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research

Gemma Tully*

Skills, ethics and approaches: an introduction to 'the basics' of participatory archaeology

This paper aims to outline 'the basics' of participatory archaeology. Covering its importance to the discipline, personal skills, ethics and key methodologies, the work is not designed to be an in-depth study but to provide guidance for those who are new to the approach. Part one of the paper focuses on the background and 'how-to' aspects. The second part seeks to reflect the wide-ranging potential of participation in archaeology and cultural heritage through case studies from two very different cultural contexts, Sudan and Europe.
Keywords: stakeholders, collaboration, knowledge exchange, heritage

Questo articolo delinea i principi basilari della archeologia partecipata. Trattando della sua importanza all'interno della disciplina, delle abilità personali di coloro che la praticano, dell'etica e delle metodologie fondamentali, questo lavoro vuol essere una introduzione per coloro che intendono approcciarsi alla materia. La prima parte dell'articolo si focalizza sul background *e su consigli pratici. La seconda parte riflette sulle molteplici potenzialità della partecipazione in archeologia e nel patrimonio culturale attraverso casi studio da due differenti contesti culturali, Sudan e Europa.*
***Parole chiave**: stakeholders, collaborazione, scambio di conoscenza, patrimonio*

1. Part one: introduction

'Participation' can be most simply defined as the process through which stakeholders choose to engage in discussions (Reed 2008, p. 2418). Emerging from theoretical debate on the nature of critical inquiry (e.g. Dewey 1938; Read 1958), public involvement has been an important facet of scientific and arts-based research for over seventy years (Facer, Dunleavy 2018, pp. 4-8). 'Participatory archaeology' sits within this process and is part of a movement across a spectrum of disciplines connected to culture and heritage. Assuming multiple names – community, public, collaborative or participatory archaeology (Thomas 2017, p. 15) – engagement can take place in any location from museums and excavation sites to classrooms, community spaces and online. At the heart

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of the approach is the motivation to diversify interactions, perspectives and the social relevance of the discipline (e.g. Moser *et al.* 2002). This ethos is linked to social and philosophical shifts since the end of World War II which have challenged the foundations of previously dominant Western cultural hierarchies closely tied to the nationalist and colonialist power structures of the 18th and 19th centuries (e.g. Said 1978). Archaeology and museums as we know them were formalised during this time. These institutions provided 'evidence' for 'singular visions' of the past which employed 'science', based on 'arti-*facts*', to rationalise the conquest and repression of other (largely non-European) peoples (Anderson 1983; Díaz-Andreu, Champion 1996; Díaz-Andreu 2007). Late 20th and current 21st century Western discourse, which is grounded in relative concepts of history and identity, instead acknowledges that archaeology and its associated disciplines 'construct the past' (Moser 2003, p. 3). As such, the participatory approach sits within the wider post-processual turn in archaeology, which also includes feminist and indigenous methodologies (Hodder 1992, pp. 73-80; Rigney 1999; Johnson 2010, pp. 102-121). Promoting dialogue and self-reflection, both by and between different stakeholders, to address past imbalances in the representation of other times, cultures and demographics, participation (if successful) aims to enhance the value of communication and research. Within this broad remit, traditional archaeological interpretation (i.e. 'expert views' based on established techniques such as excavation, classification and survey) is just one of many 'ways of seeing' the past. Participation therefore takes many forms. For example, top-down learning-centred archaeological outreach with schools, whether on site, in the classroom or in museums, sits alongside archaeologists working co-operatively with diverse publics during fieldwork, laboratory or archival research. The way archaeology is represented in popular culture, is carried out on ancestral land or by contract units within public spaces can also be part of top-down, bottom-up or more horizontal participatory processes. Within this model, no one approach to participation is necessarily 'better' than another. Each element fulfils a different societal need which, when the methods are taken as a whole, bridge multiple levels of 'contact between archaeology and the wider world' (Moshenska 2017, p. 3).

It is important to emphasise at this point that many of the above interactions with archaeological practice originated with, and continue to be driven by, diverse publics themselves. As Silverman and Ruggles state "Heritage is by no means a neutral category of self-definition, nor an inherently positive thing: it is a concept that can promote self-knowledge, facilitate communication and learning, and guide the stewardship of the present culture and its historic past. But it can also be a tool for oppres-

sion" (2007, p. 3). Thus, numerous early 'community archaeology' projects, as they were most commonly termed, in Australia and North America were brought about by human rights movements and archaeologists' responses to the poor practice they observed around them. In many cases, lack of engagement had led to legal challenges and/or social disputes from indigenous groups regarding the treatment of ancestral places, human remains, associated material culture and intangible heritage practices (Zimmerman 1995; Field *et al.* 2000; McDavid 2002; Singleton, Orser 2003). By collaborating outside the 'normal' boundaries of the discipline, archaeology and heritage disciplines can negotiate these potential dangers/conflicts by sharing multiple 'visions' of the past and compiling a cumulative form of knowledge that is open to change. While good intentions are not enough to erase power imbalances fully (La Salle 2010), collaboration can at least begin to address inequalities and, over time, embrace new research methods (e.g. Waterton, Watson 2011; Tully, Ridges 2016).

