# The Practice of Community Archaeology in the UK:

# A model for best practice based upon case studies from Dorset and Cambridgeshire

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# Abstract

Archaeology undertook a process of definition and exclusivity in order to develop as a discipline. It justified its increasing control and management of the archaeological resource as being on behalf of the public. This has been challenged by the concept of community archaeology, which was originally defined as a collaborative process, where non-archaeologists are considered equal partners in the research process.

In the UK local archaeology societies have been interpreted as community archaeology. They developed in parallel to the profession and are traditionally managed by and for volunteers, some of whom have considerable archaeological experience. The term community archaeology has also been used to describe a much wider range of projects, many of which have been stimulated by professional organisations wishing to demonstrate impact. These usually, but not always, aim to engage the community through participation. There has been some theoretical discussion about community archaeology. This has predominantly revolved around definition but little research has taken place into the practice occurring within the UK. This has resulted in a lack of published guidance.

This PhD thesis will start to fill this gap. It considers the concept of community archaeology and its relationship with professional archaeology. In particular it focuses upon the concept of the volunteer and the local archaeology society. The research used a qualitative approach to understand current practice. Interviews with volunteers from local archaeology societies identified that they conduct archaeological research for a range of reasons. Primarily these are site accessibility and personal interest however volunteers are also motivated by a sense of wider purpose and they desire to conduct their research to professional standards. The thesis compares this to interviews with professional archaeologists, who value these societies for the support that they provide to the archaeological profession. Case study projects were used as a second methodology to explore the practice of community archaeology in the UK upon theoretical guidance, and in particular the concept of collaboration in. Volunteers in archaeology look towards professional archaeologists to provide guidance, identifying

them as experts. They also require a range of different archaeological experiences. Relationships between the public, experienced volunteers and professional archaeologists were demonstrated to be complex and these categories are not exclusive.

The research concludes that community archaeology has previously been described as a bottom up or collaborative practice, this research demonstrates that the practice has evolved and that now many examples conform to the Authorised Heritage Discourse. This has created a lack of guidance; in response this PhD presents a model of best practice for professional and volunteer archaeologists. This will ensure that community archaeology is practiced to the maximum benefit of all involved.

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# Chapter 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Outlining the problem

Within the UK, over the course of 250 years, archaeology has progressed from antiquarian hobby to a distinct profession. Running tangentially to this process have always been archaeological projects that involve non-professional archaeologists directly in the research process. These range from volunteers helping out with professionally led research projects to established groups running their own excavation programmes. This manner of non-professional participation has become known as community archaeology. This is not a new phenomenon but it has recently developed into a specialism of its own right.

Community archaeology has an important contribution to make to society. This, combined with positive alignment to political agendas and social trends resulting in additional funding streams, has led to an increase in its popularity. Many archaeologists have identified the positive benefits of community archaeology however critical evaluation and theoretical guidance of the practice has not kept pace.

The early methodologies for community archaeology recommended revision through time but recent theoretical literature has not returned to this. Instead discussion has focused upon defining the concept of community archaeology. This has primarily, but superficially, discussed who or what make up the community concerned but has not always addressed the purpose and how this translates into practice. Relationships within the communities involved, and particularly the balance between professional archaeologist and volunteer, have been pivotal to the discussion but now guidance is required beyond this.

Historically there are four main positions:

1, A collaborative research method where archaeology is conducted as a joint venture and the community are consulted at every stage in a project (Marshall 2002; Moser et al. 2002; Tully 2007; Atalay 2012).

2, A top down (professionally driven) practice where professional archaeologists involve the public in their research (Selkirk 2005, 2009, 2010).

3, A bottom up practice where research is driven by non-professionals, often through local archaeology societies (Faulkner 2000; Reid 2008). This is also known as amateur archaeology.

4. A wide ranging phenomenon incorporating all of the above. Sometimes this has resulted in avoidance of definition at all (Isherwood 2009a; Isherwood 2012) (Moshenska and Dhanjal 2012; Thomas 2014).

This lack of agreement over definition has resulted in some fierce criticism and discussion but has not moved discussion forward (Selkirk 2005; Moshenska 2008). The recent tendency to shy away from definition has resulted in a sticking point within the literature. This combined with a tendency to present case studies rather than overarching critical discussion and the pressure on practitioners (to keep practicing) has resulted in limited development of the theoretical guidance to support the development of practice. This lack of guidance about community archaeology, combined with an increased popularity in projects, has led to an increase in projects where the full impact of their work is often not considered.

## 1.1 Aim

This thesis aims to examine the practice of community archaeology and to use this to provide guidance for future community archaeology projects. It offers an original contribution to the study of community archaeology by seeking to understand it from the perspective of those who take part.

## 1.2 Objectives

- This thesis will outline the development of community archaeology across England.
- It will explore the variety of published definitions and case studies of community archaeology.
- With a focus upon two, primarily rural, case study counties in the south of England (Dorset and Cambridgeshire) it will provide the current context for community archaeology conducted by local archaeology societies
- Four case study projects in Dorset will investigate existing theoretical models and methodologies for community archaeology. These will look at how best practice can be achieved and its limitations. In particular the effect of collaborative partnerships will be recorded and analysed.
- The thesis will use interviews carried out within Dorset and Cambridgeshire to record and document current practice of community archaeology across the archaeological sector.
- Two sets of interviews will be conducted; one with volunteer members of local archaeology societies and one with professional archaeologists who are paid to conduct archaeology. These will be used to document the activities of local archaeology societies.
- The results from these methods will be used to inform a model of best practice which can be used to guide community archaeology across England and further afield.

## 1.3 Context of the research

This PhD research was funded partly by Bournemouth University and partly by the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) through the South Dorset Ridgeway Landscape Partnership (SDRLP). The SDPLP is a Heritage Lottery Funded Project with a vision

> '*for a South Dorset Ridgeway that is recognised as a truly special landscape to live in, work on and to visit. One where the unique wildlife is thriving and the ancient ceremonial landscape is conserved. This has been achieved by us – residents, workers and visitors – coming together to not only conserve and restore the built and natural heritage, but also to discover and understand more about this beautiful, unique place and learn skills to care for it in the future*" (Sharpe 2013).

The South Dorset Ridgeway spans 17 miles west to east running from the village of West Bexington to Poxwell. The town of Dorchester is located to the north of the ridgeway and Weymouth to the South (Figure 1.1). It is a distinct landscape with multiple landscape characteristics, outstanding wildlife and, of most relevance for this research, an unprecedented presence of prehistoric monuments (Sharpe 2013). The partnership comprises 14 different organisations that vary from ecologically focused Trusts to arts companies and educational charities. It is led by the Dorset Area for Outstanding Natural Beauty (DAONB) and hosted by Dorset County Council (DCC).

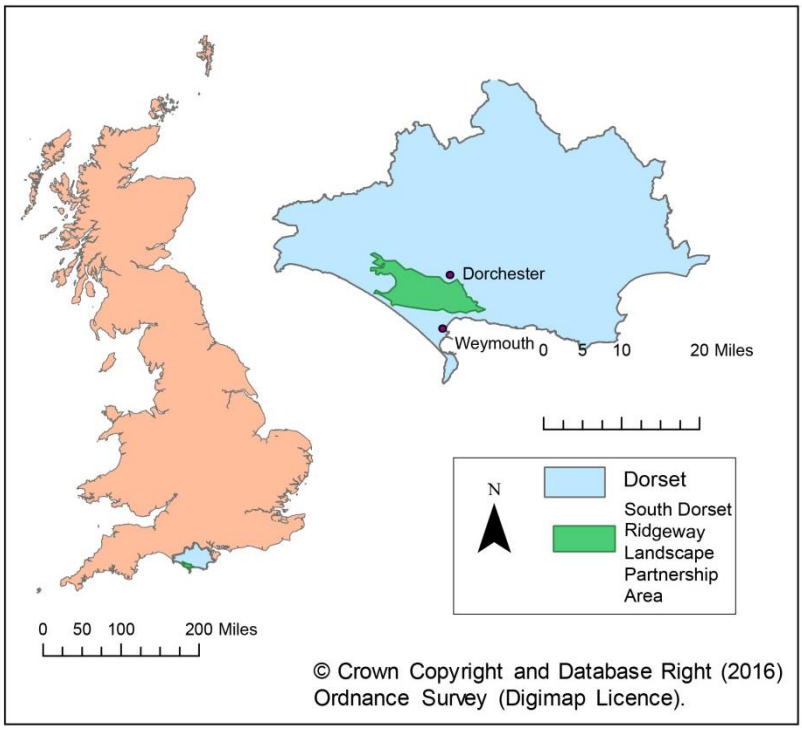



**Figure 1.1 South Dorset Ridgeway Landscape Partnership Area (taken from Sharpe 2013)**

This PhD funding arrangement specifically required a project design that would encourage interaction between the community and the landscape; community archaeology case study projects were agreed upon in advance as part of the funding application (Gale 2013). The selection of these projects was an important contribution to the development of the method, and therefore results, but did not in any way compromise the integrity of the research. Where the partnership directly influenced the case studies this is acknowledged within chapter six.

The voice of the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) calling for case study projects was an important element of the research. They have significant influence on the practice of community archaeology across England and designate millions of pounds to funding community archaeology projects every year (Heritage Lottery Fund 2009; Maeer G. 2013; Heritage Lottery Fund 2015b, 2016; Jones 2016). Their influence on the sector would have been incorporated into the methods even if they were unaware of the research but it is hoped that by acknowledging and directly incorporating their requirements the model of best practice will realistically reflect current practice and be stronger for it. The model of best practice will be directly applicable and provide useful

guidance for future HLF funded community archaeology projects. Combining this case study methodology with interviews will ensure that the research is not limited to HLF funded community archaeology projects and incorporates a holistic perspective. It is for this reason that this thesis uses Dorset as its main case study area. Cambridgeshire has also been selected as a comparator. The reasoning behind this is illustrated in Chapter Three.

## 1.4 Structure of the thesis

This thesis starts with a descriptive account of the history of professional archaeology. The development of professional archaeology is intertwined with the development of community archaeology; each would not exist without the other. This sets out the historical context behind this relationship, demonstrating the maturing of antiquarian exploits to scientific methods, and early legislation and government controlled bodies, and eventually to the development of a commercial sector. Chapter three outlines the current context of professional and community archaeology in Dorset and Cambridgeshire, the two case study regions. It provides detailed examination of all sectors and sets the scene for the results outlined in chapters six and seven.

Chapter four explores the concept of community archaeology. It looks at the theoretical development and explores the conflicting definitions. Published guidance is critiqued and examples of current practice analysed. The local archaeology society becomes a particular focus and the impact of practice is particularly considered.

Chapter five outlines the methodology for the data collection conducted as part of the PhD research. It explains how and why the interviews were conducted and how the case study projects were developed. The results are discussed in Chapters six and seven. Chapter six describes each case study project in turn, discussing the results and building a picture of successful methods. Chapter seven presents the results of the interviews thematically. It starts with the perspective of professional archaeologists before moving on to explore that of local archaeology societies. The practice of these

groups is discussed in detail, moving beyond description to an understanding of motivation. The chapter finally considers relationships between professional archaeologists and local archaeology societies. The results are then brought together and discussed in chapter 9. This is also presented thematically, taking influence from the whole thesis before culminating in a model of best practice.

## 1.5 Language of the thesis

Much of this thesis discusses the importance of the definition and meaning of particular terms and language. Therefore it is important to be clear here regarding certain terminology used throughout. The selection and use of these terms is partially based upon the results and the language recorded during the interviews.

**Amateur archaeologist**: This is the term that appeared to be preferential amongst members of local archaeology societies to describe themselves. It is not a derogatory term and passes no judgement upon skill or experience. It simply describes someone who conducts archaeological research for love, not money. They are likely to dedicate a significant amount of time.

**Local Archaeology Society:** The concept of the local archaeology society is discussed in great detail throughout the thesis however in short it is used to describe groups of amateur archaeologists who conduct research within a relatively small geographical focus area.

**Professional archaeologist**: The term professional archaeologist is used to describe somebody who gets paid to be an archaeologist. This is not a judgement on ability or skills and does not necessarily equate to some of the definitions discussed in section 2.7. It can include somebody who has only a few months experience or somebody who has a lot.

**Volunteer:** In the context of this thesis a volunteer is somebody who is actively involved in producing archaeological outcomes but is not paid for their input. They

may have a little or significant archaeological expertise. When conducting work within local archaeology societies this is equivalent to amateur archaeologist however is also used in a much broader context.

A glossary is provided in appendix 2 to outline further abbreviations or ambiguous terms.

# Chapter 2 Evolution of a profession

## 2.1 From Antiquarian to Archaeologist

> *'It was a long slow march which led to the emergence of archaeology- not its status not its object, but its method, constructed upon its trinity of principles; typology, technology and stratigraphy' (Schnapp 1996:37).*

The history of community archaeology is intertwined with the development of the wider archaeological profession. As chapter four will demonstrate the concept of community archaeology is irrelevant without the profession of archaeology. The development of the archaeological professional has been discussed by a number of commentators from a number of different perspectives (e.g. (Wainwright 2000; Lucas 2001; Aitchison 2011; Darvill 2012; Everill 2012) but in order for the context of community archaeology in the UK to be understood it necessary to reconsider this relationship.

People have long considered the past in the present. This has predominately taken the form of classical, written histories but there are records of systematic excavations as early as in Babylon or Ancient Greece (Schnapp 1996). Non-written sources were not seriously utilised to understand the past in Britain until after the Enlightenment period, when science and religion became less closely integrated. During this time a 'convergence of Renaissance historical scholarship with Reformation concerns about national identify and religious ancestry' led to the antiquarian movement (Parry 2007:2). Prior to Enlightenment literal interpretations of the bible had prevented serious consideration of deep time. This impacted upon interpretations of the landscape as well as written histories. Monuments, that we now understand to be prehistoric in date, were often incorporated into folklore in order to explain their history, for example Geoffrey of Monmouth associated Stonehenge with Merlin and Arthurian legend (Loomis 1930:400; Reeve et al 2007).

During the Enlightenment period scholars began to think critically about the past. For example Polydore Vergil (c1470-1555) was asked to write a history of England for King Henry VII. He 'rejected the uncritical approach of medieval chroniclers and sought to base his work on reliable documentary sources' (Trigger 2006:84). During this period of change, particularly with regards to the reformation and the resulting impact on historic buildings, scholars such as John Rous and William of Worcester also began to record buildings (Kendrick 1950). 'These leisured, although usually not rich, antiquaries were drawn from the professional and administrative middle classes' (Trigger 2006:84). It was also around this time that people started to collect objects of interest. These became known as collections of curiosities and contained natural and as well as manmade objects. Many modern museum collections have their origins in personal collections acquired during this time (Impey and MacGregor 2001).

At this time the potential for landscape to contain historical information was also beginning to be realised. John Leland (1503-1552) travelled around England and recorded historical evidence, primarily literary but also the physical landscape. His notes from these journeys were compiled into his *Itinerary*, a document that has been referred to as the first archaeological report (Leland and Toulmin Smith 1964). This was not published until much later but it formed the basis for Camden's Britannia (1586). This was 'a comprehensive work of enquiry into national origins and a description of the land' and for the first time considered questions about the evidence in the landscape for past people (Parry 2007:2). Camden was not conscious of starting a scientific movement however he provided an initial framework of reference, a method of observation and a technique of exploration. England saw a period of immense religious, political and social change during the reformation which had significant repercussions for the population, including (comparatively) increased mobility and an expanding professional sector of society. Archaeology has often been associated with identity building or affirmation (see section 4.10). Camden was directly contributing to this and influencing politics with his research (Richardson 2004: 111).

A Council of Antiquaries assembled in 1586 which, for the first time, began to create a profile for the 'nameless activity of antiquarianism' and well as provide an arena for discussion (Woolf 2007:15). It collected people together who had an interest in

landscapes, objects and histories. It also had the effect of increasing the number of people that could be identified as antiquarians, despite their wide ranging subject matter, and low formal outputs (Parry 2007:9). This council was not related to the modern Society of Antiquaries; it was disbanded early in the Seventeenth century because King James feared it may undermine his position (Trigger 2006:84).

The Royal Society was founded in 1660, and early members included John Aubrey. An emphasis within the society was placed on observation, classification and experimentation and Aubrey's work reflected this. His Monumenta Britannica 'marks the beginning of the formal study of prehistoric remains in England' (Trigger 2006:106-7). He also used a methodology that was based upon observation and comparative analysis in a 'typological-chronological' manner (Schnapp 1996:192). The Society of Antiquaries London was established at the beginning of the eighteenth century and their Royal Charter, granted in 1751, contained their mission: 'The encouragement, advancement and furtherance of the study and knowledge of the antiquities and history of this and other countries' (Society of Antiquaries 2004).

By the eighteenth century a clear distinction developed between antiquarians and historians. Antiquarians became more closely associated with science and natural history. They had become much more empirical in their approach and distanced themselves, not only from collectors in the past but also from 'men of taste', who collected objects for aesthetic value (Sweet 2004:11). Many were members of both the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries and the Royal Society frequently published articles on excavation and other antiquarian observations. This included Stukeley (1687-1765) who was 'one of the first to recognise the possibility of a lengthy pre-Roman occupation, during which distinctive types of prehistoric monument might have been constructed at different times' (Trigger 2006:108). He observed the landscape, was aware of stratigraphy in soil and recorded his discoveries through landscape drawings.

Gradually some antiquarians were becoming archaeologists, although of course they were not aware of this at the time. Antiquarians had moved from collecting objects to comparative analysis and considered excavation but above all they had a focus on

using non-literary sources to purposefully understand people in the past. This was reflected by a shift in language, from 'antiquaries' and 'antiquarian' to 'archaeology' and 'archaeologist' in the early nineteenth century.

Despite still not having an official body, a formal training system, or many full time paid positions of employment, archaeology was beginning to identify itself as a profession during the 19th Century. One of the methods it used to gain respect was to continue to separate itself from antiquarian activities. As part of this process the language of amateur and professional starts to be used. After praising the methodological approach to recording and preservation of Pitt Rivers and condoning those of Colt-Hoare, whom he believes to have acted in a 'perfunctory manner' requests of those who have 'custody' of archaeological remains to

> *'refuse to allow amateurs and people without the requisite training, knowledge, or re- sources to tamper with these invaluable documents — the very title deeds of our earliest history — just as they would forbid a quack or empiric to practise upon their children?' (Howorth 1898:141).*

During the later C18th and into the C19th archaeological activities became focused towards excavation, consolidating the identity of 'The Archaeologist' and separating them from 'The Antiquarian'. Gentlemen would open numerous barrows, (hundreds in some cases), sometimes with the intention to produce synthesis and greater understanding. 'Their intention was to found a regional archaeology' and they placed an importance on the understanding of the past (Schnapp 1996:282). They felt that they were not just excavating for curiosity but for a greater picture, despite their recording and synthesis being somewhat lacking compared to modern standards. During this time (and onwards) there was also another, forgotten or invisible group of people conducting archaeology, the labourers employed by these antiquarians or archaeologists (Everill 2012:64).

## 2.2 In the Provinces (County Societies)

By this time the reputation of the Society of Antiquaries was waning and a wave of new county societies were coming into existence. The first provincial antiquarian organisation was the Newcastle Society in 1813 (Sweet 2004:116) and by 1886 there were forty-nine county and local societies in England (Levine 2003:51). The division in subject between antiquities and archaeology was often not explicit, however many of them 'saw their major function as being the collective organisations in which successful local history came to fruition' (Levine 2003:20). These societies encouraged active participation, rather than just a forum for discussion and depository of knowledge. This also had the effect of formalising a network of individuals who saw themselves as archaeologists, which again was integral in the creation of a cohesive identity. This can be seen through the individuals that made up their memberships.

As these societies grew they were made up predominantly of gentlemen who were employed in other occupations; antiquarianism and archaeology were amateur hobbies (Levine 2003:22-23). There was also no formal training available and the few who were occupied full time in archaeology were often unpaid. Levine also associates the emergence of a scientific approach to the past with the social standing of the various clubs and societies. Sweet has identified that, in the C17th, it may have been partly in response to the process of becoming scientific that 'the study of antiquities was often perceived to be at odds with the gentlemanly idea' (as opposed to the study of history) (2004:8). This distinction may have also been related to the emergence of what has become known as the middle class: 'it is not without significance that the Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Club… claimed no titled members in its membership' (Levine 2003:64). Antiquarians also became the object of ridicule (e.g. Figure 2.2).


**Figure 2.1 The Antiquaries Last Will and Testament (Rowlandson 1814).**

**Caption Reads: Fungus at length contrives to get Death's Dart into his Cabinet.**

At this time there were various different types of clubs and societies with an antiquarian, historical or archaeological focus. Despite Levine's attempts to separate the societies into historical, antiquarian and archaeological it is apparent that they were still undergoing a process of identity creation and establishing what their roles were to be (2003). These societies were distributed across the whole country, and were equally located in urban and rural areas (Levine 2003:52). Some clubs thrived, and are still going strong today, some closed after a short time (e.g. The English Historical Society), and some were absorbed into others (e.g. The Cabot Society). The various societies all placed importance on publications and as such published their own journals. The reputation of the journals established by these societies is often still high today.

There was a relationship between the development of the (Victorian) middle class, the social and political changes created by the industrial revolution and the development of ar**c**haeological societies. The 'Middle Class' is a sector of society of which there have been many different attempts at defining and understanding. During the Victoria Era

the middle class was a derogatory term for those who did not fit into the traditional two class system. The members of local archaeology societies were often individuals who were no longer part of the working class but who were also not seen as part of the upper classes.

For further discussion of the county societies in Cambridgeshire and Dorset see section 3.2.

## 2.3 Archaeology, the State and the Law

Although Henry VIII set up the Office of Kings Works to manage the redundant ecclesial estate after The Dissolution it was not until 1882 when the first legislation regarding the physical past was introduced; the *Ancient Monuments Act 1882* (Hunter & Ralston 1993). After a decade of trying Sir John Lubbock was successful in bringing a private members Bill through parliament which contained a schedule of 50 sites that were to be legally protected (Chippindale 1983). The Office of Works (which later became the Ministry of Works) was responsible for the management of these monuments and in 1883 Pitt Rivers was employed as the first Inspector of Ancient Monuments, a full-time salaried position. The Act was weak in several elements and lacked the ability to have large scale impact. Pitt Rivers gave up the salary in 1890 as he felt the role no longer required much of his time (Bowden 1991:99). In an attempt to address some of the weaknesses further Acts were passed in 1900 and 1910 (Breeze 1993). These increased the range of monuments that were protected and made financial provision to encourage public access to ancient monuments. It was considered important that, although the state was managing the past on behalf of the public, everyone should have access to it.

These three acts were superseded by the *Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act 1913* which, among other things involved the creation of the Ancient Monuments Board (Cookson 2000:536). *The Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979* is the current Act which defines '*The Schedule of Monuments'* which

restricts activities that can occur on and around the monuments on the list (Breeze 1993:44-45). It also introduced the concept of 'national importance' (Cookson 2000:67). This was an important moment when the state began to control and define heritage beyond specific monuments and on behalf of the nation.

In 1908 three Royal Commissions on the Historical Monuments of England, Wales and Scotland were formed (RCHM(E/W/S). Their remit was

> *"to make an inventory of the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions connected with or illustrative of the contemporary culture, civilization and conditions of life of the people of [England, Wales or Scotland]… and to specify those which seem most worthy of preservation" (RCHM(E) 1952).*

At the outset the RCHM(E) employed three investigators but by the outbreak of World War One this had grown to fourteen, including three 'unpaid learners' (Sargent 2001:62). These unpaid learner were first used by the Commission in 1910 and may be the first recorded internship or official use of volunteers in archaeology. This was an acknowledgement that the new role required a new skills base and that funding was stretched. The English Commission existed until 1999 when it was merged with English Heritage as a result of the *National Heritage Act 1983*. By then it had published 17 inventories, predominantly on a county basis and had acquired additional roles including the management of the National Monuments Record. During this time the Ministry of Works had also devolved responsibility to English Heritage who had also acquired a portfolio of properties which is now known as the National Heritage Collection. This meant that the new organisation had to manage these as well as the national system of heritage research and protection. The formation of English Heritage was effectively the government taking a step back from heritage control (Cookson 2000). In 2015 English Heritage split in two separate organisations (DCMS 2014). Management of the property portfolio became the responsibility of English Heritage, which became a charity. Historic England was set up to continue the role of heritage protection and national heritage advice.

The priority of property acquisition by the Ministry of Works was originally focused upon prehistoric and medieval remains. Gradually this diversified into industrial

heritage, country houses and other historic sites. This “National Heritage” had been selected by historic and archaeological professionals and only represented their version of heritage. This specific and narrow interpretation of heritage by Historic England/English Heritage has been criticised as exclusive (Smith and Waterton 2009: 138-9). Recently attempts to become more inclusive have been made (Historic England 2016b). As Carmen wrote with regard to archaeological remains, ‘the law is a vector of moral change’ i.e the law reflects the value placed upon archaeology and reflects political perspective (1996:174). Historic England have also influenced research priorities and management strategies for archaeology across the county (Historic England 2016c). The decisions they make reflect the value placed upon it by the nation.

## 2.4 Rescue archaeology

The demand for archaeologists increased during the post war period with the rise of the’ rescue era’. Rescue was a movement stimulated by the large scale destruction of archaeology that was occurring at a fast pace (Barker 1979:29; Hunter 2002). This was not just through building development but also through ploughing and other intensive agricultural practices. The Ancient Monuments legislation was the only regime in place to protect archaeology, but even monuments under its regulation were being damaged (Barker 1974:29). The matter was discussed at a Conference of Archaeological Tutors from University Extra-Mural Departments in Bristol in 1969 (Barker 1974:280; Barker 1987:7). Extra-mural education was a form of adult learning. The fact that the conference comprised extra mural tutors is important to note. At this time there were a significant number of extra-mural courses in archaeology, although these have since significantly declined (Speight 2002). As well as being taught by university departments the Workers Educational Association (WEA) also provided some training. Archaeology was a popular subject and many of the students were engaged in their own research, often setting up their own projects (including

excavations) research groups and societies (discussed further in section 4.10) (Thomas 1974:10). Mick Aston was one of the early advocates of extra-mural teaching; he had a strong belief that archaeology should be open to all. Much of his innovative Landscape research such as the Shapwick project developed using volunteers and local societies trained through his courses (Gerrard and Aston 2007:7).

Through the Bristol meeting and several that followed after, frustration with the authorities and their inability to act was expressed leading to the development of RESCUE. This organisation had two main aims. The first was to raise public awareness of the plight of archaeology and to campaign for better funding and better protection. Training, recording and preservation were also within this remit. The second aim was to establish a state archaeology service with regional centres (Barker 1987:8; Sheldon et al. 2015: xv). RESCUE had the support of many eminent archaeologists including Mortimer Wheeler, Christopher Hawkes, Barry Cunliffe, Martin Biddle and others. One of the key attributes was that it was an independent organisation that was able to bring together 'professional archaeologists, irrespective of who employed them, amateur archaeologists and everyone else who was sympathetic' (Sheldon et al. 2015:xvii).

Government spending on archaeology did increase during the 1970s, correlating with RESCUE's activities (Barker 1987). This funding was predominantly spent on archaeological units that were established during the 70s. By the mid-80s these units contained about 600 permanent staff (Sheldon et al. 2015:xvii). Although RESCUE did raise awareness and government funds they did not succeed in building a large public support base or establishing a state archaeology service. Instead the government turned to the private sector to provide the solution

## 2.5 Developer funded archaeology

It was already acknowledged that archaeology should be considered within the planning process and it was in 1990 that Planning Policy Guidance 16 (PPG16) was published. This, and the subsequent guidance, Planning Policy Statement 5 (DCMG 2010) and the National Planning Policy Framework (Department for Communities and Local Government 2012) led to the development of a full-blown commercial archaeology sector in the UK. It had the effect of removing the majority of archaeological practice from the public to the private sector. Many of the previous units became commercial companies, providing a more reliable source of employment. At its peak in 2008 commercial archaeology in the UK employed 6516 archaeologists (Aitchison and Rocks-Macqueen 2013:22). As the industry grew, and in particular as a tendering economy developed, archaeologists found themselves working on construction sites with increasing regulations and demands. This created some barriers and meant that the majority of the archaeological fieldwork conducted in the UK during the 1990s and 2000s was not publically accessible. This was not just the excavations but also the results, which were often not written up for publication. This led to some resentment from the voluntary and amateur archaeologists who had gained experience of archaeology during the Rescue era. This will be discussed further in section 4.3.

Today there are an estimated 5736 individuals working in developer-funded archaeology (Aitchison 2016:1). These cover the whole of the country and are producing a vast output of archaeological research. There are currently 40043 reports available in the Archaeology Data Service archive (ADS 2016) and the wealth of knowledge has been demonstrated through projects and publications such as The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain (Allen et al. 2016; Smith et al. 2016) or Bradley's prehistoric landscape research (Bradley et al. 2015, Bradley 2015). This proliferation of fieldwork is set to continue with the expected advent of large infrastructure projects such as High Speed Two.

## 2.6 Archaeologists and universities

The first formal position for an archaeologist within a British university context was the Disney Chair at Cambridge (established 1851), although the first two incumbents were both also practicing clerics. The first, John Marsden learnt his subject through membership of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society and through informal communication with other antiquarians of the time. After selection to the Chair he was involved in the formation of the Essex Archaeological Society and elected as vice president. At its inaugural meeting he defined archaeology as 'the investigation and study of all those relics which have come down from past ages, of the visible and tangible works of man' (Leach 2007:37). This relationship, at the birth of both the county societies and university based archaeology can be seen as a key development in, what was to become, the relationship between professional and non-professional archaeologists. The two were interconnected from the start and individuals had multiple roles. It is important to note however that by the end of the century Marsden would not have been seen as suitable for the role of Disney professor. The expectations of the profession had changed.

Despite this self-desire to be recognised as a respectable discipline and profession it was not until the early 20th century that formal training became available for archaeologists. The first place to learn archaeology as an undergraduate was at Cambridge when the Anthropology Tripos was replaced by Archaeology and Anthropology in 1928. During this time classical and prehistoric archaeology were often seen as separate subjects, and taught as such. The Institute of Archaeology (London) was opened in 1937 and post-war archaeological teaching in universities increased rapidly. By 1987, 211 full time academic archaeologists were employed within 23 Universities (out of 50) and they were facing shrinkage in the sector (Austin 1987:232). A funding crisis resulted in some University's cutting undergraduate courses, although others such as Bournemouth University grew at this time (Hunter 1993 & Ralston:41). Since the 1980s higher education has expanded dramatically, and generally archaeology departments have benefited.

During the 1980s and 1990s university based archaeology became separated from practice (Hodder 1993:18). After the advent of PPG16 and developer-funded archaeology there has been a widening gulf between university-based archaeology and the rest of the discipline (Aitchison 2010: 290; Belford 2014a: 10). Structures such as the Archaeological Data Service have been put in place to mitigate this, particularly with regards to dissemination of research as discussed in section 2.5. These structures have had some success, but there is still some disconnect between the different sectors of archaeology today.

## 2.7 Archaeology as a profession

The concept of professionalism has been heavily theorised within sociological studies and there have been many definitions of 'profession', 'professionals' and 'professionalism' (Evetts 2011). The origins of the word (from the Latin *pro* and *fateri*) translate as 'to announce a belief' (Roddenbury 1953: 109) and it is some of the earliest professions that require public vows of faith e.g. medicine, law and theology. Others have argued that the concept stems from a much wider range of occupations e.g. armed service, architecture and teaching (Carr-Saunders and Wilson 1933; Cheetham and Chivers 2005:3; Abdullahi & Bruce 2014:2). The relationship between occupation and profession has taken up much discussion within the literature. Abdullahi and Bruce (2014:2-4) summarise this discussion by considering nuances in approaches to the concept of 'profession'. wilMost definitions imply that professionalism requires group membership and therefore inclusivity. A body of knowledge is a central component of a profession and access to or understanding of this knowledge is critical for membership and belonging. At some point during the process of becoming a professional an individual moves on from purely learning about a subject e.g. from learning about science, to becoming a scientist. 'This requires an upwards shift in understanding to the point where they can think as a scientist' (Frowe

2005:45). They can apply judgement to a situation that requires application of the knowledge base (Oakshott 1989:51).

There are now multiple routes to become an archaeologist- that is to acquire the skills and body of knowledge in order to learn how to think like an archaeologist. The most common method is currently through an archaeology degree at a university, however there are many practicing within the profession who have learnt their skills 'on the job', perhaps through the extra-mural or Rescue movement. Sometimes this is recognised in qualifications such as the skills passport (Connolly 2015), at other times the CV or the reputation of the individual is more significant. It is through the application of this knowledge, i.e. thinking and acting like an archaeologist, that a professional is accountable to peers.

There are several professional organisations that an archaeologist in the UK may belong to. The Society of Antiquaries is predominantly an academic society. To become a member requires election based upon previous experience however membership does not affect your ability to practice. The Institute for Archaeologists was issued a Royal Charter in 2014, becoming the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists (CIfA). This organisation posits itself as 'the leading professional body representing archaeologists working in the UK and overseas' (CIfA 2016). Individuals and organisations can be members, although members are not chartered. CIfA acts as a regulator; it publishes standards and guidance that members must adhere to.

Ethics and professional trust are concepts that are inherent to being a profession. The public have to trust professionals, both individuals and bodies and their knowledge base (Frowe 2005). The other side of this relationship is that a profession provides a service to the public (Rueschemeyer 1964:17; Schaefer 1984: 272; Downie 1990) and therefore professionals have a duty to serve, and to uphold standards and honour of the profession. It is often professional bodies and associations that have a role in ensuring correct archaeological behaviour and communicating the importance of this to the public.

## 2.8 The role of the public

A profession also has to balance the amount of knowledge the public needs to have about the subject, in order to be able to understand and respect the profession and to accept the need for it, whilst ensuring that they do not have the knowledge and skills to be able to do it themselves and therefore not accept the need for it. Public archaeology is one avenue through which archaeology has done this.

The Council of British Archaeology (CBA) is an organisation of particular importance to the relationship between the archaeological profession and the public and has helped to mediate this relationship. It was formed in 1944 to safeguard Britain's archaeological heritage, by 'promoting public interest in archaeology and furthering archaeological representation, research, education and publication' (CBA 2016b). It is a membership organisation. Originally this was limited to institutions but is now open to all (Cookson 2000:67). It is a registered charity (number 287815) and is funded by its membership and other fundraising activities. Its current objectives are:

> *'Enhancing the protection and stewardship of the UK's archaeological heritage*
>
> *Increasing the range and diversity of public participation in archaeology*
>
> *Increasing public awareness and knowledge of the UK's archaeological heritage'*
>
> *(CBA 2016a).*

This translates into practices such as working with other sector organisations to lobby parliament when appropriate, publishing British Archaeology, and overseeing a network of Young Archaeology Clubs and 12 regional groups. It commissions research into community archaeology and where possible provides resources to support it. Many of these reports and resources are discussed in the following chapters.

It is this relationship with the public that places professional archaeology in the UK in a unique situation. Unlike many other countries in the world there is no legislation which specifically dictates who can and cannot conduct archaeological fieldwork. Since its

inception the profession of archaeology in the UK has seen its role as managing a resource on behalf of the nation but without excluding the public from this process.

# Chapter 3 Cambridgeshire and Dorset

## 3.1 Introduction

Cambridge and Dorset have been selected as the two case study regions for this research. As explained in Chapter 1 this thesis had to include case study projects in Dorset and therefore it was appropriate to also focus on Dorset as a case study area for the interviews. Cambridgeshire was selected as a complementary region because, as this chapter will demonstrate, it has many similarities to Dorset but also important differences. Both counties are located in the South of England and they are economically comparable although both the character of the historic environment and the way in which it is managed differs significantly. This is of importance for the context within which community archaeology is practiced.

## 3.2 Population and Economy

Dorset and Cambridgeshire are both rural counties which do not contain very large conurbations. Cambridgeshire is the county town of Cambridgeshire. Dorchester is the county town of Dorset however Christchurch, Bournemouth and Poole combine to make a larger conurbation. These are located on the coast in the south east of the county (Figure 3.1).

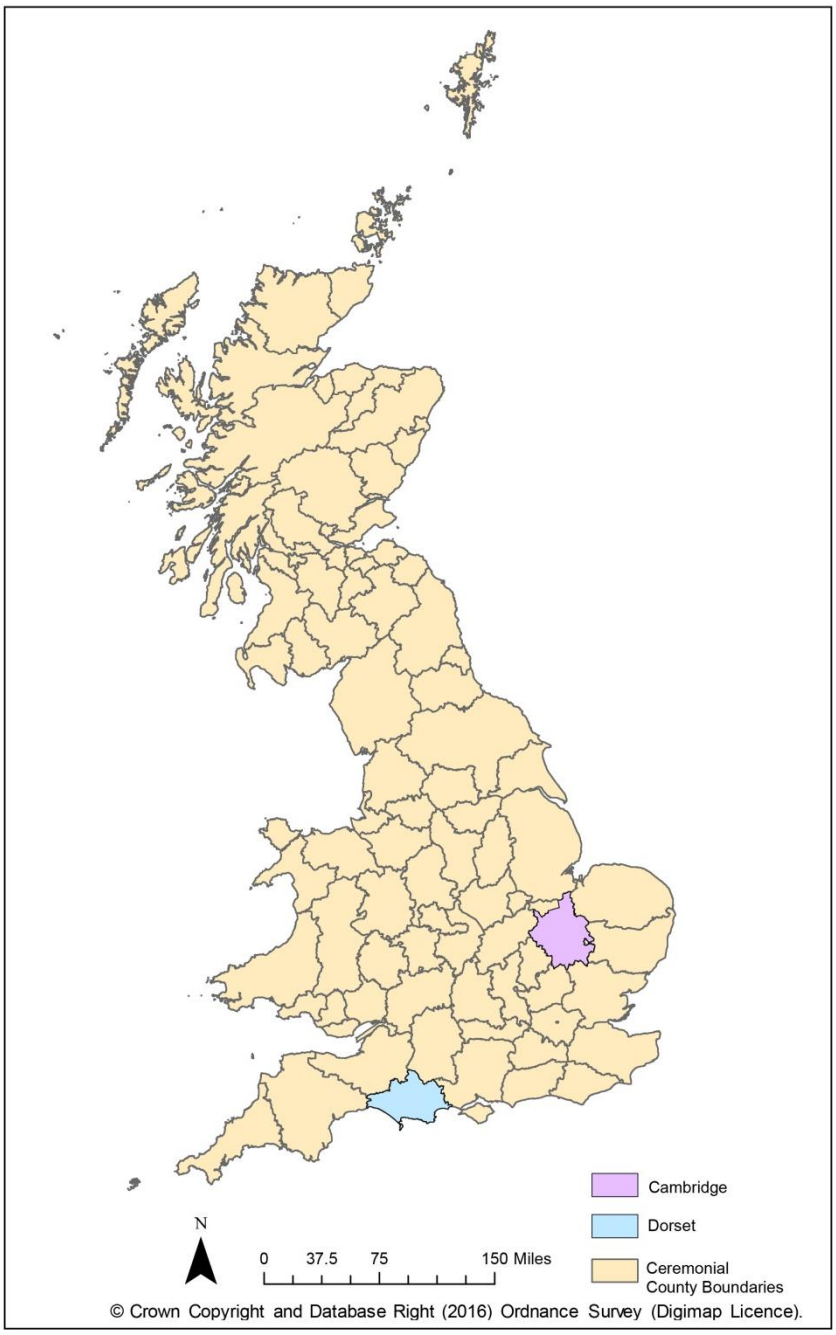



**Figure 3.1 A map of Dorset and Cambridgeshire, the two case study areas.**

Table 3.1 summarises the differences between the population of Dorset and Cambridgeshire. Both populations are growing, although Cambridgeshire is expanding faster; a 25% increase has been predicted in the next 20 years (Cambridgeshire Research Group 2016) whilst Dorset's population is only predicted to grow by 4.6% in the next 10 years (Dorset County Council 2016b). Cambridgeshire has a higher total population with a greater density and a moderately even distribution of age and gender (see figure 3.3). In comparison Dorset has a lower and less dense population but with an ageing population (figure 3.4). Both counties are less diverse than the whole of the UK but Dorset is particularly white (Office for National Statistics 2011, 2016).

**Table 3.1**

**Demographic Statistics for Dorset and Cambridgeshire**

**(Office for National Statistics 2016 )**

| | **Dorset** | **Cambridgeshire** | **UK** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Annual Population Growth for 2015 | 4.6% | 25% | 0.6% |
| Total Population | 420,585 | 647,238 | 65,110,000 |
| Population Density | 158 per km² | 190 per km² | 267 km² |
| Ethnic Diversity | 95.5% white | 84% white | 80.5% |
| Percentage over 65 | 30% | 18% | 17.8% |

Average house prices in both counties are higher than the national average but wealth is unevenly distributed and they both contain areas of significant deprivation. For example house prices in Cambridge are twice that in the district of Fenland in the northwest of the county. Sandbanks (Poole), in Dorset, is one of the most expensive places to buy a house in the UK but the district of Weymouth and Portland, less than 30 miles away, contains 12 neighbourhoods which are in the 20% most deprived neighbourhoods in the country (Dorset County Council 2015).

There are small but important differences between the two counties in employment and occupation and these reflect the differences in economy (figure 3.2). Cambridgeshire contains more people employed in professional occupations than the national average whereas Dorset contains less (figure 3.2) (Office for National Statistics 2016). These occupations frequently require significant qualifications and training. Research and development is a significant driver of the economy in Cambridgeshire, where the largest sector of employment is higher education, along with software consultancy (Cambridgeshire Insight 2013:12). In Dorset there is a greater reliance on skilled trades, caring and leisure, and sales and customer service for employment (The South West Research Company for the Dorset Local Enterprise Partnership 2016:12). This situation has been created through the attraction of the countryside and coastlines of the county. Employment in the care sector reflects the aging population.

