in the backyard with an adjacent back garden. It was possible to interpret where the rooms were divided; stairs where located; as well as where coal was kept, doors hung and fires lit.

At some stage in their history, possibly in the early 20th century, the homes were extended to increase the size of the kitchen and to add the washroom and toilet. Previously the inhabitants used cesspits to dispose of their rubbish and sewage. These cesspits produced fascinating insights into the lives of the residents of Dorchester Street

because they contained domestic rubbish from the houses. For instance, they showed that the residents of number 33 may well have enjoyed meals of oysters eaten off blue and white decorated plates, washed down with ginger beer.

The finds from the excavation brought the community of Shoreditch into direct contact with people from the past. Those from the dig ranged from pieces of a 16th century stoneware wine jug, which dates from when the rubbish was brought from the Tudor city to manure the fields of Hoxton, to a pair of 1950's nylon stockings.

Perhaps not surprisingly many of the items found were toys, such as a model plane, a lead soldier and a toy gun. These items shed some light on the children who grew up surrounded by the debris of war. In one back gardens a skeleton of a cat was found: amazingly visitors to the site who had once lived in the houses could identify it as 'Blackie the lodger's cat' (Simpson & Keily 2005).

'Milk came out of bottles?' This question was asked by one of the 700 children from Hackney's primary schools that visited the site, as they helped to wash finds from the dig. Throughout July, children became archaeologists, learning about the history of their community. During each two-hour session they got to dig alongside archaeologists from the Museum of London.

It was not just local children who learnt from the excavation. Many brought their families along for the weekend sessions, washing finds with their grandparents, who then told their own tales of wartime Hackney. Some of these people were former residents, and had grown up in houses like the ones they were excavating and remembered walking down Dorchester Street on their way to school, and as children cheering when this same school was nearly bombed.

They told moving stories of the trauma of evacuation, with children having to leave their families. There were also shocking stories of destruction caused by the bombing campaigns that destroyed whole streets; the noise of the Blitz, and the eerie silence of V2 rocket, which was followed by a ray of light.

The future

During the dig Channel 4 made a 'Time Team' documentary about Shoreditch Park, 'Buried by the Blitz'. Although the first excavation was over the project continued, with open days and displays at the museum's resources centre, local exhibitions, and further digging opportunities during the park's festival, which was funded by Shoreditch Trust, and engaged the youth in archaeology, including young offenders. Furthermore, adult learning and teacher training sessions, and 'handling boxes' were produced, funded by a second grant by the Big Lottery Fund. The project also worked with the designers in incorporating the story of the park's heritage in the new park design and regeneration; learning about Shoreditch Park looks set to be part of its future.

Why it's important

It is critical that we translate our museum and archaeological discourse for a wider audience, thinking outside our own archaeological research agendas and moving towards a more anthropological approach. It is hoped that this paper has explained why community archaeology projects are such an important step forward for the archaeological profession (from national, local government, museums, commercial units) both educationally and in terms of reaching new audiences. Hopefully it has given some idea of how this approach to community archaeolog worked in practice, and why projects that actually involve and engage local communities are essential to the future of archaeology, not just locally but also on a national level. It is now a question of how we can move these projects forward, make them community driven and sustainable in the long term. Shoreditch Park has offered the Museum of London an academic framework for moving community archaeology forward; now it is up to the community where it ends up.

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DOES ARCHAEOLOGY MATTER?

Don Henson

The archaeological domain

> Despite its great and growing popularity it seems to me that archaeology is still a widely misunderstood subject (not least by some of its friends, and even of its practitioners), and as a result of this it is still far from having achieved the place, either in formal education or in the general consciousness of society, to which its achievements, and its relevance to our human condition, entitle it. (Evans 1975).

Archaeology is the study and interpretation of diversity in human behaviour, from place to place and over time. The objects of study of archaeology are the physical remains and traces left behind by that behaviour. As a discipline, it has an intellectual domain that encompasses three threads as follows:

- people, e.g. individual and group behaviour
- place, e.g. relationship to the environment
- past, e.g. the nature of change

It is important to realise that the three threads are linked together through the relationship of people to place over time. This relationship occurs within the physical and social networks we build up in particular localities.