At the other end of the participatory spectrum in terms of public impetus are less politically charged actions from 'less-threatened' interest groups. In these contexts, a focus on 'history from below' has been growing in the west since the late 18th century (Friere 2014; Myers, Grosvenor 2018, pp. 13-24). Manifesting in interest in 'ordinary' family genealogies, folklore and working-class narratives (i.e. popular/public histories, see Hobsbawn 1981; Kean, Martin 203), this developed in conjunction with societal factors such as greater leisure time and disposable income. More recently, community funding opportunities and data sharing technologies have furthered these trends within broader late 20th century movements such as 'co-creation' in business innovation (Prahalad, Ramaswamy 2004; Bason 2010), 'co-design' in urban planning (Zamenopoulos, Alexiou 2018), participatory action research (PAR e.g. Argyris, Schon 1991) active learning, lifelong learning and citizen science (e.g. Delors 1996; Jarvis 2004; Riesch, Potter 2014). As a result, learning institutions, individuals and other stakeholders have been empowered to establish independent initiatives or to seek out partnerships with archaeologists/heritage professionals in the pursuit of their own projects. Connected to this demand, organisations that were more traditionally seen as a focus for archaeological research (with some commitment to public engagement to a greater or lesser extent) – museums, excavation units, universities and archives – are having to reassess their position and place participation and new approaches to problem solving (Newell, Simon 1972) towards the forefront of their roles (Anderson 2012).

The outcome of this rebalancing is a diverse participatory approach with the ability to explore everything from the deep past to modern is-

sues of identity and landscape management. Flexibility is therefore central. This means that participation cannot be reduced to a single set of protocols but a range of methods that are connected by the shared concerns of reflexivity, agency, power, empowerment, knowledge exchange, innovation and sustainability.

While there are of course concerns surrounding the 'truthfulness' of collaborative methodologies (e.g. Pyburn 2007; La Salle 2010), participatory archaeology therefore has the potential to lead to multiple outcomes:

- events and resources (physical/virtual) – excavation, research, annual festivals, films, books, management plans, websites, catalogues, displays, site signage, learning programmes, art installations, performances, public reports, academic papers, etc.;
- changes in policy/law, from an international to a local scale, e.g. NAGPRA[1];
- changes in behaviour – new management systems/groups, reduced threats to sites, recognition of intangible heritage;
- changing perceptions – addressing stereotypes/misconceptions of archaeology, places and people;
- new economic opportunities – heritage tourism, craft/souvenir production and marketing.

All these elements are connected to knowledge exchange in some form. Whether multi- or uni-directional, the approach can lead to the democratisation of decision-making, innovation and sustainability which enhance the relevance of places/issues under scrutiny (Zamenopoulos, Alexiou 2018, p. 25). However, it must be kept in mind that the very act of sharing experiences, ideas, data and new tools/processes can also lead to exclusion. Thus, depending on the specific socio-politics and aims of a project, the full range of outcomes need to be carefully negotiated.

Participatory approaches also have personal/individual benefits, both to archaeologists and other stakeholders:

- improving job prospects (for archaeologists this is particularly relevant across academia, fieldwork, museum and heritage roles);
- offering a route to gain funding (enabling archaeologists and others to demonstrate wider social impact);
- networking, learning and life experience.

While the benefits can be significant, working collaboratively is also wrought with difficulties. This is mainly due to the fact that every project is different due to a number of factors:

[1] For a good example of policy change through participatory methods outside of archaeology see *Salamander Trust* 2017.

- project aims (and the wide range of methods needed to meet them);
- legislation;
- community/contextual differences (social, cultural, demographic), which may change over the course of collaboration;
- team dynamics / changes to core partners and participants;
- time;
- funding;
- sustainability (what happens when a project ends?).
- the difficulty of measuring and up-scaling 'impact' – i.e. can you actively measure changes in perceptions/behaviour which translate into actions that better promote and protect the needs of contemporary communities and their associated assets? (e.g. Waterton, Watson 2011, pp. 1-11; Dearden *et al.* 2014; Halpern 2017);
- 101 other things beyond your control that you may not be able to plan for.

Thus, before embarking on any participatory work numerous elements need to be considered. The starting points are personal skills, ethical considerations and evaluation/data capture. These will be set out before an exploration of participatory practice in two very different case studies: Mograt Island (Sudan) and the REFIT Project (an international partnership between England, France and Spain). The examples aim to provide guidance for those interested in building partnerships in their own archaeological work and highlight the value of participation in diverse social, geographical, political and cultural contexts.

1.1. What skills do I need?

Universities have been slow to incorporate community/participatory archaeology into curricula (Rocks-MacQueen 2012, pp. 119-20; Sutcliffe 2014). Even though academics and (to an extent) commercial archaeologists are being pushed to work across disciplines to demonstrate their wider 'impact', these skills do not appear to be filtering through to graduates. This is in part due to long-established traditions of material- (bone, lithics, ceramics, metallurgy) and era/region-based (the ancient Near East, Bronze Age Europe, Roman Archaeology etc.) teaching and study in archaeology and heritage disciplines (Trigger 2006). Personal experience suggests this problem is compounded by a lack of confidence from staff – even those with collaborative/engagement experience – who continue to compartmentalise themselves and their work, e.g. 'I'm an animal bone person'.