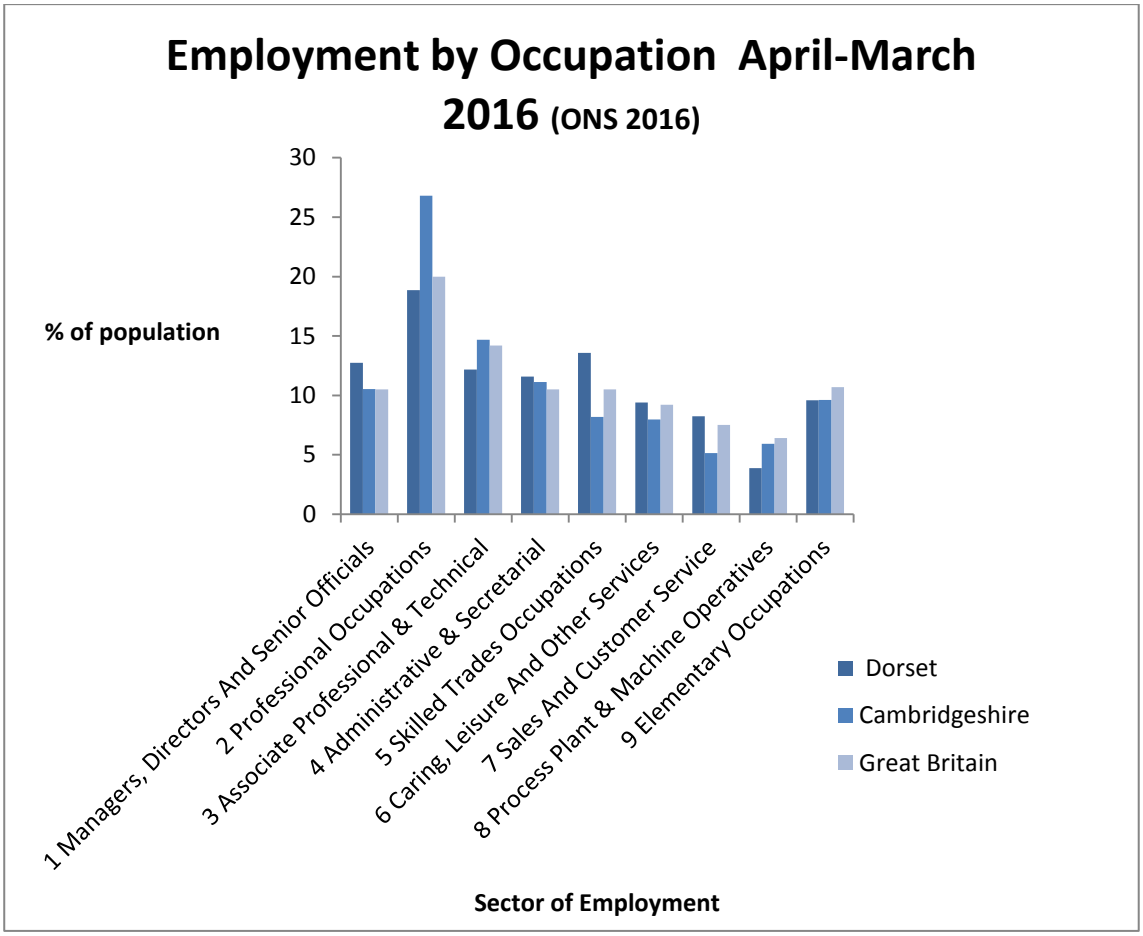



**Figure 3.2 A graph comparing the employment of the population of Dorset and Cambridgeshire in comparison with the national population.**

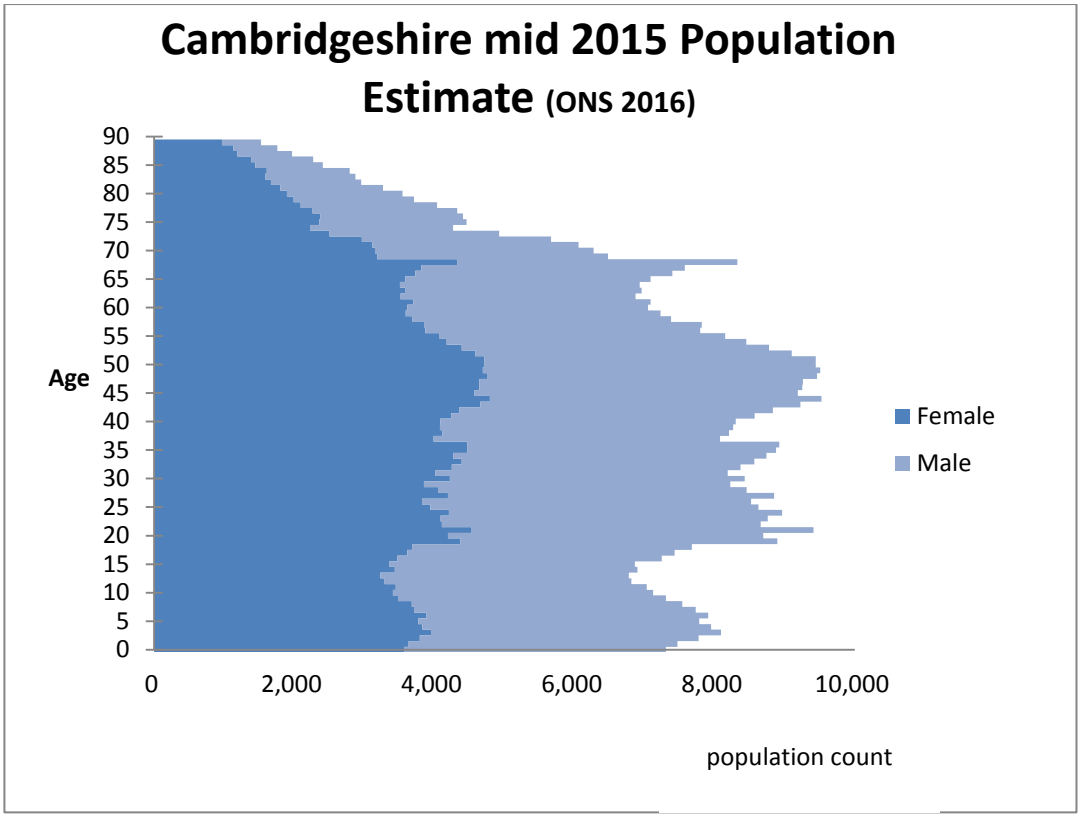



**Figure 3.3 Bar graph showing the age of the male and female population in Cambridgeshire**

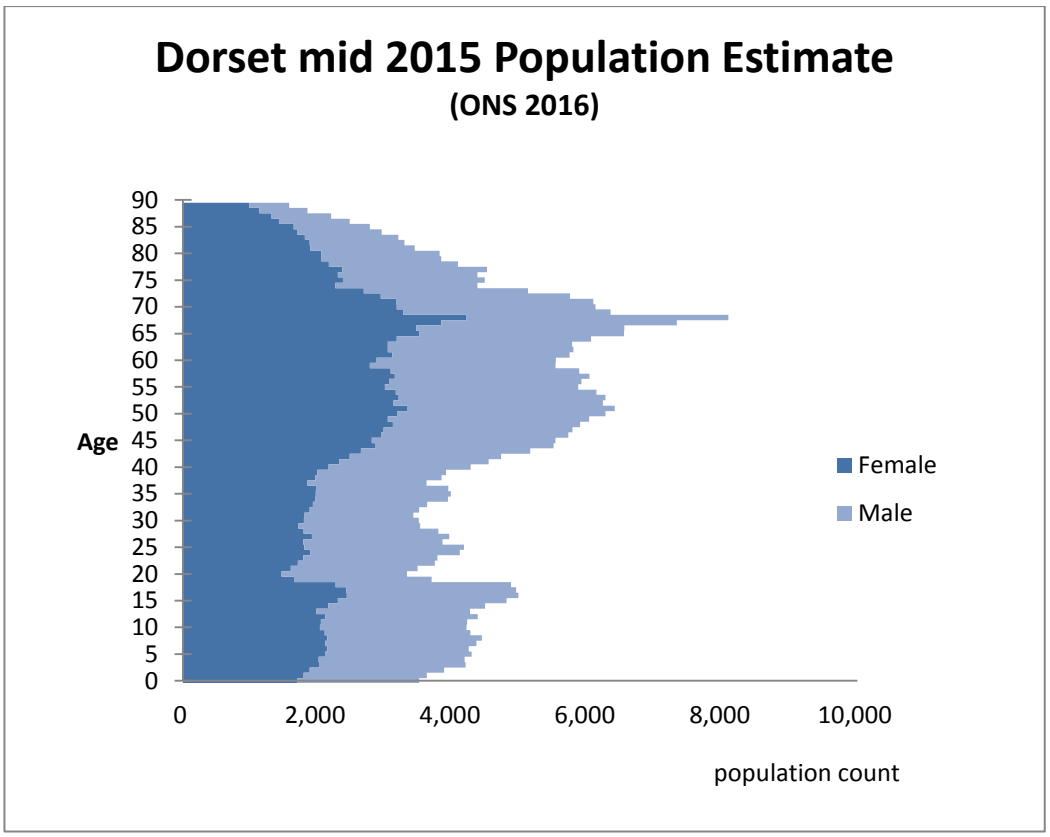



**Figure 3.4 Bar graph showing the age of the male and female population in Dorset**

## 3.3 Landscape and Historic Environment

The landscape and the archaeology differ significantly between Dorset and Cambridgeshire. The landscape directly affects the type and preservation of archaeology, which in turn is then managed differently in both counties. The type and management of archaeology also has an influence over the practice of community archaeology, and therefore it is important to consider the context in which the practice occurs in both counties.

Dorset has an extensive coastline, a varied geology and an undulating topography (Figures 3.7 & 3.8). Together these have had a dominant effect on the landscape character, archaeology, and biodiversity (Figure 3.5). There are 7 different landscape character areas and they vary from Chalk downs to Heathlands (Natural England). Over 50% of Dorset is designated as Areas for Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB) (Dorset Explorer) and the county also contains the Jurassic Coast World Heritage Site (WHS). These statutory designations afford some level of protection for both the historic and natural environment through management of the landscape. The Dorset AONB aims to ensure that the historic resource under its protection 'will be conserved and valued as part of a constantly evolving historic landscape' and that 'the rich cultural landscape will remain a source of local pride, strengthening the local economy'. They also encourage local communities to engage with the future of the past (Dorset AONB 2014). ANOBs are a UK designation whereas the World Heritage Site is designated by UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation). Neither of these designations enables direct legal protection for archaeology however they do provide a framework and strategy for its long term management.

The historic environment in Dorset contains 999 scheduled monuments, 9483 listed buildings, and 36 registered parks and gardens, many more than in Cambridgeshire (see Table 3.2). The archaeological landscape contains significant and rich remnants from all periods but in particular 'the breadth of prehistoric monuments still extant

in the Dorset landscape and consequently accessible to the visitor are almost unequalled in any part of the British Isles' (Gale 2003:9). This is shown in comparison to those in Cambridge in Table 3.2. Many famous archaeologists have conducted important excavations and made significant discoveries in Dorset and as a result of this the county has strongly influenced the development of the archaeological discipline and our understanding of prehistoric Britain. For example Pitt-Rivers excavated on Cranborne Chase (Bowden 1991) and it was at Maiden Castle that Sir Mortimer Wheeler applied his box excavation technique (Wheeler 1972) and brought archaeology to the attention of the wider population through the media (Moshenska and Schadla-Hall 2011). The county also contains many important and well known Roman, Medieval and Post-Medieval sites.

In more recent history Dorset has not been at the forefront of major political change or developments however it has still had an important role to play. It was the conditions of farmworkers in the Dorset countryside that instigated the events which led to the Tolpuddle Martyrs deportation and the subsequent protests which formed an important element in the development of trade unions. Thomas Hardy, the writer, was also influenced by rural conditions in the county and many of his novels are based upon places within Dorset e.g. The Mayor of Casterbridge and Far from the Madding Crowd.

Cambridgeshire differs from Dorset in that it is landlocked but the geology and topography differ quite significantly, which in turn has impacted upon the historic and natural environments (Figures 3.7 & 3.8). The topography of Cambridgeshire, although it still undulates to some extent in the east and south, is significantly flatter than Dorset, with much of the low lying fens only a few metres above sea level. The Cambridgeshire landscape character reflects this topography and varies from the higher chalk land to Fenland, a drained wetland. Compared to Dorset the archaeology of Cambridgeshire is less visible. The landscape is one of intense agriculture which has impacted significantly upon buried archaeology and there are very few visible earthworks remaining. In some areas prehistoric sites that have avoided the plough have frequently been covered by peat. Although this has led to amazing preservation (most recently and dramatically at Must Farm (Cambridge

Archaeological Unit 2016) it has also resulted in the archaeology being much harder to identify. Crop marks and geophysical survey are less effective tools through deep layers of peat. This 'hidden' nature of the archaeology in Cambridgeshire is reflected in the scheduled monument figures (see table 3.2).

**Table 3.2 Historic England List for Cambridgeshire and Dorset**

| | Cambridgeshire | Dorset |
|---|---|---|
| Listed Buildings | 7322 | 9483 |
| Scheduled monuments | 263 | 999 |
| Wreck sites | 0 | 5 |
| Parks and Gardens | 34 | 36 |


**Figure 3.5 Info graphic showing typical scenery across Cambridgeshire**

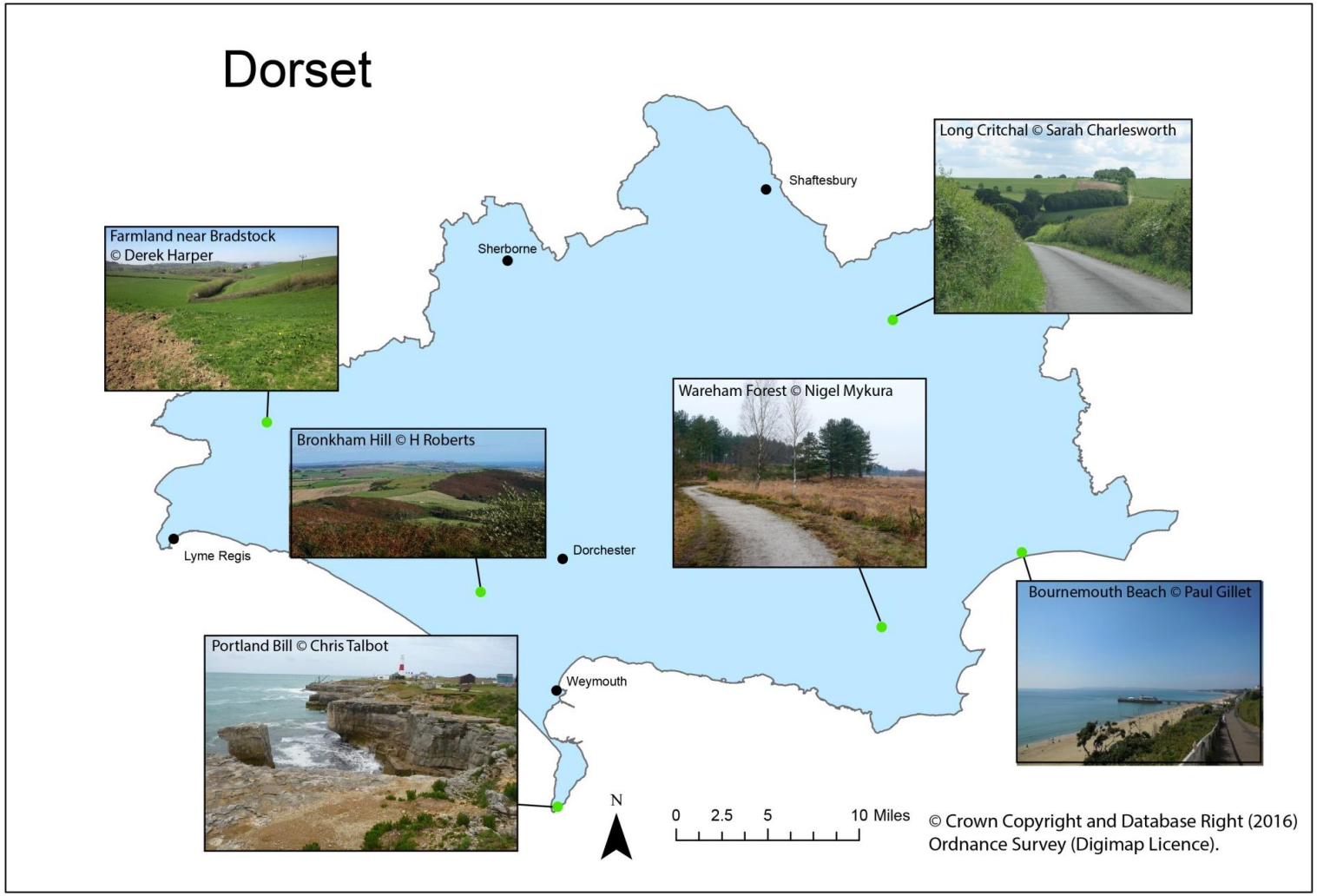



**Figure 3.6 Infographic showing typical scenery across Dorset**

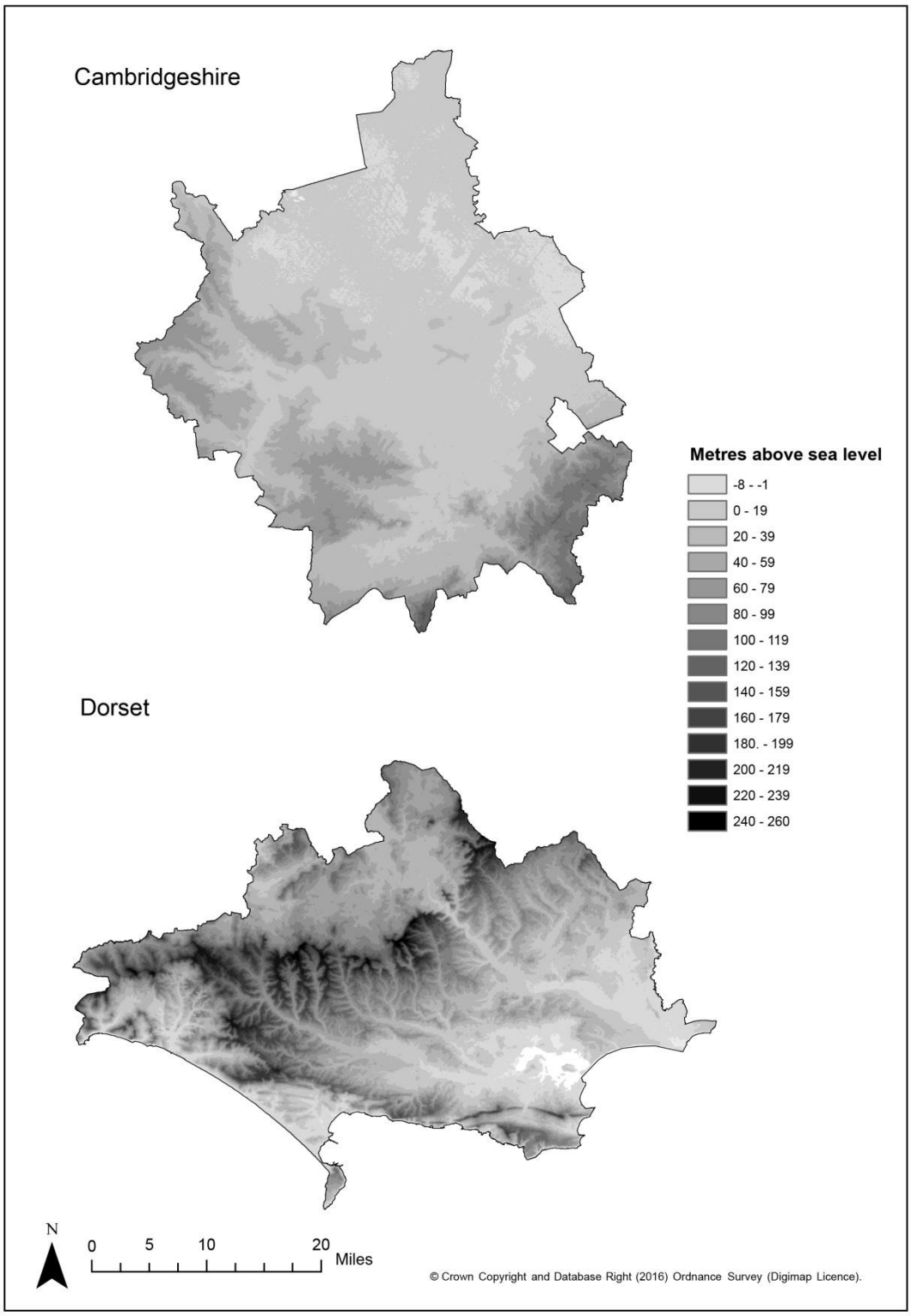



**Figure 3.7 A map showing the topography of Dorset and Cambridgeshire**

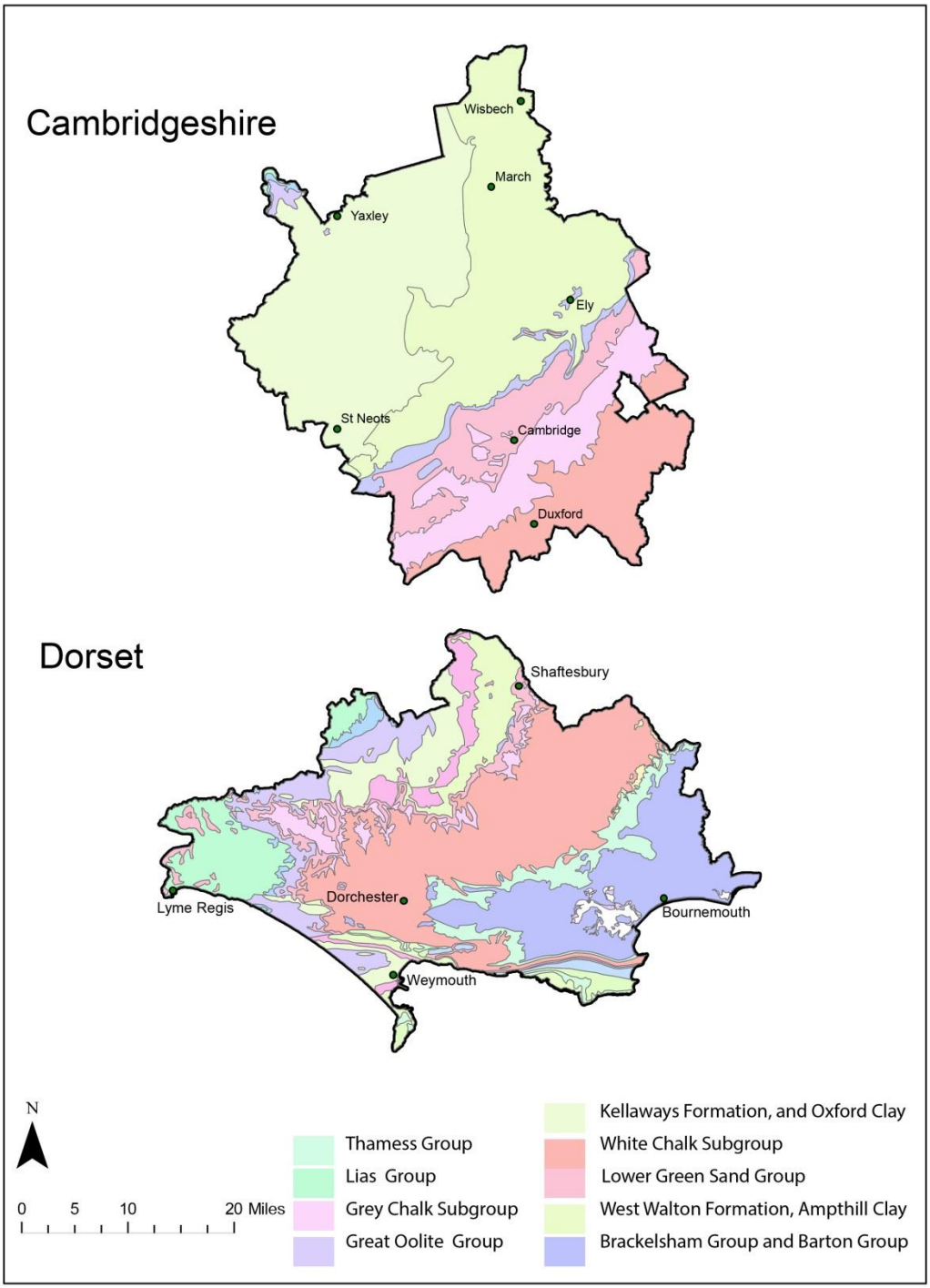



**Figure 3.8 A map showing the variation in bedrock geology in Dorset and Cambridgeshire. For further information regarding geology types see British Geological Survey (2016).**

## 3.4 The Early Societies

### 3.4.1 Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Society (DNHAS)

The current county society in Dorset, the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Society is still very active with a current membership of over 2000. It is an amalgamation of two societies that were both started in the nineteenth century and it is worth considering the development of these separately because both their characteristics are integral to the structure and ethos of the DNHAS today.

> *'That, in consideration of the importance of this district with respect to Natural History, and both British and Roman Antiquities, and more especially at this time, when the disturbance of the surface of the Country in the formation of Railroads is likely to bring to light specimens of interest in the several departments of science,- it is advisable to take immediate steps for the Establishment of an Institution in this Town [Dorchester], containing a Museum and Library, for the County of Dorset' (Sykes 1941:81).*

This was the first resolution passed at a 'preliminary meeting' held in 1845 and with it the Dorset County Museum and Library was founded. The museum was to be a member organisation with subscribers, and requested donations. Initially it hired premises and moved location several times before, in 1884, it settled in its current building. The museum slowly obtained acquisitions, acquiring important collections such as the Wilcox Collection of Purbeck Fossils (1851), the Warne Collection of archaeological artefacts (1885) and various Thomas Hardy related manuscripts and objects (Sykes 194188-89).

The Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club was inaugurated on the 16th March 1875. The early meetings took the form of a Gentleman's club: "our society was commenced much on the same lines on which it has since been carried out; the programme usually being a field ramble, followed by refreshment, in the shape of dinner, after which papers were read" (Buckman 1844:XIV). These papers and

meetings were predominantly on local issues of interest and are documented in the Proceedings of The Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club, first issued in 1877. The original membership reflected the concept of a Gentleman's club; the original members list contains 40 vicars, 4 Doctors, 1 professor, 5 senior army officers, an Earl, a Lord and 4 Knights and there was also five female members.

Sub committees were allowed from 1907 and by 1912 there was a photographic survey, an earthworks and a numismatic committee. These committees conducted activities in addition to the field walks and lectures. For example they encouraged members to report discoveries and provided advice on excavations. This included George-Gray's excavations of Maumbury Rings where the Dorset Field Club was represented on the advisory committee. The relationship with excavation also appears to be unclear, since the organisation itself did not fund such undertakings.

It was in 1929 that the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club and the Dorset County Museum were amalgamated. The new name was to be the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society and its aim was

> *'to promote an interest in Art, Archaeology, Natural History and cognate subjects, relating more especially to the County of Dorset. It shall use its influence to prevent, as far as possible, the extirpation of rare plants and animals and to promote the preservation of the Antiquities of the County' (Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society 1929:27).*

Today the society is still responsible for managing the museum, the county archives, publishing the Proceedings and it acts as an umbrella for several other organisations such as the Dorset Local History Group, the Dorchester Association, Dorset County Boundary Group, Dorset Flora Group and others.

### 3.4.2 Bournemouth Natural Science Society (BNSS)

The Bournemouth Natural Science Society and Museum were formed in 1903 with the aim 'to promote study, interest and enjoyment in all branches of the Natural Sciences and History'. The early members had previously been part of the Bournemouth Natural History Society or the Bournemouth Scientific and Antiquarian Society, both of which had by then become defunct. The BNSS also inherited their natural history collections and has continued to collect objects of local interest. At their height the society had over 600 members and alumni include Alfred Russell Wallace and many other 'world-renowned eminent naturalists who lived nearby' (BNSS 2016).

The BNSS has run lectures and field trips throughout its history and continues to do so today. Compared to the DNHAS they currently appear relatively small (258 members on the 30th September 2015) but they held 116 lectures and 23 field trips in 2014/15 (BNSS 2015). These are open to the public. The BNSS has a program for collections management and was granted Museum Accreditation by the Arts Council England in 2015 (BNSS 2015). The museum is open to the public once a week, with additional open days. It runs an educational and outreach programme engaging with local schools and colleges and once a month hosts a Young Explorers Club. These activities engage their audience with natural history as well as archaeology. Although its membership has not been as extensive as the DNHAS it has conducted important research and includes Alfred Russell Wallace amongst its alumni.

### 3.4.3 Cambridge Antiquarian Society (CAS)

The Cambridge Antiquarian Society became the county society in Cambridgeshire but it did not originate in quite the same way as other county societies. It originated in 1840 as a University Society called 'The Cambridge Antiquarians Society for the Encouragement of the study of the History and Antiquities of the University, Town and County of Cambridge' (Thompson 1990). This encouragement was their first purpose. The second was to publish essays to illustrate this. At points throughout the society's history it appears as though the subjects of interest expand beyond the local. In 1893

as part of an attempt to refocus they revised their membership requirements, formally enabling women and non-graduates (i.e. undergraduates or local people) to become members (CAS 1907) (Thompson 1990:36). CAS only became more like a traditional county society after the First World War where the balance of members shifted from being predominantly members of the university to members of the public. Thompson associates this with the professionalization process and an attitude of '*de haut en bas*' despite the Disney Professors continuing as presidents of the Society (Thompson 1990:74). This practice has now ceased although they are still honorary members of the committee.

The benefits members of CAS receive have varied and they reflect the changing form of the Society. This has always contained access to published materials, and the society still annually publishes its Proceedings 'as a contribution to the education of the public in history, architectural history and archaeology with particular reference to Cambridgeshire' (Cambridge Antiquarian Society 2016b). In the early years members were encouraged to participate in meetings but as numbers increased they became lecture based (Thompson 1990). These still occur on a monthly basis with the addition of the annual conference which is now an important event in the Society schedule (Cambridge Antiquarian Society 2015/16). The early Society collected artefacts, through donations and acquisitions, and it was displayed and managed before forming the core of the collection that is now the University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. The Society was also integral to the fundraising for the building within which the museum is still housed (Thompson 1990:57-58).

The Society has never 'gone out as a body to excavate or do fieldwork' (Thompson 1990:64) but despite this there have been numerous excavations that they have been associated with. These have ranged from accidental discoveries such as the Anglo Saxon cemetery found in St John's cricket field to 'campaigns' such as the repeated excavations at The War Ditches, Cherry Hinton (White 1964). CAS also conducted rescue archaeology, particularly stimulated by the construction of the M11.

Today the society aims 'to strive for the safeguarding, investigation and preservation of Cambridgeshire's past, and to act as a key disseminator of knowledge about the

County' (Cambridge Antiquarian Society 2016a). Approximately thirty per cent of the membership are professional archaeologists (Alex Saunders pers comm 29/11/2015). The current president is Catherine Hills who is a Fellow at the University of Cambridge. They continue to host a lecture programme and a yearly conference. They also act as an umbrella organisation for all the smaller local archaeology societies, publishing Conduit, a yearly newsletter that contains information regarding every society in Cambridgeshire.

## 3.5 Local Authorities and developer funded archaeology in Dorset and Cambridgeshire

In section 2.5 the development of the developer-funded archaeology was explained. The requirements for this are usually controlled within the planning departments of local councils. Both Dorset and Cambridgeshire County Councils have Historic Environment Teams. Dorset County Council has a Historic Environment Team who 'seek to promote interest, understanding and enjoyment of Dorset's historic environment and careful and sensitive development within it' (Dorset County Council 2016a). This consists of two full time employees: the Senior Archaeologist (Advice and Management) who 'gives advice of matters including planning and archaeology and monument management' and the Senior Archaeologist (Promotion and Liaison) who's role includes 'Historic Environment Record enquiries and enhancement; information and advice relating to countryside matters; parish Historic Environment Liaison Officers; finds and treasure reporting; metal detectorists liaison scheme; interpretation and events'.

In Cambridgeshire the Historic Environment Team have similar aims; they provide 'advice and information on the archaeology and historic environment' and 'outreach and learning opportunities for schools and communities' however they have a much larger team (Cambridgeshire County Council 2016). They employ 6 full time staff members in planning and historic environment record roles.

These two teams are different in scale due to the different levels of development that occur in Dorset and Cambridgeshire. The population of Cambridgeshire is growing, particularly around Cambridge and this influences the potential for the amount of developments which might have archaeological implications and the workload of the Historic Environment teams (table 3.3). In 2014-15 the Dorset team dealt with about 500 planning appraisals, of which about 120 had archaeological implications. This resulted in 63 recommendations for below-ground archaeology. They also received 338 HER inquiries in 2015/16 and as of March 2016 had 40093 monument records, of which 6229 are event records (ALGAO 2016). They also conduct outreach and public engagement activities such as the Dorset Archaeological Days as well as schools visits and some training events. Cambridgeshire by comparison has a significantly higher rate of development and subsequently archaeological research with just under 16000 planning applications with archaeological implications which resulted in 219 recommendations. These statistics reflect the differing economics in the two counties as well as the priority that archaeology is given within the planning system. Cambridgeshire, and in particular areas close to Cambridge have experienced high levels of new development as a result of housing pressure and university expansion.

A Finds Liaison Officer (FLO) is employed in both counties, although in Dorset this is not a full time position. FLOs are part of the Portable Antiquities Scheme and they record artefacts found by the public, including those discovered by metal detectorists. In 2015 the number of artefacts recorded by both FLOs in 2015 were broadly comparable (Portable Antiquities Scheme 2016).

The differing demands for archaeological fieldwork by the planning system has also resulted in stark differences between the levels of archaeological employment. In Cambridgeshire the city of Cambridge supports three medium to large companies, Oxford Archaeology East, Cambridge Archaeological Unit and Pre-Construct Archaeology Central. There are also several companies based outside of the county but who frequently work on sites in the county such as Albion Archaeology. In Dorset there are 5 companies that often work within the county but only two of these have their headquarters based here. These are Bournemouth Archaeology, Terrain Archaeology, Wessex Archaeology, Context One and AC Archaeology. There are also freelance and

specialist archaeologist who frequently work on jobs or with assemblages discovered in the counties.

**Table 3.3 The work load of the Dorset and Cambridgeshire Historic Environment Teams in 2015**

| | Dorset (ALGAO 2016) | Cambridgeshire (Quinton Carroll pers comm 22/08/2016) |
|---|---|---|
| Total number of planning applications with archaeological implications 2014-15 | c120 | Just under 16000 |
| Detailed planning appraisals carried out 2014-15 | c500 | 325 |
| Recommendations for below ground archaeology | 63 | 219 |
| Historic Environment Record inquiries | 338 | 355 |
| Number of HER records | 400983 (6229 event records) | 18136 (4514) |
| Finds recorded by FLO in 2015 | 439 | 448 |
| Records recorded by FLO in 2015 | 398 | 331 |

## 3.6 University based archaeology

Cambridge University is world renowned and the Division of Archaeology and their undergraduate programme is currently ranked as the best place to study archaeology in the country (Complete University Guide 2016). However the majority of their large research projects are not conducted in the UK. The only project within the county to

feature in their annual review is The Bury Farm Project: Local Landscapes and Monuments conducted by Shelia Kohring (McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research 2016). There are projects in the region conducted by other universities, such as the Oakington Dig. This is conducted by the University of Central Lancashire, Manchester Metropolitan University and Oxford Archaeology East and has duel foci. It is exploring 'the archaeological techniques that can identify the presence of Anglo-Saxon communities' as well as discussing the ethical circumstances of the excavation and reburial of human remains' (Oakington Dig Project 2016).

Bournemouth University, located in the east of Dorset has a Department of Archaeology, Anthropology and Forensic Science. The department is relatively new; it formed from the Weymouth College of Education, via the Dorset Institute of Higher Education, during the 1990s and has a history of conducting archaeology excavations in Dorset. Bill Putnam led a prolific number of excavations across the county and beyond (Putnam 2007) including the Dorchester Roman Aqueduct (Putnam and Hewitt 1995) and the Roman Villa at Dewlish (Hewitt 2015). The university today continues to conduct many research projects within Dorset, some of which are fieldwork based but others are archival. Currently these include The Durotriges Big Dig, (Russell et al. 2015), the Swash Channel Wreck (Parham and Palma 2010) and Knowlton Prehistoric Landscape Project (Gale 2012).

The well-known prehistoric landscape as described in section has always attracted university based research such as the current excavations at Knowlton by Southampton University (Green et al. 2016) or a test pitting project at Long Bredy by Dr Peter Northover (Hansen 2015).

## 3.7 Public and Community archaeology

Within the two counties are numerous other types of archaeology projects. Many of these could be considered to be public or community archaeology; this section presents a brief overview. The Cambridge Antiquarian Society produces a yearly guide to all organisations with an archaeological interest within the Cambridgeshire. In 2015

it contained 96 different organisations but the majority do not necessarily have a specific archaeological focus (table 3.4).

Jigsaw was a second umbrella organisation for local archaeology societies in Cambridgeshire but was specifically aimed at those conducting archaeological research. It was a five year Heritage Lottery Funded project which finished in 2016 and aimed to:

> *'1. To encourage, train and facilitate local communities in researching, recording, understanding, protecting and enjoying their local historic and archaeological heritage.*
>
> *2. To build up a greater understanding of the past human activity in Cambridgeshire and protect the threatened heritage of the county.*
>
> *3. To promote best practice in all aspects of archaeological fieldwork, survey, recording, its curation and dissemination in the wider community.*
>
> *4. To make archaeological resources, information and learning opportunities more accessible to the wider community in Cambridgeshire*
>
> *5. To develop and implement programmes for schools aimed at involving children and teachers in the heritage and their local areas*
>
> *6. To encourage the dissemination of information through a range of media' (Jigsaw 2011).*

They predominantly worked with existing local archaeology or history societies to achieve these aims, despite their original intention to set up new groups (Jemima Woolverton pers comm 16/07/2016). Table 3.5 lists affiliated groups at the end of the project. Jigsaw's primary method was to provide training and networking opportunities for the groups. These varied from practical skills such as geophysical survey or excavation through to report writing and using the Historic Environment Record.

Despite little research or university based archaeology conducted directly by Cambridge University they support Access Cambridge Archaeology (ACA). 'The primary aim of Access Cambridge Archaeology is to enhance educational, economic and social well-being through active participation in archaeology'. These project have contributed significantly to research discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4 (Lewis 2016, 2015; 2007).

In Dorset there have been no comparable projects despite the potential frameworks provided by the AONBs. The Dorset Archaeological Committee is an organisation that was formed by Bill Putnam in 1972. Its members comprise representatives of all archaeological organisations across the county. Although they can provide financial assistance to local societies their primary purpose is to discuss archaeological matters occurring in Dorset (Claire Pinder pers comm 07/01/2014).

The Dorset History Network have 32 member societies which include a wide range of organisation with interests in the past. These include museums, history and civic societies. In addition to these the author has discovered 50 other groups with an interest in the past, although there are likely to be many others. Of these 16 were active in conducting archaeological research in 2015/16 (table 3.4).

**Table 3.4 Types of community based groups with archaeological interests**

| | Cambridgeshire | Dorset |
|---|---|---|
| Archaeology | 7 | 9 |
| Architecture and civic societies | 5 | 2 |
| Archive groups | 5 | 1 |
| Family history societies | 4 | 1 |
| Local history and other societies | 45 | 18 |
| museum and museum groups | 28 | 9 |
| other | 2 | 10 |
| total | 96 | 50 |

The Wessex Archaeology Field Academy (WAFA) was set up by Julian Richards in 2013. The aim of WAFA is to enable anyone, regardless of age, ability and experience, to gain the skills that will enable them to confidently and responsibly explore the past' (WAFA 2014). It provides a series of training courses for individuals. These are based upon an archaeological project in the north Dorset landscape. The project is still in its early

stages and although has recruited participants from across the county and country has not yet had a large impact.

The Ancient Technology Centre is a centre for experimental archaeology. It is a Dorset County Council outdoor education centre as well as a research centre and relies heavily on volunteers.

The two counties of Dorset and Cambridgeshire are broadly comparable in their population however the archaeology they contain and the ways in which this is managed differ significantly. Dorset has significant visible and protected archaeology, an economy that is reliant upon the attractiveness of the landscape and less pressure for development resulting in fewer developer funded archaeological projects but greater interest from university and research driven projects. Cambridgeshire in comparison has significantly higher levels of fieldwork driven by the planning system. Various forms of community and public archaeology have occurred within these contexts and they provide the scene for the majority of this research.

**Table 3.5 Jigsaw Affiliated Groups**

| | |
|---|---|
| Archaeology Cambridgeshire East | A geographical district |
| Cambridge Antiquarian Society | County Society |
| Cambridge Archaeology Field Group (CAFG) | |
| CamDig | Cam refers to Cambridge- this is one of the few groups who focus on fieldwork within the city boundary |
| Catworth Local History Society | A parish |
| Covington History Group | A parish |
| Eltisley History Society | A parish |
| Fen Edge Archaeology Group (FEAG) | The edge of a council district but also a geographical district. |
| Fenland Archaeological Society (FenArch) | The name of the District council but also a geographical area |
| Gamarch (Gamlingay) | A parish |
| Gransdens Society | Parish |

| | |
|---|---|
| Great Fen Archaeology Group | Associated with a 50 hectare habitat restoration project |
| Hardwick Local History Group | A parish |
| Haslingfield Village Society | A parish |
| Huntingdon U3A Archaeology Group | Town |
| March Society | Town |
| Sawtry History Society | A parish |
| Soham Museum | A parish |
| St Ives Archaeology Group | Town |
| St Neots Local History Society | Town |
| Warboys Archaeology Project | A parish |
| West Wickham and District Local History Club | Parish |

## 3.8 Conclusion

Dorset and Cambridgeshire are two counties which archaeologically are very different but demographically similar. Cambridgeshire has little visible archaeological remains and little research or university-based archaeology but significant amounts of developer funded archaeological fieldwork.

Within Dorset the archaeological remains are much more evident. This visible preservation has led to a high level of archaeological research throughout the discipline's history. It has also resulted in a management structure which places a high emphasis upon preservation. This is managed through the protective designations. In contrast to Cambridgeshire little developer funded fieldwork is conducted in Dorset. This is not just a result of the character of the archaeology but also the economic differences between the two counties.

Public and community archaeology occurs in both counties, although the methods used reflect the contexts described above. Within Cambridgeshire, Jigsaw and the Cambridge Antiquarian Society act as structures and frameworks to help manage local

archaeology societies whereas Dorset has a less formal structure. This provides the context for the interviews conducted in Chapter 6.

# Chapter 4 What is community archaeology?

## 4.1 Public Archaeology

The term community archaeology has repeatedly evaded close definition (Moshenska and Dhanjal 2012; Thomas 2014:11). It has been used interchangeably with the phrases 'public archaeology' and 'amateur archaeology'. Arguably, as will be explained below, community archaeology should be a subset of public archaeology. Theoretical concepts that are applicable to public archaeology are also relevant to discussion on community archaeology and therefore it is necessary to briefly consider what public archaeology means here.

> *'Public archaeology can be defined as both a disciplinary practice and a theoretical position, which can be exercised through the democratization of archaeological communication, activity or administration, through communication with the public, involvement of the public or the preservation and administration of archaeological resources for public benefit by voluntary or statutory organizations' (Richardson and Almansa-Sánchez 2015:1).*

In English the word public can mean two different things; that of the state and that of individuals within the state (Merriman 2004:1). This means that public archaeology can have different connotations depending on how the word public is interpreted. These different interpretations of 'public' are influenced by cultural, traditional and often nationally situated circumstances and can be summarised by three models (Merriman 2004: 5-8; Holtorf 2007b; Okamura and Matsuda 2011: 5-7) (Table 4.1). Through these overlapping models four main approaches can be identified and they go some way towards explaining what public archaeology is.

The first of these to be suggested was by Merriman (2004). The Deficit model 'sees the public as needing education in the correct way to appreciate archaeology (Merriman 2004:6). This is a direct response to archaeology's need for public recognition within the professionalisation process as discussed in section 2.7. Fitting within this definition are Holtorf's education and public relation models. Here the public are 'passive recipients of professional archaeological advice, education or lobbying' (Richardson and Almansa-Sánchez 2015:198).

In opposition to the deficit model, and to address its limitations Merriman posed a multiple perspective model. This was to encourage the public to become involved in archaeology in their own way and for their own benefit, rather than forcing them to follow single and predetermined agendas (Merriman 2004:7). This is a more democratic and post-modern perspective that refers back to the concept that archaeology and the past belong to everyone. As Holtorf explains his democratic model is designed to stimulate and support 'grass roots interest' in archaeology.

**Table 4.1 Different approaches to public archaeology**
**(Taken from Matsuda and Okamura 2011:6. Also in Richardson and Almansa-Sánchez 2015:5).**

| | More practice oriented | | More theory oriented | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Approaches identified by Matsuda and Okamura (2011)** | Educational approach | Public relations approach | Critical approach | Multivocal approach |
| **Corresponding models suggested by Merriman (2004)** | Deficit model | | Multiple perspective model | |
| **Corresponding models suggested by Holtorf (2007a)** | Education | Public relations model | Democratic model | |

Matsuda and Okamura (2011) expand upon these models again after looking at public archaeology from a global perspective. Within the democratic or multiple perspective approaches they distinguish between 'the "critical" and the "multivocal". The critical approach does not assume homogeneity within the public and helps 'to reveal and challenge the socio-political mechanism sustaining specific archaeological practices and interpretations' (Matsuda and Okamura 2011:6). Areas of public archaeology that consider power relations and interactions fall under this approach. Multivocal approaches consider public responses to archaeology and multiple interpretations. This includes community archaeology and this research project.

## 4.2 What is community?

Community archaeology is a subsector of public archaeology that has risen in popularity in recent decades. The term has become popular and well used however it has been applied in multiple contexts and in many different ways. As Thomas summarises 'the actual definition of 'community archaeology' has at times been problematic to capture' (Thomas 2014:23). Isherwood comments; 'the term has appeared as a matter of chance and/or convenience and the practice of community archaeology has begun as a response to opportunity' (Isherwood 2012:7). This has resulted in vociferous exchanges revolving around definition. There are three main ways in which the phrase community archaeology is used. To some it is used to describe a collaborative research method, to others it is a professionally driven practice. It has also been interpreted as a bottom up practice, sometimes known as amateur archaeology. These definitions conflict and therefore the meaning of community archaeology has become very broad. Due to this some practitioners or authors do not feel the need to define their subject e.g. Moshenska et al (2012:1) whilst others have a much tighter understanding (as will be discussed below). As this literature review will demonstrate this has led to problems of misunderstanding and inaccurate expectations.

