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Imprint of action : the sociocultural impact of public activities in archaeology

Boom, K.H.J.

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Author: Boom, K.H.J.
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Theoretical and methodological framework

2.1 Introduction

The value of cultural and archaeological heritage has been discussed and analyzed over the past decades by scholars and heritage institutions (Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015). While initially the value of cultural heritage was linked more strongly to its intrinsic aspect, and the preservation of monuments and artefacts was prioritized, we now see that the societal value of cultural heritage becomes increasingly important (Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015). The focus on a more inclusive society, and the increasing recognition of culture's valuable contribution, can be observed through guidelines and conventions put forward by UNESCO and ICOMOS, such as the Faro and Intangible Heritage conventions (Council of Europe, 2005; UNESCO 2003, respectively). This evolution is also occurring for archaeological heritage as it is inherently part of cultural heritage. However, for archaeology – especially in Europe – the shift towards a stronger societal appreciation cannot as yet be discerned in policy documents, such as the Valletta Convention, which are still more geared towards physical preservation. Furthermore, financial capital is still scarce in the archaeological field and much of the archaeological research in Europe is pressured by time constraints due to economic development, leaving little room for the exploration of values other than economic or intrinsic. Nonetheless, there is an opportunity for the field to prove and validate its societal relevance and thus connect to the overarching shift in values occurring in the cultural heritage field. This opportunity lies in the increasing requests from local and national governments, and international institutional bodies, to utilize culture and cultural heritage in order to answer to sociological issues and challenges, mainly those based on rapid social change such as the increasing individualization of society. The belief that cultural heritage can contribute to a large number of societal issues, such as social cohesion, Well-being, education, inclusiveness, and health, is now acknowledged by various legal and political institutions, including the European Union (Council of the European Union 2014a (Council of the European Union 2014b). Furthermore, the heritage field is actively lobbying to include culture as a fourth pillar of Sustainable Development, with the ultimate goal being that culture would be acknowledged and incorporated in the UN agenda's.

As a way to prove and validate the contribution of cultural heritage to these societal challenges and to capitalize on its added benefit, research into the economic and sociocultural impact of cultural heritage has also increased during the last decades, with an increasing emphasis on the latter aspect. However, research still needs to be done in order to find out if, and if so why, cultural heritage contributes to these societal issues, and how this can be observed, measured, and translated into commensurable and understandable data. Positioned within the cultural heritage sphere, this dissertation aims to show the sociocultural impact of public activities in archaeology by analysing data from three case studies gathered with a consistent method.

This chapter will both explain how archaeology, as part of cultural heritage, theoretically connects to the societal issues mentioned above, and which methodology is used as a foundation for the analysis of case study data. In the first section of this chapter (2.1), the value of cultural heritage and archaeology will be discussed. This section will expound on how people connect to and value archaeological heritage, and discuss why value assessment is important to be considered as a procedure for achieving an in-depth perspective of a site's importance. This theoretical analysis will be later used to identify sociocultural impact in cultural heritage and archaeology (section 2.2), and to create the methodological framework (section 2.3).

In order to research the sociocultural impact of public activities in archaeology, it is important to first explore and discuss how cultural heritage and archaeology are valued by the public. These values ascribed to cultural heritage give an insight into how people connect to heritage and influence how cultural heritage creates an impact; as value and impact are inherently two sides on the same coin (Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015, 53, also see section two of this chapter).

This section describes the concept of cultural heritage, and how archaeology fits into that concept. It also describes the valuation process, called value assessment, and covers relevant theoretical aspects of value typologies. Furthermore, this section describes the shift from historic/preservation values to the more societal values as recognized in cultural heritage frameworks, which form important frameworks for the archaeological sector and, hence, for this thesis. Lastly, the value of participating in archaeology is discussed which defines the general setting of this PhD research as well as highlighting its relevance.