Detailed research into archaeologists' perceptions of public engagement and participation is rare (e.g. Zimmer *et al.* 1995). In 2013 a national survey of UK archaeologists working in the commercial sector re-

vealed a general sense of apathy towards public engagement and suggested the majority view the approach as a 'non-archaeological' skill (Orange 2013, pp. 44-45). The current malaise in commercial archaeology is understandable considering the clash between public and market delivery models, which mean competitive tendering, short-termism and client confidentiality present challenges for delivering worthwhile collaborations (Orange 2013, p. 42). However, as around 90% of archaeological engagement work is carried out by commercial units in the UK (Fulford 2011, p. 33), perceptions change and new methods of training that will convince those in the sector of the value of engagement are vital.

Academics face similar problems in terms of funding and sustainability. This can lead the public-facing aspects of research to be seen as optional 'add-ons' or become a simple box-ticking exercise[2]. It is therefore unsurprising that recent studies from the UK, America and Italy show that while engagement/participation with archaeology has increased considerably over the last half-century (Feder 1995; Bonacchi 2014), it has not resulted in significantly greater public understanding of the discipline or its wider benefits to society (Moshenska 2017b; Tully, Allen 2018, p. 4). This does not mean we should abandon the approach, however, as the potential benefits are clear. Nevertheless, those who champion participatory archaeology (myself included) need to do more to ensure the 'participative reality' resonates more clearly with archaeologists and the public.

Before taking a closer look at the methods for participatory archaeology, the key personal skills needed to carry out successful work will be addressed. Whether building collaboration from scratch with diverse partners or assisting with one element of an engagement event, facilitation is key. Throughout a project, roles can also change as different needs and types of expertise come into play. Zamenopoulos and Alexiou (2018, pp. 13-26) give good examples of this in relation to collaboration in co-design, and show how this fluidity of roles helps sustain outputs beyond project timelines. It is therefore essential that participatory archaeology involves the right 'messengers' (McManamon 2000, pp. 5-20). Thus, in addition to having a good foundation in the subject area and aims of any collaborative work, it is helpful if these messengers are:

- open, friendly and effective communicators;
- adaptable;
- good listeners, able to accept varied opinions;
- efficient record keepers and evaluators;
- team workers;

[2] E.g. Rocks-MacQueen 2012. This research relates to government, academic and private sector archaeologists in New Mexico, USA.

- creative thinkers;
- problem solvers;
- negotiators/mediators.

Undoubtedly, some people naturally possess more of these qualities than others. Nonetheless, these skills can also be learned and honed. Until all archaeological degrees include theses aspects, individuals may need to take the initiative and attend training courses in areas such as conflict management and workshop facilitation as these incorporate most of the above[3]. A grounding in such approaches, and consciousness of key personal qualities, can make a huge difference in enabling facilitators to provide support without dominating outcomes in diverse participatory scenarios.

In addition to the personal skills listed above, it is also vital at the beginning of any participatory process, no matter how seemingly straightforward, to research the external factors which may govern how you can proceed. Whether working at home or in another country, key questions to ask include:

- Are there any laws regarding what you can and cannot do when working with other participants/stakeholders and have you completed all the necessary paperwork? This includes governmental laws (national, regional, local) and any necessary access/security clearance, but also needs to consider cultural laws/codes of conduct, which may be more difficult to uncover. The latter may involve prior anthropological and/or community-based research which should be built into project schedules.
- Are there any international laws and conventions that might also apply to your work, e.g. the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the European Landscape Convention (Council of Europe 2000), the UNESCO World Heritage Convention (1972, including considerations for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage 2003)? If you are complying with national law, it is likely your work will also cover aspects of many international conventions. However, a brief audit of international best practice can also be very useful. As other participatory projects have shown, engaging with and promoting the participatory aspects of such international standards can in fact become a key research output in terms of showing the wider relevance of your work (e.g. Civantos, Bonet-García 2015; Kusmanoff *et al.* 2016).
- What are the ethical procedures, data protection, health and safety regulations and potential socio-cultural implications connected to your

[3] Private organisations and universities often offer these sorts of additional courses to staff (and sometimes students) as these skills are recognised as important to a spectrum of research interests. See e.g. https://www.fasttrackimpact.com/about.

work? These elements can vary greatly by country/organisation and need to include both your own country/organisation's standards as well as those of your partner organisation(s)/nations/communities. Work in this area will cover issues ranging from who benefits from participation, through to questions of audience, data anonymisation and storage, informed consent and image permissions. Some useful resources in this area include SAA 1996; Lynott, Wylie 2000; Lynott 2003; Vitelli, Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006; *Target Consortium* 2015, and European Commission n.d.

These elements may seem daunting but are in fact relatively straightforward and incredibly useful as they encourage reflection on the real purpose and value of any participatory process. In addition, an ethical and legal foundation can help flag up issues from essential paperwork to potential risks and conflicts of interest, allowing you and your partners to start projects from the best possible position. It is important that these laws and procedures are regularly reviewed (on a yearly basis or more regularly if political/socio-cultural factors shift) as these elements, like communities themselves, can change.