This situation has, in part, been caused by the word community. The dictionary definition of community is:

> *'A body of people or things viewed collectively*
>
> *A shared or common quality or state' (Oxford English Dictionary 2016)*

However

> *'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'* (Isherwood 2012:9).

Therefore community is a word that has become increasingly important in political discourse and this has permeated into the management structures of the historic environment and archaeology (Isherwood 2009a; Isherwood 2012; Jones 2015). The development of community archaeology reflects this; it has been inherently influenced by political and social contexts which have led to a large diversity in practice.

## 4.3 The origins of community archaeology in the UK

In order to understand what community archaeology is it is useful to review the history of the subject. One of the earliest written uses of the phrase 'community archaeology' was by Liddle in 1985. He was employed by Leicester Museums as an Archaeological Survey Officer and he wrote 'Community Archaeology. A Fieldworker's Handbook of Organisation and Techniques' (Liddle 1985). The survey team that he was part of began to set up 'local archaeological fieldwork groups', which he called 'community archaeology', in local villages. They were autonomous and undertook their own survey work (field-walking) but with 'help and advice from the Survey Team', which included the assignment of areas of work (divided by parish) (Liddle 1985:3).

These groups were encouraged by Liddle due to their potential ability to cover large areas and to help with an urgent need for fieldwork. They were contributing to a large scale research picture via field-walking, a method that was seen as suitable for beginners; it is 'relatively easy to master, cheap and basically non-destructive' (Liddle 1985:3). Amateur excavation was discouraged. Liddle's handbook covered all elements of this process, from how to set up a group to the different types of surveying before finishing with documentary work. This was a guide written by a professional archaeologist to try to encourage 'non-professionals' into archaeological fieldwork and the research sphere via methods deemed suitable by the author.

In 1987 the Institute for Archaeologists published an occasional paper titled '*Guide to Archaeology on Community Programme*' (Drake 1987). It outlined how archaeology could and should utilise funding from the Manpower Services Commission. This became known as community archaeology by some, which resulted in an article by Walker in 1988. This article, although it acknowledged that community archaeology ensured that 'archaeology is socially relevant' and that it had contributed significant knowledge to the archaeological record, was concerned that

> *'(1) Community archaeology would remain at the beck and call of recent political pragmatic developments and hence would be financially unstable and so have, ultimately, a poor career structure.*
>
> *(2) The practice of community archaeology would tend to confirm current political conceptions about the past, thus making the practice of the subject a moral rather than academic pursuit.*
>
> *(3) Community archaeology would fail to contribute significantly to the intellectual sphere (or political culture or world view paradigm) which helps to shape the reality of the political sphere- something which field archaeologists have done in the past; thus it would fail to emerge as a major contributor to the archaeological community in its own right' (Walker 1988:56).*

These are the first critical considerations about community archaeology and the themes raised here have continued to be of relevance to the subject. Walker presents community archaeology as something liable to change, as something reflexive to societal influences and as something that has the potential to be an important contributor to society. As will be demonstrated in this thesis community archaeology today can still be described as such.

## 4.4 Community archaeology as collaborative practice

In 2002 a special issue of *World Archaeology* on the theme Community Archaeology was published. A summative definition for community archaeology was provided in the editorial 'that at every step in a project at least partial control remains with the community'. The phrase 'relinquishing control' (by professional archaeologists) was also used (Marshall 2002:212). Moser et al (2002) outlined a seven step methodology, which was then expanded by Tully (2007) and validated through comparison with five other community archaeology projects from across the world. The method suggested seven steps that, if followed, would ensure collaborative practice. It acknowledged that communities are diverse, that there will be problems, and suggested that this method may help to manage them. The author concludes that 'the methodology proposed here will need to be frequently re-evaluated as the means and terms for community archaeology change, allowing for a fuller picture of the source communities and for the increased potential of archaeological research to continually re-emerge' (Tully 2007:179). Therefore, although this methodology is helpful in providing guidance, it requires updating to become relevant to community archaeology conducted in the UK. As with Walker (1988: 56) Tully expects community archaeology to develop and change.

Moshenska (2008) was very critical about some of the implications inherent in Tully's (2007) paper, implying that a wider definition for community archaeology needs to be

considered; ‘at no point is it considered that community archaeology might be instigated, controlled or even carried out in its entirety by what Tully defines as the community’ (Moshenska 2008:51). He goes on to describe this assumption of the relationship between the community and the archaeologists as ‘asymmetrical archaeology’, and points out that ‘it is equally important to regard the community as intelligent and critical consumers who may have preconceptions about the nature of archaeology, and specific requirements or demands’. Within the UK this is particularly relevant to communities that may include ‘skilled or experienced amateur archaeologists’ (Moshenska 2008:51). This response demonstrates that the evolving definition of community archaeology contains a theoretical power struggle between communities and archaeologists. Whilst the ideal method should revolve around principles of collaboration and partnership this has not always translated into practice.

## 4.5 Power struggles in community archaeology

This tension was expressed as the difference between ‘archaeology from above’ and ‘archaeology from below’ by Faulkner (2000). Using the terms official and independent, (rather than professional and amateur, to remove implications as to the quality of work), a case study is put forward that (retrospectively) can be identified as community archaeology. This consists of excavations at Sedgeford, Norfolk, that were designed as an exploration of democratic archaeology and every participant was involved in the decision making processes. This design was a response to elements of the professionalization process, which the author claims is bureaucratic, exclusive and undemocratic and prevents ‘ordinary people from participation in heritage creation’ (Faulkner 2000:23). The project has encountered challenges to these democratic principles (Faulkner 2009) but it is still on-going (Sedgeford Historical and Archaeological Research Project 2016).

The debate over what constitutes community archaeology had not been restricted to academic theory but reached a wider audience through popular media such as Current Archaeology. Andrew Selkirk, the founder and editor of Current Archaeology, has used this forum to provide commentary, from the perspective of an amateur archaeologist, although he prefers to use the term independent archaeologist' 'i.e. not political nor accountable to any institutions, funding bodies and therefore able to

> *'think outside the box, pursue new ideas and new ways of doing things, challenge conventional wisdom, and do not need to kow-tow to the latest government fashions' (Selkirk 2010:49).*

Involved in archaeology and writing since the 1970s, through the Rescue era and post PPG16, he has significant experience and is an advocate of the local archaeology society. He views community archaeology specifically as something that is top down and controlled by the profession or by funding bodies (Selkirk 2005, 2009, 2010).

Dig Moston found itself the centre of the debate over what constitutes community archaeology when Selkirk strongly criticised the project stating that there was 'little attempt to open the dig to the wider world' (Selkirk 2005). He used the project as a board from which to launch a much wider criticism:

> *'One gets the impression, as so often, that community archaeology thumbs its nose at amateur archaeologists. They prefer simply to take in whoever happens to be living locally and to avoid having any amateur archaeologists who may actually know something about the subject'* (Selkirk 2005:197).

The project directors were quick to respond by pointing out the diversity of people that experienced the site and by explaining the origins of the project (McNeil and Nevell 2005). Dig Moston was actually the idea of a local councillor, not an archaeologist (Murphy 2015), however Selkirk did not believe this and, in a final comment tacked onto the end of McNeil and Nevell (2005), accused the directors of 'academic imperialism' and 'social engineering' but acknowledged that it (presumably the project) was helping to re-define 'why archaeology is done, or should be done'.

This comment has proved to be accurate, although perhaps not in the way in which Selkirk predicted. At the heart of the argument were the questions: Who should have

access to archaeology? Who was controlling this and how were selection decisions made? These questions have since been reflected on and expanded in the academic literature. Dig Moston was the precursor to Dig Manchester, which was in turn followed by Dig Greater Manchester (Thompson 2015). Several years after this original exchange Nevell reflects:

> *'there is a dichotomy between the way we visualise engagement projects: a 'community archaeology' that is voluntary and run by the networks of participants themselves, versus a 'public archaeology' that is more top-down structured and organisational'* (Nevell 2015:46).

In a paper in the same publication Norman Redhead presents a methodology for community archaeology. Inspired by the community excavations across Manchester it is posited as guidance for larger-scale urban community archaeology excavations. It involves eight steps that take the project through design to completion, however compared to Tully's methodology (Tully 2007) it does not suggest consulting the community until part way through the process. This is a perfectly legitimate time to seek their involvement but is much more likely to result in a project that is less collaborative and has a top down agenda.

This public debate continued with Moshenska et al's letter (2007) which has some sympathy with Selkirk and expresses frustration with the bureaucracy (local government) that the author feels restricts community archaeology and calls for greater cooperation. Reid responds writing from the perspective of a local archaeology society. She would prefer a wider definition of community archaeology and suggests 'archaeology by the people, of the people, about the people' (Reid 2008: 21). According to Simpson 'this phrase is misleading and dangerously naïve' due to community archaeology's intrinsic relationship with the complexities of 'ethnicity, politics, nationalism and identity' (2009:22). Instead she used the definition that 'community archaeology is the engagement of a community (usually geographically determined) with their local archaeology (including tangible and intangible heritage)' (2009:12). This included a wide array of projects and conflated local archaeology

societies and professionally driven community archaeology projects into the discussion.

More recently theoretical literature on community archaeology has started to move away from discussion about definition and has started to focus on elements of practice. This has resulted in the publication of many case study type examples which has had multiple effects. The first and most relevant here is that many different types of projects have been categorised as community archaeology. This was evident in the Proceedings of a conference titled '*Archaeology and the Community* which was held at the Institute for Archaeology, University College London in 2006. The introduction claims that there is little purpose in defining community archaeology but it goes onto state that there is 'a rich diversity of activities and initiatives taking place under this convenient banner' (Moshenska and Dhanjal 2012:1).

There is a vast supply of case study examples of community archaeology not only in the published literature, but also within gray literature. This mass of information has been identified as problematic and unhelpful (Gould 2016:2). A lack of critical perspective from many of the papers prevents the full context of the examples being fully understood. Consequently it was not possible to conduct a systematic review into how the literature defines community archaeology.

## 4.6 Post-colonial and indigenous archaeology

Atalay introduced another term into the community archaeology arena; 'community-based archaeology'. She defines this as 'advocate[ing] a partnership approach that is motivated by the rights communities have to be active participants in the creation of knowledge' (Atalay 2012:45). This was influenced heavily by post-colonial and Indigenous Archaeology.

> *'**Post-colonial archaeology** is not just about attempting to reveal, recognise, and heal the problems of the past, but it is also about trying to move towards new*

*futures in which emotions of belonging can be strongly and proudly felt at local level, but also effectively mobilised at more global levels to gain recognition and the resources necessary for local cultural forms to thrive'* (Gosden 2012: 263).

***Indigenous archaeology*** *is 'an array of practices by, for and with Indigenous communities to challenge the discipline's historical political economy and intellectual breadth'* (Colwell-Chanthanphonh et al 2010:228).

These two areas of research are inextricably linked, Indigenous archaeology often forming the methodology for post-colonial archaeology. Together they focus on multi-vocality and consider non-scientific perspectives and understandings of the past. They also seek to readdress the dichotomy between archaeological science and Indigenous approaches to the past. Archaeology has been criticised for viewing Native Peoples purely as research subjects (Smith 1999 44-47, Hunter 2004: 170). Indigenous and post-colonial archaeologies aim to enable connections between the past and the present at the local level, whilst situated in the global context. They are socially driven and often take the form of collaboration between Indigenous people and archaeologists (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010:229).

Indigenous archaeology has been criticised for focusing too much on Indigenous methods of viewing the past and privileging them over scientific or western ideals (McGhee 2008). This has been thoroughly disputed by practitioners who state that collaborative practices can and should value both sides equally in inputs, methods and outputs and that, through this, credible and valuable research into the past can be conducted (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010: 234; Atalay 2012). Through collaborative partnerships archaeological science can also answer questions of importance to the Indigenous peoples, which may have not been a priority for the archaeological community (Wylie 2015:189).

## 4.7 Practice of community archaeology: a set of relations

Isherwood proposed another definition of community archaeology;

> *'community archaeology concerns the relations between communities and the archaeology of their places, and that community archaeology becomes manifest within the events that occur when community groups actively engage with the archaeology of their significant places' (2009a:22-23).*

He suggests that community archaeology should be considered as a set of relations between three actors, and it is this framework that shapes community archaeology (Figure 4.1). These actors are the archaeological remains, heritage professionals and communities and they will vary on every site. Isherwood's model allows for variation and change within the practice of community archaeology, depending on the context and the specific actors involved. This illustrated that community archaeology is political; the communities that partake in community archaeology contain a diverse range of individuals and they will be influenced by political and social contexts and agendas (Isherwood 2009a; 2012:14; 2015:136).

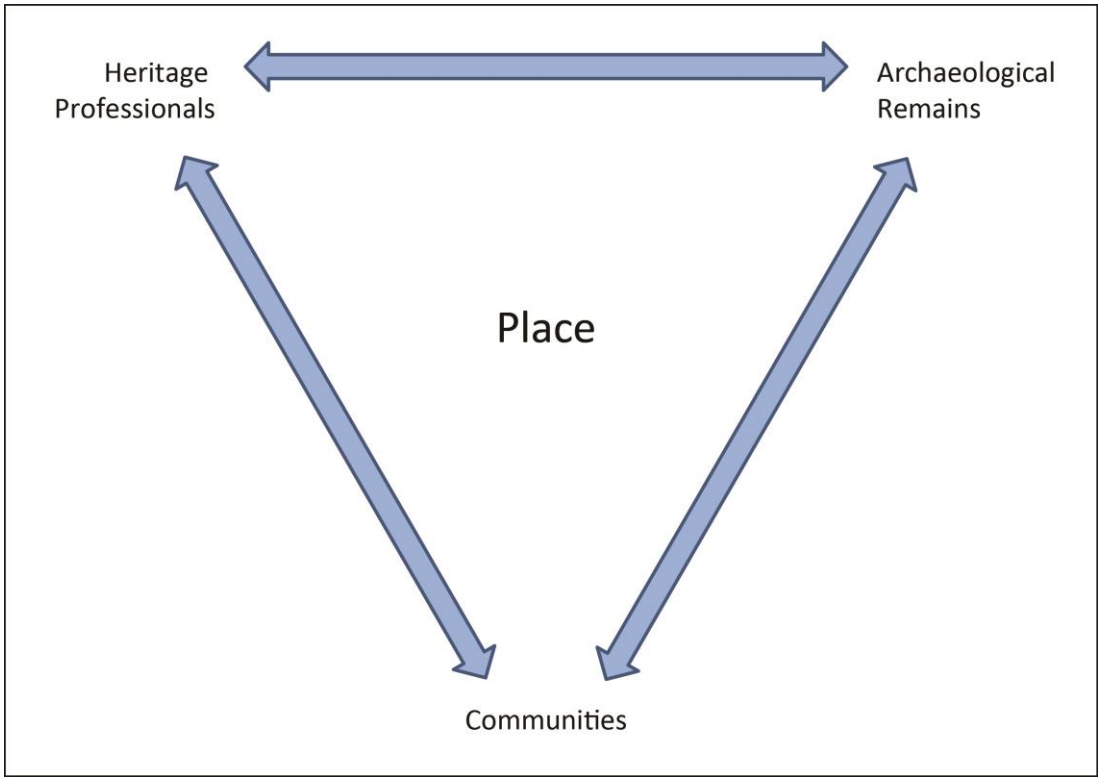



**Figure 4.1 The Framework for Community Archaeology (Isherwood 2012:14)**

If community archaeology is a set of relations, it must therefore also be a set of interactions. Depending on the extent of the interaction between communities and heritage professionals and communities and archaeological remains this can be described as participatory practice. This will vary depending upon the specific circumstances. Community archaeology therefore can be described as communities participating in archaeological practice. This maybe the collaborative approach that (Tully 2007) describes, it may be the bottom up perspective conducted at Sedgeford (Faulkner 2000) or it may be the top down structured participation encountered at Dig Moston (Nevell 2013).

The theoretical literature has discussed these relationships in terms of power and control and several archaeologists have turned to Arnstein's ladder of participation to help address this in a positive manner (Arnstein 1969:217; Belford 2011: 51; Nevell 2013:67) (Figure 4.2). The ladder provides different levels of public participation. It does not matter where on the ladder any particular archaeology project is, providing it is not pretending to be anywhere else. Nevell (2013) views Arnstein's ladder as useful because it allows the balance of power to change. This enables it to encompass the flexible nature and diversity of community archaeology.

Arnstein's ladder, despite this usefulness, is limited because it does not encourage 'critical reflection on the construction of communities and the role of professional organisations and individuals' (Jones 2014:168). This is precisely the problem identified in the case study examples of public and community archaeology discussed by Gould (2016) where the methods and participants are not critically discussed. In order to understand a relationship it is integral to understand the partners; understanding the relationships inherent in community archaeology is integral to making the practice work well.

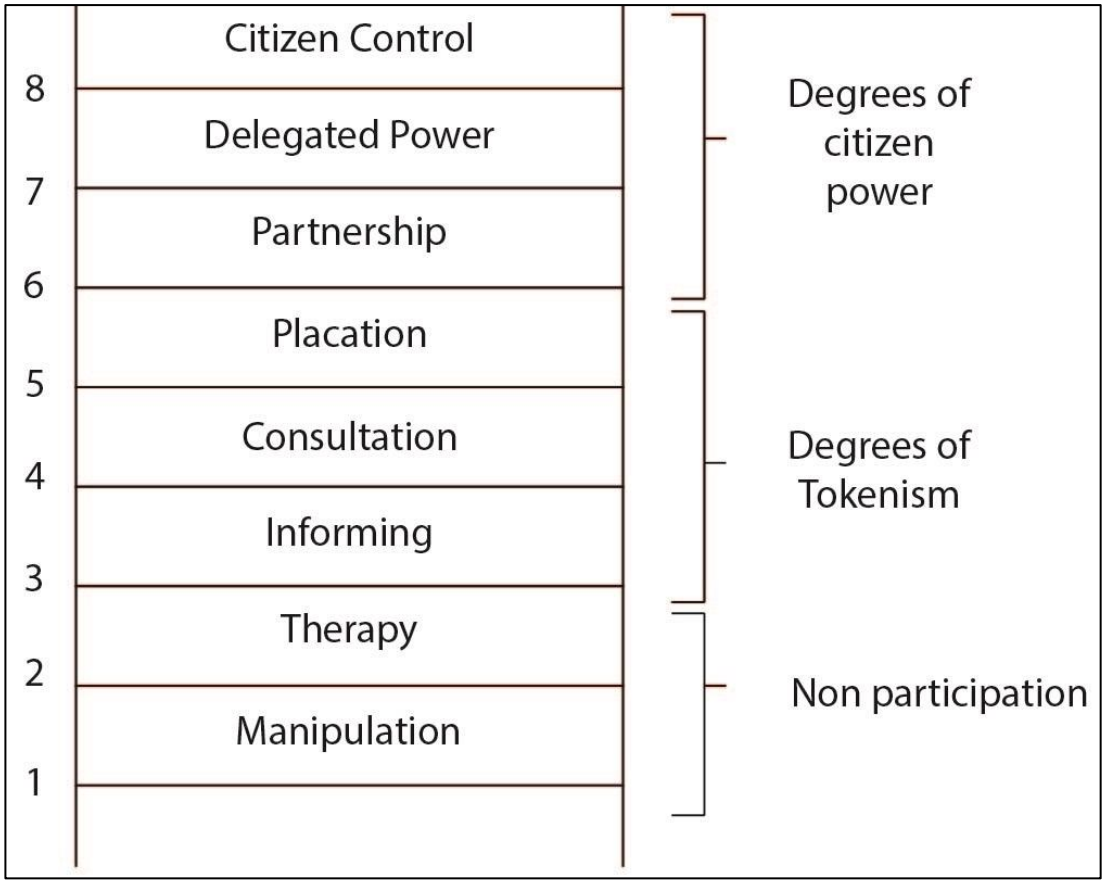



**Figure 4.2 Ladder of Citizen Participation (Arnstein 1969:217).**

Atalay (2012) presents another model which can help this relationship to be understood (Figure 4.3). Influenced primarily through Indigenous archaeology and by Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson (2008) the collaborative continuum demonstrates the different ways that archaeologists collaborate with communities. It was designed in specific reference to community-based archaeology which is 'a partnership approach that is motivated by the rights communities have to be active participants in the creation of knowledge' (Atalay 2012:45). It does not provide a judgement but rather a context for the evolving and changing conceptions of collaboration and community archaeology: 'while each project along the "collaborative continuum" is consequently unique, all move the discipline of archaeology toward a more accurate, inclusive, and ethically sound practice' (Colwell 2008:1-2).

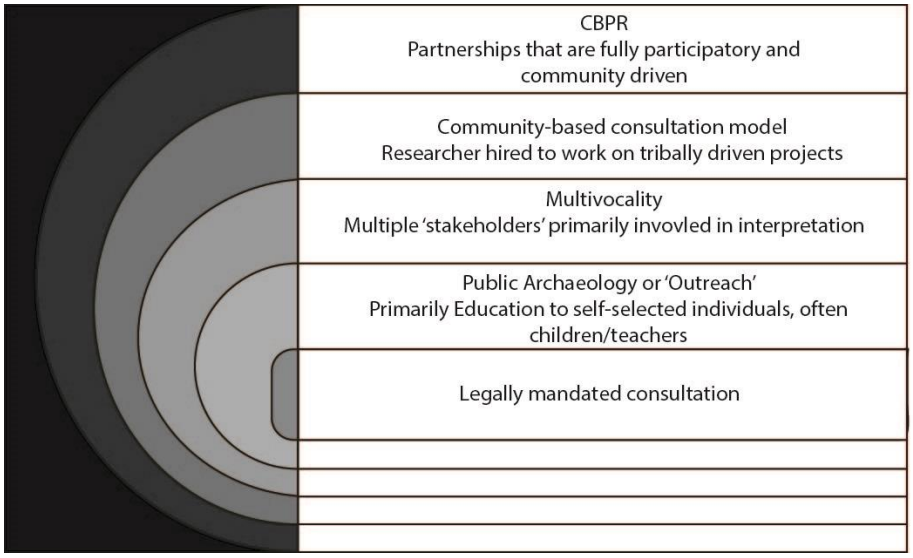
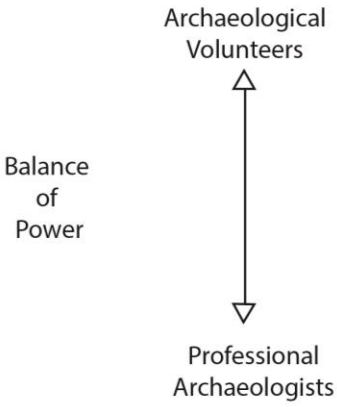



**Figure 4.3 The Collaborative Continuum (Atalay 2012:45)**

## 4.8 Spectrum of participation

The collaborative continuum provides a model through which this can be conducted. However the community-based participatory research it is based upon is conducted in a very different context from community archaeology conducted in the UK, and this restricts the applicability of the Collaborative Continuum. Atalay's model does not allow for the full range of participation that has been identified in the practice of community archaeology in the UK. As discussed above it is possible for projects in the UK to be entirely driven from the community. Therefore a spectrum of participation is suggested to incorporate this wider range of projects (figure 4.4).




| | |
|---|---|
| Bottom Up | Decisions are made completely by volunteers |
| Consultation | Volunteers consult with professional archaeologists when undertaking archaeological activities |
| Partnership/ collaboration | Collaborative practice where volunteers and professional archaeologists are viewed as equal partners |
| Consultation | Professionally driven projects which consult with volunteers (often called evaluation) |
| Top down | Professionally driven projects who invite voluntary participants to partake but do not include their perspective in decision making |

**Figure 4.4 Spectrum of participation in community archaeology**

This spectrum allows community archaeology projects to be critically considered. The different levels of community participation can be identified. Projects can also move along the scale as they change and evolve in methodology. At either end are two components of the three in Isherwood's relationship model (figure 4.1). This spectrum therefore also represents the relationship between communities and heritage professionals. The type of project is expressed by the relationship between the individuals partaking.

In Isherwood's model the phrases 'community' and 'heritage professional' describe entities which are broader than the scope of this thesis, therefore it is helpful to modify the language he used. By replacing heritage professionals with professional archaeologists the context outlined in Chapter two can be specifically applied. The word 'community' is also a vague and unhelpful term. Therefore it is useful to replace it with the word 'volunteer' as per the definition in the introduction.

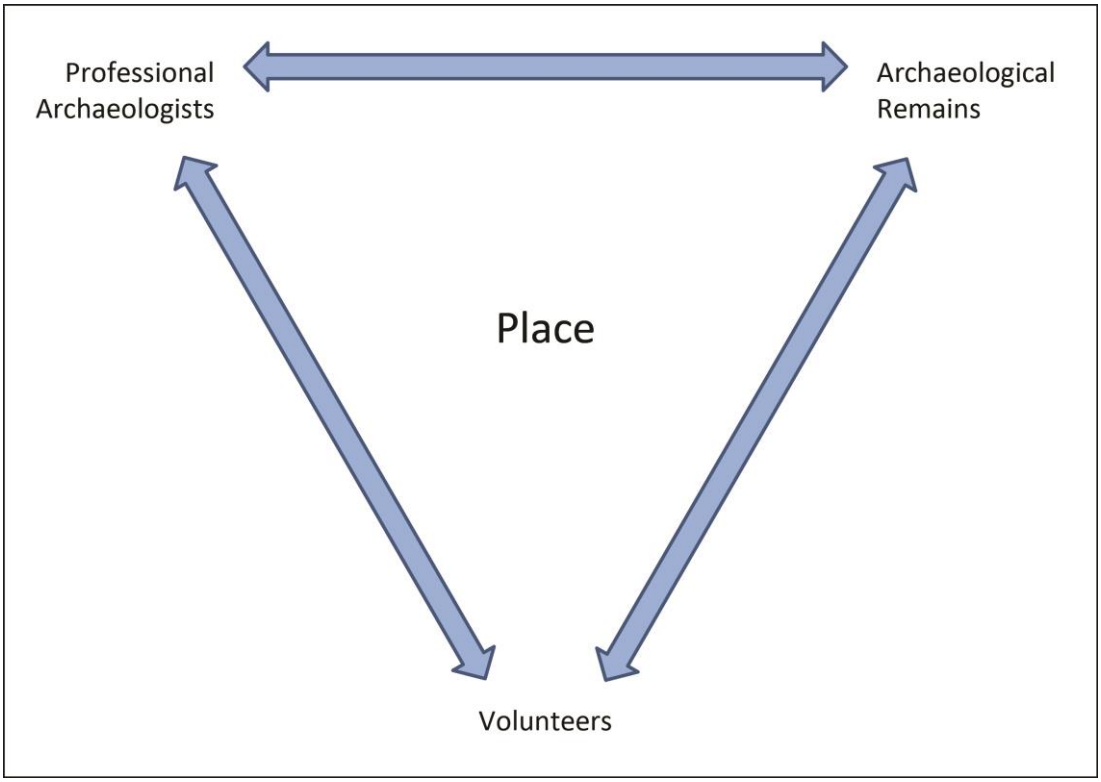



**Figure 4.5 Set of relations (adapted from Isherwood 2012)**

This has the effect of creating a new definition for community archaeology:

**Community archaeology involves the participation of volunteers in archaeological activities.**

This definition will be used for the remainder of this thesis.

## 4.9 Measuring community archaeology

Despite the detailed examples provided in this chapter so far there has been little attempt to quantify the extent of community archaeology that occurs in the UK or the impact that it may have. As identified by Gould the majority of published and gray literature about community archaeology is presented as case studies which do not critically examine practice (Gould 2016). Case studies are also, by their very nature

problematic to convert to statistical data for large scale comparison. This means that useable available data for understanding the practice of community archaeology in the UK is limited. There are a few notable exceptions and these will be discussed below. To try to estimate the scale of community archaeology in the UK it is useful to first look at volunteering across the wider heritage sector.

The Helping Out survey defines volunteering as 'any activity which involves spending time, unpaid, doing something which aims to benefit someone (individuals or groups) other than or in addition to close relatives, or to benefit the environment' (Low et al. 2007:10). This could include participation in any form of community archaeology. Volunteering in its widest and broadest sense has always existed; people have always helped each other out. This is often known as informal volunteering and includes activities such as political activists and philanthropists who donate money to causes. Formal volunteering is that conducted through an organisation or system. There have been two national surveys that have attempted to quantify this type of volunteering; Helping Out (Low et al. 2007) and Taking Part (Department of Culture Media and Sport 2016, hereafter referenced as DCMS 2016)) (Table 4.2). The Helping Out survey found that 59% of respondents had taken part in any type of formal volunteering (Low et al. 2007). DCMS (2016) identified that 32% of their respondents volunteer within areas of culture, media and sport (2015/16). Of these 1.4% conducted heritage related volunteering. A survey conducted by Heritage Link identified at least '107 national voluntary bodies and umbrella groups devoted to some aspect of the historic environment' (Heritage Link 2003). This translates to 1.9% of the UK population.

**Table 4.2 Surveys into volunteering in the UK**

| Survey | Percentage of respondents | Type of Volunteering | Sample Sixe |
|---|---|---|---|
| Helping Out | 59% | Any formal volunteering | 2156 |
| Taking Part (DCMS 2016) | 32% | Culture Media and Sport | 10,171 |
| Taking Part (DCMS 2016) | 1.4% | Any type of heritage volunteering | 10,171 |

Some of the larger of these organisations record and publish limited data on volunteering, table 4.3 shows these statistics. The scale of volunteering in heritage can also be indicated through employment statistics; for example from within its membership The Heritage Alliance identified 11,400 employees who work with volunteers (Pye Tait 2013: 9).

**Table 4.3 Number of volunteers who work for Heritage Alliance members**

| **Organisation** | **Number of volunteers** | **Number of volunteer hours** |
|---|---|---|
| **National Trust** (2015/2016) (National Trust 2016) | 61,000 volunteers | 4.9 million hours |
| **English Heritage** (2014/15) (English Heritage 2015) | 1872 volunteers | 120,000 hours |
| **HLF Heritage Grants** (£100,000 and over) completed between April 3013 and March 2014 (Heritage Lottery Fund 2015a) | 56,482 volunteers | 873,638 hours |
| **HLF Our/Your Heritage** (Under £100,000) completed Jan-Dec 2014 (Heritage Lottery Fund 2015b) | 24,374 volunteers | 842,061 hours |

There is only one national dataset on voluntary participation specifically within the developer-led archaeological sector. Volunteers within archaeological organisations were included as part of Profiling the Profession, a survey into the archaeological profession (Aitchison and Rocks-Macqueen 2013) (Table 4.4). The survey reported 514 volunteers in archaeological positions and 74 in non-archaeological positions. This is 15.6% of the workforce. This ratio is not predicted to change despite expectations that staffing levels may increase (Aitchison and Rocks-Macqueen 2013: 61).

In the report a small amount of information about the volunteer demographic profile is also presented, however the report warned that 'the number of volunteer archaeologists reported was very low making it very hard to draw any significant trends from the results. The very small sample size means that confident conclusions cannot be drawn from these data on the diversity of volunteers' (Aitchison and Rocks-

Macqueen 2013:104). In 2012-13 the gender balance was 47% female and 53% male. It would also appear that there are more volunteers aged 60+ than any other age bracket, and that this has been a consistent trend over time. The survey also found out that 97.1% of volunteers were white, 2.9 of mixed ethnicity and none were Black, Asian, Chinese or Other. This is consistent with the results found for the whole archaeological profession. 9% of volunteers within professional organisations had identified as disabled.

This is a brief insight into volunteering within the developer funded archaeological sector, a top down or professionally driven aspect of community archaeology. There are also many community archaeology projects that have collected similar types of data however these are not published or currently accessible.

**Table 4.4 Volunteers compared to staff within the archaeological profession (Aitchison and Rocks-Macqueen 2013)**

| Archaeological Staff | | Non–archaeological Staff | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Paid | Volunteers | Paid | Volunteers |
| 2571 | 514 | 616 | 74 |

## 4.10 Understanding Bottom Up Community Archaeology

Local Archaeology Societies are clubs or groups of people who gather for the purpose of archaeological activities. As discussed in Chapter 2 these have existed for as long as the archaeological profession. They conduct bottom up community archaeology referred as to by Reid (2008: 21) 'as by the people for the people' or 'Independent Archaeology' as advocated by Selkirk (2010: 48). There have been three nation-wide investigations into the prevalence and practice of these societies.

The first was conducted in 1987 and only included members of the Council of British Archaeology. The purpose of the survey was to ascertain the 'role of societies in 'providing or fostering interest in adult education' (CBA 1987). They estimated that at this time there were 100,000 individuals who were members of 480 societies.

The second piece of research was conducted by the Council for British Archaeology in 2010. They carried out an assessment into the state of community archaeology in the UK (Thomas 2010). Acknowledging that the definition of community archaeology is problematic they avoided professionally led projects, questioning whether they can be called community archaeology. Instead, a key principle for a group's inclusion in the survey was highlighted; 'that involvement of 'non-professional' archaeologists and volunteers is encouraged' (Thomas 2010: 8). This broad remit included groups that had a wider focus beyond the traditional interpretation of archaeology, for example re-enactment or an online metal detecting community. They identified 2,030 voluntary groups and societies across the UK, which they believed represented 215,000 individuals.

The third survey was commissioned by Historic England and conducted by Hedge and Nash (2016). It included a wider definition but narrower geographical focus than Thomas's due to its remit to investigate community generated historic environment research in England. Therefore it included many local history and other societies. The report estimated that '1600 extant groups with an interest in the historic environment' are actively conducting research in England (Hedge and Nash 2016: 36). The history of these types of community archaeology groups was touched upon in Chapter two but it is worth considering what these reports can tell us about the practice and participants of local archaeology societies.

## 4.11 Origins of bottom up community archaeology

Thomas recorded the origin dates of community archaeology groups. Figure 4.6 is a representation of these. It is clear that there was a significant increase in the number of groups after the 1950s during the Post-War and Rescue era (discussed in section 2.2). There is also a second wave of new groups that start in the late 1990s. This is likely to reflect the impact of the Heritage Lottery Funding. This graph is not

representative of all groups who have ever existed, rather it shows only those who still existed in in 2010 and there will be many groups who are invisible to data collection of this type.

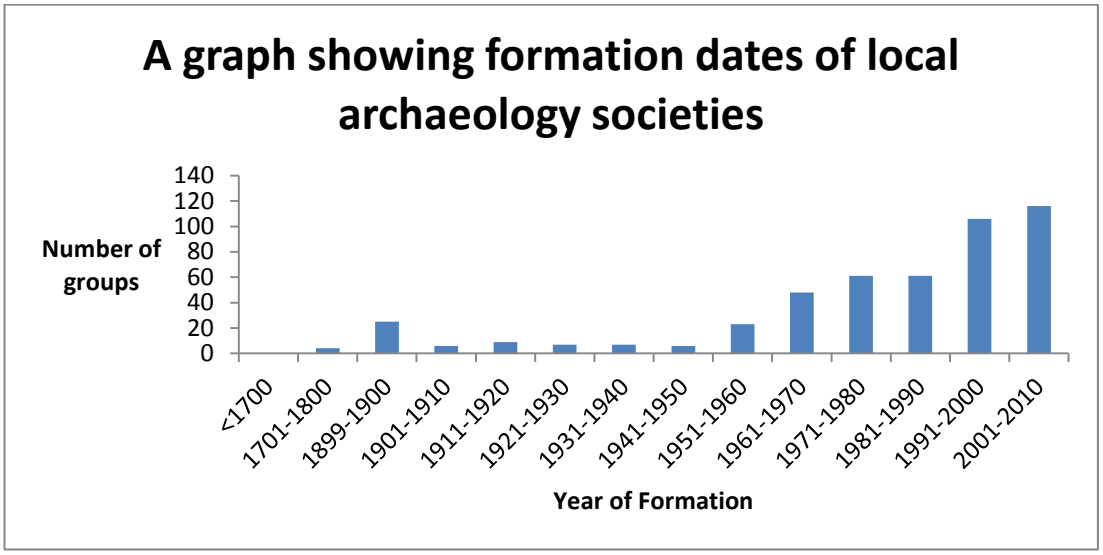



**Figure 4.6 A graph demonstrating the formation of local archaeology societies (from Thomas 2010)**

It is not just Local Archaeology Societies who conduct community-based historic environment research. The majority of groups (25.2%) that responded to Hedge and Nash (2016: 35) survey self-identified as Local History Societies. Table 4.5 shows the types of groups that replied to the survey. It demonstrates that it was not just Local Archaeology Groups who had conducted excavations but so had 45 Local History Groups' and 26 groups which were self-defined as 'Other'. These 'Others' included mining groups, local authorities, parish councils, pressure groups, museums, sub-aqua clubs, garden trusts and others.

Thomas (2010:9) included metal detectorists within her survey. The research and archaeological value of community based metal detecting is a controversial subject but it cannot be denied that artefacts discovered by metal detecting has added to our knowledge of the past and that some participants conduct it for this very reason (Thomas 2012:76; Schriek and Schriek 2014 231; Thomas and Stone 2017 (forthcoming)). In this context it could be read that the people who are conducting archaeological activities do not necessarily consider themselves primarily to be archaeologists. Archaeologists may also not consider them to be conducting

archaeological research even though their outputs may still be of archaeological interest. The Local Archaeology Society is therefore only a small percentage of the 'bottom up' type of community archaeology that is being conducted across the UK.

**Table 4.5 Types and number of groups conducting four types of archaeological fieldwork (from Hedge and Nash 2016).**

| Type of group or society | Research Type | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Field Survey | Field-walking | Excavation | Geophysical Survey |
| Charitable organisation | 7 | 8 | 6 | 6 |
| Civic Society | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Commercial organisation | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| County/Regional Archaeology Society | 14 | 14 | 16 | 13 |
| County/Regional Historical Society | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| County/Regional History Forum | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Educational organisation (e.g. school, college, U3A, WEA) | 1 | 1 | 1 | |
| Experimental Archaeology/Living History group | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Friends' Association | 2 | 3 | 1 | 3 |
| Individual researcher | 14 | 13 | 11 | 7 |
| Interest-focused research group (e.g. Watermill Society) | 4 | 4 | 7 | 5 |
| Local Archaeology Society | 72 | 83 | 100 | 77 |
| Local Building Recording group | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Local Heritage/Conservation Group | 12 | 11 | 15 | 7 |
| Local History Society | 36 | 39 | 45 | 31 |
| Neighbourhood/Local Plan group | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| Other (please specify) | 24 | 23 | 26 | 19 |
| Period-focused research group (e.g. Tudor History) | 3 | 2 | 4 | 4 |
| Team working on a wreck site | 2 | 0 | 2 | 1 |
| Youth Group (e.g. YAC) | 1 | 2 | 4 | 1 |
| Total | 192 | 214 | 240 | 292 |

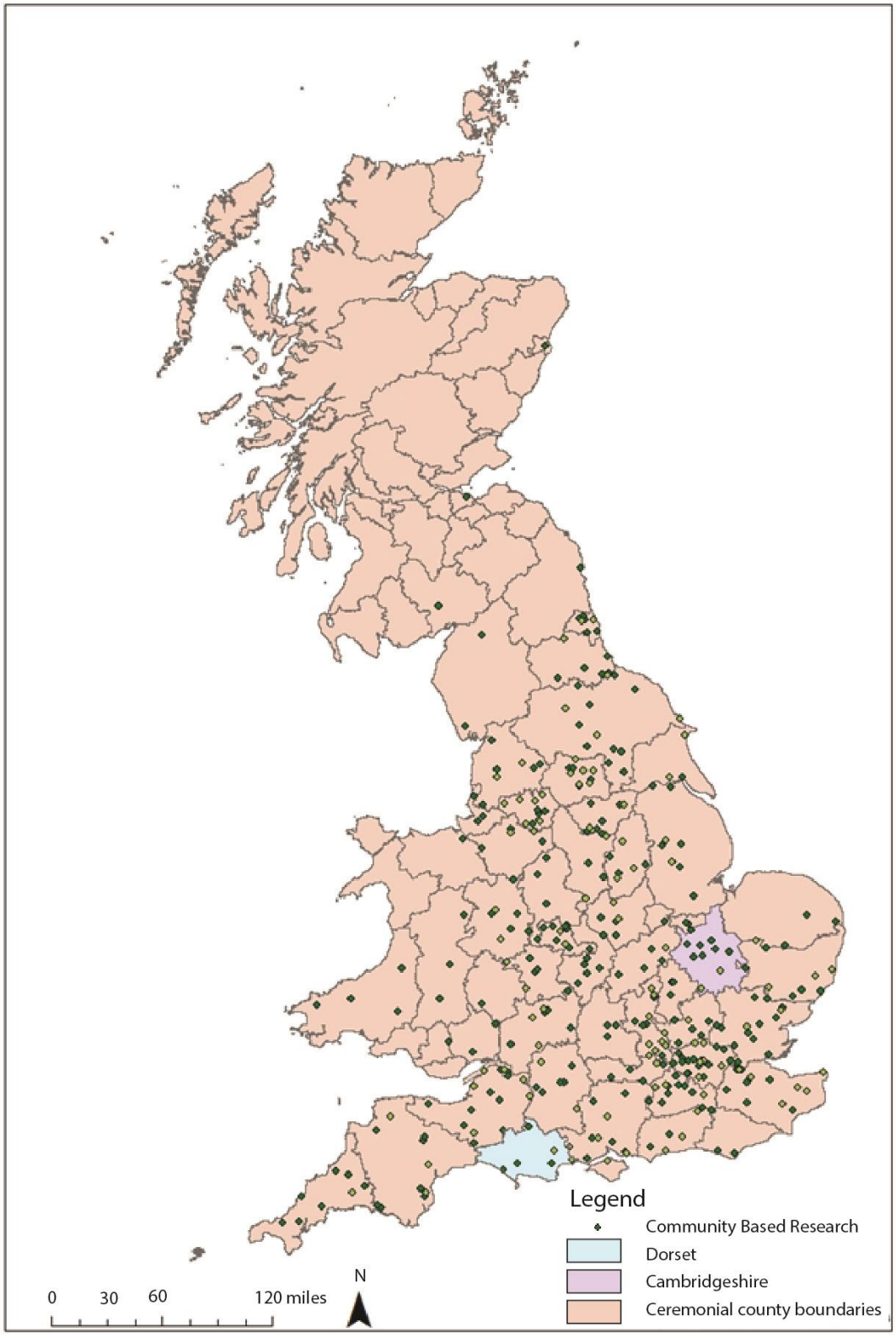



**Figure 4.8. The location of community based research (Hedge and Nash 2016)**

## 4.12 Characteristics of bottom up community archaeology

Figure 4.8 illustrates the location of groups conducting community-based research as identified by Hedge and Nash (2016:33). This map represents less than 40% of the total number of predicted groups however it does serve to demonstrate that community archaeology groups are distributed across the whole of England. This also supports the distribution of groups identified by Thomas in 2010. There does not appear to be a north/south divide but there is clustering in some areas, particularly around London, Greater Manchester, Greater London, West Yorkshire and Newcastle. The authors warned that this data was gathered using the Internet Provider (IP) addresses of respondents and therefore is unreliable. The IP location often refers to the location of the server, rather than the location of the individual and the distribution of these in urban areas can cause a cluster effect. This cluster effect is unfortunate because it prevents the identification of true locations and any potential correlations between population density and number of groups, as may be expected. This is also important when trying to consider and understand diversity within local archaeology societies.

None of the three research projects into local archaeology societies (CBA 198, Thomas 2010, Hedge and Nash 2016) gathered demographic data about individual participants. Thomas (2010) asked for an estimate of the average age of group members. The average response to this was 55. This is supported by Woolverton's (2016) research into age. She demonstrated that the majority of members of archaeology societies in the Jigsaw project are over the age of 50. The average age of a person entering community archaeology in Cambridgeshire is 54 ± 5, based on the median age per age group (Woolverton 2016: 140). This is unusual compared to other volunteering sectors where there is not much difference in volunteering rates across all age categories (NCVO 2015; DCMS 2016) and it is important to consider why archaeology may predominantly attract an older generation.

