Living Communities and Their Archaeologies in the Middle East

Edited by Rick Bonnie, Marta Lorenzon and Suzie Thomas

HUP HELSINKI UNIVERSITY PRESS

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Published by Helsinki University Press
www.hup.fi

First published in 2023
Cover design by Ville Karppanen

Cover photos by Istock / littlemsshutterbug
and Istock / Dmitry_Chulov
Print and digital versions typeset by Jukka Lauhalahti

ISBN (Paperback): 978-952-369-085-1
ISBN (PDF): 978-952-369-086-8
ISBN (EPUB): 978-952-369-087-5

https://doi.org/10.33134/HUP-19

The full text of this book has been peer reviewed to ensure high academic standards. For full review policies, see http://www.hup.fi/

VERTAISARVIOITU
KOLLEGIALT GRANSKAD
PEER-REVIEWED
www.tsv.fi/tunnus

Suggested citation:
Bonnie, R., M. Lorenzon and S. Thomas, eds. 2023. *Living Communities and Their Archaeologies in the Middle East*. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press. https://doi.org/10.33134/HUP-19.

To read the free, open access version of this book online, visit https://doi.org/10.33134/HUP-19 or scan this QR code with your mobile device:

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CHAPTER 1

Living Communities and Their Archaeologies in the Middle East: An Introduction

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Abstract

This chapter introduces the theme and aims of the volume *Living Communities and Their Archaeologies in the Middle East*. The history of archaeology in the Middle East is deeply rooted in its original colonial enterprise. Hence, 'doing' community archaeology is very different from what is practised in countries in Europe and North America, where this archaeological sub-discipline first developed. Therefore, this chapter also serves as an introduction

How to cite this book chapter:
Bonnie R., M. Lorenzon and S. Thomas. 2023. 'Living Communities and Their Archaeologies in the Middle East: An Introduction'. In *Living Communities and Their Archaeologies in the Middle East*, edited by R. Bonnie, M. Lorenzon and S. Thomas, 1–16. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.33134/HUP-19-1.

to and contextualization of community archaeology in the Middle East in relation to its development elsewhere globally.

Keywords: Middle East, community archaeology, colonialism, COVID-19 consequences and responses

Introduction

Community archaeology has been growing for decades and has been explored in countries all over the world. One of the issues that has sprung up in this research and practice has been the fundamental issue of what we understand as 'community archaeology' (see, e.g., Pyburn 2011; Thomas 2017). This seemingly simple question refers to both the 'communities' and the 'archaeologies' concerned, and to the interrelations between them. Which communities are archaeologists and heritage professionals addressing when doing community archaeology – and which are being ignored? What approaches to archaeology do they employ – from intrusive excavations, to field surveys, to remote satellite imagery analysis? Does the community engagement end when the fieldwork season is over? How are communities involved in remote research methodologies? How do archaeologists and heritage professionals affect the community in which (or with which) they work – and how does the community affect them? And is it possible to measure or explain the success or failure of 'community archaeology' projects?

The above questions have been explored at length in some parts of the world, but are still to be expanded upon in much depth in other contexts – including the Middle East (Badran, Abu-Khafajah and Elliott 2022; Lorenzon, Bonnie and Thomas 2022; Okamura and Matsuda 2011). The history of archaeology in this region, as elsewhere in the Global South, is deeply rooted in its original colonial enterprise. Hence, 'doing' community archaeology is very different from what is practised in those countries in the Global North where this archaeological sub-discipline first developed. The majority of contributions in this archaeological sub-discipline remain quite centred on Europe and North Amer-

ica (Moshenska 2017b; Skeates, McDavid and Carman 2012; but see now Badran, Abu-Khafajah and Elliott 2022).

In Europe, North America and Australia, community archaeology developed hand in hand with the professional developments of cultural heritage management (Marshall 2002; McDavid 2014). By embedding archaeology and heritage matters into national legislations, the political decision-making body across these democracies – the local people – became direct participants and stakeholders in the process (Skeates 2000, 84–87). Archaeology in the Middle East, on the other hand, has been shaped by foreign colonialist/imperialist involvement and decision-making since its start in the nineteenth century (e.g., Kathem and Kareem Ali 2020; Maffi 2009; Meskell 2020; Mickel and Byrd 2022). While locally led excavations and heritage research have radically expanded in recent decades, including both rescue excavations and academic fieldwork, much archaeological research is still conducted by foreign research institutions which come and go on a seasonal basis. Indeed, as Abu-Khafajah and Miqdadi (2019, 92) argue in the case of Jordan, whether through a colonial or a neoliberal agenda, 'shifts seem to have always come "from the outside"' (see also Kathem 2020; Meskell and Luke 2021).

The years since the start of the twenty-first century have seen a clear increase in community archaeology projects in countries across the Middle East, including in Turkey (Atalay 2010), Syria (Moualla and McPherson 2019), Egypt (Moser et al. 2002; Lorenzon and Zermani 2016), Iraq (Isakhan and Meskell 2019; Zaina, Proserpio and Scazzosi 2021), Sudan (Humphris and Bradshaw 2017), Jordan (de Vries 2013) and Israel (Hemo and Linn 2017). More case studies from the region are being included in more general volumes on public archaeology (Thomas and Lea 2014), as well as in a recent edited volume dedicated to *Community Heritage in the Arab Region* (Badran, Abu-Khafajah and Elliott 2022). In a special issue, the *Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies* also touches on the theme (Dakouri-Hild 2017), with contributions from Israel and Egypt. In an eye-opening study, Allison Mickel (2021) demonstrates how archaeologi-

cal fieldwork projects have been (and still are) exploiting locally hired archaeological labour for scientific knowledge production – a point that is touched upon in this book too (see Chapter 2 in this volume).

Archaeology remains entangled in the West's colonial history – and nowhere perhaps is this better seen than in its centuries-long political involvement across areas and communities in the Middle East (Luke and Kersel 2013; Meskell 2020). As such, public or community archaeology in the region is highly political and quickly touches on state politics, territorial claims and historical identity formations. European and North American archaeologists, often raised and trained in Western ideas of scientific knowledge production (i.e., 'authorised heritage discourse', in Smith 2006), have a hard time moving away from valuing the Middle Eastern landscape through this traditional 'expert' lens (Jones 2017). Engaging local Middle Eastern communities from the start of a project, however, or even prior to it, not only acknowledges the social value of this landscape but brings to the fore new opportunities for all involved (see, e.g., De Nardi 2014; Lorenzon and Miettunen 2020).

The use of the term 'Middle East' to describe the countries located geographically in south-west Asia should be touched upon, however. We acknowledge that this term (including its related term 'Ancient Near East' to describe its past pre-Islamic cultures) remains controversial and ultimately is founded in twentieth-century Western geopolitics (for discussion see Scheffler 2003). The 'Middle East' is a top-down, Western-centric, abstract space that somehow does not conflate well with the bottom-up participatory angle that community archaeology provides. It should be said, though, that much geographical terminology is geopolitically laden and has problematic connotations that are not visible per se on the ground. While we have decided to use the term 'Middle East' in the title of this volume and in this introductory chapter and the conclusions, an explicit critical engagement with the meanings of this and other terms remains important. Furthermore, the authors of the different chapters in this volume

have been given free hand to describe the region in terms they most feel comfortable with.

Our decision to use the BCE/CE (Before Common Era/Common Era) calendar notation throughout this volume requires a brief note as well, particularly in a region where various calendars remain in use today.[1] In academia the use of BCE/CE is generally rather uncontroversial, often even preferred (over BC/AD, Before Christ/Anno Domini) because of its appearance as religiously neutral. Yet, by observing the same Gregorian calendar and in the use of 'common', BCE/CE does normalise the imposition of an essentially Western Christian conceptualisation onto others. Hence, like the term 'Middle East', the BCE/CE calendar notation can equally be seen as top-down and Western-centric, and rather abstract. However, we have chosen to use it in this volume particularly because of the sensitivity it has over the BC/AD notation, and because using multiple calendar notations was impractical. At the same time, we acknowledge that a community-concerned archaeology should be more critical towards its use of standard scientific terminology, and where possible and appropriate, as much as possible adapt its calendar notation to that in use by the communities it engages with.

This volume presents theoretical ideas for, practical uses of, and reflective insights on community archaeology across the Middle East, with contributions by scholars from and working in Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Palestine and Syria. The chapters represent reflective insights from contemporary public archaeology practice – drawing on theoretical frameworks and discussing the realities of challenges and opportunities presented by opening up archaeological experiences to wider publics in different social and political settings. Relying on different questions, problems and solutions, our hope is that this volume will provide useful examples for the sub-discipline of community archaeology as a whole.

Archaeologies, Communities and Our Approach to Both

For the title of this volume, we intentionally use the plural for both 'communities' and 'archaeologies'. This is to acknowledge not only that there are multiple types of community but also that there is more than one understanding of archaeology. In particular, the volume focuses on the following three themes: (1) defining and reflecting on 'community' in community archaeology; (2) which archaeologies to employ in community archaeology; and (3) measuring the success and failure of community archaeology. In addressing these issues, the chapters reflect different historical trajectories and cultures that enable us to find similarities and differences in the theory and practice of community archaeology.

To start with the last of these themes, up until very recently archaeology in this region was largely undertaken by foreign expeditions from Europe and North America, often coming from the same former colonial powers that eventually divided up the Middle East into individual states. The ideas and values that local communities had about the archaeological sites were not considered. Instead, local communities were primarily a workforce, and Western archaeology projects and campaigns provided seasonal employment. Archaeology as an enterprise thus fell into the same 'orientalist' stereotyping, something well exemplified in the photographic record of the Dura-Europos excavations from the 1920s and 1930s (Baird 2011). Even worse, entire village communities were displaced in order to reach and 'save' the archaeological evidence of past civilisations. While examples of this abound in Syria, Iraq, Jordan and Israel/Palestine, probably the strongest example is the Syrian village of Tadmor being moved out of its original location, where it had developed around the ruins of the Roman-period Temple of Bel of ancient Palmyra, by French forces in the early 1930s (Baird and Kamash 2019).

In more recent decades a shift has been noticed among both national authorities and foreign archaeological expeditions, with more emphasis on the heritage experiences of local communi-

ties. However, this has often taken the form of guiding and introducing communities to 'their heritage', a term primarily defined by national authorities and Western understandings of the past and closely related to a growing global tourism industry around archaeological sites (Abu-Khafajah and Miqdadi 2019). It is only since a few years into the twenty-first century that local voices have been more heard in definitions of heritage and decisions on preservation matters, with more projects tying these voices in to their research objectives. Are such current projects successful in their endeavour of 'doing' community archaeology? And how do we measure such success? In the book's first section – 'Living: Local Involvement in Heritage Creation' – these questions form points of departure to reflect upon different community archaeology projects in Iraq and Jordan.

What we understand as the community in a community archaeology project, however, is not always a given. This becomes especially clear in regions where different groups are in conflict with one another. Unfortunately, today's Middle East still presents many such cases, which to a considerable degree is something caused by the colonial legacy of its early modern past. The ongoing civil war in Syria forms a clear example of the complexity of relationships and power balances between different Middle Eastern cultural groups, but similar situations exist more in the shadows across the Middle East and the Global South (Greenberg 2009; Kletter 2019; Poser 2019). One such area where archaeology obviously struggles with such shared narratives and engagement is in the region of today's Israel and the Palestinian Territories. The book's second section – 'Communities: Shared Narratives and Engagement?' – provides practitioners' contributions reflecting on community engagement in archaeology from different perspectives.

An unexpected and unforeseen development that impacted the progress of this volume, felt across the globe in a shared, truly life-changing event, was the impact of the SARS-COV-2 (COVID-19) pandemic. As a bottom-up approach, community archaeology has traditionally been highly dependent on build-

ing up face-to-face interactions between locals and professionals. Especially given the number of international teams working in the Middle East region, this has often required international travel. This has of course become more difficult, sometimes impossible, in the face of closing borders and stay-at-home orders. Across the world, archaeologists have had to adapt to the new situation, with many turning to digital tools and media, as well as greater open access to literature, to continue to develop educational activities and maintain contact with communities and with each other (e.g., Crawford et al. 2021; Jones and Pickens 2020). Several of our contributions touch upon the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic for their respective projects (see Chapters 5, 7, 8 and 9). While COVID-19-related consequences in community engagement for cultural organisations and heritage knowledge production have been touched upon in very recent academic literature (e.g., Cecilia 2021, Lorenzon and Miettunen 2020), our focal point of communities across the Middle East, a region formed by Western imperial intermingling, adds novel points to this discussion. For the most part (aside from exceptions such as the global study of Ginzarly and Srour 2022), the emerging literature has so far instead focused on the Global North.

Finally, the question should be asked: which archaeologies should be employed in community archaeology? Conventionally, excavation has been the method par excellence of archaeology for documenting and understanding the past. Yet this method provides only a narrow timespan for communities to engage with the archaeological remains, and the method is put to use still in preserving heritage largely dictated by Western research agendas. Here museums and their practitioners can come to the rescue, since these cultural spaces should be, in essence, centred around communities and can open up heritage agendas beyond Western historical themes. Making use of the digital realm forms another approach that in recent years has developed to engage different audiences with archaeological heritage. The decision about which approaches ultimately to employ to interact with communities remains highly context-bound. In the book's final section – 'Their

Archaeologies: Archaeological Parks, Museums and Beyond' – different cases and approaches are presented and reflected on.

By focusing especially on the Middle East, we shed light on the current state of the art for public and community archaeology in this unique and complex region, adding to the already rich literature from the rest of the world. The Middle East has a long, fascinating, but also complicated history of archaeological investigation, deeply entrenched in colonisation, and more recently in the decolonisation process. The involvement and social values of the associated communities have until very recently been overlooked in academic discussions. This book aims to redress that imbalance, to present original research that reflects on the work of current scholars and practitioners and draws similarities and differences from diverse cultures. In what follows we provide a brief overview of the volume's contents.

Living: Local Involvement in Heritage Creation

The involvement of living communities in their own heritage can foster the creation of community-driven narratives, sustainable development possibilities and site preservation (Little 2007; Lorenzon 2015; Lorenzon and Zermani 2016). However, heritage may often take second place for living communities in developing countries due to other priorities, such as economic opportunities and socio-political issues. Therefore, it is important to connect these two spheres to advance the relevance of heritage among contemporary communities (see Chapter 4).

The link between living communities and heritage is not always self-evident, as through the centuries communities have migrated, changed and flourished as complex social organisms often do. Therefore, it is often essential in archaeological work to involve living communities from the start in order to allow participation and interest in local heritage to grow naturally and organically (Lorenzon and Miettunen 2020; see also Chapter 3 in this volume).

In Chapter 2, Maria Elena Ronza explores the role of archaeology in Jordan and, by asking uncomfortable but important questions around community engagement, provides a path to a decolonised discipline. By the same token, Federico Zaina and his colleagues (Chapter 3) discuss a new project focused on improving education and enhancing cultural heritage by connecting Iraqi universities, heritage institutions, secondary schools, museums and local communities. To this end, the EDUU – Education and Cultural Heritage Enhancement for Social Cohesion in Iraq project implemented a wide range of activities using archaeological, ethnoarchaeological, cultural heritage and community engagement methodologies. Drawing on archaeological and ethnoarchaeological data as well as cultural heritage approaches, the chapter presents a positive case study providing a critical assessment of challenges faced in modern-day Iraq.

Communities: Shared Narratives and Engagement?

'Communities' is a key word in public engagement, but it is often undefined (Moshenska 2017a, 5; Thomas, Lorenzon and Bonnie 2020, 143; see also Chapter 2 in this volume). The debates created in this volume move beyond the theoretical definition of community to analyse in detail each stakeholder – foreign archaeologists, local people, local archaeologists – and their impact on creating a more collaborative and inclusive discipline. Specifically, we analyse practices in the Middle East to trace the current phenomenon in which community archaeology is becoming a bottom-up movement, enabling communities to reclaim, work on and define their own heritage (Mickel 2021; see also Chapter 5 in this volume).

Starting from these approaches, Päivi Miettunen (Chapter 4) examines the use of Bourdieu's theories of social structures, such as *field*, *capital*, *power* and *habitus*, and their concrete application in community archaeology in Jordan. The knowledge of social structures and practices becomes a field map that can be used as

both a theoretical tool and an analytical framework. Einat Ambar-Armon (Chapter 5) reviews community archaeology initiatives in Israel and the impact of public outreach in connecting the youth and the general public to archaeology. Specifically, youth excavation is incredibly effective and rewarding, adding fresh energy and the wonder of discovery to archaeological fieldwork.

Their Archaeologies: Archaeological Parks, Museums and Beyond

Archaeological parks and museums play an essential role in engaging both local and non-local communities in heritage and a multi-layered past (Emberling and Petit 2018; Jones 2017). For a long time, a Western gaze over the Middle East's past has dictated the selection of histories and the manner in which they have been told and visualised. This not only happened in well-known museums across Europe (see various essays in Emberling and Petit 2018), but also influenced how archaeological parks and museums in countries across the Middle East were communicated to Western tourists (Addison 2004; Bauman 2004; see also Maffi 2009 and other chapters in Rowan and Baram 2004).

Changes are happening, however, and while the Western tourism industry still plays an important role for Middle Eastern countries, the multi-layered pasts of heritage sites are more and more being narrated along storylines that local communities find inspiring and relevant. The chapters in this section are in no way meant to be encompassing or exhaustive, but they well encapsulate the variety and diversity by which archaeological parks and museums narrate their heritage to local communities.

In their contribution, Hamdan Taha and Gerrit van der Kooij (Chapter 6) discuss the community archaeology project in Palestine at the site of Tell Balata, which has been transformed from a playground to a modern archaeological park. The project presents a case study for effective collaboration between the Palestinian Department of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage, the Faculty of Archaeology of Leiden University and the Ramallah office of

UNESCO the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), as well as the local community. The main goal was to create a modern archaeological park for the benefit of the local community, thus contributing to a new enfranchisement between community and archaeological heritage, as well as a heritage attraction for external visitors, with potential consequences for economic growth.

Arwa Badran, Shatha Abu-Khafajah, Maria Elena Ronza, Robin Skeates, Ross Wilkinson and Fatma Marii (Chapter 7) similarly engage in a community project with a focus on youth and museums, with the specific aim of better engaging the young in learning about their past in Jordan. The study also discusses the benefits of collaborative work across cultures within internationally funded projects, and the importance of maintaining equality in the decision-making process. Likewise, Safa' Joudeh and Marta Lorenzon (Chapter 8) provide a concrete case study on the benefits of digital applications to community archaeology, especially in engaging local communities' experience when visiting museums in Jordan. Finally, Giorgio Buccellati and Hiba Qassar (Chapter 9) describe the community archaeology approach in Tell Mozan, ancient Urkesh, as a way of connecting local diverse communities to this heritage and its sustainability in times of crisis such as the Syrian war and the COVID-19 pandemic.

In a brief final chapter we, the editors, reflect once more on the contributions to our volume. As a response to these pages, we draw brief conclusions, offer suggestions for further research and close with a cautiously optimistic outlook on the future of community archaeology in the Middle East. Living communities and their archaeologies are dynamic entities, and this will continue to be the case.

Notes

1 Not all contributors were equally happy with our editorial decision. We thank these contributors for raising this issue and we hope that, with this note, we have opened up the discussion on this important matter.

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I

Living: Local Involvement in Heritage Creation

CHAPTER 2

Do Communities Have a Role in Community Archaeology in Jordan?

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Abstract

Within the past 30 years, community archaeology worldwide has worked to address ethical concerns raised by the colonial nature of traditional archaeological missions, and over the past 20 years, Jordan has witnessed a transformation of this colonial enterprise in the rise of community archaeology as a discipline. Unfortunately, this transformation has occurred in the appearance but very often not in the substance. This chapter discusses how archaeology and colonialism are closely intertwined in Jordan, and how such a relationship is fuelled by a culture of welfarism that traps host communities in a vicious cycle brokered by non-governmental organisations that alienates them from their own heritage. The chapter aims to initiate a discussion around the role and voice of host community in archaeology and how community archaeology could contribute to transforming the status quo.

How to cite this book chapter:
Ronza, M. E. 2023. 'Do Communities Have a Role in Community Archaeology in Jordan?'. In *Living Communities and Their Archaeologies in the Middle East*, edited by R. Bonnie, M. Lorenzon and S. Thomas, 19–32. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.33134/HUP-19-2.

Keywords: community archaeology, decolonisation, post-colonialism, community heritage, participatory work

Introduction

Within the past 30 years, community archaeology worldwide has worked to address ethical concerns raised by the colonial nature of traditional archaeological missions, and over the past 20 years Jordan has witnessed a transformation of this colonial enterprise in the rise of community archaeology as a discipline.

Unfortunately, this transformation has occurred in the appearance but very often not in the substance. This chapter discusses how archaeology and colonialism are closely intertwined in Jordan, and how such a relationship is fuelled by a culture of welfarism that traps the host communities in a vicious cycle brokered by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that alienates them from their own heritage. The chapter aims to initiate a discussion around the role and voice of host community in archaeology and how community archaeology could contribute to transforming the status quo.

The Role of Archaeology in Perpetuating the Colonial Legacy in Jordan

Archaeology and colonialism are strictly intertwined (Hingley 2013; Sorrentino 2014, 156; Spurr 1993, 57). Trigger (1984, 356–63) suggests a connection between archaeological practices and 'the role of nation states … as interdependent parts of the modern world-system', and, with his definitions of archaeology as nationalist, colonialist and imperialist, he draws a direct connection between archaeology and the national and international policies of nation states. Archaeological practices in south-west Asia (the 'Middle' or 'Near East') have indeed played a pivotal role in perpetuating colonial practices well into the twentieth century, and have ignited the process of the dispossession and alienation of host communities from their own past (Abu-Khafajah and Miqdadi 2019; Hingley 2013; Mickel 2019).

However, Hamilakis (2008, 274) argues that Trigger's definition of colonial archaeology does not take into account the complexity and diversity of the colonial experience. Building on this argument, Hingley (2013) introduces the concept of 'colonial archaeologies' that have common motifs marked by the colonial discourse, which created 'a judgmental and often a patronising attitude to the rights, lands, ancestors, and possessions of the peoples that were colonized'. In a quite pragmatic way, archaeology in Jordan has until recently been – with notable exceptions – quite forthrightly a colonial enterprise, implemented by foreigners, mostly European and North American professionals, who invest time and money in extracting raw data, then return to their institutions to process and add value to it, to build their own careers (if not fortunes).

The Western academic system rewards these intellectual entrepreneurs for mentoring a new generation of foreign professionals, who apprentice, often for very low wages, in order to enter the guild and perpetuate the system (Addison and Ronza 2018). Foreign-led excavations and cultural heritage projects are in fact pivotal stakeholders in the archaeological scene in Jordan – indeed significantly responsible for the status quo (Addison and Ronza 2018; Corbett and Ronza 2022; Mickel 2019). Too often, foreigners working in Jordan are totally detached from the complex realities of the state and community in which their sites are situated. Too often, the opportunity to grasp local voices, to engage with local academics and to become ambassadors for the host communities is missed and lost (Addison and Ronza 2018).

Archaeological research in Jordan, and in general in southwest Asia, has its roots in the early nineteenth century's biblical archaeology, researching evidence that could substantiate the historicity of the Bible, and in the investigation of the 'classical' past (spanning, in this region, from Hellenism to the late Roman/Byzantine period). Archaeological research has often foregrounded the magnificent narration of empires (especially those belonging to the 'classical' past), versus the minor narration of a local culture which observes and adapts to the great march of those empires

– and the study of this adaptation has often been the domain of anthropology (Trigger 1984, 360). Still today, interpretations of sites by archaeologists overwhelmingly tend to focus on a particular segment of the past, without reference to more recent narratives – including those of communities surrounding the site.

The archaeological site of Petra in the south of Jordan and its community, the Bdoul, stand as a paradigm of such a dichotomy. Petra was inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage Sites list in 1985 and the Beduoin community, the Bdoul, that used to live in the caves at the archaeological site, were evicted from their homes and resettled in a newly built village (Angel 2011, 10). This 'resolution' highlights the unresolved contradiction between the living, evolving nature of the heritage through the continuity of the past into the present and a quest for its safeguarding that aims to preserve it from the people of the present – the host community – that represent this continuity. The Eurocentric approach to history has for centuries shaped the narration of the past by historians and archaeologists (Davis 2013, 36–37). Abu-Khafajah and Miqdadi (2019, 94) suggest that archaeology, as developed in the West, is 'a complex matrix of … philosophy, history, science, technology' that, in the Jordanian post-colonial context, has been selectively applied to fragment the past to foster a connection with European cultures. This approach has resulted in a dichotomy between the complex multidisciplinary approach to the biblical and 'classical' past, and a more pragmatic, descriptive and often dismissive approach to the past of the host communities.

In this regard, it is interesting to consider an abstract from the 2019 Petra Management Plan (UNESCO 2019, 9) that implies a juxtaposition between heritage conservation and safeguarding the local community's livelihood and conveys a passive image of the local community:

> PDTRA [The Petra Development and Tourist Regional Authority] is committed to protecting the unique World Heritage Site of Petra while ensuring tourists enjoy its marvels and safeguarding the livelihoods of the local community.

Compare this with an abstract from the 2017 Durham Management Plan (Durham WHS Coordinating Committee 2017, 8) that highlights the active role of the community:

> Durham Castle and Cathedral World Heritage Site aims to be a welcoming and inclusive place with a vibrant community which takes its inspiration from its past, whilst planning for a sustainable future and striking an effective and creative balance between a place to live, work, worship, learn and visit.

It is important to note that Durham in the UK was inscribed as a World Heritage Site in 1986 – one year after Petra – and one of the criteria for its inscription was the continuity of use, which is listed in the section on authenticity on the UNESCO World Heritage Centre website.

Public Archaeology and the Discourse around Identity and Narratives

In recent decades, the rising interest in exploring and narrating not only the history of empires but also that of local populations has underscored the fact that there are many possible narrations of the past. Thanks to an increasing number of ethnographic projects focusing on host communities' narratives – and thanks also to the establishment of the World Archaeological Congress in 1986 – the academic world has become more and more aware of the relativity of history and of its continuity into the present. Awareness has also increased of how a preferred Eurocentric view of the past has dominated historical narration for many years, and of how local perspectives on the past have too often been ignored (Abu-Khafajah and Badran 2015; Abu-Khafajah and Miqdadi 2019; Davis 2013).

For the last three decades, a newfound interest in multiple narratives has accelerated the rise and growth of public archaeology worldwide. Public archaeology is defined and labelled in different ways across various kinds of projects and in different countries (LaBianca, Ronza and Harris 2020, 649; Mickel and Knodell

2015), but it is built on one common feature: the engagement of the public (for a discussion about the concept of 'public' see Matsuda 2004). With the increasing engagement of the public and growing interest in multiple narratives, the discourse around cultural identity and its connection to contemporary political geography becomes particularly relevant (Abu-Khafajah and Badran 2015, 106). Gupta and Ferguson (1992, 6–9) examine this connection and the concept of identity in relation to communities – as a cluster of interactions – and in relation to a locality – as a demarcated physical space.

This discourse is relevant in post-colonial south-west Asia, and particularly in Jordan, where the political geography is the result of the colonial past of the region. LaBianca, Ronza and Harris (2020) explain how these complex relations are relevant with regard to finding a way to narrate the past at one particular Jordanian site, namely Tall Hisban. In confronting the different perspectives on the past as conceived by different stakeholders, LaBianca et al. postulate the existence of four different pasts: a *desired past*, a *contested past*, a *forbidden past* and a *propaganda past*. To overcome this conflicted situation, LaBianca et al. propose to narrate the site using ahistorical narratives, 'in the sense that they are concerned more with the underlying dynamics of cultural and historical change and therefore not focused exclusively on one or another particular historical past' (LaBianca, Ronza and Harris 2020, 661–64). The authors (2020, 664) report that 'these narratives/explanations have been shared with the local residents of Hisban and they have been welcomed. And as they are grand narratives of sorts, their great merit is that they focus attention on our common concerns as humans'. The approach of LaBianca et al., which draws its inspiration from global history, prioritises notions of a collective deterritorialised identity (Gupta and Ferguson 1992, 9–10). By switching the discourse towards global history, territoriality becomes less relevant as the focus is directed to larger phenomena and how each *local history* has contributed to them.

Nevertheless, the approach of global history is not a matter of scale but rather one of connections (Douki and Minard 2007, 11). Conrad (2016, 64) defines global history as a methodological approach to history that focuses on connections and the ways that they influence and determine structural transformations on a global scale. Therefore, global history is 'inherently relational', simultaneous and integrated (Conrad 2016, 65–66). Within this perspective, a participatory approach is pivotal to the development of a global narrative. Global history 'experiment[s] with alternative notions of space' (Conrad 2016, 65), but while the identification between culture and places becomes increasingly irrelevant, the accessibility of the global narrative becomes increasingly important (Ghobrial 2019). But even at this global scale, local accessibility and participation is subjected to a persistent colonial legacy in the post-colonial world we live in. This happens because the mobility of people – and consequently their access to culture and information – is regulated by policies that are influenced by colonial ties and are directly linked to economic independence (Anderson 2013).

How the Aid Industry Shapes the Colonial Present

Colonial relations are still shaping the contemporary world with new modalities which represent the transformation and perpetuation of these relations (Hallward 2013; Hingley 2013). What emerges as a constant within these transformed relations of power is the existence of a *vulnerable other* in need of guidance and support (Abu-Khafajah and Miqdadi 2019; Hallward 2013; Sharp 2013). Archaeology and cultural heritage projects in Jordan, and generally in south-west Asia, are not exempted from this rhetoric that fosters a patronising attitude towards the host communities. Mickel (2021, 17) documents how over the last two centuries, community members in the Middle East have been mostly involved in the manual fieldwork of archaeology but absent from the scholarly activity of recording, processing and analysing the

archaeological materials. Furthermore, Mickel (2021, 93) reports that archaeological workers in Petra 'portray an archaeological industry that rewards those who claim not to have archaeological expertise and present themselves as less knowledgeable than they are' and introduces the concept of *lucrative non-knowledge*, which immediately recalls the imagine of a vulnerable other. Lucrative non-knowledge is characteristic not only of archaeology but also of cultural heritage management and tourism. In Petra, for example, since resettlement, the Bdoul have gone from utilising tourism as a means of continuing their semi-nomadic existence to undergoing the pressure of the expectations of international tourists to live the 'genuine Bedouin experience' (Angel 2011).

The passage from colonial archaeological exploitation to the contemporary rhetoric of development projects aiming to transform cultural heritage into a product (mostly through mass tourism) has been shaped largely by the predominance of foreign institutions, practices and cultural assumptions (Abu-Khafajah and Miqdadi 2019; Addison and Ronza 2018; Corbett and Ronza 2022). Even if development projects call for job creation, capacity-building and community engagement, they are nested within the larger patronage system of the aid industry, which creates and fuels a culture of welfarism in which the condition of vulnerability of the other constitutes the foundation of the new aid-driven order (Sharp 2013). This practice deepens the gap between donors and beneficiaries, resulting in a situation in which no one acts as a genuine stakeholder (Abu-Khafajah and Miqdadi 2019), but in which both contribute to the status quo. Such a status quo, which all too often aims to perpetuate economic and cultural dependency without empowering local residents either to advocate for themselves or to build sustainable income, is well represented by Freire's (2005, 45) definition of 'false charity'. Freire affirms that false charity is nourished by an unjust social order, which constitutes the fount of the oppressors' generosity that perpetuates the injustice in order to force the oppressed to continuously extend their hand.

Can community archaeology invert this continuing trend of attempting to overcome the colonial past by pouring money into the countries that once were colonies?

Towards a Decolonised Future

Community archaeology projects have the potential to unleash an *unlearning* process by involving host communities in the management of their heritage and in the definition of the narrative associated with it (Davis 2013, 41–42). In particular, archaeological sites are meaningful to communities as the tangible representations of their past; by fostering an active engagement with the heritage, new collective memories related to the site will enhance the bonding potential that that heritage could play within such communities.

Nevertheless, many community archaeology projects in Jordan, and elsewhere, are promoted, supported and led by foreign bodies (Abu-Khafajah and Miqdadi 2019, 101). Where this is the case, notions of the vulnerable other persist. Thus, host communities are assumed to be in continuous need of guidance and support to even be able to appreciate and understand their own heritage. Within this scenario, the power lies in the monopoly of knowledge (Gaventa and Cornwall 2019, 122–23) in the hands of a limited number of experts who produce this knowledge, who determine what is useful and relevant knowledge, and who regulate access to it.

Hollowell and Nicholas (2009, 143) define the work of decolonisation as 'the taking back of control over what others have defined as a community's relationship to the past in the present – i.e., its "heritage" – and the representation, interpretation, and caretaking of this heritage – i.e., its "management"'. In this perspective, community-based participatory research (CBPR) can modify the dynamics of power by granting local access to decision-making. The approach of global history, with its attention to multiple narratives, can accelerate this process by enabling communities to construct their own knowledge and determine what is relevant

knowledge. Power-sharing as the underlying principle of CBPR (Atalay 2010, 420) redefines the role of the researcher but also the identification of the community as the other. CBPR projects have the potential to influence social capital.

Archaeologists and heritage professionals on the front lines of engaging with host communities would do well to be reminded of Putnam's (1995) notion of social capital. As reported by Leenders (2018, 1763) in the *Encyclopedia of Social Network Analysis and Mining*, 'Social capital … refers to features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and reciprocity, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives'.

Being mindful that Jordanian society is strongly based on trust, reciprocity, and many written and unwritten norms aimed at maintaining social order, community-based archaeology could serve as an incubator for building social capital by giving new centrality to the heritage discourse within the daily life of the communities. Jordanian communities, and specifically those in rural and semi-rural areas, can be described as 'dense social networks' (Coleman 1988, S102–S103) and therefore are more likely to produce social capital in the short term. Cultivating and building this social capital is at the core of community-based archaeology and fosters the active engagement and participation of the community in heritage management, as opposed to the 'aid-induced, NGO-brokered passivity' (Hallward 2013, 290) imposed by the donor culture. Over the past two decades, Jordan, and south-west Asia in general, has witnessed an increasing number of projects that have pursued a participatory approach. Andrews University's project at Tall Hisban in Jordan is an excellent example of such a transformation. Over the past 25 years, the archaeological mission, which started in the late sixties as the Heshbon expedition searching for the 'biblical past', has fostered a grassroots approach to the investigation, narration, presentation and management of the archaeological site by initiating several collaborations with local stakeholders, including numerous local civil society organisations, the municipality, schools and others (LaBianca and Ronza

2018, 624–25). Several other projects in Jordan have fostered a similar approach over the past two decades, such as the Dhiban Excavation and Development Project (Bailey Kutner et al. 2020) and 'Our future, our past, all together in Faynan', led by the University of Reading and Petra University (Mithen and al Namari 2022).

Even if the majority of these projects are still led and/or funded by foreign missions and institutions, new collaborations with local public and private actors are fostering in the host communities a shared sense of ownership of the past and heritage that is a form of social capital to invest in.

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CHAPTER 3

Safeguarding, Enhancing and Managing Archaeological Heritage and Museums in Iraq

The Contribution of the EDUU Project

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How to cite this book chapter:
Zaina, F., L. Proserpio, G. Scazzosi, A. H. J. Al-Lami and R. H. A. Al-Rubaie. 2023. 'Safeguarding, Enhancing and Managing Archaeological Heritage and Museums in Iraq: The Contribution of the EDUU Project'. In *Living Communities and Their Archaeologies in the Middle East*, edited by R. Bonnie, M. Lorenzon and S. Thomas, 33–61. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.33134/HUP-19-3.

Abstract

Over four decades of conflicts and instability have severely deteriorated Iraq's social and political systems. These long-term trends have also progressively damaged the rich heritage of the country and repeatedly weakened its cultural infrastructures. Against this backdrop, in recent years, international institutions and funding bodies have promoted initiatives to revive and relaunch the Iraqi cultural heritage which is considered a critical component to support the wider post-conflicts recovery as well as an important player in the country's post-oil reality. Among these, between 2016 and 2020, a European-Iraqi partnership launched the "EDUU - Education and Cultural Heritage Enhancement for Social Cohesion in Iraq" project, funded by the EuropeAid Programme of the European Union. The project focused on improving education and enhancing cultural heritage by connecting Iraqi universities, heritage institutions, secondary schools, museums and local communities. To this end, the EDUU project implemented a wide range of activities using archaeological, ethnoarchaeological, cultural heritage, and community engagement methodologies. This paper provides a critical analysis of the project results and lessons learned together with future outlooks to foster social cohesion through cultural heritage in the country.