You can also prepare by informing yourself of the different methodologies that may be needed. These are wide-ranging and can include not only broad overviews of 'how to' develop collaborative archaeology projects (e.g. Moser *et al.* 2002; Tully 2007) but also co-creation and data capture methods across business, art, science and design (e.g. Argyris, Schon 1991; Kretzmann *et al.* 2005; Pool 2018; Zamenopoulos, Alexiou 2018). More specific elements such as techniques for object handling (e.g. Chatterjee 2008), stakeholder network evaluation/actor network theory (e.g. Latuour 2005; Prell *et al.* 2009), perceptions mapping (e.g. Duxbury *et al.* 2015), survey construction (e.g. Peterson 2000) and interview techniques (e.g. Boyce, Neal 2006) can also be helpful in the early stages to consider a wide range of engagement tools. For these reasons it is well worth consulting work from similar projects, as well as approaching those involved in public engagement in other disciplines, in order to diversify your reading and preparation.

Equally important is the design of methods to measure the impact of collaborative work and to share challenges; this is less clear-cut which may, in part, explain why participation is not yet 'standard' archaeological practice (Bonacchi 2018, pp. 35-36). There are many case studies and models from archaeology and beyond that provide useful starting points (e.g. Dearden *et al.* 2014; Delgado Anés 2017; Jones 2017; Halperin 2017), but as yet no unified evaluation method exists (see however Tully *et al.* in preparation). Again, this is perhaps due to the diversity of participatory projects and their outputs, which makes it difficult to pin down

set procedures. In addition, the reluctance of practitioners to outline challenges and failures may also hinder growth. However, once you and your partners are clear on your aims, you can begin to build in quantitative and qualitative data capture methods. These should include, where possible, a photographic record and will most likely derive from aspects of the engagement methodologies you have researched (as above). Evaluation is likely to involve statistical, observational and text-based analysis and should take place during the formative, durative and summative stages of participation (Clarke 1999). Depending on a project's aims, these steps might be integral to shaping tangible outputs and could chart aspects at various levels from the highly personal (e.g. well-being) to the national/international (policy change). Evaluation can therefore include the documentation of some or all of the following as relevant:

- perceptions change (using techniques such as mind maps, interviews, survey, media coverage, following policy development and academic/disciplinary change);
- use of resources/facilities (measured through elements such as user engagement with training programmes, exhibition numbers, use monitoring of new resources, 'dwell time', website hits and comments);
- changes in behaviour (measured through site/environmental conditions change e.g. reduced looting, littering, graffiti etc., formation of new stakeholder networks and relationships, records of conflict resolution and new initiatives e.g. community stewardship);
- economic change (measured by changing sales/production/tourist visits, creation of jobs, new funding opportunities);
- social and personal change (measured through elements such as well-being indices, attainment, employment rates etc.) (see Tully *et al.* in preparation for a detailed outline of evaluation methods).

While highly challenging, most engagement projects manage to capture some useful evaluation data based on the above during the active life of a project – i.e. the duration of funding and facilitation. However, considering the longer-term sustainability of project outputs and associated methods beyond a project's 'end' is also important (for a useful approach outside archaeology see Dearden *et al.* 2014). Where possible, project facilitators and other stakeholders need to work together to find mechanisms to enable ongoing evaluation in order get a clearer sense of 'impact'. This may involve commitment to build 5 to 10-year evaluations into funding bids and project planning from the outset. This is difficult in terms of complying with funding bodies and addressing the continuity of staff, as much engagement work is carried out by individuals in temporary roles (Bonacchi 2018, pp. 35-36). However, project facilitators (especially Principal Investigators in academic contexts) and partners

need to take responsibility for longer-term evaluation and subsequent reporting. This is essential if participatory methods hope to attain greater parity with other research approaches and gain the credibility proponents argue collaboration deserves (e.g. Thomas 2017). The below case studies will consider these aspects alongside wider methods to demonstrate the complexity and value of participatory archaeological approaches in different cultural contexts.

2. Part two: case studies

2.1. The Mograt Island Archaeological Mission

For over 50 years archaeologists have been visiting Mograt Island (e.g. Ahmed 1971) – the largest island in the Nile – as it presents a fascinating palimpsest of human experience from the Palaeolithic to the modern day (www.mogratarchaeology.com, fig. 1). Until the participatory aspects of the Mograt Island Archaeological Mission (MIAMi) began in 2014, no one from the community (c. 10,000 people) had been consulted on any aspect of the archaeological work or its impacts on residents (Näser, Tully submitted). In order to change this, the motivation to work collaboratively during the MIAMi originated with the foreign research team (as opposed to being community led). However, the initiative grew from observations noted in Sudan and elsewhere that archaeologists extract resources – data and objects – without giving anything back (e.g. Humphris, Bradshaw 2017, p. 211; Näser, Kleinitz 2012). In fact, participatory archaeological practice only really began in Sudan in the last five years (see Tully 2014, 2015; Fushiya 2017; Humphris, Bradshaw 2017; Näser, Tully submitted). This slow start is the result of a wider trend across North Africa and the Middle East in which (ex-)colonial narratives largely used religion – the coming of Islam connected to the movement of tribes from Arabia – to reject potential notions of descendance between living and ancient communities (see Näser in press). Enabling colonisers to appropriate cultural treasures, over time this ideology has shaped archaeological practice and may also have contributed to national and individual perceptions of identity which have further delayed internal calls for participatory archaeology in the country (Näser in press)[4].