There is little other published information, apart from anecdotal comments regarding the types of participants that are involved in bottom up community archaeology. Without statistical evidence or published examples it is hard to comment on the diversity of local archaeology groups (or community archaeology in general). Volunteering within the wider heritage sector has traditionally demonstrated lack of diversity and this has been attributed to the traditional 'often rural and nationalistic interpretations of Englishness that surround the heritage sector' (D'Souza et al. 2011: 7). What however is of greater concern is that within the following sentence of the same quote this lack of diversity is excused with: 'heritage sites are disproportionally located within areas of low levels of ethnic diversity (D'Souza et al. 2011:7). As figure 4.8 illustrates local archaeology societies conduct research all over the country and therefore this excuse is not true.

## 4.13 Activities conducted by bottom up community archaeology groups

The data collected by Thomas indicates that community archaeology groups undertake a wide range of activities (Figure 4.9). The most popular were 'talks or lectures' followed by 'trips to sites, museums or similar'. Hedge and Nash (2016:36) only investigated research based activities but they also discovered a significant range of outputs (Figure 4.10). They identified that the most popular research activity was archival (68.27% of groups undertaking this), but all sorts of field, museum or desk-based research activities were also included. It is interesting to note that in both graphs more groups have conducted excavation compared to other types of archaeological fieldwork.

Figure 4.11 compares some of the data gathered by the two surveys. It illustrates the change in numbers of groups conducting six different types of archaeological research. Some of these changes relate to the variability in group types that were included in the survey, for example archival research will be conducted by a wider range of groups

than just those with an archaeological interest. It demonstrates how excavation has always been popular and that the percentage of groups undertaking it has increased despite the inclusion of all research related to the historic environment. It is significant that the number of groups conducting field-walking has declined dramatically. The cause of this is unknown but may relate to land accessibility. It is important to be aware of such changes to prevent potentially incorrect assumptions about community archaeology. For example Dalglish, based upon Thomas's research assumes that there is a tendency of community archaeology to focus upon the recent past and that this is due to a 'particular interest in non-obtrusive survey work' (Dalglish 2013:2).

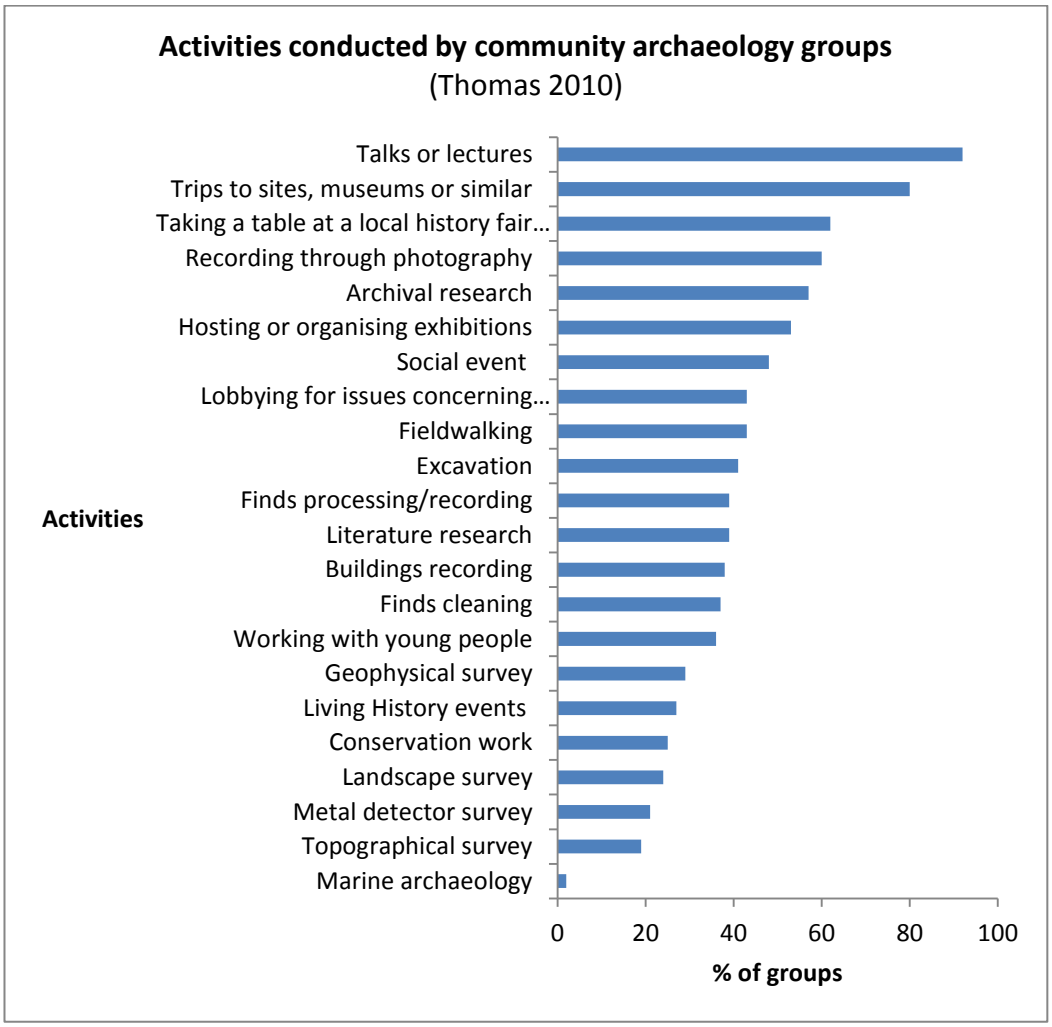



**Figure 4.9 Types of activities conducted by community archaeology groups (from Thomas 2010)**

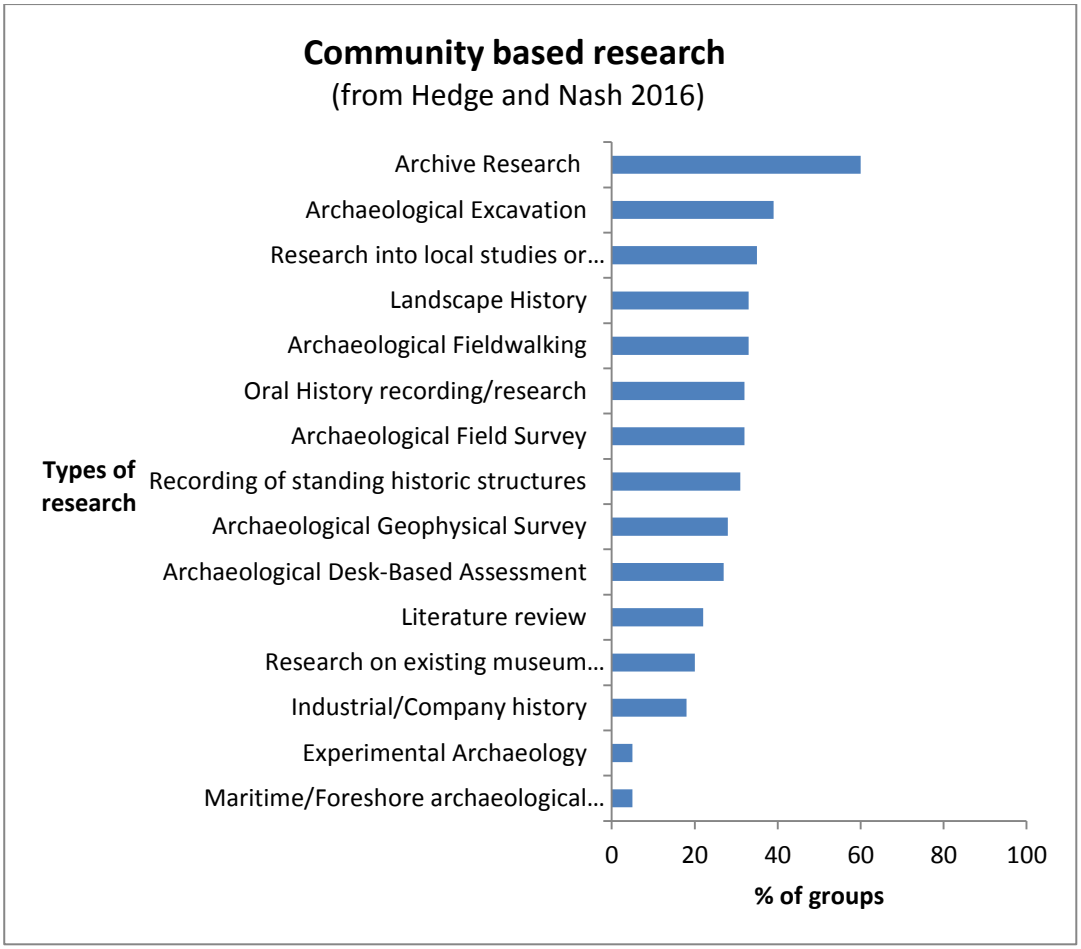



**Figure 4.10 Types of community based research (from Hedge and Nash 2016)**

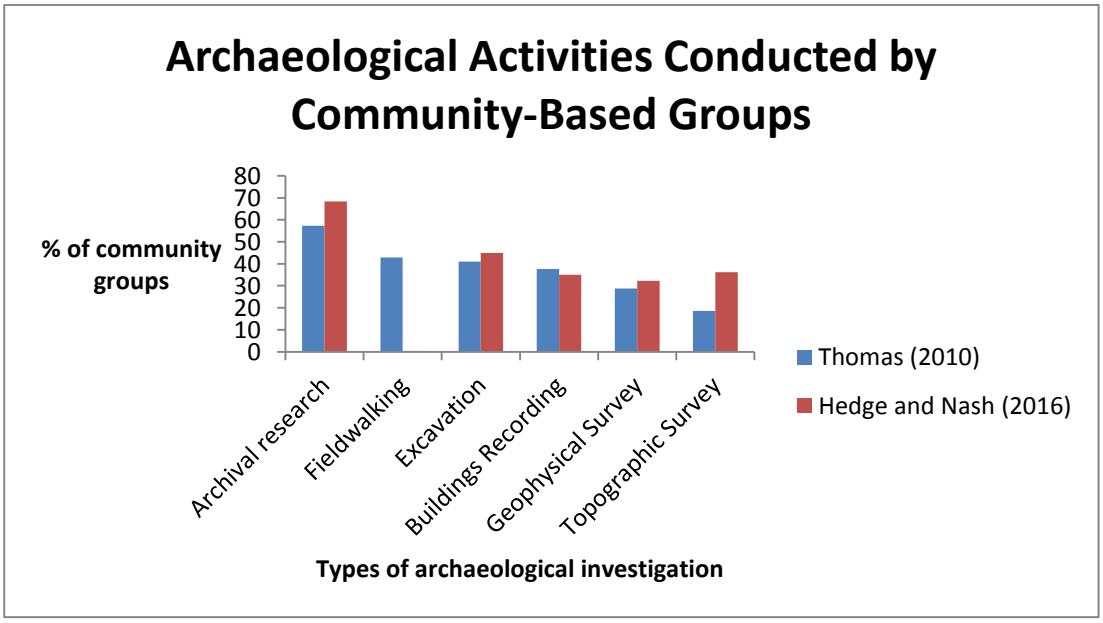



**Figure 4.11 A graph showing the percentage of community based groups who had conducted 6 different types of archaeological research at the time of the two surveys.**

Both datasets (Thomas 2010 and Hedge and Nash 2016) were also scrutinised as part of this research for patterns in distribution of research types or methods according to location however none could be identified. It might be assumed that groups conducting geophysical surveys would appear as clusters due to available equipment however this was not visible (Figure 4.12). This may be in part due to the response rate of the surveys or the inaccuracy of Hedge and Nash's location data. In future accurate location data of local archaeology societies would be valuable.

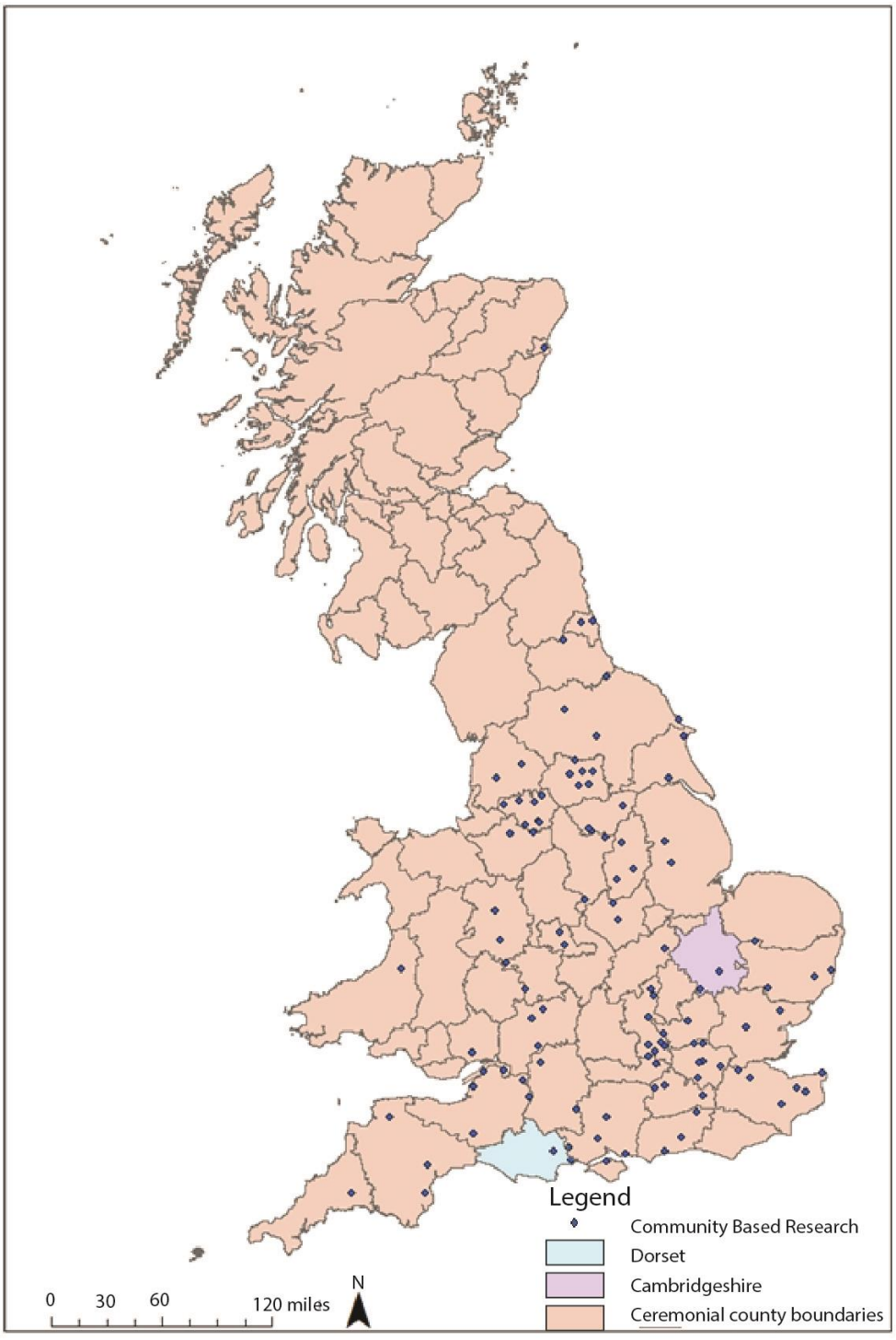



**Figure 4.12 Community based geophysical research (Nash and Hedge 2016).**

## 4.14 Impact

Another way of measuring community archaeology is through impact. Impact is particularly important for top down types of community archaeology; it has become a requirement of many funding streams. Lewis (2015), as discussed in more detail in section 4.14.2, is an example of Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) funded community archaeology with demonstrable impact.

Impact is defined by the Research Excellence Framework (REF) as 'reach' and 'significance' and can encompass the 'effect on, change or benefit to the economy, society, culture, public policy or services, health, the environment or quality of life beyond academia' (REF 2014 2011). It is a requirement for universities to demonstrate impact for the REF and community archaeology is sometimes used as a mechanism for this. The next REF assessment may have a different definition of impact and this may again affect community archaeology conducted by universities (HEFCA 2016).

The Heritage Lottery Fund is another major funder of community archaeology in the UK. They provide evaluation guidelines for their projects and expect retrospective analytical reporting (Heritage Lottery Fund 2012). This guidance is generic for all projects, not just archaeology. They do also provide guidance for projects which contain archaeological elements however their guidelines on the impact of community archaeology only extends to these few lines:

> *'The practice of archaeology can be an excellent way for people to learn about their heritage and to acquire new skills, such as surveying or excavation techniques. Also, it can often be a motivating factor for people to come together to explore their common history, to socialise, make new friends and have an enjoyable experience. Archaeology can be great fun!' (Heritage Lottery Fund 2013a).*

The Heritage Lottery Fund have produced some research of their own into the impact of their projects (Heritage Lottery Fund 2009; Boyd and Stafford 2013; Heritage Lottery Fund 2013b, 2015b, 2015a, 2016). Despite the useful of this research, in demonstrating

how ‘well’ Heritage Lottery money is spent, these results do not provide much information about the practice of community archaeology.

Simpson and Williams (Simpson and Williams 2008) suggested two methods qualitative methods for evaluating community archaeology projects. The first is a long term self-reflexive method and the second an ethno-archaeological approach and both focus upon measuring intended and actual outcomes. Their hope was that these methods would be used alongside quantitative methods to ‘critically deconstruct’ community archaeology projects (Simpson and Williams 2008:71). As the following sections will demonstrate this has not been the case within the published literature. This theoretical approach has not been directly applied in practice. The reasons for this are unclear but are indicative of a wider division between the theory and practice of community archaeology.

Isherwood’s model illustrates three types of actor within community archaeology, and therefore community archaeology can impact upon them all. These impacts are discussed in the next three sections. Although presented separately (and according to accessible and published results) most of these projects have multiple impacts upon all three strands. Each project can also be placed on a different, or multiple places, on the spectrum of participation (figure 4.4).

### 4.14.1 Impact of community archaeology on communities

Community archaeology projects have been noted for the positive impact that they can have on participants or other members of the communities who are involved. This ability has led to the development of some projects which do not have archaeological research as their primary aim. Instead they have social agendas, although this does not prevent them from conducting high quality archaeological research. The amount and

type of non-professional collaboration in these projects also tend to vary from the highly involved to hands-off.

Operation Nightingale is ‘a ground-breaking military initiative. It utilises the technical and social aspects of field archaeology to aid the recovery and skill development of service personnel and veterans who have been injured in conflict’ (Wessex Archaeology 2014). The project revolves around archaeological fieldwork; the Ministry of Defence is a major landowner and therefore has significant archaeological responsibilities. Many of the service personnel people are positively impacted by participation in fieldwork projects and the associated finds and paperwork. For example a soldier who had recently returned from Afghanistan after involvement in a roadside explosion was able to spend two weeks excavating. This which enabled him to comment that he had had his ‘first proper night’s sleep since the attack’ (Hilts 2012). In a study conducted by the Defence Archaeology Group it was demonstrated that involvement in archaeological projects by defence personal resulted in comprehensive social impacts (Finnegan 2016 17-21). This took the form of reduced isolation, reduced substance abuse, increased physical health and decreased anti-social behaviour. Some of the personnel involved have since started employment in the archaeological sector and others are now able to study archaeology at Leicester University despite a lack of previously academic experience. These are very direct social impacts of community archaeology however the specific influence of archaeology, as opposed to other outdoor activities, is unknown. Operation Nightingale is one of the best known but poorly published examples of community archaeology transforming lives. Despite many successful projects it has yet to fully reflect upon community archaeology’s specific contribution towards these positive outcomes.

**Figure 4.13 Careful excavation on an operation nightingale project ©Wessex Archaeology**

The Homeless Heritage Project is a case study example of how archaeological approaches can be used to address contemporary heritage and excluded sectors of British society. The project was a form of collaborative community archaeology, where homeless people were equally included in the interpretation of their landscapes (through mapping as well as excavation) and in the dissemination of the results. They are named as co-author's on diverse publications (Kiddey and Schofield 2009, 2010; Kiddey and Schofield 2011; Schofield et al. 2012; Crea et al. 2014; Kiddey and Schofield 2015) and have contributed to presentations at a range of events including at the Theoretical Archaeology Conference in Bristol in 2010. The project had extensive 'positive therapeutic outcomes for individuals and the broader public understanding of homelessness' (Kiddey and Schofield 2015:46). These were significantly influenced by the construction or reconstruction of identity and sense of individual worth explored through the project and its outcomes. The collaborative approach was considered critical in helping to truly understand sense of identity. This led in some cases to housing and rehabilitation for some participants, reconnections with family, and employment.

Digging Moston originated as a community archaeology project because a councillor thought that it may help to divert 'bored and frustrated children into positive activity' (Murphy 2015:89). He contacted professional archaeologists to request help, and was

made aware of the complications and responsibilities that an archaeological excavation has to build into any project design. This resulted in a successful project; it was considered to have been a success when the Chief Superintendent Simon Garvey, Divisional Commander of North Greater Manchester Police announced that a reduction in the August crime spike had been observed. Normally this is seen during the school holidays and the change was attributed to the excavation; 'most of the Moston youngsters had been at the Dig and when they returned home they were too exhausted after the day's activity to go back out and play' (Murphy 2015:91). There was potentially more to this than just distracting the children. They actively wanted to be there and families were brought together. The interactions between children and parents, and the changes in behaviour that were observed, taught the councillor about meaningful citizenship;

> *'I am now acutely aware that every human being has a sense of place, history and heredity and that, for citizenship to be meaningful, all should find ways of engaging constructively with others' (Murphy 2015: 91).*

The project also resulted in the formation of Moston and District Archaeology and Social History group (MADASH) and then eventually the expanded follow ups: Dig Manchester and Dig Greater Manchester (Nevell 2015). Dig Manchester was evaluated using the Inspiring Learning Framework provided by the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA 2016).

This was used to look at five cultural outcomes

- 'Perceptions of the project;
- How the project engendered a sense of place and neighbourhood pride;
- How it improved perceptions of health and wellbeing;
- How it assisted children and young people to make a positive contribution;
- How it provided children with creative and cultural opportunities;
- Legacy of Dig Manchester'. (Nevell 2013; Nevell 2015).

In turn these outcomes were used to consider how and why the project generated the specific impacts. This critical reflection into the methods of community archaeology is a valuable resource. The results revealed that 'interactions between groups and individuals on the project were very important' (Nevell 2013:71). This not only included bringing individuals together from a diverse range of economic and social backgrounds, but also many and varied organisations, from job centre agencies, health focused charities, educational institutions and the police. The interactions between individuals involved appear to underpin many of the positive impacts.

There are many more examples of the positive impact that community archaeology can have on participants and the wider community. The reflective nature of these particular examples demonstrates the importance of critical analysis in understanding why these impacts occur. This is vital if projects are to be replicated and the positive impacts to be successfully reproduced and improved.

### 4.14.2 Impact of community archaeology on archaeology

There are many examples of community archaeology's contribution to the archaeological record. This can be through fieldwork but it can also be through post-excavation (Cooper 2012), desk top research, or in helping to protect and manage the archaeological resource (Dawson 2014:40). All of these will have an impact upon the archaeological resource. In the majority of examples this is usually positive (i.e. adding to knowledge), however it can also be negative (poor quality excavation or recording) but these types of projects are not reported. Some advocates claim that community archaeology can, not only produce high quality research, but provide answers that would not have been possible without the input from non-professional archaeologists. In order to examine the positive impact of community archaeology on the archaeological resource recent examples have been selected and discussed in detail below.

A very successful project that used significant amounts of volunteer participation, but was driven by a professional archaeologist, was recently published in Antiquity (Lewis 2016). Conducting systematic test pitting Lewis was able to examine changes in medieval demography through the recovery of pottery. This resulted in a better understanding of the impact of the Black Death and has filled a significant gap in the research of 'currently occupied medieval rural settlements' (Lewis 2016:778). This gap existed partly due to the complex practical issues of conducting systematic research in locations with multiple owners and land uses. Test pitting with the public allowed the research to circumnavigate these practical problems. All of the test pits were excavated by members of the public although supervised by professional archaeologists. Frequently the location of the test pits was only possible due to public generosity and many of the excavations were conducted by school children through the Higher Education Field Academy (HEFA) (Lewis 2007:143). The Higher Education Field Academy, 'aims to raise the aspirations, enthusiasm and attainment of 14-17 year-olds with regard to higher education by making a valuable contribution to current academic research at the University of Cambridge' (HEFA 2016). This has enabled it to access funding from sources that otherwise would not have been accessible to archaeological research. Combining the objectives of HEFA with an archaeological research plan has resulted in high quality research that would not have been otherwise possible, as well as achieving the desired social outputs. The public were a valuable resource however the input from professional archaeologists was also invaluable. Without the coordination from Lewis and her team the results are unlikely to have been stimulated and then drawn together in such a conclusive manner enabling publication in a prestigious journal.

Community archaeology has also been very successful in rescue contexts. We have seen how the RESCUE movement recorded archaeological remains before their destruction by modern human interference. This need for recording is also paramount where destruction by natural sources is inevitable. The Scottish Coastal Heritage at Risk Project (SCHARP) is a community archaeology project that works with local communities to record Scotland's eroding coastal heritage. They have used innovative techniques to conduct 940 surveys and record 340 new sites (SCHARP 2016a). Some of

these sites have been investigated in greater detail, for example at the Wemyss Caves unique and endangered Pictish carvings have been recording using specialist scanning and photography techniques (4dwemyss 2016).

By involving communities archaeologists in Scotland have been able to ask archaeological questions of relevance and important to society and their methodology has been incorporated into Scottish Government Heritage Policy. The research has allowed the strategy for coastal heritage management to ‘move from excavating targets of opportunity... to excavating targets which have been prioritised by a reasonably objective process' (Dawson 2016). This has also resulted in a change in funding for this type of archaeology.

Hedge and Nash estimate that between 2010 and 2015 there were 12,000 community generated archaeological projects (mainly by local societies) in England that contributed 20,000+ research outputs. This report also demonstrates that community generated research has previously been undervalued within the systems of professional archaeology; it has not been a significant contributor towards research frameworks, or the planning system. Only half of the groups surveyed submit their research to local Historic Environment Records (HERs). The report identifies several potential causes for this oversight: a major underlying factor appears to be that many of the groups do not perceive their research to be relevant to professional archaeologists. HERs contain the primary information on which planning based archaeology is managed but few community groups ‘explicitly see their work as fitting into a framework of characterisation, place making or enhancement of a body of historic environment data’ (Hedge and Nash 2016:45).

The report does not explore why this might be. Although not explicitly stated it appears that there is disconnect between the way that community groups and professional archaeologists view the processes and purposes of archaeological research and the HER. For example, some groups associate research outputs solely with academic publications, others feel that the concept of academic research questions do not always ‘fit well with much local historical research where the aim is to explore the past of a site and see what stories emerge’ (Hedge and Nash 2016:49).

Many of the community groups surveyed in the report did not place archaeological knowledge or research as their primary objective. Planned outputs were often determined by funding priorities; '42.9% have received project specific funding from external sources (including but not limited to HLF)' (Hedge and Nash 2016:55). Although funding will determine the priorities of community archaeology this is also often the case for professional archaeology. The many community archaeology examples in this chapter demonstrate how research outputs are still valuable.

It is easy to assume from the published literature that community archaeology, and therefore local archaeology societies, focus upon the recent past (Dalglish 2013:2). This is not necessarily always the case, as demonstrated throughout this chapter, but is not an uncommon view and there is little quantitative evidence to prove otherwise. Even Hedge and Nash's comprehensive survey did not consider specific research topics.

Community archaeology does not just focus upon fieldwork, it can also be a helpful methodology for achieving post excavation processing and analysis. Cooper (2012) described a model whereby a local archaeology society achieved the publication of an archive that was hitherto forgotten. This used a training exercise for a local archaeology society to conduct meaningful analysis of an archived assemblage.

Citizen science is 'a process of volunteer participation through crowdsourcing' and it is particularly useful when working with large data sets. Smith has identified four ways in which archaeological research can benefit: 'fieldwork that makes use of widely available technologies such as mobile applications for photography and data upload; searches of large satellite image collections for site identification and monitoring; crowd-funding; and crowd-sourced computer entry of heritage data' (Smith 2014). Examples in the UK include the Micro Pasts model (Figure 4.14) where academics and volunteers are encouraged to collaborate via the internet (Bonacchi et al. 2014). This includes archival transcription, and photo masking, to help build 3d models. These projects have met with mixed results and in particular 'the emergence of an interconnected online community is proving to be a challenge' (Bonacchi et al 2014: 8).

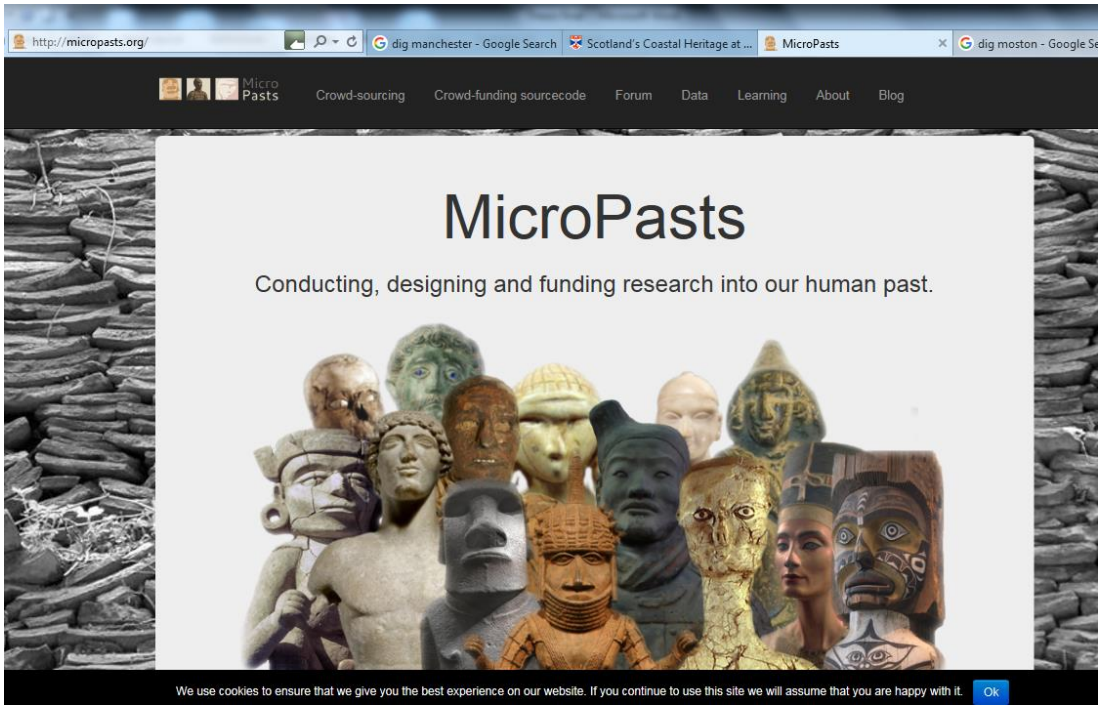



**Figure 4.14 The Micro-pasts citizen science online platform**

Dig Ventures is one of the most well-known crowd-funded projects in the UK. This model raised £27,000 through 250 funders to run 'a public research archaeology project' at Flag Fen (DigVentures 2016). There were different levels of reward depending upon the financial contribution which included an opportunity to take part in the excavations. This method of community archaeology has now funded several excavations which may not otherwise have occurred. This model is not without criticism from the archaeological community (unpublished comments) but until the long term impacts are known it is impossible to pass judgement on the methodology. The only project report so far to be published is that of flag fen (Wilkins et al 2016).

### 4.14.3 Impact of community archaeology on Archaeologists

There are also other references in the literature as to why we should conduct community archaeology (beyond the impact on the archaeology and on society). Many of the reasons presented revolve around 2 interlinked concepts; that it is the duty of archaeology to communicate with the public and that archaeology will not survive

without support from the public. For example, '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' (Simpson 2012:116-117). This harks directly back to the educational and public relation approaches within public archaeology discussed in section 4.1 (figure 4.1).

Community archaeology is seen by some as a way to acquire funding or to demonstrate impact and thereby justify funding. Although it was not the motivation behind the project SCHARP was included within the University of St Andrew's University Archaeology Department contribution towards their REF submission (Dawson 2016). The success of this may potentially have affected the funding of the university and the employment prospects of the individuals involved may have been significantly increased.

Simpson researched the espoused and actual values of community archaeology projects and established that they do not always match (2010:82). This included objectives to raise awareness of the importance of archaeology and, it was reasoned, this would increase political and financial support. Although the three projects in the UK which she investigated did increase local awareness, they did not influence political agendas or increase funding.

Belford claims that 'community archaeology must achieve social sustainability, intellectual sustainability and economic sustainability if it is to be of lasting value both within the archaeological profession and outside it' (Belford 2014b:27). In order to be socially sustainable archaeology must be important enough to justify costs and it must therefore contribute meaningfully towards society. Community archaeology is often used to demonstrate the value of archaeology to the public; it is used to make archaeology socially sustainable. Belford claims that social sustainability requires long term or high level participation by non-professional archaeologists. If these non-professional participants shoulder some responsibility this will manifest as advocacy for archaeology. If individual projects are sustainable, this will help archaeology and community archaeology to be socially sustainable.

Applying this to individual projects Belford goes onto claim that successful social sustainability is most likely to be achieved when 'participants are not drawn from the margins, but from the mainstream majority of property-owning, tax-paying and law-abiding citizens. This is not to say that community archaeology should only involve such people, but for projects to be sustainable over the long term they need to be at the core' (Belford 2014b:32). This however implies that community archaeology projects that do not have significant participation by this sector of society will not have long term impact and cannot therefore have social sustainability. This argument assumes that sustainability equals impact, and that impact cannot be achieved without sustainability. This is not necessarily true but is much harder to prove. It also suggests that diverse community archaeology is unlikely to be sustainable. If this is true community archaeology has a fundamental problem. Carman takes this one step further; 'what we intend is to 'reach out' to those who would otherwise not have access to us and our work. But in the end all we can do is talk to those who already speak in our language and share our values' (Carman 2011:500). A dichotomy is emerging, by trying to use community archaeology to convey professional messages, systems and beliefs we are locked within the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD).

## 4.15 The Authorised Heritage Discourse, place making and identity building

In the UK (although the phenomenon occurs worldwide) there is one overarching use or version of the past that is dominant and this is known as the Authorised Heritage Discourse.

> *'The authorised heritage discourse focuses attention on aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites, places and/or landscapes that current generations 'must' care for, protect and revere so that they may be passed to nebulous future generations for their education, and to forge a sense of common identity based on the past'* (Smith 2006:29).

This discourse developed during the colonial era and incorporated ideas of evolution, sovereignty of European states, and can be seen as a response to a great industrial change and a need for social cohesion. A link was made between identity, history and place (also known as nationalism). Throughout history the past has been used to construct identity and archaeology is particularly adept at this. There has been much literature written on the relationship between archaeology and identity; not just on the expression of identity in the past but on how archaeologists construct identities both in the past and the present (e.g. Graves-Brown et al. 1996; Insoll 2006). Identity is also often related to politics, and archaeology has often been used as justification for and implicated in political policies, including the more extreme nationalist examples (Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Díaz-Andreu and Champion 1996).

The development of Antiquarianism and Archaeology, as discussed in chapter two, was a part of the creation of the Authorised Heritage Discourse and professional archaeology has become the voice that controls, manages and records the material culture of the past. Often this is described as stewardship. The expression of this can be seen in the large historic houses, castles and stately homes managed by the national organisations of English Heritage or the National Trust.

Community archaeology is also integrally linked to identity creation. Since community implies the notion of belonging, as expressed in section 4.2, community archaeology is often claimed to help individuals feel included. The Homeless Heritage Project (section 6.1.1) was a particularly strong UK example that focused on an often excluded community (Kiddey and Schofield 2011). However, when community archaeology only incorporates the AHD, it can have the opposite effect and create feelings of exclusion. This is particularly problematic when community archaeology is also used to justify the existence of the archaeological profession.

How can community archaeology be willing relinquish control, to listen to other perspectives of the past whilst using the same mechanism to reinforce our own? A reflexive methodology cannot be possible if the objectives are ultimately not. This dichotomy has been realised elsewhere. Writing a reflexive account (in Canada) La Salle is concerned ‘what if collaboration, despite all of the good intentions of those

who are sincerely committed to 'decolonization,' is really just making everyone feel better about continuing an exploitation that may, in fact, be inherent in the system?' (La Salle 2010:412). This article considers the authors experiences of 'collaborative' research and questions the methods and motivations. At one point she observed a training session on community-based research where the anthropologists were instructed to make the First Nation people feel comfortable in order to encourage them to talk. She felt that making people feel comfortable was 'manipulating their hopes and fears to further the goal of development, in a power structure that reflects and ultimately contributes to the on-going process of colonization' (Le Salle 2010: 409). By encouraging/needing/ expecting/wanting the community to engage with archaeology these collaborators were not listening first.

Belford, who despite advocating strongly for community archaeology, claims that it cannot be intellectually sustainable unless it is done properly because archaeologists have a duty to 'protect the finite and non- renewable resource' (Belford 2014b:33). This means that community archaeology can only be conducted according to the rules of archaeologists i.e. within the Authorized Heritage Discourse. It would be interesting to know how far Belford is willing to compromise or if he is reliant on the community being willing to fit within this parameter? The link between community archaeology and identity creation has resulted in a call for guidance and for archaeologists to ethically consider their practice (Richardson and Almansa-Sánchez 2015).

## 4.16 Guidance for community archaeology

Despite many examples of how community archaeology can positively impact upon the archaeological record there has been very little consideration into the scale of this. There has also been little critical consideration of the impact that community archaeology may have (Gould 2016). This is required in order to guide ethical practice.

Cole who led the successful Stanwell Mothers Group project wrote

> *'I was committed to community archaeology following a multiple perspective model…however in reality I did not understand how to apply this body of theory to my everyday work'* (Cole 2012:78).

The implications as to this lack of guidance, especially considering the ethical considerations that need to take place prior to potentially influencing identity creations, are concerning. Community archaeology is rapidly becoming a specialist area of professional practice as well as theory. There were 72 job adverts for community archaeologists listed on the British Archaeological Jobs Resource between 2003 and 2016 (David Connolly pers comm 24/02/2016).

As a result of Thomas's report and her finding that there was a lack of structure and of skills resource amongst the profession the CBA subsequently attempted to address this with the Community Archaeology Work Place Learning Bursaries program (CBA 2015, Sutcliffe 2014). This training provided 51 employees with the skills required to work in community archaeology. It also attempted to enable community archaeology to 'develop in a more strategic way' (CBA 2014:2).

The CBA researched potential skills that the bursary hosts expected the bursary holders to have or to learn (Table 4.6) These primarily included soft skills but they contrast significantly to those that the holders felt were important. These were generally based on project management skills. This disparity indicates a stark difference in the perceptions that both the hosts and the holders had about what community archaeology is and entails. Inherent to the whole scheme was the assumption that community archaeology can be professionally driven and that you can be paid to be a community archaeologist.

Unfortunately the bursaries programme was not totally successful in its attempt to provide a structure for community archaeology. Despite providing practical experience and work place learning there is still a lack of supportive theory and published guidance. The disconnection between the theory and practice of community archaeology was highlighted by a bursary holder:

*'Techniques which are effective for community engagement are being discovered and refined, but perhaps these findings and experiences could be better shared — we are still a long way off from having the tools we need to fully engage and explore our communities'* (Grant 2014:152).

**Table 4.6 Skills expected/required for holders of community archaeology bursaries (CBA 2015)**

| **Hosts** | **Holders** |
|---|---|
| Enthusiasm/passion | Project management and development |
| Communication skills | Fundraising |
| Friendliness/approachability | Social media |
| Archaeological skills and knowledge | Managing volunteers |
| General heritage knowledge and experience | Writing for the public |
| People/interpersonal skills | Presentation/public speaking |
| Flexibility | Keeping up to date with changes in the school curriculum |
| Organisational skills | Volunteering with an archaeological unit |
| Confidence | Keeping up to date on legislation and guidance |
| Professional respect | Networking |
| Good sense of humour | |
| Empathy | |
| Patience/persistence | |
| Imagination | |
| Taken from CBA 2015 | |

## 4.17 Summary of literature review and reasons for this research

Despite significant discussion regarding community archaeology there has been no universally accepted definition. This situation has been partially created by an evolving practice of community archaeology with which theory has not kept up. Isherwood

described community archaeology as a set of relations, which allowed this thesis to define community archaeology as involving the participation of volunteers in archaeological activities. This chapter has discussed a wide range of community archaeology projects; they vary from the level of volunteer participation to the outputs and outcomes.

Community Archaeology has demonstrable impact on participants, on society and on archaeology however very little has been written about what these are and why they occur. In order to match the theory of community archaeology to the practice within the UK it is important to understand why these impacts occur. Consideration of the motivation of participants, the actual practices that occur, the impacts had and the relationship between community archaeology and professional archaeology is essential to inform and guide future practice.

This lack of critique has also resulted in limited theoretical guidance as to the practice of community archaeology. It is important to understand the practice of community archaeology and the impact that it has have on both communities and the archaeological profession. Until this is known the gap between theoretical guidance and practice cannot be filled.

# Chapter 5 Methods

## 5.1 Introduction

It is imperative when researching community archaeology to use a method which is analytical and critical. It is also essential for this research to take a broad perspective of community archaeology, in order to incorporate all elements of a wide subject. This chapter will explain in detail the two methodologies used; interviews and case studies. It will demonstrate their suitability and rigorous approach to investigating the practice of community archaeology.

## 5.2 Research design

This research project is a qualitative research project. Defining qualitative research is complex because 'it is not a unified set of techniques or philosophies' (Mason 2002:2). The most commonly understood premise behind qualitative research is that 'it uses words as data' and that these words should not be reducible to numbers (Braun and Clarke 2013:3). Another way of putting this is that 'qualitative research aims to produce rounded and contextual understandings on the basis of rich, nuanced and detailed data' (Mason 2002:3). This project uses interviews and case study projects to produce an understanding of the practice of community archaeology in order to be able to create a model of best practice. The wide variety of practice and opinion, as outlined in Chapter 4 indicated that this research would need to acquire a depth of understanding in order to understand the practice of community archaeology.

Qualitative research 'tends *not* to assume there is only one correct version of reality or knowledge. Instead, it argues that there are multiple versions of reality – even for the same person – and that these are very closely linked to the context they occur in'

(Braun and Clarke 2013:6). It is the experience of the author, as expressed in Chapter Four and above, that many archaeologists, no matter their background, have a view about community archaeology and they are often very vocal and forthright in voicing it. This became apparent early in the research when advice or opinion was given, often unasked for, to the researcher. All of these experiences are different but still valid. They demonstrate different perceptions of what community archaeology is and the variety of impacts (and the importance of these) that it can have on archaeology. The use of qualitative methods will allow all these opinions to be heard. This is essential in order to fully understand what community archaeology is, the impact it can have and why this occurs.

Another premise, which is sometimes used to define qualitative research, is that it is 'a process of examining and interpreting data in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding and develop empirical knowledge' (Corbin and Strauss 2008:01). Some have also called this inductive and theory generating (Braun and Clarke 2013:6). The research aim for this project is an investigatory and exploratory one. The project is not testing a hypothesis nor is it about purely describing a situation (although the research also does that), it is about understanding it. This research will not just describe community archaeology but it seeks to understand the impacts it has and how and why these occur. Qualitative research is naturalistic and therefore flexible; 'the phenomenon of interest unfolds naturally, in that it has no predetermined course established by the researcher such as would occur in a laboratory' (Patton 2002:39). This research will seek to understand the impacts of community archaeology as they exist, in the real world. As already established in Chapter 2 community archaeology is context specific, it is defined by social and political contexts. Therefore it is important to research it in context, with all the developing social and political contexts that occur during the course of the research. This starts with the researcher. I consider myself to be a professional archaeologist. I have worked in several different archaeological capacities since completing an undergraduate degree in Archaeology and am fully indoctrinated into the profession of archaeology. I understand the language and the systems used by archaeologists. I think like an archaeologist, I approach the material and philosophic worlds through the eyes of an archaeologist.