Keywords: Iraq archaeology, community archaeology, cultural heritage, collaborative archaeology

Introduction

Over the last decades, Iraq has faced deep cultural and economic changes due mainly to the dramatic conflicts occurring since the 1990s and the harsh consequences of their aftermath (Foster, Foster and Gerstenblith 2005; Isakhan 2013; Matthews et al. 2020). While the 1979–1987 Iran–Iraq war marked a gradual socio-political and economic decline for the country, the situation worsened considerably with the outbreak of the Gulf War in the early 1990s and the international economic sanctions imposed on

Saddam Hussein's regime. This state of uncertainty, internal conflicts and crises worsened further after the second Gulf War in 2003 and the emergence of ISIS (in the northern part of the country) between 2014 and 2017. A substantial drop in the national GDP (World Bank 2019a) and growth of internal displacement and international migration (Lischer 2008; Oxfam 2007; UNHCR 2019) represent some of the most significant effects of the country's instability.

These long-term trends have also had a considerable impact on cultural heritage in Iraq (Foster, Foster and Gerstenblith 2005; Matthews et al. 2020). Indeed, for over 30 years archaeological sites, monuments, artefacts and places of worship were systematically destroyed all over the country, coupled with the intentional eradication of cultural diversity associated with the process of 'cultural cleansing' (Baker, Ismael and Ismael 2010; UNESCO 2017). In the Iraqi context, cultural cleansing has long undermined the ability of local communities to access archaeological and cultural sites, fully enact intangible heritage practices and pass them on to younger generations, enjoy freedom of expression and creativity, and participate in cultural life (Isakhan and Meskell 2019; Isakhan, Zarandona and Al-Deen 2019). Although most of these processes have now ceased, their long-term effects are still visible. In particular, cultural cleansing in Iraq has contributed to (1) creating distrust between the different communities and between the state and citizens; (2) weakening the state and its local authorities; (3) threatening the preservation and protection of Iraqi heritage; and (4) undermining national social cohesion and a sense of cultural belonging in favour of sectarian divisions (Bokova 2015; Isakan, Zarandona and Al-Deen 2019; UNESCO 2017).

Against this backdrop, in the last few years several international institutions and funding bodies have identified cultural heritage as a critical component for supporting the country's wider post-conflict recovery and an important player in Iraq's post-oil landscape (Danti 2015; Marchetti et al. 2018; Mehiyar et al. 2020; Zaina 2019). As a result, various initiatives have been promoted throughout the country to heal and revive its cultural

fabric, including the documentation, preservation and publicising of archaeological sites, monuments, museums and intangible traditions (Matthews et al. 2020). Although this is not the only answer to the many challenges facing Iraqi society, cultural heritage can constitute an important entry point to fostering a national debate around shared histories and the transition towards a more sustainable economy.

In 2016, the project EDUU – Education and Cultural Heritage Enhancement for Social Cohesion in Iraq was launched in this context to build a European–Iraqi partnership focusing on education and cultural heritage enhancement, linking up universities, secondary schools and museums. The 38-month-long project was funded by the European Union (EU) within the framework of the Civil Society Organisations – Local Authorities (CSOs–LAs) Programme in Iraq (2015–2017) and coordinated by the University of Bologna in cooperation with the University of Turin, the Centro Ricerche Archeologiche e Scavi di Torino (CRAST), and the Iraqi Universities of Qadisiyah, Kufa and Baghdad. Additionally, the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage (SBAH), the Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Antiquities of Iraq, and the Youth Committee of the Italian National Commission for UNESCO acted as associate partners. The overall objective of the project was to contribute to strengthening social cohesion in Iraqi civil society by improving the public's general awareness of local and national cultural heritage and by fostering the idea that Iraqi society is a combination of ancient and modern cultural traits and a pluralistic state. To reach this goal, the EDUU team employed archaeological and ethnographic methodologies together with cultural heritage and community engagement practices (Zaina, Proserpio and Scazzosi 2021).

This chapter stems from the discussions about, reflections on and critical analysis of the project conducted by the EDUU consortium members and involved beneficiaries. After the presentation of the aims and method, we will discuss the EDUU project's rationale and the results of project impact evaluations while providing concluding remarks and identifying future per-

spectives deriving from the project's learning and sustainability components. Our contribution is offered according to a learning perspective. In fact, the authors acknowledge the limitations of the project, which was made possible thanks to an international partnership supported by a top-down approach to funding. At the same time, EDUU was a valuable lesson and a preparatory step towards future archaeological projects and cultural activities involving local communities in Iraq. Since Iraq is moving away from the conflicts characterising its recent decades, the development of new projects needs to take into account a larger and more differentiated range of actors and support distinctive ownership by Iraqi local communities and CSOs.

Aims and Method

The wider aim of this chapter is to present possible prospects for future archaeological projects that embrace a 'collaborative approach', understood as the synergy of action between international and national heritage actors and local communities that is crucial in the Iraqi context, by critically reviewing the EDUU project, its objectives and its outcomes.

The specific accountability (what we can prove has been achieved) and learning (what we and others can learn from our experience) objectives are:

1. to assess the project impact with a specific focus on creating new avenues for collaboration between the actors involved (i.e., universities, SBAH officers, local communities and civil society), improving the cultural landscape of the country thanks to EDUU activities, and any spillover effects on the social issues described in the introduction;
2. to draw out the learning component of the project by identifying key lessons learned during the implementation of its activities and the level of need and appropriateness for future work;
3. to draw out the sustainability component by identifying seeds for long-term and sustainable change and how future projects

can take stock of the work done through EDUU and carry it even further by creating fully fledged community archaeology projects.

This analytical framework and the project objectives and results have been monitored and evaluated by the project members (internal evaluations) and private agencies (external evaluators). The evaluations were carried out via online surveys and interviews at the end of the main intermediate steps (work packages) of the project (formative evaluations) and at the end of the project (summative evaluations). In total, 35 respondents provided feedback on the project: 20 Iraqi academics (15 men and 5 women); 4 European academics (3 men, 1 woman); 6 SBAH officers (all men); 3 community leaders (all men), and 2 Iraqi students (1 man, 1 woman).

The Rationale behind the EDUU Project

This section focuses on the project's background and premises, illustrating how it was designed by the funding body (the EU). To develop a strong consortium and properly design a project that responded to the scope of the call for applications, the needs and expectations of all the partners involved were taken into account. The EDUU preparatory phase lasted a year and was carried out through online and in-person meetings reaching a wide range of formal and informal stakeholders. A lengthy preparatory phase is to be considered a best practice that allows the development of a bottom-up project (in contrast to a top-down project built around the objectives of the donors only) and a more significant community-wide impact.

European Union

In 2015, the European Commission launched the EuropeAid CSOs–LAs Programme in Iraq. The specific aim of this call was to generate different types of action to strengthen CSOs and support

LAs in the country (European Commission 2012, 2013). According to the EU vision, community unity could be strengthened by focusing on 'ideas' that were divisive in the Iraqi context. Culture, environment and heritage were the fields of action identified as potentially fostering a common identity and contributing to overcoming sectarian, tribal, religious and ethnic dividing lines. In launching this call, the EU looked to receive project proposals for actions under three main pillars:

1. support local initiatives in the field of culture, heritage and environment with a focus on safeguarding and valorising national resources;
2. reconciliation and social cohesion, in the sense of fostering solidarity, understanding, trust, tolerance and dialogue between and among different segments of the population;
3. empowerment of community-based organisations and grassroots movements to sustainably engage in reconciliation, in cooperation with local authorities.

Iraqi Project Partners

The Iraqi partners' aims and expectations in relation to the EDUU project varied between the three universities (Baghdad, Kufa and Qadisiyah) and public institutions (SBAH and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism).

The local universities' main interest was in improving scientific research and teaching methods in the field of archaeology and cultural heritage. A particular interest of the Iraqi counterpart was specifically to enhance students' level of preparation and resume archaeological fieldwork, as such work has suffered a drastic decline in the previous 20 years (Al-Hussainy and Matthews 2008; BANUU 2020). Furthermore, the restoration of monuments was a major concern especially for the University of Kufa staff, due to the need to integrate historical buildings into the region's wider tourism sector. To a lesser extent, partners also expressed expectations that the project would help to improve ways of communicat-

ing cultural heritage to local communities through the creation of dedicated spaces such as museums.

The representatives of the SBAH and the ministry instead displayed greater interest in safeguarding and communicating the country's heritage. One of their more pressing concerns was insufficient financial support and lack of training for their officers, aspects that had prevented them from efficiently safeguarding and promoting the heritage of Iraq. From their point of view, therefore, the EDUU project's aim was to contribute to improving the country's cultural heritage documentation and management system, partly in light of endemic looting and the continuous destruction of archaeological sites due to irrigation and canal excavation. Specific training for SBAH representatives together with updated equipment to improve their activities were among their primary aims. Less concern was expressed regarding the communication of heritage to local communities and their involvement in its protection. In this case, the lack of pilot projects was also connected to a lack of knowledge about appropriate methodologies and approaches.

EU Project Partners

The European partners included the University of Bologna, the CRAST and the Italian delegation of the UNESCO Youth Committee. As the new season of archaeological research in Iraq made it possible to address previously unsolved scientific questions, key expectations included a new understanding of the ancient history of central-southern Mesopotamia using updated methodologies and technologies and a fine-tuned assessment of damages to archaeological sites and monuments in the targeted regions. However, the experiences of project members in other countries of the Middle East have shown that without the involvement of local authorities and communities, such activities would generate only short-term outcomes. Furthermore, previous, less-inclusive approaches have provided benefits mainly for foreign institutions rather than local authorities and communities. In line with the

new commitments of many international archaeologists (Isakan and Meskell 2019; Matthews et al. 2020; Melčák and Beránek 2017; Nováček et al. 2017), the European partner recognised the necessity of dedicating more effort to collaborating with local authorities and communities, and to understanding their needs and objectives. This translated into planning different sets of activities focused on training local personnel (SBAH, students and professors) and involving them in the joint creation of spaces (i.e., museums) promoting the cultural heritage of Iraq.

The EDUU Pre-Project Situation

Following the EU call for applications and consultation about the needs and expectations of both Iraqi and European partners, the EDUU project focused on several emergent issues:

- Low levels of interaction between Iraqi universities and the SBAH. This trend is reflected in the fact that the SBAH has trouble staying up to date, especially about documentation and management strategies. For the university, this issue had led to a lack of archaeological research in the field.
- Limited interaction between Iraqi universities and secondary schools. The fact that universities did not mention the dissemination and communication of cultural heritage in schools highlighted an important area to work on.
- Some interaction between SBAH and local communities thanks to the widespread presence of SBAH members on the ground. However, due to a lack of appropriate communication methodologies, local communities are still partially unaware of the importance of safeguarding archaeological sites and other heritage places.
- A low degree of collaboration between international universities, Iraqi universities and the SBAH. According to Al-Hussainy and Matthews (2008), international collaboration in the field of cultural heritage represented one of the pillars supporting the heyday of Iraqi archaeology between the 1950s and 1980s.

- No active debate between universities (both local and international institutions working in Iraq) and the SBAH on how to involve local communities in their activities. This lack of debate hinders the possibility of sharing best practice and initiatives in the communication of cultural heritage.

The EDUU Project Workflow

To tackle the pre-project issues and meet the needs and expectations of all the partners, the EDUU team adopted a blended methodology combining different types of activities, such as training, archaeological fieldwork and heritage communication. Four specific objectives guided all the activities:

1. increasing knowledge about the ancient history of Iraq through archaeological fieldwork;
2. improving cultural heritage safeguarding by training SBAH officers and local community members;
3. promoting the importance of Iraqi heritage among the younger generations;
4. enhancing civil society engagement in cultural heritage through the improvement of cultural infrastructure (i.e., museums).

To achieve the above-mentioned objectives, the EDUU project design involved seven interrelated work packages (WPs). WP1 and WP2 focused on research and training, WP3 and WP4 focused on communicating heritage and creating/improving ad hoc spaces, and WPs 5–7 were dedicated to dissemination, management and quality assurance (Figure 3.1).

Archaeological Research and Training (WPs 1–2)

WP1 and WP2 aimed to increase knowledge about the ancient history of Iraq and improve cultural heritage safeguarding through various activities. To this end, several archaeological fieldwork

projects consisting of excavations, surveys, and ethnographic research and training were carried out between 2017 and 2019 in the regions of Wasit, Qadisiyah and Najaf (Lippolis 2020; Maner, Al-Lami and Zaina 2020; Marchetti et al. 2017, 2018, 2019; Zaina, Proserpio and Scazzosi 2021). These activities were conducted twice a year and coordinated by the Italian and Iraqi universities, also including SBAH officers, scholars, students, and local communities when possible. The relevance of the Iraqi component is underlined by the fact that a total of 148 students, scholars and SBAH officers were involved. Beside the theoretical and practical skills acquired by Iraqi scholars, students and SBAH personnel through the fieldwork and training, the latter also voiced a need to update their equipment so as to improve the efficiency of their activities. To achieve this aim, the EDUU team developed an open-access WebGIS including almost 8,000 archaeological sites in Iraq and nearly 4,000 potential ones identified through

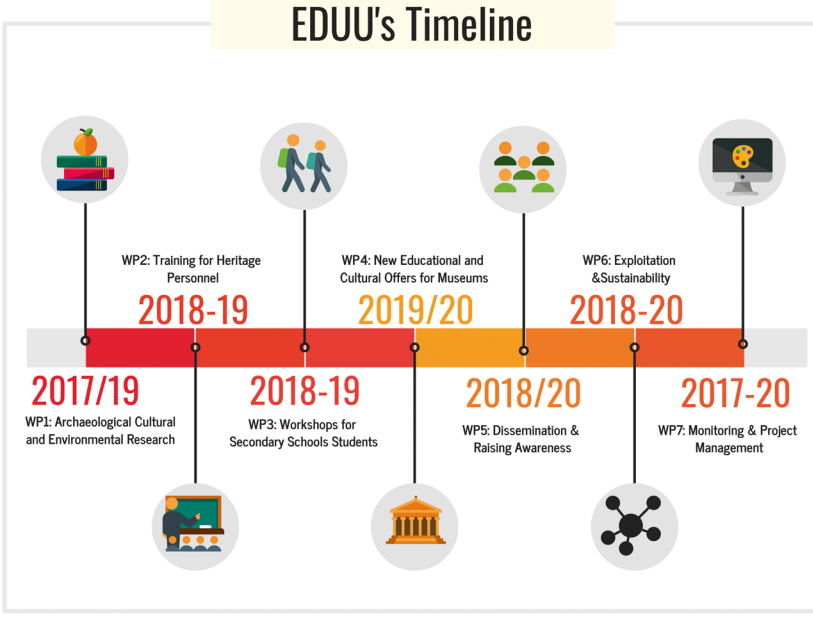

Figure 3.1: EDUU project timeline and WPs.
Image: Federico Zaina, Courtesy of EDUU project (www.eduu.unibo.it).

remote sensing. Details about each archaeological site, including position, extension and chronology, were included to facilitate the SBAH officers in organising their monitoring and management more efficiently. The SBAH representatives recognised the benefits of this platform, stressing that until that point, they had relied on printed (and often outdated) maps or incomplete digital datasets and shapefiles for their daily activities.

In order to guarantee the long-term sustainability of the Web-GIS, the SBAH was provided with a copy of the dataset and two officers were trained on how to manage and maintain it. In addition, to increase heritage communication skills among SBAH officers, museum operators, university students and researchers, and community leaders, additional tailor-made training sessions were conducted in Iraq between 2018 and 2019. The sessions included 'History of Archaeological Restoration and Museology' (organised at the University of Baghdad in 2018), 'Cultural Heritage: Preservation and Spreading of Awareness' (organised at the universities of Kufa and Qadisiyah in 2018), 'English Language for Archaeology' (organised at all three universities in 2018) and 'Communicating Heritage: Tools and Methodologies '(organised at the University of Kufa in 2019). A total of 190 participants attended the training courses. Moreover, to expand the audience of the training, a Massive Online Open Course (MOOC) on 'The Museum and the Society' was developed by the EDUU team. The MOOC provided basic knowledge and key concepts about museum management, including the organisation of collections, communication and marketing strategies, involving different audiences and the social, political and economic impact of cultural institutions. An entire week focused on the National Museum of Iraq in Baghdad as an example of best practice in cultural heritage conservation. The first edition of the MOOC was attended by 205 Iraqi students and young researchers out of 440 total participants. The feedback provided by interviewed stakeholders regarding the courses' overall capacity-strengthening effectiveness was very positive. The majority of them highlighted that the courses met their needs by addressing important issues and indicated the Eng-

lish language courses and practical follow-ups as the most useful. Specifically, several stakeholders stressed the importance of 'understanding new methodologies', referring to the use of tools such as GIS (Geographical Information Systems), or how to fill a database and document archaeological finds and how to conduct field research.

The lack of coordination between Iraqi universities and the SBAH initially affected the participation of officers in trainings. As highlighted above, the low degree of connection between these two institutions represented one of the main problems voiced during the pre-project phase. Indeed, many trainees stated that prior to the implementation of the EDUU project, attempts to strengthen cooperation between the SBAH and universities had been rare and generally unsuccessful. The experience of the EDUU project helped to restore this critical relationship, especially as regards the male component of SBAH (Figure 3.2). While the overall number of SBAH officers (both male and female) participating in EDUU activities remained rather low during the first year, the number of men increased from 37 to 232 between 2018 and 2019; although the number of women doubled, its growth rate was much lower than that of men. This highlighted the issue of women's participation in the project activities. This trend was particularly evident in more religious regions such as Kufa, and less so in Baghdad. Furthermore, participation in indoor activities (i.e., training in universities) was less problematic than participation in outdoor activities (i.e., archaeological surveys and excavations) (Figure 3.2).

The improvement in scientific research skills requested by the Iraq partners before the start of the project was confirmed by the publication of several academic papers by various scholars, including Professor Abbas Al-Hussainy (Al-Hussainy and Notizia 2018, in press; Marchetti et al. 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020), Professor Alaa Hussein Jasim Al-Lami (Maner, Al-Lami and Zaina 2020), and Ryam Hussein and Professor Sheyma Al-Badri (Al-Badri et al., in press).

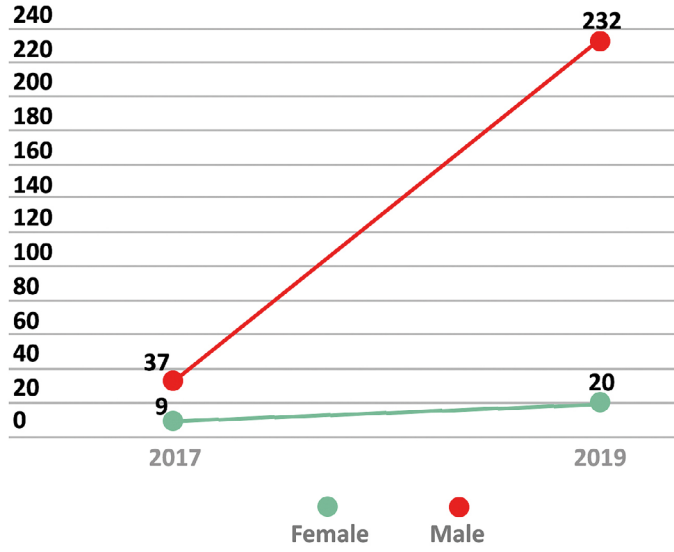

Figure 3.2: Number of female and male SBAH members who participated in WP1 and WP2 activities.
Image: Federico Zaina and PI Nicolò Marchetti, Courtesy of EDUU project (www.eduu.unibo.it).

One of the final outcomes of this phase of the project was the organisation of two conferences, one in Iraq and the other in Europe, focused on current archaeological and cultural heritage projects and their results. A total of 470 people attended the conferences and had the opportunity to learn more about the activities of national and international projects underway in Iraq, to build new transnational collaborations. Moreover, the results of the fieldwork projects were published in several national and international scientific journals between 2017 and 2020. This conference represented an important point of reference for future initiatives, as also confirmed by the financial support provided by a local private company. Indeed, the conference was perceived as an opportunity to enhance cultural tourism among both national and international tourists.

Supporting the Younger Generations in Cultural Heritage Education (WP3)

WP3 was aimed at emphasising the importance of Iraqi heritage among younger generations. To do this, the EDUU project included activities specifically targeting Iraqi children and young adults with the twofold aim of enlarging the audience beyond the academic sphere and training 'the adults of tomorrow'. An education in cultural heritage that is inclusive and high quality can, in fact, constitute concrete support for the growth of young people, their awareness of their past and a greater understanding of the socioeconomic dynamics of their present.

This work package consisted of various interrelated activities targeting students from secondary schools in the three regions of Baghdad, Qadisiyah and Kufa. Given the primary importance of properly communicating and promoting the country's heritage to the younger generations, these activities involved 320 students from four public schools with the active collaboration – in both planning and implementation phases – of local university scholars and professors, as well as secondary school teachers.

In particular, the European–Iraqi project team designed three comic books (the 'Road to Baghdad' series) available in three languages (Arabic, English and Italian) and focused on the following topics: the discovery and presentation of the National Museum in Baghdad, the importance of the landscape as part of the local cultural heritage and the job of the archaeologist (Figure 3.3). Comics have proven to be a powerful tool among both girls and boys that can contribute to fostering an interest in the cultural heritage and identity of the local society, thanks in part to their typically engaging character. Over 5,000 copies were printed and distributed in local villages and schools with the help of the Iraqi partners. Likewise, a short cartoon on archaeology and museums was produced and made available on YouTube.

The other activities involved the participation and collaboration of Iraqi University professors visiting the four selected secondary schools (the Alemomah secondary public school for girls,

Figure 3.3: The comic 'Road to Baghdad' (Arabic version) and its distribution in secondary schools.
Book cover: Mirko Furlanetto.
Photo: Federico Zaina and PI Nicolò Marchetti, Courtesy of EDUU project (www.eduu.unibo.it).

the Algad secondary private school for boys, the Aleatizaz secondary school and the Almawhubin secondary school for girls) and organising lessons and lectures on the history of the country, the main archaeological expeditions and discoveries, and the importance of cultural heritage for increasing social cohesion and local identity. In addition to these lessons, some students had the chance to visit the restored National Iraq Museum in Baghdad and to participate in the educational activities organised by EDUU in the museum's new educational room.

Involving a Wider Audience in Local Cultural Heritage (WP4)

Since the fourth objective of the EDUU project was to enhance civil society engagement in cultural heritage, WP4 was dedicated to creating new cultural and educational spaces and developing existing ones so as to allow community members to learn more

about the history of their country and hold discussions with SBAH officers and local academics.

To open these spaces and make them accessible to the largest number of people possible, in selecting the sites the team considered the distribution of the Iraqi population at a national level and in the selected regions, as well as the population's access to cultural places. Most Iraqis (70.1 per cent) live in urban areas, while nearly a third of the population (about 11.7 million; World Bank 2019b) is distributed in the flat countryside. Furthermore, both public and private museums telling the country's history are mostly clustered in major cities (BANUU 2020). These medium- and large-scale urban sites are not very accessible to rural populations, due to numerous factors including distance and discontinuous opening hours. Considering this situation, two different types of tailor-made activities were designed as part of the EDUU project.

First, the team focused on improving the accessibility and use of an existing renowned museum, the National Museum of Baghdad. One of the main issues was low attendance at and knowledge about the museum among the younger generations. For this reason, the museum's director explicitly asked that a new educational space dedicated to children be created. The EDUU team, in collaboration with the museum staff, designed and set up this new area and equipped it with teaching materials (including a video station, didactic maps, and interactive games on archaeology and museums), furnishing and tools for facilitating the learning process among children and young adults. The room was opened in January 2020 (Figure 3.4). Unfortunately, the COVID-19 pandemic temporarily halted activities in the museum, but at the time of writing many schools were committed to visiting the museum as soon as the situation allows it, thanks in part to collaboration with the local non-profit organisation Friends of Baghdad Museum, which will coordinate educational activities in the future.

The second activity in WP4 was the renovation and adaptation of a historic government building (King Ghazi Palace) located in the Iraqi countryside, Qadisiyah region, to create Iraq's first landscape museum. In 2018, SBAH officers expressly asked

Figure 3.4: The new educational room of the National Museum of Baghdad set up by the EDUU team.
Image: Federico Zaina and PI Nicolò Marchetti, Courtesy of EDUU project (www.eduu.unibo.it).

the EDUU team to transform this building into a new cultural space. The SBAH chose to redevelop this place in part because it is already very popular with local people due to the fact that it is surrounded by a large park. The new King Ghazi Landscape Museum is focused on the relationship between people and their landscape over the millennia and has the main objective of raising awareness about the richness of the local land and its bond with urban development. The museum includes six exhibition rooms, equipped with photographs, maps, videos and archaeological artefacts that illustrate the ancient and modern history of Iraq, and an educational space for children similar to the room created in the National Museum in Baghdad. The King Ghazi Landscape Museum was opened in late 2020 and at the time of writing was waiting to hold its first activities and guided tours as soon as the COVID-19 pandemic was over.

Discussion

The EDUU project was based on an assumption that cultural heritage in a multicultural country like Iraq can play a key role in post-conflict recovery, fostering social cohesion and cultural coexistence. Promoting dialogue between different sectors of civil society leads to a concept of cultural heritage that is functional and understood by all; it also has the potential to aid in developing tourism and local economies – aims that are equally significant for both rural communities and national cultural reconstruction. There is a need to continue working towards further engaging a wide range of stakeholders. In this section, therefore, we begin by presenting some considerations about the project impact, before outlining the main lessons learned during the implementation of the project. Lastly, we propose some long-term sustainability strategies and possible trajectories and approaches for future 'collaborative' projects in the field of archaeology in Iraq.

Assessment of the Project Impact

A review of the feedback from internal and external evaluations showed that the EDUU project managed to operate and involve the target groups in a coherent way in a complex and rapidly evolving context, testifying to the relevance of the initiative with respect to these groups' needs and priorities. The project was based on an in-depth knowledge of the complexities characterising the context in which it operated, and the gaps caused by a lack of communication with different stakeholders engaged in promoting and protecting cultural heritage. For this reason, the project was very flexible in adapting to the ever-changing Iraqi context.

The project has achieved some significant results with a multilayered and sustainable long-term impact. First, it has contributed to increasing the knowledge of heritage professionals and strengthening their skills. The evaluation reveals that the project, thanks to a strong partnership between European and Iraqi universities, has successfully engaged a variety of stakeholders in

cooperating for the protection and promotion of cultural heritage. In addition, it has attracted and involved other segments of civil society, such as private enterprises, and has bridged the communication gaps between Iraqi institutions, laying the foundations for enhanced cooperation on the common grounds of cultural heritage. All of these elements impacted on the individual, organisational and social levels, fostering an initial change in perspective that is expected to guarantee buy-in and sustainability.

The second key result of the project is the engagement of secondary schools and communities. The workshops targeted approximately 300 students in schools in Baghdad, Qadisiyah and Najaf. These activities were coordinated by the Iraqi universities. Overall, the evaluation found that this experience was positive for both Iraqi universities and secondary school students. However, this engagement represented a first step that will need further development to maximise its potential impact through other initiatives and projects. In terms of sustainability, the College of Arts at the University of Baghdad, in cooperation with the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research of Iraq, pledged to continue its work in the schools.

Another important outcome is the increase in local museums' educational and cultural offerings. An educational room was created in the Iraqi National Museum in Baghdad and a complete renovation was carried out to create the King Ghazi Landscape Museum. The link between the work carried out in schools and the rationale behind the renovation of museums is evident. Both activities are aimed at strengthening awareness of Iraq's pre-Islamic past in order to enhance social cohesion. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, however, exploitation and sustainability activities had to be suspended and it remains to be seen what kind of impact these components of the project will have on young students and the public.

Lessons Learned

Some expectations formulated during the project design and implementation phases were not met. We have critically reflected on the limitations of our project to identify the key lessons learned and to devise counter-measures to mitigate them in future work: the language barrier, gender balance, communication strategies and synergies between Iraqi partners.

First, the use of different languages represents a major obstacle, as already highlighted by several studies (Atalay 2010; 2012; Humphris and Bradshaw 2017). Considering that the official project documents needed to be in English and the Arabic skills of the EU team were limited, English was the official language of the project while Arabic played a role in several activities. Future projects can plan to include a pre-project English language assessment to better design the project activities and necessary language support; the identification, during the pre-project phase, of members of the Iraqi institutions involved in the project who are fluent in English and who can act as a bridge between the EU and other Iraqis by facilitating communication; and the constant presence of Arabic-speaking facilitators at all activities, given the scarcity of fluent English speakers within local communities.

The second point is related to gender balance. Before the beginning of the project and during most of its implementation, the project partners shared high expectations as to the participation of Iraqi women at multiple levels. This expectation was supported, among other elements, by the considerable number of female SBAH officers (the director of the National Museum of Baghdad is a woman), university scholars (one of the presidents of the Iraqi universities involved in EDUU was a woman), students and local community members. This trend allowed us to reflect on how to avoid potential pitfalls in future activities through initiatives such as:

1. establishing a minimum number of women (and possibly equal to the number of male participants) taking part in the activities as a first step towards principles of equity, inclusion and gender balance within the projects;
2. actively involving girls and young women in international projects, including through periods of training and professional development abroad;
3. increasing awareness about and 'normalising' the role of women in academic and professional fields already starting in the younger generations, working in primary and secondary schools directly (for example, by involving an equal number of males and females in the activities) and indirectly (for example, by making female characters the protagonists of stories in comics, cartoons, etc.);
4. conducting detailed research to better understand the gender barriers and inequalities faced by academics, archaeologists and heritage professionals in Iraq.

The results of the study should inform the mitigation strategies of future projects and possibly the inclusion of gender-sensitive indicators in monitoring and evaluation tools.

Another lesson concerns the use of communication tools as successful strategies for fostering engagement in cultural heritage. In fact, the project has tested out various communication methods depending on the activities' target participants, such as creating promotional videos and online courses accessible for free and specifically aimed at older age groups and professionals, or creating comics for children and teenagers. These approaches follow from and confirm the validity of other projects in similar contexts (Humphris and Bradshaw 2017; Lorenzon and Zermani 2016; Näser 2019; Näser and Tully 2019; Tully 2007).

Finally, the project has proven the crucial importance of creating synergies and collaboration among the Iraqi partners to guarantee the success and long-term sustainability of the activities. The analysis of the cultural heritage field in Iraq carried out in the pre-project phase provided an overview of problems, ongo-

ing initiatives and potential future areas for action. However, the EDUU team had to deal with a much more complex and tangled situation. As noted above, a major issue in the implementation of several activities was the low degree of collaboration between the SBAH and Iraqi universities. This situation reflects the broader problem affecting Iraq's diverse cultural heritage institutions, coupled with a remarkably low degree of connection between these institutions and local communities. Future projects should take these issues into consideration right from the design stage. For example, it is important:

1. to involve all institutions in the project design, possibly through focus groups, in order to favour solid synergies and to highlight issues in a clearer way;
2. to carry out detailed studies not only to understand the problems and needs of each partner (as the EDUU team did) but also to identify the barriers that limit collaboration between and among them.

Conclusion: Long-Term Sustainability and Future Outlook

The EDUU project was able to guarantee the sustainability of some of its most important activities and to help lay the foundations for new approaches to documenting, managing and communicating cultural heritage in Iraq.

Some of the activities developed in the framework of EDUU have continued after the project's completion. These include the International Conference on the Enhancement of the Archaeological Heritage in Iraq (ICEHAI), held for the first time in 2018 and continued in 2019 (with the support of an Anglo–US–Iraqi partnership). The 2020 edition was to be supported by the EU-funded Erasmus+ Capacity Building KA2 project called BANUU (2020–2023), which aims to contribute to improving the employability of archaeology and cultural heritage graduates and generating new channels of cooperation among universities, the public sector and

enterprises in these fields. However, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the conference was postponed.

The fieldwork activities conducted in the Kufa region, together with the results achieved by several spillover activities (see below), have fuelled the implementation of cultural tourism activities in the Kufa area and its immediate vicinity. This important effort was part of the larger BANUU project. The first step, consisting of assessing the potential for developing cultural tourism in the Kufa, Najaf and Hilla areas as well as this sector's critical issues and needs, was completed in summer 2020 (BANUU 2020). The following phases consist of training activities involving university scholars, students, private companies and national bodies.

The field research activities carried out in the early stages of the EDUU project (WP1–2) led to the development of new forms of collaboration between the partners, some of which have resulted in new projects. Since 2019 these have included the SBAH and University of Qadisiyah conducting the Meh Enlil-Arakhtum joint archaeological survey project, while the Koç University of Istanbul, University of Bologna, University of Kufa and SBAH carried out the Land of Kufa archaeological survey project between 2019 and 2020.

Another important spillover initiative in the field of heritage documentation and preservation is the Kufa heritage monument project jointly developed by the Koç University and University of Kufa in collaboration with the University of Bologna, the local SBAH office and the municipality of Kufa. The project aims to document the endangered historic buildings in Kufa's old town and, eventually, to restore and reuse some of them for tourism purposes. The project was recently supported by a grant provided by the UCL Nahrein network.

Finally, the project contributed to spreading and strengthening bottom-up approaches in cultural heritage practices by actively supporting local communities' role in conserving and managing archaeological sites, monuments and intangible heritage, in keeping with an approach currently at the top of the agenda of archaeologists and cultural heritage experts worldwide (Agbe-Davies

2014; Atalay 2012; Moshenska and Dhanjal 2011). As the enhancement of civil society engagement in cultural heritage was only one of the project's four specific objectives (see above), the work with local communities carried out between 2017 and 2020 achieved important but not conclusive results. Nonetheless, the project contributed to laying the foundations for developing archaeology projects that involve communities in decision-making at all levels. According to Matthews et al. (2020, 134), community archaeology represents the ideal tool for realising the 'core development challenge', that of 'convert[ing] long-accumulated heritage capital into a realisable asset that works effectively and ethically to the social, economic and cultural advantage of the communities in question'. If fully developed, community archaeology could prove pivotal by virtue of its potential to aid in the reconstruction of community ties and its positive socioeconomic spillover effects.

Acknowledgements

This research has been conducted within the framework of the EU-funded EuropeAid project EDUU – Education and Cultural Heritage Enhancement for Social Cohesion in Iraq (EuropeAid CSOLA/2016/382-631; www.eduu.unibo.it), coordinated by Nicolò Marchetti at the University of Bologna, and we are grateful to him for his support and advice. Thanks are due to all the EDUU partners in both the EU and Iraq for their invaluable cooperation during the course of the project. We are also grateful to the personnel of the local authorities and the many friends we made in the Baghdad, Wasit, Kufa and Qadisiyah regions for their warm reception and constant help. Several details on the project results and the conclusive remarks are derived from the final external evaluation drafted by Barbara Lilliu and we thank her for her contribution.

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II

Communities: Shared Narratives and Engagement?

CHAPTER 4

Bourdieu's Fields and Capital in Community Archaeology

An Example from Jordan

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Abstract

This chapter discusses Bourdieu's field theory, capital and Habitus as possible theoretical tools for planning and establishing an archaeological community project. Collaboration and cooperation with local communities and stakeholders is acknowledged as an essential part of archaeological projects – not only as a means of decolonising the research field but, overall, to provide an ethical way to create long-term empowerment and benefits for local communities, and to make the research transparent and accessible. Various methods and tools have been proposed and tested for building and assessing community projects, but the heterogeneity of cultures and communities makes standardisation a challenging task. Using the Petra region in Jordan as a case study, I examine how Bourdieu's theories could be utilised in understanding com-

How to cite this book chapter:
Miettunen, P. 2023. 'Bourdieu's Fields and Capital in Community Archaeology: An Example from Jordan'. In *Living Communities and Their Archaeologies in the Middle East*, edited by R. Bonnie, M. Lorenzon and S. Thomas, 65–90. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.33134/HUP-19-4.

munity structures, as well as in collaborating and creating long-term benefits before, during and after an archaeological project.