Archaeology is not the only discipline which studies people, place or time. Each of the three threads of the discipline is shared with others, for example (not an exhaustive list):
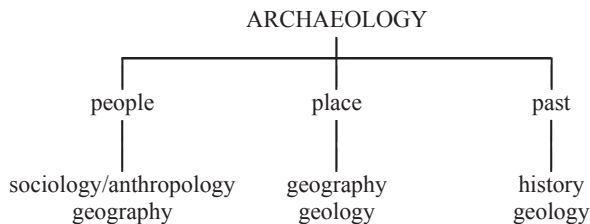
Figure 1: The academic domain of archaeology.

While archaeology can contribute to our understanding of the whole domain of people, place and time, its distinctive contribution lies in its understanding of human interaction with the landscape (through the remains it studies) and of changing human behaviour over long time-scales. Archaeology is not the academic attempt to recover the lost facts about what happened in the past. The past is gone forever. What we have left are the remains of human activity, which provide broken glimpses into the past. Archaeology is an attempt to make sense of these remains in the present, remains often termed 'heritage'. Archaeology as academic study, and as professional practice, has become increasingly intertwined with heritage management. The chief concern so far for archaeologists has been to protect and conserve the heritage of the past, usually on the grounds that it is being preserved for future generations of archaeologists to study with better scientific techniques than our own. Built into the nature of archaeology therefore is an ethos of protectionism and self-serving. It can be argued that this has provided poor grounding for archaeology as public service, and makes it hard for the discipline to find an accepted role within society. Archaeological remains have little perceived relevance other than as objects of study for archaeologists.

Quality of life

If archaeology is to successfully engage with the present, it must take notice of current political and social concerns. Fortunately, the times in which we live provide us with a good opportunity to make archaeology more relevant. What archaeology has to offer is a powerful contribution to the quality of life of people. The term quality of life encompasses a sphere of government activity and a way of thinking about various problems in today's world. Quality of life can be said to have three threads, which link to important areas of political concern, i.e.

- social inclusion (people)
- environmental protection (place)
- sustainable development (future)

Archaeology is well placed to help our understanding of issues relating to quality of life. Its concern with people and place through time is clearly linked with the threads of quality of life. Social inclusion is fundamentally about people; making sure they have a place in society. Environmental protection is concerned with ensuring that the physical spaces in which we live are not destroyed through our own thoughtlessness. What we are seeking to protect is a sense of place. Sustainable development is looking to the future, to enable change to take place but in ways that provide a basis for supporting future generations. Managing change is really about coping with time. Not only is archaeology able to enhance and promote the quality of life both through its aim to understand people and place over time, but also through its working practices. Some examples of how it can do this (again not exhaustive) are given in Table 1.

Quality of life	Understanding	Practice
social inclusion	the nature of society: how individuals relate to groups and each other	volunteering in local societies, providing employment opportunities
environment	the two-way nature of human-environment interaction	maintaining local distinctiveness through conservation
sustainability	change over time in human interaction with the environment	enabling continued care and sustainable use of the historic environment

Table 1: How archaeology can enhance quality of life.

Archaeology thus has value for society. The remains that archaeologists study, the historic environment, are part of present day life and should play an important role for all groups in society. Physical heritage can be a powerful means of integrating people with their communities because heritage is strongly connected with a sense of belonging to a place or social group. It can thus engender strong emotive responses in individuals. Archaeology is by nature inclusive and a force for integration in society, thus achieving goals of social inclusion.

The archaeologist as mediator

For archaeology to realise its potential, it is essential that archaeologists develop a social conscience. The product of archaeology (the recovered remains, the interpretations and presentations) will remain static and inactive unless we as archaeologists actively mediate between it and the public. The processes of mediation involve three main aspects: communicating archaeology; involving people in discovery, interpretation and presentation; and empowering people to engage with their own and others' heritages. These can all be considered as part of a public archaeology.

Communicating archaeology is essentially a didactic process of imparting knowledge. We give to people information about what we have found, and tell them what are our interpretations of the past. This is teaching them about the past; the 'what happened when'. Our curiosity is satisfied and our knowledge enhanced. Through finding out the 'facts' we feed our fascination with the world of the past – a past both part of our sense of identity and a strange other world, different and remote, and therefore exotic and enticing.