[4] A similar story is evident in Egypt. However, the global fame of Egypt's culture led some western archaeologists to pursue the collaborative approach from the late 1990s (e.g. Moser *et al.* 2002), and it has been growing slowly ever since. As a result, participation in heritage projects and activities is growing and is increasingly being led by Egyptian professionals from museums and the Ministry of Antiquities, as well as through action from civilian groups (Tully 2016a).

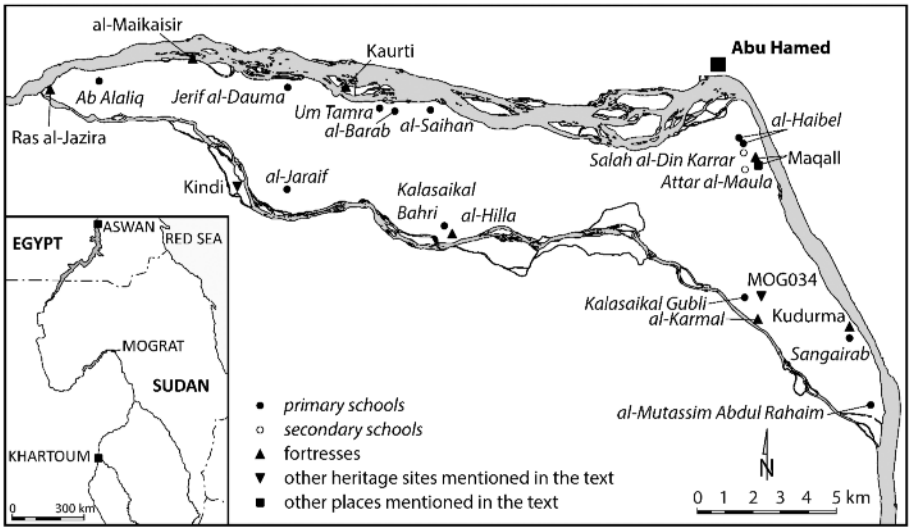

Fig. 1. Map of Mograt Island (courtesy of Kay Kossatz based on Ritter 2014).

To address the above, communication, collaboration and participation were built into the foundations of the Mograt Island Archaeological Mission alongside traditional excavation and survey (cf. Moser *et al.* 2002). The aim was to explore local stakeholders' interests in the island's past and, if appropriate, co-produce resources to share archaeological and local narratives in a meaningful way (Näser, Tully submitted). Preparations began long before the European members of the team first set foot on Mograt as challenges connected to language barriers, cultural norms, the legacy of colonial rule and the previous lack of engagement by archaeological teams needed to be considered. Individuals with experience working collaboratively in similar cultural contexts were therefore recruited to facilitate participation and to pass on skills to other members of the foreign and Sudanese archaeological teams. As there was no participatory precedent in Sudan, examples from Egypt (Moser *et al.* 2002; Tully 2010; Tully, Hanna 2013, Lorenzon, Zermani 2016), alongside cases of conflict caused by a lack of consultation during archaeological work in Sudan (e.g. Näser, Kleinitz 2012), provided helpful background. In addition, key legal, ethical and cultural research was needed and established the following:

- no specific laws regarding participatory archaeology currently exist in Sudan;
- no specific ethical or health and safety procedures related to participatory archaeology currently exist in Sudan;

- permits for archaeological work (excavation and community engagement), including security clearance, must be granted by the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums and the security services, and invitation letters are needed to obtain entry visas for foreign teams;
- Sudanese Antiquities Inspectors are assigned to work with foreign teams to oversee and facilitate work.

Once permissions were received, visas obtained and in-house ethical/protection guidelines developed to meet local cultural needs (e.g. the use of oral as opposed to written consent for participation in activities, and image permissions), the project could proceed in earnest.

The first step once on Mograt was to make contact with residents and explore whether there was interest in the archaeological work (Tully 2014). It was important at this stage to emphasise that an 'information trade' was not the aim of participation, rather that questioning together what archaeologists do, what the island means to different stakeholders and if archaeology could fulfil a local 'need' were the focus. Thus, the whole of the first season (2014) was spent introducing the team, being open about our objectives and discussing shared interests (Tully 2014). Visits to sites, homes, schools and other community spaces provided the setting for both formal and informal interviews with local stakeholders from diverse demographics (Näser, Tully submitted). This methodology was built on multiple strands: ethnography (e.g. Zimmerman 2008; Hamilakis 2011), community archaeology (e.g. Skeates *et al.* 2012; Thomas 2017), archaeological resource management (Carman 2015) and participatory action research (Wakeford, Rodriquez 2018). As a result, we began to develop an environment of discussion and debate in which we could 'consider with equal weight the questions and input of community members alongside findings derived from the archaeological work' (Näser, Tully submitted). Data was anonymised beyond basic demographics and two clear trends emerged in terms of local interests: 1, questions centred on the methods of archaeological work and 2, connections between the history of Mograt and wider Sudan (Näser, Tully submitted). It became clear that no resources were available locally to answer these questions and, following the suggestions of teachers and other community members, the concept for a book, 'Discovering Mograt Island Together – هيا بنا نستكشف معاً جزيرة مقرات, was born.