2.1.1 The concept of cultural heritage

Cultural heritage as a defined concept is relatively new, and while heritage etymologically derives from the word *patrimoine* – goods inherited from the father- and was defined as early as the 18th century, the aim to create a univocal and objective definition of the concept of heritage was set much later, in the second half of the 20th century (Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015, 109; Vecco 2010, 322). In this historical context, cultural heritage can be connected to the emergence of archaeology and art history as fields of science, followed by an increased interest in cultural tourism, fashion, and antiquities; later, the concept was connected with the conservation and preservation of historic monuments (Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015,35). Based on contemporary research, we can define cultural heritage as a broad concept consisting of a wide and diverse array of connections between people and their past, including, for instance, folk memory, mythology, literary

Cultural heritage		
Intangible heritage	*Tangible heritage*	
	Movable	Immovable
Art expressions: music, dance, literature, theater Martial arts Languages Living cultures (Oral) traditions Narratives Revolutions Networks Folklore	Artifacts Paintings Sculptures Objects Collections Media Audiovisual media Books Plays Scores Consumer and industrial goods	Built heritage Monuments: buildings, sculptures, inscriptions, cave dwellings (Listed) buildings: buildings in use Groups of buildings: city centers Sites (also underwater): archaeological, historical, ethnological Cultural landscapes

Figure 2.1: General classification of cultural heritage. After Klamer and Zuidhof 1998.

associations, and via physical remains (Ashworth *et al.* 2007). The concept is volatile and ever changing because it is determined by how society, down to a single person, defines, connects to, and utilizes the past. The way people interact with, perceive, and use the past changes over time, and hence there are no unambiguous nor absolute definitions of the concept of cultural heritage (Skeates 2000). Heritage is "dynamic in nature, being constantly interpreted and changed depending on the passage of time, the change of context, and the public's experiences and expectations. Heritage does not belong to any given group, but it is open – it belongs to all those who wish to identify with it" (Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015, 35). For the sake of practicality, it is important to give a working definition of how the term cultural heritage is used within this research, as the concept is connected to issues such as heritage valuation, management, politics, and the main subject of this research: impact analysis in public activities in the archaeological sector.

A widely used, understood, and acknowledged general classification of cultural heritage is one which distinguishes between tangible and intangible objects (figure 2.1), and in which the former concept is further divided in movable and immovable aspects.

As illustrated in the figure, archaeology fits within the tangible variant of cultural heritage, both within the movable section for objects and artefacts, and the immovable section for archaeological sites and landscapes. This means that archaeology as a research field forms but one part of the broader concept of cultural heritage. It also means that archaeology is dependent upon, and has to fit within, the broader discourse discussions and developments of cultural heritage in order to understand its role, weight, and impact in society's valuation of heritage. Furthermore, the main subject of this research, sociocultural impact analysis, gained attention in the cultural heritage sector, focusing initially on the impact of the arts (Labadi 2008). The above warrants the initial emphasis on cultural heritage in this part of the thesis, before focusing more strongly on archaeology.

2.1.2 Value assessment and value typology

This sub-section will argue how the concept of value takes a central place within this research as it is strongly connected to impact analysis. The research on how the process of valuation works in respect to archaeological research, heritage management, and the social context of archaeology has gained attention in the last two decades

(Van der Linde 2012, but see also Smith *et al.* 2010; De la Torre 2013, 2002). As a reason for this, we can point to the increased inclination to use cultural heritage as a political tool in order to address contemporary societal issues, most notably in people's Quality of Life and Well-being (Dodd and Jones 2014; Ander *et al.* 2013; Galloway and Bell 2006). but also, because parallel to this, within heritage management, a discourse shift can be observed, wherein the meaning and use of value has changed, recently focusing more on the societal value of cultural heritage and archaeological material rather than the values of, for instance, preservation and the 'uniqueness' of archaeological artefacts or monuments (De la Torre 2013, Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015, Van der Linde 2012, Lafrenz Samuels 2008). Contemporary significance assessments in the cultural heritage sector, where the total sum of values from the various stakeholders are compared and weighted in order to make valid and ethical management decisions (*e.g.* Mason 2002, 6), we see that values are stressed and emphasized differently depending on the continent and even within countries. In Anglo-American contexts, for example, spiritual and social values are very much taken into account, whereas in Africa there exists a relation between development, archaeology, and extreme poverty, and in continental Europe, under the Valletta Convention of 1992, the scientific values of the archaeological record are highly appreciated (Van der Linde 2012). Many values attached to cultural heritage are political in nature and are inherently attached to peoples' identity, which in turn can lead to problematic issues when heritage becomes threatened by conflict and war (Boom 2013; Perring and Van der Linde 2012; Barber 2006; Bevan 2006; O'Keefe 2006; Meskell 2002).