Keywords: community archaeology, Bourdieu, field theory, Jordan, archaeological ethics

Introduction

In the foreword to the 2002 issue of *World Archaeology*, Yvonne Marshall framed community archaeology as the fourth big-picture social context, alongside the nationalist, imperialist and colonialist contexts defined by Trigger (1984) two decades earlier. Over the two decades since then, community archaeology has grown into a central topic of discussion within the field of archaeology. In an attempt to define and describe different types of interactions between archaeologists and communities, scholars have come up with a variety of names. The terminology used is just as diverse as the attempts to define it. 'Public archaeology' can be regarded as the wider umbrella term, which comprises various methods and degrees of engagement (Gould 2016; McDavid and Brock 2015; Moshenska 2017). Other terms include 'engaged archaeology' (Kurnick 2020), 'open archaeology' (Milek 2018; Roberts, Gale and Welham 2020), 'communal archaeology' (Rivera-Collazo et al. 2020) and 'collaborative archaeology' (Tully 2009). Atalay (2012, 47–48) has presented a collaborative continuum, based on levels of community participation and decision-making within projects. The continuum ranges from fully participatory and community-driven partnership (CBPR or community-based participatory research) through community-based consultancy, multivocality and public archaeology ('outreach'), to legal consultations. However, developed in and for the American Indigenous context, its uses are limited (Roberts, Gale and Welham 2020). Moshenska's (2017) list includes seven types, all with varying – and overlapping – methods and goals: archaeologists working with the public (community archaeology), archaeology by the public (amateur archaeology), public sector archaeology (cultural resource management or heritage management), archaeological

education, open archaeology, popular archaeology and academic public archaeology.

In North America, especially in connection to the Indigenous communities, and in the UK, collaboration and partnership already had long roots but was traditionally placed under the umbrella of cultural or heritage management, while academic research remained a separate endeavour (Baram 2011; Marshall 2002). A major change took place in the 1980s, when the post-processual movement started to gain ground as a mainstream intellectual framework in archaeology, questioning the role of the archaeologist as an objective interpreter of past realities. Post-processualism emphasised relativism, and regarded the archaeologist as one subjective observer among a plurality of voices and interpreters attempting to understand and read the past (Shakour, Kuijt and Burke 2019; Simpson and Williams 2008; Thomas 2017). This understanding of knowledge production as subjective, contextual and pluralistic process challenged the monopoly status Western archaeology had had in producing and controlling the narratives of the past over local cultures and communities. The history of archaeology was seen in the light of colonialism, as a political endeavour, perpetrating Western values and building the myth of its scientific superiority, and consequently constructing social, cultural and economic structures that patronised and disempowered communities around the globe and disconnected them from their past (de Vries 2013; Hodder 2003; Näser 2019; Smith and Wobst 2005). A new archaeological approach had to be developed. This call for inclusiveness, collaboration and cooperation has resulted in diverse ways of engaging the public.

While archaeologists were focusing on the post-processual discourse, neoliberal philosophy re-emerged in the political and economic fields. From the 1970s onwards, it gained a dominant role in state policies around the globe. Neoliberalism emphasises entrepreneurship, privatisation and an unrestricted free market as means for generating wealth and welfare. Public budgets are subjected to austerity, while the state should not try to regulate or restrict the markets. Thus, the state has no other role in the

laissez-faire system than maintaining strong policies that enable it. For academia, neoliberal policies have resulted in the decrease of public funding and the need to seek funds from multiple sources. All funding comes with the expectation of gain: taxpayers as well as other funding bodies must be convinced of the utility of projects in return for their investment (Abu-Khafajah, Rabady and Rababeh 2015). Archaeology is not an exception: in order to receive funding, there is an increasing need to convince stakeholders of the 'value' of archaeological research, and in many cases, this value is economic (Gould 2016; Matsuda 2019, 15; Oldham 2017; Simpson and Williams 2008, 73). The commercial value of archaeological finds is of interest to private investors but also to state officials, and even citizens often consider archaeological heritage mainly as an economic asset that increases tourism, creates jobs, and bolsters trade and investment (Burtenshaw 2013, 2017; Baram 2011, 122).

Together, post-processualism and neoliberalism continue to define the philosophical framework of archaeological endeavours around the globe. This trend is also noted in the theoretical models of public archaeology. Some of the models focus on the way archaeologists interact with the 'public', distinguishing between traditional top-down approaches, where the archaeologist has the role of an expert, mentor or guide, and post-processual pluralist or multiple-perspective approaches (Grima 2016; Merriman 2004). Building on the earlier models, Matsuda (2019) has constructed a theoretical model where the focus is on how the approaches relate to neoliberal philosophy. Educational, public relations and pluralist approaches all agree with the neoliberal view on public archaeology and comply with its underlying demand for the economic benefit of archaeological activities. The fourth, critical approach challenges the existing paradigm where archaeology has been harnessed in the service of the markets, revealing and critiquing power structures instead. Matsuda (2019, 17) claims that in order to survive, (public) archaeology must find a middle way between critique and acceptance of neoliberal structures and their expectations.

Scholars recognise that public archaeology exists in numerous, overlapping and divergent forms, making any attempt to provide a full definition inefficient (Moshenska 2017; Thomas 2017). Attempts to categorise communities are challenged (Carman 2011; Damick and Lash 2013; McDavid and Brock 2015) when the concept of 'community' itself is under debate. First, in any situation, archaeologists are not dealing with just one homogeneous community that shares goals, interests and needs. The reality of communities is complex, multidimensional and constantly fluctuating (Damick and Lash 2013; Moualla and McPherson 2019, 20). Second, it is false to assume that a 'community' for a community project pre-exists (Carman 2011, 495). Archaeologists often envision the community as comprising those people who live on or close to the site or have a genetic or cultural relationship to people who lived there in the past (Tully 2003, 15; Marshall 2002). Yet they should not assume that the communities they end up interacting with during a project represent or speak for all of these 'primary' communities (McDavid and Brock 2015, 171). New communities emerge as public archaeology projects are carried out (Mirof and Versaggi 2020, 404). These context-specific and self-defined communities consist of people who consider themselves to have an interest in, a connection to or a 'stake' in the project. Thus, the concept of 'stakeholders' is often used (Carman 2011; McDavid and Brock 2015). Third, archaeologists are also members of various communities and stakeholder groups. They are active subjects involved in power networks, policymaking and community creation, and they should regard themselves as such (Kyriakidis and Anagnostopoulos 2015; McDavid and Brock 2015, 171).

What, then, counts as a successful community project? Reports and studies aim to inform other archaeologists about finished and ongoing community projects, and to highlight the good, the bad and the ugly in these endeavours. These reports are as diverse as the projects themselves (Atalay 2012; Kersel and Chesson 2013; Kurnick 2020; Kyriakidis and Anagnostopoulos 2015; Näser 2019; Simpson and Williams 2008). However, the lack of strong methodology and sustainability in community archaeology has been

widely acknowledged (Burtenshaw 2017; Gould 2016; Roberts, Gale and Welham 2020). As a response, a number of guidelines for 'best practice' have been presented over the decades (Atalay 2012; Greenberg 2009; Roberts, Gale and Welham 2020; Shakour, Kujit and Burke 2019). In the context of the MENA (Middle East and North Africa) region, one such oft-cited guideline was created for a community project in Quseir, Egypt (Moser et al. 2002; Tully 2009). It contains seven key components for collaborative involvement: (1) communication and collaboration, (2) employment and training, (3) public presentation, (4) interviews and oral history, (5) educational resources, (6) photographic and video archive, and (7) community-controlled merchandising (Moser et al. 2002, 229). Finally, especially in the neoliberal context, where proof of increased economic and cultural value is expected in return for investment, an objective, quantitative evaluation and analysis of results is also considered lacking (Oldham 2017, 14).

Thus, community archaeology is being constrained on one hand by its own slowness to produce comprehensive methodology and evaluation of success for projects, and on the other hand by the realities of the collaboration, where the conflicting interests of the various communities must all be taken into account. All the while, the colonial elements are still present within the discipline, and even magnified by the neoliberal ideology that determines the expectations and goals and defines them based on globalised market values. There are many examples of community projects that have failed to do good for local communities and have instead benefited mainly global stakeholders, tourists or limited groups in the region (Abu-Khafajah, Rabady and Rababeh 2015; Brand 2000; Greenberg 2009). A well-intentioned attempt to empower and include groups or communities may result in taking away power from and excluding others (Kurnick 2020; Kyriakidis and Anagnostopoulos 2015), and the most-pessimistic views on community archaeology see it as nothing but a 'naïve fantasy' (Simpson and Williams 2008, 72).

At the same time, there is a growing consensus that working with, for and by communities is the ethical approach in archae-

ology. It goes without saying that enthusiastic idealism is not enough to create a sound community project with positive impact. If archaeologists wish to create collaboration and partnership, they need an in-depth anthropological study of the communities involved, their needs and expectations (Hodder 2003; Kersel and Chesson 2013; Kyriakidis and Anagnostopoulos 2015; Moser et al. 2002; Steen et al. 2010). Still, ethnographic studies alone do not empower communities, nor do they offer ready answers when – not if – conflicts arise and power struggles between stakeholders emerge. The study should produce a 'map', where the underlying potentials, relationships, networks and power structures are visible. When all of these elements are identified and recognised, different potentials can be acknowledged and encouraged, networks utilised, and clashes avoided or mediated. It is possible to analyse these interactions and patterns by using sociological perspective. In the following sections, I will explore Pierre Bourdieu's social theories and concepts as analytical tools for planning community archaeology projects.

Bourdieu's Field, Capital and Habitus

Pierre Bourdieu is considered one of the most influential sociologists of the latter half of the twentieth century. Although his later work focuses on theoretical reflections of social structures, the anthropological foundation of his research was laid during his fieldwork among the Kabyle in Algeria (Bourdieu 1977). All the models and concepts have been extensively debated, elaborated and developed by Bourdieu (1977, 1986, 1989, 1993) and other scholars (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Kuusela 2012; Burtenshaw 2013; Winzler 2014), and it would be impossible to discuss them here in detail. Instead, I will briefly explain some key concepts, which I also consider central to the goal of acquiring a knowledge of the stakeholders, or 'communities', at the start of an archaeological project. These concepts are field, capital (social, cultural, economic, symbolic) and habitus.

Bourdieu's field is a social construct, or an area of action, created by shared fundamental interests, understandings and agreements. The agents in a specific field acknowledge the field's 'currency'. In other words, they agree on the forms of capital present and their relational values within the field and, as a result, position themselves in the field relative to each other according to the weight of the different types of capital in their possession (Bourdieu 1989, 17). Fields, in turn, are positioned in the social space relationally to each other. The structures of the social world – the hierarchies and interrelations – are determined by these configurations (Kuusela 2012, 158). Bourdieu compares fields to games (Bourdieu 1993, 74; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 97–98). Each individual is a 'player' in the game, all players knowing and agreeing upon the rules by which it is played. The players' positions in the game depend on their success in acquiring whatever the rules state is required to advance in the game.

Capital is 'any resource, monetary and nonmonetary, tangible and intangible' (Bourdieu 1986, 243). In capitalist societies, economic capital can be converted directly into money, but in other times and spaces, economic capital can mean camels, goats, fields and their crops, or squirrel pelts. Social capital consists of 'connections' – personal relationships and social networks. These may include social capital acquired at birth – for example, a noble title, or being a member of a prominent tribe – via marriage, or through education, work or hobbies. In specific situations, the capital in possession of these social circles can be added (physically or symbolically) to the person's own capital, thus raising their credentials and influence in the field (Bourdieu 1986, 247). The people in possession of the social capital can also concentrate it in the hands of one individual, who then represents the whole group (Bourdieu 1986, 249). Establishing, maintaining and reproducing social capital often requires time, energy and investment of other capital.

Cultural capital exists in diverse forms depending on the field. It can manifest itself in the institutionalised state, as education, academic degrees and titles, and formal qualifications. In the objectified state, it includes works of art, literature and music, as

well as other items seen as having cultural value, such as expensive cars or designer clothing. The embodied state of cultural capital includes knowledge of the field's cultural patterns and histories, as well as behaviour, manners and attitudes. In Western society, it would include appreciation of what is considered 'high culture' – for example, museums, theatre and opera.

Bourdieu calls these 'capitals' because they can be accumulated, and because they are all indications of social power and power relations (Winzler 2014). In certain conditions, they are also exchangeable (Bourdieu 1986, 242). Symbolic capital, on the other hand, does not actually exist as a separate form of capital. Instead, it is created from the other capitals. It can be understood as a recognition of a person's capitals, perceived as legitimate (Bourdieu 1989, 17). Through this legitimisation, symbolic capital becomes the basis for power. Power relations are formed within and across fields, thus creating a web of hierarchies, which are constantly changing as individuals and fields gain or lose their symbolic capital.

Bourdieu (1989, 19) defines habitus as 'both a system of schemes of production of practices and a system of perception and appreciation of practices'. Based on the tacit knowledge of each field, and on the relative 'value' of their accumulated capital, individuals have a sense of their place – and accordingly, of the place of others – in their social fields. People display internal dispositions that they perceive as belonging to their relative position. On one hand, these practices, manners, tastes and goods connect those who occupy similar positions in the field; on the other hand, they separate them from those in different positions. In other words, our patterns of speech, manners, everyday dress, home decoration, holiday destinations, cultural interests and tastes are choices embraced or absorbed based on our position in the field.

Reflecting the habitus through these choices and assessing others through their habitus are unconscious or semi-conscious actions, where the perceived structure is seen as self-evident and taken for granted (Bourdieu 1993, 866–87; 1989, 19). However, while the habitus may appear immutable, dispositions are con-

stantly changing. For example, the tastes and manners of those occupying higher social positions tend to be copied by other groups. Thus, when the middle or lower classes adopt a certain element from the habitus of the elite, members of the elite create new expressions that maintain the distinction between the groups (Kuusela 2012, 159).

The theories formulated by Bourdieu are not alien to archaeological research (Kuusela 2012). In studies of community projects, and especially in relation to neoliberal values, the 'exchange rate' between cultural and economic capital has been frequently discussed (Baram 2011; Burtenshaw 2013, 2017; Merriman 2004), although scholars have also studied social and symbolic capital (Kurnick 2020; Moualla and McPherson 2019; Shackel 2014). However, the types of capital never exist in a vacuum. They, along with the habitus, can be understood only within the context of fields. In order to understand the complexity of the existing social structures, all of these concepts are relevant.

For example, a person enters the field of archaeological science by studying the discipline. Over time, they gain cultural capital, especially in its institutionalised form, through academic degrees, qualifications and positions. Simultaneously, they can increase their social capital via collaboration, active conference participation, mentoring and so on. The interrelatedness of capitals becomes evident in a case where the person proceeds to initiate a new archaeological project. In order to increase their economic capital (finding funds for the project), they must draw on their cultural capital (titles, degrees) and social capital (finding referees for the application, attracting a professional and trustworthy team for the project). A successful result will bring them prestige and recognition, thus increasing their symbolic capital.

However, launching the new project will bring archaeologists into contact with diverse new fields. Some of them – for example, formal state organisations or global funding bodies – are more familiar to the researcher, and some scholars may also be members of these fields. Others – usually known as the 'community' or 'public' – tend to be stranger, especially if the communities in

question belong to very different ethnic, cultural or social fields than the researchers. In such a situation, an archaeologist can easily find themselves a 'fish out of water'. In colonialist archaeology, the typical solution would be to superimpose the researcher's own scientific field over the community's fields, ignoring their social structures, capital and habitus. Such a manoeuvre is enabled by archaeologists bringing actual economic capital – some of which may be distributed to the community as payment for labour – and offering the potential to acquire further economic capital in the future if the site becomes a tourist attraction, and also holding symbolic power, often in the form of formal mandates from state organisations and international bodies. As discussed at the start of the chapter, this is hardly an acceptable and ethical way of doing archaeology today.

Case Study: The 'Tribal Field' of Petra

In 2005, I was conducting field research in Petra, Jordan. One day I walked down from the village where I lived to the ancient city, to meet an older woman who was said to be an expert in old folk songs. I found her sitting in front of one of the countless Nabataean tombs carved in the rock, and I spent the afternoon sitting and chatting with her. I soon found out that the tomb was her former home. She had moved there as a young bride, raised her children and lived in the cave until 1984, when the tribe was relocated. As we talked, several tourist groups passed by. Some of the tourists took a quick peek at the cave, but most seemed like they had already seen their dose of rock-carved chambers. Nearly all of them tried to avoid looking at my host or the cheap Chinese trinkets that she had displayed on a blanket next to her. I doubt any of them even realised that they were looking into her home.

Since the visit of Burckhardt to Petra in 1812, and the presentation of his discovery to the Western public, the contemporary communities living in and around the ancient city have also attracted much scholarly interest (e.g., Bienkowski 1985; Canaan 1930; Musil 1907; Simms and Kooring 1996). More recently, Bur-

tenshaw et al. (2019; see also Burtenshaw 2013) has studied the economic capital of the region, though a full mapping of fields and capitals is yet to be made. However, as archaeological research will, without doubt, also be conducted in the Petra region in the future, such mapping could be very useful for both local and international archaeologists. This chapter introduces the region and its people, and provides the setting where a scholar aspiring to conduct a Bourdieusian ethnography can come to understand the fundamentals.

I came to Petra for the first time in 2000 as a member of a Finnish archaeological team whose task was to excavate the Byzantine pilgrimage centre on top of Jabal Haroun, Aaron's Mountain, some three kilometres south-west of Petra. In terms of 'public archaeology', the excavation itself was a traditional endeavour, where the interaction and partnership with the local community was limited to hiring labourers for the excavation and seasonal camp. Public outreach targeted the audience in Finland, with a museum exhibition, lectures, and guided tours to Jordan. However, the project plan also expressed an interest in understanding the significance and role of the mountain to the contemporary communities of the region. Over the years, I assumed the major role in this part of the project, studying the ethnographic material and oral traditions. Thus, the observations presented here are the result of interviews and participant observation among the local tribes during several visits to the Petra region over the past two decades (Miettunen 2021).

There are actually three main tribes inhabiting the Petra area. The modern town of Wadi Musa, in the past also known as Elji, is home to several subtribes of the Liyathne. The perennial spring (Spring of Moses) provided water for the tribe's fields, gardens, and flocks of sheep and goats. Members of the tribe also live along the 'Scenic Road' leading south from Wadi Musa, as well as in the town of Al-Taybe, approximately seven kilometres south. The Bedul, on the other hand, used to live within ancient Petra, utilising the natural caves and carved Nabataean tombs as their dwellings. The Bedul herded goats and sheep, but starting with the

great land reform in 1933, they also established gardens and fields in the wadis surrounding Petra. The third tribe, the ʿAmarin, consider themselves to be descendants of the Bani ʿAtiya, moving from the Hijaz into Palestine and staying near Gaza until they were forced to move east across Wadi Araba. In the nineteenth century, a member of the tribe called ʿAwwad bought land in Beidha and was later followed by many of his relatives, whose descendants still live in that region. Members of the tribe have also settled in other villages, including Qurayqira at the western end of Wadi Faynan. A visitor passing through the region may also meet the Saʿidiyin, who traditionally herded camels in Wadi Araba but whose territories became divided by modern borders. Many have settled down into villages, such as Risha and al-Rajif.

Among the tribes, economic capital has been, and remains, unequally distributed. The uneven opportunity to profit from tourism business – or archaeological projects – is one of the big reasons for growing inequality. This causes a number of problems, from drug use and domestic abuse to resentment between tribes and clans. The availability of opportunities partly depends on location, but cultural and social capital has also played a significant role in the matter. The Liyathne not only possess a good location for extensive farming, but they have been able to sell their products to the pilgrims travelling the Hajj route to Mecca, and to the other towns in the region, such as Maʿan and Kerak. The Hijaz railway, completed in 1908, also provided economic opportunities for the Liyathne and tribes residing further east. At the same time, the Bedul suffered from poverty, Turkish raids and droughts, and their numbers eventually decreased to about 150.

Eventually, both tribes were affected by growing tourism. Tense relationships existed between Liyathne and Bedul, as the former had the advantage of being situated right in front of the entrance to Petra, with direct control over the tourist trade. The second half of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century have been periods of increasing tourism and archaeological activity in Petra. Wadi Musa has grown into a tourist centre with numerous hotels, restaurants and souvenir shops, and the people have settled

permanently into modern houses. The Bedul, on the other hand, were relocated in 1984 to the village of Umm Sayhoun, north of the Petra Valley, out of the way of the growing number of tourists. The area allocated to the tribe was not large enough to sustain the rapid expansion of the population. While some of the members of the tribe have chosen to reside in tents and caves on the fringes of the national park and in Beidha, most now live in permanent houses in Umm Sayhoun and heavily depend on tourism as their main source of income. The Bedul still consider the ancient city of Petra the ancient home of the tribe. The old family caves are now reused as coffee shops and souvenir stalls. The ʿAmarin, who live in the outskirts of Petra, have not had as great an opportunity to profit from tourism. They have sold drinks and souvenirs to a small trickle of tourists who pass by for a quick visit to 'Little Petra', and recently they have also established tourist camps and organised 'Bedouin nights' for tourist groups in their area. The Saʿidiyin, on the other hand, still have little contact with tourists, or with the economic opportunities created by tourism.

Inequality is also increasing within tribes. For example, some Bedul families have been able to mobilise their social capital (especially Western connections) to expand their tourism businesses. Families own tourist camps as far away as Wadi Rum, where Syrian refugees have been employed since 2011. The emerging middle class of Petra is also building villas decorated with Nabataean-style reliefs and columns (Figure 4.1). This cultural-capital-turned-habitus has become common among wealthy Jordanians, and such lavish houses are found around the country, especially in the elite suburbs of Amman (Jacobs and Porter 2009, 78–79).

During busy seasons, Petra's tourism provides income for a large number of families. Women and girls sell souvenirs and tea, boys and young men offer camel and donkey rides and learn multiple languages while socialising with the tourists. The expectations of tourists have even affected the habitus of these men: apparently, one visitor believed that a local Bedouin looked like the character Jack Sparrow in the *Pirates of the Caribbean* films. As

Figure 4.1: Nabataean tombs in Petra. The architectural features have become inspiration for Jordanian middle- and upper-class homes.
(Photo: Janne Hägglund.)

a result, more and more young Bedul men began wearing heavy eye makeup, along with headscarves and dreadlocks or braids. For these men, a day's work with a donkey or camel provided them with a good salary. When I met them at Jabal Haroun, they admitted that the work at the excavations paid much less than what they would earn in Petra. They seemed to join for the sake of social interaction, or a change of scene.

However, not all local workers had that kind of luxury. I also encountered poorer members of Bedul and Saʿidiyin for whom the salary paid at the excavations was vitally important. Many of them were elderly men, who experienced challenges in adapting to modern life. As the people become more sedentary, the traditional cultural capital of the Bedouin – the knowledge of living in and from the arid natural environment – becomes less relevant. Simultaneously, formal education gains an increasing role as cultural capital. The tribes have become aware of the negative notions

that others have of them. The Bedul girls I interviewed believed that by educating themselves they would set a new example and change the old opinions. They wanted to show that the Bedouin are not ignorant and uneducated people without culture. This was evident also in my fieldwork in Lebanon in 2018, where the people frequently emphasised how the tribes nowadays have members in universities, working as doctors, lawyers, politicians – that they are not ignorant and poor. Awareness of 'formal' histories has also made people very careful when giving information. Many times, when interviewing people, they would make a phone call to check the information they were providing – usually contacting a sheikh or academic member of the tribe for verification.

Both the Liyathne and the Bedul claim to be descended from the ancient inhabitants of the region. The Bedul usually state that they were originally part of the Huwaytat – a prominent South Jordanian tribal confederation – and are of Nabataean origin. In turn, the Liyathne mention literary sources attesting to their presence in the region already in the Middle Ages, and quite probably even earlier. For the people in Petra, the Nabataeans, as tribal Arabs who built and ruled a vast trading kingdom, provide another dimension for their Bedouin identity. Nabataeans are ancestors they can be proud of, whereas many other nations and empires of the past have little connection or emotional meaning to the people today – they see Romans, Greeks, Crusaders, Turks and the British as outsiders.[1]

Field Meets the Field: Using Bourdieu As a Theoretical Tool in Community Archaeology

My case offered only a small glance into the diverse realities of the local fields, yet even such a short presentation provides concrete examples of various capitals and their relations, expressions of habitus, and networks of power. The fields become increasingly complex when other stakeholders, such as global institutions, state organisations, international entrepreneurs, NGOs and others, are added to the mix. The national discourse of Jordan is char-

acterised by an ambivalent situation, as the state today is under pressure to develop, to modernise and keep up with the speed of global change. Neoliberal rhetoric has gained much ground, and global funding bodies have become important stakeholders in local economic and heritage building projects (Abu-Khafajah, Rabady and Rababeh 2015).

Petra itself is an interesting case, as it is often regarded as a kind of economic success story in Jordan and at many other sites, archaeologists have to deal with unrealistic expectations created by the 'Petra syndrome' (Burtenshaw et al. 2019). In Jordanian law there is a statutory partition of sites and objects into pre-eighteenth-century 'antiquities' (*athar*) and the younger 'heritage' (*turath*). Many of Jordan's contemporary tribes arrived from the Arabian Peninsula during and after the eighteenth century, and thus 'heritage' is connected to their own past. For a nation to exist, it must build a 'heritage', a narrated common past that unifies its inhabitants and creates a sense of identity. For Jordan, the Bedouin heritage was a conscious choice: the steppe and the nomads became the foundation of the Jordanian national narrative and identity. This became the cultural capital of the Jordanian tribal communities. Archaeology, and antiquities, on the other hand, came to be seen mostly as foreign creations, for (Western) tourists and the local elite (Ababneh 2016, 59; Jacobs and Porter 2009, 74–75). Their value for the communities is in the economic capital they can potentially produce.

Attempts to understand all of the interrelations, power structures, and visible and invisible capital in the fields can easily feel overwhelming, with the various skills needed for the task going beyond archaeologist's training (Burtenshaw 2019; Gould 2016). In addition to being experts in their own profession, expectations of collaboration can add pressure on archaeologists to also become anthropologists, economists and political scientists with a business orientation. Another option – depending on the budget – would be to expand archaeological projects to include scholars and experts from these various fields (Hodder 2003, 66; Richardson and Almansa-Sánchez 2015, 204).

But despite the complexity, knowledge of the fields and the capitals involved can in the long run help to make archaeologists' work feel less arbitrary and frustrating, as they become familiar with the underlying structures, conflicts and interests. As an analytical tool, this framework can give clarity on three issues:

- understanding the local 'field': for example, the power relations of the region and its communities, as well as finding out which parties possess symbolic power;
- determining various 'capitals' present in the field, which can result in sharing and giving room to the local cultural and social capital as a part of the project;
- reflexivity: awareness of the archaeologists' and team's own dispositions in the field, as one of the subjects possessing various capital and habitus.

Power relations and hierarchies exist within and between the fields. They should not be disregarded as irrelevant, as individuals are always interested in increasing their capital. Archaeologists have the potential power to create new cultural capital as a project progresses, but within the neoliberal context, the cultural capital of ancient or heritage sites is expected to be converted into economic capital. Unfortunately, there is often a great imbalance between the reality and the expectations, which needs to be addressed from the beginning (Kyriakidis and Anagnostopoulos 2015; Näser 2019, 384).

Researchers must find a way to merge the fields in order to create a new field for the project, which requires archaeologists to be willing to share and acknowledge different capital and renegotiate power relations. This means that the data collection and knowledge production in the project needs to be transparent. Objects found on the site are often taken elsewhere for study, never to be seen or heard of again by the community. Milek (2018) suggests doing as much of the lab work as possible on the site, allowing everyone to know what happens to the objects.

Lorenzon and Zermani (2016) present a concrete example of acknowledging local social and cultural capital. During the

archaeological work at Tell Timai in Egypt, the local professional mudbrick maker and his apprentice were hired for the project. The use and distribution of his knowledge benefited both the project and the community. In any community project, one of the goals in understanding the local field should be to learn about local knowledge, interests and expertise. Many local workers employed in archaeological excavations may have years, even decades, of experience. Yet, this experience is often given little to no recognition. In marginalised communities, employing people based on poverty and personal needs may feel like a charitable thing to do, but in the long run it may end up only enforcing the colonial structures.

By providing means of recognising the expertise and skill of local people, projects can build paths for them to increase their social and cultural capital – and gain symbolic power – within the field, thus raising the value of archaeological knowledge in communities. This could also include opportunities to train and advance careers (Moualla and McPherson 2019, 5). A person interested in traditional construction or conservation, for example, could assist the team's conservator, or vice versa, as in the case of Tell Timai, or the project budget could include funding for a local student's studies in archaeology.

Turning to the local experts for information about the landscape and land use, such as water sources and their maintenance, travel routes, or locations of fields and pastures, can provide archaeologists with a much more diverse understanding of a site in a wider context (see Figure 4.2). Listening to oral traditions and learning from local communities can be highly beneficial, and this approach has been successfully utilised, for example, in conservation biology (Fernández-Llamazares and Cabeza 2018, 4). Archaeologists studying prehistoric sites are also collecting this type of knowledge (Damick and Lash 2013, 147), but such data can be equally significant in archaeological research and site management regardless of the time period (Ababneh 2016, 41). However, while information about heritage, the environment and the landscape is collected from members of the community, they

Figure 4.2: To local people, heritage sites carry meanings and significance that differ from a scholarly viewpoint. In 2018, women from a Jordanian family belonging to the Bani Khalid tribe visited the Byzantine ruins at Umm al-Jimal to collect *khubbeza*. Mallows grow as common weeds in the region, and the women mentioned old ruins as good places to find them. The plant is a staple food, cooked and served with bread.
(Photo: Päivi Miettunen.)

should not be seen as relics of the past, frozen in time (de Vries 2013, 137; Hodder 2002). A comprehensive understanding of the cultural capital in the field can also bring to light the kind of capital that is not valued by all in the community but can be given a voice by the archaeologists. This may include the oral traditions of marginalised groups, including women and children (Kyriakidis and Anagnostopoulos 2015).

Conclusion

Studying social structures and creating a 'social topography' should be part of project plans – and budget plans – from the beginning. Having such a map at hand can help significantly in later phases, when understanding the underlying structures of power can provide solutions for different situations and challenges. Taking into account all forms of capital may enable archaeologists to find a balance between satisfying the economic expectations of stakeholders and criticising neoliberal policies and underlying power structures. Understanding the role of economic capital is crucial in this endeavour (Kurnick 2020, 690). Archaeologists may wish to empower communities by focusing on cultural and symbolic capital, but they also need to acknowledge that economic capital is not separate from the other two. The questions that archaeologists need to ask include: who really has symbolic power in the project, whose cultural capital can be acknowledged, and who collects the economic capital at the end? Excluding local communities, lack of respect and empty promises are not the kinds of things archaeologists would want to have to write about in their community project reports. If there is economic potential in the project, that needs to be explored with and by the communities involved. Equally, if the project has no resources to create a community-empowering, sustainable project with high gains, those responsible for it need to be clear about this and to define their goals and processes accordingly from the beginning.

Notes

1 Steen et al. (2010, 166–67) mention a similar connection between the modern inhabitants of Dhiban and the Iron Age kingdom of Moab. The people see Moab as a tribal state of shepherd nomads, and thus as similar to themselves. On the other hand, they expressed no such connection to the Nabataeans.

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CHAPTER 5

A New Approach to Community Archaeology in the Israel Antiquities Authority

A View from the Northern Region

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Abstract

The Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) is in charge of the country's antiquities and antiquity sites and their excavation, preservation, study and publication, as well as bringing the community closer to the long and rich legacy of the Land of Israel. This chapter focuses on some of the new projects in the northern region of Israel that have taken place over the past few years, since the IAA developed and enhanced its educational and community commitments. The activities are targeted at the entire population and are intended to initiate widespread exposure to archaeology. Activities take place all over Israel, designed for all ages as well as for all sectors and religions. The entire community is invited to take part in archaeo-

How to cite this book chapter:
Ambar-Armon, E. 2023. 'A New Approach to Community Archaeology in the Israel Antiquities Authority: A View from the Northern Region'. In *Living Communities and Their Archaeologies in the Middle East*, edited by R. Bonnie, M. Lorenzon and S. Thomas, 91–118. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.33134/HUP-19-5.

logical excavations and in a variety of educational initiatives. At the same time, the public is invited to see the backstage of the excavations, to see discoveries revealed to them as soon as they are found, and to access the findings through displays located near local sites and communities. The main purpose of these projects is to set the scene for community exposure to archaeology and create a meaningful, valuable and exciting experience that will eventually allow the public to become acquainted with the legacy and involved in preserving archaeological finds and ancient sites.

Keywords: community archaeology, public outreach, educational programmes, community participation

Introduction

Israel is renowned worldwide for its archaeological sites. The number and wide distribution of the sites, as well as the multiple periods represented in them, have led to the understanding that many major and minor historical events took place here. The history and the universal cultural heritage of the country are among its most important resources, and it is essential to conserve them and to present them in a worthy manner.

It appears that the word 'archaeology' was first used in the fifth century BCE by the Greek philosopher Plato to express the study of ancient times. In a dialogue with Hippias of Elis, Socrates inquires what issues interest human beings. Hippias replies, 'to learn about nations, Socrates, about heroes and humans, about settlements and how cities were founded in antiquity, in brief, they are interested in archaeology' (Plato, *Hippias Major* 285d; see Lamb 1925). This quotation expresses the significance of cultural heritage in human history.

The opening phrase of the Declaration of Independence of the State of Israel (14 May 1948) reads:

> The Land of Israel was the birthplace of the Jewish people. Here their spiritual, religious and political identity was shaped. Here they first attained to statehood, created cultural values of national and universal significance.

This quote expresses the strong bond of the Jewish people to its land, a connection that led to the establishment of the state authority responsible for its antiquities and archaeological sites. The Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA; formerly the Department of Antiquities) is responsible for the excavation of archaeological sites for their protection and conservation, for research into them and publication about them, as well as for managing the 'National Treasures'. The IAA is required to determine the right balance between the needs of the developing state and the protection of its many archaeological sites. Its vision declares, 'the Israel Antiquities Authority will aim to increase public awareness and interest in the country's archaeological heritage'. In this chapter we will focus on this vision, describing the IAA activities undertaken to realise this aim.

The IAA and the Community

The connection between archaeology and the community is not new. Shortly after the State of Israel was established in 1948, the newly appointed Israel Department of Antiquities began working to make archaeological finds accessible to the public, with the aim of educating the general public, and particularly younger generations, to bring about a love of the country through learning its past. Thousands of youngsters and adults took part in archaeological excavations and conferences organised by the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, subsequently the Israel Exploration Society (Katz 2016, 106). Academic institutions and individuals initiated educational activities, people volunteered at excavations and participated in archaeological conferences and events, and young people took part in informal archaeological circles, an example of which can be found at Rogem Gannim in Kiryat Menahem in Jerusalem (Greenberg and Cinamon 2000, and examples therein). Over the years, the IAA educational centres have carried out many activities, mostly in educational institutions, and many thousands of pupils countrywide have learned about archaeology.

Nonetheless, archaeology has been considered by the general public to be rather boring and old-fashioned, mostly of interest to the older population. This has been even more the case when dealing with complex issues such as stratigraphy, pottery sherds, flints and other technological details that appear in archaeological reports. By contrast, outstanding discoveries, such as finds from Jerusalem, excavations that have brought to life biblical cities, King Herod's building projects, and the discovery of special hoards and artefacts adorned with festival symbols, continue to excite the general public even today. Consequently, the question arises as to whether this is not sufficient. Is it necessary to try to provoke interest among the non-motivated? While it is patently true that the IAA's principal responsibility is to implement the Antiquities Law and to protect the country's antiquities, it is also required to function as an educational body, initiating educational activities to provoke public interest and involvement in the protection of these antiquities.

The Department of Education and Communities

In 2015, following the appointment of Yisrael Hasson as director general, the IAA changed its policy regarding these issues. Hasson considered the IAA 'the present generation's watchperson over the cultural heritage of the past' (personal communication), responsible for educating the public to appreciate archaeology and to protect antiquities. For this purpose, a new Department of Education and Communities (DEC) with broader responsibilities was set up in the IAA, parallel to the existing Department of Archaeology and Department of Conservation.[1]

The new department is responsible for involving the general public in IAA-led archaeological excavations, and for initiating educational archaeological activities focused on spreading the values of conserving the cultural heritage. The vision of the DEC, as stated in a letter sent to clients, is defined as 'connecting the youth, community and general public with the tangible cul-

ture of Israel throughout the history and peoples of the country, and actively involving them in the archaeological experience and practice'. Consequently, it is evident that individual and local initiatives were insufficient, and a long-term, deep-rooted process was required to connect the general public with its archaeological heritage and to provide opportunities for active archaeological involvement, above and beyond the imparting of theoretical knowledge.