The book, a bilingual publication in Arabic and English aimed at school-aged children (9-16 years), was drafted in readiness for the 2015 field season. The book provided answers to local questions about the island's past and presented insights into life on the island today as told to the

Fig. 2. Extract from 'Discovering Mograt Island Together – هيا بنا نستكشق معاً جزيرة مقرات

team[5]. Over 100 schoolchildren, plus teachers and other community members, were consulted on the content and design of the book. Numerous modifications were made, including: the addition of a large-scale map of the island, direct quotes and more images of the children co-producing the volume, language swap features, more details on where objects were found on the island and so on (see Tully 2015) (fig. 2).

Guided by the questions of the community and honed by the children of Mograt, the book was finalised and printed in 2016 (Tully, Näser 2016). However, issues with funding and affiliation meant the team could not return to Mograt until early 2018. The time delay provided an important lesson as promises had been made in 2015 to return the following year. As such there were concerns that relationships and trust would be affected. Thankfully, excitement surrounding the book quickly overcame any potential bad feeling.

The priority for the 2018 field season was to distribute the book to all 14 of Mograt's schools (12 primary schools with c. 2000 pupils and two secondary schools with c. 500 pupils; fig. 1). Books were left with children for a week before the team returned to carry out feedback sessions with

[5] For an example of a similar collaborative approach, leading to the publication of a children's book see Lorenzon, Zermani 2016.

137 primary pupils, 366 secondary pupils and over 80 teachers (Näser, Tully submitted). In addition, copies were distributed across the island to families, village leaders, politicians and administrators, including those from Abu Hamed (the centre of the municipality on the mainland, fig. 1). Informal feedback was gathered in these sessions as well as during a community event in Maqall, the largest village on the island (fig. 1) (Näser, Tully submitted). The event formally launched the book and was an important step as talks and video presentations by the Sudanese and foreign archaeological team highlighted participation as integral to archaeological practice.

The project plans to carry out longer-term assessment of the impacts of the book over the next 5 to 10 years, preferably using an external researcher (Giblin 2017), to see if site conditions and perceptions of the archaeology change. This will be important to build on initial responses, which were overwhelmingly positive, perhaps due to the high-quality and novelty value of the publication (the first of its kind in Sudan) (Näser, Tully submitted).

All stages of the existing evaluation were largely perceptions based and focused on the data collected in formal and informal interviews during each field season (Tully 2014, 2015; Näser, Tully submitted). The fact that the questions, voices and images of the community, particularly the children, led the narrative generated a sense of pride, alongside disbelief that such a book existed. For pupils, in particular, the book enabled them to consider their island in new ways: visualising it through the map and putting the archaeology in the context of daily life. Teachers were enthused to have a resource that enabled them to incorporate Mograt into history, geography and English learning, and the wider community felt the book raised their standing in the world (see Näser, Tully submitted for details). As such, the work both raised awareness of the archaeology of the island and made a connection with modern life. This integration, which valued the modern community rather than just the past, created demand for further participation. As one pupil from the local girls' secondary school wrote in a personal letter, in English:

> "Thank you for discovering our island Mograt. You looked us many things we didn't look them and we didn't listen about them before. And now with your helping us…we know them and we want to know more about our island please…If I can help you discovering many places, I shall do…"

The collaborative process also caused both Sudanese and international team members of the wider MIAMi to consider "how meaning about archaeological work is created by members of the local community, and the impact which the presence, or absence, of collaborative project com-

ponents has on this" (Näser, Tully submitted). The partnership therefore inspired further discussions regarding other activities and resources that would allow archaeologists, residents and outside audiences to co-discover more of Mograt's (hi)story (past and present) and that of wider Sudan (Näser, Tully submitted). Suggestions ranged in scale from a series of books exploring the heritage of other important places in Sudan to a local museum and information posters for Mograt's classrooms. Development of these aspects is in progress. This sits alongside an Arabic translation of the English project website www.mogratarchaeology.com. The website also includes open access to 'Discovering Mograt Island Together — هيا بنا نستكشق معاً جزيرة مقرات and meets local demands to further share archaeological resources with stakeholders on Mograt, elsewhere in Sudan and across the globe.

The Mograt example highlights two key elements of participation: 1, the routes to collaboration outside of one's own culture; 2, how participation can be built into excavation projects from the beginning not as a source of one-way data-mining (Wakeford, Rodriquez 2018, p. 43) but as a collaborative output which is positioned as a 'standard' part of archaeological practice. While longer-term evaluation is still pending, it is hoped that the tangible, co-produced outputs directed by community interest and values will remain in use once the archaeological team have left. In this instance, enhanced perceptions of Mograt island and the purpose of archaeology (locally and internationally, including among the archaeological community), alongside more sympathetic treatment of Mograt's archaeological sites, would be a successful legacy for the participatory research and publication process.

2.2. The REFIT Project

The Refit Project (*Resituating Europe's first towns: A case study in enhancing knowledge transfer and developing sustainable management of cultural landscapes;* REFIT project n.d.a) was funded by the JPI-Heritage Plus research initiative. Project leaders from Durham University (UK), Bibracte EPCC (France) and Universidad Complutense de Madrid (Spain), established the joint venture to explore stakeholder values and perceptions[6] as a springboard for the development of integrated management strategies within four European cultural landscapes containing Late Iron Age *oppida*

[6] In this context, 'values' include the beliefs, benefits and preferences of stakeholders. 'Perceptions' connect personal experiences with the way in which something is understood (cf. Scott 2002, pp. 272-276).