Qualitative research accepts that the researcher's voice is not impartial, but that subjectivity is a strength of the method. This is often in contradiction to quantitative research where objectivity is seen as a priority (Braun and Clarke 2013). In qualitative research a closer engagement with the research topic (and the participants of community archaeology) is required because it creates the circumstances for greater understanding: 'without empathy, and sympathetic introspection derived from personal encounters, the observer cannot fully understand human behaviour' (Patton 2002:49). The topic of this research was set by the researcher (a professional archaeologist); it aims to increase professional understanding (of community archaeology). The premise for this research therefore is not impartial (and cannot pretend to be so), although it still strives to fairly assess the evidence and to listen to all perspectives. One way in which qualitative methods allow for this is through their flexibility and sensitivity to the context of the data (Mason 2002). This requires an open mind but it enables the researcher to explore previously unconsidered issues. For example in this project it allowed the researcher to realise that there is more than one definition of community archaeology, and that this definition may not be explicit unless understood within the context of the user. The concept of emphatic neutrality is also of vital importance in demonstrating that the research is scientifically valid. It has been applied throughout the data collection and analysis, as will be rationalised, explained and illustrated in the following sections.

## 5.3 Data Collection

The methodology for this PhD research has been iterative and inductive. As the research has progressed each step has been determined by the previous. Two different methods developed; interviews and case studies. Each of these methods is detailed below in sections 5.6 and 5.7 and together they provide an in depth understanding of the practice of community conducted within the case study areas.

## 5.4 Analysis

Qualitative research requires a method of analysis that is appropriate to the research paradigm. In this PhD research the analysis is iterative and reflexive and is conducted throughout the research process. A thematic approach was applied to the interviews and case studies. 'Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data' (Braun and Clarke 2006:79). It involves 'searching across a data set - be that a number of interviews or focus groups, or a range of texts - to find repeated patterns of meaning' (Braun and Clarke 2006:86). In this method, as with all qualitative research analysis, the researcher is an active part of the process.

## 5.5 Limitations

In qualitative research the primary research tool is the researcher, therefore it is imperative to consider the context and background of the researcher and well as the data. The researcher's background could be seen as a potential limitation for this thesis. It is very hard to shake off the knowledge, attitude, approach, and understanding of archaeology that professional experience can create. A professional archaeologist cannot, and should not, pretend to be inexperienced. It was therefore essential for the research methodology to reduce this limitation. By using qualitative methods to get closer to the research topic a situation was created whereby the researcher could empathise with those involved in community archaeology. If the research method had been more stringent, by either having a fixed methodology or asking fixed questions the potential understanding of the researcher may have been significantly limited.

Qualitative research is about context, context of the researcher, context of the subject. This means that it can only provide context specific data. It is a snap shot in time, at a specific location and with a specific group of participants. This does not reduce its value as a research method providing this is acknowledged and mitigated in the analytical process if required. The researcher background is described in Section 5.2.

This research is Dorset and Cambridgeshire specific. As discussed in Chapter 3 these are two rural counties in the south of England. They were selected for their comparability in population but their differences in archaeological practice. This was designed to give insight into this particular context. Although it is hoped that the research outcomes can be applied to any UK context it must be remembered that these two counties have provided the origin. In due course it would be advisable to test the model of best practice against other examples of community archaeology, for example projects in urban areas in the north of England.

As discussed in section 4.12 community archaeology, as indicated by (Walker 1988), (Tully 2007) and (Isherwood 2009b; Isherwood 2012) is influenced by political and social trends. This PhD research is no different and has itself also been influenced by important social and political contexts. The majority of the thesis was written in 2016, the year that the UK voted to leave the European Union and Donald Trump won the American Presidential election. The data collection took place before these results were announced but was conducted in the political climate that led to them. The analysis and discussion were written during a climate of increased interest in politics. The research began to seem very topical, discussion regarding issues of power and control, sovereignty, expert vs popular opinion, globalism vs nationalism, were played out, not only in the press almost every day, but in conversations with friends and family. This has undoubtedly influenced the discussion in Chapter 9.

## 5.6 Ethical considerations

The ethical implications of research into community archaeology must be taken seriously. As demonstrated in Chapter 4 the potential impact of community archaeology is high, but this can be negative as well as positive, particularly with regards to inclusivity and exclusivity. It is therefore imperative for anyone conducting community archaeology to consider the ethical implications of their research. Richardson and Almansa-Sánchez (2015) call for public archaeologists to consider their approach and methods carefully. This should include their motivation for conducting public archaeology in the first place. This concept has been incorporated into the model of best practice in Chapter 8 but the principles have also been followed throughout the course of this research. The methodology was also approved by the Bournemouth University Ethics Committee (27/05/2016) and complies with the Bournemouth University Research Ethics Code of Practice.

The reasons for each interview or case study were explained to every participant. These were formally distributed through a participant information sheet but were often also verbally explained. Opportunities were provided for questions or withdrawal. Where personal data was gathered this was kept to a minimum and kept securely at Bournemouth University. This will be destroyed after completion and final dissemination of the research results. Consent was requested for photographs. Data collection was also conducted in accordance with the South Dorset Ridgeway Landscape Partnership and Dorset County Council guidelines (unpublished).

In order to understand the practice of community archaeology it is important to understand existing relationships between archaeologists. Attempting to do this, on occasion, resulted in personal discussion of individuals who may or may not be included directly in the research. It is the existing relationships that are of interest to this research and it does not intend to directly affect them in any way. Good relationships should not be compromised and it is not the place of the researcher to 'fix' poor ones. The data contained in the interviews also has the potential to affect individuals therefore anonymity is of utmost importance.

Although some interviewees did not mind their name being associated with their interview others did. There are not many archaeologists that practice within Dorset

and Cambridge and therefore in order to reduce the potential for identification all transcripts have been assigned codes in order to preserve anonymity. This code will relate to the type of interview i.e. professional or commercial. This will enable the reader to immediately understand some of the context. Any quotations from the interviews that are included in this thesis will also not be identifiable; locations, names, specific discoveries etc will be removed. It is also hoped that the promise of anonymity encouraged interviewees to respond as openly as possible. It is for these reasons that transcripts of the interviews are not included. Editing them to ensure anonymity would remove their context, and therefore remove the usefulness of their inclusion.

## 5.7 Case studies

Case studies are the dominant method by which community archaeology is reported and published (Gould 2016:2). Case study as a methodology has been defined as:

> *"an empirical inquiry that*
>
> - *Investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the "case" ) in depth and within its real world context, especially when*
> - *The boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident.*
> - *Copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result*
> - *Relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangular fashion, and as another result*
> - *Benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis (Yin 2014:16-17)".*

The case studies were designed to test existing models of community archaeology. It was essential that more than one was conducted in order to test various models and themes within community archaeology. Several were started and explored but four have been selected for inclusion within this thesis. The aims, objectives and

methodology for each individual case study are explained in detail in Chapter 6. The case study method was particularly helpful in exploring the complexity of a subject where very few boundaries are agreed upon, highlighted by the conflicting opinions regarding the definition of community archaeology. They allowed a mixture of both collaborative and top down projects to develop and were able to incorporate 'normal' people naturally into community archaeology projects. They could also explore many of the processes and relationships involved in community archaeology, using Isherwood's model as a guide (Isherwood 2012). They allowed for these to develop and to be recorded via multiple strands of evidence. By conducting four different case studies within different contexts, it was possible to identify broader themes. It was also possible to triangulate and cross reference this, adding strength to conclusions. Throughout each project a variety of documentation was kept. This took the format of emails, notes from meetings, survey results, photographs, and personal comments as to the specifics of each case study.

The context for the case studies was outlined in section 1.4 and the results are presented in Chapter 6. They were initially selected as a methodology due to the requirements of the funder but were then used to deliberately test theoretical models of community archaeology. Their inclusion was also helpful because the influence of the funder, one of the biggest current financial influences on the sector, replicates the real world situation. Funding always places restrictions upon practice.

There are many limitations when using case studies as method of inquiry. As Gould has illustrated they are unhelpful when not critical or analytical (Gould 2016). By combining multiple case studies a triangulation process can occur, themes identified can be compared and critically considered in light of the individual contexts. It is easy for individual bias to occurring during data collection (Yin 2014:76). The initial case study was conducted in a manner which not only trialled an existing methodology but also resulted in a multiple perspective and iterative approach, to the following projects. This prevented the researcher from selecting the projects according to preconceived ideas and steering development. Although this research did not employ full ethnographical research, elements of the case studies incorporated an approach where the researcher was fully immersed in the process. On occasion there was bias

inherent in this and this is discussed in direct relation to each case study where relevant. The effect of this bias was essential in the development of the results, where the relationship between professional archaeologist and volunteer was explored. Ethnographic approaches to community archaeology have been successfully implemented in previous research projects on community archaeology (e.g. Simpson 2010) but the time constraints, combined with the breadth of practice which this research wished to incorporate, prevented a full ethnographic approach.

## 5.8 Interviews

In order to explore a greater variety of contexts than was possible through case studies alone interviews were also conducted. It is very hard for somebody who has practiced as a professional archaeologist for several years to understand the perspective of somebody that has not. The terminology and the systems inherent in archaeology are all taken for granted by the researcher, they are inherent in their way of thinking and it is impossible to remember what it was like to not know them or think through them. It also appeared that the literature was dominated by the voice of the professional archaeologist. It was therefore essential for this research to move to a method that would provide a more emphatic and rounded understanding of the practice of community archaeology. Interviewing allowed for this, the researcher could ask questions from a position of ignorance and genuinely listen to what the interviewee had to say. All voices within community archaeology could be heard and incorporated into the research by using an interview methodology.

### 5.8.1 Method

There is significant literature written about the practice of research interviewing however the premise can be summarised as:

> '*We interview to find out those things we cannot directly observe'* (Patton 2002:340).

Gaining an understanding of the wide range of perspectives and experiences of participants in community archaeology was essential in order to understand what community archaeology is and how it is practiced (beyond the preconceptions of the researcher). This would help to understand and therefore enable critique.

There are several different methods of research interview; this research employed face to face, semi-structured interviews, sometimes called the interview guide approach (Patton 2002:343). Semi-structured interviews use a guide or framework containing subjects to be covered. This method is well documented (Wengraf 2001; Mason 2002; Patton 2002; Flick 2009; Braun and Clarke 2013) and has been used effectively to interview archaeologists (Isherwood 2009b; Simpson 2010; Everill 2012). The semi-structured interview ensures that the focus remains on answering the research question whilst allowing the interviewer to 'explore, probe and ask questions that will elucidate and illuminate' areas of interest related to it (Patton 2002:343). The guide used in this research primarily contained the themes identified in an early literature review; these were Value of Archaeology, Communication, Public Perceptions, Roles, Standards and Sustainability and Legacy and can be found in Appendix 1. Compared to unstructured interviews the use of a guide reduces the potential flexibility of the interview however in this research it still allowed for issues to be raised that that were not anticipated (Patton 2002:343; Braun and Clarke 2013:81). The guide also contained a series of questions that were designed to provoke insightful and rich responses. These particular questions were not always used, on many occasions similar but more targeted questions became appropriate, but they did provide a useful framework and stimuli for the researcher to fall back on. The questions were open ended and presented in a logical structure; however the interviews themselves did not always follow this order, depending on the nature of the conversation.

Two interview guides were used dependent upon the primary experience of the interviewee. For those with significant experience of local archaeology societies the questions were targeted to explore this. For those who were primarily professional archaeologists it was perceived as more important to establish their wider experience of community archaeology as well as their relationship with local archaeology

societies. The questions were phrased in such a way as to try to avoid leading responses.

### 5.8.2 Sample Selection

A purposeful, maximum variation sampling strategy was selected for the interviews (Patton 2002: 234). This ensured a diversity of participants, covering the spectrum of community and professional archaeologists and projects as discussed in section 4.8. There were more interviews conducted with developer-funded archaeologists than in other paid sectors because this sector employs the majority of archaeologists.

The interviewees were selected due to their availability to the researcher and to ensure 'information rich cases', which will yield insights and in-depth understanding rather than empirical generalisations' (Krueger and Casey 2015:25). This bias, which would be considered a weakness in quantitative research, becomes an advantage here (Patton 2002:230). It should be acknowledged that the research will not represent the whole of the archaeological profession, but rather those that have some experience of community archaeology. Interviews were conducted in two different counties, Cambridgeshire and Dorset. The influence of this selection has already been discussed in section 5.2.

### 5.8.3 Context

The relationship between interviewer and interviewee is very important during research interviews (Braun and Clarke 2013). 'It has been recognized that interviews cannot be seen as objective accounts of the interviewee's reality, but rather, should be viewed as an interactional event in which interviewer and interviewee jointly construct meaning' (Garton and Copland 2010: 533). Therefore some consideration needs to be given to this within this methodology.

That the researcher is a native researcher, i.e. with a background as a professional archaeologist (Davies 2007:105), has already been demonstrated (see section 5.2) but in many of the interviews they also had a specific prior relationship with the participants. This meant that the interviews were 'acquaintance interviews' (Garton and Copland 2010; Braun and Clarke 2013:85-87). These are 'perfectly acceptable' forms of data collection and in many instances this prior relationship can enhance results (Garton and Copland 2010). Within these types of interviews a shared world can be invoked and used as a resource around which to ask questions, they can also provide access to data that might otherwise not be possible. This was demonstrated in this research project where access to archaeologists working in commercial companies was only given when the researcher had a prior personal relationship with the management of the company. This was even more pertinent when accessing the view point of senior management; those who did not know the researcher either did not respond to requests at all or passed the request to junior colleagues.

The level of this contact and the nature of the relationship varied depending on the participant. For example some were colleagues, either current or ex, some were peers but others significantly senior or junior. Both participants and interviewer will adjust to the potentially different relationship created by the interview situation and being aware of this is important during analysis (Garton and Copland 2010:548). There are also extra ethical issues that needed to be considered when interviewing prior acquaintances (Braun and Clarke 2013:87). The relationship was not used to pressure a participant into taking part or disclosing information and any new information disclosed would not be mentioned again.

With regards to local archaeology societies in Dorset the researcher frequently joined them on site in the months prior to setting up the interview. This demonstrated empathy with their situation, and was useful preparation. It also reinforced the position of the researcher as an experienced archaeologist, so that all interviews started from a base line of knowledge and trust.

### 5.8.4 Practicalities

The interviews were conducted in a place that was comfortable to the interviewee i.e. at their place of work, home or on site. Predominantly this decision was taken by the interviewee. The majority of interviews with professional archaeologists were conducted in indoor locations and those with community groups were primarily on site. The interviews with community groups in Cambridgeshire were mainly conducted during the Jigsaw training excavation. Often the interviews were conducted on the edge of trenches and on some occasions involved 2 or 3 participants. Everill (2012:109) used this approach when interviewing professional archaeologists and found it created a more informal atmosphere, which in turn helped to produce good data. There were also targeted interviews with groups that were not members of Jigsaw to ensure a wide variety of perspectives.

The interviews recorded on site were often disjointed due to the physical activity that was occurring at the time, and there were frequent interruptions to ask about a discovery or an action. Although this had the potential to reduce the quality of the interview, the setting actually allowed the participant to relax, provoking more genuine reactions to questions than was sometimes the case in the more formal interviews. The researcher was not usually taking part in the activity and was therefore able to keep notes and to ensure the interview progressed on track however sometimes they were included by the interviewee. Often they they were asked for opinion on an artefact or an excavation decision and would reply as a professional archaeologist. This created a unique (and subtle) power dynamic whereby both the interviewee and interviewer held areas of knowledge. The interviewer was able to become a 'vocal collaborator', whilst still maintaining the position of a student who was learning. This is called 'complementary reciprocity' and involves the exchange of 'some form of help, assistance, or other form of information' (Johnson 2002:109). Some form of exchange is always necessary to build trust in qualitative research interviews. This situation predominantly occurred with participants that had not met the researcher prior to the interview. This resulted in some interviews that appear to

have taken a very long length of time to conduct however the interruptions were not included in the transcripts.

Each interview was recorded on a Sony ICD PX440 Voice Recorder. Sometimes a small muffler was used if the location was windy. The interviewer kept notes to help inform the line of questioning. Every participant was asked for permission to record the interview and the recorder was placed in sight, sometimes on the edge of the trench, sometimes on a table in front of them, depending on the location. At the end of every interview the participant was made aware that the recorder was turned off. This frequently resulted in a change of formality and many participants would restart the conversation, sometimes providing very enlightening comments. Notes were made about these although it was often inappropriate or impossible to record direct quotes. Two interviewees requested that the Dictaphone was switched off for the discussion of certain issues. This was always complied with and notes were kept to remind the researcher about the subject of discussion rather than specific details or opinions. A period of reflection also occurred after each interview to consolidate thoughts and reflect on any further questions or theoretical developments.

### 5.8.5 Focus Groups

Some of the interviews with participants of local archaeology societies expanded to become multi-person interviews or focus groups. This method has also been used to effectively interview archaeologists (Everill 2012:109). The reflexive nature of research allowed the interviewer to adapt to practical situations and this also served to increase the richness of the interview. Not only did this allow more voices to be incorporated but the participants became more relaxed because it replicated normal social situations with which they were comfortable. The original research design had intended to conduct focus groups in order to gather data from the local archaeology societies however these proved almost impossible to formally arrange and manage. The only one that was successful was conducted during a lunch break on site when participants were trying to eat as well as converse. It was also cut shorter than would

have been ideal when lunch time finished and the group went back to work. The discussion did manage to cover all topics although the depth in some areas was not a great as would have been ideal. It was also possible that the participants were left feeling a little short changed by the experience due to the inability of the researcher to immediately thank them. The most successful group interview was conducted when several participants were unexpectedly present at an individual interview. They were all informed as to the nature of the research and briefed to ensure conformity with ethical procedures. The interview went on to become one of the most relaxed conversations conducted.

'Focus groups are ideal for exploring people's experiences, opinions, wishes and concerns…They are particularly suited to the study of attitudes and experiences around specific topics' (Kitzinger and Barbour 1999:5) and are therefore an ideal method to use to investigate of community archaeology. The interactions encouraged during focus groups can enable participants to raise and consider issues that they had not previously thought important (Kitzinger and Barbour 1999: 4; Teijlingen and Pitchforth 2006; Krueger and Casey 2015: 5). This may stimulate members to consider elements of community archaeology that might not be in the forefront of their minds e.g. planning of research questions or post excavation financial implications. It is possible that participants spoke less freely than they might have individually, although it is hoped that since the groups were self-selected they felt comfortable in each other's presence. Some of these interview groups contained people from the same community archaeology group and others were mixed. In all situations they appeared to bounce ideas and reflections off each other, leading to rich data descriptive data about their experiences.

### 5.8.6 Analysis

The iterative research method continued with the analytical process and is illustrated in Table 5.1. The first stage of interview analysis was conducted during the data collection. During each interview the interviewer responded to the conversation and

tailored questions to investigate areas of interest. Between each interview there was also a period of reflection during which the interviewer assessed what they discovered. This resulted in altered approaches or different lines of enquiry in later interviews.

The second stage of analysis comes with the transcription. The interviews were transcribed verbatim; that is, what was said was transcribed, but not how it was said (Poland 2002; Braun and Clarke 2013:162). The transcript was used for data analysis, with only occasional reference back to the original recording. During transcription the data is inevitably slightly altered; 'the transcript is the product of an interaction between the recording and the transcriber, who listens to the recording and makes choices about what to preserve, and how to represent what they hear' (Braun and Clarke 2013:162). Written and spoken language vary considerably, therefore it is important for the transcript to contain what was said, rather than what looks better written down. For example, people rarely speak in sentences and therefore during transcription careful consideration needs to be given as to when and how full stops and commas are used. The use of grammar can alter the meaning of a sentence, 'although it may be clear from the intonation and pacing of a speech in the audiotape, it may be much less so in the transcript unless these features are meticulously catalogued' (Poland 2002:632). 'Verbal interactions follow a logic that is different from that for written prose, and therefore tend to look remarkably disjointed, inarticulate and even incoherent when committed to the printed page' (Poland 2002:633). In this research all words and sounds were recorded, inaccurate grammar, dialect and language was not corrected. A notation system was used to ensure consistency of non-words (i.e. pauses).

In order to ensure the quality of the transcript each interview was transcribed as soon after the recording as possible. On some occasions multiple interviews took place on the same day. On average an hour interview required a day to transcribe, therefore on occasion a back-log inevitably built up. Each interview was recorded in sections. The data was listened to at 1/3 speed and the words typed as heard. A foot pedal was used to pause and rewind the recording when necessary to ensure accuracy. Once transcribed each section was read and listened through multiple times until a practicable level of precision was obtained. A short amount of time was allowed to

pass after the end of the transcription process before the full interview was listened to and read again as a final check for accuracy. Each new turn of voice in the interview was transcribed on a new line and identified by the initials of the speaker. All names and identifying features were left in the document to ensure full comprehension during analysis but removed before inclusion in any other documents.

**Table 5.1: The Analytical Process (Adapted from Braun and Clarke 2006)**

| | Practical Application | Strategic Objective | Iterative Process throughout analysis |
|---|---|---|---|
| Phase 1 Familiarisation with the data and preparation for analysis | Reading and rereading. Uploading of data and associating with attributes of respondents. | Data Management | Assigning data to concepts to portray meaning |
| Phase 2- Open coding | Initial identification of interesting features within data | Descriptive Accounts | Refining and distilling more abstract concepts |
| Phase 3- Searching for themes | Categorisation of codes into themes | | Assigning data to themes/concepts to portray meaning |
| Phase 4- Reviewing themes | Validating and exploring themes in greater detail | | Assigning meaning |
| Phase 5- Defining and refining themes | A refining process | Explanatory Accounts | |
| Phase 6- Producing the report | Writing and synthesising | | Generating theory |

## 5.9 Summary

The methods used in this research were carefully selected to ensure that they addressed the aims and objectives as stated in Chapter 1. The inductive-iterative and

multi perspective approach enabled the incorporation of all elements of the practice of community archaeology. The practice of local archaeology societies was explored through interviews. Four case study projects were used to investigate top down and collaborative approaches to community archaeology. These objectively included a wide variety of participants and methods of practice which were then cross-referenced to ensure consistency in a thematic analysis. This method was practical, ethical and addressed the research aim.

# Chapter 6 Testing models of community archaeology

Case study projects were conducted to test existing models of community archaeology. They used a variety of methods and explored the concepts of collaboration and participation. This chapter presents and discusses each case study in turn before concluding with common themes.

The first three case studies are interlinked and evolved through the iterative research process. The first case study project was initiated early in the research process with a view to implementing Tully's methodology (2007). From the outset it tried to apply the premise that community archaeology is a collaborative research process. It asked for public input into the selection of following case study projects. This was to investigate how collaborative approaches might affect the legacy of a community archaeology project. It was also hoped that this event would encourage and stimulate interest in the archaeology of the parish. As a consequence Case Studies 2 and 3 were located in and around the village of Portesham, a village located south west of Dorchester. The first of these projects was the result of a vote, the second suggested by members of the community. The fourth case study evolved separately and was designed to investigate a different perspective of community archaeology, that of archival research.

## 6.1 Case Study 1: Perceptions of Prehistory

An event called *Perceptions of Prehistory: Portesham through the eyes of an archaeologist* was planned. Portesham was selected as the location due to its proximity to the South Dorset Ridgeway and therefore significant archaeological sites.

It was also the preferred location of the SDRLP five year plan (there was to be a different geographical focus of the Ridgeway each year (Sharpe pers comm).

The event was advertised in the parish newsletter (Figure 6.1) and held in the committee room in Portesham Village hall. The size of the room determined that the event was to be an intimate one. This resulted in an immediate sell out, therefore a second and third event were held over the following fortnight. Each event consisted of a presentation about the archaeology of Portesham where well known monuments were discussed alongside new research. The audience were encouraged to be interactive during the talk and then asked to provide feedback via a survey.

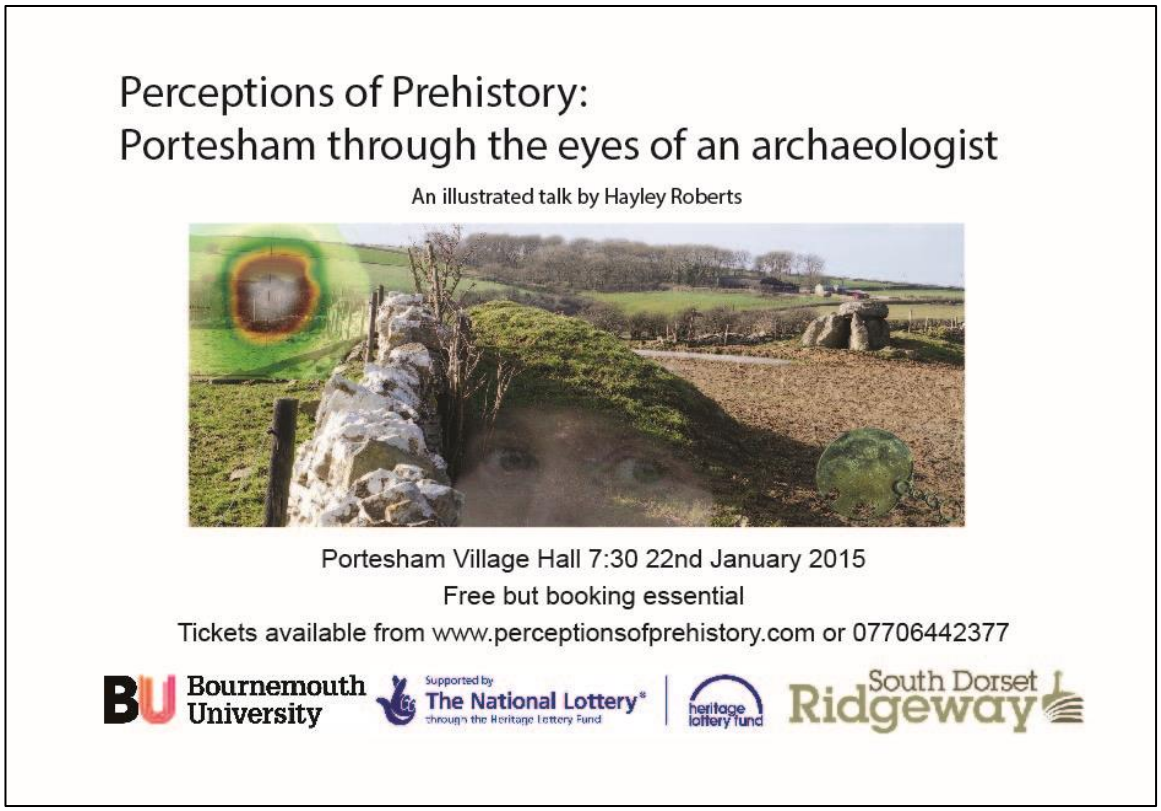



Figure 6.1 Advert for Case Study 1

**Table 6.1. Case Study 1: An Outline**

| Perceptions of Prehistory: Portesham through the eyes of an Archaeologist | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Type of event | Interactive presentation | | |
| Dates | 22/01/2015<br>29/01/2015<br>05/02/2016 | | |
| Location | Portesham Village Hall | | |
| Purpose | To test the premise that community archaeology is a collaborative process<br>To investigate the impact that collaboration might have on the sustainability and longevity of a project<br>To establish archaeology of interest to the community and therefore select case study projects<br>To gather public support for case studies | | |
| Total Attendance | 90 | | |
| Survey Returns | 52 (57.8% of attendees) | | |
| Age | | Number of respondents | Percentage of respondents |
| | under 18 | 0 | 0 |
| | 18-30 | 1 | 2% |
| | 31-64 | 16 | 31.%- |
| | 65+ | 34 | 65.% |
| | No comment | 1 | 2% |
| Involvement in other voluntary sector organisations | yes | 31 | 60% |
| | No | 17 | 33% |
| | No comment | 4 | 8% |

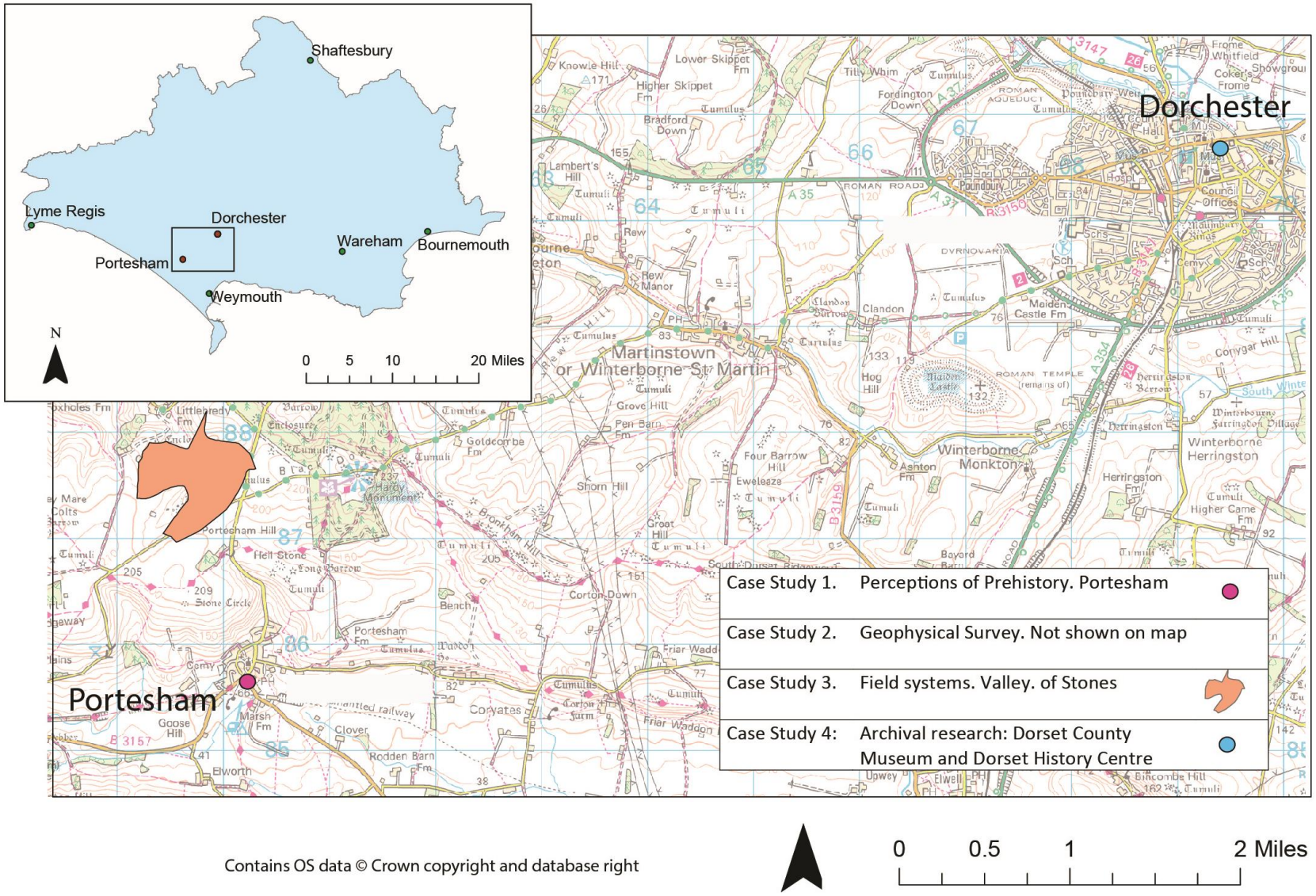



**Figure 6.2 A map showing the location of case study projects 1, 2 and 4.**

### 6.1.1 The audience/participant profile

In total 90 members of the public attended the talk. This was 13% of the total population of the parish, although some attendees came from neighbouring villages. 52 members of the audience responded to the survey. This was a 57.8% response rate and is thought to be representative of the event audience because the majority tickets were booked in pairs and these pairs chose to complete the survey together (many attendees were husband and wife couples). This reduced the return rate but without significantly reducing the survey validity.

Of the survey respondents 34 (65%) were over the age of 65. This is not a representative demographic profile of the population of Dorset, where only 30% of the population are over 65, however the audience are closer to the demographic profile of local archaeology societies (Woolverton 2016: 140). Therefore it was hoped that they would be interested in further case study projects and that these would be representative of other community archaeology projects.

Although it was not formally included on the survey it was also possible to ascertain during the post-event coffee and chat, along with various follow up discussion and emails, that the archaeological experience of the audience was mixed. Some had significant knowledge, although others had none; some were members of local societies, others conducted research of their own accord and at least two were avid metal detectorists.

The audience were asked to comment on their reasons for attendance; 45 (87%) provided a short response and some interesting conclusions can be drawn from these. It was the subject matter that was of most interest, for some this was the focus on the local area, for others it was the archaeology or the history, and for some it was the combination;

> *'Just moved to Dorset so interested in the archaeology and history of the area' (PiP48).*
>
> *'Finding out more of the history of Portesham' (PiP32).*
>
> *'Interested in ancient landscapes' (PiP40).*

Some also made mention of specific archaeological features that they had interest in;

*'Information re stone circles and barrows' (PiP50)*

*'I live in Portesham. Fascinated by contents of burial sites' (PiP31).*

The audience also expressed their engagement with the subject on three different levels although it cannot be assumed that those who only expressed one level did not also have an interest in the others.

1. There were those who thought that it would be an interesting but passive experience i.e. they did not specifically mention any other expectations.

2. There were those who hoped to learn something by attending

3. Those that demonstrated an interest in further involvement in archaeology.

### 6.1.2 Attempting collaborative community archaeology

The presentation lasted about an hour. It started by introducing the background behind the talk, explaining that it was interactive and part of PhD research. This included the participants' right not to partake in the surveys. The concept of community archaeology was also introduced and that there was an opportunity to be involved in future fieldwork. The talk then moved on to discuss prehistoric archaeology in the local area, using monuments within the parish as illustration about the wider landscape. As part of the presentation several specific questions about archaeological features or sites within the Portesham Parish were raised by the speaker. Potential field projects which could address these questions were then suggested. These specific projects were suggested due to their association with the local area, accessibilty and other financial and practical implications. For example excavation (even test pits) could not be presented as an option due to the time and finances required. The audience were asked to vote for the project that they thought was the most interesting.

This resulted in 5 different potential projects:

A. Geophysical and archival survey of Hampton Long Barrow

Hampton Long Barrow (SAM 1002868) is located west of Hampton Barn, about 1 km due north of Portesham village. The site was visited in 1908 by the Dorset Field Club who identified a façade (Figure 6.3) (Colley March 1908). These stones are no longer visible therefore a geophysical survey is required to locate and identify the monument. A search of the surrounding hedgerows and field boundaries may locate the original stones.

B. Geophysical survey of a round barrow or possible stone circle near the Hampton Stone Circle

Hampton Stone Circle (SAM 1002694) is a (locally) well-known monument (Figure 6.4). It was first recorded in 1870 (Dunkin 1870-71). At the same time he identified a second stone circle approximately 100 metres south. There are no longer any stones present at this second site. The site is recorded on the Historic Environment Record as a possible Bronze Age barrow, identified through aerial photographs. A geophysical survey of this site, combined with archival research, would significantly improve our understanding of this monument.

C. Prehistoric field systems

Portesham is surrounded by evidence for both prehistoric and medieval field systems (Figure 6.5) however there are many inaccuracies in the recording of these. A map and aerial photo based method combined with ground truthing was suggested to the audience as way to improve these and to increase understanding of the landscape.

**Figure 6.3 Photo of Hampton Long Barrow, taken by the Dorset Field Club (Colley March 1908).**

**Figure 6.4 Hampton Stone Circle (photo by author)**

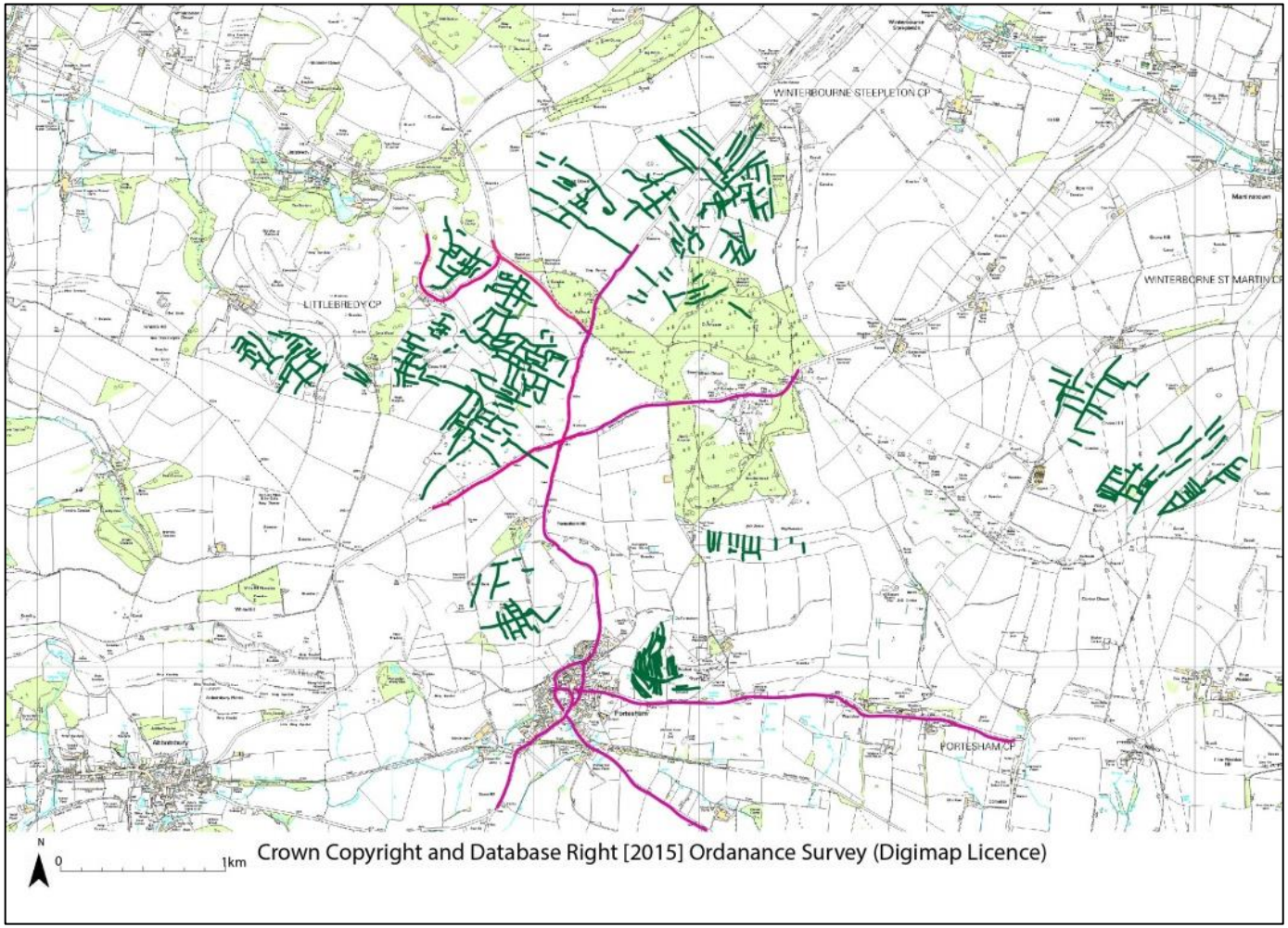



**Figure 6.5 A screen shot from Case Study 1 presentation showing the variety of field systems recorded as 'Celtic' in the Historic Environment Record.**

D. Archival research on round barrows

There are over 600 round barrows located on the South Dorset Ridgeway and many of these can be found in and near Portesham (Figure 6.6). There is only one example which has been excavated and recorded within relatively recent times (Thompson and Ashbee 1958). There is evidence that many others have been excavated by antiquarians or early archaeologists however there is little documentation of this. Within the county's archives are significant records, from aerial photographs to antiquarian notebooks and boxes of artefacts. It is presumed that some of these contain information pertinent to the barrows. This situation was presented to the audience as an opportunity to, with a bit of training and advice, delve into the archives and to piece together information about the barrows of the area.

**Figure 6.6 Barrows on the South Dorset Ridgeway above Portesham**

E. Geophysical survey associated with the Portesham Mirror Burial.

The Portesham Mirror (Figure 6.7) was discovered in 1994 by a metal detectorist and the associated burial and artefacts were excavated (Fitzpatrick 1996). The date of the artefacts appeared to conflict with the style of burial and therefore a magnetometry survey was conducted to establish the context of the burial (Green 2013). This revealed a mid-iron age settlement, but it was hoped that a resistivity survey would provide evidence for later settlement as well. This was presented as the final potential community archaeology case study project.

**Figure 6.7 The Portesham Mirror © Wessex Archaeology**

### 6.1.3 Results

The results of the vote are shown in Figure 6.2. The most popular project (46% of votes) was E: A geophysical survey associated with the Portesham Mirror Burial

**Table 6.2 Results of Case study 1. Perceptions of Prehistory**

| | **Potential project** | **Number of votes (some of the audience voted for more than one)** |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Geophysical and archival survey of Hampton Long barrow | 3 (6%) |
| 2. | Geophysical survey of a round barrow or possible stone circle near the Hampton Stone Circle | 10 (19%) |
| 3. | Archival and ground truthing of prehistoric field systems | 7 (13%) |
| 4. | Archival research on the dozens of round barrows in near Portesham | 4 (8%) |
| 5. | Geophysical survey to complete and complement a survey of a potential Romano-British settlement possibly associated with the Portesham Mirror Burial | 23 (44%) |
| | Did not vote but filled in rest of form | 5 (10%) |

The audience were asked to comment as to why they wanted their selection to become the first project but in order to understand these answers and the popularity of the Portesham Mirror it is necessary to diverge slightly deeper into the story of the artefact. The Portesham Mirror was found by metal detectorists in 1994, the site was excavated and discovered to be associated with a burial and other grave goods (Fitzpatrick 1996). The mirror is now on display in the Dorset County Museum. It is an artefact that the majority of local people are aware and proud of. Since its discovery the landowners have looked after the find spot and they take their role as stewards of

the historic environment seriously. In 2013 Amy Green, a student at Bournemouth University, under the supervision of Paul Cheetham, conducted a geophysical investigation which was designed to 'acquire an improved understanding of the burial' (Green 2013: i). She hoped to place it and therefore the mirror into context. Conducting a magnetometery survey she discovered a mid- iron age settlement however this research is still unpublished. This is partially because it was incomplete and because there were unresolved questions around the date of the burial. It was hoped that a resistivity survey would help resolve these questions, by identifying later features, and that the research could then be published.

Despite five of the respondents declining to explain why they selected this project, and many others stating that it was because they thought it would be interesting, without providing any further explanation. It was still possible, through the 16 respondents that did comment, to identify three main reasons that the audience were attracted to this particular project. For some it was the object or the burial that was important;

'*able to relate to it*' (PiP1)

'*greatest interest in this area, the burial provides a focus*' (PiP2).

This was not surprising considering the 'fame' of the discovery and the fact that it was a human burial with a story attached. For others it was the locality of the discovery, even if all of the other sites were technically within the parish, the Portesham Mirror was the most closely related to the village. This was despite the fact that the exact location was not divulged during the talk. Although many people already know the rough area of discovery due to personal connections with the landowner not everyone was aware and it was not revealed in the talk due to the sensitive nature of the discovery (and to respect the landowners):

> *'It is not far from where I live and I believe that there is more archaeology to be found' (PiP8).*

The most unexpected response related to the fact that the project would be part of wider research. Some of these answers expressed how the respondent felt that contributing to something wider was important;

*'helping to finish the project, to get a fuller picture' (PiP19)*

but others were also due to the more complete story that was provided in the talk;

*'it will contribute to a wider piece of research and there are opportunities to learn more about the wider research' (PiP6).*

The second most popular project was number 2, the Hampton Barrow/Stone Circle Question. This question, compared to the Portesham Mirror, was a simple one. It was introduced through a discussion of the Hampton Stone Circle. This had been excavated by Geoffrey Wainwright in 1965 and discovered to be inaccurately located; the current stones were in a slightly different location to the original sockets (Wainwright 1966). A circular crop mark located 100 metres south of the stone circle is identified on the Historic Environment Record as the potential site of a Bronze Age barrow, however there are also records of a second stone circle in the area (Dunkin 1870-71). A geophysical survey was suggested as a fairly quick way to resolve the identity of this monument.