What Led to the Establishment of the DEC?

Four main issues led to the establishment of the DEC:

1. The need to protect the country's threatened archaeological heritage. It was considered that a motivated and involved public would play an active role as 'watchpeople', protecting the many imminently endangered archaeological sites around the country.
2. The need to strengthen the bond between people and cultural heritage. It was evident that much of the population is not familiar with, and consequently not emotionally attached to, its cultural heritage. It was considered that connecting communities with their local archaeological sites would foster a bond between them and their local identity and history.
3. The need to improve the IAA's public image. It was understood that focusing on the IAA's role of protecting sites for the good of the community would improve the IAA's often negative public image as a factor impeding and delaying development, albeit as a result of its essential role in conserving and protecting antiquities.
4. The practical need to foster a new generation of archaeologists. The assumption was that the present generation of archaeologists is small, and that participants in archaeological conferences belong mainly to the older generation. It was considered that the exposure of young people to archaeological activities would acquaint them with the field, thus increasing the potential of future archaeologists.

How Are the DEC's Aims Fulfilled?

In the context of cultural heritage activity, the DEC provides opportunities for different population groups throughout the country to take part in archaeological excavations, conservation projects and the exposure of archaeological finds. Some finds and discoveries are on show in archaeological exhibitions and are shared with the public through the media directly after their discovery. The idea behind the educational activity is that experiencing an archaeological dig and discovering finds creates an emotional bond between the excavator and the cultural heritage and history of the country, as the participation enables active involvement and not just theoretical discussion. The youth and community involvement in archaeological projects arouses an emotional connection to the land, the countryside, and the historical and cultural heritage.

Who Leads the Educational Process?

The DEC runs programmes from four educational centres located in the north, the centre and the south of the country and in Jerusalem. The leaders and guides employed in the centres have professional or academic qualifications in archaeology or related fields, and leadership qualifications or experience. IAA archaeologists, with various specialisations such as underwater archaeology or the prevention of archaeological plundering, also take part in the educational activity. Today it is standard that all IAA archaeologists are involved in the educational process, taking an active role in their region.

Who Participates in the Educational Process?

The educational activity is geared to groups of all ages throughout Israel. Only a small proportion of the educational activities are carried out with tourists and cultural heritage supporters from abroad. Nursery school children and pupils from dayu schools,

boarding schools and youth villages participate in enriching programmes, including field days. 'Youth at risk'[2] and adult groups also participate in excavations, and there are open days for the general public. We value the archaeological dig as an educational tool and an opportunity for a multi-generational activity whereby groups of different ages work together. Different population groups in Israel meet and work together with the aim of connecting with their cultural and local heritage, as it is expressed in the wide variety of archaeological sites.

The IAA runs these activities in conjunction with other government offices, including the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Jerusalem and Heritage, as well as with local and regional councils and other supporting organisations, such as the Jewish National Fund, the Israel Nature and Parks Authority, and the Society for the Protection of Nature. We consider that the combined effort of all of these interested parties leads to greater success in imparting the values of conserving the cultural heritage.

What Is the Connection between Protected Wildflowers and Archaeological Sites?

In the past, it was standard practice in Israel to pick wildflowers, such as anemones, cyclamens and irises, until a dramatic change of awareness took place in the 1960s (Alon 1988). Until 1963 there was no law against picking wildflowers, and wildflower bulbs were picked and sold in large quantities, threatening their extinction. New laws passed in 1963 to protect nature reserves and wildflowers were accompanied by extensive educational work, creating a dramatic change in public awareness, which led in turn to renewed flowering in the country. The change was effected through educational activities with children and young people, and the result was that the term 'protected flowers' became part of the consciousness of all Israelis. This example of changing public awareness highlights the approach required, educating the young generation in order to protect the country's archaeological her-

itage. Statutory measures alone are clearly insufficient to protect our sites, and meaningful educational activities are required.

What Activities Are Included in the Programmes?

By the end of 2022, the IAA had carried out a great variety of activities in which more than 700,000 children, young people, soldiers, and working-age and older adults had participated.

1. **Adoption of archaeological sites.** Pupils and communities adopt a local site and study the site and its historical significance and culture. IAA leaders and participants maintain and conserve the site, thus deepening their connection with and taking responsibility for it.
2. **Educational programmes in schools and during school holidays.** These programmes include experiential learning about ancient periods and cultures, including activities with ancient artefacts, and sometimes participation in archaeological excavations.
3. **Special events at archaeological sites.** Special activities, for example, before festivals or to celebrate birthdays, may focus on reconstructing various aspects of life in the ancient world (e.g., 'Light and Lamps' before Hanukkah, 'A Journey along the Nile' before Pesach, and 'From Wheat to Bread' before Shavuot). These experiential activities focus on the specific occasion.
4. **Lectures.** Archaeologists give lectures, sharing with the public new discoveries based on research projects. These lectures may be given as part of conferences in museums or at other public events, or sometimes less formal, for example 'Coffee-Time Archaeology'.
5. **'Nature Defense Forces'.** This project encourages Israel Defense Forces (IDF) officers to take responsibility for the environment as well as defending the country. The project involves cooperation between the IDF and the IAA in protecting archaeological sites within military areas and fosters the army's awareness of the need to act according to the Antiquities Law.

6. **Archaeological excavations.** Participation in archaeological excavations is the activity that has been the most influential in the change in public awareness and mindset that has been achieved in recent years.

Archaeological Excavations

Participation in archaeological excavations is the highlight of the DEC's educational and community activities. The IAA carries out two main types of excavation: salvage excavations and educational excavations. This section focuses on the steps that the IAA, and specifically the DEC, have taken to enable young people and the general public to participate in excavations.

Salvage Excavations

Salvage excavations are carried out in areas registered as archaeological sites, in the context of planned infrastructure development and construction projects, such as roads, neighbourhoods, and the laying of electricity, gas, and water pipes. The IAA, functioning according to the Antiquities Law to preserve and protect the country's antiquities, carries out preliminary trial excavations to determine the presence and extent of archaeological remains in areas designated for development. Subsequently, more-extensive salvage excavations are carried out, if deemed necessary. The excavations are restricted in time and extent, as they are directly linked with the development plans. Since there are very many archaeological sites in the country, there is a high probability that excavations will be required prior to development.[3] Following the excavations and the meticulous recording of finds, some sites are released for development, others are covered over, and in some cases changes are made in the development plans.

Whenever possible, young people and local communities are given the opportunity to take part in these excavations, exposing and 'salvaging' archaeological remains and contributing to

the understanding of ancient sites. Two types of participation in salvage excavations are presented here: youth participation and community participation.

Youth Participation and Pre-Army Programmes in Salvage Excavations

Since 2015, the IAA has systematically incorporated young people in salvage excavations. Teenagers participate in the excavation for a five-day week, usually from 6am to 2pm. For most of the young people this is their first encounter with an archaeological dig, and the IAA staff invest effort in providing them with a positive experience in this new field (Figures 5.1–5.5). The youngsters, aged 16 plus, come from high schools and sometimes schools for 'youth at risk'. Many of the schools and institutions return every year, appreciating that the archaeological experience, involving physical work and a positive attitude to work, strengthens and consolidates the young people and the institution. We have observed that the 'youth at risk' specifically both contribute significantly and benefit from the digging week. In some cases, the school groups receive payment for work that is channelled towards specific aims, such as educational journeys.

Young people from other educational frameworks also take part in the digs, including those from pre-army programmes (year-long frameworks that prepare young people after high school for meaningful army service and social and communal involvement and leadership). These groups are quantitatively the most significant part of the excavations (of the groups that come through the education department), and their professional contribution to the excavation is large and significant relative to that of groups of younger youth. Such programmes include this week in their annual activities because of a belief in the valuable contribution it makes to the young people's development.

Prior to the dig week, DEC educational staff meet with the group, introduce them to the IAA and the world of archaeology, and prepare them for the dig. On the first day of the dig, the group

Figure 5.1: Young people excavating at Horbat Koshet, near Tive'on.
(Photo: Einat Ambar-Armon, courtesy of IAA.)

Figure 5.2: Outdoor training activity (ODT) at an excavation at Migdal Ha-Emeq.
(Photo: Einat Ambar-Armon, courtesy of IAA.)

Figure 5.3: Excavating and discovering an ancient lamp in an excavation near Hannaton.
(Photo: Einat Ambar-Armon, courtesy of IAA.)

Figure 5.4: Tour near the Horns of Hattin excavation.
(Photo: Einat Ambar-Armon, courtesy of IAA.)

Figure 5.5: Summarising a week of digging and receiving T-shirts and certificates at Menahamiya in the Jordan Valley.
(Photo: Einat Ambar-Armon, courtesy of IAA.)

arrives at the site early in the morning, receives an explanation about the site and about safety regulations, and starts work. Some wash pottery and register the pottery and the finds. During the week, the group has workshops on various related subjects, for example on pottery, flints, stratigraphy, etc. On the last day, there is a meeting to summarise the week and to present the results and the finds. Participants receive a certificate of participation and a souvenir T-shirt, and they fill in a feedback questionnaire. The youth groups differ from each other, and experience the week differently, depending on their age, cultural and religious backgrounds, values, preparation, and motivation.

Often the dig is a multicultural experience, for example when Jewish young people dig at a Christian archaeological site, under the guidance of Muslim archaeological staff. In such cases, the excavation plays the role of fostering multicultural interaction, providing an opportunity to work in cooperation, to meet different people and to make new acquaintances. An interesting example may be found at the excavation of a Byzantine church in Bet Shemesh (IAA Official Channel 2017; Storchan 2020, 6–7).

The feedback written by the young people enables us to learn from their experiences and their criticism. Responses have shown that participation in the dig arouses an emotional response to the country, its landscapes, and its historical and cultural heritage, and that, for the most part, the young people appreciate the enriched knowledge of the country, the sites and the history. Values such as mutual responsibility and physical work are enhanced by the dig experience, as are personal identity and roots, commitment, and social abilities. Difficulties of the dig experience are also expressed, such as the monotonous hard physical work, sometimes seemingly without results, and the frustration when finds are minimal, although educational staff alleviate such frustration by explaining the significance of even limited finds. Some young participants feel that the dig experience provides an opportunity to develop on a personal level and to express their values; others are less appreciative but, nonetheless, feel satisfaction from

overcoming difficulties. Over 80 per cent say that they would like to take part in another excavation.

The IAA archaeologists know that education is an integral part of their job. The main difficulty that arises is that the young people are usually less productive than experienced workers. Often, time limits are very restrictive, and the contribution of the young people to the work effort is less than the cost. The work with young peopleinvolves discipline and behaviour issues, and participants have to learn to work with patience and self-discipline. However, they do not always understand or comply with instructions, for example, about not sitting on the baulks or inside the squares, and archaeologists do not always have time to answer questions. Experienced guides or youth leaders work with the groups, as the archaeologists are not usually teacher-trained and as they are busy with their archaeological work. The guides have knowledge in archaeology and education, and they coordinate between the group and the archaeologist.

Summarising seven years of experience, it may be said that most of the archaeologists understand that the work with the young people is effective and rewarding, and also adds a breath of youthful air and young energies. This is especially true when the young people are well prepared in advance for the dig.

Community Participation in Salvage Excavations

The IAA policy supports advertising its activities to the public, flying the IAA flag alongside the Israeli flag, and setting up signs reading, 'IAA is digging the past for you'. Passers-by show an interest, and we are happy to answer questions from volunteers, residents, neighbours, people interested in Israel and archaeologists from research institutes.

The IAA holds open days at salvage excavations, both at small excavations which are attended by about 20 local people, and at large excavations, to which many people come on several tours, sometimes up to 1,000 visitors. The archaeologist leads the tour, explaining the site and its remains, and finds are often exhibited,

Figure 5.6: A visit to an excavation at Moshav Nov in the Golan, and the first presentation of the finds.
(Photo: Einat Ambar-Armon, courtesy of IAA.)

sometimes still dirty from the field or before restoration. Visitors can sometimes take part in the excavation and in various archaeological activities. The open days enable the local population to connect with the excavation. This open approach differs from the traditional approach, whereby the excavation is completed and researched and the finds published and even stored in the museum before they are revealed to the public (Figure 5.6).

In the IAA Northern Region, many salvage excavations and other archaeological activities are carried out with local community participation. The Northern Region extends from the Golan and the Upper Galilee in the north to the Bet Shean Valley and the Menashe Hills in the south, and from the Mediterranean Sea on the west to the Sea of Galilee and the Jordan Valley on the east. The region is characterised by hilly landscapes, extensive open areas, many streams and water sources, and hundreds of archaeo-

Figure 5.7: Clergy tour at the excavation of the church at Kfar Kama. (Photo: Einat Ambar-Armon, courtesy of IAA.)

logical and historical sites. It is probable that the rural nature of this region and the connection of the population to nature and the environment are factors in the success of community archaeology in the north. Four examples of community participation in recent Northern Region salvage excavations are presented here.

The church at Kfar Kama, near Mount Tabor. A Byzantine church with decorated mosaic floors was uncovered in an excavation carried out in July 2020 in the context of development work for a park in the Circassian village of Kfar Kama (see, e.g., Israel 2020). Many volunteers took part in the excavation, doubling the number of paid workers. Towards the end of the excavation, ten tours were carried out at the site, one specifically for the clergy, including the head of the Greek Catholic Church in Israel (Figure 5.7). Many visitors came from the adjacent Circassian village of Kfar Kama, interested to hear about the remains discovered next

to their village. The tours took place in English, Hebrew and Circassian. Here the community was involved in the actual excavation, whereas in the past, the discovery of the church would only have become known to the public after the IAA spokesperson released it to the media.

A Roman-period Jewish farmstead near Hannaton in Lower Galilee. A salvage excavation was carried out near Kibbutz Hannaton, in the course of the construction of the Yiftah-el Interchange (2019–2020). An Early Roman farmstead was uncovered, including a complete Jewish ritual bath (*miqveh*). Young people from a local pre-army programme and many volunteers from the neighbouring community took part in the excavation. Muslim, Christian and Jewish, both religious and secular, workers and volunteers, all worked together, creating a cultural melting pot. Since the site was adjacent to the main road, the excavation attracted a great deal of attention when it was opened to the public. More than a thousand visitors participated in dozens of tours carried out over three days (Figure 5.8). When members of Kibbutz Hannaton, including several volunteers, understood that the site would be permanently covered over to construct the interchange, they asked permission to 'adopt the ancient *miqveh*' (see Science News 2020). In October 2020, the *miqveh* was transferred to the kibbutz in a joint operation of the IAA, the kibbutz, the Jezreel Regional Council and the Netivei Israel National Road Company. An educational archaeological park was to be set up in the kibbutz for the region and for visitors from abroad. This example emphasises the potential of the involvement of the community in salvage excavations.

Old Safed in Upper Galilee. An excavation was carried out in August 2020 to upgrade Ashtam Square at the entrance to the old town of Safed. The excavation was carried out by workers and volunteers, exposing buildings from the Ottoman period (sixteenth to nineteenth centuries). Since the excavation was carried out in the centre of Safed, curious passers-by stopped to ask questions, and the site was opened to visitors for a few days (Figure 5.9). One elderly visitor recalled that a tunnel had been dug here in the

Figure 5.8: Tour at the excavation near Hannaton.
(Photo: Einat Ambar-Armon, courtesy of IAA.)

Figure 5.9: Community tour in the old City of Safed.
(Photo: Einat Ambar-Armon, courtesy of IAA)

course of the Jewish–Arab conflict when the State of Israel was founded. The discovery of the tunnel a few days later caused great excitement. The public interest and pressure, and the media coverage (see Savir 2020), led the municipality to halt the works, with the aim of making the tunnel accessible to visitors and tourists.

A pottery kiln in Moshav Zippori, near Nazareth. Some small sites that do not receive media coverage are nonetheless of local interest. In September 2018, an ancient pottery kiln was exposed in a small excavation carried out in a plot designated for a nursery in Moshav Zippori. A few dozen people from the moshav visited on the open day and took a great interest in the kiln, which is significant for archaeological research. The nursery children also visited the dig and hung pictures of their visit in the new building, thus connecting the local community with their cultural heritage.

There are dozens of examples of community participation in salvage excavations, in ways adapted to the nature of the dig and the local community. It has become clear that involving the community in excavations and archaeological events, as well as providing online media coverage of new discoveries, contributes significantly to the IAA's efforts to protect Israel's antiquities and cultural heritage.

Educational Excavations

Apart from the salvage excavations, the IAA initiates educational excavation projects of various types in different regions. Nursery children, school pupils, students, pre-army programmes, soldiers, older people and the general public can all take part in the digs, finding a suitable local project. Participants come from various backgrounds and religions, including Jews, Christians, Muslims, Bedouins, Druze, and Circassians, and the activities are adapted to the different populations. The educational initiatives provide an acquaintance with the world of archaeology and history, and add new knowledge related specifically to the finds retrieved in the excavations. Participation in the educational projects leads to the absorption of values, the strengthening of local identity

and community affiliation, and increased responsibility for the environment. Moreover, these projects enable communities to expose important sites that will be opened to the general public in the future, enabling them to continue to adopt the sites. Consequently, public involvement is an effective way to create a deep affinity with the local cultural heritage. Three examples of educational excavation projects in the Northern Region are presented here.

The Sanhedrin Trail. The Sanhedrin Trail is a rich cultural heritage trail that crosses the Lower Galilee in the footsteps of the main stations of the Sanhedrin, the Jewish High Council that led the Jewish people into the Galilee after the Bar Kochba revolt in 135 BCE. The trail can be traversed on foot, divided into five or more days, or by bike or jeep (IAA Official Channel). The trail has been created and developed mostly by schoolchildren, young people, volunteers and educational institutions, with the participation of volunteers from the Galilean communities. The project includes the marking and upkeep of the trail, adopting archaeological sites, lectures and workshops for adults and communities, and various other activities (Figures 5.10–5.12). Over the last four years, a large-scale educational excavation at Horbat Usha, the site identified as the first seat of the Sanhedrin, has been carried out almost entirely with educational institutions and volunteers from the community. The excavation has uncovered impressive finds of the ancient village that complement the Jewish written sources about life in Roman Jewish Galilee.

Huqoq Secrets. Horbat Huqoq, the ancient site of the village of Huqoq, is situated on a low hill facing south-eastwards towards the Sea of Galilee and the Jordan Valley. Since 2011, a Byzantine-period synagogue with unique fascinating mosaics has been excavated on the summit by an expedition from the University of North Carolina, headed by Jody Magness (Magness et al. 2014).

Additional remains observed on the hill, including stone walls, industrial installations, stone quarries and burial caves, led to the opening of an educational excavation at the site in 2017, with the aim of connecting local communities with the site and its finds.

Figure 5.10: The volunteer group at Horbat Usha along the Sanhedrin Trail.
(Photo: Einat Ambar-Armon, courtesy of IAA.)

Figure 5.11: Young people washing and sorting pottery.
(Photo: Einat Ambar-Armon, courtesy of IAA.)

Figure 5.12: Prisoners participating in the excavation at Huqoq. (Photo: Einat Ambar-Armon, courtesy of IAA.)

The excavation is carried out in several areas, including on the hill where the stratigraphy can be examined; on the lower slopes where unique rock-hewn agricultural-processing installations were exposed, possibly for processing mustard plant oil; near the spring; and in a fascinating underground hiding complex, where visitors are able to enter the underground spaces by crawling along a circular route.[4] Open dig days, attracting people from a large area, and various other activities take place at the site, including an escape room, outdoor training (ODT) games, tours and lectures for local audiences. The main participants are thousands of children and young people, but prisoners from the nearby Zalmon Prison have also taken part in the excavation as part of their rehabilitation programme. Soldiers from the Israeli army unit that specialises in digging tunnels have also participated in the excavation of the underground hideout complex (Figures 5.12 and 5.13).

Figure 5.13: Excavating an underground hideaway.
(Photo: Einat Ambar-Armon, courtesy of IAA.)

Figure 5.14: Golan children digging in the Golan synagogues.
(Photo: Einat Ambar-Armon, courtesy of IAA.)

The Golan Synagogues. To date, 30 ancient synagogues have been exposed in the Golan, a concentration unmatched elsewhere in Israel, reflecting the extent of the Roman to Byzantine Jewish settlement in the area, and the teaching of the culture of the Jewish community in the Golan in these periods. Synagogues have been exposed at En Keshatot, En Nashut, Deir Aziz, Majduliya and many other sites. The synagogues were built of huge ashlar basalt blocks and the buildings were adorned with impressively high-quality artistic decorations.

The IAA Golan Synagogue project began in 2015, with the aim of creating a bond between the Golan population and the ancient synagogues. The IAA initiative is carried out together with the Golan Regional Council Education Department and is led by IAA archaeologists living in the Golan. The young people that participate in the programme learn about archaeology, the periods represented at the sites, the Jewish settlement in the Golan and the ancient synagogues. In addition to learning in the classroom, there are activity days in museums and digging days at the sites. The programme has created a strong bond between the pupils and other participants and the ancient synagogues (Figure 5.14).

Discussion: Community Archaeology and the COVID-19 Pandemic

The COVID-19 pandemic, which in Israel first spread in March 2020, dramatically affected lifestyles. We choose to add to this chapter a short section on the effect that the coronavirus had on the connection of the general public with archaeology, showing how the roots of community archaeology were strengthened. The COVID-19 pandemic presented a great challenge that required adaptation to the new situation, but the reaction to the pandemic differed in different places. For example, Alexandra and Sydney (2020) described their relatively quick reaction to the situation in Washington, and the replacement of classroom learning with virtual programmes.

In Israel, during the pandemic, some existing educational activities continued to take place under the changing restrictions of the Ministry of Health, and some new activities were initiated. While much of the country went into lockdown, the IAA was defined as an essential body and continued to work, specifically due to its affiliation with development and construction work. The IAA invited people from the vicinity to take part in local salvage excavations and thus helped people, such as tour guides, who had been furloughed from their regular jobs. The number of volunteers also increased significantly, and the pre-army programmes continued. All of the activities were carried out with masks and according to the Ministry of Health's distancing restrictions. The many unemployed and the difficult economic situation led us to reconsider and to contribute towards strengthening the connection of the community with archaeology. We provided a series of lectures on Zoom and virtual tours for thousands of people, who could thus 'visit' distant hidden sites around the country and keep in contact with the IAA activities.

Conclusions

While the IAA educational initiative is not a new idea, the former IAA director general Israel Hasson renewed the concept in 2015 and made it a central feature in the IAA vision. Today, after seven years of educational activity and a wealth of initiatives, it can be said that the concept underlying the educational activity of the IAA is that archaeology belongs to the entire community and not only to archaeologists. It is not sufficient to uncover archaeological sites and to carry out conservation work. Without the interest of the community, sites will be damaged, covered over by dirt and vegetation, and even destroyed. The interest, excitement and involvement of the community and the general public must be an integral part of the IAA vision, so that archaeological sites will be preserved for future generations – the main aim of the IAA. The hard work at digs, and the important finds retrieved, enhance the values of physical labour, cooperation, local community iden-

tity, sense of belonging, acceptance of different people, enhanced responsibility and cooperation.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr. Kamil Sari, Northern Region archaeologist; Gilad Cinamon, Butrus Hanaa and Oren Zingboym, Northern District archaeologists; and Orly Kap, Yair Amitzur, Eyad Basharaat of the Northern Region DEC. I also would like to thank Dror Barshad, Eliezer ('Gezer') Hillel of the IAA DEC. I am grateful to Yardenna Alexandre and Tzvika Greenhut for reviewing and commenting on this article.

Notes

1 After this chapter was completed in 2021, Eli Eskosido was appointed as the new IAA general director. The educational and community activity continues and is now expanding to other fields in education, including a strengthening of the IAA's relationships with regional councils and cities, which has led to more visibility and an intensification of the processes. An examination of the consequences of these changes lies beyond the scope of this chapter.

2 This refers to those who come from treatment and support frameworks and services, as well as those who are at risk and/or in danger due to, e.g., having dropped out of school.

3 The excavations are geared to exposing finds and to research and publish the archaeological and historical understandings gleaned from them. Since many of the sites are subsequently destroyed, the aim is to save the ancient finds and the data, hence the term 'salvage'.

4 The complex is part of a broad phenomenon that is known in Judaea and in the Galilee, whereby underground spaces were hewn in the bedrock below Jewish settlements, as part of a defensive system to protect the local population against the Roman army in the first and second centuries CE. More than 400 hiding complexes of different dimensions are known, some for families, others for communities, some originally water systems and ritual purification baths (*miqveh*) that were cancelled when the spaces were converted into hiding complexes (see Shivtiel and Osband 2019).

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III

Their Archaeologies: Archaeological Parks, Museums and Beyond

CHAPTER 6

Community Archaeology at Tell Balata, Palestine

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Abstract

This chapter introduces the community archaeology experience at Tell Balata, Palestine. It contextualises the aims, objectives and activities of a four-year joint project of the Palestinian Department of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage, the Faculty of Archaeology of the University of Leiden, and UNESCO's Ramallah office, in cooperation with the local community. The site is identified with ancient Shechem and had been excavated in the last century by a series of archaeological expeditions, using a typical colonial archaeology, in which the involvement of the local community has been limited to physical work and dirt removal. The project's main concern was the rehabilitation of the neglected archaeological site, and its development into a modern archaeological park for the benefit of the local community.

How to cite this book chapter:
Taha, H. and G. van der Kooij. 2023. 'Community Archaeology at Tell Balata, Palestine'. In *Living Communities and Their Archaeologies in the Middle East*, edited by R. Bonnie, M. Lorenzon and S. Thomas, 121–51. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.33134/HUP-19-6.

The Tell Balata Archaeological Park was guided by a management plan based on UNESCO and ICOMOS principles and the management guidelines for World Cultural Heritage sites, in line with provisions of international charters and conventions. The plan determined the level and nature of community involvement. Community outreach activities included clearance work, excavations at certain spots to build capacity in the heritage sector in marginalised areas, involving workers in excavation and restoration work, and connecting the people with the place. Other outreach activities included promotion work, such as signposting outside the site, a site map and trail signage on site, leaflets, education and awareness programmes, the oral history survey, site staff training, and the interpretation centre. Complementary activities included excavation reports, a teacher's handbook, a guidebook, a documentary film, and additional visitor-friendly provisions on site to facilitate and promote domestic and international tourism.

Keywords: community archaeology, Palestine, Tell Balata, Shechem

Introduction to the Tell Balata Archaeological Park Project

Community Archaeology: The Palestinian Context

The interest in community archaeology in Palestine has grown in the last two decades with the transformation from a colonial paradigm of archaeological work based on foreign domination to a new post-colonial paradigm based on direct involvement of the local community in archaeology (Taha and Saca 2023). One of the best illustrative examples of community engagement in archaeology in Palestine is the Tell Balata Archaeological Park project in Palestine, 2010–2014, which has been transformed from a playground to a modern archaeological park. It was a joint project of the Palestinian Department of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage, the Faculty of Archaeology of the University of Leiden, and UNESCO's Ramallah office in cooperation with the local community.

The project's main concern was the rehabilitation of the neglected archaeological site, and to develop it into a modern archaeological park for the benefit of the local community. This was to include bringing it to the attention of the local community, thus contributing to a sense of heritage value and responsibility for the site, as well as of external visitors, thus potentially contributing to economic growth, as a tourist attraction.

The activities of site management and public awareness were undertaken under a management plan that was largely composed according to a heritage management model. The plan aimed to guide sustainable management of the site for the following years. A series of activities were carried out within the management framework. The project also traced the changing landscape, building encroachment around the site and demographic growth in the last century.

Much focus was given to public interest in the site. This related to the values the site might represent for the local community, diffusing archaeological knowledge and interpretations to the public, and in general promoting public awareness of the value of this archaeological heritage. It included a set of heritage management issues such as outside signage, information leaflets, site panels and internal trail signage. In addition, an interpretation centre was established, with parking and entrance constructions and designed to inform visitors about the archaeology of the site through exhibitions, leaflets, digital facilities, and an audience and education room. In practice, these activities were combined with the study of local oral history concerning the site and teaching about its archaeology (both taking place within the setting of local events), as well as tourism.

Historical Background

During the great upheaval in Palestine in the events of 1948, the Department of Antiquities of Palestine ceased to exist. The Palestinian Department of Antiquities was re-established in 1994 as a result of the Oslo Agreements, within the Ministry of Tourism and

Antiquities (MoTA). An enormous task lay ahead at that point, because a complete organisation with its equipment, facilities and qualified personnel had to be built up from scratch within a few years in order to deal with the daily tasks of building permissions, combating looting and rescue excavations. Officially the Jordanian Antiquities Law was valid again, but a new law had to be prepared, since Palestine was to be taken as a separate state with all of the responsibilities connected with that. Furthermore, new worldwide issues of archaeological heritage management (including the Valletta Convention of 1992 concerning the Archaeological Heritage of Europe) and local responsibilities had to be included, as well as the need to move beyond the conventional concept of antiquities to the wider concept of cultural heritage, following UNESCO and ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) rules. For UNESCO, all archaeological and historical objects and materials are public property to be dealt with by a Department of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage (DACH) that has to take care of them and develop public interest in and responsibility for them.

Considering this last aspect, even before the Oslo Agreement of 1993 a campaign had been launched to promote public awareness of the importance and value of archaeology, and of archaeological and cultural heritage among the Palestinian people. This was initiated and undertaken by scholars from different Palestinian universities, led by Hamdan Taha, via radio broadcasting, lectures, leaflets and posters, etc. It was essential to change a rather general negative public attitude towards archaeological remains – archaeology being 'viewed as part of the occupation system' (Taha 2010, 18) – to a positive one. The positive attitude of the people would be that of discovering the past of their land and their own roots and thus strengthening their identity. It would also mean an attitude of responsibility towards archaeological remains – in general, and more specifically when actual remains are found – and so a sense of opposition to looting and illegal trade. In the first years of the Department of Antiquities much rescue work was done, evenly spread over the country, as part of the 'Emergency clearance campaign of 100 sites in Palestine' project, funded by

the Dutch government (see Taha 2010, 21). In that context, the department took some urgent protective measures at Tell Balata in 1996, mainly cleaning and fencing. This agenda of independent archaeological and heritage tasks also needed fieldwork and the training of staff and students. It was to include archaeological excavation, with all of its material results, and reporting about them, in addition to object inventory and study and museology. Furthermore, the department, under its focused directorship, also regarded scientific research as an obligation, including methods of excavation, data collecting and interpretation, independent from foreign agendas. This would imply a reinterpretation of data, and eventually a rewriting of the history of the country, wherever necessary, from a post-colonial point of view. 'For the first time in history the Palestinian society became responsible for its past, to study it and to teach it' (Taha and van der Kooij 2020, 68). The realisation of this task in Palestine is a problem not only of time but also of space, considering for example the continuing zonation of degrees of occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip in Areas A, B and C, long after the Oslo Agreement (see, e.g., Dodd and Boytner 2010).

For the purpose of building human and logistical capacity, some foreign institutions were approached to contribute indirectly to these tasks of the department and cooperate with it. This resulted in the development of a new model of joint projects, based on respect and mutual interests. One of the first projects following this post-colonial model of cooperation was undertaken with the Dutch, specifically the Faculty of Archaeology of the University of Leiden, funded by the Dutch Ministry of Development Cooperation (Foreign Affairs). It began in 1996 with a rescue operation at Khirbet Balʿama, near Jenin (Taha and van der Kooij 2007). followed by excavations and surveys at the same site from 1998 to 2000, and a joint publication programme.

The Theoretical Background of Community and Public Archaeology

Within heritage management, a basic issue is the significance or 'value' of a heritage item (in this case Tell Balata as a whole and each of its many specific spots, features and objects), because the level of value suggests or dictates the level or kind of preservation and accessibility. The significance of the site, as listed in the project proposal, is historical, scientific, religious, socio-cultural, economic and educational (for value significance, see ICOMOS 2013, the Burra Charter; see also Chapter 8 in this volume). However, the problem here is that different stakeholders may value the same item differently.

Many people or institutions that are or feel connected with a heritage item (the stakeholders) may be identified. In the case of Tell Balata, three stakeholders are basic to heritage management (see also Taha and van der Kooij 2020):

- The archaeologists. In principle an academic scholar is attempting to get to a view of the reality of the people that left the heritage behind (by trying to let the people speak about what is left behind and found). This may be called the intrinsic value of the heritage. In practice, however, the view depends on research quality and biases.
- The local community. The local people are dealing with a site and its contents as part of its landscape and context. However, this community does not have only one voice with respect to values. People may want to know about the past, especially if they feel connected with it, about the people behind the material (as far as this is understood from the archaeologists, but also with a specific agenda). Others may focus on the value of the site for tourism, because of the potential economic spin-off and job opportunities.
- The pilgrim/religious visitor. In this context, the value of a site or a specific part of it may be high and a strong reason to pay it a visit, based on a suggested historical or legendary event or person. Since such pilgrimage is generally undertaken for reli-

> gious reasons, the attributed value is taken very seriously, and often also appreciated by the local community because of the potential economic benefit from it. (For a history of identification of the site see Taha and van der Kooij, eds, 2014b, 12–14.)

Thus, within heritage management activities it is quite relevant to consider differing and even opposing values in all sorts of presentations. These include values connected with colonial and post-colonial paradigms, and those connected with biblical narratives, interpreted as maximally or minimally representing historical realities (see Taha and van der Kooij 2020). This issue is highly specific for the 'Holy Land'. Tell Balata being identified with historical Shechem is a clear example of biblical-archaeological interest. Indeed, nearly all periods of its existence have been connected with biblical-historical values and related claims to the site's heritage. Because of the high percentage of religious visitors to the site (see below), and because of the high valuation of the site by these stakeholders, we have to understand and discuss their views a little further here. These views largely date from the nineteenth century, an age of challenges resulting from rapid scientific and technological developments and critical thought regarding traditional knowledge, in particular biblical knowledge.

The contexts of early exploration and archaeology in Palestine have been well described in Silberman's pioneering study (1982), and later by, for example, Yahya (2005) and Taha (2019). However, we need to specify the issue a little further, with reference to Sherrard (2011). In her PhD thesis, Brooke Sherrard (2011) wrote a transparent and fundamental study of American 'biblical archaeologists', from Albright to Lapp and Glock, and their connection with Zionism:

> Very little work has been done to understand these scholars' positions in the history of the Palestinian–Israeli conflict, thus allowing the aura of scholarly objectivity, neutrality, and commitment to value-free science that has long surrounded them to continue … The defining difference in their arguments was their understanding of culture. I argue that those archaeologists who

> envisioned the ancient world as replete with cultural change and hybridity opposed the establishment of a Jewish state, while those who envisioned the ancient world's ethnic boundaries as rigid and impermeable favoured it. (Sherrard 2011, viii)

We agree with Sherrard that different concepts of culture trigger the dividing choice, but we argue that personal religious feelings and convictions contribute to, or even cause, the preferred concept of culture – more so when they are rigidised in a defensive mood. It is noticeable that the personal religion of explorers and archaeologists, and also that of their followers, played (and plays) a major part in their often populist mono-vocality. This has to be especially taken into account when dealing with traditional or conservative Christian Protestant denominations with a colonialist attitude towards non-Western societies, in this case the Arab world. Sherrard (2011, 27–30) refers to some famous mid-nineteenth-century American scholar-travellers to the 'Holy Land', like Edward Robinson and William Thomson, and to the influence of their paradigm of ethnic boundaries on politicians nowadays in connection with Palestine.

This means, in practice, that all Tell Balata Archaeological Park (TBAP) project publications, including park guides and the Interpretation Centre at Tell Balata, present an inclusive, multifaceted story about the site, including historical, archaeological and religious views. The community includes the local population as well as international tourists, including Christians who visit the site. Notably, a significant proportion of the international tourists are evangelicals who are motivated by the religious biblical and Islamic traditions of the Prophet Ibrahim (Abraham) and his journey from Harran to Canaan, with the first stop at Tell Balata (Shechem).