The wider appreciation within the cultural heritage management field for values attached to cultural heritage by those who have an interest has, according to Marte de la Torre, influenced how we conceptualize heritage (de la Torre 2013). She argues that "the expansion of the concept of heritage has been the direct result of the broadening of the values that are considered to have cultural significance, and these new values are now part of all decisions taken to protect and safeguard those special places" (de la Torre 2013, 157). However, when looking at the World Heritage nominations, others are less convinced about including, for instance, community values (van den Dries 2015), or values other than political ones (Bertacchini *et al.* 2016). Because the attribution of values to heritage is different for each person and for each circumstance, it is important to understand how this process works on an individual level. People assign values to cultural heritage in a large variety of ways and those are different based upon personal motivations, time and space; values attached to heritage are, as we understand them now, "subjective, dynamic, and related to the aims and goals of actors in the wider social context" (Van der Linde 2012, 33) As such, we can say that value attribution is always multi-temporal, multi-spatial, and multi-vocal (Van der Linde 2012, 36). This idea is described as the 'value-based management model', a useful concept for understanding impact analysis.

According to Jon Holden, "value is located in the encounter or interaction between individuals (who will have all sorts of preexisting attitudes, beliefs, and levels of knowledge) on the one hand, and an object or experience on the other" (Holden 2006, 15). This means that there is an interaction happening between a person and an object, but that this interaction does not happen in a vacuum. In fact, the very interaction with cultural heritage affects people's lives, both individually and on a larger scale;

"value is assigned and influences the quality of life for individuals, communities, and nations […]" (Smith *et al.* 2010, 16). This personal as well as communal valuation of cultural heritage implies that impact measurement frameworks have to be aligned to fit particular individual or community perceptions and views. As there are many different types of value people can assign to cultural heritage, researchers and scholars, hailing from a large variety of research angles and scientific backgrounds, have been trying to comprehend and get to grips with how this valuation works. The result of these endeavors is a large amount of literature, a relevant selection of which will be discussed in this paragraph.

On a conceptual level, Holden proposes a categorization of the value of culture and distinguishes three ways in which value can be conceived, which lie at the heart of value attribution; intrinsic, instrumental, and institutional (Holden 2004). These viewpoints are not mutually exclusive but can be complementary depending on who is attaching values (Holden 2009). Intrinsic values are related to the artistic contents of culture, and people view them as valuable per sé (Bollo 2013). This view is closely related to the well-known expression 'art for art's sake' in relation to the economic worth and subjective value of artworks, and the main idea that (well-known) artworks are deemed invaluable (Holden 2004). Intrinsic values are also used to describe the subjective effects of culture onto a person and as such are very hard to asses, not being measurable through standard quantitative indicators and metrics (Bollo 2013). Because this value viewpoint is subjective and is often seen as a 'last resort' to prove the value of culture, those who use it are often framed as elitist and are prone to media scrutiny and charges of mystification. This trend is strengthened by the fact that in the post-modern world concepts such as beauty and truth are viewed as being geographically and temporarily specific (Holden 2004), eliminating their applicability and thereby "have made using them in debate an embarrassment at best, contemptible at worst" (Holden 2004, 23). The instrumental viewpoint is connected to the idea of using culture as a 'tool' in order to achieve a certain goal, for instance economic profit or social inclusion (Bollo 2013). The instrumental value of culture is mainly stressed by policy makers as they utilize culture in order to achieve societal goals (Bollo 2013). Politics struggle to understand culture but research into cultural value has provided politicians with an understanding of why it is important to various stakeholders. However, their focus on the instrumental value can lead to a dysfunctional relationship between them, the professionals, and the public (Holden 2006). Institutional value, lastly, is related to how cultural institutions and organizations interact with the public and "flows from their working practices and attitudes, and is rooted in the ethos of public service" (Holden 2006, 17). This means that institutional value is rooted in the (ethics) concerns for the public and places cultural institutions in between the public and policymakers (Holden 2006). The care for the public can be expressed both in small and large ways, but it is through "recognising these values, and, crucially, deciding for itself how to generate them, that the moral purpose of an organisation becomes apparent, and where organisational rhetoric meets reality" (Holden 2006, 17).