Empowering people is more of a two-way process whereby we help people to find their own interpretations of the past, their own understanding of what archaeology tells us about human behaviour. Rather than finding out 'what happened when', we can understand how 'then informs now'. This is partly a process of understanding the present in the context of the past, so helping us make sense of events and institutions today (either by tracing their origins or by the use of analogy with similar events or institutions in the past). Archaeology, with its knowledge of a wide variety of other cultures and times, can help us to empathise with other societies, periods and circumstances, which

enhances our respect for other cultures and ways of life. It can also help us to understand processes of change. Having insight into issues of sustainability and the consequences for the future of our actions in the present is to empower us to take charge of our destinies. Looking at long-term human interaction with the environment is a necessary part of understanding the effects of modern lifestyles and farming practices on the climate and landscape. We can be empowered to cope with future climatic change by looking back at the past. At a time when human inhumanity to others is a constant feature on our television screens and in our newspapers, archaeological study of the nature of humanity and our common heritage as human beings is truly empowering. Any discipline which teaches us tolerance and concern towards others has got to be a powerful force for good. Social inclusion, sustainability and environmental management can only come about through empowering individuals. Simply relying the powers of the state to act on our behalf will not solve the many problems that face society in the 21st century.

Involving people in archaeology is the essential third step in validating archaeology within society. This does not only mean bringing people onto excavations. Archaeology is more than a mechanical process of digging. Archaeology is an attitude towards tangible heritage. By involving local communities in making decisions about, and caring for, their own built environment we help people make sense of their own cultural identity, and often help create an identity that has been broken down by social and economic deprivation. Communities can find regeneration through proper involvement with managing their heritage. People will also come to value the contribution of heritage to the economy through its links with tourism, through the employment opportunities involved in heritage management, and through the investment made possible in areas with a positive image and identity. People can contribute to their own sense of place, so helping a community feel proud of its locality, protect its historic environment and treasure its distinctive character. By building an active community through involvement in its heritage, we empower people to express their identities, and by actively working together we engender a sense of social cohesion. If at the same we enable local people to investigate their own heritage and become part-time archaeologists, so much the better. We enhance the knowledge we have of the past and open ourselves to alternative interpretations that should keep our minds sharp and flexible. Archaeology can only gain through widening its circle of practitioners.

Public archaeology

There are many ways in which archaeologists can mediate between the past and the public. One powerful and direct way is to provide input into teaching in schools and colleges. However, this is mostly a passive relationship of archaeology being delivered to pupils and students as part of their education. Perhaps more powerful is the reaching out by archaeologists to adults in local communities. Archaeology becomes part of a practical way in which people live their lives. There has been a long tradition of

university-based archaeologists teaching the public through part-time evening, weekend and summer courses (what used to be called extra-mural education, more recently termed continuing education or lifelong learning). In the early days, archaeology was often part of courses on local history, which were pioneered in the 1930s by people like W. G. Hoskins (Speight 2003: 57). Extra-mural courses often developed important field schools that made real contributions to archaeological research, and trained generations of local people in archaeological skills. The growth of professional archaeology from the 1970s with the local and regionally based field units, and later the development of competitive field units under PPG16 had the effect of reducing the importance of the extra-mural led fieldwork (Speight 1998). Local societies had often been formed and supported through the link with extra-mural departments and this previously vital part of the archaeological community began to experience decline, loss of confidence and problems in recruitment (not in all cases since some local societies continued to flourish).

Catering for young people outside the school gates began in 1972 with the formation of Young Rescue, later the Young Archaeologists' Club, under a dedicated group of people led by Kate Pretty and Mike Corbishley. Since 1993, the Club has been part of the Council for British Archaeology and continues to introduce young people between the ages of 8 to 16 to archaeology. The success of the Club can be seen in the high profile achieved by some of its former members, e.g. Simon Thurley, now Chief Executive of English Heritage. Of course not all Club members have gone on to a career in archaeology. Many more have entered adult life with a knowledge of archaeology and the abilities to continue their interests in later life.