A wide variety of reasons were given for selecting this fieldwork option but the most common theme was around the idea of answering a question;

*'To identify original site' (PiP28).*

*'lots of questions to be answered' (PiP7).*

This was in contrast to the Portesham Mirror, where, although the project was posed to answer a question, respondents wanted to know more about the site in general, they seemed less 'fussy' about the particular question;

*'interesting to sort out a confused picture' (PiP46)*

*'helping to finish the project, to get a fuller picture' (PiP19).*

### 6.1.4 Reflections

This attempt to incorporate public or community priorities in order to create a collaborative case study ironically resulted in the selection of a project which had the aim of finishing a survey which had been started by university-based archaeologists. The community selected a site that was of importance to them, had personal and local connections but that they also felt was also going to contribute to a wider picture. It is also likely that the backstory to the project (that more information was already known about it) contributed towards the greater complexity of the question and therefore increased its appeal, in comparison to the other projects. This could also be related to, on a personal level, by much of the audience. The geophysical survey was conducted with volunteers and is discussed in case study 2. What had started as an attempt to create collaboration had developed into something where the community wanted to contribute and learn under the guidance of university-based archaeologists.

## 6.2 Case Study 2: Geophysical Survey

This case study was a geophysical survey conducted near the site of the Portesham Mirror burial, as selected in Case Study 1. It was advertised to the mailing list (acquired after the talk) as a 'no-experience required' event. Ten volunteers attended the two weekends in May, with many others sending apologies. The event was held at the weekend in response to informal feedback after Case Study 1; non-retired people wanted to participate without having to take leave from work. The day started with a theoretical introduction in the farm house, where Paul Cheetham (Bournemouth University) provided a background to the methodology. Once out onto the site the participants set out a grid before conducting a resistivity survey. Magnetometry was also taught and used on select areas. Over the course of three days sixteen grids were surveyed with mixed results.

**Figure 6.8 Case Study 2 Learning how to set out the grid (top) & conducting resistivity survey (bottom).**

**Table 6.3 Case Study 2: An outline**

| Case Study 2:Geophysical Survey around the site of Portesham Mirror Discovery | | |
|---|---|---|
| Type of event | Geophysical Survey | |
| Dates | 9th, 10th. 16th May 2016 | |
| Location | Site of the Portesham Mirror Burial | |
| Purpose | To investigate public awareness and understanding of the archaeological profession<br>To continue to understand the concept of collaboration within community archaeology projects<br>To assess how this influences the legacy and sustainability of community archaeology projects<br>To conduct a geophysical survey to provide further context for the Portesham Mirror burial | |
| Total Attendance | 10 | |
| Survey Returns | 9 (90% of attendees) | |
| Sex | Male | 7 |
| | Female | 3 |
| Age | | Number of respondents / Percentage of respondents |
| | under 18 | 0 / 0% |
| | 18-30 | 0% |
| | 31-64 | 7 / (78%) |
| | 65+ | 2 / (22%) |
| | No comment | 0 / 0% |
| Disability | None | |
| Ethnicity | All White British | |
| Previous Experience | No practical experience | 5 |
| | Member of local archaeology society | 6 |

### 6.2.1 Processing the data

Initially the data from the magnetometer was downloaded and roughly processed on site. The participants were able to observe the downloading process and view a preliminary image (semi-processed) showing the result of their work. The researcher, who was managing the project on the final two days, did not have the skills or confidence to fully process or interpret the data. The participants were promised a full interpretation of the results as soon as possible.

Unfortunately after leaving site there was a significant delay in processing the data and returning the results to participants and the original talk audience. It proved impossible to find time when the author could discuss the results with a specialist. Both had very busy calendars and time was not prioritised. This was due to the fact that the results did not reveal the desired information and therefore were less interesting and not as pressing as other commitments.

A month after the survey two written and four verbal requests for the results had been received by the author from participants. Each of these were replied to and informed that the aim of the survey had not been achieved. The research hoped to identify a structure but unfortunately nothing was visible and the survey did not really provide much more information than the original magnetometery survey. All participants seemed to accept this as the nature of the research.

This situation was unintended but does explore the problems inherent in community archaeology. The use of volunteers to complete fieldwork without incorporating them as participants in all aspects of the process, including interpretation and results, was not collaborative practice. The lack of communication post fieldwork was particularly problematic. Therefore assessing the impact of collaborative community archaeology through this case study project was not fully possible. This impacted significantly on the legacy and sustainability of the project, for it to continue in any capacity (included expanding the survey area) relied upon professional archaeologists who did not dedicate time to it.

## 6.2.2 Archaeological Outcomes

The resistivity survey did not increase knowledge about the Portesham Mirror burial beyond that which the magnetometry survey had already provided. The results are shown in Figure 6.4 This has been formally reported and in due course will be incorporated into that publication and dissemination of the wider results.

Resistivity survey conducted as community archaeology case study.

Magnetometery Survey taken from Green (2013)

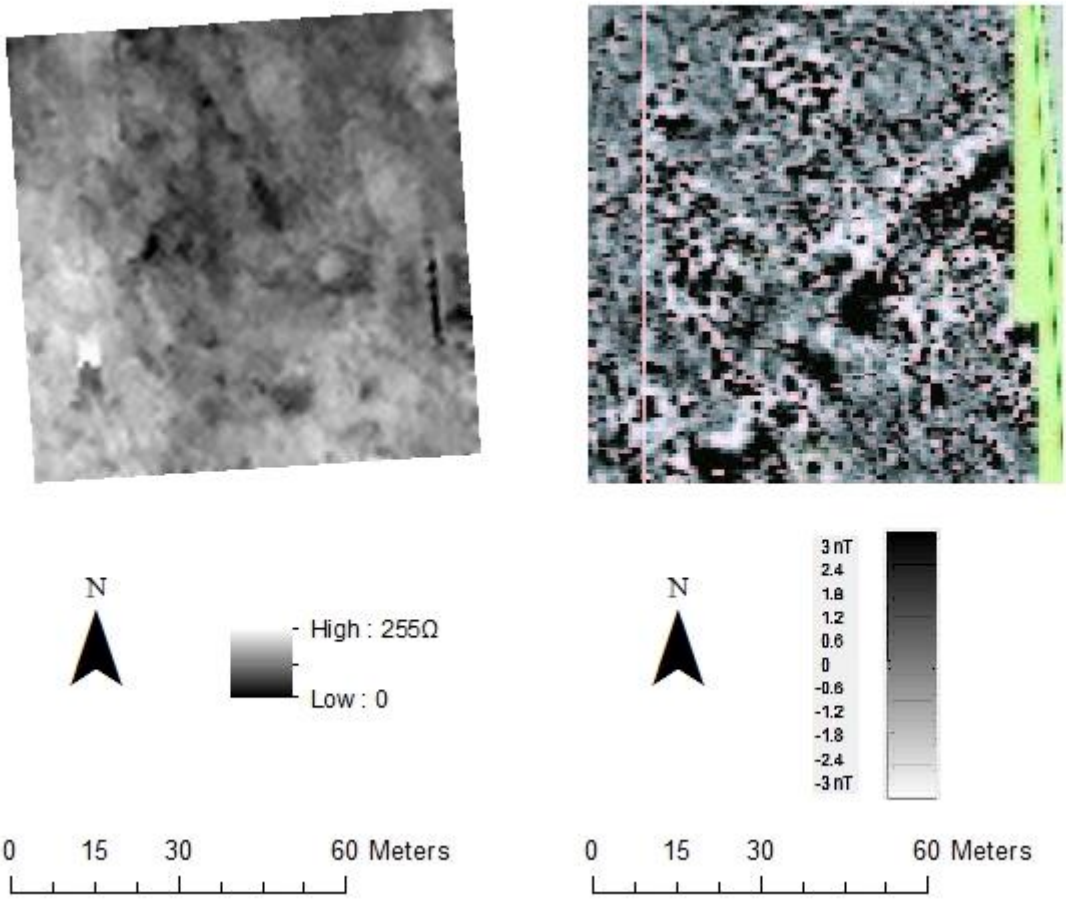



**Figure 6.9 Results of the geophysical survey**

### 6.2.3 Participant Profile

The age profile of the volunteers in Case study 2 was different to the audience at Case Study 1. All of the participants in the fieldwork were over thirty but only two were over sixty-five. This may have been caused by the physical requirements for the geophysical survey. These were outlined in the recruiting email and may have discouraged many of the potential, older, volunteers. There were also two responses to case study 1 that point towards this conclusion. When asked if they wanted to be 'kept informed about future research including the chance to get involved' they replied yes but '*But now too old'* and '*Regret- no car & lots of dodgy joints'*[1].

Five of the participants had never taken part in practical archaeology before. This included the landowners who, despite allowing previous research to be conducted on their land, had little understanding of the process and were keen to learn. There were 6 participants who were members of a local archaeology society. This implies that despite being a member of a society at least one had not previously taken part in fieldwork.

By the end of the event the volunteers were all trained to a very basic level in resistivity survey. Seven of the participants wanted to be involved in further geophysical survey however only three wanted to conduct their own research. All participants wanted further guidance and support and they did not want responsibility for something like geophysical survey where they only have limited experience.

This had significant implications for the continuation of this particular community archaeology project. The volunteers saw it as a project driven by questions posed by professional archaeologists (Bournemouth University) and who also provided training, support and guidance. The participants enjoyed it for what it was but are not willing to

[1] These responses cannot be referenced due to the manner in which data related to personal contact information was collected and kept separate from the survey results (to ensure anonymity).

take it further without support. This is partially due to the nature of geophysical survey. This project did not evolve into a collaborative or bottom up driven example of community archaeology.

Despite this it is known that at least one participant, who had not previously been involved in archaeological activities, has since become an active member of a local archaeology society (pers comm David Northam, Chair Dorset Diggers 31/01/2016). This was a direct result of a connection made during the case study. This individual wished to continue to be involved in archaeological fieldwork but without the responsibilities of continuing with Case study 2 or setting their own up. This participant was able to have their desire for further archaeological involvement fulfilled by the society when professional archaeologists were not able to provide an opportunity.

Six participants felt that their involvement with the project contributed towards an increase in local understanding of archaeology and seven felt that it contributed towards a national understanding. As identified through case study 1, case study 2 was selected because the audience felt that it would contribute towards something bigger. The implication that not all participants in the fieldwork felt strongly that they had contributed towards local or national knowledge is problematic. It is unfortunate that the geophysical survey may have left the participants dissatisfied, although this was not expressed during the event itself. This may have been affected by the fact that the volunteers surveys were completed when the results were not fully processed and the site not published. Responses may have been different post-publication, or if the archaeological results had differed, but this was beyond the scope of the case study.

### 6.2.4 Relationships between the public and archaeology

This project also revealed that community archaeology is not always conducted by participants who have prior experience of archaeological practice. This contrasts with

the local archaeology societies, discussed in Chapter 7, who only form after the individuals involved are brought together with the archaeological knowledge. Case Study 2 acted as a method to bring individuals into contact with professional archaeologists (and it was hoped to act as a catalyst for further research). If professional archaeology values community archaeology because it helps to provide support for the profession (section 4.9.4) it is vital to explore what the public already think. To this affect a survey of the participants in Case Study 2 was used as a pilot study for a survey regarding public perception of the archaeological profession. Although this survey was not expanded to include other audiences it does provide brief insight into the knowledge and perception of the archaeological profession from an interested section of society.

All of the respondents recognised that archaeology was about studying the past through physical remains. They also understood that prehistory is the time before the written word. When describing archaeologists 8 out of the 9 respondents focused upon the job role of an archaeologist. One also included a stereotype perspective:

> *'A shaggy haired, hand knitted jumper wearing professional who spends work and private time doing as described in no 1' (GSP7).*

Another commented purely on personality:

> *'A persistent, patient, hardy, enquiring person with a laid back, long view of life' (GSP 4).*

All respondents knew that archaeologists could be employed within the planning system and 8 knew that they could also be employed by local or national authorities and 6 by universities (interesting considering the project involved professional archaeologists employed by Bournemouth University). These results demonstrate a significant awareness of the breadth of the archaeological profession, but participants also suggested some additional potential places of employment. These were focused mainly on two types of employers, those where archaeologists would communicate with the public but also where archaeology needs protection.

Participants were asked to compare the salary they thought an archaeologist should receive to that of other professionals. 6 responses suggested that teaching was a

comparable subject, however many also selected multiple answers. There were many comments which explained that the respondents recognised a complicated situation raising issues such as job variety and levels of experience;

> *'I'm afraid I can't answer this as there are so many 'varieties' of archaeologist, and also of the above professions. Suggest they are comparable perhaps in job, if not pay to an ecologist' (GSP3).*

> *'Difficult question- level of expertise from the ground worker with a trowel to overall head who interprets & writes up' (GSP8).*

Respondents also commented on the relative importance of archaeology. They thought that archaeologists have high levels of knowledge, skills and training but they believed that archaeology is not as important as some other sectors and therefore this should be reflected in wages.

When considering the relationship between the public and the profession no respondents thought that professional archaeologists prevent the public from participating in archaeology projects. This was unsurprising considering they were participating in one whilst answering the survey. Five of the nine respondents felt that in order to carry out an archaeological excavation you should be a member of a professional organisation, but four felt that this was not necessary. However all felt that if conducting archaeological fieldwork you should be accountable to a code of conduct. This split response demonstrates that although some think archaeological excavation should be accessible to all a code of conduct should still be applied, presumably to ensure that the archaeology is not compromised.

This pilot study should be used for future investigations into public perceptions of archaeology. If, as established in section 2.8, public perceptions are vital to professional archaeology the profession needs to have a better understanding of what these are. Another example of misunderstanding was revealed through another discussion with the landowners of the Portesham Mirror site.

### 6.2.5 Reburial of human remains

When planning the case studies it became apparent that the landowners, upon whose land the Portesham Mirror was found, were interested in opening up discussions with the Dorset County Museum about the reburial of the skeletal remains. They were under the impression that the lady was stored in an undignified Tupperware box on a dusty shelf in the basement of the museum. It was hoped that this issue could be opened up for public debate and the community could provide their opinion on the matter.

A meeting was set up with the landowners where all the issues were laid-bare, and potential plans for public debate outlined. During this discussion it became apparent that they were unaware of any controversy around the subject. Although the landowners wanted to rebury the remains on their land, in or near to its original location, they had not considered significant aspects of the burial process. This included whether the associated artefacts should also be reburied. This would have significant repercussions considering they had been purchased from the landowner and finder by money raised by the Dorset County Museum (included a significant donation from the Art Fund). The landowners were also not only unaware of the potential for future research but they had not been informed about on-going isotopic research (now published as Redfern (2016)). It was also explained to them that if the reburial went ahead it would be setting a precedent and that, as such, they may receive a lot of attention from archaeologists, as well as people who have strong opinions on human remains. There is significant literature regarding the reburial of human remains and this includes surveys into public opinion e.g. (DCMS 2005, Cambridgeshire Council Council 2006, BDRC 2009, Thackray and Payne 2010, BABAO 2012). The profession is generally against the practice and according to these surveys so are much of the public. In response to this the landowners declined to allow the debate to go ahead. They had been unaware of many of the issues that would be involved in such a discussion.

Human remains repeatedly attract public attention and they are a controversial subject. Many of the calls for reburial in the UK, such as that at Avebury have been based upon religious beliefs (Thackray and Payne 2010) but this example was different. This brief foray into using human remains as a potential community archaeology case study exposed a lack of awareness about this controversy and the complexities of archaeological human remains by the landowners. It highlighted the difference in knowledge and ways of thinking between the public and professional archaeologists. In this instance intervention and explanation to the landowners by the author was appreciated. They were left with a much greater awareness without the need for conflict. Unfortunately this discussion also revealed the lack of communication between the landowner/finder and the archaeological profession once the artefact had been taken into the custody of the museum.

Despite some participants of Case Study 2 demonstrating significant archaeological awareness the landowners (who were arguably the most significant stakeholders and who had had greater contact with the archaeological profession) were unaware of many elements of the archaeological process. Not only did they not understand how and why geophysical survey works but they were unaware as to the reasons that archaeologists store human remains. Community archaeology has enormous potential to create avenues of communication between the archaeological profession and the public but we also need to be aware of them.

### 6.2.3 LoCATE

The chairman of the Dorset Diggers was one of the participants in the geophysical survey. He was not only able to recruit a new member but during discussion with Paul Cheetham it became apparent that it there was a possibility that they (Dorset Diggers) could borrow geophysical equipment from Bournemouth University. A project, led by Prof Kate Welham and in partnership with the New Forest National Park Authority, had been instigated to try to loan unused equipment to community archaeology groups.

This became known as LoCATE and, although it still in its infancy, has loaned a magnetometer to various groups including the Dorset Diggers. They have used it to conduct research at Blackdown Roman Fortlet (Bournemouth University 2016) and have plans to explore further afield. The Avon Valley Archaeology Society (AVAS) have also discovered a long barrow and since conducted further surveys (AVAS 2016).

This is a legacy of the geophysical case study project. It was an occasion where archaeologists from a university and a local society were provided with an opportunity to connect and establish how they could help each other. The university has been able to support and encourage the Dorset Diggers to conduct research which they might otherwise not have been able to achieve. This is a loose form of collaboration where the parties are not directly working together to achieve joint aims but they are still facilitating each other's requirements. There are strict regulations and agreements as to the responsibilities and limitations of all parties. This is a form of enabling or partnership community archaeology.

### 6.2.4 Art

After the geophysical survey had been completed Yvonne Gallimore (Artsreach) asked if the research could be presented during a 'Field Day'. 'Field Days' were a series of events that were used to provide inspiration for a series of commissioned art pieces. These then were presented in the Field Days exhibition (Artsreach 2016). This was all conducted as part of the SDRLP. The geophysical survey results were presented as part of a short introduction to an archaeology field day (others were held that focused upon the natural environment, the geology and folklore)

One of the artists, Susan Kinley, was inspired by the Portesham Mirror (Figure 6.5).

**Figure 6.10 Ceremonial Mirror Circle by Susan Kinley.**

The accompanying text was as follows;

> *'Ceremonial Mirror Circle*
>
> *My work draws on the archaeology and landscape of the South Dorset Ridgeway, in particular the Valley of Stones and Bronkham Hill near Portesham.*
>
> *I have long been fascinated with the relationship of ancient artefacts to the places in which they have been found. Iron Age Mirrors such as the one found at Portesham, were mysterious and magic objects, portable and precious.*
>
> *I have combined photographic transfers with laser cut steel and enamels to make a wall based installation in several sections. Shapes and holes come from eroded mirrors and lichens, and images from details of sarsen stones and the silhouettes if round and long barrows against the skyline'.*

The concept of landscape was central to the exhibit however the artist located an object in the landscape, much as the geophysical survey intended to do. The landscape images are not directly related to the immediate setting of the burial, but are all images of or taken from sites a short distance away, some visible from the find spot,

others not. The find spot was never directly revealed to the artist so this non-specificity is unsurprising.

This is another legacy to have materialised from the geophysical case study project. It was not a predicted legacy and is probably not typical of all community archaeology but rather results from the specific way in which it was funded and the influence of the SDRLP. This created direct communication with other organisations which then naturally developed. This output will not impact directly upon the archaeology but its inclusion within an art exhibition is contributing towards public awareness of archaeology and in particular the South Dorset Ridgeway.

### 6.2.5 Reflections on Geophysical Survey in Portesham

Although not always through the methods expected the geophysical survey around the site of the Portesham Mirror burial (and its associated spin projects) did investigate a variety of ways in which the public are aware of and understand the archaeological profession. The participants demonstrated that they had some understanding of and respect for the archaeological profession. This is because they recognised both the complexity of the profession and the variety of skill sets that it requires.

Through the discussion about reburial of human remains it was possible to see however that there are significant areas of the profession that the public are unaware off. This is necessary if archaeology is to be considered a profession.

It also raised interesting elements within the concept of collaborative community archaeology. The participants in the geophysical survey were not equal participants and did not want to be. They saw the project as a chance to learn but did not wish to take it further. Instead a form of community archaeology that was closer towards collaboration resulted from discussion during the fieldwork (LoCATE). This, and the

recruitment of a new volunteer to the Dorset Diggers, was the project legacy, beyond the archaeological results gathered by the participants.

## 6.3 Case Study 3: Valley of Stones

During Case Study 1 the audience were also asked to suggest projects of their own. Some people suggested some very specific questions or sites and four of these were about the Valley of Stones. This site was mentioned during the presentation in relation to the prehistoric field systems but it appeared that some of the audience had a very specific question.

The Valley of Stones (Figure 6.6) is a National Nature Reserve and is criss-crossed with public footpaths. In the valley base is a visible "sarsen train', this is important for both its geological significance and for the natural environment. The undisturbed sarsen stones provide important habitat for rare 'communities of mosses, liverworts and lichens' (Natural England 2005:1). These sarcen stones have also been of interest to archaeologists, partly for their potential to be of archaeological interest within the Valley of Stones (Oswin 2012) and partly because many of the prehistoric monuments in the surrounding landscape have been constructed using sarcens (probably taken from the Valley of Stones (Gale 2003:182, Oswin 2012). The Valley of Stones is also a Scheduled Ancient Monument (No 1002431). This has been assigned due to the upstanding earthworks that it contains. These are predominately field systems (both prehistoric and later) but also include hut circles and other unidentified features such as an enclosure on Crow Hill.

The Valley of Stones is not located within the parish of Portesham however it abuts the boundary and is well known and visited by the residents. Therefore it is not surprising that it was suggested as a site they would like to investigate.

Field system visible in the Valley of Stones

Enclosure on Crow Hill

Sarcen Trail in valley base

Potential stone circle discussed by Oswin (2012)

**Figure 6.11 The Valley of Stones**

**Table 6.4: Case Study 3: An Outline**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Geophysical Survey around the site of Portesham Mirror Discovery | | |
| Type of event | On-going community based research project | |
| Dates | March 2015-March 2016 | |
| Location | Valley of Stones | |
| Purpose | To investigate public awareness and understanding of the archaeological profession<br>To continue to understand the concept of collaboration within community archaeology projects<br>To assess how this influences the legacy and sustainability of community archaeology projects<br>To understand how a project of this nature develops<br>To establish a date for the field systems in the Valley of Stone. | |
| Total Attendance | 4 initially, expanding to 8 | |
| Demographic data was not formally collected and the below information is based upon anecdotes from conversation and assumptions of the author | | |
| Sex | Male | 5 |
| | Female | 3 |
| Age | 7 retired (some of these may have potentially taken early retirement). 1 still works but may be of retirement age | |
| Disability | None apparent | |
| Ethnicity | All White, 7 British, 1 possibly European or British | |
| Previous Experience | Mixed, see below | |

The group originally consisted of four people including the author, this later expanded to eight. The main protagonist behind the group was Peter Laurie (PL). Peter has experience of investigating archaeology of the Dorset landscape. A member of the Abbotsbury Heritage Research Project (AHRP) Peter had a prior interest in the archaeology of the local area. He has written various documents on subjects as diverse as Medieval Abbotsbury (Laurie 2007), Ancient Sea Travel and Parish Boundaries but his particular interest is Roman roads. Of most relevance to this project is his work on Acking Dyke and a potential watch tower on Blackdown, both monuments with the South Dorset Landscape (Laurie 2014).

Francesca Radcliffe (FR) is a specialist in aerial photography, having surveyed both in Dorset and Jordan (Radcliffe 1990, 1996, 1997, 1998, 2012). She is also a well-known figure in archaeology in Dorset, for example she was a judge for the 2015 Dorset Archaeology Award and until October 2016 was president of the Dorchester Association. Francesca was very generous in allowing the meetings to take place in her home. Peter's wife Barbara (BL) was also in attendance. She had posed the original question regarding the field systems and continued to provide an enquiring mind. Nick Sturrock (NS), a local landowner and friend of Peter, Barbara and Francesca, joined the group for the later meetings. Peter Woodward had conducted excavations on his land (Woodward 1991 20-25) and therefore Nick was interested in learning more and joining up archaeological understanding of his land with the Valley of Stones. Robin Walls (RW), a well known local botantist, but with an interest in landscape archaeology and history, and John Surowiec (JS) a very active member of local society also accompained the group on the second site visit. They contributed towards plans for future fieldwork.

### 6.3.1 What happened

The meetings were informal, and usually well supplied with coffee and cakes, with the first in March 2015 (Figure 6.7). At each meeting the research progressed forward, as outlined in Table 6.5.

**Figure 6.12 Meeting of the group**

**Table 6.5. Valley of Stones Meeting record**

| Date | Attendees | Subjects discussed | Next steps |
|---|---|---|---|
| 25th March 2015 | HR, PL, BL, FR | Introductions<br>Setting questions | Research into the landscape |
| Site visit (without HR) | PL, BL, FR | Landscape | |
| 24th August 2015 | HR, PL, BL, FR | Plan of action | Plan of the site required<br>Select an area on which to focus<br>Archival research into the field systems |
| 23rd September 2015 | HR, PL, BL, FR | Discussion regarding creation of earthworks and farming techniques | Field visit to plan fieldwork |
| 28th October 2015<br>Site visit with Harry Manley | HR, PL, BL, FR, JS, RW | Scale and location of earthworks<br>Botanical evidence<br>Soil type<br>Survey methods | A survey to profile earthworks |

At the first meeting possible options for fieldwork were discussed as well as the assets that each party could bring to the table. It became clear that the group wanted knowledge but also resources from the university, and in return they were prepared to be guinea pigs for the PhD research. They had some specific fieldwork that they wanted to conduct; their plan was to investigate the development of the field systems using environmental coring and radio-carbon dating. It was expressed by the author that this might not be possible; problems with the method could be identified and it would require permission from Historic England. The group were keen to progress anyway. A need for background research was established and the group agreed to see what they could find out about the landscape.

After this meeting and through the course of the project the group shared knowledge and ideas via email. The group made a visit to the site (without HR) however over the summer communication dropped off. This was mostly due to serious illness within the group.

In August a second meeting was held where a plan of action which had been created by Peter and Barbara was discussed and refined. This still contained the idea of sampling the field system earthworks to find something that could be dated. It was also identified that a plan of the site was needed. The earthworks cover a large area and vary dramatically in scale and type and the group needed to ensure that everyone was talking about exactly the same bit of the landscape. It was also posited that a map of the field systems would help to understand their complexity better.

For the September meeting Peter and Barbara had produced a plan of the area (Figure 6.17). The RCHM(E) had conducted a survey which provided the basis (1952). It was not very detailed but Barbara had highlighted the contours to make it more useful. An area on which the project would focus on was also selected. The archival research did not prove fruitful; the majority of relevant documents had been destroyed by fire.

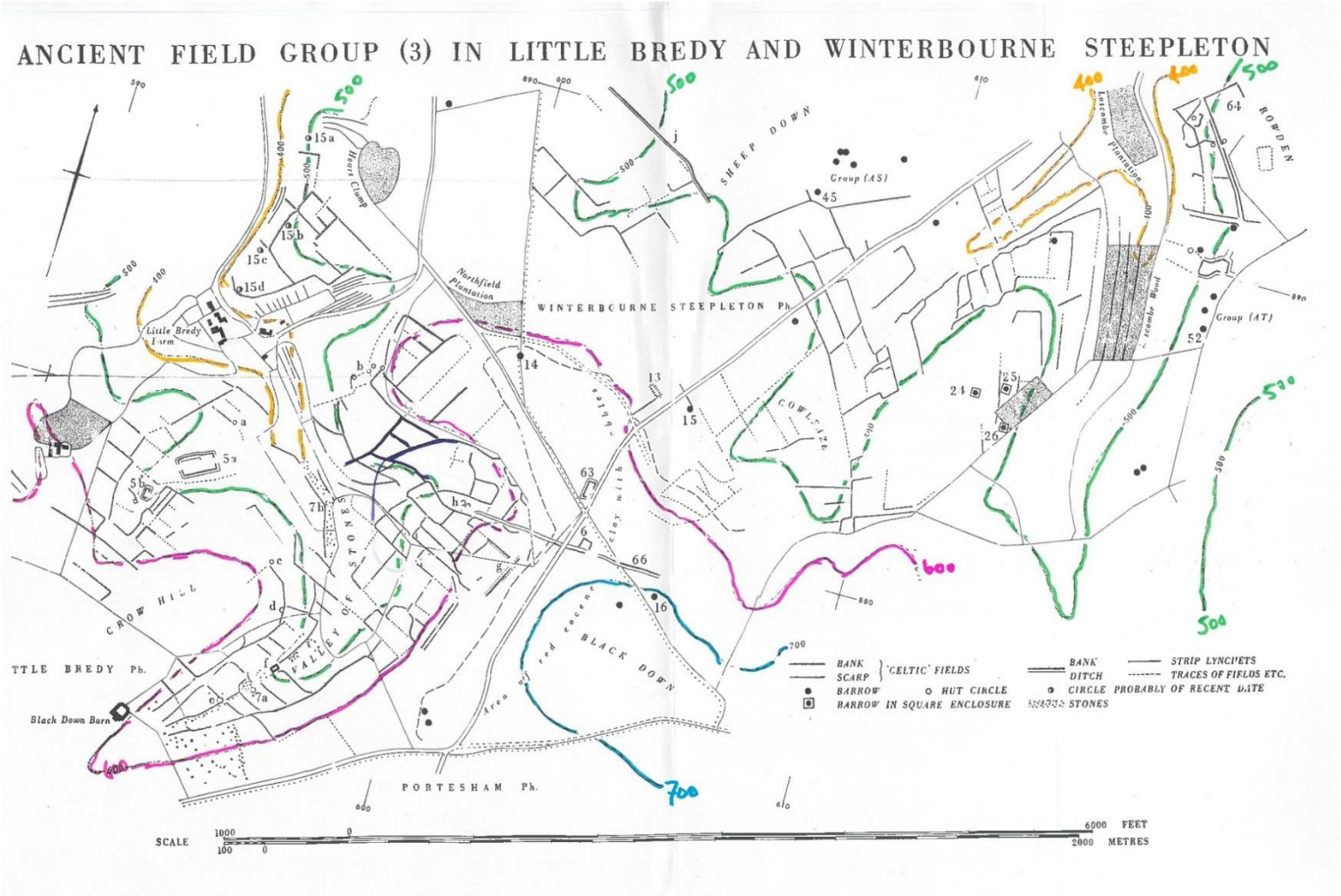



**Figure 6.13 Peter and Barbara's map of the Valley of Stones**

The discussion then moved onto the possible construction of the field systems. Barbara was particularly struck by the depth of some of the banks. She wanted to know whether the field system would have been constructed starting at the top and moving towards the bottom of the slope or vice versa. The PhD researcher could not contribute much to this discussion however Nick was able to comment, having observed various farming techniques on his own land. There was also a brief disscussion of hut circles. These had been noticed on the Royal Commission plan and it was thought that their relationship to the field systems may be important. This conflicted with the immediate need to focus on one area and was therefore dismissed for the time being.

The final meeting was in October and was conducted on site (Figure 6.9). Prior to the site visit the various authorities and landowners connected with the Valley of Stones were contacted to inform them about the project. The majority of this was conducted by the author due to previous contact. The only exception was the tenant farmer who was contacted by Peter due to existing personal connections. All bodies were happy for the research to go ahead. Keith Miller from Historic England expressed that conducting an above ground survey on a Scheduled Ancient Monument did not need formal consent but that it would not be possible to conduct an environmental coring exercise without this. Tom Sunderland from Natural England also had no concerns about the project and contributed some images of the site. He was also interested in some of Francesca's aerial images which showed the changing vegetation over time and the group were able to share them with him. The landowners were informed of the project via Tom Sunderland but did not respond.

Harry Manley from Bournemouth University joined the group to provide advice on topographical survey. Robin and John were also present for the first time. The different skills of the group became apparent; Robin was able to identify botanical evidence that would provide understanding as to the depth of soil and Nick (using a rabbit hole) ascertained that the soil was good in some areas, and less in others. Harry was able to compare the earthworks to other archaeological landscapes and to advice on surveying. It was concluded that it would be helpful to create a transect of one section of the valley side. This would show the profile of the earthworks and would enable a better understanding of scale and construction. During the meeting the conversation repeatedly turned to the wider research

questions that group hoped ultimately to answer as well as discussing the steps which would lead there.

**Figure 6.14 The participants looking at the earthworks in the Valley of Stones**

### 6.3.2 Next Steps

There were several email exchanges that occurred after this site meeting which revealed that coring was still of interest. The group did understand that this could not take place in the Valley of Stones however Nick's farm was suggested as a location to practice (there are also earthworks present). There was also discussion regarding the post excavation processes that would have to take place if coring was to occur. Amongst the volunteers there was significant awareness of what could be done using 'table top gear' (email dated 29/10/2016). The assessment of pH levels, soil composition and even DNA analysis were all mentioned (emails dated 28/10/15, 29/10/15). This was in addition to the radio-carbon dating that was suggested at the very start of the project (Peter has a friend who could do it for a small cost).

A formal plan was drafted by Peter. This was a simple document that outlined the objective:

> *'To try to discover the date and formation of the square, 'celtic' fields and lynchets on the sides of the Valley of Stones, Portesham, Dorset. This was Barbara Laurie's suggestion' (Laurie 2015).*

A short background was provided which mentioned Gildas, a favourite historic author of Peter's but did not consider any of the documentation that had been researched by the group. It also stated the methods (intention):

> *'As a first step, we intend to draw a profile, showing heights of the ground surface along the line in the map above, using survey grade GPS equipment. The height change is about 250'.with an average slope of 1:2.7' (Laurie 2015).*

After this plan was distributed communication continued including a further exchange of resources. The author attempted to recruit students and equipment for the survey however did not succeed at this until the following March. Emails were sent to gather interest from the group for the fieldwork but did not get a response. Due to other commitments the project has not continued beyond this stage.

### 6.3.3 Resources

During and between the meetings a selection of resources were accessed by the group in order to inform the project. This would be expected of any research project but it is interesting to consider the types of resources accessed by this community archaeology project and how they were used. Table 6.6 shows a summary of these.

**Table 6.6 Resources used during Case Study 3**

| Resource | Description | Participant who shared resource | Evidence | Reason for sharing |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (Bradley 1978) | Journal Article | HR | Email 25/08/215 | Background information regarding prehistoric field systems |
| (English Heritage 2011) | English Heritage Guide- accessible online | HR | Email 25/08/215 | Background information regarding prehistoric field systems |
| National Mapping Project (Royall 2011) | Report Accessible online | FR | Email 28/08/2015 | Background information regarding Valley of Stones |
| RCHM(E) | A plan of the site | PL & BL | Sept Meeting<br>Email 26/08/2015 | Background information regarding Valley of Stones |
| Bakerybits- John Letts | Website | PL | Email 01/09/2015 | "*Archaeologist who grows very old wheats got from very old thatched roofs*". |
| (Wikipedia 2016) | Wikipedia article on the Ard | PL | Email 24/09/2015 | Evidence for farming methods |
| (Riley 2012) | Survey of monuments on Blackdown (adjacent area) | NS | Email 27/09/2015 | Background information |
| Clare Randall lecture | Presentation on prehistoric farming at DNHAS | Advert seen by HR but attended by PL, BL, FR | Email 24/09/2015 | Background information |
| (Woodward 1991) | Monograph on surrounding landscape | HR | Meeting Sept | Background information<br>To provide Nick with a date for the archaeology found on his land |
| Lidar | "https:/houseprices.i | PL | Email 13/10/2016 | "This seems to be the complete |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | o/lab/lidar/map | | | national Lidar map. Shame it only shows low lying land". |
| Bowen, 1970 #642} | Book on ancient fields | JS | Shared after site visit | Background information |
| Little Bredy Archive/Bridehead? | Landowner archive | FR, BL, PL | September Meeting | Background information |
| (Johnston 2013) | Book section (scanned and shared) | HR | | Background information |
| (Guttman, Simpson et al. 2004) | Book section (scanned and shared) | HR | | Background information |

There was no deliberate allocation of the background research within the group however each member investigated a different area. Francesca visited the Historic Environment Record and looked up the National Mapping Project results of the site. Ironically she later discovered that, as part of a course at Bournemouth University she had already produced a map of the Valley of Stones combining the Royal Commission survey (RCHM(E) 1952) with features identifiable from aerial photography (Figure 6.10). Barbara, Peter and Francesca investigated the landowners archive (The Bridehead Estate) and the author used published literature.

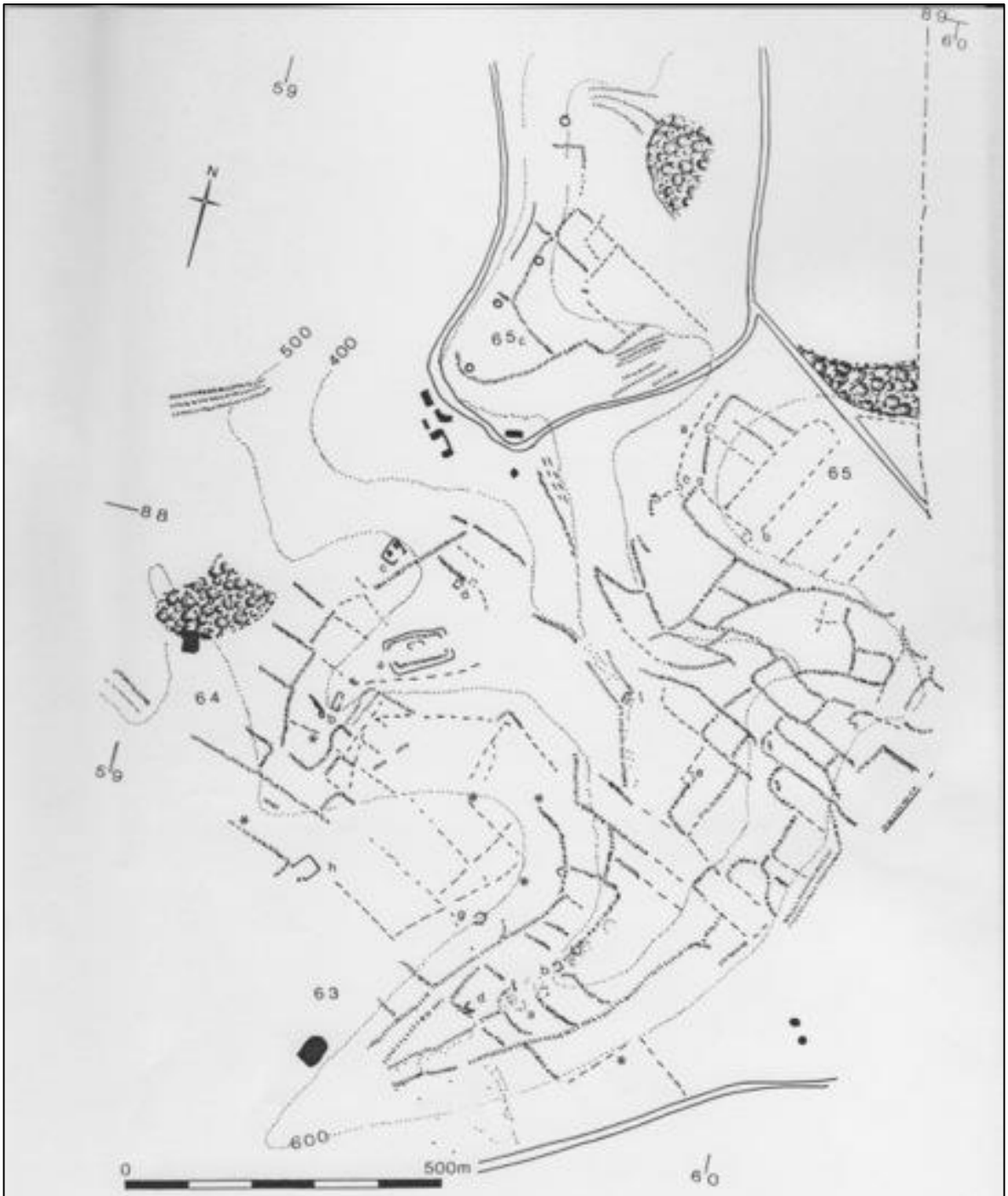



Fig 4. Valley of Stones. Map based on RCHM(E) 1970, Group (3). All features observed on APs have been added and numbers and letters correspond to those in Gazetteer M3 63.

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**Figure 6.15 Francesca's map of the Valley of Stones**

### 6.3.4 Communication and other methods of research

Peter also used another, less academic, method of research. After reading various documents, often online, he would send emails to various experts in an attempt to gather further knowledge or clarity. The first was to an '*Archaeologist who grows very old wheats got from very old thatched roofs*' (email dated 01/09/2016). This email was a general request for help;

> *'I wondered if you had any suggestions about what we could do that might shed some light on who might have created and used these fields' (excerpt of email dated 11/09/2015).*

The reply was polite and informative but ultimately unhelpful with regards to dating the fields (the expert had no personal knowledge of the area).

The second of these emails was to Hazel Riley who, working with volunteers, had conducted a landscape survey of Blackdown (Riley 2012), an area to the north-west of the Valley of Stones. Peter hoped that her research would help him to connect the Valley of Stones and Blackdown landscapes together and, via a watch tower, ultimately to Acking Dyke. Peter also let it slip in this email that he hoped he could use the community archaeology project and the resources it might provide:

> *'it would me [sic] nice to parlay this situation into permission to dig it' (email dated 30/09/2016).*

Some of the group attended a talk by Clare Randall (Randall 2015) and again after this Peter sent an email to the presenter. No email response (that the author is aware of) was received however in later conversation it became apparent that she thought the project into field systems had research value (Clare Randall pers comm 5/10/2016).

On each of these occasions Peter was sending emails to people that he thought might be able to provide advice or guidance on the project. These emails, combined with the reading material discovered and the archives investigated, demonstrate

the range of resources that are available to community archaeology groups. It is obvious that community groups have restricted access to published material but in this example they were imaginative and accessed a range of other resources.

### 6.3.5 Reflections of Valley of Stone Case Study

Within this select group of participants there was a significant amount of prior archaeological knowledge held by the individuals, however they still looked towards the university as a source of resources and further knowledge. Their knowledge led them to be able to ask specific questions of monuments. It also provided them with a potential method of research (carbon dating).

The project was a collaborative project, where all participants had their own aims and objectives, as well as the group aims and objectives. During community archaeology the aims for all participants do not have to be archaeological, and this was certainly the case in the Valley of Stones. Peter, Barbara and Francesca wanted access to resources, and answers to questions, the PhD researcher wanted access to them as a study subject! These intended outcomes were all made clear at the start however there were still significant hiccups in planning the fieldwork, which eventually led to the demise of the project. This might have been preventable if the group had had a stronger leader. The author was certainly aware of the need to be collaborative, and to a certain extent wished to observe, and therefore did not want to steer the project. However the group were looking to her to make the fieldwork happen. This became apparent when she was identified on the plan as 'supervisor' (Laurie 2015).

At some point, between the creation of the first plan (August 2015) and the second (November 2015), the idea of coring the Scheduled Monument was dropped. This was in response to the understanding that it was not going to be possible as this

required permission from Historic England, and that this would not be granted until a stronger plan could be put together.

Throughout the project the larger questions were repeatedly returned to and it was hard to focus on the smaller steps required to achieve this. This is because they were not formally agreed until after the site visit. Research methods are always subject to change and this requires significant communication to ensure that all participants understand the process. In this example there was confusion, even after the site visit, about the possibility of being able to conduct coring on the monument.

## 6.4 Case Study 4: Archival Day

To complement the two field-based case study projects an archive based event was planned. This was in response to a Monuments at Risk project (SDR A4 Monuments at Risk, one of the projects being conducting under the SDRLP umbrella (Sharpe 2013). The author was significantly involved in this and although it was not directly part of this study a short summary is useful to provide context.

The South Dorset Ridgeway contains over 600 round barrows, many of which are Scheduled Ancient Monuments and are on the Historic England 'At Risk Register' (Historic England 2016a). The At Risk Register is 'a dynamic picture of the sites most at risk and most in need of safeguarding for the future' (Historic England 2016a). It is a tool that is used to help inform management of the historic landscape. There are about 300 monuments 'At Risk' on the South Dorset Ridgeway, and the majority of these are round barrows. The project works with volunteers to assess the monuments and then devise a program of work to reduce their Risk level. Ultimately it aims to remove them altogether from the At Risk Register.

The volunteers involved in the surveying were curious to learn more about the barrows but beyond providing an initial generic introduction (given during training) and signposting access to published material, time constraints prevented the volunteers from being given more information. This was partially because the extent of knowledge about specific barrows is limited. Although many of the monuments show physical signs remnant of excavation there is only a poor (or hard to access) record of this. It is presumed that the majority were excavated by antiquarians or early archaeologists such as Cunnington (Ackland 1916) and it is suspected that within Dorset County Museum (and other archives) there may be relevant artefacts or notebooks that have yet to be published or even connected with the barrows.