For cultural heritage, a second distinction can be made on a somewhat lower level and can be incorporated into the three-way viewpoint Holden proposes. This distinction is based on the dichotomy between the economic and sociocultural values, which can be further divided into personal and private values, and social and/or

societal values; economic values are closely related to the instrumental use of value, and cultural values to the more intrinsic aspect of heritage (Klamer 2014). The differences between economic and sociocultural values are heavily debated, as they are trying to express the same thing, namely the value of heritage, but from such different fields that a dissonance is felt in between both approaches; Klamer (2004) classifies protagonists from those fields 'economists' and 'culturalists', respectively. The main dissension between these two perspectives lies in the fact that both have a different conception of the term 'value', and that they stem from two philosophies which cannot be reconciled (Burtenshaw 2014). Furthermore, the "use of archaeological sites, materials, and knowledge for economic development may sit uncomfortable with many in the discipline of archaeology" (Burtenshaw 2014, 48), mainly because heritage was traditionally appreciated for its cultural worth, hence utilizing cultural heritage for economic development is 'not-done'. Graham *et al.* (2000) summarize this by stating "there is a strong felt, and frequently articulated, view that any attempt to attach economic values to heritage, and to other cultural products and performances, is at best a pointless irrelevance and at worst an unacceptable soiling of the aesthetically sublime with the commercially mundane" (Graham *et al.* 2000, 129). In contrast, economists see those working in culture and advocating a strict boundary of sociocultural values as not existing in the real world, forgetting that the world revolves around markets and monetary transactions; culture and archaeology included (Burtenshaw 2014). Indeed, we can most certainly say that the economic value of archaeology and cultural heritage has had a great impact on its management, with globalising trends such as cultural tourism as one of the most prominent examples (Van der Linde 2012, but see also Klamer and Zuidhof 1999; Labadi 2008), but also with the upsurge of commercial and contract archaeology, mainly in European and Anglo-American heritage management (Van der Linde 2012). For Europe, the focus on the economic value of archaeology is strengthened by the adoption of the Valletta Convention (Council of Europe 1992), but since global development corporations are now also incorporating a concern for cultural heritage management in their practices, the focus on economic values has become a world-wide concern (Van der Linde 2012). Indeed, the focus on economic values is not without its problems. For instance, the World Bank's aim to reduce poverty is intrinsically linked to economic values and 'good governance' and this has led post-colonial governments to focus on sites being preserved which have the highest economic and touristic appeal, often neglecting non-western and local histories and values (Lafrenz Samuels 2008; 2010).

While the dichotomy between the economic and cultural values is strong, and scholars and researchers from both sides see no other option than to advocate for one or the other viewpoint (Klamer 2004), others advocate that a cross-over between both worlds is possible. Mason, for example, writes "Is heritage priceless, or can it be reasonably priced? The answer is: both" (Mason 2008, 12). However, within these bridging attempts, we can still discern the two philosophical backgrounds. On the one hand, we have 'cultural economics', thus labelled because of their attempt to incorporate cultural values into the economic discourse. This sub discipline of economics has consolidated slowly as a bridging concept over the last centuries, but has "yet to be regarded as an especially important element in the great tapestry of modern political economy" (Throsby 2001, 12). As a goal, cultural economics "aims to maximize the welfare (in the widest sense) that

cultural resources can provide current and future society" (Burtenshaw 2014, 49) and sees cultural heritage as a capital asset. Throsby also noted that while this sub discipline is still relatively small, the recognition of culture within economics is gaining importance as is proven by governments and monetary institutions such as the World Bank declaring that culture is a crucial component of economic development (Throsby 2001). As a main argument, cultural economists follow the idea that the market does not set the value of heritage goods and as such other measurement mechanics need to be employed in order to produce valuable data for heritage management (Burtenshaw 2014). Examples of these methodologies are Contingent Valuation and Choice Modelling, where the value of a cultural resource comes from, for instance, people's willingness to pay for a certain heritage asset (for an overview of these methodologies, see (HM Treasury 2003) and a detailed consideration on this work by Dave O'Brian (2010); see also Fujiwara and Campbell 2011 as an answer to the lack of the more social methodologies observed in the former documents). A quite recently developed methodology does not postulate such an outcome as a final verdict; called Social Return on Investment, this methodology uses a stakeholder approach in order to establish an overview of attached values, which are then monetized and offset against the costs involved.[6] This creates an impact assessment which can be extrapolated to a cost-benefit ration as a final step. Whereas all the methodologies framed under the economic or cultural economics base their final value on monetary outcomes, other approaches valuate cultural heritage using more social or 'qualitative' characteristics. Coming from fields such as the social sciences and anthropology, proponents here use methodologies such as expert analysis, participatory mapping, and grounded theory (for an overview of these methodologies see Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015). While outcomes of the analyses using the above-mentioned methodologies are more closely connected to 'soft' values, and are often attached to social and societal values, they lack the 'money' component, which makes them hard to use in the common language of decision-making, the major benefit of cultural economics and the reason for the wider use and understanding of the latter approach. In a sense, this is also true for the analysis of the impact of archaeology, as "economic (in the financial sense) impacts and benefits are often much easier to demonstrate than other social or cultural impacts and so economic impact data can 'swamp' other aspects of archaeology" (Burtenshaw 2014, 51).