(early towns): two in England[7], Salmonsbury (also known as Greystones Farm) and Bagendon, in Gloucestershire; Bibracte in Burgundy, France and Ulaca in Avila, Spain (REFIT project n.d.a; Tully 2016, fig. 3).

Oppida are a pan-European phenomenon (Fichtl 2005). Large in size (up to hundreds of hectares, Moore 2017) and often ephemeral in nature, their remains are a challenge to manage (Benková, Guichard 2009) as they comprise landscapes with multiple modern land uses and values, including farming, housing, environmental protection, tourism and leisure (Guichard 2012; Alvarez-Sanchis, Rodriguez 2016; Moore, Tully 2017). As such, *oppida* landscapes offer a microcosm of the issues facing Europe's cultural landscapes.

Researchers from the case study nations with a background in public engagement in archaeology were recruited to work with other local partners (e.g. wildlife organisations, commercial archaeology units, local government and national parks) at each landscape (Tully 2016). The partner organisations both helped provide expertise in non-archaeological land management systems and methodologies, and facilitated participation from the wider community (local farmers, residents, students, etc.). Beginning with stakeholder consultation on perceptions and modern land use, the project teams co-produced engagement activities and public resources in order to promote more inclusive perspectives on cultural landscapes, landscape management and archaeology (Alvarez-Sanchis, Rodriguez 2016; Tully, Allen 2018).

The European Landscape Convention (ELC, Council of Europe 2000) played an important role in the project. The UK, France and Spain are all signatories to the convention which also provides the basis for cultural landscape management policy for the majority of European countries. In terms of participation, the ELC is significant as it requires 'procedures for the participation of the general public, local and regional authorities, and other parties with an interest in the definition and implementation of the landscape policies' (Article 5c) and calls for wide ranging dialogue to 'address the values attaching to landscapes and the issues raised by their protection, management and planning' (Article 6B.c). However, these elements are usually overlooked, rarely include heritage assets and favour large-scale consultation with traditional landscape leaders (local government, NGOs, and farm leaders) over initiatives involving residents within particular landscapes (e.g. NE 2009, 2011). Thus, the REFIT project focused on a holistic approach that recognised the importance of including 'non-specialists' (c.f Reed 2008) in order to integrate stakehold-

[7] Both case studies in this paper are from England, however much of the legal framework and implications resonate with the wider UK.

Fig. 3. Location map of REFIT Project case study sites and *oppida* (courtesy of Tom Moore).

ers with the management of the case study landscapes (see also García-Martín *et al.* 2016; Martín Civantos, Bonet-García 2015).

In terms of preparation, it was necessary for the teams to read widely in order to enhance their understanding of European, national and local landscape law and how this translates into aspects such as ecosystem services (e.g. Hernández-Morcillo *et al.* 2013), landscape character (e.g. Butler, Berglund 2014), farm subsidies, leisure access, ecology and community infrastructure, alongside the more familiar aspects of heritage management (e.g. Moore *et al.* forthcoming). In addition, as the UK has a more established relationship with Public Archaeology, as it is most frequently termed in the country (Moshenska 2017a), than France and Spain, guidance on best practice was provided by the UK team. Legal and ethical work was also needed and established the following:

- no laws specific to participatory archaeology exist in the UK, France or Spain;

- health and safety, child safety, risk assessment, ethics, data protection and other similar laws/guidelines must be followed;
- permission to access private land must be gained in advance from landowners/communities.

The next step was to explore diverse stakeholder perceptions of each landscape. Landowners, tenant farmers, heritage professionals, ecologists, politicians, local business owners, students, residents and other interested parties were approached through local project partners, alongside open calls for participants in print and online media. To map stakeholder relationships, perceptions and landscape use, the following methodologies were employed as part of wider community archaeology and archaeological resource management practice (e.g. Moser 2002; Tully 2008; Thomas 2017; Skeates *et al.* 2012):

- stakeholder network analysis/theory (e.g. Latour 2005; Prell *et al.* 2009);
- Participatory Action Research (e.g. McGhee 2012);
- qualitative, as well as quantitative, studies of stakeholders, including perception mapping (e.g. Duxbury *et al.* 2015), semi-structured interviews, focus groups and questionnaires (Moore, Tully 2017, pp. 2-4).

Research questions focused on how the case study landscapes were understood, used and managed, and aimed to draw out connections (or lack thereof) between user interests reflecting on past, present and future land use (Tully 2016). Questions were standardised across the case study landscapes but allowed for contextual differences and minor cultural/linguistic variations in interpretations of the methodology to be addressed (Tully *et al.* submitted). This enabled the team to assess broad trends in perceptions of the different cultural landscapes and the 'services' they provide, including natural, farming, heritage, leisure and habitation/community resources (Moore, Tully 2017; Tully *et al.* submitted). Two key issues emerged: 1, the need to better equip stakeholders with an appreciation of the integrated and dynamic nature of cultural landscapes to enhance participants' role in decision-making; 2, archaeology is highly valued but is not widely understood to have shaped the landscapes we see today. Thus, the role of heritage in enhancing participation in landscape management also needed to be explored (Moore, Tully 2017). Building on this formative data, events and resources were co-developed by the research team, project partners and local participants that both challenged common misperceptions of archaeology and landscapes and promoted the diversity of landscape users and landscape management (Tully 2016; Moore, Tully 2017).