**Table 6.7: Case Study 4: An outline**

| Introduction to Dorset Archives | | |
|---|---|---|
| Type of event | Dorset Archives | |
| Dates | 2nd March 2016 | |
| Location | Dorset County Museum<br>Dorset History Centre | |
| Purpose | • To investigate public awareness and understanding of the archaeological profession<br>• To continue to understand the concept of collaboration within community archaeology projects<br>• To assess how this influences the legacy and sustainability of community archaeology projects<br>• To demonstrate to participants the range of archival research materials available<br>• To encourage greater participation with the archaeological record | |
| Total Attendance | 20 | |
| Survey Returns | 18 | |
| Sex | Male | 8 |
| | Female | 10 |
| Age | | Number of respondents / Percentage of respondents |
| | under 18 | 0 |
| | 18-30 | 0 |
| | 31-64 | 13 |
| | 65+ | 5 |
| | No comment | |
| Disability | None | |
| Ethnicity | 100% White British | |
| Previous Experience | No practical experience | 8 |
| | Member of local archaeology society | 5 |
| | No comment | 5 |

This case study project was therefore designed to equip the volunteers to conduct their own archival research. Although it was unlikely that they would discover significant information within the timescales of this PhD it was hoped that they would become aware of the resources available to them and that they would start to conduct their own basic research. It was anticipated that the project would also address issues within community archaeology. As discussed in section 4.10 local archaeology societies do not always report their discoveries in the way that the profession would prefer. Hedge and Nash found that only 40% of respondents to their survey fed their results back into the HER and only 28% upload reports to the Archaeology Data Service (a digital, accessible gray literature archive) (Hedge and Nash 2016). When planning this project it had already been identified, as a result of the interviews (Chapter 7) that local archaeology societies select archaeological projects according to different motivations when compared to professional archaeologists. This may impact upon their post excavation and reporting. This project hoped to explore these issues further.

The case study event itself consisted of a visit to the Dorset County Museum, both the new gallery and the stores (figure 6.1), followed by a visit to the Dorset History Centre. The Dorset History Centre is;

> *'the archives service and local studies library for Bournemouth, Dorset and Poole. We house Dorset's local archives - from council records to personal collections' (Dorset History Centre 2016).*

In between these visits John Gale (Bournemouth University) gave a short lecture introducing other local, but also national archives, that may be of interest to the volunteers. This included the Historic Environment Record.

**Figure 6.16. Participants in the museum archives**

Setting up the event was an interesting experience and worthy of some reflection. The Dorset County Museum is staffed almost entirely by volunteers and therefore any researcher wanting to access resources is limited to what they can offer. The date for the event was agreed with the museum staff and the event advertised to the Heritage at Risk volunteers. This date was a Wednesday, however the museum volunteers normally only work in the archives on Tuesdays. The volunteer archive manager had not been informed about the proposed event and was therefore unavailable to help. This was discovered reasonably close to the event and resulted in a rushed preparation; luckily another museum volunteer was able to step into help and to allow the event to run. This was not a significant problem although it did mean that it was not possible to view some of the more interesting archives. It also resulted in the author selecting the archives, rather than the museum pointing participants to some that might contain potentially interesting information.

The limitation of museum reliance on volunteers is well documented although it can also bring enormous benefits e.g. (Chambers 2002, Hewlett 2002, Goodlad and McIvor 2005, Institute for Volunteering Research 2005). The implications for archaeological research and scholars are clear; when access to collections is limited

researchers need to be aware of this and take it into consideration. Communication between the museum and researchers is paramount, and this particularly needs to happen in advance when emails are only checked on one day of the week.

The volunteers who manage the museum archives are specialists, but are also limited in the service that they can provide. Within museum management volunteers are often considered part of the museum audience. They have a high level of interaction with the collections. These volunteers not only have high level of understanding of the archaeological profession but they are integral to it themselves. Without the volunteers the Dorset County Museum would not be able to accession new deposits. This would not only create a problem for community archaeology but for the whole profession.

By taking volunteers into the archives this case study served as a reminder that within the heritage sector there is no clear distinction between professional and community archaeology. The use of volunteers to manage the museum archives had eroded these differences.

The event was advertised as….

> *"The day should provide you with enough knowledge to make a start on some archive research, but even if you don't wish to delve fully into the archive do come along anyway - it should provide a fascinating context and explain what is under those mounds of earth you are surveying"*

20 participants attended; 8 of these were male and 10 female. In a similar pattern to case study 2 most participants were between the ages of 30 and 65. There were none younger than 30 and only 2 in the 65+ age bracket.

General feedback from the event was positive. Anecdotal comments made on the day revolved around a general prior lack of awareness with regards to archives and the resources available to them, summarised by this comment '*I didn't realise there was much freely accessible information available' (AE8).* There was also significant surprise at the content of the museum archive e.g. *'extent of items in museums store' (AE4).*

The volunteers attended the event for a variety of reasons. Some of these were expected and related to the previous monuments at risk project; '*done prior work on South Dorset Ridgeway project and want to learn more'* (AE12) or because they were interested in learning about the archives '*to know more about archiving and research'* (AE6). Others were unexpected '*Meet other people involved in local archaeology'* (AE4); this event was clearly seen as a networking opportunity.

When asked 'What was the most interesting thing you have learnt?' a variety of responses were given, the majority of these referred to the research potential of archives; '*websites for further study. Maps and other archives. Where to find catalogues/content of archives catalogues' (AE1).* They did not display a strong interest or increase in awareness about the condition of the archives or how they underpin archaeological ethics (i.e. need to preserve artefacts and archives). Only one comment alluded to this e.g. *'extent of items in museums store'* (AE4) despite it being made clear during the event that, particularly in the museum archives, storage space is a significant problem. The museum's current fund raising efforts for its new facilities were highlighted. This contrasted with the Dorset History Centre's newer, more spacious and technologically advanced stores. That this was not reflected in the feedback implies that either this was not of interest or that it was not new information to the participants.

It was hoped that evidence for the success of the project would come via research conducted later by the volunteers and that this would provide an interesting legacy. When asked if the event had made them want to carry out any archaeological research the most common response was related to the barrows or the South Dorset Ridgeway Landscape '*more on the S Dorset Ridgeway and about my local area'* (AE5). Most respondents did not specify the type of research they would like to conduct or be involved with. It cannot be assumed that this was archival because the two respondents who did comment said that they would like to get involved with practical fieldwork '*A small, trial dig might be good*' (AE5). As of six months post-event no evidence for any of these desires has been forthcoming, although some of the volunteers have used the archives to research the At Risk monuments they have surveyed;

> *'We have done as much research as we could on the Eggardon barrows and fort, the Little Bredy ones but truthfully we have'nt [sic] found much of interest' (email from participant 21st June 2016).*

Some of the participants were members of the Dorset Diggers Community Archaeology Group and it is therefore assumed that they will go on to be involved in archaeological research. They wrote up a short report of the event in their newsletter and shared a list of archival resources that John Gale produced. Although any impact of this cannot yet be seen it is hoped that the information will inform future community archaeology projects.

The event was able to raise awareness and demonstrate the potential of archives for archaeological research. Despite having had training in understanding Monuments at Risk, which encourages landscape observation, this case study stimulated participants to think about the physical landscape differently

> *'Intrigued me to discover and understand more about the landscape around here; to look more closely' (AE 2).*

This community archaeology project brought together the landscape and the archives in the minds of the participants.

### 6.4.1 Reflection on Archival Day

The archival day sought to investigate public awareness and understanding of the archaeological profession. It revealed that volunteers are integral to the structures that the profession relies upon. Without the museum archives much research conducted by archaeologists would not be possible, past discoveries would not be accessible but neither could new collections be stored. The participants were unaware of the archives but did not show significant surprise in the extent or the condition of the stores. This highlights that there is no clear line between public, volunteer and professional archaeologist and therefore the concept of collaboration in community archaeology is misleading.

The case study did not identify a successful method for quickly influencing legacy and sustainability within community archaeology however it did introduce participants, including members of a local archaeology society to resources they were previously unaware off. It did encourage, albeit limited, engagement in understanding archaeological research, through the facilities and scope of information available to volunteers partaking the Heritage At Risk project.

## 6.5 Conclusion on Case Study Projects

These case study models were designed to test Tully's (2007) model of community archaeology but they did not achieve collaborative practice. In Case Study 1 attempts to include a bottom up perspective resulted in a top down driven project. Case Study 2 highlighted that participants did not want high level input or responsibility for archaeological research. Case Study 3 had greater potential for a collaborative approach but even when the participants wanted to have greater involvement they were still limited by the structures of professional archaeology. Case study four tried to introduce the community to resources so that they could conduct bottom up research.

Collaboration occurred in ways that were not expected e.g. the LoCATE project. Bottom up interpretations of the archaeology arose through art. Together all these projects demonstrate that conducting collaborative community archaeology is not simple. Finding participants is not hard but the individuals within the communities all have their own motivations for taking part and community archaeology projects have to be balanced within societal constraints. These projects had the potential to involve a greater range of participants than has been identified in local archaeology societies. Participation of volunteers in community archaeology is crucial but their expectations need to be met alongside the expectations of the archaeologists.

These case studies also explored participant reactions to elements of archaeological practice. The request to rebury human remains, the use of artefacts and landscape

in art, access to research materials in Case Study 3 and the exploration of archives in Case study 4 all introduced participants to ideas and resources that professional archaeologists take for granted. Participants with a wide range of archaeological experience took part, demonstrating that the distinctions between public, volunteer, participant, amateur and professional archaeologists are not clear. Conducting community archaeology case studies is not easy; the theoretical guidance did not prove helpful in these practical examples. This supports the arguments raised in Chapter 4 that there is a disconnect between theoretical guidance and practice in community archaeology in the UK. Lessons learnt from these case study projects will be combined Chapter 7 to provide future guidance in Chapter 9.

# Chapter 7 Community archaeology in practice

## 7.1 Introduction

Forty seven interviews were conducted with archaeologists currently working across all areas of archaeology. These were divided between Cambridgeshire and Dorset and included all sectors and all levels of experience. In order to ensure anonymity the exact breakdown of interviewees is not going to be presented here. Table 7.1 provides a break down across county, sector and experience level. This distribution was selected in accordance with the purposeful, maximum variation strategy discussed in section 5.8. There were more developer funded archaeologists interviewed than other professional areas because this sector employs the majority of archaeologists working in the UK (Aitchison and Rocks-Macqueen 2013:105). Seventeen interviews were conducted with members of local societies to ensure a comparable coverage of the non-paid archaeologists. Some of these interviews directly represent one society but the majority contain participants from multiple societies. Seventeen separate societies were represented to varying degrees.

**Table 7.1 Interview participants**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Total number of interviews | | 47 |
| County | Cambridgeshire | 21 |
| | Dorset | 26 |
| Sector of archaeology | University based | 6 |
| | Developer funded | 18 |
| | Local Archaeology societies | 17 |
| | Other (Finds Specialists, Local Authority, Community Archaeology etc) | 6 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Level of experience | 1-5 years experience | 9 |
| | 5-10+ years experience | 7 |
| | 10+ years experience | 14 |

**Table 7.2 Number of participants for each interview with local archaeology societies**

| Interview Number | ic 1 | ic 2 | ic 3 | ic 4 | ic 5 | ic 6 | ic 7 | ic 8 | ic 9 | ic2 2 | ic2 3 | ic2 4 | ic2 5 | ic2 6 | ic2 7 | ic2 8 | ic2 9 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of participants | 1 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 9 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |

The interviews were conducted between June and December 2015. The length of each interview varied between 10 minutes and 1.5 hours depending upon experience of the interviewee. Those conducted with members of local societies took the longest whilst the shortest interviews were conducted with archaeologists new to the profession and with little experience of community archaeology. Different questions were asked of professional archaeologists compared to those in local societies, therefore the answers will be discussed separately in the following sections.

## 7.2 Interviews with professional archaeologists

### 7.2.1 Community archaeology as a range of participatory practices

At the start of 50% of the interviews with professional archaeologists a question regarding the interviewee's experience of community archaeology was asked. (50% had already provided their answer to this question prior to the start of the interview). This had a two-fold purpose. It was partly to provide early conversation in order to relax the participant and partly to understand the types of activities that they considered community archaeology to be. Asking a deliberately vague question prompted complex responses in some interviews; in others it may have made the interviewees feel uncomfortable. This was due to the fact that some interviewees had to admit that, either they did not do any community archaeology, or that they were unsure as to what was being asked about. These were all archaeologists who were very early in their careers and working in the developer-funded sector. In these interviews the discussion moved very quickly away from this and tried to explore their general experience of local societies and archaeology.

Some interviewees responded to the deliberately vague question by asking for clarity, but were encouraged to come up with their own ideas.

> *HR. Have you been involved in any type of community archaeology?*
>
> *IP33. What exactly do you mean by community archaeology?*
>
> *HR. I was hoping that you might come up with some ideas.*
>
> *IP33. Um, does that mean, I'm assuming that it means obviously involving the community so perhaps people that are not as experienced as people that are professionally involved. So, you asked me my experience of that?*

Or

> *HR. Have you been involved in any type of community archaeology?*

*IP37. I'm not entirely sure if it, I think, it depends what's the definition of community archaeology?*

*HR. I am hoping you will interpret this however you wish.*

*IP37. My first ever dig was with the National Trust and it was, they had a project archaeologist and we were all volunteers. I think there were only two paid key members of staff and they advertised it in the local newspaper and stuff like that. Does that count?*

There were also some interviewees who felt that they needed to clearly define community archaeology themselves before answering the question. Sometimes this was provided in the email exchanges prior to setting up the interviews. For example;

*' Dear Hayley, happy to meet and talk- not sure I'm very well informed on any of the topics you are researching so it might not take long- I started in amateur archaeology which seems to me to be a different beast, much more independent, bottom up, not top down as community arch often seems to me to be. But maybe that is my misconception' (IP10).*

*'I suppose that it starts with what one might define community archaeology, of course that is something which has changed over the years… so I would personally separate out community archaeology into two things…' (IP47).*

The majority of respondents provided a range of community archaeology activities that they were involved in around the time of the interview. These are listed in table 7.3. This list does not provide a quantitative representation of the different types of activity that archaeologists think might be community archaeology. It is likely that interviewees will also consider other activities to fit the definition, not just the ones they have been directly involved in. However the responses do provide an indication of the range of activities that practicing archaeologists believe to be community archaeology. There were five interviewees who do not conduct any type of community archaeology.

Table 7.3 Types of community archaeology interviewees were involved in

| **Name** | **Number of interviews mentioned in** |
|---|---|
| Local Archaeology Societies | 10 |
| Involvement of non-professionals and volunteers | 8 |
| Local People | 5 |
| Other special interest societies or groups | 4 |
| Teaching (including students) | 4 |
| Museums | 3 |
| Open Days | 2 |
| Talks | 2 |
| Metal Detectorists | 1 |
| National Trust | 1 |
| Popular publications or accessible publications | 1 |
| Schools | 1 |
| Tourism and heritage | 1 |
| No definition | 5 |

### 7.2.2 Local societies

Community archaeology has been described as archaeology driven from the bottom up. This often implies local societies (section 4.3). Within the interviews only one person used the phrase bottom up, grass roots or anything similar when discussing community archaeology, although it was mentioned once in addition to this as the opposite to top down. Ten of the interviews mentioned local archaeology societies within their answers. To some of these interviewees community archaeology equates only and directly to local societies;

> *'Over the last 5 years I have, from time to time, we've done a number of projects where there has been varying degrees of local archaeology or history group involvement' (IP42).*

Paid archaeologists interact with local societies in a variety of ways, including being embedded within them; 11 (38%) of the professional archaeologists interviewed were also members of an archaeology society:

> *'Within the archaeological sector I have got several roles at the moment, my day time job is [within a university]. I also participate in a number of other organisations from, one I am going to chair this evening, [name] which is amateur group who work in and around [name]' (IP47).*

All of the professional archaeologists who were members of a local society had a senior job role and therefore more experience than many other interviewees but they were not necessarily at the very end of their careers. No archaeologists in junior positions were members. This trend therefore is likely to be similar to that which Woolverton identified; the majority of members of archaeology societies are over the age of fifty (2016:140). It is likely that junior archaeologists do not partake in extra-curricular or voluntary activities for same reasons that prevent non-professional archaeologists in their 20s, 30s and 40s (e.g. having children, social pressures etc). It is also possible that, as the result of the developing idea of a profession, the younger generation of paid archaeologists no longer also see their work as their hobby. However without more data regarding the exact age of interviewees or without further investigation as to their reasoning it is impossible to confirm whether the two are directly connected.

The professional archaeologists who discussed their membership of archaeology societies often held chair or other influential positions within society committees. Therefore they are able provide experience and advice for the groups, inputting their opinions during project planning, fieldwork and post excavation. This is not collaborative community archaeology as defined in the literature (e.g.Tully 2007) because there is unlikely to be a deliberate coming together of two parties with specific objectives from both partners, but rather they are already merged. Instead this is informal collaboration and a form of highly experienced informal volunteering.

### 7.2.3 Involvement of volunteers who are not members of local archaeology societies

Within the interviews nobody used the phrase or described 'collaboration' when discussing community archaeology. Eight interviewees suggested that community archaeology required the participation of volunteers but the amount of participation they discussed varied. For example;

> *'We work with local voluntary groups helping them with their research and lending out equipment and training' (IP16).*

> *'Community archaeology is about participation. Making them think that it is a worthwhile activity to participate in' (IP41).*

Sometimes they would recognise that participants have their own motivation:

> *'I've been involved in a few projects that have not been development led, have had funding from elsewhere and have used volunteers to undertake the majority of the work and on those projects that I've been employed to supervise and guide them to reach their objectives' (IP34).*

At other times they did not consider this. In some instances interviewees used the word involvement but did not necessarily mean participation:

> *'I guess community is the type of archaeology that involves the community, so like representing archaeological finds, history, heritage to the local community, I guess' (IP35).*

Here the interviewee suggests that the community are 'involved' by having the archaeology 'represented' to them. This is not actually the same thing as actively participating. In this example the interviewee had Eastern European nationality and they had only been working in professional archaeology for a short length of time. In their home country (as is the case for many European countries) volunteers are not allowed to conduct archaeological fieldwork. Therefore this has influenced their expectation and understanding of community archaeology.

As can be seen in Figure 7.2 the majority of activities provided as examples of community archaeology were not collaborative or participatory. Instead they were a one way flow of information, a form of knowledge distribution. This has sometimes been known as 'outreach' and is in direct contradiction to the type of community archaeology discussed in the literature.

> *'I've taken artefacts there and had a table and then spoken to the public about that' (IP17).*

> *'I've done a couple of popular articles for British Archaeology to try and get, if there is something interesting about the site that captures the imagination, get it out there to a more general audience' (IP20).*

In these examples it is unlikely that there was any community participation at all. The archaeologists have assumed that their story/discovery/interpretation is of interest to the people they are telling it to. This type of activity has not been discussed in the literature as community archaeology, however community archaeology is being identified here as something that is done 'to' the community, as well as 'with' the community.

### 7.2.4 Value of local archaeology societies

Interviewees in archaeological employment were asked to discuss what they thought about the value of local archaeology societies. Some struggled to see that their research had much value for the profession e.g.

> *'no archaeology is really being destroyed…, so they are happy they are doing research, which makes them feel they are contributing to local knowledge and things…' (IP16).*

although many would also admit that they did not know that much about what the societies get up to:

> *'fairly valueless I think, not saying that it doesn't hurt, I don't, I must admit I am not terribly close to it' (IP14).*

However others were able to see a whole range of values beyond the research. These can be categorised into three main types as shown in Table 7.4.

**Table 7.4 Ways in which local archaeology societies are valued by professional archaeologists**

| Value | Number of interviews the value was mentioned in |
|---|---|
| Benefits the archaeological record | 18 |
| Benefits the profession | 12 |
| Benefits the participants/the community | 10 |

Eighteen interviewees identified that the archaeological record benefits from local archaeology societies. These benefits can be grouped as follows:

- They identify heritage crime;

  *'local community groups are often eyes and ears on the ground if there is any monument damage or invasion of particular areas or if they are concerned about the impacts of development in a way that we might not be aware of, so they will be looking at social history and more recent history as part of their remit as well, so occasionally they flag up something of interest to us and we will use them and they are, they have confidence to do that whereas other members of the public won't necessarily do that' (IP12).*

- They help make archaeology relevant and accessible;

  *'I do find that engagement with a local group helps us improve, make something more engaging and more interesting than the information that we have' (IP39).*

- They contribute new knowledge;

  *'there are huge opportunities for additional value added work to be done, that would be over and above the necessity of the planning system' (IP40).*

- They present different ways approaching the research;

*'Quite often these groups, individuals, will have their own agenda; they will have their own interest. They will be looking at something very specific that not a lot of people would normally have any dealings with' (IP34).*

- They are able to focus in detail upon areas that interest them;

*'local archaeology societies obviously have the advantage there because they know more about the area than we are ever going to'.*

- They can be more knowledgeable than professional archaeologists:

*'with the locals they are better read in archaeology than archaeologists' (IP6).*

*'Desk based research I think is always good coming from local societies, because quite often they will know more' (IP42).*

Twelve interviewees also strongly believed that local archaeology societies increase general public awareness of archaeology and public support for the profession.

*'I think one of the most fundamental values of local archaeology groups is the maintenance of a certain kind of level of archaeological discourse and interest in the public more generally' (IP21).*

*'I think it's actually potentially quite broad because there is an awareness raising and the opportunity for support for the whole sector and you see this quite clearly when high profile planning applications come through the system. They actually provide an outlet for people to air their worries but also potentially a mouth piece then to go to the powers that be. There is an element of assistance there but it also provides an opportunity to promote the profession' (IP40).*

Ten interviews also identified that the participants might benefit or appreciate involvement in local archaeology societies. However they did not see it as distinct from any other type of hobby.

*'It seems very hobbyist and it's not to say that their entertainment doesn't have value but it's not of, I don't think it is massively changing their lives' (IP14).*

*'I suppose it is a hobby really, for a lot of people. Brings them together, I suppose makes them more coordinated' (IP34).*

## 7.3 Interviews with local societies

### 7.3.1 Community archaeology as a contradiction

There is as much confusion and contradiction about the meaning of community archaeology amongst members of local societies as there is within the archaeological profession. Some members of societies consider themselves to be conducting community archaeology; others do not like the term to be applied to them. Some local archaeology societies strongly consider themselves to be community archaeology. For example the Dorset Diggers Community Archaeology Group (DDCAG) include the phrase in their group name. Their mission statement makes it clear that the purpose of the group is to allow the whole community to access archaeology through them. This is partly by, but not limited to, membership and also by providing knowledge to non-members.

> *'The mission of the Group is to encourage the Community to explore and investigate the historic West Dorset in order to further the knowledge of the area, both historical and archaeological, through education, research and excavations. The overall aim has no timescale. Continuing projects will emerge as the Committee or Members see fit. It is intended we:-*
>
> *Maintain and implement a programme of tasks and activities.*
>
> *Produce interim newsletters/reports on activities and publish them.*
>
> *Produce regular publications of interest for the community and academic publications.*
>
> *Produce public displays of historical and archaeological finds.*

*Involve the community through communication with schools and other local groups.*

*The Group is non-profit making, with surpluses used for Group activities. No surplus will be distributed.*

*The Group's web-site shall be the primary mechanism for communication'(DDCAG 2016a).*

Chris Tripp is an integral member of the DDCAG and he has written about community archaeology. He believes that the public should be involved in archaeology and that this enriches the subject; it 'adds to the debate and scrutiny of the profession allowing a greater fluidity of ideas from all quarters of our community' (Tripp 2012: 29). In this paper he concludes that 'only by having a full time community archaeologist will the public be fully served by those of us that care passionately about 'access and heritage for all' (Tripp 2012: 34). From this it can be concluded that the Dorset Diggers consider themselves to be 'community archaeology' because they discover and distribute archaeological knowledge to the wider community. Sometimes this is through involvement in fieldwork but they also use other methods. The Dorset Diggers advertise that they 'have qualified archaeologists to teach us' and therefore they do not consider that this affects their ability to conduct field archaeology to a professional level (DDCAG 2016b).

Other members of local societies however felt that community archaeology was not a term that they wanted applied to them. The chairperson of one group in particular felt that community archaeology is used as a euphemism for non-professional and that since their group operate to professional standards, even if members do not have paid experience in archaeology, it is an insulting expression. They would prefer the term amateur, after all the origin of the word means 'for love'

*'Community archaeology is, well depends what you want it to mean and I like to know what people mean by it really, and its used by professional archaeologists to mean stuff that is done by amateurs quite often and I'm*

*not ashamed of being an amateur archaeologist. We do it for love not money and community' (IC6A).*

The term 'amateur' is a word that repeatedly crops up when local societies describe themselves.

*'I think we are a group of amateurs who see ourselves, because of our membership and our involvement with [group name], as being a sort of centre of excellence within amateur archaeology in the area and one of our, we can act then as, one of our responsibilities is to publicise that so anybody who's interested can come to us and join us and we have also an outreach program through doing things like this, practical archaeology, involving people in open days, involving schools program, so we're spreading our enthusiasm and interest in archaeology in lots of different ways' (IC25d).*

It became apparent in another interview that this group consider themselves only to be doing community archaeology when they are conducting this outreach program. This is partly because they become exclusive - outreach takes time and resources and sometimes they cannot do this;

*'all in all we just weighed it up and whilst we had a larger number of people than last year the overheads of managing them and looking after them ensuring they didn't do any bloody damage was too great' (Ic22).*

This local society considers community archaeology to be about sharing knowledge and information, more so than participation. Despite not being paid for their work they do not view themselves to be conducting community archaeology unless they share their discoveries. They consider themselves to be stewards of archaeological knowledge, and experts (but not professionals), and want to share their discoveries. This is in direct opposition to the idea that local societies equate to community archaeology.

### 7.3.2 Structure and development of local archaeology societies

Interviewees from local archaeology societies were asked to talk about the development of their group or project. Sometimes a particular event was identified as a trigger. There were four groups that developed out of extra mural courses. These were all located in Dorset e.g.

> *'Well, the [name] group started as the result of a ten week course that [name] did several years ago now. It was a ten week course to introduce people to the various concepts in archaeology and there were a group of us who were there who thought it might be quite fun to start up a group from the people who stayed the course and were interested in what was going on, and it was felt that what we needed to do was to actually try doing some'* (IC23).

The extra-mural courses appeared to be enough on their own to stimulate a new group, they successfully recruited a collective of like-minded people, and introduced them to the archaeological knowledge they required. It also appeared that the leader of the course provided a continuing source of support and knowledge.

> *HR 'How did you go about the post-excavation processes?*
>
> *(IC23) I am still going about them, and again [Name] has been helping'*

In Cambridgeshire the Jigsaw project was the primary stimulus behind five groups.

> *'When Jigsaw got going, [Name} is our leader, got us enthused and [Name], her husband is a techni, electronics expert, and he got into magnetometery and things and we tried … and then we started fieldwalking' (IC2).*

Jigsaw however struggled to recruit individuals. They discovered that they were much more successful in stimulating fieldwork when they worked with a pre-existing group of people, such as a history group (Jo Richards pers comm 16/07/2016). The

development of special interest groups and archaeological fieldwork within history societies also occurred in Dorset;

> 'so we broke away from the history society by this time, that was the other thing so the people in the history society believe it or not, were not interested in the least in archaeology' *(IC27).*

There was one other specific event which was directly attributed to the formation of a society. This was a test pitting project, directed by a professional archaeologist. The participants enjoyed the experience so much, and through it realised that between them they had enough skills and knowledge, so they decided to collectively pursue more fieldwork.

There were also interviewees who did not associate a specific event with their group's history. Some of these societies originated as a group of friends who already knew each other, and at least two were sub groups or had broken away from larger history societies after developing an interest.

If group did not acquire their archaeological knowledge as part of a course or from Jigsaw they relied upon individuals;

> *'[Name] was doing an undergraduate degree in archaeology and he said I can't take this on. At the same time I was doing a one years Masters in archaeology over two years and he and I got to know each other quite well through the archaeology' (IC6).*

It appears that a certain situation is needed in order for a local archaeology society to develop. The factors which have contributed towards this in the interviews are shown in Figure 7.5. At least two factors are required; a group of people and archaeological knowledge. Once this situation has been created it can be considered that the group have reached the first milestone in their development.

**Table 7.5**

**Factors and Stimuli behind the formation of local archaeology societies**

| | | Grouping of People | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Extra mural | Pre-existing | Friendship | unknown | Test pitting |
| **Knowledge acquisition** | Extra mural | IC26, IC25, IC23, IC22 | | | | |
| | Jigsaw | | IC4, IC8, IC9 | | | |
| | Individual learning | | IC28, IC27, | IC3, IC24 | | IC6 |
| | Unknown | | | | IC2, IC7, IC29, | |

## 7.4 The role of the individual

The role of the individual was also a key factor in the development of local archaeology societies. As well as being the provider of archaeological knowledge individuals are also required in order to drive the group. Societies will not form and continue unless there is an individual or group of individuals who are prepared to manage their existence. This may or may not be the same individual who knows about archaeology. Often they were the interviewee and held positions of authority within the groups.

> '*I took over in [date]. I was asked by [name] to become Chairman, I wasn't really expecting it because I hadn't been a member for that long and my background isn't in archaeology*' (IC22).

As discussed in section 4.10 the demographic profile for the members of local archaeology societies is generally unknown but predicted to be white, middle class and over 55+. Although not formally investigated there has been little reason identified

during the course of this PhD research to question this profile. However a range of professional backgrounds and life experiences were mentioned in the interviews. These can provide richness to the archaeological research conducted by societies by providing different ways of thinking and additional expertise that are not necessarily held by professional archaeologists:

> *'In my arrogance I like to think that because I've got a background in engineering I might be able to contribute' (IC7).*

> *I'm interested in all that because work is the same thing, computers, databases, networks, and production and data collection, that kind of thing, so that's my background so this sort of thing, the recording I find it interesting because it all links together (IC5).*

Once a group of people, including individuals acting as drivers, have come together with archaeological knowledge it would often take significant time for a group to establish and to formalise. The quote below (IC23) is from a group who started the journey in 2011. They started up, lapsed and then restarted once a field project became available.

> 'We have a piece of paper that we meant to fill in for our formal constitution but I'm not sure that's actually been done yet' *(IC23).*

All groups interviewed had some kind of formal structure, this was essential for insurance requirements. As part of the formalising process they move from becoming a group of interested people to a more solid entity. This is the second milestone in their formation.

### 7.4.1 Selecting fieldwork projects

Once a group has formed they start to conduct archaeological research, this is the third milestone in their development. During the interviews it became apparent that groups did not always deliberately choose a period or type of archaeology, instead

they often focused upon a location. For some this was a village or a landscape of particular interest or relevance to the group

> *'what we have been doing is we have been doing some test pits in some of the group members gardens' (IC4).*

> *'I was invited by [name] to come along and direct the excavation because they wanted to find a little bit more about what was going on in this paddock, as did [name] the landowner' (IC28).*

But for others it was a place where an opportunity presented itself. In all of the interviews landowners and site availability were discussed;

> *'A guy who is running the museum said we got this mound [Name] would you and the guys like to come out, we've got permission from the owners' (IC8).*

> *'So we found a Roman project and that was accidental in a sense, because the landowners, … the woman of the landowner knew my wife, they were in the same book group, and so she said she's got a site she would like to know more about. And that's, so we went and negotiated with them and started involvement in this Romano-British settlement, rural settlement site (IC6).*

This was very important element in the decision making process and was often a significant factor in site selection.

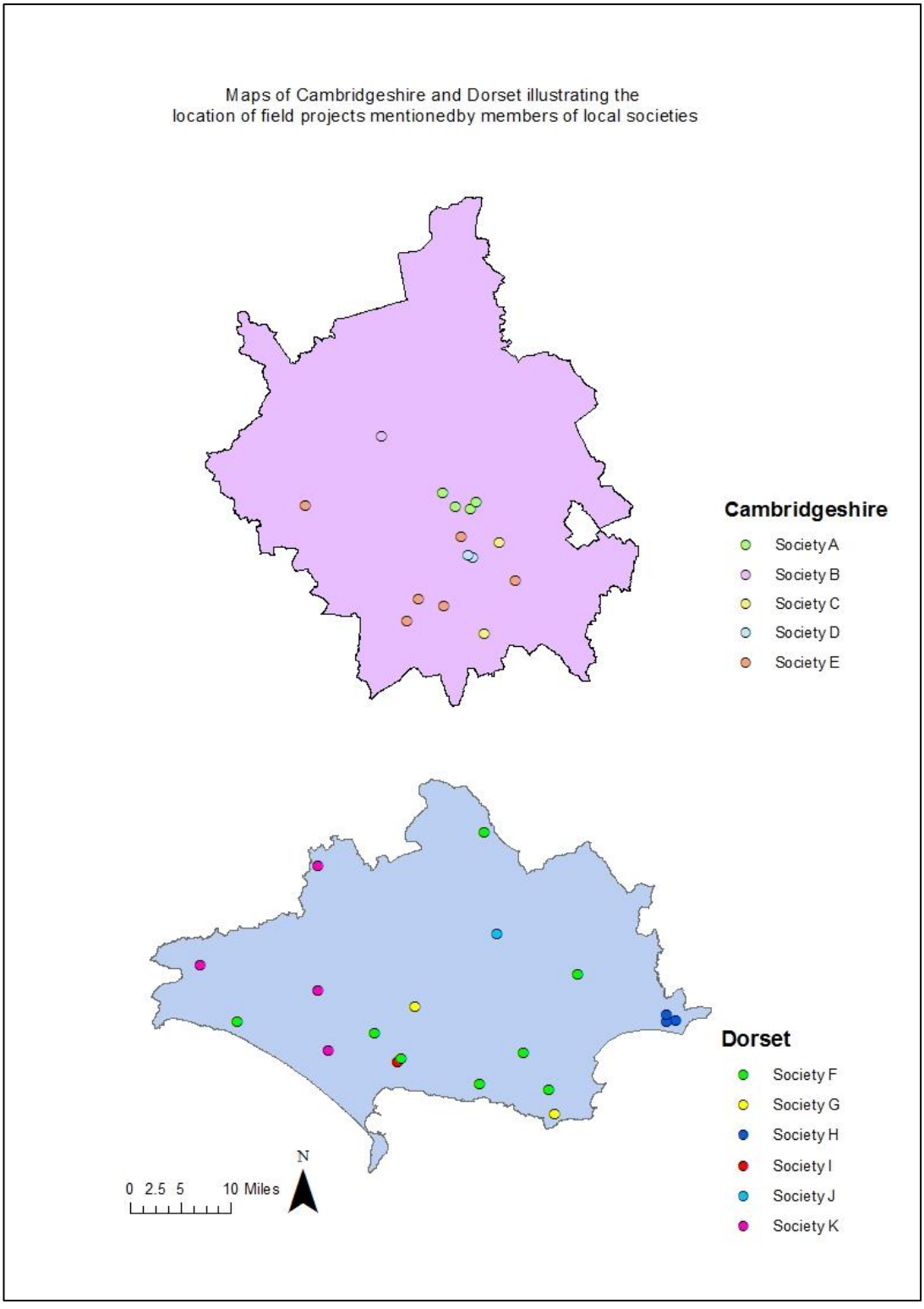


**Figure 7.6. Site location for local archaeology societies**

Some groups travel considerable distances to sites; more than one group discussed projects distributed across a 30 mile radius (see Figure 7.6). Another group (off record) commented that they had no members from the village closest to their excavation.

The Jigsaw training dig in Covington, in the very west of Cambridgeshire, also attracted people from outside of the county, particularly Essex. These individuals must have travelled at least 50 miles to attend and some were staying in local Bed and Breakfasts at their own cost. This willingness to travel for fieldwork was also demonstrated by several interviewees who were members of multiple groups or societies,

> *IC7. I'm a tart, I'm a member of about 7 or 8 different groups*
>
> *HR. That's very impressive keeping up with all of those.*
>
> *IC7. Well, I'm not certain its impressive or whether it, but, and for various backgrounds and what I think is interesting is that they are different, every group is different.*

This was common in both counties. In Cambridgeshire another phenomenon was identifiable in the interviews: cross group participation. If a group was conducting fieldwork it was very common for members of other groups to attend and help out.

> *'when we actually go to other groups within the groups you find you have people who dig, people who don't dig, basically, [name] and [name] seem to manage to replace the people in other groups who don't dig, because they've still got the muscle power to do it' (IC9).*

This was attributed by interviewees to the networking effect of Jigsaw and resulted in a significant sharing of knowledge. For example a member of one group conducted the majority of the geophysical training that Jigsaw provided to all groups.

There is a large variation in topic or focus for community based research. Within Dorset and Cambridgeshire projects spanned subjects as diverse as Bronze Age burials, Roman villas, Medieval mills and Post-medieval structures. Topics of interest ranged from large scale and broad subjects to small and detailed:

> *'I'm interested, not just in the site but in the whole valley, the whole river, the whole river valley or something like that (IC7).*

> *'I'm interested in the art, in the colours of it, it would just be lovely to find some pieces that you could put together but there is no way. I suppose it is detail again, it comes down to detail' (IC3).*

The time period of project focus mentioned within interviews are listed in table 7.5. There was no period that was significantly more popular that the others but there were less post-medieval and modern projects that those researching earlier ones. This is significant and contrasts the assumption often made that 'community archaeology seems to have emphasised the recent past perhaps more than any other' (Dalglish 2013:2). On careful reading it appears that Dalglish refers to only top down examples of community archaeology before coming to this conclusion. This is an example of when the type of community archaeology matters.

**Table 7.6 Time periods upon which local archaeology society projects predominantly focus as raised in interviews**

| | Prehistoric | Roman | Medieval | Post medieval | Modern | Multi-period |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ic1. | | | | | | |
| ic2. | | x | x | x | | |
| ic3. | | x | | | | |
| ic4. | x | | x | | | |
| ic5. | | x | x | | | |
| ic6. | | x | | | | |
| ic7. | | x | | | | x |
| ic8. | x | | | | | |
| ic9. | x | | | x | | |
| ic22. | | x | | | | x |
| ic23. | x | | | | | |
| ic24. | x | x | x | | | |
| ic25. | | x | | | | x |
| ic26. | x | | | x | x | |
| ic27. | x | | x | x | | |
| ic28. | | | x | | | |
| ic29. | | | x | | | |
| Total | 7 | 8 | 7 | 4 | 1 | 3 |

### 7.4.2 Background Research

Archaeological fieldwork is a reflexive process; one stage will always inform the next. Some local societies will plan these stages, deliberately analysing and re-planning each step as they go. Other projects evolve more organically. Ideally field projects require three stages, a planning, a field and a post-fieldwork stage. These involve different types of activities. There are different ways in which local societies plan projects. The majority of groups identify a site of potential interest and then conduct background research. As identified above research questions to help direct fieldwork were often of secondary concern. It was only once a site had been secured that they turned to thinking about what they could learn from it.

There was a tendency for groups to pick projects about which a certain amount of information was already known. This information was often gathered through landowner experience or local hearsay;

> *'they ploughed the land once in the 1980s and that's when they found, and they trawled the land and picked all the pretty bits of pottery up they could find. They have still got them and they find coins now when they are laying new hedges and things like that, so that's where it has come from' (IC6).*

Neither of these methods were discussed as a formal or deliberate stage in the research process. Often desk-based research was conducted alongside field research.

The types of field research that interviewees discussed is shown in Figure 7.6. Geophysical survey was the most popular technique, followed by excavation but most groups had practiced multiple methods. This is a similar trend identified by Hedge and Nash (2016) as discussed in section 4.8. This is a reflection of the multiple stage research process. The majority of the time these were considered and structured in a logical order;

> *'it's all down to pasture so we couldn't field walk it but we did a molehill survey which was great fun and established very little' (IC6).*

**Table 7.7 Types of field research methods discussed in interviews with members of local archaeology societies.**

| | Excavation trenches | Test pits | Field-walking | Geophysical survey | Metal detecting | Molehill surveys | Lidar |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ic1 | | | | | | | |
| ic2 | | x | x | | x | | |
| ic3 | x | x | x | x | x | | |
| ic4 | | x | | x | | | |
| ic5 | | x | x | x | | | |
| ic6 | x | x | x | x | x | x | |
| ic7 | | | | x | | | x |
| ic8 | x | x | | x | x | | x |
| ic9 | x | x | | x | x | | |
| ic22 | x | | x | x | | | |
| ic23 | x | | | x | | | |
| ic24 | | | | x | | | |
| ic25 | x | | | x | | | |
| ic26 | x | | x | x | | | |
| ic27 | x | x | | x | | | |
| ic28 | x | | x | x | x | | |
| ic29 | x | | | | | | |
| **Total** | **11** | **8** | **7** | **14** | **6** | **1** | **2** |

### 7.4.3 Geophysical survey

Fourteen out of seventeen interviewees discussed geophysical survey. In the majority of examples this was conducted prior to excavation but on one occasion it was an additional tool they were able to use later in the research process (IC28 off record). There were two groups that specialised in geophysical survey, they did not conduct their own excavations but often provided help to other groups. Jigsaw also provided training and equipment.

There was a noticeable difference between the way that groups who were involved in the Jigsaw project discussed geophysical survey and those who were not. Members of Jigsaw spoke as if they conducted the surveys themselves, even if they had little experience, or it was couched as a training exercise.

> *'we started off by learning how to use the equipment, geophys equipment and the people at [place] let us use their garden, their front and back garden, to learn how do that, then we found some anomalies didn't we… so we then said ok to do a test pit'* (IC9).

Groups not affiliated with Jigsaw described the process as if they were much less directly involved;

> *'[Name] kindly came along and did some geophysics so it wasn't just a random hole, so it was actually based on a possible feature' (IC23).*

This difference in language was caused by groups who were not members of Jigsaw turning towards other voluntary societies or individuals for help. Some of these have access to borrow equipment from a university or another professional organisation but also specialised local archaeology societies who had their own. There were two of these specialist societies, one on Dorset and one in Cambridgeshire. Both groups owned self-funded equipment but they had also been awarded funds from the Heritage Lottery Fund. The equipment in both cases was obtained for specific projects. Even though these projects had been completed the equipment continued to be used. This was seen as an important fulfilment of their obligations to the HLF;

*'The HLF requested that if we purchased this equipment we were then obliged to supply that equipment to other voluntary groups, which is fair enough so that's what we are in the process of doing' (IC24).*

In Cambridgeshire the ability of societies to perform geophysical survey were facilitated by Jigsaw but there, and in Dorset, local archaeology societies who specialise in geophysical survey are also providing a really important, and potentially essential, resource. They hold specialist skills and equipment and are enabling local archaeology societies to strategically plan and conduct research.

### 7.4.4 Non-research activities

It was also possible to identify a large range of non-research activities discussed within the interviews. Lectures or field trips were common activities and some societies had a significant but passive membership who did not get involved in fieldwork at all.

*'When we started this we had quite a few willing volunteers until they realised that their advancing years didn't quite turn out to be compatible with doing this sort of thing' (IC28).*

It is worth remembering that only groups who were actively conducting research at the time were targeted for interview (section 5.3). There are also many other groups within the study regions that do not conduct research but who may still consider themselves to be a community archaeology group (section 3.5). These types of groups also often have lectures or field trips as their primary or only activities.

As well as lectures and field trips there were other non-research activities identified in the interviews. These were not passive and included holding open days, commenting on planning applications, training events and managing sites (i.e. conservation work (scrub clearance). There was one society who, in the past has tried to publish a journal; the same society has also recently hosted a national conference.

Methods of communicating results were the most common type of non-research activity discussed (because this subject was targeted in the interviews). This was either with the general public through open days, websites, parish newsletters etc or with other archaeologists through publications and conferences. Some groups felt that it was important they conduct public events. For example the Dorset Diggers have it written in their constitution (section 7.3.1) (DDCAG 2016a). Others were very proud of the work that they had done, this was particularly evident in Cambridgeshire where Jigsaw organised a yearly public event where groups could display their discoveries (Jigsaw 2015) or the annual Cambridge Antiquarian Society held a conference at which groups presented results (Cambridge Antiquarian Society 2014).