The Tell Balata Archaeological Park Project

The Site

Tell Balata is located in the central part of Palestine, around 65 km north of Jerusalem and 1.5 km east of the centre of Nablus, at a spot guarding the historical pass between the mountains of Gerizim and Ebal and overlooking the plain of Askar, with perennial springs around. The archaeological record of the site has been studied through some large-scale excavations (see below) showing the existence of villages and cities during several periods (Taha and van der Kooij 2014b, 16–20; Taha and van der Kooij, eds, 2014b, 11–26, 34–102; Wright 1965). The place was inhabited in the Late Chalcolithic period, 6,000 years ago, and reached its zenith in the Middle Bronze Age, when its cyclopean wall, monumental gates, fortress temple, and domestic quarters were built. This period ended c. 1550 BCE, by destruction; during the Late Bronze Age the city was rebuilt, but it was again destroyed c. 1150 BCE. During the Iron Age II (mainly eighth and seventh century BCE) the ruined surface was inhabited again, and remains of a Hellenistic town have been revealed. The city was abandoned in the first century BCE, and the new city, Nablus (Neapolis), was erected in the Roman period. The village of Balata was built on the southern edge of the ancient tell in the medieval period and continues to the present time, inheriting the legacy of the ancient tell. After the political upheaval of the *Nakbah* in 1948, thousands of displaced Palestinian refugees from cities and villages inside the Green Line found shelter in the refugee camp adjacent to Balata village.

The ancient historical record of the region strongly suggests that the ancient site has to be identified with Shikmou (Shechem), mentioned in Egyptian historical texts from the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries BCE, indicated as a city-state. The city-state character of Shikmou during the Late Bronze period is also clear, based on mid-fourteenth century BCE Akkadian texts from el-Amarna, partly dealing with Labaya as the main rebellious Canaanite king in the Egyptian Empire (Wright 1965, 16–19).

Figure 6.1: Tell Balata under urban pressure in 2010, viewing towards south-east, with Jacob's Well and Balata Camp.
(Photo: Gerrit van der Kooij.)

Consequently, the Iron Age town has been identified with Shechem of the biblical narrative.

After the excavations and consolidations up to 1973 (see below) the archaeological site was left unattended during the Israeli occupation period, until the first protective measures, mentioned above, were implemented in 1996, followed by the TBAP project in 2010.

In 2005 the Palestinian Ministry and Department (MoTA-DACH) published, together with UNESCO, the *Inventory of Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites* (Taha 2009, first published in 2005). In this inventory of 20 sites, the 'Old Town of Nablus and its environs' (listed as no. 12) includes Tell Balata for the older periods because of the values of the site and its being endangered by long-term neglect and current population pressure (Figure 6.1).

The Project Proposal

The proposal for the TBAP project had the title: 'Tell Balata Archaeological Park project. Scientific research, conservation and site management; A joint Palestinian–Dutch expedition in cooperation with UNESCO'. This clearly indicated the sponsorship and the responsible and connected institutions: MoTA-DACH and Leiden University were implementing partners, UNESCO Ramallah Office the executing agency, and the local public institutions, Al-Najah University and the Balata communities were other stakeholders. After the proposal was commonly approved, and funding by the Dutch Ministry of Development Cooperation secured, the implementing activities took place from 2010 through 2014. Co-funding is done by MoTA-DACH and UNESCO through in-kind contributions. Additional funds came from the Dutch government (through UNESCO) and from a European research project through Leiden University to the added project activities.

The project followed the UNESCO model for world heritage. Thus, its proposal included a description of the site and previous research on it, its diverse significance (Section II), current archaeological research and site management activity (Section IV), and aspects of sustainability and work planning. The two components of the project, scientific study and management planning, are described in a log frame matrix (Section III). An example of such a matrix is provided in Table 6.1. The items listed in the matrix made it easier to stay focused, also when adaptations became necessary.

Table 6.1. Example of a log frame matrix in use

	Development objectives	Immediate objectives or project goals	Expected results	Activities
What has to be done? (intervention logic)				
What are the objectively verifiable indicators of achievement/benchmarks?				
What are the sources and means of verification? (organisational and tangible results)				
What are the (context-) assumptions and the risks of no or partial implementation?				

The Practice of Community Archaeology at Tell Balata and Its Sustainability

In the context of this volume, the focus of this chapter is on the practicalities of heritage management and community archaeology at Tell Balata. Following the modern heritage management policy and practice set out by UNESCO and ICOMOS (see van den Dries and van der Linde 2014b, 128f) the Palestinian DACH has the task of hearing the voices of all stakeholders about the site. This means 'multivocality' of interpretation and use of the heritage item and its value, as opposed to 'mono-vocality', by which one stakeholder (group) decides about the heritage item, enabling self-centred use (see ICOMOS 2008, 2011).

To be sure, archaeological activities have not only the scientific function of reconstructing societies of the past but also the social role of giving a current society historical roots as part of its iden-

tity, in order to be able to move forward and attempt to survive (see van der Linde and van den Dries 2015, 52f). This dual function was observed during fieldwork for the TBAP project. Comprehensive clearance work was carried out in 2010 (Taha and van der Kooij, eds, 2014b, 159). After the site was cleared of garbage in 2010, hardly any rubbish settled on it due to the measure of employing new guards but apparently also due to a new understanding of the site among the local people. In 2011, excavations were carried out in four main areas, namely Areas 2, 11, 14 and 23, which all yielded considerable archaeological results with respect to the history of the site and of previous excavations (Taha and van der Kooij, eds, 2014b, 103–26). Excavation and clearance work was done by students and workers from the neighbouring villages. Fieldwork in such a densely populated area was not possible without the cooperative attitude of the nearby community. The first step was to understand local community views of the site and what local people's expectations were (see below).

Assessment of Previous Excavations and Development of a Database

These two functions of archaeology – to serve a historical reality and a current and future social reality – made it necessary to deal with two aspects of the previous excavations by German and American teams between 1913 and 1973, within a general assessment of those excavations. The first aspect was an assessment of how the excavations and interpretations were done. For this, the publications and field archives were studied, but fieldwork was also necessary – namely, the clearance of nearly all excavated parts and study of what was left of the remains excavated. After clearance (in 2010), some additional digging (in 2011) was necessary to answer specific questions.

The second aspect (see below) was concerned with how local people were involved with the projects and how interpretive knowledge was distributed among them, as well as how the site was managed, including protective and visitor-friendly measures.

The official Austrian and German excavations under Ernst Sellin (with some Dutch participation) started in 1913 and continued, with breaks, till 1934. Trenching and an architectural approach were used, with almost continuous dump problems. They worked with a very small staff and a large workforce of male and female villagers on the site, and uncovered most of the architectural remains currently visible on the site (Figure 6.2). The American excavations were conducted by a joint team from different US universities, initiated and directed by G. Ernest Wright, and started in 1956 as a follow-up to the German work. The aim was to solve chronological and interpretive problems, but also to add some large-scale excavations to obtain more data about the different periods. The team worked mainly till 1968, with some additions till 1973, gradually using more advanced methods. They had a large staff, and also large numbers of male local workers, including foremen, bringing wage labour to the village. The

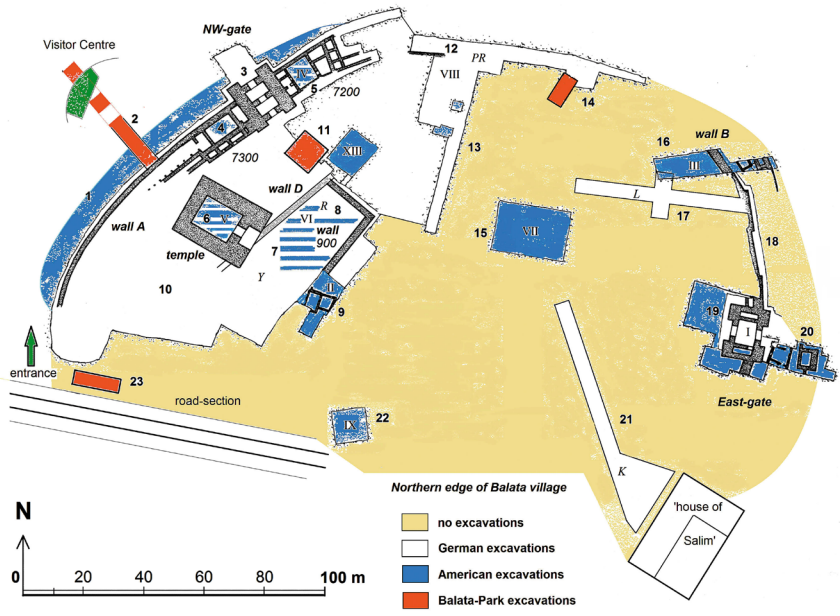

Figure 6.2: Tell Balata site plan with excavated areas (1913–2011). (Image: Gerrit van der Kooij.)

Americans did much consolidation work at erosive places, as well as also to prepare the site (especially the fortress temple, area 6; see Figure 6.2) for groups of visitors.

As part of the study of archives, much archival material, housed at several institutions (mainly in Jerusalem, in Leiden and at Harvard University), was digitally copied to be made available at the national DACH. The archives were also studied to discover the whereabouts of all of the registered objects, again in connection with DACH's responsibility for its heritage, including cases where objects may have to be returned to Palestine. The German expedition had retrieved more than 3,000 registered objects from the site and the US one around 4,000. Most of these are in museums in Vienna, Leiden, and Jerusalem, and at Harvard University.

Preservation Measures

The assessment of the state of preservation of the archaeological remains was aimed at a better understanding or interpretation of them and possibly even their restoration and reconstruction. At Tell Balata, 23 areas were chosen for this assessment (see Figure 6.2). Additional excavation was limited to four of these, as mentioned above, with specific reasons connected to these spots but also general reasons, such as capacity-building through training, adding carbon-14 dating samples for chronological assessment, and retrieving a selection of objects from different periods to display to visitors in the museum room in the site's visitor's centre, in lieu of objects from previous excavations being returned to the site.

This assessment of the state of preservation made clear that many remains were quite stable. However, many others had changed, some greatly, as a result of erosion or deliberate action. An impressive example is the north-west gate (Area 3), which changed very much after 1914 due to 'stone quarrying' during wartime, but then hardly at all since 1926 (for details see Taha and van der Kooij, eds, 2014b, 34–102).

Community Involvement

As indicated above, the TBAP project was essentially a heritage management project. For implementation, a theoretical introduction was put together to justify and make the right choices based on the principles of UNESCO and ICOMOS and discussions by modern authors. Thus, the 2010 project team, including experienced MoTA-DACH members, discussed the degree of community involvement for this purpose. This discussion was led by two Leiden specialists who subsequently wrote the internal note 'Promotion, Awareness and Education Proposal', as an action plan. This was worked up into the implementation of activities that were largely realised during the 2011 field season through the joint work of Palestinian and Dutch staff and trainees.

As van den Dries and van der Linde note, the four degrees of participation of the community in an archaeological and heritage project may be described as:

- Providing outreach and education activities for dissemination purposes;
- Consultation for purposes of identifying the interests of stakeholders;
- Participation for creating an influential dialogue on goals and decisions; and
- The full empowerment of local communities, characterised by community-led decision-making and research design. (van den Dries and van der Linde 2014b, 130)

The first two degrees are not sustainable because they are limited to the field seasons. For the Tell Balata Archaeological Park project the first three degrees were chosen and applied. This 'Involvement in the sense of participation … aims to stimulate active partaking by community members and other stakeholders, preferably in all stages of the research and preservation process and decision taking' (van den Dries and van der Linde 2014b, 130).

The direct reasons for actual involvement of the community had to do with the role the Tell has played in the lives of the local

community for several generations, through the sense of it as an oasis in a highly built-up area and also as a source of history and identity. It was seen as important that this role should continue, because community connection with the site is important both for the local people and for the public obligation to take care of this heritage. However, the 'community' turned out to consist of some 43 groups of people and organisations, including neighbours, former and current workers on site, local authorities, schoolchildren, refugees from Balata Camp, and tourism police. In order to address these target groups, intermediaries had to be chosen, such as teachers, tour guides and journalists. It turned out that for many public activities the Multipurpose Community Resource Centre (MCRC) in Nablus was very helpful.

For practical reasons (considering constraints of personnel, budget and time), of the many possible activities in this respect, those considered most efficient in reaching target groups were chosen to be realised (van den Dries and van der Linde 2014b, 130–32). Examples include site promotion such as signposting outside the site, site map and trail signage on site, leaflets, an education and awareness programme, the oral history project, site staff training, and the Interpretation Centre. Fortunately, additional funding made other activities possible that were considered important by the implementing and funding parties, namely the teacher's handbook, the guidebook, the documentary movie and the preliminary website, as well as additional visitor-friendly provisions on site.

Oral History Project

Local traditional knowledge about the site and about the current use and valuation of it by people from the village of Balata, from nearby Balata Camp and from neighbouring villages had to be studied in order to prepare a continuation or improvement of positive attitudes of local people towards the site.

The German expedition did not account for these aspects, apart from in relation to landownership and related rights. Yet

its remarkable wage labour system for male and female villagers working on the site must have had an interesting background and effect: 'Both casual wage labor and money rents served to introduce money into what was essentially a barter economy, and began to create subtle changes' (Ammons 1978, 108). On the other hand, during the US expedition, Linda Ammons did fieldwork in the village as a social anthropologist, also collecting data in the form of 'oral history' about the past, 'as villagers experienced, understood, remembered and finally related it to me' (Ammons 1978, 11). Again, during those excavation seasons (counted till 1966) cash money was important for the villagers, less from rent but more from work by men and boys on site. For a few experienced archaeological workers this economic connection with the site was a reason to continue work on other excavations, and three of these 'came to consider archaeology their profession' (Ammons 1978, 122–23).

So, as a sub-project, the TBAP project collected oral histories concerning the site, as voiced individually by local people, including opinions about what the project should do with it. It should be noted here that 'oral history' writing about villages is something undertaken a lot by people from Palestine, partly because of the very large number of villages destroyed or deserted since 1948, meaning that preserving memories in such a way is the only way to know about them and their histories (see Davis 2011, showing the value of these histories for a Palestinian identity).

The sub-project was implemented during the 2011 field season, when a large team and many villagers were active at the site. As an essential element of community archaeology, the specialists from Leiden University had two students included in the research, to which a local student from Al-Najah University was added, as well as Mr Eyad Thouqan of the Nablus Office, to undertake preparations and implementation (van den Dries and van der Linde 2014a).

The tangible results were a set of taped interviews and reports with details that were partly included right away in the ongoing TBAP project and also in the new Heritage Management Plan.

Figure 6.3: *Stories about Tell Balata*, resulting from the Oral History sub-project. The cover shows Abu Issa on site.
(Photo: Gerrit van der Kooij.)

Not originally scheduled was the Arabic and English publication of a collection of quotes from and photographs of the interviewees, in a booklet distributed among the village families, called *Stories about Tell Balata* (Gazal, Nogarede and Rhebergen 2011), which was subsequently made publicly available with the interviewees' consent.

One of the local excavation foremen of the US expedition was Nasr Dhiab Dweikat (Abu Issa), who continued to work as 'chief technical excavator', as Paul Lapp described his qualifications (letter, 23 July 1969). He was very pleased about the new level of care being taken of the site (see Figure 6.3). He had told imparted a lot of information about the Tell to villagers, including young men, and had lent out to them his copy of Wright's book about 'Shechem' (1965), adding to the villagers' sense of value of (parts of) the site, the author being in the 'school' of Albright, mentioned above.

Public Outreach

Several public events were organised, including opening ceremonies, an 'open day', the inauguration of the Interpretation Centre and a meeting closing the project. In 2010 the opening field activities made local people aware of the new attention being received by the site. A meeting was organised in order to present an accurate picture of this work to them and to representatives of the wider local communities, among them the Minister of Tourism and Antiquities, the mayor of Nablus municipality, the district's head, and representatives of the UNESCO office and the Dutch Representation in Ramallah. Short introductions were given, as well as a tour, but of great value were the more personal individual talks and discussions, especially those with local authorities and local inhabitants about how they viewed the site's functioning in the future.

In 2011 the fieldwork season was opened with short speeches by the MoTA minister, the mayor of Nablus, and the two co-directors, in the presence of representatives of a variety of public institutions and stakeholders. A hand-out about the project's activities for the year with a site map, was distributed and the architectural competition for the Interpretation Centre and facilities was presented through large posters. A site tour, introducing the new excavations, was also conducted.

Towards the end of fieldwork in 2011, the TBAP project organised a special day for the local public to inform the community about what had been done and was to be done on site, and to get their feedback. Officially called the Community Day, it turned out to be a real family event with many activities for and by children and adults during the afternoon of 17 July and some 600 people attending. The whole project team, in collaboration with the MCRC in Nablus, prepared this event for the communities of Balata, Nablus and the surrounding areas. It was publicly announced digitally and by paper invitations handed out in the connected villages.

Activities for children were organised, of which pottery mending and a drawing contest (also incorporating flora and fauna on

Figure 6.4: School kids during a visit to the site on the Open Day. (Photo: Gerrit van der Kooij)

the site) were very popular (Figure 6.4). Children who had participated in the pilot lessons of the summer school (see below) gave explanations to their relatives. Guided tours around the site, prepared using the fixed large site map, took visitors to the places where excavations were ongoing. This made it possible to learn about methods of excavation and the processing and interpretation of the remains of the many buildings and small objects found, leading also to discussions about relations between these buildings and objects and known historical events. Small exhibitions showed photographs of earlier excavations, which turned out to be highly interesting especially for the villagers who 'were there' at the time and for their children. The results of a contest to design the park were also exhibited, as well as artists' impressions of how the new visitors' centre would look. In addition, the 30-page bilingual booklet *Stories about Tell Balata* was handed out. The event was highly appreciated by the participants, and the day was covered extensively by local and international radio and television.

Education and Public Awareness: The Key Strategies of Public Archaeology at Tell Balata

Another approach to connecting the local and national public with the site and the history it represents is education, in the senses both of developing public awareness and of school education (Lorenzon and Zermani 2016; see also Chapters 8 and 9 in this volume). Public awareness was promoted through special public events, such as public opening and closing events, in particular the open day. Another way in which this was practised was through informing the people who worked on the site alongside the excavation teams about the goals and results of this fieldwork.

School Education

This started because it became clear that local children were highly interested in the site and what it might tell us (van den Dries, van der Kooij and van der Linde 2014). A teaching programme, with on- and off-site lessons, was designed mainly by a Dutch primary school teacher to bring the archaeological history of Palestine, and in particular that of Tell Balata and surroundings, to the attention of schoolchildren. The method of doing so was to involve the children in the subject in different ways, based on Howard Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences (1983), using instruction cards and field activities. A teacher's manual with a box for lesson materials was prepared and used, and was further adapted during the pilot lessons. One adaptation was the 'biology' lesson, since flora and fauna were well represented in the TBAP and some children had needless fears about some of the specimens. During two summer seasons, these lessons were given in English and Arabic at the annual summer school organised by the MCRC in Nablus, jointly with volunteers of that school and with students of Al-Najah University, as well staff members of the project. The children came mainly from the centre of Nablus and Balata Camp and participated in groups of more than 20 children.

A short description of the lessons as conducted (quoted from the teacher's report) follows:

Children (9–12 years old)

Lesson 1: Site visit: the children ask questions about the site.

Lesson 2: School activity: circuit lessons about artefacts and historical context.

- Pot fixing
- Timeline
- Historical site maps
- Historical texts
- Objects

Lesson 3: Site visit: becoming a young archaeologist.

- Archaeological drawings
- Buildings and monuments
- Reconstructing the past

Youth (13–19 years old)

Lesson 1: School activity: lecture about archaeology.

Lesson 2: Site visit: experiencing archaeology.

- Excavation
- Technical drawing (stratigraphy and plans)
- Pot fixing
- Cleaning and management

This programme worked out well; the children were ready for the lessons to an unexpected degree. Consequently, and with the encouragement of other institutions working in Palestine, a teachers' handbook about the archaeology of Palestine, and Tell Balata in particular, was produced in order to enable follow-up

teaching after the project had ended. This was meant for teachers of children in two age groups, 6–9 and 10–12 years old, and was produced in English and Arabic versions (Taha and van der Kooij, eds, 2014a), with additional subsidy from the Archaeology in Contemporary Europe (ACE) network at Leiden University in 2012. It contained introductory texts (mainly adapted from the TBAP guidebook; Taha and van der Kooij 2014), about the archaeology, heritage, and flora and fauna of the site. This was followed by fully prepared lessons with activity sheets, instruction cards and timeline cards, with drawings and design by Martin Hense. Apart from school excursions to sites, heritage and cultural education is not yet a well-developed element in school curricula. For that reason the teaching programme was given a wider scope to potentially become a regular element of the curriculum. In order to achieve that purpose, contacts with the education authorities were established through the MCRC and the related ministries.

Logo Contest

Through the project team's contacts with Al-Najah University, a logo competition was held by the project team and Al-Najah teachers among students of the Department of Architecture and Fine Arts. An information sheet explaining the requirements was distributed, giving the students an opportunity to get to know the heritage site and to visit it in order to design an appropriate logo. The proposed designs of nine students were exhibited at the open day, and a professional jury from among the project team and university teachers chose the winning entry.

Tourism and Site Promotion

Together with community awareness, site promotion is an essential element of heritage management (including promotional material; see van den Dries and van der Linde 2014c). Promotional activities and tangible results (all produced locally) included:

- leaflet/brochure (others were started: entrance ticket design, colourful posters and postcards);
- website (note the increase of Google hits on 'Tell Balata' or 'Shechem');
- external road signage;
- site map/plan, with information/timeline, placed on site;
- trail signage with trail guiding 'fences';
- an Interpretation Centre with multiple ways of informing visitors (see below); and
- site staff training.

Tourism

An important goal of the TBAP project was to promote visits, especially by tourists, with the potential to provide economic benefit for the management of the site and for the surrounding villages. It would also have a social benefit, especially in the Nablus region, since this had been closed until 2008 following the 2000 intifada.

In the current situation, foreign visitors may be distinguished into two groups: group tourists (around 90%), mainly interested in the temple area for religious reasons; and individual visitors or small groups (around 10%), generally interested in the site as a whole and the excavations and their results. A strategy to attract more visitors was discussed, and several promotional activities were implemented (partly by students) in 2011, as listed above.

Measures for sustainability at the TBAP were also recommended, such as keeping the website updated; maintaining relations with stakeholders via newsletters etc.; organising special activities on site (with the help of local public relations professionals from the municipality, or Project Hope and Al-Najah University); and selling merchandise (food and beverages, *kanafeh* pastry, souvenirs, soap). Furthermore, it was felt that the site and its park should be mentioned in travel guides, as well as on tourist websites, and among tour operators. It was also indicated that it is worthwhile to attract individual or small-group tourism because

such visitors have more freedom when travelling, rather than large-group tourism, especially of a religious nature, because the latter tends to be tightly scheduled and 'already covered and managed by the existing (Israeli) tourism sector' (van den Dries and van der Linde 2014c, 158).

Social Media

In 2011, several steps were taken to implement a limited social media strategy. An English version of a project website was made available online on 30 June 2011 to inform about the project, although this is no longer available. It hosted general information, a site description, visitor information and a news section. General updates on the project implementation were provided. The site leaflets (Arabic and English), maps and oral history booklet could be downloaded, as well as academic literature and a site visit explanation. MoTA-DACH worked on an Arabic translation to be incorporated. Some project information was also available on the former website of the Department of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage, also with Arabic text, and on the UNESCO and Leiden University websites. After the conclusion of the project, the site continued to be promoted on the website of the Palestinian Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities.[1]

The Interpretation Centre: the Hub of Public Archaeology

This centre was proposed to include 'on-site display of artefacts, ticket office, gift shop, cafeteria, restrooms, etc. A separate small building will house the security personnel.' It was a major subproject to implement the design and construction of the Interpretation Centre. Local companies were contracted for it after contest and bidding procedures. As demanded, it includes the basic necessities for visitors, an office for the park staff, and two rooms for interpretive goals, namely a museum and an audience hall for all sorts of meetings, including digital presentation of the

Figure 6.5: The Interpretation Centre, just after its inauguration, 24 June 2013.
(Photo: Gerrit van der Kooij)

documentary film. It was officially inaugurated on 24 June 2013 (Figure 6.5), together with the visitors' trail and the accompanying signposts and guiding arrows. The beautiful building is located in the north-west corner of the fenced part of the site, as a test trench (Area 2, excavated in 2011; see Figure 6.2) had shown that the ancient site did not extend there. Here, the Interpretation Centre is connected with the newly made main entrance to the site from the road that enters the village from the west. As 'additional activities', the outside parking lot and sidewalk (alongside the stratigraphic section) are well constructed, as are the gate to the site and the bordering fence parts. Also, the access path to the Centre was made accessible, for example for visitors with mobility difficulties.

A major attraction of this visitors' centre is the documentary film (*Tell Balata: Uncrowned Queen of Palestine*) introducing the site, the archaeological work and the historical results. It was produced by an external studio, supervised by the implementing parties, and includes excellent 3D animations.

The inside walls of the centre are decorated with large photoprints of the previous excavations that establish the historical-archaeological connection between villagers and the site. Another tool to help familiarise visitors with the site is the guidebook (Taha and van der Kooij 2014), in English and Arabic versions. It provides information about the results of archaeological research not focusing on religiously oriented interpretations but rather stressing the very visible remains of the flourishing city during the Bronze Age and taking seriously all societies that have left some remains of their presence here through time. Also, the on-site flora and fauna are dealt with, partly as a link to past natural conditions.

The name 'Interpretation Centre' is programmatic for its purpose and activities: providing varieties of interpretation and explaining choices based on academic research (including the quality of research) and public interest/value attribution. The Interpretation Centre is the place in which to stage this variation and discuss diverging valuations as a result of its principle of multivocality. An example, as given above, is the finalising of the theoretical background. Two other examples concern, first, an Iron Age II complex. Archaeological research does not support any biblical identification with the remains of the large Middle Bronze Age IIB temple, but for large groups of visitors that identification is the value of those remains, together with the standing stone in front. For these groups, coming by bus, the large artificial platform already prepared by the US expedition was restored and consolidated. The third example concerns the Park's guidebook (Taha and van der Kooij 2014, 20, 27ff), which describes Iron Age II results from Area 15 (US Field VII) with attention given to the cultural and political complexity of that period, and not converging to biblical-historical constructions.

The Interpretation Centre is a sign of the sustainability of the Archaeological Park, which is open, well managed and staffed, guarded, and ready to receive visitors, local and international, almost daily. The complex is also ready for the future. After the implementation of the project, the new Management Plan was

produced in 2014 as an internal handbook for short- and longer-term activities of heritage management and social archaeology. It is a living document, dealing with eventual possibilities and needs and intended to ensure actions on the site in accordance with international standards.

Notes

1 https://www.travelpalestine.ps.

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CHAPTER 7

Collaboration and Multivocality in Heritage and Museum Practice

Lessons from Jordan

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How to cite this book chapter:
Badran, A., S. Abu-Khafajah, M. E. Ronza, R. Skeates, R. Wilkinson and F. Marii. 2023. 'Collaboration and Multivocality in Heritage and Museum Practice: Lessons from Jordan'. In *Living Communities and Their Archaeologies in the Middle East*, edited by R. Bonnie, M. Lorenzon and S. Thomas, 153–91. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.33134/HUP-19-7.

Abstract

As part of a research project on how to better engage the young in learning about their past in Jordan, we report on our investigation into what constitutes good museum practice in the Jordanian context. We present some of the results of our work, which focuses on establishing and sustaining partnerships between museums, universities and schools for the purpose of guiding future capacity-building and enhancing standards across the sector. The chapter also sheds light on the benefits of collaborative work across cultures within internationally funded projects, and the importance of maintaining an equal platform for sharing ideas and making decisions.

Keywords: partnership working, cross-cultural projects, multivocality, good practice, museum education, Jordan

Introduction

In February 2018, the project Learning from Multicultural Amman: Engaging Jordan's Youth was launched. Funded by the AHRC's Newton-Khalidi Fund, a team of 12 professionals from six institutions in Jordan and the UK began working together over a period of 24 months, searching for effective and sustainable practices for engaging the youth with their heritage in Jordanian museums.[1] The process involved capacity-building of museum staff and experimenting with educational activities in partnership with schools and universities. The outcome of this process was twofold: identifying good practice in museum education in Jordan; and appreciating the value of collaborative work and shared decision-making in international projects. These two strands are discussed here by five members of the project team, each in a separate section, reflecting on their experiences of an increasingly locally driven project underpinned by principles of equal partnership.

In essence, we provide an insight into the mechanisms of international project management, challenging the dominant heritage discourse as a path to decolonisation.

Project Concept

Learning from Multicultural Amman: Engaging Jordan's Youth aimed to identify good local museum practice in youth engagement, in partnership with schools and universities, and to ensure that all those involved would share resources and understand each other's potential, challenges and needs – although sustaining these partnerships will require support from policy-makers in the heritage and education sectors (Figure 7.1).

Schools in Jordan need learning resources like museums. Most of Jordan's multicultural past (1.5 million years) is ignored in the National Curriculum, which focuses on the Islamic period and the modern history of Jordan (Badran 2011). While there is now more freedom to use textbooks other than those produced by the Ministry of Education, particularly in the private sector, education curricula that contain heritage or archaeological topics (e.g., citizenship) are compulsory to teach in all schools. Other restric-

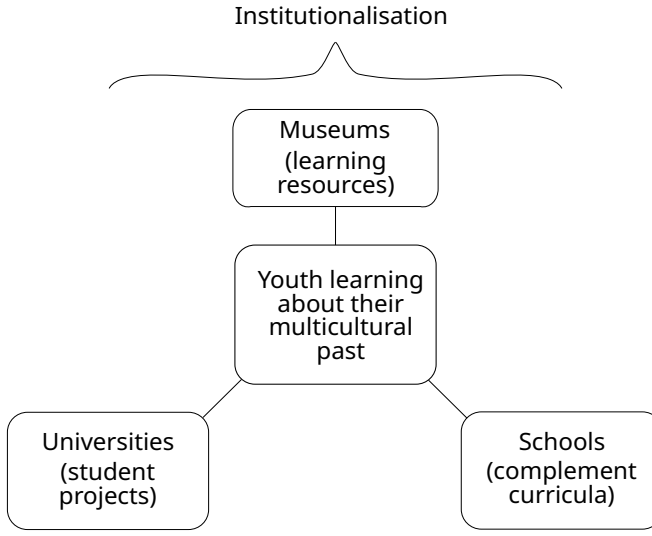

Figure 7.1: Learning from Multicultural Amman project concept: Formation of museum, school and university partnerships for better engagement of the youth in learning about their past.
(Image: The authors.)

tions on the teaching of these topics are related to teachers' lack of knowledge and the pressures of completing the curriculum requirements by the end of the school year.

Undergraduates are a product of the same National Curriculum that poorly represents heritage. Furthermore, most of their university educational experience is spent in lecture halls or the library, with little physical interaction with material remains, practice and employment. There exists, however, plenty of underutilised potential for them to engage with museum collections and to contribute based on their skills and creativity across many disciplines, from archaeology, conservation, heritage management or tourism to architecture, marketing, IT and art.

There are over 40 museums in Jordan, holding tens of thousands of objects, with great potential to become learning resources for young people. Moreover, many museums are site museums, providing opportunities to link their activities contextually to the wider historical landscape. Heritage educational services, however, are currently provided on an ad hoc basis, due to a general lack of sector vision, strategy, funding and capacity-building.

It is important to identify good practice for Jordan. Museum education discourse in the 'West' is longstanding and has dominated the international scene. There is a large body of research on the value of learning through museums, how learners learn in museums, and what the best ways are of serving their interests and needs. It is not surprising that the first and most comprehensive standards of good practice and accreditation schemes for museum education were published in the US and the UK. While there has been some research on the topic in Jordan (e.g., Al-Qaoud 2002; Al-Shayyab and Al-Muheisen 2008; Badran 2018; Malt 2005; Tawfiq 1994), active discussion of this field has generally been absent. Furthermore, there are currently no local standards of good practice in museum education in Jordan.

Collaborative Heritage: Navigating Theory and Practice

The project combined Jordanian and UK efforts towards exploring good museum practice in a local context. It was based on an equal platform that embraced multiple voices across a variety of contexts and practices of heritage – a concept that has been advocated by heritage commentators for decades. The beginning of the twenty-first century saw the development of critical heritage studies in response to a persistent authorised heritage discourse (AHD) that excludes multivocality (Smith 2006). The old field of heritage studies has since been described as 'politically naïve at best', needing to reflect on the notions of power, representation and control that are bound up in traditional understandings (Witcomb and Buckley AM 2013, 562).

More specifically, critical heritage studies grew out of 'particular nuances of heritage in colonial environments, and postcolonial responses to them' (Harrison and Hughes 2009, 234). These debates soon led to a call for the decolonising of the discipline (e.g., Atalay 2006; Mignolo and Walsh 2018), flagged by Schneider and Hayes (2020) as a vital movement to 'undiscipline' the discipline and challenge established colonial ontological approaches. These developments are particularly relevant to Jordan, whose visions and structures for the heritage sector were originally established by colonial agendas of the nineteenth century. As a result, historical narratives, chronologies and terminologies in Jordan remain a legacy of former colonial rhetoric and practices, and are disconnected from local interests (Abu-Khafajah and Miqdadi 2019; Porter 2010).

Colonial legacies in post-colonial contexts have shaped the contemporary identities and futures of whole countries (e.g., Giblin 2015). The way forward, Porter (2010) suggests, is to create a collaborative framework that empowers a variety of stakeholders (heritage professionals, government and non-government agencies, and local communities). This kind of collaboration helps to challenge AHD across different contexts and scenarios. It is one

way to counteract state control over heritage or the privileging of one narrative or local group over another (Abu-Khafajah et al. 2015). Furthermore, it helps to challenge academic wisdom, decentralising control over knowledge and promoting learning from collaboration with stakeholders outside the traditional academy (Nilsson Stutz 2018; Winter 2013). Collaborative heritage is advocated by many scholars, driven by their ethical responsibility towards inclusivity and multivocality (e.g., Schmidt and Pikiriya 2016; Thomas and Lea 2014), and is described by Jameson (2019, 1) as taking on 'voluntary activism' in various cooperative settings and stakeholder interactions.

Our project has been driven by a shared desire to practice collaboration on an equal footing between various stakeholders. We began our collaboration at the early stages of the funding application, holding a meeting with our partners in Amman to discuss the project concept and ensure that both sides were on the same wavelength. The outcome of these interactions informed the development of our subsequently successful application. During the project period, February 2019 to January 2021, shared management of activities with project partners relied on organising a planning meeting at the start of each stage and a reflection and feedback meeting at each stage's end. Information was circulated on a regular basis related to planned activities, roles and responsibilities, and any new developments or changes. Email and social media (WhatsApp, Messenger and Imo) were the main methods of communication, in both English and Arabic. Project partners took turns in leading and delivering five training programmes on museum education theory and practice: two in Jordan, one in the UK and two online. Based on the training, project partners worked with museum professionals to experiment with designing and piloting education activities and learning resources. Our collaboration proved resilient when international travel became restricted due to the COVID-19 pandemic. None of the UK team members could travel to Jordan, and thus Jordan's members took the lead in completing the project's remaining activities, including online. There are many inside stories and examples to tell, some of

which are presented in the following sections, reflecting on how the project's ethos worked in practice. A discussion of these reflections, along with the project outcomes and outputs, is presented at the end.

Reflections by Shatha Abu-Khafajah: Liberating Youth Engagement through Creative Material

In this section, Shatha Abu-Khafajah, the principal investigator on the Jordanian side, reflects on her work with her students at the Hashemite University, who as part of the project were actively engaged in producing 'creative material' for schoolchildren to learn about their multicultural heritage. Together, they were immersed in developing multiple interpretations of the Amman Citadel.

Theoretical Framework: On Creativity, Learning and Meaning-Making

This section examines two types of engagement with heritage that took place during our project: the Hashemite University students' 'instinctual' engagement with heritage to produce 'creative material', and their engagement with schoolchildren using this material. We define these types of engagement in contrast to the 'authorised' engagement criticised by Smith (2006, 34) as rigid, passive and uncritical. The students' engagement with heritage couples their academic knowledge (i.e., documentation and evaluation of heritage) with their own perceptions and analysis of that heritage knowledge to produce 'instinctual engagement' (Abu-Khafajah et al. 2015, 192). Their engagement was undertaken as part of the Heritage Management Module taught in year four at the Architecture Department, where practical experience is introduced to complement theoretical frameworks.