Until recently, very few archaeological organisations had staff devoted to working with the public. English Heritage and the National Trust have had education officers for many years, until recent cuts, there were regional outreach officers at English Heritage. Some field units and local authorities employ outreach officers, community archaeologists, or education officers. More recently, Heritage Lottery Funding and the Local Heritage Initiative have provided money to support community archaeology projects throughout the UK. New, and often very local, heritage groups are now springing up to complement the existing network of local societies. A national project like the Portable Antiquities Scheme has an educational strategy as a fundamental part of its work. Its Finds Liaison Officers are an invaluable part of public archaeology at the present day. Much of their work is with local metal detectorists and the growth of metal detecting clubs has involved hitherto marginalised groups in society (marginal in terms of access to archaeology) in helping to recover evidence of the past. The circle of people involved in recovering, interpreting and campaigning for heritage is growing wider than ever before.

There are now also more public or community archaeologists than ever before. There is a great deal of excellent work being done. Yet, a theoretical basis for the work is often lacking, since a field of public archaeology has not yet been articulated within archaeological academia or archaeological theory, apart from occasional references in

'post-processual' works (e.g. Shanks and Tilley 1992). Archaeologists working within a largely post-modernist framework where the authority of the expert is allowed to face challenge from alternative interpretations have proved willing to engage in public archaeology as part of their outlook on what archaeology is. My own outlook is not necessarily post-modern, but that of an archaeology educator. If archaeologists are engaged in constructing a version of the past, then they are engaged in a process very similar to that of the student or pupil faced with constructing an interpretation of the world through education. The theory underlying education today is based on the constructivist ideas of writers like Jean Piaget (1963), Jerome Bruner (1960) and Lev Vygotsky (1962), and the more recent work of Howard Gardner (1983).

The overall nature of constructivist learning is that learners should be involved and empowered through appropriate communication. Using media like television or computer games to bring archaeology to wider audiences can therefore be seen as entirely appropriate. People need to be enthused about what they are asked to learn, and to feel that they are engaged in an activity to which they can contribute. Sitting in a lecture is far less satisfying than taking part in a field project where people feel they are contributing directly to the knowledge of the past. For Piaget, the highest stage of education was made possible by students' abilities to reason in abstract ways through deduction from the information presented to them. This is something that archaeologists are forced to do every day through the inadequacies of their data. Bruner emphasised that individuals were able to construct their own learning based on their own experiences and skills. Simply trying to fill them with facts would not work, since they would order and select the facts for themselves into patterns that would make sense to them. Good public archaeology must be a dialogue in which the archaeologists listen to the views of the people as much as the other way round. People have their own views about the past, which we must negotiate with rather than ride roughshod over. Vygotsky stressed the power of language; that teachers needed to learn how to communicate effectively with pupils in a social environment where group interaction could aid understanding. Many groups feel intimidated or lack confidence in the face of university trained, mainly white, middle-class archaeologists. He also stressed that learning was a social activity and that the group setting for learning was all important. In other words, communication, empowerment and involvement are key aspects of constructivist learning that public archaeology is well placed to deliver.