Having discussed the differences between the economic and cultural approaches to determine the significance of a heritage site based on the various values attached, a final scheme will be presented here on which much of this thesis' further theoretical and methodological debate is based. While many other scholars have proposed typologies of the values which can be attributed to cultural heritage (for an overview, see Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015, 56), the one proposed by Randall Mason (2002) is used here (see table 2.1), as his typology incorporates economic and sociocultural values as two distinct categories, each with their own unique aspects. As discussed, this value dichotomy is a fundamental pillar of the current research. Mason's typology was used to create the impact headers and indicators (see section 3) and delineates what is included (Socio-cultural values) and what is not (Economic values).

6 See http://www.socialvalueuk.org/resources/guide-to-sroi/

Economic values	Socio-Cultural values
Use values	Historical
Non-use values	Cultural/Symbolic
- Existence	Social
- Option	Spiritual/Religious
- Bequest	Aesthetic

Table 2.1: Typology of heritage values. Source: Mason 2002, 10.

While the above describes how significance assessment works in archaeological heritage management and how the different types of value are characterized and utilized by different proponents, it does not yet describe why these values are relevant for this thesis. This will be discussed in the next sub-sections.

2.1.3 Societal value of cultural heritage

Having described how significance assessment works on the basis of a variety of heritage values, and having decided upon the classification of- and the focus on socio-cultural values, this section will concentrate on the discussion of values in cultural heritage management. Based on international legal and policy documents, this section will discuss how cultural heritage is increasingly used to address societal issues such as social cohesion and quality of life. Running parallel to this development, we can observe a discourse shift in heritage policies and heritage management in which a people-centered approach takes the stage. Both aspects are heavily related to the use of values attributed to cultural heritage and form a case-in-point of how values are time-bound and subject to changes over time. The push towards these societal aspects from both vantage points shows the relevance and timeliness of this research.

2.1.3.1 Societal value of cultural heritage in cultural heritage management

Because of the democratization of heritage and the shift away from mainly conservation oriented values, for instance historical or aesthetic values, (object-oriented) towards economic and social values (subject-oriented), such as spiritual or educational values, the latter are increasingly emphasized in cultural heritage management guidelines and frameworks, as well as in practice. The main current interest in the value of heritage lies in the fact that it plays a growing role in today's society (Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015; Blessi *et al.* 2014; Ander *et al.* 2013). Indeed, the importance of cultural heritage is widely recognized nowadays as serving an important societal role in the EU, as is evident from EU-wide recommendations to national and local applications of policies, treaties, and charters (Florjanowicz 2015).

A particular aspect of the importance archaeological heritage plays for society is that it is connected to the fact that for most of the European countries, archaeological research is conducted and paid for either by the free market, or central or local heritage authorities (Willems and Van den Dries 2007); a capitalist versus socialist model (Kristiansen 2009) – consequences of the Valletta Convention. While decades ago the relevance of science for science sake was enough to bolster huge amounts of funds, in contemporary society, and especially after the financial crisis which struck Europe around the year 2007/2008, there is a need for "Post-crisis systems for the management

of the archaeological resource [which] will need to be entrepreneurial, flexible, and responsive" (Aitchison 2009, 669). As a consequence of the scarcity of funds, "policy makers seek and the heritage sector argues for allocating funds to heritage by attributing socio-economic values to it and by measuring its socio-economic impact" (Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe 2015, 46).

Within the cultural heritage management sphere, this shift towards a more holistic valuation of cultural heritage can be discerned by analyzing (the history and succession of) various key publications, such as charters and treaties, as published by *e.g.* UNESCO and ICOMOS. We can observe a shifting perspective on cultural heritage values, moving away from the protection of material cultural heritage for the sake of its intrinsic and universal value towards a more holistic approach where intangible heritage is acknowledged as an aspect of heritage no less important than its more concrete counterpart, and social and natural aspects are included to argue for sustainable growth and a sustainable future. The focus on, and selection of, certain values above others is inherent to their use in a particular place and time; for instance, the 1954 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Cultural Property during Armed Conflicts uses the word 'property' as a noun before the adjective 'cultural', and as such, denotes culture as an asset which can be owned and therefore contested; the convention emphasizes the physical notion of this 'cultural property' as:

> *Movable and immovable property of great importance to the cultural heritage of every people, such as monuments of architecture, art or history, whether religious or secular, archaeological sites; groups of buildings which, as a whole, are of historical or artistic interest; works of art; manuscripts, books and other objects of artistic, historic or archaeological interest; as well as scientific collections and important collections of books or archives or of reproductions of the property defined above.*
> UNESCO (1954)

While this convention aimed to protect cultural heritage from physical destruction, by describing the human relation to cultural heritage as 'property', it did not mention nor incorporate intangible aspects of cultural heritage. These intangible aspects are often the reason for heritage being under threat during armed conflicts, most prominently as a means to erase a group's identity (Bevan 2006), and they are focal points in the rehabilitation processes before, during, and after conflict (Boom 2013). While this convention aimed to protect cultural heritage from destruction during armed conflict, the 1964 ICOMOS 'Venice' charter instead focused on the physical conservation of heritage, built heritage in particular, and used the concept of 'monuments' to demarcate cultural heritage, stating that:

> *Imbued with a message from the past, the historic monuments of generations of people remain to the present day as living witnesses of their age-old traditions. People are becoming more and more conscious of the unity of human values and regard ancient monuments as a common heritage. The common responsibility to safeguard them for future generations is recognized. It is our duty to hand them on in the full richness of their authenticity.*
> ICOMOS (1964)

The Venice charter was centered on the importance of the physical object in order for people to appreciate the unity of human values. While there is certainly a unifying aspect to cultural heritage (Deiser 2010), framing the text this particular way neglects cultural context, historical background and the individual values attached to cultural heritage. As such, in 1992, the World Heritage Committee had recommended a reconsideration of the 'criteria governing authenticity and integrity, with a view to their possible revision', leading to an expert meeting on the subject in Nara, Japan (UNESCO 2007). The Nara document on authenticity was the result of that meeting and was "conceived in the spirit of the Charter of Venice, 1964, and builds on it and extends it in response to the expanding scope of cultural heritage" (ICOMOS 1994). It does this through recognizing the connection between cultural diversity and heritage diversity in relation to the conservation of heritage and its consequential appreciation as being authentic; both the concept and application of authenticity vary from culture to culture and as such can only be assessed fully and definitively when the underlying cultural context is taken into consideration. The aims of the Nara convention are geared towards this consideration and, effectively, the rethinking of authenticity in relation to cultural heritage. This can be discerned in the resulting document's preamble:

> *In a world that is increasingly subject to the forces of globalization and homogenization, and in a world in which the search for cultural identity is sometimes pursued through aggressive nationalism and the suppression of the cultures of minorities, the essential contribution made by the consideration of authenticity in conservation practice is to clarify and illuminate the collective memory of humanity.*
> ICOMOS (1994)

Here we see the recognition of the value of cultural heritage for society in relation to the changes of society as a whole, in particular due to globalization and homogenization. In contrast to the Venice charter, here the cultural identity of minority groups is stressed; the unity of human values is not a given, but comprises an intricate network of local, national and international values and identities. The document was incorporated into the Operational Guidelines of the World Heritage Convention in 2005 (UNESCO 2012) and as such now forms part of the "growing acknowledgement in the texts of the Convention of the importance of community involvement in heritage management" (Deacon and Smeets 2013, 131).

The acceptance of these premises resulted in the adoption of the UNESCO Convention's treaty on the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, where the safeguarding of intangible heritage is stressed together with the need to raise awareness at the local, national, and international levels (UNESCO 2003). Interestingly, the treaty's purpose also includes the line "to ensure respect for the tangible cultural heritage of the communities, groups and individuals concerned (UNESCO 2003)", effectively connecting the intangible with the tangible. The treaty not only had quite a significant normative impact, but also resulted in a change of the World Heritage Operational Guidelines, which initially recognized that authenticity should be judged on four attributes only: design, materials, workmanships, and setting. Now, however it "indicates that authenticity should be judged within the cultural context to which it belongs and that it could be expressed through a multitude of attributes" (UNESCO 2007, 41).