The students first created material as a result of their engagement with the Amman Citadel, a site known for its accumulative

Figure 7.2: Hashemite University students using creative material to engage schoolchildren at the Jordanian Archaeological Museum.
(Photo: Shatha Abu Khafajah.)

civilisations. This material was then presented to schoolchildren from Balqis Secondary School at the Jordanian Archaeological Museum located on the Citadel (Figure 7.2).

We define the material the university students produced as 'creative material' because it exceeds the 'inquiry into the past' and becomes a 'celebration of it', to use Lowenthal's (1998, x) words. In this sense, the creative material bridges two gaps in the Jordanian education system. The first, between heritage and university students, is bridged by the creative material turning heritage from a static material to be studied, assessed and managed into a dynamic entity that is open for analysis, criticism and reinvention. The second gap, between the university students and the schoolchildren, is bridged by the creative material providing a medium of communication between the two groups. Stein (1953, 311–12) defines

creative work as 'a novel work that is accepted as tenable or useful or satisfying by a group at some point in time … The extent to which a work is novel depends on the extent to which it deviates from the traditional or the status quo.' Presenting heritage using material that deviates from copying the reality is unfamiliar practice in heritage studies. However, it derives from the necessity to transform heritage sites, buildings and museum collections into active material that engages schoolchildren with information in an interesting way. In this sense, creativity is the process of analysis, synthesis and design that results in creative material able to transform interaction with heritage from a passive process into an active one (Abu-Khafajah et al. 2015, 195). Following McManamon's note (1991, 124), the creative material was designed to initiate 'more mass-media education projects and programs … [that are] positive, short, and sweet'. The benefits of creative material must be recognised in the museum context as well.

Using creative material in learning lay at the heart of this project. Biesta (2013, 36) captures the essence of learning in the following statement: 'the point of education is never that children or students learn, but that they learn something, that they learn this for particular purposes, and that they learn this from someone'. Heritage, as part of the learning process, turns into a semiotic project in which the students analyse the heritage in question – the physical remains, and the scholarly work written about it – then reassemble it in a way that makes sense to the schoolchildren. This chapter might not be the place for elaborating on the use of semiotic theories in learning and informal education. However, it is worth noting that:

> semiotic theories of learning provide a new set of guiding principles to describe links and coherences between different approaches that have one thing in common: they consider that the foundation of learning and cognition involves the meaning-making activity of the subject, an activity that articulates this subject, its peers and its environment. (Stables et al. 2018, 18)

Similarly, the set of guiding principles in the learning from this project synthesises the different approaches to heritage with those to education through 'meaning-making' educative events. According to Campbell (2018, 541), an educative event 'is expressed in a coming into presence with others, articulated by the emergence of previously unactualised possibilities for action and perception in a constantly evolving environment'. The aim of an educative event is to create an experiential transformation 'where what has been passed down through social learning can be reborn, and reinterpreted by the new generation – so the infinite flow of signification may continue, advancing the adaptive capabilities of the social group' (Campbell 2018, 546). Campbell's (2018) perception of an educational event as an experiential transformative activity reflects the power of engagement that happens through the activity. The following section explains the levels of engagement with heritage that took place in the project.

Educative Encounters with Heritage

First, a meeting was held at the Amman Citadel, where the students were introduced to the project and its partners. This helped to engage the students with the project, to understand their role in it and to feel the importance of the creative material they would produce for engaging the schoolchildren. It was an opportunity for the students to engage in the project as representatives of the Hashemite University. As Neary (2016) stresses, 'engagement activities give students a sense of being, belonging and becoming as well as feeling part of their institutions'. According to one of the students, this partnership 'affirmed our capability to go out and do real work … and contribute something positive to the children and their learning' (Ahmad, 2020, personal communication). Furthermore, all of the partners had the chance during this meeting to talk to the students about their role, their careers, and the nature of work in archaeology and education. This engagement enhanced the cross-sector, multi-stakeholder partnership in the project and engaged diverse partners, 'which is thought to

bring together diverse knowledge, experience, resources and perspectives needed to address complex challenges' (Sun, Clarke and MacDonald 2020, 3).

In the classroom back at the university, the students had their formal encounter with the 'approved' knowledge on heritage provided by processes of documentation and evaluation. This encounter resonates with the 'authorised' approach to heritage defined by Smith (2006, 34) as 'the wisdom and knowledge of historians, archaeologists and other experts'. Nonetheless, this encounter equipped the students to understand the physical entities of the Amman Citadel site as a prerequisite to their next encounter with heritage.

One of the project partners delivered a lecture to the students about schoolchildren's engagement in the learning process. The information delivered focused on how children use their senses to learn, and what designers can do to deliver educational material for them. The information helped the students decide on logos and interpretive models as the creative material to engage the children. They capitalised on the knowledge they already had, as fourth-year students, about the elements and principles of design, and coupled this with the lecture and further readings suggested.

Creativity and Engagement with Heritage

At the stage of creative material production, heritage became, according to one student (Adam,[2] 2020, personal communication), 'less rigid and more fun … [as] it was re-created on paper and cardboard using colours, lines, and shapes'. Another student (Rand, 2020, personal communication) explained that heritage became dynamic because creative material 'went beyond reflecting the physical reality of heritage into attracting attention and triggering curiosity of the children … [Y]ou cannot do that with rigid material.' Furthermore, the students pursued different methods of engagement besides creative material. For example, to enhance the children's engagement with the logos, the students decided to design alternative logos and ask the children to nomi-

nate their favourite by adding a sticker to the logo they liked most. Another means of engagement was to ask the children to redraw and redesign their favourite logo, perhaps improving its appearance or even creating something other children could relate to.

Durability was an essential factor in designing the models, especially since they were to be handled by children, based on their ease of handling, and maybe dismantling, without damaging the model. In addition, models were designed to give not only a three-dimensional representation of the exterior but also a perspective on the interior and the construction material used. The representational power of the model is captured by Soreanu and Hurducaș (2015, 12):

> [I]n its three-dimensions it mixes the grammars of bi-dimensional and three-dimensional space; it transgresses the interdictions stated by a rational organisation of space, though it is not irrational. It resists the 'lust to be a viewpoint and nothing more' (De Certeau 1984, 92). Instead, it gestures towards a planning of depth, which starts from the elemental, the sensuous, the non-discrete, the temporally pluralised. It starts from enunciations of the joy of dwelling, even when recorded in materialities.

Consequently, one of the models that presented the throne hall in the Citadel provided engaging detail on the materials and the methods used to construct the dome over the hall. Another model presented the Citadel as layers to be dismantled by children while they discovered it. This model proved to be the most popular, as children dismantled the geographic and cultural layers and rearranged them to tell different stories of the Citadel. The children's engagement with this model invokes Soreanu and Hurducaș's (2015, 3) remark on children's engagement with models as 'recombinatory practices that juxtapose or mesh a wide variety of materials, thus giving us access to an urban imaginary of depth'. This is important because it explains the educative role the children can play in this engagement process. Planners, project partners and policy-makers can learn from children the 'fluidity' of herit-

age and its capacity to reappear in contemporary time as a living entity rather than a fossilised object.

Reflections by Maria Elena Ronza: Locally Driven Innovation in Learning Resource Development

In the next paragraphs, Maria Elena Ronza, from the NGO Sela for Training and Protection of Heritage reflects on the process of designing and piloting learning resources, from staff upskilling to the development of and experimentation with archaeology-themed models, an activity sheet, DIY kits and storybooks, and emphasises the importance of targeting these at Jordan's youth.

In its first year, the project succeeded in creating an active network through a series of training sessions hosted by different museums in Jordan and in Durham, UK. The practical nature of the training presented different approaches to the same challenge of engaging schoolchildren with museums and facilitated the exchange of experiences and ideas between the Jordanian and British partners. Our staff members at Sela, who partook in the training, greatly appreciated and benefited from such a stimulating environment. The training was an opportunity for Sela's staff to reflect on museum practices in Jordan, but also to compare knowhow and to experience a more pragmatic approach both to heritage management and to community engagement, especially with younger generations.

Towards the end of the first year, on-the-ground activities with schoolchildren in Jordan were scheduled, and some had been implemented. With COVID-19, however, the project faced major challenges. In its second year, the introduction of travel restrictions, and lockdowns and the moving of education online made it impossible to implement any activities in museums with schools and universities. Drastic changes were sought, and the grassroots strategy and synergy between the Jordanian and British partners proved to be crucial in the project's success.

Despite the challenges, project partners leveraged on the knowledge acquired within the training and the network created during the first phase. They consequently designed and implemented several activities, some of which were online (training via Zoom, producing online learning materials) while others were undertaken on the ground at times when the pandemic situation was less severe. Within the framework of the project's activities, Sela designed a series of archaeology- and museum-themed activities for Jordanian schoolchildren, to be implemented at different museums, in schools and at archaeological sites. Sela's team worked with two main objectives in mind: to tailor the activities to the Jordanian audience in order to engage children with their heritage by presenting it outside the traditional tourist framework; and to design the activities with sustainability in mind to achieve long-lasting impact.

Three sets of activities were developed. The first activity was stratigraphy boxes, produced as educational tools to be used by museum staff during school visits (Figure 7.3). The aim of the boxes is to educate children about the excavation process and the study of stratigraphy used by archaeologists to investigate the past. Each transparent box is filled with coloured sand representing different archaeological layers and miniature replicas of artefacts. The box is accompanied by an activities booklet presenting the museum visit as a treasure hunt.

The second activity comprised four different children's activities designed and carried out by Sela in schools, museums and archaeological sites. The activities included mosaic making, ceramic conservation, pottery making and an excavation mock-up. With each activity, educators proposed to the children some insights into the history of Jordan and of the DIY craft project, aiming at engaging children hands-on with their heritage. The materials and supplies needed to perform those activities were designed to be easily transported (all tools and equipment for a classroom of 25–30 children fitted in the back of a pick-up truck), easily mounted and dismantled, durable, and reusable multiple times. Once most COVID-19 restrictions were lifted in Jordan in

Figure 7.3: The children's stratigraphy boxes as educational resources for Jordanian museums.
(Photo: Sela for Training and Protection of Heritage.)

the late spring of 2021, the children's activities were implemented in cooperation with different public and private institutions and in different communities in Jordan (e.g., as part of the summer camp organised by the Petra Development and Tourism Authority in Petra; as part of a community outreach programme at the Faynan museum; as part of the winter camp organised by the Società Dante Alighieri in Amman).

The third set of activities involves educational archaeology-themed toys that were developed and tested by Sela as prototypes, including excavation kits, DIY mosaics and pottery kits. Two prototypes were selected for production: a DIY mosaic kit and a

series of storybooks with collectibles (small replicas of archaeological objects).

The mosaic kit includes two frames, one with an unfinished mosaic (based on a detail of a mosaic from Mount Nebo in Jordan) that children need to complete, and a second, empty frame to be filled with a new mosaic. The kit includes a booklet with information about mosaic production and illustrations of several examples of ancient mosaics from Jordan for inspiration. The storybook series with collectibles has been particularly successful. The idea was born within the network created by the project. Sela collaborated with Rasha Dababneh and Ghaida Brieghsheh from the Children's Museum to produce the first book in the series – the story of a child called Karam visiting Amman Citadel and interacting with the giant Hand of Hercules that is found beside the Temple (Figure 7.4). The book series targets children aged 6–8 years old and aims to engage them with Jordanian heritage by telling stories set at different archaeological sites in Jordan. The main character, Karam, discovers the marvels of Jordan with his grandmother, who is herself an archaeologist.[3]

Following the first book launch, several projects and archaeological missions in Jordan expressed an interest in producing a book for the series about specific sites, which we are now working on – looking into ways to foster the active engagement of the community and children in the creative process. Book readings are held for schoolchildren in the communities targeted by the new books, to collect feedback and ideas. This process enhances the sense of ownership of Jordanian heritage by promoting active involvement in its presentation to a wider public.

In conclusion, it is worth noting that these activities and products were developed by Jordanians for a Jordanian audience. All written materials are in Arabic, which is significant, since the literature about Jordanian history and archaeology is predominantly in English and therefore not accessible to large sections of the Jordanian population, especially the younger generations in rural and semi-rural communities. Moreover, the Jordanian authorities' attention to tourists' experience rather than local interest

Figure 7.4: The children's storybook as an educational resource for Jordanian museums.
(Image: Sela for Training and Protection of Heritage.)

has created a disconnect between host communities living near archaeological sites and their heritage (Abu-Khafajah et al. 2015). This disconnect is enhanced by the marginalisation of host communities from the archaeological narrative, which in Jordan consists largely of the narration of the magnificent march of empires versus the micro-narratives of local adaptation. Such a narrative foregrounds the idea of the irrelevance of regional histories within the wider framework of the great empires and creates a sense of alienation (Porter 2010).

Reflections by Robin Skeates: Striving for Equality and Inclusiveness in Project Partnerships

Through his involvement in the project as the UK principal investigator, Robin Skeates reflects on museum practice in Jordan, positioning the discourse between international good practice and local needs and expectations. He also advocates an ethos of inclusivity and shared decision-making to combat inherent inequalities in managing international projects in post-colonial contexts.

Formally, my role in the project was as principal investigator. I was invited to lead the project by Arwa Badran, with whom I wrote the original grant application and directed the project, together with Shatha Abu-Khafajah. From a research point of view, my role was to draw on my wide-ranging prior knowledge and experience of archaeological heritage and museum studies to help inform our work on museum education in Jordan (e.g., Skeates 2000, 2017; Skeates, McDavid and Carman 2012). This turned out to be a very positive learning experience for me, and hopefully of value to our Jordanian partners. Personally, I also saw my role as offering encouragement, support and thanks to my colleagues on the project, and I think this contributed to the positive working ethos and relationships that we developed together. From a management perspective, however, I was accountable both to our funders and to my own institution, to ensure that the project's promised outputs were delivered within the specified budget and timeline. This proved challenging, not least in the bureaucratic context of Jordan and with the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, although ultimately the success of our project was recognised in its being shortlisted for the 2020 Newton Prize.[4]

Enhancing the Educational Potential of Jordanian Museums

Something that initially struck me while visiting museums in Amman and engaging with museum and heritage professionals from across Jordan was the similarity between good museum education practice as understood in Jordan and that widely accepted internationally. Looking back, I think I had expected to encounter more culturally diverse educational principles and practices, prior to discovering how relatively well informed many of my Jordanian colleagues are on international standards. Indeed, I rapidly learned that there is a long history of museum and heritage professionals in Jordan working with international teams, and that several Jordanian colleagues had already undertaken training provided by institutions in the UK and USA and with UNESCO, including doctoral research (e.g., Badran 2010). I did, however, often encounter a mismatch between knowledge of good practice and – due to systemic inertia and inadequate funding – the ability of Jordanian colleagues to actively engage in good museum education practice on the ground. This is something that our work together began to change, particularly through extensive professional training and some experimental educational events involving Jordanian schoolchildren and university students (described above), and we all hope to maintain this momentum in the future.

It is, then, relevant to note that there is a substantial body of published information on museum education. National organisations such as the American Alliance of Museums and Group for Education in Museums share, online, both standards and resources for museum educators. There are journals dedicated to the theory and practice of museum education. A variety of textbooks exists on the subject (e.g., Falk and Dierking 2018; Hein 1998; Johnson et al. 2017; King and Lord 2016; Talboys 2018). There is also a substantial and wide-ranging corpus of specialist research papers, covering areas such as evaluations of the impact of education techniques and technologies in museums; case studies in working with diverse museum learners; and critical perspec-

tives on museum education and social change. A few publications also deal with Jordanian museums, although these concentrate mainly on their historical development and rationale (e.g., Ajaj 2009; Alawneh, Alghazawi and Balaawi 2012;'Amr, Kafafi and Abdallah 2009; Bisharat 1985; Maffi 1998), one recent exception being a museum visitor survey (Allan and Al-Tal 2016).

In Jordan, awareness of and access to these published resources may be restricted mainly to the best-connected academics and museum professionals, but this accumulated knowledge does still filter down and become translated into critical thinking, a strong desire for change and examples of good practice. Consequently, I would suggest that in Jordan, good museum education practice lies at the interface between international experience and local needs. This is particularly true when it comes to recognising the educational potential of Jordanian museums and staff, characterised by internationally significant collections and some passionate staff who want their fellow citizens to learn about Jordan's past – both of which have tended to be overlooked by the Ministry of Education, National Curriculum and related textbooks. It was encouraging, then, to learn of the inclusion of at least a few pages about the Children's Museum in a textbook, which has enhanced the regularity and number of school visits to that museum (Badran, 2020, personal communication). Indeed, no one can doubt the ambition of Jordanian museum professionals to put good principles into practice by establishing museum education policies; providing training for museum staff and school teachers in museum education; creating dedicated education spaces; formulating school education programmes; using a more exploratory approach to teaching and learning; engaging visiting pupils in hands-on learning activities; working museum texts and displays to make them more accessible to visitors of different age groups; attracting families and welcoming visitors with disabilities; strengthening relationships and outreach work with schools; tapping into the enthusiasm of university students; developing teachers' packs and online educational resources focused on collections; and establishing dialogue with and support from

the relevant authorities. In particular, the relatively well-funded (national) Jordan Museum and Children's Museum (which enjoys royal patronage) are leading the way and are now collaboratively sharing their expertise with other Jordanian museums. As part of our project, for example, the Jordan Museum recently led a training programme on 'Museum Learning during COVID-19', with the goal of establishing and improving the quality of online museum education in Jordan. From my perspective, then, good museum education practice in Jordan is constituted by a characteristically Jordanian openness to 'outside' people and ideas, but also a thoughtful and critically aware appreciation of how these might enhance existing practices, particularly given the significant constraints within which the Jordanian museum sector operates.

From International 'Aid' to Partnership Working

When I first visited museums and archaeological sites in Amman, I was shocked to see labels and signs boldly proclaiming the 'aid' provided by international 'partners', such as the United States Agency for International Development (Figure 7.5). This ideology and symbolism of aid struck me as insensitively neo-colonial. Together with Shatha Abu-Khafajah and Riham Miqdadi's (2019) powerful critique of the unequal power relations in 'collaborative' cultural heritage projects involving Western experts and Jordanian professionals, this made me reflect on the nature of our own 'development grant' from the Newton-Khalidi Fund, and on the strict constraints on spending that came with it from the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council. These, for example, left me in sole control of the budget, despite having a Jordanian co-principal investigator without whom the project would never have received funding, and covered the 'full economic costs' of the UK-based staff yet contributed nothing to our Jordanian colleagues' time and institutional overheads. Economic inequality and 'aid dependency' was, then, perpetuated by our own project, and was something that I could do little to counter. My Jordanian

Figure 7.5: Sign in the Children's Museum, Amman acknowledging US sponsorship.
(Photo: Robin Skeates.)

colleagues must have been aware of this disparity, although they were too polite to say so directly.

Despite this uncomfortable reality, one of the most interesting and rewarding aspects of working with Jordanian colleagues was, for me, in consciously experimenting with a new model of international and national partnership working. Partnership working is widely accepted as an important strategy by museum leaders and, despite a continuing emphasis on the significance of museums as tourist attractions contributing to economic development (e.g., Wireman 1997), a critically aware literature has grown around museum partnerships (e.g., Nicks 1992; Semmel 2019). Furthermore, ours is not the first international project to work more self-critically on cultural heritage with local stakeholders in a post-colonial context (e.g., Näser and Tully 2019), but it may be the first of its kind in Jordan. In our case, our collaboration

was characterised by working with reference to the principles of inclusivity, critique, shared decision-making and equal benefits. We also worked in a context-specific manner that actively placed Jordanian interests first and adapted international standards pragmatically to local circumstances and solutions. For example, our project membership was open, inclusive, expansive and relatively informal: starting with a small core group of Jordanian and UK-based academic and professional partner institutions and individuals, but steadily drawing in more and varied Jordanian institutions and individuals through our training programme and experimental educational events, and through word-of-mouth and social media. Obtaining official permission to involve museum staff from the Department of Antiquities presented challenges but was essential, and was secured thanks to the commitment of a 'gatekeeper' who served as an influential advocate for our project. Regarding decision-making, my predisposition as principal investigator was to keep our project efficiently on track regarding the milestones agreed with our funders. I benefited and learned to adapt, however, from persistent reminders from our Jordanian post-doctoral researcher and project manager that it was essential to share decision-making and find consensus with our Jordanian partners, even if the process took longer. This approach strengthened trust, commitment and friendliness in our working relations. Through good practices such as these, I believe that we concluded our partnership work with a sense that benefits had been widely shared, despite the inherent inequalities created by our international project funding.

Reflections by Ross Wilkinson: Cross-Cultural Collaboration and Knowledge Exchange

In this section, Ross Wilkinson reflects on his experience working collaboratively with project partners to develop a sustainable training programme in learning and engagement in Jordan and the UK. He uses his knowledge and experience in museum education to

compare and contrast attitudes and practice in youth engagement between the UK and Jordan, highlighting valuable lessons to learn on both sides.

Personal Perceptions of Jordanian Museum Learning and Engagement

The professional museum learning context I have trained, practised and am now involved in is the north-east of England and wider networks across the UK, where the museum education sector focuses primarily on school engagement and raising aspirations, within the context of university museum and heritage practice; and civic responsibility through providing access to collections and cohesion among local, faith and cultural groups represented throughout those collections. This is achieved through visits, digital practice (both online and asynchronously), outreach and specific project engagement. I came into the Jordanian museum professional sector unsure of what to expect and what resources were available.

Through collaborative working with our Jordanian partners, it is clear to see that there are many similarities and differences between the UK and Jordanian sectors. It became very clear, similarly to the UK, that there is a disparity between funding in museums and the opportunities these museums have open to them. For example, non-governmental museums operate a similar educational and engagement model to those in the UK, with the ability to secure funding and run formal and informal school and community learning and engagement programmes complete with dedicated educational spaces and highly trained and experienced staff.

In contrast, government-funded museums have limited funding and staffing, focusing mainly on collections expertise. The dedication of the staff and the knowledge held cannot be questioned. But with limited resources needed for collections care, there is little or no capacity for engagement activities with com-

munities or schools. This is not to say there is no good practice in terms of education or engagement taking place, but this is led by curatorial staff when and how they can. The other element, in the case of curators leading these sessions, is that it is done with no formal training in planning, developing or delivering museum learning and engagement activities.

So why is there a disparity between these museums with regard to their ability to deliver education and engagement activities? Prior to this project, my observations were these: the first major difficulty is finance, as with every organisation, but the second seemed to be that there is no formal offering of training from public or private organisations for the sustained professional development of learning and engagement activities. This contrasts with my own experience, where there are organisations which offer training, sometimes freely available, to museum professionals in many fields, including in learning and engagement delivery and development.

Impact of International Project Collaboration

Entering this project as a learning and engagement service manager from a multi-site, relatively well-funded university museum, archives and special collections organisation, I was very conscious of not coming across as the 'privileged' institution arriving telling everyone what to do. In fact, the complete opposite was the case. Through working with groups, museums and professionals working with different environments, collections, socioeconomic users and resources, you learn so much more regarding innovative and contrasting styles of practice (Figure 7.6).

From the outset, it was also apparent that there was 'project fatigue' among museum professionals in Jordan. Due to the unique collections and heritage sites, a lot of foreign research projects appear for a restricted period of time, heavily and intensively invest in one area (often to support their own agenda regarding research outcomes, funding objectives or evaluation) and then disappear. The consequences of this demonstrate little or no obvi-

Figure 7.6: Ross Wilkinson, Ahmad Al-Mousah (President of Sela) and Shatha Abu-Khafajah discussing contrasting styles of museum practices, training at the Oriental Museum, Durham. (Photo: Asma Abaza.)

ous impact or legacy for the actual professionals working in Jordan.

My personal view is that there is a real benefit in creating a network of professionals who can offer training and support each other through their professional development, hence the need, through this project, to create a training programme and, in time, a lasting network. However, what I learned through partnership are these key points:

- I can plan training logistics and deliver where appropriate, but there is already great practice in Jordan that needs to be identified and brought into the training programme.
- Collaboration in training is crucial for true partnership. Even as a trainer, through working with the trainees I witnessed a range of different techniques, particularly around archaeological engagement with a breadth of community and school

groups, which I can apply through my own practice and pedagogy.

- International projects must have the country and people involved at their heart, not prioritising the foreign organisation. This means, for example, Jordanian professionals delivering to Jordanian professionals, in Arabic and with their local context at the heart of their delivery.
- Legacy and network are vital. There is no point doing this if the practitioners involved in delivering training or being trained do not continue to run their own training sessions and set up a formal professional development programme.

It is equally important to consider the added intangible value. A prime example comes from the UK-based element of the training at Durham University's Oriental Museum. The trainees and the Learning and Engagement Team at the museum were delivering a school session with a local primary school. The session was on ancient Egypt and was being led by one of our learning assistants. What became immediately apparent when the children were engaged in gallery-based activities was the very different approach the Jordanian professionals took in working with these young children. Without any formal training in some cases, the natural family-centred cultural background of Jordan shone through. The caring, personable Jordanian manner was very different to the formal educational approach taken in the UK. The children responded perfectly and loved talking to the Jordanian professionals – the teacher commented on how great this was – and due to the paternal/maternal approach to the teaching, the children were immediately comfortable. This is especially relevant given the cultural context of the children, who come from predominantly rural, British, white and northern backgrounds, with minimal to no exposure to other ethnicities or cultural backgrounds.

The very way of being and natural family orientation of the Jordanians that made the children incredibly comfortable is a key learning point, and one we have implemented in our teaching

delivery, to the considerable benefit of the children. Even in our online delivery, we have focused less on the formal and more on our manner, and the children have responded positively. This technique, often used in early years education, is evidently applicable across other age groups, but in a very uniquely Jordanian way, which could only have been possible through shared practice in this training programme.

Reflections by Fatma Marii: Mutual Benefits of National and International Partnerships

In this final section, Fatma Marii reflects on her involvement in co-organising training and museum activities. She highlights the mutual benefits of national and international partnerships, in terms of museum professionals sharing experiences, museums working collaboratively with schools and universities, and professionals in Jordan and the UK engaging together in exploring museum practice.

Our project provided an opportunity to demonstrate the necessity of partnerships between museums, schools and universities. Joint activities were underpinned by cooperation between groups of museum staff, university students and school pupils. This interaction provided greater opportunities for youth engagement with heritage and museums. School pupils showed great interest in and enthusiasm about heritage. They took part in a museum activity and interacted with museum staff and university students. This was a unique learning environment that it would not have been possible to create through textbooks or in the classroom. Hence, what was done during our project provided a first step for pupils to think of a museum or a heritage centre as a pleasant memory that will bring them, and maybe their families and friends, back to museums later.

As for university students, having them participate in activities in museums made them really enthusiastic about their studies. These activities provided the practical side needed to complement the theoretical basis. Moreover, the students sensed their

own importance and belonging in training and supervising the next generation in relation to their heritage and its management. Conducting such activities encouraged university students to be innovative and to develop new ideas for their future careers, especially during these difficult times where cultural heritage job opportunities are scarce.

The museum curators who were involved in the project also felt enthusiastic about raising awareness, publicising information and interacting with the local community, particularly as they are constantly challenged to engage the youth in learning about their heritage when they are more interested in digital and technological developments. In addition, these curators, whose work monotonously revolves around looking after collections on display and in storage, became excited again about objects and their stories, as well as being busy with preparing spaces and material to run the activities.[5] In time, they became more open to ideas on how to work with the local community to raise their awareness of heritage. This was noticed when they started to develop digital material to maintain interaction with their communities during the second half of the project, when the planned activities could not be implemented due to the COVID-19 outbreak.

As part of the project, museum curators began creating online learning resources, joined by students from the University of Jordan who were asked to film themselves describing to a younger sibling or relative a personally valued old object from their house. They had to write a script for the film, where they needed to explain the importance of this object, its value and what methods are used to preserve it. Students were excited to experiment with different ideas and create these short films, as well as to receive feedback for a non-academic activity related to their studies. The idea was to highlight the connection between personal and valuable objects in the home and heritage artefacts in museums, and how in many cases artefacts that are privately owned and valued have also become valuable as world heritage. Participants in this activity also benefited from interacting with each other in a non-academic environment, which strengthened links between the

topics taught in higher education and issues relevant to present-day communities. Students have since asked me to do more such activities, indicating that they appreciated this approach to studying heritage conservation that relates to the local community. Students also realised that museum artefacts are not just static objects; there are stories behind each of them. The students concluded that engaging school pupils in such activities would help to increase the young people's appreciation of cultural heritage and encourage that generation to study, work and even volunteer in the heritage sector in the future.

Museum professionals also had the opportunity to learn from each other through our project. The project's training programmes, which gathered museum professionals from all over Jordan, from both the governmental and the non-governmental sectors, provided a platform for the discussion and sharing of ideas (Figure 7.7). Differences in the way the two sectors operate were highlighted on several occasions: governmental museums have limited budgets compared with non-governmental museums, which have the privilege of operating on larger budgets and with flexibility around raising funds. Governmental museums' staff flagged the lack of funding as one of their most challenging issues and one that hinders their progress and has led over time to loss of motivation to create and search for ways to improve. It does not help that their employment situation is long term – their contracts are permanent, hence they can remain in their jobs until retirement. Non-governmental museum staff also explained that maintaining funds builds continuous pressure on staff to keep working, coming up with new ideas, and at the same time maintaining steady progress and a high quality of services. This project provided the opportunity for museum curators to discuss the challenges and solutions to some of their difficulties, as well as creating opportunities for future cooperation in events and projects.

Overall, one of the key achievements of the project was in providing the prospect for a new phase of community engagement in heritage in Jordan, through the interaction, across different coun-

Figure 7.7: A platform for sharing ideas and practices for museum professionals from all over Jordan: training at the Royal Tank Museum, Amman.
(Photo: Arwa Badran.)

tries, between museum professionals, school pupils, university students, teachers, academics and other stakeholders.

Discussion and Concluding Remarks

There are several interesting points to highlight from our reflections above in relation to what constitutes good practice in museum education in Jordan and the value gained from engaging in collaborative and equal partnerships. In some ways, the two dimensions feed into each other.

Collaboration between museums, schools and universities provided opportunities for a variety of ideas, approaches and interactions to emerge. University students' critical and analytical engagement with disciplinary epistemologies escaped the traditional AHD and produced experimental educative activities with children, who in return shaped the designs and perceptions of the students. The process of students working with children in designing and redesigning the Citadel models and logos allowed

'instinctual' engagement in a meaning-making exercise and a reinterpretation of heritage from different viewpoints. This process also gave schoolchildren an opportunity to interact with museum staff and engage with collections in ways that enriched their curriculum-, text- and classroom-based learning. Equally, university students' exposure to such stimulating learning environments and their contributing to museum programmes equipped them with positive feelings of confidence and satisfaction. It also created a 'laboratory' outside their lecture halls, where they could engage practically in their field in real settings and become better prepared for employment later. University students who produced educational films were similarly engaged with dynamic stories rather than static objects.

On a professional development level, museum staff were enthusiastic, experimenting with new methods of engaging children in learning about their heritage, and in particular moving on to developing digital material to reach their audiences in light of the museum closures imposed by the global pandemic. Gathering museum professionals from different sectors in one place during training and activity implementation allowed greater exchange of experiences and understanding of each other's strengths and weaknesses. Once communication channels had been opened, governmental and non-governmental museums were brought closer to each other. The interaction between professionals from Jordan and the UK created new learning trajectories on both sides, whether through deciding on themes and topics in the training programmes, observing how and why museums function differently in different contexts, or learning lessons both directions from similarities and contrasts in styles and practices. Discussion about what good practice is was in itself instrumental in challenging our 'fixed ideas' about what is right and what is not, and how to manoeuvre between the international and the local in creating something that works in practice. Experimenting with different ideas proved successful. A totally unexpected outcome of the Jordanian trainees' participation in delivering an activity for schoolchildren at the Oriental Museum was the impact of their caring

manner on children's comfort – an approach taken up by the museum's Learning and Engagement Team. Similarly, Sela staff who joined the training in the UK got the opportunity to see how the Oriental Museum worked with interactive learning resources. Upon their return, they added trails with landmarks and quizzes to their existing tours for children (A. Al-Mousah, 2020, personal communication) and developed models, toys, replicas, activity sheets and a storybook for various museums and heritage sites.

Much of the museum practice in Jordan remains unrepresented in academic publications, and most of the published work on museums in the 'West' is restricted to a few academics in Jordan. International collaboration between professionals and institutions is therefore helpful in facilitating a greater international flow of information and knowledge exchange, not only for Jordan but for the Arab region as a whole. It also adds multiple perspectives to challenge the dominant discourse as the way forward to decolonisation.

The team members arrived at this project from different backgrounds and specialisations, bringing various perceptions and expectations. Project members collectively brought in cross-disciplinary experiences and skillsets, constantly manoeuvring between theory and practice and a reflexive process of self-evaluation. This combination proved highly beneficial to the project, which aimed to be inclusive in its approach, with each member having a voice, a role and a contribution to various aspects at various stages. Despite coming from different countries, individual and institutional cultures, and knowledge systems that underpin our practice, we were united by shared values that saw the good in collaborative work. We actively sought to challenge the dominant heritage management discourse (globally and locally) by being open to different ideas and different ways of doing things based on trust and respect for each other's knowledge and abilities – an attitude which Nilsson Stutz (2018) advocates as a path to decolonisation:

> If we accept the premise that there are different worlds, different ways of knowing, then we must respectfully bring what we can

> offer to transdisciplinary engagement with communities outside the academy. If we want to continue on the path of a decolonisation of the discipline, we must focus our efforts on adjusting our attitude, not our insights and knowledge. We need to think in terms of relations – as in power and respect – rather than in terms of essence of determining 'a more correct way of knowing'. (Nilsson Stutz 2018, 54)

What constitutes good practice in museum education in Jordan remains an open question. Some of it was identified during the project, such as establishing collaborative partnerships between museums, schools and universities, encouraging engagement in experimental activities and multiple interpretation, continuous and targeted capacity development, and creating opportunities for sharing practices and experiences locally and internationally. We have produced the first ever guidelines to good practice in museum education for Jordan (Badran et al. 2023). We have also created a local network of museum professionals who now share news and discuss their practice on social media platforms created for this purpose. We have created training material and resources as a point of reference for future capacity-building. We have also developed a set of learning resources, which are designed, piloted and ready for museums to use for children's activities. It is no coincidence that a Jordanian Museums Association was established on the 18 May 2021 under the patronage of HRH Princess Sumaya Bint Al Hassan. The association will act on a national level to develop institutional infrastructure, human resources and care and display of collections for museums according to international standards (R. Dababneh, 2021, personal communication). We believe in the necessity of such an association for Jordan, which was one of our prime project recommendations. Such an umbrella organisation can make use of the project's achievements to move forward and help support the development of the Jordanian museum sector.

Acknowledgements

The authors acknowledge with gratitude our other team members (Lena Bakkar, Arwa Massadeh, Rasha Dababneh, Mohammad Al-Qaisi, Falah Al-Sharaaiah and Jihad Kafafi) and our partner institutions (Durham University, Hashemite University, Department of Antiquities, Jordan Museum, University of Jordan, and Sela for Training and Protection of Heritage) We also offer sincere thanks to the AHRC Newton-Khalidi Fund for sponsoring our project, and our participating museums and schools for ensuring its success in practice.

Notes

1 The project was recognised by the Council for British Research in the Levant (CBRL) with affiliated status.
2 Students quoted in this chapter are pseudonymised.
3 The production, marketing and distribution of these two products have been taken over by Entimaa', a Jordanian registered trademark established to raise funds for the preservation of Jordanian heritage and to develop community heritage businesses. These businesses have the potential to provide job opportunities and bring communities into closer relationships with heritage. Entimaa' offers handmade products and experiences associated with Jordanian heritage. Through their purchases, customers support heritage preservation in Jordan.
4 www.britishcouncil.org/education/he-science/newton-fund/newton-prize.
5 Non-governmental museums in Jordan are equipped with learning spaces and learning officers. However, this is not the case for governmental museums. Although the latter is a larger sector, it relies on one curator per museum (on rare occasions, with an assistant curator) to manage the day-to-day museum work, whether related to collections (e.g., registration and research) or public engagement (e.g., tour guiding).