Some groups used public activities as a way to acquire funding;

> *'When we approached the HLF as you know they are pretty adamant that community and communities should be involved, the route we decided we would go down is we contacted a local school in this case' (IC24).*

> *'On the open day, on one of those visits I talked about a society there was a lady she was so impressed she gave us a £1000' (Ic22).*

Others see it as a recruitment tool

> *'We do do things like there is a thing on [place]. A history day every two years, it was this year in September. We have a stand there with our bits and pieces, with some information and hopefully we get a few members' (IC27).*

Some groups however do not focus on these types of events

> *No, I think making sure that what we have done is recorded and available through the county archaeologist and the HER is the limit to what we are capable of doing (IC3).*

### 7.4.5 Non Archaeological Activities

There were also a couple of groups who have become involved with non-archaeological activities;

> *'we're excavating, looking at fossil beds' (IC9).*

> *'so I ended up at [place] two weeks ago at the meeting on what's the knock on effect if the fens actually go meltdown' (IC8).*

The first quote here (IC9) refers to a project that was conducted purely out of interest, although it was located within the same (wider) landscape as their archaeological projects. The first second example (IC8) however was more interesting. The group's knowledge and skills had been recognised and they were asked to contribute towards planning for the future of a low lying landscape facing climate change.

### 7.4.6 Motivation

As discussed above societies are driven by specific individuals and these individuals also need to be supported by a membership (section 7.3.2). For a group to establish and maintain itself the desires of both individual drivers and members must be met. Motivation was not deliberately targeted within the interviews; these were only discussed when they naturally arose. This only occurred in seven interviews and five of these were in Cambridgeshire. Therefore these results are not fully representative and should only be considered preliminary in advance of further research.

The most common factor discussed by interviewees was the concept of contributing towards something, they felt that the work they were doing had a **sense of purpose**. This occurred in five of the seven interviews which discussed motivation;

*'hopefully what we are able to do is to contribute to the baseline knowledge of people who come after with similar interests and they move it forward, it's like an evolutionary thing' (IC9).*

*'I'd like to contribute, because it is there. It's in the record' (IC7).*

This is a form of altruistic motivation; the participant perceives that something or someone else will benefit from their input. Some interviewees described particular experiences such as the physicality of site or digging, the act of discovery, learning interesting things, or the sociality. Others described the benefits that they received through these experiences, such as improved well-being or satisfaction from learning. Some connected these together

*'I like getting out and digging. It is very therapeutic, (IC3).*

More research is needed into the specific motivations and benefits of volunteering within community archaeology and local societies.

## 7.5 Relationships between archaeologists

Local archaeology societies do not conduct archaeological research in isolation. They generally have significant communication with other societies and with professional archaeologists. Some of the forms that this communication can take were discussed earlier (open days, publications etc) but often these also happen informally, though direct personal relationships, and they provide advice, guidance, and support for local societies.

Relationships between local societies are built through a number of different routes. One of these is through networking at events:

*'It's one thing we've found with the other groups is that we've met at various conferences but they're all very friendly and all very helpful (IC26).*

In Cambridgeshire Jigsaw has been a big instigator in creating these situations and the network that has evolved is seen as one of the successes of the project, although there was concern as to how long this would continue without formal coordination;

> *'I don't know what the legacy is going to be, it's difficult because we've got networks, you know I turn up at [name]'s digs, he turns up at mine, we all network together very very well but as for running, we do need an umbrella, without it we might start to fall apart again. We've just become this very close knit community haven't we' (IC8).*

This is one route that can lead to situations where volunteers are members of multiple groups (section 7.3.3). Sometimes the membership of a group will also contain professional archaeologists. This can take a variety of formats, sometimes this is a formal relationship:

> *'then we formed that link with her indirectly but before too long we invited her to become our honorary president which she was for three years, two years' (IC6).*

But sometimes they are regular members:

> *'a member of our group is an archaeologist, actually, for [name]. [name], yes, so he was, it's really good. So it's good that you have got somebody who is quite knowledgeable as well to pass their knowledge on and help you out' (IC4).*

Local societies also form more distant relationships with professional archaeologists. It is hard to tell from the interviews how close the majority of these relationships are or how they form. At least one was the result of a society directly asking for help

> *'blimey, how did we find him, I think our secretary looked him up online actually. I think that's how we found him yeah, just searched online and found him. Down in the west country I think' (IC27).*

But others may be because the professional has initiated contact for a personal or professional interest;

*'We've [name] who rushed over here from [place] when he was told that we had a [find] and he was so excited by that he dropped everything and came over, he was here within two hours to see this' (IC22).*

These relationships between local societies and professional archaeologists are providing an essential supply of knowledge for local societies. Without them groups would be significantly poorer in knowledge; they would be much less aware of the significance of their own discoveries. It does also appear that societies gain motivation from the approval of experts;

*'He's hummed and harred over stuff that we've dug up and you know and very graciously patted us on the back for it, so we must be doing something right to some degree, somewhere' (IC9).*

There is however a thin line between voluntary and informal advisors and specialists who are contracted to provide a service. This has led to some interesting (amicable) relationships;

*'We had a row about me not being paid for it and two weeks ago, I said I am perfectly happy to do it in my own time because it fits my interests, so it's no skin of my nose but she was very adamant about me having to be paid for it but I would rather they used any money they had to pay for things they can't get for nothing' (IP40).*

But often within the interviews this distinction was not clear and had to be clarified.

*'HR. Have any of the other specialists asked for payment?*

*IC23. Um, they haven't but I think that's mostly because they're doing favours for [name].*

The role of the advisor to local societies is a ubiquitous and well recognised phenomenon; these advisors were referred to during a discussion with a Jigsaw archaeologist as 'pet archaeologists' (Jemima Woolverton pers comm 16/07/2016). Often the societies are very proud of these connections, as can be identified in many of the above quotes and they were frequently brought up in the interviews, without

prompting. However this reliance on certain individuals has also been identified as a problem, both by the societies and the professionals involved;

> *'[name] of course is very approachable but the trouble is the people that are approachable tend to get snowed under to some degree (IC7).*

There are four routes that these relationships tend to take and are summarised in Table 7.7. Most of them rely upon individuals and can have different levels of interaction. Where these relationships broke down the cause was often due to expectations not being fulfilled. This is irrespective of formality.

**Table 7.8 Types of relationships between professional archaeologists and local archaeology societies.**

| | formal | informal |
|---|---|---|
| Within society | As appointed person | As regular member |
| With society | As specialist analyst (paid) | As advisor |

### 7.5.1 Negative relationships

Not all of the relationships between local societies and professional archaeologists were harmonious. This was generally uncommon but it is worth noting that this occurred in Dorset significantly more than in Cambridgeshire (although it was not immune). Some of these grievances were forcefully expressed. One example was a group who expressed dissatisfaction after contracting specialists to help with elements of post excavation:

> *'because we're small. we're insignificant, so there are a few exceptions, and, but, we enter a contractual arrangement, you know agree a price, a job, and then we find that they just don't deliver and they slip and the slip and they lie through their back teeth and I can give you a list, it's almost anybody [names], it just goes on. these people they, and I'm not saying I would do anything different in their situation to be honest, and I understand why they doing, [sic] because we're giving them small jobs to*

*do and they can't live on the peanuts that we are giving them and they've probably given us a good price as well. I'm very aware of that but the headaches they give regarding delivering is often appalling, so they treat us like, know you third rate citizens when it gets down to delivering reports (IC27).*

This is only one example, and one that expressed an understanding as to the situation that had created the problems, but there were other discussions amongst interviewees regarding professional archaeologists in certain positions. They were unhappy with the support or opportunities provided by professional individuals or organisations. This was vocalised by community groups

*'But if [organisation] could think in terms of some basic instruction. I know there is criticism of community groups for being unprofessional, and it's a very valid criticism in some respects, however you've got to look back on it yourself in the mirror if you make that statement, a lot of the big problems lie with you in not supplying the facilities' (IC24).*

*'Not just us, a lot of people have had trouble with him. He is, perhaps it's not all his fault… he is perhaps a bit stretched (IC27).*

*'I know she is under a lot of pressure but she is not the most forthcoming person to say the least' (IC27).*

But from the perspective of professional archaeologists this appeared to be a misconception regarding their role, position and ability. This has resulted in grievances caused by unfair and therefore unfulfilled expectations:

*'I have to account for a good proportion of what I do. I have to put a good chunk on dealing with local community groups. It tends to be me they contact, if they don't know who else to go to. If they haven't already built up a working relationship with [name] they come to me. So I am the one that has to field it and I get quite a lot. I get quite a lot of stuff, a lot of it's routine, a lot of it shouldn't be with me, a lot of it is misguided or whatever but it's coming through to me' (IP12).*

Despite these examples there were not many complaints raised regarding the relationship between local archaeology societies and professional archaeologists. It was not the job of the researcher to fix any poor relationships identified (section 5.7.6) and they could not be addressed within the interviews however it is hoped that through the model of best practice (section 8.5) produced as a result they can be avoided in future.

## 7.7 Conclusion

It was identified within the interviews with professional archaeologists and members of local archaeology societies that community archaeology is a term that does not have a clear definition. Some of the interviewees were unsure as to what it meant whilst others felt it important to make their opinion on their interpretation clear by providing their own definition. It was also evident during the interviews that a range of activities are practiced under the umbrella term 'community archaeology'. The majority of these, but not all, required some level of participation by those not normally engaged with the subject. The concept of collaborative practice as described within the theoretical literature was not evident.

Local archaeology societies are one way in which volunteers can participate in community archaeology. Despite some professional archaeologists not placing any value upon them others were able to see how they benefit the archaeological record, the profession and the participants. There are a wide range of activities which they undertake in order to provide this value. This is not always the original intention of the local archaeology society however the sense of contributing towards a wider purpose provides important motivation for the members. The activities include fieldwork, communicating results and non-archaeological events. Fieldwork projects are selected due to accessibility as much as interest and participants may travel significant distances to be part of one.

In order for a local archaeology society to establish a specific situation needs to exist; a group of interested people need to be brought into contact with archaeological knowledge. They also need support from the archaeological profession. Often this relies upon individuals but can be formal or informal. There are three stimuli that have created these conditions; extra-mural courses, Jigsaw, and a test pitting project. Other situations that have not been driven by professional archaeologists have also arisen.

Local societies are interconnected, through the individual members, through networking and through relationships with professional archaeologists. These relationships are generally positive and provide significant support and guidance for the groups. Where there is dissatisfaction this appears to be caused by the unfulfilled expectations.

# Chapter 8 Guidance for best practice in community archaeology

Community archaeology is a complex subject. It has a history which is socially and politically influenced but also closely related to the development of the archaeological profession. Chapter 4 discussed theoretical examples and methods of community archaeology and Chapters 6 and 7 the practice of these. This chapter is going to bring these three perspectives together to present an understanding of community archaeology in Dorset and Cambridgeshire. It will then demonstrate how lessons learned through this research can be applied to broader practices of community archaeology. Despite this research project focusing upon two case study areas it is hoped that lessons learnt can be applied to community archaeology conducted across the UK. It will discuss the practice of community archaeology in comparison to the theoretical guidance under four themes. These themes are the essential components which comprise the practice of community archaeology and which should be considered by any practitioner, no matter their background, aims, objectives or method. Finally the chapter will conclude with reflections upon this and present a model of best practice based upon these themes. This will bridge the current gap between the theoretical guidance and the practice of community archaeology in the UK.

## 8.1 Who

Chapter 4 defined community archaeology as a **practice which involves the participation of volunteers in archaeological activities.** This participation can take a range of forms which can be expressed through the spectrum of participation (figure 4.4). The case study examples in chapter 6 explored this spectrum and tried to

encourage collaborative examples of community archaeology. They were not successful in doing this. The majority of volunteers involved did not wish to take responsibility for archaeological research. In Case Studies 1 and 2 participants preferred to partake in professionally led projects. It was only as an unplanned spin-off from case study 2 that a practice was developed which can be viewed as a partnership. LoCATE is a project which involved both university-based archaeologists and local societies working loosely together. One provides equipment which allows the other to conduct research. In case study 3 a project that was closer to a collaborative partnership was formed however the participants leant heavily towards a professional archaeologist for advice and were restricted by professional archaeology and heritage management structures.

The interviews with members of local archaeology societies, a practice previously presumed to be a bottom up practice, also appears to be dominated by top down perspectives. Professional archaeologists are involved in these societies in many different ways. Often they are integrated within the membership but if not they also informally provide advice or are formally contracted to contribute skills and knowledge. Interviewees also desired to conduct research to professional standards and consequently appreciated recognition when they achieved this. Despite the potential for the practice of community archaeology to be driven entirely from the bottom up, as illustrated in Figure 4.4, this was not found to be the case throughout this PhD research project.

Within community archaeology the relationship between professional archaeologist, member of local archaeology society, volunteer and the general public is not clear. This relationship between participants is comparable to that proposed by Holmes (2003:253) for the users of museums (Figure 8.1). This model does not distinguish between levels of engagement with the museum and views the volunteer as a highly engaged visitor. This is directly relevant to the case study 4 where highly engaged volunteers from Dorset County Museum were brought together with Heritage at Risk volunteers, some of whom had very little experience (section 6.9).


Figure 8.1 Levels of museum engagement (Holmes 2003:253).

Not only do we know very little about the archaeological experience of participants in community archaeology but we also know very little about other elements of their background. This research has indicated that community archaeology is likely to be comprised of white individuals over the age of 55 however this has not been proven. It is also unknown if these demographics change according to the location of and type of community archaeology project. It is often claimed Community archaeology has been used to imply inclusivity however those who are being included and those who are being excluded are unknown.

## 8.2 Why

### 8.2.1 Site selection, place and identity

There is a strong association between the concept of community archaeology and the idea of place. Isherwood concluded that participation in community archaeology projects allows the participant 'to explore the nature of their attachment to place' through the development of a sense of belonging. The importance of place and the historic environment are also well known as powerful tools in the construction of identity through community archaeology (Smith and Waterton 2009; Belford 2011; Duffy 2014). Isherwood puts place as a central concept within his model because the community archaeology projects that he researched all had place as a 'distinguishing

feature' (Isherwood 2012:14). This was certainly the case for the Dig Moston project and its follow-ons (Murphy 2015; Nevell 2015; Thompson 2015) as well as many of the other projects in the literature (Chapter 4). Place was also seen as important by the attendees of the Prehistory in Portesham talk, where the focus on the local area was one of the main attractions (section 6.1). Despite this, the audience did not know the specific location of the Portesham Mirror discovery. This was the project they most wanted to contribute to but it was the parish and the wider place which was more important.

Place is also important to local archaeology societies. Although not documented in this research (to preserve anonymity) all of the society and group names include a place name. This is also evident in the names of the Jigsaw affiliated groups in Table 3.5. Some of these place names are parish based whilst others cover a much wider area. The majority of examples appear to be a fair reflection of the location of fieldwork however some names can also be misleading. The Dorset Diggers Community Archaeology Group sound as though they may have a county-wide remit but actually define their focus as West Dorset (DDCAG 2016a). It is also worthy of note that none of the Jigsaw groups include Cambridgeshire in their title. Of most importance in this regard are the Cambridge Antiquarian Society (section 3.4.3) who aim to 'provide access for local people to the local history, architecture and archaeology of Cambridgeshire' (Cambridge Antiquarian Society 2009). This is probably a reflection upon the development of the society (from a university society) but it could also be an indication that the current participants are University and City focused. The residents of the other districts in Cambridgeshire are served by societies who have a narrower geographic focus (i.e. parish or district). They are also less likely to identity with the city.

In contrast to its prominent use in local archaeology society names the importance of place was not raised within the interviews. Place or identity building did not appear to have been a deliberate or motivating factor in site selection. Accessibility rather than place or location was more important. Often this would result in sites that were located with close proximity to the homes of group members, but this was not always the case. In many instances the society did not necessarily have prior links to the site,

beyond contact with the landowner. The interviews also identified that some participants are members of multiple groups which must also result in them travelling significant distances for fieldwork.

There is another element to local archaeology societies that must be considered with regard to place, and this is the idea that, even if they do not have a connection to a place before conducting fieldwork, the participants will do afterwards. After all, they have created a new story about that place through their investigations and interpretation. These groups can claim strong ties or even some form of ownership to the place where they focus their research efforts. This is important for them to consider when they share these stories, particularly if they have, up until that point, excluded any other communities who may also feel ownership of or connections to that place.

The concept of 'local' normally indicates close proximity to a specific place. Local in Local Archaeology Society does not necessarily imply proximity to a pin-pointed, specific geographical point on the map. It may be much broader than this, and this is where community based archaeological field work contributes toward identity building. The scale of the place that identity is associated with is much broader than the boundary of the site, it may be a parish, region, county and one must also assume country. The association of place name with the identity of local archaeology societies is likely to be contributing to both individual and group identity building. The meaning of place within the practice of community archaeology can vary quite considerably depending upon the specific example and it is important that the affect this can have on volunteers and communities is considered.

The communication of discoveries to the wider community is important for local archaeology societies (section 7.9.5). This need to share their discovery is a form of pride and perhaps a sense of duty. Archaeology is seen as a public resource but by sharing their discoveries community groups are also contributing towards the wider community's sense of place and identity. This does not appear to be deliberate or planned, and they may not be aware of the implications. However, if community archaeology is conducted (as predicted in section 4.15) by a dominant but not fully

inclusive sector of the community a sense of identity is created for that group. This is then likely to be reinforcing the Authorised Heritage Discourse and continuing to exclude those who do not identify with it. This is in contradiction to the predominantly inclusive image of community archaeology portrayed in the literature.

### 8.2.2 A sense of purpose

Chapter 7 demonstrates that members of local archaeology societies, who can also be described as amateur archaeologists or volunteers, are motivated by a variety of altruistic and self-directed factors. This is not uncommon and has been identified in many different types of volunteering from citizen science (Hobbs and White 2012; Raddick et al. 2013), to ecological management (King and Lynch 1998), to health care and the emergency services (Carpenter and Myers 2010; Mundle et al. 2012), and arts and sport (D'Souza et al. 2011). The most important factor identified for members of local archaeology societies is a sense of purpose that they feel (7.4.6). Case Study 1 demonstrated this when the project at Portesham was selected because the participants wanted to contribute to a wider picture. It appears that a sense of purpose can be a motivational factor no matter the level of participation.

Sense of purpose has been directly linked to the well-being benefits of volunteering and there is extensive wider literature regarding motivation and volunteering (e.g. Hobbs and White 2012; Stukas et al. 2016). Much of the discussion has focused on the relationship between altruistic and self-directed motivations. Within museums studies two theoretical models of volunteer management can be identified (Holmes 2003). These are the economic model, where the volunteer is seen as an unpaid worker and the leisure model where the volunteer is seen as a highly engaged visitor. Approaches within the economic model focus upon rewarding volunteers, for example the advice given by Lord and Lord (2009):44: 'museums that utilise volunteers…should address them as workers who are not paid with wages but with other rewards- of individual development and of social recognition'. Within the UK, as museums have developed

professional methods of volunteer management, they have conformed to this model. This is also comparable to archaeologists who believe that community archaeology is important because it provides essential support and advocacy for the discipline.

The leisure model can represent a second perspective. It seeks to understand volunteers in the same way that museums seek to understand visitors. It tries to view volunteering from the volunteers' point of view, seeking to understand how volunteers benefit from their involvement in the museum. It is interested in their motivation and encourages volunteering from the bottom up.

This dichotomy is that which was discussed in relation to public archaeology in section 4.1. Although community archaeology may, on the surface and in the literature, appear to be part of the multiple perspective model, the practice, as identified by Matsuda and Okamura (2011:6) is about self-justification. Understanding the motivation of all participants in community archaeology from inexperienced volunteers to amateur archaeologists in local archaeology societies to professional archaeologists should be a central premise to any community archaeology project.

## 8.3 Archaeological Remains

As Isherwood (2012:15) described volunteers on community archaeology projects interact with a wide range of archaeological remains and use a wide variety of techniques. This has also been demonstrated throughout this thesis. The wide research potential of community archaeology was highlighted in section (4.4). This was expanded upon by the interview results. Local archaeology societies in Cambridgeshire and Dorset investigated more prehistoric, roman and medieval periods than post-medieval or modern periods. This goes against assumptions made that community archaeology focuses upon the recent past and highlights the dangers of using a limited definition of community archaeology and a limited dataset when drawing these conclusions.

This thesis also demonstrated that local archaeology societies are not always primarily motivated by a particular research topic or agenda, the same is true for other types of archaeological volunteers. Fieldwork sites are often the result of accessibility rather than targeted for the questions that they can answer. Therefore the trend in Dorset and Cambridgeshire for earlier periods, as opposed to recent history, might be the influence of the primarily rural context where accessibility to open, undisturbed landscapes, where the chance of discovering undisturbed early archaeology, is greater. Before any further theoretical insights can be passed greater data is required into the type of archaeology that volunteers prefer to engage with and their reasons for doing so.

## 8.4 Methods

### 8.4.1 Development of Research and Accessibility of Resources

At the outset it was made clear that the group who initiated Case Study three saw the project, and the author, as a way to access resources whilst they would act as guinea pigs for the PhD research. Unfortunately the structure for the archaeological research was not set out clearly. Despite starting out as collaboration, as the project progressed it became clear that the group were also looking to the author to provide leadership, knowledge and guidance (section 6.3). One of the dilemmas encountered by the project was that the site in question was a Scheduled Ancient Monument and therefore permission had to be requested from Historic England in order to conduct any below ground fieldwork. Unfortunately this was what the group had proposed and therefore, from the start, the project was limited by a protectionist system constructed by professional archaeologists. The key to unlocking access to the site was through official channels. The author, as a professional archaeologist, was seen as best placed

to judge whether it was worth applying, since they knew more about the system. This served to highlight the different resources and knowledge (which contribute towards the definition of a professional archaeologist), that the author had access to and which the volunteers did not. Although, it is unclear as to whether they saw this project as a deliberate way to access a site, the group certainly saw it as a way of getting access to other resources, (using students as labour force as well as coring equipment) despite offering certain things themselves (radiocarbon dating).

The project also revealed that a variety of methods of research were used by participants. One volunteer used internet searches and email communication with 'experts', one accessed the Historic Environment Record and the author used published resources. In this particular example the aim of the research was to provide additional background knowledge in order to help refine and answer the research questions because the site and main question were already selected. As section 7.3 demonstrated local archaeology societies often select research questions once the site has been chosen. Hedge and Nash also identified that only two thirds of groups set out research questions at the outset of their projects (Hedge and Nash 2016 :34).

Research questions and the concept of building upon prior knowledge are fundamental elements of the archaeological process. This is because archaeology, is

> *'the study of human history and prehistory through the excavation of sites and the analysis of artefacts and other physical remains' (Oxford English Dictionary 2016).*

By definition a study is

> *'1. The devotion of time and attention to gaining knowledge of an academic subject, especially by means of books*
>
> *2. A detailed investigation and analysis of a subject or situation…' (Oxford English Dictionary 2016)*

In order to conduct a study a knowledge base is required. This includes two components; knowledge of the pre-existing information about the subject and knowledge of the methods needed to conduct the study. An archaeological study,

particularly conducted through fieldwork, is often referred to as archaeological research, and indeed has been done so throughout this thesis.

The definition of research is:

> *'The systematic investigation into and study of materials and sources in order to establish facts and reach new conclusions' (Oxford English Dictionary 2016).*

The key word in this definition is systematic; research has to be planned to some extent. It builds upon pre-existing information known about the subject and therefore the researcher needs to be aware of what has been done before. Of course it can be research even if it only builds upon the knowledge that an individual has, rather the whole archaeological record. However, since volunteers are motivated by a sense of purpose it seems that greater satisfaction would be gained by greater contribution.

In comparison case studies two and three set out research aims from the start of the project, although these were adjusted. This undoubtedly was encouraged because the author, a professional and research-based archaeologist was involved. For example Case Study 1 was pitched through the asking of questions. It could also be argued that case study four may have been more successful if participants had been given specific questions of their own to investigate.

Local archaeology societies are comparable to development-funded archaeological projects in that specific research questions are secondary to the original purpose of the fieldwork. The location of developer-funded projects is reactionary (i.e. according to the development). Local archaeology societies also react to opportunities that become available to them and they research in a reflexive manner, in that their questions evolve over the course of fieldwork. They do not use a linear method but rather find something that is accessible and of interest and then look for questions it can answer.

### 8.4.2 Communicating research

As discussed above conducting archaeological research builds upon previous knowledge, but this has to be acquired through communication with archaeologists who have gone before. An ethical component of research is therefore to also communicate with those who will come after. The traditional method that professional archaeologists use for this communication is through published literature or the Historic Environment Record. Local archaeology societies appear to see this as important but do not always share results in the same manner traditionally used by professional archaeologists. Hedge and Nash identified that only 40% of community-based groups fed their research into the Historic Environment Record and that only 28% send it to the Archaeology Data Service. They also discovered that they were more likely to do this when supported by professional archaeologists (Hedge and Nash 2016:65). Despite this, groups without support do still communicate extensively through schools work, open days, websites etc. Hedge and Nash also identified that 'sharing information with local or specialist networks was considered more important than contributing to research resources' (2016: 65).

There are three obvious barriers as to why community groups do not publish or submit results to the HER without encouragement assuming that they do finish the research;

- The ability to access them, this includes lack of awareness about available resources.
- That they do not consider it to be worthy.

1: Historic Environment Records are, in theory, publically accessible. Many make the information they contain, to varying degrees, accessible online, however they are often not user friendly or well-advertised. This was noticed during case study 3 when, relatively experienced and published participants were previously unaware of how to access the archives. They also need staff who can respond; many counties no longer have manned HERs. Case study 4 also encountered this problem when it was discovered that the museum volunteers only work one day week and can therefore only provide limited access (section 6.9). Another barrier that might prevent community groups from submitting research is the format and language required.

Jigsaw provided training to overcome this barrier which seemed to have some positive affect (Jigsaw, 2011).

Despite the Open Access Movement much peer reviewed and published literature is still restricted to individuals outside of academia (this also includes many professional archaeologists). Some publications, including local journals are available in libraries and local archives. However, it has now become a societal norm to have vast amounts of data easily accessible for free, via the internet and it is likely that these traditional, physical resources are overlooked. Peter Laurie, in case study 3, used the internet as his main research tool (section 6.3.3). He considered the evidence and passed judgement on the validity of the websites he read and as a result emailed somebody that he considered to be 'an expert' for further information. In this particular example this research method was also supported by other methods, but these were conducted by the people who had access to the HER, libraries or online journals. These are all professional structures.

2. Some professional archaeologists do not value the research that local archaeology societies conduct (interviews section 7.2.4). This lack of interest or value may have led the community groups to believe that their work is not of interest to professional archaeologists, which is why they do not submit it to the HERs. It also serves to demonstrate that they do not fully understand the purpose of the HER. This is a problem when much of their research is of high quality, interest and relevance (section 4.6, section 7.4.2). This situation also appears to be an oxymoron when many members of societies are motivated by the idea that they can contribute towards the bigger picture. It does however explain why so many groups strive to meet professional standards and are keen for professional approval.

There is also another reason why local archaeology societies may not engage with HERs or published literature and this is likely to underlie both issues discussed above. This is precisely because they are professional structures. The barriers that professional archaeology constructed as an essential part of its development have succeeded in preventing access by non-professionals (section 2.9). The language created, the knowledge that these resources exist, and the fact the local societies

might not believe their research to be of interest, prevents them from participating fully in the sector.

Professional archaeologists, when involved with a community archaeology project can breach these problems, either through knowledge, resources and encouragement (or they can have a combined effect because they advise the group to include them when planning projects and costing funding applications). This was identified in the interviews when discussing events such as the Cambridge Antiquarian Conference (section 3.4.3). The third case study also tried to breach this divide by introducing volunteers to the archives. However not many have taken this knowledge further. This has been interpreted as because they are not interested in this depth of participation (section 6.9).

### 8.4.3 Participation and engagement

The case studies and interviews demonstrate multiple levels of engagement with the archaeological record by volunteers. In order to try to include the community at every level the residents of Portesham were consulted as part of the case study selection. This resulted in a project whose purpose was to finish a survey that professional archaeologists had already started (section 6.2). The reasons behind this were two fold; firstly they felt that the site had an interesting story but that they also wanted to contribute towards the bigger picture. These two issues demonstrate that this particular community did not want to be active collaborators and were happy to accept an asymmetrical relationship, as described by Moshenska (2008). The Portesham Mirror project resonated because community interests aligned with a professional archaeologist's interests. The geophysical survey itself helped to explore this relationship further. The community required a project that had to practically fit within their lifestyles. They wanted it be on a weekend, and even then many people were too busy to attend. Some perceived it as too physically demanding and therefore did not want to participate. It also became apparent that those who were able to

participate had not been inspired to conduct their own research. Some did express a desire to continue involvement in fieldwork but wanted further guidance and support and limited responsibility. This may have been influenced by the particular skills and equipment required for geophysical survey but demonstrates that they identified and respected the skill level required. Some turned towards a local archaeology society to provide this and the development of LoCATE evolved as a way of providing the specialist equipment (6.5.2). This became a loose form of collaborative community archaeology.

The second case study explored collaborative practice further; the participants were directly involved in the development of the project. They provided the research question; the project aimed to date the extant field systems in the Valley of Stones as outlined in section 6.3. This meant that this case study was more successful than the first at challenging traditional archaeological questions. It created a collaborative scenario where both the community and the researcher could contribute different perspectives.

Communities do not always want intense involvement in a project. In the case of the geophysical survey in Portesham they wanted to contribute to something and to learn new skills but without this requiring significant involvement. Despite the intention at the outside for the case studies to be collaborative and to not be solely driven by the archaeological profession, the participants actually preferred this option.

The fourth case study project was an attempt to encourage greater engagement of volunteers by providing access to archival resources. As discussed previously this project involved volunteers at a variety of different engagement levels, from the museum volunteers who manage the archives and can be seen as a cornerstone of the archaeological profession in Dorset, to members of a local archaeology society and to volunteers whose only prior experience of archaeological volunteering was the At Risk project.

Volunteers in community archaeology interact with archaeological practice at a variety of different levels, from local archaeology societies where they are managing their own field projects to surveying prehistoric monuments under high levels of training and

guidance. They donate their time in a variety of ways and for an equally varied variety of reasons. The methods of engagement reflect circumstance and motivation. The outputs they produce will also vary, reflecting this variety.

## 8.5 Model of best practice

This chapter has drawn together an understanding of the practice of community archaeology based upon theoretical discussion, case study examples which explored methods of practice based upon theoretical models, and practice already conducted by local archaeology societies in Cambridgeshire and Dorset. Four themes have been identified as important underlying factors;

- Who are the participants?
- Why they are participating/ what is their motivation?
- The archaeological remains they are interacting with?
- How they are participating (methods).

Firstly it is important to understand the community that are participating. Taking the background of every participant into consideration will help to reinforce the concept that everyone is equally involved. It may also serve to highlight inequalities or sections of society that may not be included, whether inadvertently or not. It is also extremely important to consider connections between individual participants and between participants and the archaeological record.

Once the participants are known the second question is one of motivation. Why is everyone participating? Is it because they want to meet new friends? Is it because they need to demonstrate impact to tick boxes on a funding application? Is it because they require help? Every participant will have a different motivation and this is likely to be intimately linked to their background. If these motivations are evident other participants can adjust their own expectations in response. For example if the lead

archaeologist wants to provide 30 minute tasters sessions in excavation but one of the volunteers has several years' worth of experience excavating on an adjunct site and wants to share their prior knowledge they are likely to feel frustrated when this is not listened to. If the lead archaeologist is aware the volunteer has knowledge to share the research may be enriched by it. Not every project will be able to fulfil every desire but being honest about this will help to prevent disappointment or misappropriation. This requires communication between all participants.

The nature of the archaeology will influence the type of community archaeology conducted; it will affect practical elements as well influencing how participants achieve their aim. Working alone within an archive, for example, is likely to provide a different set of wellbeing outcomes to a social outdoors project. The methods by which the participants engage will also be crucial to its success. The level of participation and type of engagement that each individual achieves will depend upon their background and their motivations. Communications within the project will also greatly affect these outcomes.

These four areas are not a strict guide to be followed step by step; answers to one question are likely to alter the answers to another. One project may start with an archaeological problem and find participants whom relate to it. They then may have to adjust the methods to encompass the level of engagement by the participants. Another may start with a community and have to identify motivation, an archaeological project and methods to ensure that this community are satisfied. This model also does not claim to include every question that should be considered when conducting community archaeology. These should be seen as a starting point, it is likely that many will arise depending on the answers to these.

This model also avoids judging community archaeology projects or events; but rather demonstrates that it is more important that each project is placed into context. It also hopes that by being honest about the answers to these questions community archaeology projects will ensure that communities are not being misled or misrepresented, participants are satisfied, and archaeology receives maximum benefit.


**Figure 8.2: A model of best practice for community archaeology**

## 8.6 A word of caution

As has been highlighted recently by Richardson and Almansa-Sánchez (2015) anybody undertaking public or community archaeology needs to conduct their work in an ethical manner. This model is designed to help with this however every element needs to be considered from an ethical perspective before the whole practice can be. It is not the place of this thesis to outline every ethical possibility and it is essential that further advice is taken for many of these. For example gathering demographic data needs to be conducted very carefully. Questions need to be thoughtful and the answers kept securely and only used appropriately. Most organisations, universities, local authorities, funding institutions etc have useful pro-forma that can be utilised for this data collection.

# Chapter 9 Summary and Conclusion

This PhD research has examined the practice of community archaeology in the UK through interview and case study methodologies. From these results it has been able to provide a model of best practice. This will act in a two-fold manner; it will provide future guidance for practitioners and provide a method by which evolving practice can be critically considered.

The thesis started by demonstrating that the development of community archaeology was interlinked with the development of professional archaeology and that this relationship has dominated theoretical discussion as well as the practice of community archaeology. The research explored the published literature and established that there have been many different definitions of the subject and that these have caused or been caused by differences in practice and differences in relations between volunteer and professional archaeologists. Using Isherwood's model, which viewed community archaeology as a set of relations, this research was able to define community archaeology as a '**practice which involves the participation of volunteers in archaeological activities'.** This can take a range of formats and can have significant impact upon participants, upon archaeological remains and upon professional archaeologists. This can be positive, but also has the potential to be negative if not conducted in a considered manner.

This research also established that, beyond defining the subject, limited critical consideration has been given as to practice and methods of community archaeology. Only rarely have projects published their particular methodological approach to community archaeology. Without understanding both successful and unsuccessful projects it is hard for the sector to replicate success and avoid negative impact.

A key article on the subject (Tully 2009) proposed that community archaeology was a method of collaborative archaeological practice. This method was trialled as part of this PhD research through case study projects (Chapter 6). These were unsuccessful in creating a fully collaborative archaeological research process. This was predominately

because the community did not desire high level participation in archaeological projects.

This thesis also used an interview method to investigate Local Archaeology Societies; a form of community archaeology involving a high level of volunteer participation (Chapter 7). It was discovered that these societies, despite appearing as a form of 'bottom up' community archaeology, generally follow professional archaeological practice and often conform to the authorised heritage discourse. Members of local archaeology societies desire to conduct archaeological research to a 'professional' standard; they use professional methods and consult with professional archaeologists who may also be members of the society.

This research identified that many professional archaeologists view community archaeology as per the definition above, incorporating a wide variety of archaeological volunteering. Professional archaeologists also believe that this involvement of volunteers benefits the profession as well as the archaeological resource. Community archaeology is a practice that many claim is vital, not only to the future of the archaeological profession, but also to the physical archaeological remains.

Chapter 8 presented a model of best practice for community archaeology. The model is based upon four components which are vital to the practice of community archaeology; **the participants, their motivations, the archaeological remains involved and the methods used.** These components encourage practitioners of community archaeology to consider every element of their activities and will encourage transparency. If all components (and their implications) are considered honestly, the likelihood of all participants achieving their aims and expectations is increased.

## 9.1 Moving community archaeology forward

The research has uncovered a significant amount about community archaeology in the UK but it has also revealed a series of areas about which little is known. Despite

widespread practice, which the profession believes to be valuable, only a few projects are contributing to our theoretical understanding of community archaeology. This lack of data is rooted within, but has also contributed to, a lack of critical thinking about community archaeology and is potentially problematic for the archaeological profession.

This thesis focused upon Dorset and Cambridgeshire but the questions it raises and the model of best practice are applicable to community archaeology across the UK. However, before promoted as such, it is imperative that the model is tested by a greater range of community archaeology case studies than this thesis was able to incorporate. Urban and other geographical regions are particularly important, as well and other types of participation, as they may provide different challenges.

By acting as stimuli for evaluation, as well as providing guidance, the model of best practice will provide a framework through which to start gather data for comparative analysis. The four components highlight areas for future research. The challenge for community archaeology is to acknowledge and explore these areas and to use results to critically appraise practice. This can then be fed back into the literature to inform future guidance as community archaeology continues to develop and change.

In particular the model will help to gather data on:

- The participants of community archaeology.

These are one of the most important elements of community archaeology in the UK. The practice of community archaeology can promote inclusivity but also has the potential to reinforce differences and divide communities. Very little is currently known about who partakes in community archaeology, although it is suspected that it may be a limited, but dominant section of society. It is vital that further research is conducted so that we can understand whose stories are being told. This also underpins the following three components.

Professional archaeology relies upon support from the public and often claims that community archaeology is a method to provide this. Detailed research into public perceptions of archaeology, both before and after involvement in community

archaeology, is required before this claim can be verified. The pilot survey in section 6.2.4 provided an initial exploration into this subject but much greater research is needed in order to gauge where greater understanding would be most beneficial.

- Motivations

Community archaeology is conducted for a range of reasons. All participants, from professional archaeologists, to volunteers, are motivated by specific potential outcomes. It is essential that these motivations are understood, not only to help develop projects, but to understand the whole practice of community archaeology. The motivation of participants may provide illumination into the wider impact of community archaeology.

There are two types of motivation that this thesis has touched upon which are of particular importance and require further investigation. Firstly, that behind professional archaeologist's involvement in community archaeology; expected outputs do not always materialise and therefore claims that community archaeology benefits the profession may be unfounded. Secondly, the archaeological profession should consider, not only why local societies conduct archaeological research but, why they do not necessarily see the value of it for the wider archaeological community.

- Archaeological remains

There have been many assumptions based upon research conducted by participants in community archaeology but subjects of interest are not well documented. Until these are better understood the premise that community archaeology enriches our understanding of the past may be untrue, particularly if the potential lack of diversity is taken into consideration. By better understanding the impact that community archaeology can have on archaeological remains the archaeological profession may be able to listen to these contributions and enrich our understanding of the past by incorporating a heritage that is beyond the Authorised Heritage Discourse.

This thesis has touched upon pre-fieldwork processes and it is clear that research conducted through community archaeology, and in particular local archaeology societies, may have aims and objectives that are different to other types of

archaeological research. Post-fieldwork processes are a very important element of community archaeology, which this research has not had the capacity to consider. It can only be through the distribution of results that the research conducted by local archaeology societies can be considered by the wider archaeological profession. Understanding how and why both pre- and post- fieldwork processes occur is also vital in creating a comprehensive understanding of community archaeology.

- Methods of archaeological research and methods of community archaeology

Local archaeology societies, despite being something seen by the archaeological profession as inherent and important, are a poorly understood phenomena. They have a lot to contribute to our understanding of the past, not only through the work they do, but the types of questions they ask. The archaeological profession would benefit by investigating the subjects that local archaeology societies are interested in.

This thesis has provided a starting place for understanding the practice of community archaeology. It has also provided a model to guide and inform future practice. If this framework is utilised it will also provide data which can be used to continually reflect upon the practice of community archaeology and further our understanding of it. This will ensure the best outcomes for all components of community archaeology; archaeological professionals, volunteers and the archaeological remains.

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# Appendix 1 Interview guides

## Interview guide: Interviews with members of local archaeology societies

I consider community archaeology to be a spectrum of participation in archaeological research, from open days through to local societies. The main criteria is that the majority of people do not get paid for their time.

Can you please explain where your group fits into this spectrum?

Please can you explain to me the history of your group?

**Standards**. Do you work to a code of conduct or within any industry guidelines? Do you consider these to be necessary?

How do you feel about other groups?

Archaeological research frameworks?

**Training**

How have you come about your experience? Have you ever had any formal training?

Do you feel that the profession is prepared to deal with you? Do you think that they need any further training?

How do you feel about the various systems that are in place for monitoring standards for archaeologists and providing support e.g. IfA, CBA,

Where else do you go for support/advice?

**Roles**

Have you ever been accused of being a threat to professional archaeological practice?

Would you consider the idea that you provide an alternative training system a threat?

**Communication**

How do you communicate with other archaeologists?

Do you feel informed about other research that is going on in your field of interest?

How do you communicate with the public?

**Sustainability and legacy**

What do you think is most important to leave as legacy from your work?

How long have you been going for?

How have you kept interest?

What are you plans for post excavation?

**Value**

Do you think archaeology is valued differently because of community archaeology?

**Public perceptions**

Do you think community archaeology impacts upon public perceptions of archaeology?

**Interview guide for interviews with professional archaeologists**

- What do you think community archaeology is?
- Are you directly involved, as a volunteer, in any local archaeology societies?
- Can you please explain how you interact with local archaeology societies through your job?
- How you think local archaeology societies impact upon the profession?

**Standards**:

- What good and bad practice have you experienced from community groups?
- Have you been involved in training community archaeology groups?
- Do you feel adequately prepared to deal with members of the public and amateur or volunteer archaeologists?
- What do you feel about community or public 'liaison' archaeologists?

**Roles**

- Do you think community archaeology threatens professional archaeology? How do you feel about the idea that volunteering within community archaeology is sometimes the way to get a job, either through experience or contacts?
- Do you think that the tradition of local archaeology societies should be allowed to continue in the way that it currently is?
- Do you have any recommendations for change?

**Communication**

- Do you feel informed about new research that community archaeology is doing in your area?
- How do you think that they communicate and interact with the profession?
- What messages do you think that they may be giving to the public?

**Sustainability and legacy**

- Do you feel that sustainability is a concern within community archaeology? Post excavation, short term projects,

**Value of Archaeology**

Is archaeology valued differently because of community archaeology?

**Public perceptions**

Do you think that community archaeology impacts upon public perceptions of the profession?

## Appendix 2 Glossary and survey codes

| | |
|---|---|
| Amateur archaeologist | Someone who conducts archaeological research for love, not money. This is the preferred term of many members of local archaeology societies |
| Archaeological Volunteer | Somebody who is actively involved in producing archaeological outcomes but is not paid for their input |
| Local Archaeology Society | A group of amateur archaeologists who conduct research within a relatively small geographical focus area. |
| Non-professional Archaeologist | Someone who not paid to conduct archaeological work |
| Professional Archaeologist | An individual who is paid to conduct archaeological work |

| | |
|---|---|
| ACA | Access Cambridge Archaeology |
| AHD | Authorised Heritage Discourse |
| AHRC | Arts and Humanities Research Council |
| CAS | Cambridge Antiquarian Society |
| CBA | Council for British Archaeology |
| CIfA | Chartered Institute for Archaeologists |
| DAONB | Dorset Area for Outstanding Natural Beauty |
| DDCAG | Dorset Diggers Community Archaeology Group |
| DNHAS | Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society |
| FLO | Finds Liaison Officer |
| HER | Historic Environment Record |
| HEFA | Higher Education Field Academy |
| LAS | Local Archaeology Society |
| PAS | Portable Antiquities Scheme |
| SAM | Scheduled Ancient Monument |
| SCHARP | Scottish Coastal Heritage at Risk |
| SDR | South Dorset Ridgeway |

| | |
|---|---|
| SDRLP | South Dorset Ridgeway Landscape Partnership |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation |
| WAFA | Wessex Archaeology Field Academy |

## Survey Codes

| | |
|---|---|
| IC | Interview with member of local archaeology society |
| IP | Interview with professional archaeologist |
| PiP | Case study 1: Perceptions of Prehistory<br>Surveys 1-19 were collected in the 22nd January. 21-38 on the 29th and 39-52 on the 5th of February. (Case Study 1) |
| GSP | Case Study 2: Surveys with participants in Geophysical Survey in Portesham |
| AE | Case Study 4: Surveys with participants in Archives event |

**Participants of Case Study 3:**

PL- Peter Laurie

BL- Barbara Laurie

FR- Francesca Radcliffe

NS- Nick Sturrock

SW- Robin Walls

JS- John Surowiec