While this treaty, even more than the Nara document, focusses heavily on the importance of the role of communities in relation to the management and safeguarding of cultural heritage, in practice their involvement through control and responsibility of heritage projects remains insignificant (Deacon and Smeets 2013, 131, Van den Dries *et al.* 2015). The difference with regard to the importance and recognition of (local) communities between the 1972 World Heritage and the Intangible Heritage convention lies in the fact that heritage in the Intangible Heritage Convention is seen as a practice, rather than as a product, and the relationship between people and their heritage is the focal point; value here entails the value identified by communities concerned rather than external value judgement by experts (Deacon and Smeets 2013).

The more recent connection of cultural heritage to landscape and natural aspects of cultural heritage can be seen as the latest development in thinking about the societal role of cultural heritage and its connection to societal issues; effectively, this view combines a holistic approach with a people centered approach. The UNESCO Historic Urban Landscape Recommendation (2011), for instance, incorporates the historic urban landscape, defined as "the result of a historic layering of cultural and natural values and attributes, extending beyond the notion of 'historic center' or 'ensemble' to include the broader urban context and its geographical setting" (UNESCO 2011), into the concept of cultural heritage. As a reason, it states that rapid and uncontrolled urbanization can result in social and spatial fragmentation which in turn affects the urban and surrounding rural areas. According to this recommendation:

> *Urban heritage, including its tangible and intangible components, constitutes a key resource in enhancing the liveability of urban areas, and fosters economic development and social cohesion in a changing global environment. As the future of humanity hinges on the effective planning and management of resources, conservation has become a strategy to achieve a balance between urban growth and quality of life on a sustainable basis.*
> UNESCO (2011)

While it is true that urban heritage inherently deals with local communities and societies, words like 'liveability', 'quality of life', and 'sustainable' are nonetheless concepts which contrast sharply with those introduced in earlier texts, and are seemingly more connected to contemporary society. Indeed, the landscape-based approach "has a holistic perspective which considers heritage, or the site, not as a goal in and of itself but as placed in social, economic, ecological, and cultural context [and] establishes a management approach which leaves room for assessing vulnerability to socio-economic pressure and impact of climate change and for integrating the outcomes into a wider framework of city development" (Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015, 51).

2.1.3.2 Societal value of cultural heritage in EU policy

The previous sub-section of this chapter showed how within the cultural heritage management sphere a shift can be seen from an object-oriented approach to a subject-oriented approach, where economic and social values have gained importance. A similar shift can be seen in the international legal and policy documents on the use of

cultural and archaeological heritage. According to the Council of Europe, as written in the Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Faro Convention), cultural heritage comprises "a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge, and traditions. It includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time" (Council of Europe 2005). Heritage being the interaction between people throughout the course of history is more elegantly described by Davison (2008) as an inheritable testimony of ancestral relations. This connection between people and their past through cultural heritage is still strong today, but archaeology is also strongly connected to real or contemporary life, arguably more strongly than other forms of cultural heritage (Florjanowicz 2015). This results in issues such as land ownership, transport infrastructure, urban planning, and agriculture affecting archaeological research and putting it at risk (Florjanowicz 2015). In order to mitigate the effects of these issues, legal instruments and policy documents were put in place. A well-known instrument is the European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage (Council of Europe 1992), which is "almost universally regarded as relevant to heritage management today [because] it has not only changed the face of heritage management across Europe during the past 20 years, but [will] undoubtedly continue to exercise a positive influence in safeguarding and conserving Europe's collective archaeological heritage "(Olivier and van Lindt 2014, 171). This convention, perhaps better known as the Valetta or Malta convention, focusses on the protection of archaeological heritage and its use for scientific research by securing professional standards in the archaeological field (Florjanowicz 2015).While the focus of the convention lies on the protection of archaeological heritage, it does this in order to "protect the archaeological heritage as a source of the European collective memory and as an instrument for historical and scientific study" (Council of Europe 1992, art 1), acknowledging the intangible and societal value of archaeology. In addition, the convention refers to the dissemination of scientific information (article 7), pushing archaeological initiatives to share valuable knowledge and inform the general public of its undertakings and the need to raise public awareness, through for instance educational activities (Council of Europe 1992). In contrast, the later 2005 Faro Convention emphasizes the benefits of cultural heritage to individuals and communities and their responsibilities towards it. Furthermore, in its first article, the convention recognizes the right to participate in cultural life and the responsibility to promote cultural diversity (Council of Europe 2005). However, in order for these conventions to take effect in the EU, each nation state has to approve of its contents by ratification, and while the EU has to "respect its rich cultural and linguistic diversity, and shall ensure that Europe's cultural heritage is safeguarded and enhanced", according to the consolidated version of the Treaty of Lisbon, it can only act, or push legislation, within the limits of its competences (Florjanowicz 2015). This means that while the EU acknowledges and pushes the social and societal aspects of cultural heritage, it is still the prerogative of each country whether or not to incorporate those ideas into practice. For the two conventions mentioned above, we can see a large difference in ratification (Florjanowicz 2015, 27).