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CHAPTER 8

Enriching Cultural Heritage User Experiences through 3D Interpretive Models at Tafilah and Jerash, Jordan

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Abstract

This contribution showcases the integration of digital and community archaeology in Jordan. We analysed the impact of 3D reconstructions on public engagement in archaeological projects, focusing on two case studies that involved diverse stakeholders and communities. Both case studies are central to understanding and discussing the impact on 'living' communities in modern-day Jordan of implementing digital tools and participatory practices.

Keywords: community outreach, 3D modelling, digital archaeology, participatory practices.

How to cite this book chapter:
Joudeh, S. and M. Lorenzon. 2023. 'Enriching Cultural Heritage User Experiences through 3D Interpretive Models at Tafilah and Jerash, Jordan'. In *Living Communities and Their Archaeologies in the Middle East*, edited by R. Bonnie, M. Lorenzon and S. Thomas, 193–210. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.33134/HUP-19-8.

Introduction

Artefacts, monuments and cultural objects can serve as representations of other places, stories, emotions and depictions of the object's instances and essences. Over recent decades, there has been a progressively higher demand for 3D modelling, recording and visualisation tools. These tools can also be used in community engagement, to involve the local community in decision-making processes regarding their past, its preservation and the research questions heritage specialists should try to answer through their research (Abu-Khafajah 2011; Atalay 2012; Lorenzon and Miettunen 2020). Community archaeology is an active collaboration between archaeologists and local communities not only on the topic of heritage preservation or management but also on research and academic pursuits, transforming archaeology into a multivocal, inclusive and decolonised discipline and enabling it to overcome its colonial roots (Lorenzon and Zermani 2016; Lorenzon 2020; Näser and Tully 2019; Thomas 2017). In the last few decades, digital archaeology and specifically 3D modelling have become an integral part of building community archaeology, specifically in working with the communities to co-create archaeological narratives regarding the heritage past and perceptions of it (Haukaas and Hodgetts 2016; Jeffrey et al. 2020; Lorenzon, Bonnie and Thomas 2022).

This chapter discusses the use of 3D modelling in Jordan as part of the public outreach in archaeological projects, by providing two case studies that focus on diverse communities and complementary participatory practices. We argue that 3D modelling is an active and effective participatory tool to generate interactive engagement in Jordan and provide the basis for co-curation and co-creation of the significance of material culture in the community (Jeffrey et al. 2020; Lorenzon, Bonnie and Thomas 2022; Trepal, Scarlett and Lafrenier 2019). The chapter also addresses the positive and negative aspects of each methodology and their impact on the selected groups and analyses online engagement as a possible alternative to site visits. This latter aspect is particu-

larly relevant, as virtual reconstructions allow material culture to be shared with a wider audience than just local communities and museum visitors, engaging news groups and communities while also providing them with the means to directly interact with a project and affect the co-creation of heritage narratives.

Our first case study is an interpretative project for Qaser al-Basha, a twentieth-century house in the governorate of Tafilah in the south of Jordan. The physical 3D model was directed at engaging the local community of Tafilah, particularly elementary school students, who are categorised here as a non-specialised audience. The second is the restoration, 3D modelling and public display of Roman statues in Jerash, a city in central Jordan. This latter is a high-profile project, which involved many stakeholders and received national and international attention in the media (Rawashdeh 2019) and in the academic debate (Al-Bashaireh et al. 2020; Lepaon and Weber-Karyotakis 2018).The goal in both case studies was to work with the communities to bring useful, informative and meaningful 3D models to different users and to enable them to access the past, define the narrative around it and collaborate to create a reconstruction of Jordanian heritage.

In order to achieve this, we needed to understand and reduce the gap between different archaeological communities:

a) the archaeological/heritage community: experts who are traditionally concerned with cultural heritage (i.e., archaeologists, architects, conservators, art historians and librarians) and demand such geometrical documentation production;
b) the digital community: computational specialists able to apply computational tools to the reconstruction of past material culture;
c) Jordanian citizens and wider international audiences: local communities, who qualify as non-experts but are engaged with cultural heritage (i.e., schoolchildren, museum visitors, populations residing near heritage sites, etc.) (Atalay 2010; Hindmarch, Terras and Robson 2019).

Furthermore, we focus on understanding how cultural heritage objects were embedded within a community's narrative and the wider heritage context. This information may also be valuable in the future if the object is lost or damaged. Finally, we discuss and clarify the digital model's goals and purposes in regard to community outreach, estimate its necessary quality and properties, and, in the end, evaluate the model's success in fulfilling the specific purposes designed by the communities for the communities.

An Architecture Model for Community Engagement and Education: The Case Study of Qaser al-Basha, Tafilah

The al-Oran house – better known locally as Qaser al-Basha – is a prestigious twentieth-century historical house, located in the centre of Tafilah, a city in southern Jordan (Figure 8.1). The house is considered an important example of the prominent and rich cultural architectural style of the city. It is named after its owner, Saleh Basha al-Oran, a revolutionary, high-profile Jordanian political figure during the 1930s. Before being used as an elementary school for the town children between 1930 and 1970, the old house was a venue for private and public meetings, hosting several Tafilah community leaders and prestigious visitors. These included the late King Abdullah Bin al-Hussain, who used to stay as a guest of al-Basha while visiting the south. Therefore, this historical house contains preserved memories of the country's formative period and national history. The al-Basha family hosted important gatherings where high-profile political figures and members of the Tafilah community met to discuss important subjects, from culture to politics. On one level, the house's history and memories have clear significance for those who lived through that historical period and for the house owner's descendants. On another level, this building is also significant to the whole country, as its existence is a concrete reminder of Jordan's modern history and culture. Qaser al-Basha belonged to the great-grandfather of the partner of one of the authors (SJ), Toqaa al-Oran.

Figure 8.1: Qaser al-Basha, Tafileh, Jordan.
(Photo: Toqaa al-Oran.)

The author (SJ) and Toqaa worked on this project during their fourth year of architecture and engineering studies at the Hashemite University, specifically the heritage and archaeological sites management course.

The house is composed of two contiguous parts. The first part is the oldest, with an area of 542 square metres, and was built in two phases at the end of the nineteenth century. Nowadays, this part of the house is uninhabited/abandoned and requires conservation work, as some of its walls and the roof on the west side have partially collapsed. The second part was also built in two phases, with a total area of 230 metres squared. It is habitable, structurally stable and currently used by some family members during weekends and holidays.

The ultimate goal of the house's documentation and modelling process was to create concrete community outreach with the community of Tafilah and engage the community with their cultural heritage and history in order to collaborate on its pres-

ervation (Lorenzon 2015; Lorenzon and Zermani 2016). From the beginning, this project's first target audience was elementary school students. We focused on demonstrating the house's historical and rich architectural styles in an informative yet simple and compelling way that could attract children's attention. Hence, we worked on generating a memorable experience for the children by creating a sense of attachment to their history through an enhanced understanding of relevant aspects of their cultural heritage. We approached the Tafilah primary school and arranged a meeting with the school's principal and a number of teachers; in this meeting we shared our vision, to which they were incredibly responsive. We then collaborated in creating a participatory project in which the schoolteachers and principal took an active part in the archaeological decision-making process (Lorenzon and Miettunen 2021). They recommended the grades and class categories best suited to taking part in the project based on the class curriculum. Our plan consisted of having an initial talk in which the students were presented with the history and aesthetics of Qaser al-Basha house. The short lecture was targeted to suit a fifth-grade history class, therefore aimed at students aged 10–11 years. After agreeing it with the house owners, a school trip was planned to the site to allow students to explore the historical building. In the true spirit of partnership between heritage specialists and the local community based on enabling citizen participation in the project, we conducted multiple debates with the schoolteachers on how we should interpret the cultural heritage of the house and which narratives should be privileged and how, which led to many interesting ideas and possibilities. The chosen and implemented solution was to preserve the forms, history and significance of the house by creating a 3D model, which would allow us to fully engage the target audience while preserving the structures and not putting anyone at risk by roaming through the collapsed part of the building. Hence, a logo was designed for the house, multiple signs and – most importantly – a 3D interpretive model that illustrates the main features of the house. All of these products required intensive study of the house's historical, social,

scientific and aesthetic values (See the Burra Charter for a specific definition of ICOMOS recognised values, ICOMOS 2013; see also Chapter 6 in this volume).

The 3D model was then used to create a physical model to be presented to the students during the lecture and activate their learning during the school trip. In this process, scientific, historical and architectural documentation of the heritage house was conducted, including analysing both the first and second floor and producing plans, cross-sections and a detailed elevation of the façade. To give it a more antique look, the model was crafted from recycled materials and created by a 2D laser cut machine using the documentation drawings and the 3D reconstruction (Figure 8.2). Built dynamically with an open-sectional plan, the model was designed to be played and interacted with. We also strived to make the model informative, engaging and understandable. It helped us to better explain the house details and how its parts function together in interesting ways, and to avoid skipping information.

Figure 8.2: The interpretive model of Qaser al-Basha.
(Photo and model: Safa' Joudeh.)

In coordination with the teachers and the house owners, during our visit to the school we gave a brief presentation, which, using simple language, focused on the historical, social and architectural significance of the house. We emphasised the importance of studying and preserving such houses to understand their significance over time and what means we can use to preserve Jordanian cultural heritage. Afterwards, we gave a practical demonstration using the model itself. Students were encouraged to stand around it and we offered more detailed explanations of the different parts of the structure. These activities were documented through videos and photos. The enthusiastic response of the students and their numerous questions demonstrated that the 3D model helped to enhance the communication between us (as professionals) and the students (as a non-professional audience) and helped to fulfil the educational and engagement goals set by the community.

As the house is located within walking distance of the school, students had frequently passed by the structure long before the class. We took this opportunity to take them on an on-site visit and test their understanding of the structure based on the interaction with the model. The students were very polite, disciplined and eager to learn. The children were encouraged to wander around the house under the teachers' supervision and look for different spaces by using the 3D model to guide them, as we had brought it with us and placed it in the main room (Figure 8.3). This helped us to determine the level of information they understood from the presentation and the 3D model while consolidating their engagement with the historical structure. Their reactions were clear from their expressions, smiling, emotional involvement, engagement and repeatedly asked questions. One child kept going back to the model, pointing out rooms and architectural parts while asking where they were compared with the real house, and we noticed the happiness on her face when she got there by herself. Thus, we also created a game using the model as the starting point, asking students to identify different features in the real rooms, which achieved a higher level interaction among the rest of the students. A proper competition was created in which the children had to

Figure 8.3: Students' site visit to Qaser al-Basha.
(Photo: Toqaa al-Oran.)

discover each other's location and report it back using the model, orienting themselves by directing each other to various parts of the building and identifying features discussed in class.

The outcomes were more than we hoped for. The interpretive material achieved its purposes; we managed not only to bring the students to visit the old house as part of a community project: we also made their visit engaging, fun and educational. The parents of the students reported back to the teachers about how much their children had enjoyed the trip and described it as a 'thorough experience'. Hopefully, this trip will have created new memories of the house for the children, which could bloom into a sense of attachment to their culture and history. This experience will stay in their minds, hopefully making them more responsive to the preservation and revival of their town and Jordan's cultural heritage. Community archaeology projects conducted in other MENA (Middle East and North Africa) countries with similarly aged schoolchildren have resulted in positive outcomes and indicate an increase in community interest in archaeological preserva-

tion, the community's narratives about heritage and communities' archaeological engagement (Lorenzon and Zermani 2016; Näser and Tully 2019; Tully 2015; see also Chapter 3 in this volume).

Restoration and Public Display of Statues using 3D Digital Models: The Case Study of the Great Eastern Baths, Jerash

The second case study focuses on the reception of the 3D models of the classical statues recovered in Jerash. The project was part of the conservation campaign devoted to the restoration and public display of the nine outstanding marble figures from the Great Eastern Baths, a project realised as part of the Mission Archéologique Française de Jerash under the direction of Thomas Maria Weber in cooperation with the Department of Antiquities, the University of Jordan and the German Jordanian University. Creating the 3D digital models for displaying the statues played a significant role during the restoration work and in the process of presentation to a wider public (Weber-Karyotakis 2017).

The initial goal was to determine the best location to display these objects inside the galleries of the museum, which required consideration of several factors. These included the study of the statues and their morphology; the gallery outline, ceiling height, entrances and visitor circulation during a typical Jerash tour; other objects on display; and the materials and colours of the walls. Hence, the main purpose of creating precise digital 3D models was initially to help in accurately selecting the statues' optimal positions for public display and museographic purposes. It also played a significant role in connecting archaeologists and heritage specialists, by visualising different possibilities with the digital specialists who were creating the models and were able, through digital reconstruction, to illustrate different display options. Community archaeology is often implemented with diverse communities, and in this case it created a link between professional stakeholders and local communities in the form of accessible and virtual interaction.

The methodology used to create the virtual display in which the digital environment – i.e., the museum galleries – and cultural objects – i.e., the statues – were combined included three different steps:

1. Creating a to-scale textured 3D digital model of the eight marble figures, before and after restoration, using image-based photogrammetry techniques. The acquisition data process for a precise digitised model of millimetre accuracy occurred alongside the restoration process at the restoration camp.
2. Generating a detailed 3D model of the galleries using Autodesk 3ds Max based on the structure blueprint and on-site measurements.
3. Combining all the models in one digital environment (Figures 8.4–8.5).

The restoration team participated actively in the process of creating the 3D models. Weekly meetings occurred to review the work, share ideas and correct eventual errors based on their expertise, which in turn helped the modelling reconstruction thanks to the

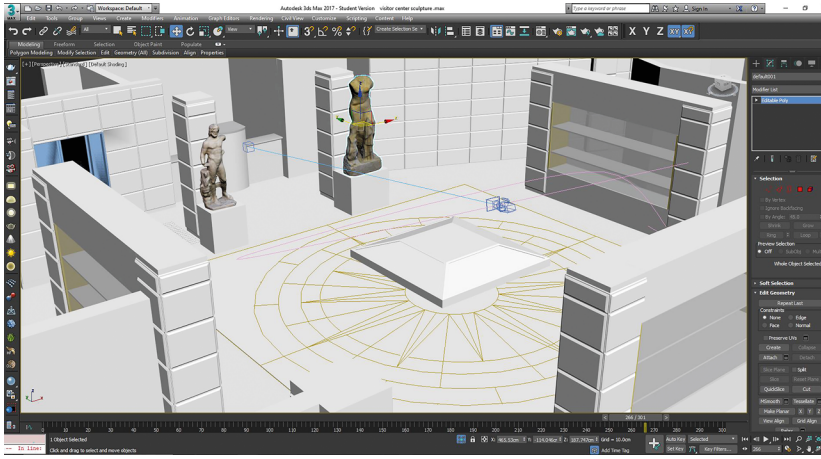

Figure 8.4: 3D digital environment of the Visitor Centre gallery with display of both Aphrodite and Zeus digital models.
(Image: Safa' Joudeh.)

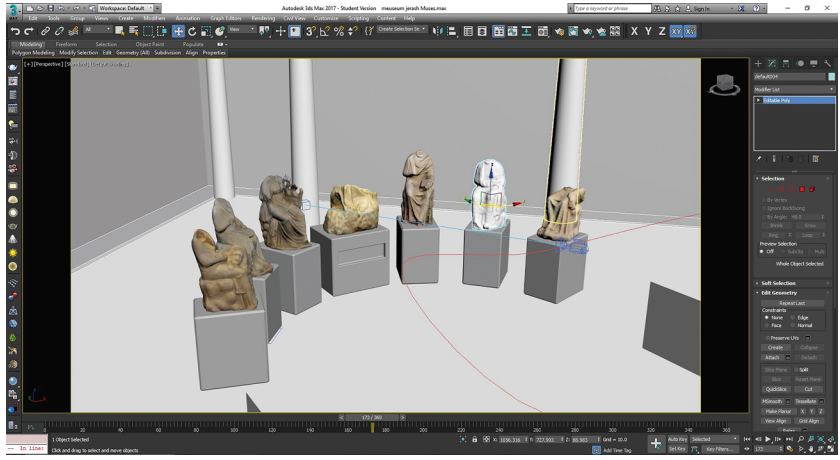

Figure 8.5: 3D digital environment of the Camp Hill gallery with display of the six torsos of the enthroned muses.
(Image: Safa' Joudeh.)

new features discovered during the restoration process. Figures 8.4 and 8.5 present virtual views of two 3D models: one of Aphrodite and Zeus, which are displayed in the virtual Visitor Centre, the other of the torsos of the enthroned muses displayed in the archaeological site museum.

During the restoration process, a number of interested communities visited the project, both specialists and non-specialist groups, such as the Minister of Tourism and Antiquities with a group of archaeologists from the Department of Antiquities, a group of fourth-year architecture students from the Hashemite University, master's students from the German Jordanian University, many fellow researchers, and a few local and international tourists. The 3D models were presented to all of them, which helped them to understand more of the renovation process while also visualising the final effects of the display that the project aimed at. Many questions and follow-up community discussions were triggered about the possibilities of combining the models, especially by the students, creating a co-curation of the future display and moving from simple tokenism to real collaborative museum exhibition.

After the renovation work was finished and the remarkable statues were successfully displayed in the galleries, the digital arm of the project moved forward to prepare the renderings, animations and 3D models for public presentation, and to showcase the project's goals and achievements in conferences and on social media platforms. The virtual display was targeted at both the researchers' community and the general public. While thinking about what kind of information should be highlighted, several approaches were discussed, and specifically we debated which narrative the statues should reflect. For instance, the high-resolution Orthomosaics and renderings were generated to be presented to specialists, researchers and restoration experts (Figure 8.6). This approach helped to illustrate the restoration work, which led to compelling discussions and a sharing of expertise with others, both nationally and internationally, but may have neglected other interested groups in its acute focus on restoration.

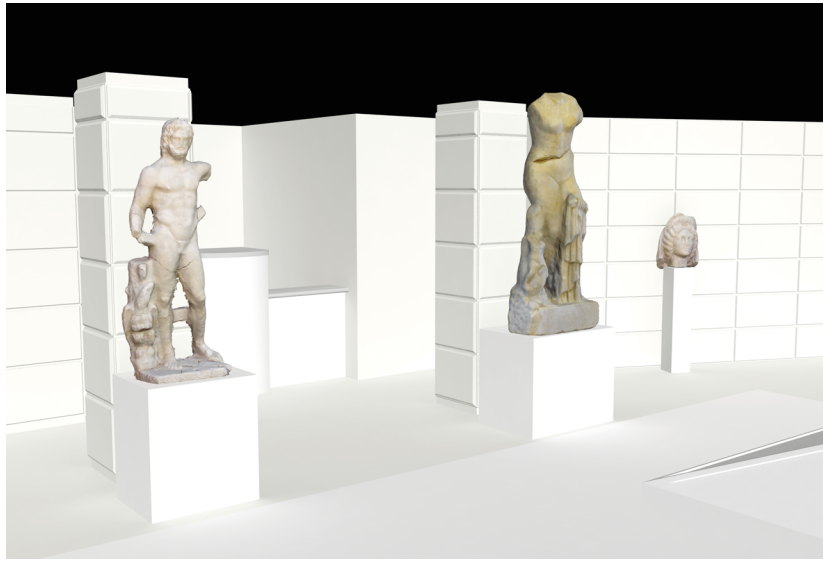

Figure 8.6: Digital display of the objects inside the Visitor Centre gallery.
(Image: Safa' Joudeh.)

We also created fly-through animations of the current display, using Autodesk 3ds Max's render engine, Arnold, and motion graphic programs in order to present the project to the wider public and gauge their reaction to the current display. The level of engagement was easier to observe while presenting at conferences, and harder to do on social media. On such platforms, the common difficulty is to get people to interact with the published content by using interesting techniques and engaging methods (Bonacchi 2017; Jeffrey et al. 2020). Thinking about new approaches and ways to promote the project led to finding more interesting websites and platforms: for instance, Sketchfab, an online platform in which it is possible to publish, share, discover, buy and sell 3D models and virtual reality and augmented reality content. This platform seemed ideal to test displaying the 3D models, with its ability and flexibility to share contents on other platforms as well, such as Twitter, Facebook and Instagram. Assessing the engagement on these platforms is usually based on prepared surveying and questionnaires, along with the number of views of posts, likes, comment, and shares (Bonacchi 2017). We ran an initial survey of the 3D model published on Sketchfab after after years without having promoted the content at all. The model counted 9 likes, 54 downloads, 372 views and only one direct message.[1] We purposely decided not to share the content on other platforms, in order to assess the level of engagement with limited or no input. This clearly verified our initial assumption that to create high engagement on social media, the content needs to be promoted and often linked through diverse platforms. Our future steps would be to actively promote the models in order to assess digital community interactions under different parameters.

Communities and Their Archaeologies

Using 3D tools to interpret cultural heritage objects can enrich communities' experiences when engaging with cultural heritage (Forte and Pietroni 2009; Hindmarch, Terras and Robson 2019; Jeffrey et al. 2018; Lorenzon et al. 2013). The al-Oran palace

project aimed from the beginning to engage the community of Tafilah with their own history and heritage. Therefore, the visualisation approach adopted low-budget techniques and recycled material to build and create the 3D model. Based on the reactions and actions of the students while interacting with the model, as well as the reporting from both teachers and parents, the interpretive model achieved its goals and the community outreach was a success. In the second case study, the restoration process of the marble statues directly benefited from the 3D modelling and visualisation tools. Using image-based modelling and combining this with other 3D and rendering software fitted the nature and the dynamic of the project. The 3D models have the added benefit of also helping with direct engagement with specialist recipients and interested visitors, a new target audience, carefully presenting and illustrating the marble statues while explaining their history and archaeological value. Furthermore, online outreach through several social media channels was undertaken and is still ongoing. The interaction with the content was light, but several groups that are part of the Jordanian community – i.e., colleagues, friends and local actors – were impressed with the work, and they were highly appreciative of the information provided. It is important to note that several groups were interested in both case studies and these communities clearly overlapped, such as community archaeology and heritage specialists.

Finally, the two case studies employed 3D modelling to engage and address diverse living communities active in Jordan who are engaged with archaeological heritage. The first case study's main goal was to involve children, teachers and parents, thus different groups within the Tafilah local community. The 3D modelling methods in the second case study were more advanced, articulated and oriented to benefit the project process and communication between its different specialist stakeholders. Thus, the focus was initially on heritage and digital specialist communities, but eventually it also became relevant to the non-specialist communities that constitute the wider national and international audience and helped in the co-curation of the project. Our case stud-

ies showcase how archaeologies in Jordan involve multiple living communities, and demonstrate that computational archaeology is an effective and compelling tool to engage them and provide fertile ground for archaeology co-curation.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank our partner Architect Toqaa al-Oran and the Amuriya Elementary School and all its personnel, Professor Weber-Karyotakis, Director of the Jerash sculptural restoration, and the funder Gerda Henkel Foundation Mare Nostrum for their kind assistance and permission to present the statue models. We also would like to acknowledge USAID-SCHEP-ACOR for their financial support. All mistakes are our own.

Notes

1 See https://skfb.ly/6XvIU; data from June 2022.

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CHAPTER 9

Urkesh Community Archaeology Project

A Sustainable Model from Syria

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Abstract

This chapter discusses the community archaeology approach in Urkesh, which has been instrumental in turning the site into a source of pride and common identity for a mosaic of communities living next to it. It discusses the sustainability of the Urkesh community project, showing how these communities became more engaged in site activities despite the physical absence of the archaeological team. The concept of inheritance as tied to living inheritors is illustrated with examples from the interaction between archaeologists and the local communities. Finally, the chapter illustrates the resilience of the project in adapting to a situation of crisis, highlighting one particular programme designed

How to cite this book chapter:
Buccellati, G. and H. Qassar. 2023. 'Urkesh Community Archaeology Project: A Sustainable Model from Syria'. In *Living Communities and Their Archaeologies in the Middle East*, edited by R. Bonnie, M. Lorenzon and S. Thomas, 211–38. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.33134/HUP-19-9.

to empower local young people amid the global pandemic and the impact of Syrian conflict on their lives.

Keywords: Syria, resilient community archaeology, Syrian identity, empowering young people, inheritors

Introduction

Tell Mozan, ancient Urkesh, located in the north east of Syria, is one of the earliest cities in history (4000–1200 BCE[2]). Excavations started in 1984 and continued every year until 2010, when the Syrian upheaval started. Since the first seasons of excavation, local communities have been engaged continually as part of the project in terms of research and work. As a result of this policy, local communities became the active force in protecting the site during the conflict and conducting various community archaeology projects under the (remote) supervision of the archaeological team.

This chapter discusses the community archaeology approach in Urkesh that has been instrumental in turning the site into a source of pride and common identity for a mosaic of different communities living next to it. It then discusses the sustainability of the Urkesh community project, showing how these communities became more engaged in site activities despite the physical absence of the archaeological team. Finally, it discusses the resilience of the project, adapting to a situation of crisis, by highlighting one particular programme that was designed to empower local young people amid the global pandemic and the impact that the conflict had on their lives.

Archaeology and Local Communities in the Syrian Jezirah (HQ)

The area in which Tell Mozan is located comprises part of the Syrian Jezirah, which extends from the Euphrates in the west to the political border in the north with Turkey and in the east with Iraq. Until the beginning of the twentieth century the region was inhabited and reserved as grazing land for Arabic and Kurdish

tribes (Montagne 1932). The current population of the region was formed from different communities: Armenians and Assyrians who survived the 1915 genocide in Turkey (Altug 2011, 18), the Kurds, who escaped from Turkey after the 1925 revolt (Bruinessen 1984, 281), and Assyrian groups from Iraq escaping after 1933 (Al-Kateʾe 2015). In addition, the region hosts nomadic Arab tribes who settled in the early 1950s, and Kurdish Yazidi. As a result of this history, the Syrian Jezirah is the most diverse area in Syria, linguistically, religiously and ethnically (Altug 2011, 19).

The region has received a considerable amount of archaeological attention since the early 1930s. However, the number of archaeological missions (national and international) increased from 1946 – the year of Syrian independence – until a boom was witnessed in the 1990s. The relationship between archaeological missions, the Syrian state and society is regulated by the Syrian Antiquities Law (SAL) adopted in 1963, which laid down the rights and duties of archaeological missions, giving all rights over antiquities to the Syrian people. This law states that all artefacts should be given to the Syrian authorities, and that archaeological missions should protect and maintain the sites that they are excavating, cooperate with and accept the presence of a representative of the Directorate General of Antiquities, and finally, pay the salaries of site guards. A new law, which came into effect in 1999 (Syrian Parliament 1999), included modifications with regard to the penalties for trading in archaeological materials, exporting such materials and exchanging with other cultural institutions. The SAL did not consider the relationship between archaeologists and the surrounding communities in terms of site presentation or outreach programmes. Therefore, communities living next to sites were not aware of the history or the value of these sites, and in most cases were indifferent to their protection (Qassar 2021). This situation showed its worst consequences in the Jezirah area, since most of the ancient architecture is made of mudbrick, which is challenging to preserve and to interpret in such a way as to be understood by non-specialists. As a result, most of the excavated sites in the region are reduced to just a ‘place’ where archaeologists

extract information for academic research, without the location becoming a living educational centre for locals.

In the early 2000s, the Syrian government started a series of initiatives to engage local communities with cultural heritage in Syria (Qassar 2021). One of these initiatives called on the international archaeological missions to preserve and present the sites they were excavating. However, the results were not as impressive in the Jezirah region, since the preservation of mudbrick architecture and its subsequent interpretation cannot be built on momentary decisions but must be based on a long process, starting from deciding the excavation strategy, and making the goal of presenting the site a priority. Through the last ten years of the Syrian conflict, many sites in the region have been destroyed due to destruction, whether direct (looting, bombing) or indirect (neglect and lack of preservation; Lababidi and Qassar 2016), utterly depriving locals of their benefits.

The work of the Mozan/Urkesh Archaeological Project is an exception to this state of affairs, and has come to represent a model for how an archaeological project can interact with local communities. Through the chapter we will highlight the nature of this project by reflecting on the living communities in Syria in relation to archaeology, and by the engagement of diverse local social groups in a variety of community archaeology initiatives.

Living Communities and Their Archaeologies (GB)

I would like to share a personal reflection that bears on the two core issues of this book: *living communities* on the one hand, and *their archaeologies* on the other, with an accent on the pronoun 'their'. My personal experience has been in two different settings: the urban setting of Ashara, a small town on the Syrian Euphrates which is the site of ancient Terqa; and the rural setting of Mozan, a small village in the Syrian Jezirah which sits atop the outer city of the site of Urkesh and next to the imposing tell that covers the central portion of the ancient city. I will not go into a detailed

description here of the archaeology of these two important sites. Briefly, Terqa was a provincial city during the third and early second millennium BCE, and then the capital of the small kingdom of Khana in the latter part of the second millennium. Urkesh was one of the first cities in history, dating back to the early fourth millennium, and was the capital of a Hurrian kingdom in the third millennium and then a provincial city in the second.[3] Our heritage work has centred primarily on the second site, Urkesh, modern Tell Mozan, and most of this chapter deals with the various experiments we have carried out there.

Our 'expedition' appeared suddenly in both places as a novel foreign body. The very term 'expedition' conveys a sense of external appearance, of intrusion, even more so than the French term 'mission' or Italian term 'missione', which refer to a body of individuals sent as diplomats or experts to a foreign country to represent the interests of the home country. At any rate, all of these terms evoke a colonial attitude.

How does an expedition or a mission relate to the '*living* communities' it encounters? What degree of recognition is there for *their* archaeologies? In retrospect, I can say that we felt the impact of these questions even though we never asked them explicitly. We, the directors and the core staff (coming from the USA, Europe, China and India), were foreigners in the double sense that we came from abroad and that we were uncovering a past of which these communities had no awareness. At both sites, we were welcomed with a sense of curiosity: why would these foreigners be interested in what seemed so trivial and unimportant? And what developed was a sort of reciprocal maieutics. Yes, the archaeology was 'theirs', because this was their territory in a deeper sense than simply a locational one (meaning where their homes were) – they had an innate relationship to the territory which they shared with their territorial ancestors, which we could never even approximate. This applies also to the newcomers who were resettled there in recent times: the identification with the territory had more recent roots, but by virtue of their settling there permanently they did begin a new relationship with the territory. And yet it was

also 'our' archaeology – we brought a specific competence, which came to blend more and more with their 'competence'. It was a reciprocal maieutics because we each brought out the best in the other.

From this perspective, to interpret the title of this book in a way that adds a nuance that may not have been envisioned by our editors, the archaeologists are also a living community, and one of the 'archaeologies' is *our* archaeology. A lesson I have learned is that it is important to maintain one's own identity if one wants to truly respect the other's identity: to pretend to be more local than the locals may emerge as a subtle form of colonialism. We should acknowledge 'our' respective archaeologies so that they may become each other's archaeology. A concrete way in which I found myself expressing this was by repeating often, to the living communities we were encountering, a special word of thanks – when they would routinely say: 'our house is your house', I would express the feeling that they were also telling us: 'our history is your history'. It was, as well it should be, a wondrous reciprocal enrichment. This issue was addressed in part in Oras (2015). The literature addresses this topic from the point of view of the academic context ('preferences in research areas'), and the question of data (archaeologists 'create data') and social context ('influence of nationalism, contemporary politics and ideology'). My perspective is that we should transparently articulate our archaeological research goals in such a way that the communities affected by our work may, just as transparently, understand and confront them with their own concerns.

Community Archaeology in Mozan

Archaeology as Heritage in Mozan (GB)

The term 'community' in community archaeology may be understood either as an object or as a subject of the phrase's deep structure. As an object it implies that the community is the target: archaeology is addressed to the living communities who live in

the territory where a given site or archaeological area is located. As a subject, on the other hand, the word 'community' implies that the people are involved in doing archaeology: they contribute both to the process of discovery of a local past and to its interpretation. (The term 'public archaeology' is analogous in that it refers to either the intent to reach a wider public than an academic audience, or the participation of the public in the archaeological process itself.) In recent decades there has been increased interest in engaging locals within archaeological activities, with a corresponding increase in the academic literature discussing the very definition of the term 'public archaeology' (Corbishley 2011; Jones 2015; McDavid 2013; Mickel, Filipowicz and Bennison-Chapman 2020, in press; Moshenska 2017b; Moshenska and Dhanjal 2012; Moualla and McPherson 2019; Nadali 2020; Sakellariadi 2010; Thomas 2010, 2017; Vitelli and Pyburn 1997; Wendrich 2018, and more generally, Kohl 1998; Kohl, Kozelsky and Ben-Yehuda 2007; Scarre and Coningham 2013).

Upstream of what this terminology entails, and closer to the central goals of our book, is a consideration of what is at stake for the communities: why do we speak of 'their' archaeology? In other words, how does archaeology become appropriated so that it might emerge as a value capable of empowering the people involved? The twin notions of inheritance and heritage are helpful in this regard.

Inheritance is a 'thing': the monuments and the objects seen statically in themselves and dynamically for what they mean. A cuneiform tablet is such a thing, and it requires competence for it to be interpreted. But even items such as a building or a statue, clear as they are at first appearance (a place where people moved about, the representation of a human being), require a set of competences to be understood at a deeper level (the building as a palace or a temple, the statue as a divine being or a king).

Heritage, on the other hand, is a thing inherited. This happens when the value behind the thing is appropriated by the living communities that today share the same territory occupied by the ancients who originally conceived the things – the tablet, the

building, the image. Heritage, in other words, entails awareness and sharing of values, values that are not only those behind the initial moment of creation of the thing but also those that resonate with modern awareness (for the meaning of heritage and its use, see, e.g., Apaydin 2017; Clark 2006; De Cesari 2010; Jokilehto 2020; Smith 2006; Sonkoly and Vahtikari 2018; Stein et al. 2017).

I would like to offer an example, drawn again from my personal experience. But first I need to explain a certain set of circumstances. The excavations in which I took part in Iraq, Turkey and especially Syria rely on local workmen, mostly farmers and only very few students, sometimes adding up to fairly large numbers (up to a couple of hundred in some seasons). It became my practice to involve them regularly in our ongoing effort to interpret the data we were discovering: this took the form of weekly lectures, during work hours, at different sectors of the excavations, occasional lectures in the expedition house on select groups of objects, and ongoing discussions during the excavations about the finds. It was the first of several other efforts at outreach directed at the community: the workmen were the first priority stakeholders. Apart from a simple sense of commitment on our part to them as our collaborators, with the resulting effect of greater commitment on their part to our work, there was the basic fact that they were de facto our daily interlocutors: theirs were the questions that other people in the communities around the site would at some point ask us. It was as if it were a day-to-day rehearsal of what we would eventually present to those communities (on this, see especially the work by Allison Mickel, most recently Mickel 2021; Mickel and Byrd 2022; and Mickel, Filipowicz and Bennison-Chapman 2020, in press). Our presentations gave them a sense of what we valued, and motivated them to search on their own for what meaning their work could have for them. The greatest validation of this effort was when the workmen would come back to the site on their day off with their families to show them and explain what they were doing *with* us.

Against this backdrop, the example I have in mind seems particularly eloquent. At one point we were excavating a temple that

dates back to the mid-third millennium BCE. We had reached the cella, with the altar, and one of our lectures took place there. The intense question that came up was about the very nature of the ancients' worship, of what 'god' meant to them. For the most part, our workmen were practising Muslims, so the question resonated in a very special way with them. It resonated just as intensely with me, a practising Catholic. And thus I came to share with them the deeper sense of relating, jointly among us *and* with the ancients, to an absolute who in some ways was a common point of reference for all of us, jointly and severally, and across the gulf of several millennia.

It should be noted that this conversation was taking place in Arabic, and that the word for God was *Allah*. But there was no fear of being disrespectful. Rather, there developed a profound syntony, one that did not lessen the differences (either between our Muslim and Christian sensitivities or the difference inherent in the polytheistic nature of the ancient worship that would have taken place right there at the spot where we were all sitting on the ground), but rather helped us to see, in these differences, our commonalities. We had, we may say, inherited the temple. In different ways, it had truly become our heritage – without surrendering in the slightest either our competence as archaeologists or our sensitivity as people of faith.