To promote knowledge exchange and a more integrated view of landscapes, downloadable and interactive guides were developed for each

site aimed at both local and external audiences[8]. The guides included film footage and expertise from archaeologists alongside non-heritage organisations and resident stakeholders. Each guide reflected the nuances of its particular landscape context but unilaterally promoted the active role of all landscape users in balancing the needs of heritage, ecology and modern land-use.

Participatory workshops were also held across the case study landscapes to bring different stakeholders together and facilitate community decision making without dictating outcomes. These ranged from intimate assessments of landscape character (Chazelle 2017; Darroux 2017) and participatory augering with small groups, to public talks and large-scale landscape 'open-days' aimed at family audiences (Tully, Allen 2018). Across the full range of engagement activities, oppida provided a central 'hook' for dialogue and were used to channel comparative discussion focused on landscape change, shared interests and the need for active management to sustain landscapes for the future.

In addition to events and digital guides, a suite of short films, public reports and museum displays were also produced by partners, participants and the REFIT teams (REFIT project n.d.b). Importantly, all outputs were relatively low-cost, sustainable presentations focused around the integrated nature of cultural landscapes, which were made accessible to resident and non-resident stakeholders. Durative and summative evaluation of the events and resources took the shape of further perceptions mapping, interviews and online feedback alongside recording visitor numbers, media coverage and the inclusion of REFIT's work in ongoing management approaches by partner organisations[9]. The funded aspects of the project were only completed in June 2018. Thus, evaluation has begun to show the short-term impact of using archaeology to apply the participatory aspects of the ELC by changing participants' relationship with the case study landscapes (e.g. Moore, Tully 2017; Tully, Allen 2018). Ongoing facilitation from project partners, i.e. the local landscapes leaders, such as National Parks, Wildlife Trusts and dynamic individuals, is essential to sustain this collaboration (e.g. García Martín *et al.* 2016, p. 51; Guichard 2017; Moore, Tully 2017). Repositioning these influential local stakeholders as 'facilitators' as opposed to 'imposers' is particularly important in this context for boosting participation at a time when research suggests communities are suspicious of so-called experts (Pendlebury, Veldpaus 2018, p. 448). The Project Inves-

[8] Guides for these landscapes can be found at: www.refitproject.com (REFIT project n.d.a).

[9] E.g. the adoption of a holistic approach to the promotion of Greystones Farm by the Gloucestershire Wildlife Trust in their ongoing Heritage Lottery Project (*Gloucestershire Wildlife Trust* 2018).

Fig. 4. Example of community engagement: participatory augering (courtesy of Mike Boyes).

tigators from each nation will therefore remain in regular contact with local partners and plan to provide follow-up evaluation on the use of resources and changing relationships/behaviours at each case study landscape across stakeholder groups in the longer term.

In contrast to the Mograt case study, the REFIT project reveals how participatory archaeology can take place outside the framework of excavation. Combining multiple partners and landscape interests, both within and outside the discipline, within one's own country and across borders, the REFIT Project is important as it begins to move archaeology away from participatory models which purely engage people with narratives of 'the past' (Smith, Waterton 2009; Tully, Allen 2018, p. 3). Feeding into local management systems, national policy and international conventions, the work also positions archaeologists and other specialists as fellow stakeholders (Smith, Waterton 2009, p. 11) as opposed to imposers of decisions. Within this dynamic, it becomes clear that heritage is widely valued and that most stakeholders are aware that trade-offs need to be made within modern landscape management (Moore, Tully 2018). Participatory archaeology in the form discussed here therefore has the potential to provide a hub for multi-layered facilitation which builds into the present from archaeological evidence of landscape use/change (Kolen, Renes 2015) in order to unlock the potential for co-produced landscape management systems. By engaging with multiple landscape stakeholders in this way, archaeology can reposition itself as a crucial landscape ser-

vice with local and pan-European relevance (Moore *et al.* forthcoming; Tully *et al.* submitted). As a result, the case study shows how stakeholders are more likely to accept necessary compromises when they are active participants in less top-down decision-making processes that combine heritage assets with contemporary needs (Moore, Tully 2018).

3. Summary

Sites and communities do not exist in isolation and archaeological research cannot survive without public support. Participatory approaches enhance the position of the discipline as a 'public good' and demonstrate how co-produced outputs increase the value and role of archaeology/heritage in real time – i.e. connected to contemporary concerns rather than embedded purely in the past. Flexible methodologies that draw on techniques from across all fields are therefore essential when applying participatory approaches to archaeologically driven projects. Certain personal skills and in-depth preparation which builds on shared principles and best practice provide vital foundations for collaborations in a field that has no set boundaries in terms of partners or outputs. This freedom is both liberating and, understandably, daunting. The introductory tips and case studies highlighted above therefore aim to inspire confidence by revealing the basic steps and wide-ranging potential of participation in different cultural contexts. The paper also aims to reflect both the difficulties and importance of maintaining/sustaining outputs and measuring their impact beyond the course of project funding. All these elements are essential if practitioners are to overcome the main hurdle to participatory archaeology – its perception as an add-on – and convince others (funders, colleagues, stakeholders) that participatory approaches should be embedded in the full range of archaeology and heritage work, thus enhancing the depth and relevance of the discipline and enabling stakeholders to choose whether or not to engage.

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