Archaeology thus has a key role in as a force for the good of society and for individuals:
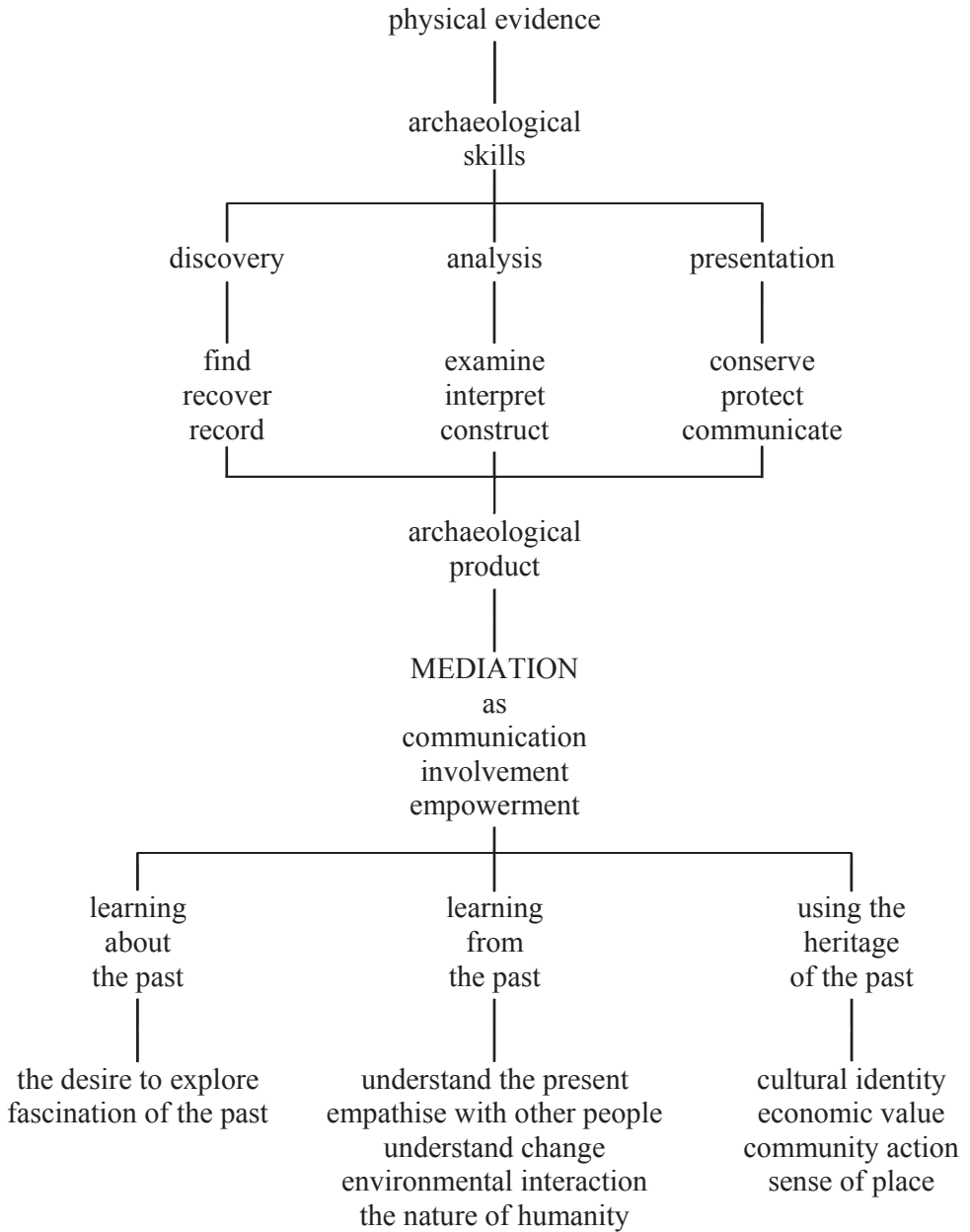
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physical evidence

|

archaeological
skills

discovery — analysis — presentation

find
recover
record

examine
interpret
construct

conserve
protect
communicate

archaeological
product

|

MEDIATION
as
communication
involvement
empowerment

learning
about
the past

learning
from
the past

using the
heritage
of the past

the desire to explore
fascination of the past

understand the present
empathise with other people
understand change
environmental interaction
the nature of humanity

cultural identity
economic value
community action
sense of place

*Figure 2. Public archaeology is the essential mediation between past and present: between people in
the past and people now.*

Conclusion

> I envy the new generation its great opportunity, as never before, to dig up people rather than things, and to enable us, in the fullness of time, to view the past and present as a single, continuous and not always unsuccessful battle between Man and his Environment and, above all, between Man and himself. (Wheeler 1954: 246).

There can be no doubt that archaeology matters. It is a subject that is not just concerned with the past for its own sake, what the 16th century antiquarian William Camden called a mere 'back-looking curiositie' (Bahn 1996: 2). It is a subject with a wide social utility, as well as an inherent fascination and sheer fun. Social inclusion means including the past as well as the present. A sustainable and environmentally friendly future can only come about through an understanding of the past. Archaeologists in the United Kingdom are recognising this more and more. We now realise that archaeology is not our private hobby, and that we cannot expect to find employment simply because we like the subject. We have a responsibility back to the society that allows us our jobs. More than that, most would now accept that the heritage we uncover and investigate does not belong to the archaeologist; it belongs to everyone. By seeking to understand how people have lived in places in the past, the archaeologist has an important part to play in enhancing everyone's quality of life. The archaeologist is not part of an elite vanguard, safeguarding the past on behalf of the masses, or seeking to use the past to subvert the present on their behalf (Shanks & Tilley 1992). The archaeologist is the mediator between past and present, helping communities and individuals to come to terms with their past and their heritage. It empowers them to take charge of their own futures by understanding how we live in fragile environments, and in dynamic and changing societies.

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