The reader may well imagine how strongly this came to mind as, in recent years, we faced the wholly opposite stance assumed by the so-called Islamic State (ISIS). And that, too, helps to highlight the central aspect of our question. The fanatical iconoclasm of ISIS was a form of anti-hermeneutics: they denied the past, they wanted to obliterate heritage (see, e.g., Curry 2015; Jones 2018; Matthiae 2015). In a more subtle but equally pernicious way, this had been the very goal of colonialism, for it, too, is expressly anti-hermeneutical: it wants to impose values, instead of sharing them as the result of a common search (for colonialism and being anti-hermeneutical, see Bahrani 1998; Byrne 1991; Meskell 1998; and my entry in critique-of-AR.net/colonialism). Instead of discovering an authentic heritage, both ISIS and colonialism wilfully

impose one that is extrinsic and foreign, and they do so by eradicating a pre-existing tradition.

The hermeneutic approach lies at the opposite end of the spectrum because it is essentially symmetrical (for a development with regard to children, see Buccellati 2018). This approach is at the core of education in general, which should be understood as the discovery of existing values that can be shared once they are found. It is a reciprocal maieutics, one where we help each other in extracting a meaning that is jointly discovered, from different and concurrent points of view. The archaeological competence emerges in the process as essential: it is what we, the archaeological community, contribute – something that is specific to us. The reading of a cuneiform text cannot be improvised: but what a sense of shared enthusiasm when the reading of one such text, even to the least educated farmer in the audience, brings to them the sound of an ancient name that can be pronounced today as it was over four millennia ago, as when we can tell them with no hesitation that 'Tar'am-Agade' was the name of a queen who ruled at 'our' site when she came in marriage to 'our' king, Tupkish, from a land in the distant south, not far from where Baghdad is today. It was a triumph, a truly symmetrical triumph, as we, the archaeological community, were able to bring back to them 'their' queen, a queen who had lived in their very territory 4,250 years ago. Dating is always a matter of great curiosity: how do we know that this thing, or this layer, is 42 centuries old? This is where the issue of stratigraphy becomes intelligible, as well as the whole methodology of a controlled excavation. It is by far the surest antidote to potential looting and vandalism.

Local Site Visitors (HQ)

When local visitors reached Tell Mozan during the excavation season, they were accompanied by an archaeologist to show them ancient Urkesh. For almost four years, I had the chance to guide local visitors around the site and had ample opportunities to notice, personally, the impact of a 30-minute tour. A sense of

involvement on many levels was developed in such a short time. This was clear from the visitors' concerns about the future excavations; what we expected to discover; what the plan was to conserve and maintain the site. In some cases, they even suggested ideas to protect the site and maintain it for the future.

During the visit, locals tried to find similarities with their present, similarities with their daily life, comparing the seal impressions of ancient manufacturers with similar contemporary ones in the nearby village. Moreover, questions about identity and diversity were always present, in their wondering if ancient inhabitants of Urkesh were one homogeneous people or many groups living together, and if they were related to present-day societies living in the same area.

At the end of the visit, visitors were invited to leave their feedback in the visitors' book. Here are some of their comments as they reflect on their experience (we give it here translated from Arabic but otherwise exactly as we received it):

> Antiquities teach us how ancients lived so we could learn from them and avoid their mistakes. (Dr. D., 1988)
>
> It was one of the most inspiring days I and my daughters have ever had, it was a unique educational experience which will be a hand work for the future. (W.A., July 1997)
>
> To be born in history and to be able to live and breathe through it is an amazing thing and hard to be described. It's a feeling that only the sons of history will understand. VIVA Syria. (A.S., 2002)
>
> It's a beautiful thing to be surrounded by history and even more beautiful to be able to feel and touch the passing millennia. (A.H., 2009)

Sustainability

Awareness, Identity and the Test of War (GB)

There are two concomitant and fundamental side effects of seeing archaeology as live heritage: awareness and identity.

Awareness goes beyond knowledge: one does not only know that Urkesh, in our case, was the name of the ancient city of which we see the remains today; one also senses its importance because of all the ramifications that this has with regard to the territory where other communities live today.

And *identity* grows from this awareness. To understand how this worked with Urkesh we should stress two particular aspects of our situation: the first is that there are five distinct communities in the area – Kurds, Arabs, Armenians, Assyrians, Yazidis; the second is that Urkesh precedes all of them chronologically, that its people belong to yet another ethnic group (the Hurrians), and that both the city and the Hurrians disappeared some three millennia ago. For our communities, then, identity grew out of the awareness of a reality attested only through the material ruins of a dead city, but a reality in which all the living communities of today could find a common point of reference.

What this meant concretely was that archaeology led to the creation of what we may call a higher community, one that embraced diversity and offered a constructive path to interaction. I will once more relate a specific example. The Kurdish community had been hosting a new year's festival at the site of Urkesh for a number of years before our arrival on the scene. Once excavations started, it became dangerous to have so many people at the site (several thousand normally took part), so the festival could no longer be held at the site and had to be moved. This in itself did not create a problem; the problem was instead that the feeling had grown that Urkesh was Kurdish, and that therefore what we were uncovering was an ancient Kurdish city. It was not. And what ensued was an articulate discussion with the 'archaeological' community that brought out the sense of belonging to that higher community I have mentioned. This 'belonging' was not due to a presumed

Kurdish dimension of ancient Urkesh (a misconception which had to be recognised as such) but rather because of the territorial bond that was common to all modern communities as well as to the ancient 'Hurrian' community.

The potentials for conflict were of course aggravated by the war that has traumatised Syria for the last ten years as of this writing. A new dangerous element emerged on the horizon of our 'community archaeology', namely the arrival of foreign forces, which, we may say, represented yet more 'communities', all of them foreign not only to the territory and tradition of 'our' communities but also to 'their' archaeology. ISIS was the most nefarious, and it came within 60 kilometres of Urkesh. But all of this only strengthened the awareness of the archaeological dimension and the sense of identity it had engendered.

All of this speaks to the issue of sustainability. It also speaks to the very important fact that it practically eliminates the danger of looting (as mentioned above). We may think of it in terms of practical considerations, and I will mention a few in the next section. But upstream of mechanisms, sustainability rests on habits and attitudes – on awareness and identity. It is really only when these sink their roots deeply into the consciousness of the living communities that heritage comes truly to life and gains a strength able to withstand external disintegrating forces. It is the awareness of values with which one can identify that ensures continuity. Values are indeed stronger than mechanisms. But mechanisms are important too, and to them we should now briefly turn our attention.

Mechanisms (GB)

I referred above to the practice we developed of having regular 'lectures' to the workmen, and that was the starting point of a broader effort at interpreting the site for the local communities. It was a programme we had started during the time when excavations were possible, a programme we maintained and in fact expanded very much further during the war period.

Basic to the whole effort was the commitment to physically conserve the excavated portions of the site and to present them to the visitors. Both *conservation* and *site presentation* were based on very simple techniques that made use only of local resources, and could thus be kept up to date even in the worst periods of the war (Agnew and Demas 2019; Buccellati 2002, 2006a, b, 2019; Buccellati and Bonetti 2003; Buccellati, Ermidoro and Mahmoud 2019).

This made it possible for *visits* to the site to continue unabated. There were four major categories of visitors: (1) families who would come especially on weekends, sometimes on their own, sometimes through tours organised through our local archaeologist, Amer Ahmad; (2) students from the local universities, ours being the only site in the region that was easily available for academic research; (3) high and middle school students, who were brought as classes studying ancient history, and in particular students involved in long-distance correspondence with their counterparts in Italy and Greece (see below); (4) a very small number of foreign visitors, coming from the border with Iraq. Throughout, there was a constant stream that was interrupted only because of the COVID-19 pandemic, but will certainly resume in full force as soon as that danger is over (AVASA n.d.-d).

We also organised three different *exhibits* in the cities near the site. These were didactic in nature, with panels in Arabic and Kurdish and ample illustrative information. The first exhibit was about our excavations, the second about excavations by a Syrian team at Tell She`ir, the third about the more recent community archaeology projects (AVASA n.d.-c; Buccellati, Ermidoro and Mahmoud 2019).

In addition to visits to the site, we organised *lectures in the local villages*, with the intent not only of interpreting the past but also explaining about the importance of maintaining the landscape in as pristine a condition as possible. These lectures were given mostly in private homes, sometimes in the village school, always with a limited, but highly interested, number of participants. With this programme we reached 24 villages (AVASA n.d.-b).

A message that was brought to the villages, particularly with regard to the landscape, was that we have serious plans to establish an *eco-archaeological park* that would bring significant financial returns to the villages (the literature on eco-parks and -museums is vast; see, e.g., Maggi 2001, 2009, because of its interest with regard to both data presentation and a reflection about underlying principles; see also Chapter 6 in this volume). Plans for the park were quite advanced when war broke out, but it remains very much in the foreground for the future. It covers an area of some 54 square kilometres, inclusive of 24 villages (the ones we reached with our lecture programme). Each village is expected to become like a hall in a museum, being devoted to an aspect of ancient life with its counterpart in modern life (e.g., pottery, textiles, agriculture) (Urkesh Park n.d.). It is in the expectation of this future park that we developed the Urkesh Gate project.

Urkesh Gate: Empowering Local Women (HQ)

Local women in the Middle East are not usually included in archaeological fieldwork. The eco-archaeological park was one of the first initiatives to shed light on the power of this 'unknown soldier' in the region. The expedition first tried to enlist women in the excavations, but this turned out not to be acceptable to local social mores.

Urkesh Gate is the name of the women's enterprise which started in 2012, under the supervision of a team from Damascus in coordination with Urkesh project directors, to include a group of 30 women from the nearby villages. Urkesh Gate aimed at improving the economic situation of local women by teaching them some craft skills and connecting these crafts to women's activities in ancient Urkesh.

The path of this project was not simple because of the conflict in the years following 2012. Therefore, the team from Damascus was not able to get back to Tell Mozan, which was also true of the archaeological mission. Nevertheless, the women showed extraordinary will to collaborate autonomously and to start producing

the first objects of the Urkesh Gate enterprise. In 2014, on the occasion of an exhibition organised in Italy by the site directors, the women sent some of their products and a video in which they talked about the economic benefits they were realising thanks to Urkesh Gate and also the difficulties facing their project due to the conflict (such as the lack of basic materials, the migration of skilled women, lack of security).

One of the ways to sustain the local women was by buying their products. However, this was not enough any more, since most of the skilled women had left their villages. This led us to initiate the 'Urkesh Gate school' in one of the nearby villages. The school started in 2016 to include a group of 15 women between 19 and 35 years of age, who gathered every day under the supervision of Amira, one of the skilled women from the original group. We offered them the basic materials, a place to gather and the teacher. In less than six weeks the women had started to produce beautiful products which they could sell in the local market.

Since 2020, the Urkesh Gate project has been going through another formation phase, in which we have helped the women to improve their skills and their products. We are extending the training programme to other villages in the area, and we are adding the production of rugs to that of clothing.

Resilience

One-on-One Project: Description (HQ)

In 2018–2019, the Urkesh for a Young Future project was started, aiming to bring together students from Qamishli, a city some 25 kilometres east of Urkesh, and students from Italy and Greece. The project aimed to reflect on the value of the past and heritage for youngsters coming from completely different backgrounds and cultures. Through this project, students met on a collective basis, under the supervision of their educators. The project showed interesting results in terms of connecting young people to local heritage and developing their sensibilities in relation to the topic.

The new emergency provoked by COVID-19 led to school closure in many countries around the world and demanded physical distancing. This meant that the school project in its original form could not proceed. Young people, especially in the USA and Europe, shifted to online learning. This shift was not possible for poor or under-resourced countries. Students in Syria, for example, were left without remote learning, due to the lack of resources in terms of modern technology in schools. Therefore, our concerns increased regarding young generations living next to the site, who have grown up in isolation due to the war, the sanctions and now the global pandemic.

We looked for a way to adapt the project to the new emergency safety measures and to be able to deeply engage the Syrian youngsters in the Urkesh enterprise. The original school project was developed to achieve a more personal approach in which participants, i.e., the young people, could be the protagonists as individuals involved in the project. We were looking to see ancient Urkesh through their eyes and to listen to the history of the site from their perspective. At the same time, we were keen to consolidate their hard and soft skills through the various phases of the project. To respond to these challenges, the One-on-One project was born in the summer of 2020, to include a group of school students, between 12 and 14 years old, from Syria, Italy and Greece. The participants were eager to discover themselves through their heritage and to share this heritage with their peers around the world using their own perspective and talents.

Differently from the original school project, students met on an individual basis, which gave them a better opportunity to satisfy their personal cultural curiosities about their own heritage and that of their peers.

The project was articulated through four main phases to achieve its goals. Each phase was designed to be dynamic, to adapt to the cultural particularity of each country. What follows is a brief description of each phase,

Phase 0 was dedicated to introducing the young people to the project and to constructing a relationship between the project's

supervisors and the participants. The main goal of this phase was to help the youngsters feel comfortable enough to tell us about themselves, their interests, talents and future hopes, and how heritage can be part of these things. We then proceeded by exploring the perceptions of the young participants of heritage and its role in their lives. We asked them how their own heritage could serve them to improve themselves and their skills. To what extend did they consider it relevant for their own generation? If they did not, how could we work on its presentation to make it relevant to them? These questions led to interesting discussions among the participants and prepared the ground for the next step, phase 1, which was designed to respond to the interests of the participants that had been collected in phase 0.

Phase 1, the formation, introduced participants to aspects of the cultural heritage in their vicinity. Each group showed different interests regarding heritage and how it related to their modern lives.

Phase 2 aimed to improve the hard and soft skills of the participants individually. Counting on a group of tutors (post-doctoral, graduate and undergraduate students coming from different parts of the world), each participant received personal mentoring to consolidate their English, computer and communication skills in order to be ready for phase 3.

One-on-one meetings took place in phase 3. The meetings occurred under our supervision and were designed as a journey that started by talking about the past and heritage, before moving on to the present and sometimes the future. Each participant presented their heritage and showed how it was relevant to their modern life. Based on the participants' level of interest in knowing about each other's life, each one-on-one meeting took a unique personal shape and led to a variety of outcomes. After the planned meetings under supervision, participants were encouraged to keep in touch with each other in order to learn more about the lives and the general cultural landscape of other countries.

The Impact of the Project on Syrian and International Youth (HQ)

One major goal of the project was to create a dialogue between nations through heritage. Participants coming from completely different realities were urged to discuss not only the past, through heritage, but also different topics in the present and the future. Exchanging thoughts at such a young age helped them to develop their capacities in dialogue and to discover new perspectives from which they could see the 'other'. This was reflected through the participants' feedback:

> I learned to relate to a foreign girl, share aspects of her life as a girl, and to be interested in a very different culture than mine. (Giulia, 12 years old, Italy)

> For me it was quite meaningful to talk to children my age because I had conversations about important topics and learned important things about a country that I knew almost nothing about. (Sotiris, 13 years old, Greece)

Specific to Syria was the encouragement to 'imagine' an inclusive Syrian identity. As mentioned earlier, the geographical region which the Syrian participants came from is rich in a variety of ethnicities and religions, and the participants themselves reflected this diversity. Aged between 12 and 14 years, these young people had started their lives by opening their eyes on a war in which the existence of the other is not welcome. Any different reality than the war for them is simply a 'tale' that they might hear from elders in society.

During phases 0 and 1, the Syrian youngsters' questions showed a real exigency to discover themselves and their identity through ancient Urkesh. They asked about the religion of the ancients, whether their language was similar to Arabic or to other languages in the region, and how the modern ethnicities in the region were related to the Hurrians. In addition, many questions relating to daily life, such as the ancient diet, economy, agriculture methods, etc., were raised.

The parallels participants found with their modern lives were common to all of them, as they share many cultural traits despite their diversity. The parallels with ancient Urkesh were the same for Christians and Muslim participants, just as they were the same for Armenians and Kurdish participants. Through discovering ancient Urkesh, they were able to find an inclusive identity that gathers them all together, and that predates modern identities in Syria. It allows them to belong to each other by belonging to ancient Urkesh.

> When I visited Urkesh I felt like visiting a different world, a strange and a beautiful one. I felt the contrast between the present we are living in and the past. It helped me to imagine how can life be in a different Syrian reality. (Hiro, 14 years old, Qamishli)

Assessment

Recognition and Evaluations (HQ)

One measure by which we can assess the results of the project is in the form of awards coming from outside the project. The Urkesh project has received four such awards (AVASA, n.d.-a). In 2006 the World Monument Fund added Mozan to its list of the 100 Most Endangered Sites, underscoring the project's 'well-established strategy for long-term stewardship' (World Monument Fund n.d.). In 2011 the Archaeological Institute of America awarded the project its first ever Best Practices in Site Preservation Award, citing the 'exceptional work at Tell Mozan' and the 'innovative and efficient approach to protecting the delicate material' after excavation (Archaeological Institute of America 2011). In 2017 the Shanghai Archaeological Forum (2017) gave the project a research award gold medal for 'The new Syrian life of the ancient City of Urkesh'. In 2020 the EU gave the project the very first ILUCIDARE[4] Special Prize for Heritage-Led International Relations, calling it a 'a strong example of how heritage can lead to people-to-people dialogue' (Europa Nostra 2020). In 2022 the project

was awarded the European Archaeological Heritage Prize for its impact on engaging young people in the archaeological heritage in their vicinity. And in 2022 the project also received the Balzan Prize 2021 for art and archaeology of the ancient Near East.

Then there are evaluations from colleagues outside the project. As the result of two invited lectures in 2020, where various members of the team presented their work, the organisers expressed in some detail their view of the project overall, while in a published article two leading conservators of the Getty Conservation Institute provided a critical review of the work done at the site (Agnew and Demas 2019).

The other type of assessment comes from within the project itself. We have put in place a monitoring system whereby the various members of the project provide regular evaluations, not only in objective terms but also with regard to their own personal interaction. Some of these comments are helpful in seeing what the full impact of the project can be:

> All this made me think more seriously, as everything I mentioned played a role in changing my viewpoint towards teaching, as long as I have students who possess all these qualities also they have affected even on my family life. I started thinking, for example, why won't my young son not have these qualities in the future? I started giving him more attention in order to give him this determination. After my first and second experience in this project, I now finally feel as if I have lost something that I may never get a second time because I will probably not meet these students who were in constant contact with me and who are ready to give their best. They have become interested in heritage despite their young age. (Amer Ahmad, archaeologist and collaborator in Qamishli)

> While working with the student to translate his knowledge from Arabic into English, I realized that we need to work on more activities to encourage the student share their personal connections, it is already there. We just have to make it salient and expressive in the other language. One interesting result of the project is finding points of relevance of the history of the site to modern times,

> which is something important for identity perception and presentation. (Amr Shahat, project tutor, UCLA)
>
> The project comes at a difficult time for a country that has been torn apart, to teach this new generation the meaning of partnership and coexistence. It opens their eyes to see that there are many things that can be shared with others without owning them. As for the Syrian professional mentors/tutors involved in the project, who currently live abroad, in Europe and in the United States, this gives them an opportunity to improve their capabilities to stay in contact with the local communities. (Samer Abdelghafour, Project tutor, IIMAS)

The Inheritors (GB)

A final assessment of the success of the project can best be made with the stakeholders themselves.who are the direct beneficiaries of the project. By stressing the notion of heritage, we have pointed to an important dimension of our approach to studying the archaeologies of living communities. Precisely because heritage is not a thing but an inheritance that has been appropriated, the emphasis is shifted to those who inherit. It goes without saying, then, that the inheritors should be the primary evaluators of any programme aimed at raising such awareness. Theirs should not so much be an assessment that comes after everything is done, but rather it should be undertaken concurrently with the work being done from the beginning.

What helped in our case was that we had not set out with a pre-ordained research design focusing on heritage or fixed ideas about to apply it to the reality where we were working. Rather, our engagement at Urkesh has been the result of an organic development that has grown slowly as needs arose. The war was the external factor that had the greatest impact on this development (it could never have been part of a prior research design!), and on top of this came the COVID-19 pandemic. Many of the goals we had come to articulate were, in the process, sharpened in their

focus and strengthened in their applicability. It was the resolute bottom-up approach we had followed from the beginning that made it possible to develop and expand our activities precisely at a time when a physical presence was no longer possible.

In fact, what has characterised our Urkesh experiment has been, from the very beginning, a determinedly inclusive effort. The term 'inclusive', current though it is today, may lend itself to the wrong interpretation, because it may suggest a hidden superiority on the part of the subject who allows inclusion. Inclusivity should not be seen as a one-way street, whereby one party includes the other into a predefined precinct. It should rather be reciprocal. From this perspective, as I have stressed already, the archaeological community cannot abdicate its responsibility. We must present our interpretation of the archaeology with all of the necessary competence that we can bring to the issue. And this should reflect total openness, without resulting in a flattening of the substance or a glossing over of difficulties.

It will be apparent, from this perspective, that the inheritors are the first evaluators of the project. We might in fact say that it is their very existence that makes the project successful. For it is only if there indeed are inheritors that, as I have argued, there can be any heritage at all. Only when there are inheritors who are aware of 'their' archaeology can we say that archaeology as a thing has morphed into archaeology as live heritage. It is then that, to muse on the title of the book, communities can truly lay a claim to 'their' archaeologies.

Notes

[1] The sections of the chapter were authored individually by one or the other author. Each section bears the initials of its respective author.

[2] Please see the discussion in Chapter 1 on the editorial decision to use this siglum despite it disregarding non-Christian calendars.

[3] For full information and bibliographical references please visit www.terqa.org and www.urkesh.org.

[4] The ILUCIDARE Special Prizes, selected within the European Heritage Awards/Europa Nostra Awards, put a spotlight on European changemakers in heritage-led innovation and international relations: https://ilucidare.eu/news/ilucidare-special-prizes-2020-archaeology-young-future-italysyria-and-estonian-print-and-paper.

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CHAPTER 10

Afterword

On Ethics, Cultural Capital and Sustainability

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Abstract

In this concluding chapter the editors provide commentary and response in relation to the previous chapters. We identify commonly emerging themes, namely ethics, cultural capital and sustainability, and draw out connections between the cases as revealed by the book's authors. We conclude by thanking the contributors to the volume once more.

Keywords: conclusions, community archaeology, ethics, cultural capital, sustainability

How to cite this book chapter:
Bonnie, R., M. Lorenzon and S. Thomas. 2023. 'Afterword: On Ethics, Cultural Capital and Sustainability'. In *Living Communities and Their Archaeologies in the Middle East*, edited by R. Bonnie, M. Lorenzon and S. Thomas, 239–51. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.33134/HUP-19-10.

Introduction

Much has happened in the world in recent years. We have been through a global pandemic and continue to live in times of great political and economic instability, not only in the Middle East but in other regions as well. Some have begun to argue that in the face of accelerating climate change, the possibility of more and perhaps worse pandemics, and other wicked problems facing humanity, we should actually be looking more and more to archaeology and the past – not only as a means of social cohesion, as is often attributed to community archaeology projects (e.g., Everill and Burnell 2022; van den Dries 2021), but also as a way of discovering processes and practices that may help to mitigate the damaging effects of the drastic changes we are living through in the anthropocene (e.g., Boivin and Crowther 2021; Fisher 2020; Lane 2015). As the argument goes, our ancestors often found ingenious ways of co-existing with the environment, while the preservation and restoration of cultural heritage sites has been shown to be a positive way of helping societies to recover from trauma such as armed conflict (Giblin 2014; Matthews et al. 2020; Newson and Young 2017, 2022).

It is difficult, if not impossible, to evaluate the projects discussed in this book in any conventional sense. The projects covered in the respective contributions are – or were – at different stages, and they also differ in scale and funding. Furthermore, it is not necessarily our place as academics from the Global North to pass judgement regarding the 'success', 'failure' or other outcomes of such endeavours, or how they should be measured. Instead, in this concluding chapter we reflect on a number of themes that have emerged from this volume, and which are important to discuss in relation to community archaeology practices globally as well as within the Middle East. In particular, due to the need to work with communities who may have differing expectations and values with regard to cultural heritage, the ethics of community archaeology have to be discussed. Second, we also consider the Bourdieusian notion of cultural capital as it relates to community

archaeology in the Middle East. Third, the topic of sustainability has emerged in several of the chapters, and we briefly consider here what sustainability means in the context of community archaeology – sustainability of what? For whom?

In our final reflections we attempt to look ahead to what lessons can be taken from this volume for community archaeology in the future. To what extent are existing theoretical models and ways of understanding community archaeology – stemming overwhelmingly from Anglophone academia in the Global North – appropriate to regions such as the Middle East? Or are these models in fact robust enough to work in any context?

Ethics

Doing archaeology is inherently related to politics. There is no place where this is so clear as in the Middle East, where its findings and methods are so intrinsically connected to nation-building, identity suppression, colonial violence and Western identity formation (Abu El-Haj 2002; Greenberg and Hamilakis 2022; Hamilakis and Duke 2007; Meskell 1998). The tension produced by the inevitable choice of which communities are served by archaeology is constant, and is implicated by various levels of power structures, ranging through local, national and international (see also Chapter 2 in this volume).

Within this volume, these tensions are brought to the fore and discussed in the various chapters on collaborative projects between archaeologists from the Global North and local archaeologists and communities (e.g., Chapters 3, 6, 7 and 9). Achieving greater transparency on these tensions through reflection, as well as on these archaeological projects in terms of development and evaluation, is particularly emphasised (see Chapters 3 [Zaina et al.] and 9 [Buccellati and Qassar] in this volume).

Another key aspect of building a more collaborative and inclusive archaeology is multivocality (Pluciennik 1999; Richardson and Almansa-Sánchez 2015, 197–99), which highlights the different interpretations and positions of heritage among different

communities, as various chapters in this volume have noted (see Chapters 3, 4 and 9). In Chapter 8, Joudeh and Lorenzon have shown how 3D (digital) models, particularly in the case of vernacular architecture such as Qaser al-Basha in the southern Jordanian city of Tafilah, can help locals in voicing their position and interpretation in relation to local heritage and its preservation. These approaches are particularly useful in areas and countries where, due to the shaping of archaeology by foreign and state interlocutors (on this, see further below), certain more-marginalised communities and heritages beyond the capital area and off the beaten track from the main tourist destinations are under-acknowledged in terms of their voices and values (see, e.g., Al Rabady and Abu-Khafajah 2022).

Taha and van der Kooij (Chapter 6 in this volume) and Buccellati and Qassar (Chapter 9) note how multivocality can be incorporated into heritage interpretation when developing an archaeological site into a heritage park. Notably, however, the aspect of multivocality becomes most evident in those contributions that are shaped around a dialogue between the authors, as is the case in Chapters 7 (Badran et al.) and 9 (Buccellati and Qassar).

Tension around whose voices are being heard and whose are neglected have been particularly shaped by the institutionalisation of archaeology, whether as past foreign colonial powers and their current neoliberal agendas (Abu-Khafajah and Miqdadi 2019) or as state agencies (Abu El-Haj 2002; Greenberg 2015). In today's Middle East, the question arises: what role do state authorities and outside interlocutors, such as the aid industry in the Global North, play in shaping heritage interpretations and narratives through community archaeology? This matter was put forcefully on the agenda by Abu-Khafajah and Miqdadi (2019) in the case of Jordan, and is addressed strongly in this volume as well (see Chapters 2 and 7).

Moreover, archaeology's institutionalisation continues to shape the heritage landscape and its interpretation in Israel and the Palestinian Territories. Ambar-Armon's chapter in this volume (Chapter 5) on Israel's northern district exhibits numerous

examples of local heritage engagement in that region that aim to reach out to various communities, including children, retirees and diverse religious communities. Yet, as Israel's northern district has the highest share of Israel's Arab population in the country, it remains clear that the elephant in the room, when it comes to marginalised communities, remains largely unaddressed. As Greenberg has lamented before, a clearly inclusive, multivocal and transparent community archaeology seems to be only slowly taking shape there, although examples of these features do exist (Greenberg 2019; Killebrew et al. 2006).

While archaeology has come a long way in foregrounding and acknowledging its colonial origins and related systemic biases as a discipline, other disciplines working with archaeological findings have done so to a considerably lesser degree. The obvious reason for this is that, historically, archaeology is *the* scientific discipline that extracts and documents material culture from foreign grounds, through which other disciplines then gain access. As such, archaeologists are the people that actually travel and come into contact with local communities.

However, this narrative is not completely accurate, because from the nineteenth century textual and historical artefacts were obtained en masse through the hands of ancient historians, biblical scholars papyrologists, Assyriologists and Egyptologists, among others. Their role in extracting heritage has come to the surface more clearly in recent years due to the involvement of scholars from these disciplines in the study and authentication of artefacts of dubious provenance (Brodie 2011; Bonnie, in press; Brodie, Kersel and Rasmussen 2023; Mazza 2019). Through their research, these disciplines have shaped the interpretation of heritage from the Middle East for decades, with little attention to its impact on local communities. While advancements have been made in recent years in some disciplines, the focus remains mostly on discussing the problematics of unprovenanced artefacts and heritage destruction, but less so on giving voices to the marginalised communities from which these objects were once taken.

Finally, as we editors are and were situated in Finland, a country which was itself a part of other countries for most of its history, it is also pertinent to address its indirect association with the colonial West. The Nordic region has often considered itself a bystander to the systemic issues created by colonisation and the Western demand-driven (illicit) antiquities market. However, this view has also come under considerable scrutiny in recent years, and research has shown how countries such as Norway and Finland relate to and have benefited from their connections with previous colonisers from other parts of Europe (Bonnie 2022, 2023; Prescott and Rasmussen 2020; Rasmussen and Viestad 2021; see also Hoegaerts et al. 2022). As such, when discussing the colonial impact on the archaeology of the Middle East and its shaping of community archaeology, it is important to look not merely to those regions directly involved but also to those that directly benefited from them but to some degree still portray themselves as passive bystanders to this discussion.

Cultural Capital

Of all the chapters, the one by Päivi Miettunen (Chapter 4) has most directly tackled and identified Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of capital, not least that of cultural capital. As Bourdieu noted in 1986 in his initial formulation of cultural capital:

> The notion of cultural capital initially presented itself to me, in the course of research, as a theoretical hypothesis which made it possible to explain the unequal scholastic achievement of children originating from the different social classes by relating academic success, i.e., the specific profits which children from the different classes and class fractions can obtain in the academic market, to the distribution of cultural capital between the classes and class fractions. (Bourdieu 1986, 243)

Applied since then to many situations, not least in the context of cultural heritage (e.g., Newman, Goulding and Whitehead 2013), cultural capital can be understood as a means of explaining the

differences – and sometimes advantages – brought about by one's awareness of, familiarity with and ability to behave around certain cultural norms. As Miettunen herself notes in this volume, the context and form of cultural capital can vary greatly.

In relation to the Middle East, we may usefully connect the concept of cultural capital to that of values in general, and several of the chapters note the tensions between local values (concerning what heritage is) and the influx of international teams and ideas, not least with reference to the colonial pasts of the region (e.g., Chapters 2 and 9). As others have also noted, even with good and well-meant intentions, heritage may be regarded as innately possessing a higher value by outside and international organisations, in ways that do not or cannot reflect the values held by local communities (e.g., Abu-Khafajah and Miqdadi 2019).

This naturally leads to deeper questions not unique to the Middle East: questions concerning the presence and influence of the so-called Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD, sensu Smith 2006). Within this context, and within studies of community and public archaeology more generally, a greater understanding is arriving concerning the difference and importance of alternative understandings of heritage and the past – in which arguably different forms of cultural capital, connected with local knowledge, indigenous practices and the values held by particular communities and societies (sometimes historically or contemporaneously oppressed), gain power. This may be accomplished through increasing cooperation between local communities and external projects, which may in turn increase local awareness and sense of ownership of archaeological sites, as Taha and van der Kooij (Chapter 6 in this volume) describe in Palestine. It may also bring to life projects in which the next generation gains greater capital in relation to their local archaeological heritage, while at the same time heritage professionals both in the Middle East and elsewhere have an invaluable opportunity to learn best practice from each other in a truly dialogical process (in the case of the work of Badran et al. in Amman, Chapter 7 in this volume).

Our volume therefore presents an opportunity to revisit the notion of cultural capital and to recognise its presence, form and influence in different settings. It is also instructive to reflect here on the whole notion of knowledge production through archaeology, and especially through academic archaeology as developed on the basis of a Western framework.

Sustainability

Sustainability is a key aspect of community engagement, as not only should the community be activated during fieldwork, but its involvement should also be considered from a long-term perspective. Thus, sustainability in community engagement, which involves how the community can continue with heritage engagement after archaeological fieldwork ends, should be planned ahead and should take into account ways in which the process may be rendered sustainable in both the short and the long term. Sustainable community engagement is often based on community capacity-building through training and workshops (Lorenzon 2015; see also Chapter 3 in this volume), which often provide local communities with a basis on which to build archaeological knowledge and develop it further into sustainable development opportunities. The latter can make the community self-sufficient and can guarantee a continuation of archaeological and heritage work after the end of canonical archaeological projects (Lorenzon and Zermani 2016; Moser et al. 2002).

The sustainable development of community archaeology also takes place alongside the preservation of archaeological heritage. Preservation can be physical; yet it can also be accomplished through digital means, providing different communities with the means to participate in their heritage at virtually zero carbon emissions. Digital preservation has the added benefit of accessibility worldwide to marginalised communities that do not have the economic means to travel, even though issues of intellectual property rights need careful consideration when embarking upon such projects (Pavis and Wallace 2019). Finally, in the long term,

digital and physical preservation are also guarantees for the fruition of heritage in the future (see Chapter 8 in this volume).

Our understanding of environmental sustainability in community archaeology has been severely impacted by the international lockdowns and travel restrictions that took place during the COVID-19 pandemic. The clear advantage of project leaders being members of a local community was made evident during the pandemic, when projects with local leaders progressed steadily even during times of social distancing and travel restrictions (Lorenzon and Miettunen 2020; see also Chapter 9 in this volume). This brings us back to our earlier discussion on ethics, and showcases how ethics, cultural capital and sustainability are concepts that are tightly interlinked and should form the basis of any real decolonial approach to Middle Eastern and community archaeology. A follow-up argument relates to the lack of a truly integrated community archaeology funding model, as traditional funding sources often exclude the possibility of developing fully collaborative research with local communities and still privilege a more academic and top-down approach to community engagement.

Looking Ahead

Community archaeology remains a sub-discipline of archaeology, a discipline that is grounded in colonialism/imperialism in terms of methods, ideas, periodisations and material interests. This becomes especially evident in an area such as the Middle East, a region named along Western conventions. Furthermore, at least until recently (although we hope this volume signifies that this is no longer entirely the case), the region has hardly had a well-known track record of community archaeology. As Morag Kersel and Meredith Chesson noted back in 2011, the Middle East and its communities are 'not always the first people or the first place that pops into your mind when you think of community archaeology' (2011, 43).

We are grateful again to the authors of these chapters, and also to each other for a successful editorial collaboration. We, along with author Päivi Miettunen, have worked or are working within the Centre of Excellence in Ancient Near Eastern Empires at the University of Helsinki, and we acknowledge with gratitude the support and resources made available through that centre. We also thank our colleague Dr Raz Kletter, who was involved in developing the initial conference in 2019 that inspired this volume. Finally, and most importantly of all, we are grateful to the communities and their archaeologies.

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Index

Introductory Note

References such as '178–79' indicate (not necessarily continuous) discussion of a topic across a range of pages. Wherever possible in the case of topics with many references, these have either been divided into sub-topics or only the most significant discussions of the topic are listed. Because the entire work is about 'community archaeology' and the 'Middle East', the use of these terms (and certain others which occur constantly throughout the book) as entry points has been restricted. Information will be found under the corresponding detailed topics.

Symbols

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Backcover:
How is 'community' defined and reflected in community archaeology? Which archaeology does community archaeology employ? How are its successes and failures measured?

Living Communities and Their Archaeologies in the Middle East presents theoretical ideas, case studies, and reflective insights on community archaeology. Written by scholars working in and from Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Palestine, and Syria, the chapters discuss the realities of challenges and opportunities presented by opening up archaeological experiences to wider publics in different social and political settings. Further, the contributions reflect different historical trajectories and cultures that enable us to find similarities and differences in the theory and practice of community archaeology.

The Middle East has a long, fascinating, but also complicated history of archaeological investigation, deeply entrenched in colonization, and more recently in the decolonization process. The involvement and social values of the associated communities have often been overlooked in academic discussions. This book aims to redress that imbalance and present original research that reflects on the work of current scholars and practitioners and draws similarities and differences from diverse cultures.

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