Other important developments related to the shift in values of cultural heritage in the context of European policy can be seen in two recent documents published by the

Council of the Europe Union. Both are *conclusion* documents, meaning that they are not legally binding for EU member states but are political statements by the council, facilitating co-operation and pushing ideas which may eventually result in law changes (Florjanowicz 2015). The first document is called the 'Council conclusions on cultural heritage as strategic resource for a sustainable Europe' (Council of the European Union 2014a). It can be considered as the EU's official reply to the Faro Convention, putting the goal of heritage values in the context of the main EU priorities: economic and social development (Florjanowicz 2015). The document "presents a holistic approach to cultural heritage and recognize it as a resource for enhancing the social capital in Europe" (Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015, 52). The second document is called the 'Council conclusions on participatory governance of cultural heritage' (Council of the European Union 2014b). It recognizes that heritage is a shared resource, and "aims to reduce the risk of its misuse and at the same time to increase the social and economic benefits resulting from its exploitation" (Florjanowicz 2015, 29), but also that "participatory governance of cultural heritage offers opportunities to foster democratic participation, sustainability, and social cohesion and to face the social, political, and demographic challenges of today" (Council of the European Union 2014a). The European Commission acknowledges and underlines the importance of both the 2014 conclusion documents from the Council in their communication towards the Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee, and the Committee of the Regions called 'Towards an integrated approach to cultural heritage in Europe' (European Commission 2014). The Commission states here that "Heritage has many dimensions: cultural, physical, digital, environmental, human, and social. Its value – both intrinsic and economic – is a function of these different dimensions and of the flow of associated services" (European Commission 2014, 3). However, there is a lack of data on these sociocultural and economic values and impact, which results in a lack of understanding of how to interpret, measure, and quantify these data (Crossick and Kaszynska 2016; Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015; Burtenshaw 2014, 2013; Nevell 2013; Heritage Lottery Fund 2010; Labadi 2008; Selwood 2002). As a reaction to this, in order "to increase understanding of the actual and potential role of heritage in policy development, it is important to improve systematic data on its economic and social impacts" (European Commission 2014, 4). While only focusing on a selected few public activities, this research aims to provide fellow researchers and institutions with a solid set of research data on the sociocultural 'dimension' of archaeology and to increase our understanding of the impact archaeology generates in peoples' lives. As can be read in the previous statements, values and impact are often used interchangeably by scholars and institutions for the validation of archaeology. While value and impact are strongly connected, they are not strictly the same entities. The difference between the two and their place in this research will be discussed more thoroughly in the next section (2.2).

2.1.4 Value of participation in archaeology

A way to examine the sociocultural value of archaeology for local communities and society in order to create insight into the potential role of archaeology in EU policy and – hence- its future, can be found in analyzing public activities in archaeology. They form the perfect setting because they are already aimed to connect the public

to archaeological heritage and thereby encourage a certain kind of behavior which often creates a certain effect. Because of this, these public activities form a personal connection, based on a variety of values, between heritage and society, strengthened by the fact that they often provide space for social interaction (however, see the discussion in chapter six). Some even go as far as to say that indeed, "the community and heritage connection is one that is considered so natural an affinity that it hardly needs justification or explanation" (Crooke 2010, 17), whereas others stress that both concepts are widely misunderstood, often resulting in tension between community groups when unthoughtfully handled (Smith and Waterton 2010; Agbe-Davies 2010; Boom 2013). While the (legal) documents, conventions, and guidelines mentioned in sub-section 2.1.3 stress the importance of cultural heritage for answering social and societal issues from a top-down perspective, numerous research and community projects have been undertaken in the past few years dealing with these issues in practice. They form a bottom-up perspective, initiated by groups of volunteers, heritage collectives, or local municipalities, often housed under the 'public archaeology' or 'community archaeology' banner, which contribute to our understanding of the values attached to archaeology both by individuals and larger groups of individuals.

Based on contemporary discourse within the archaeological discipline, we can recognize and discern two forms of interaction between archaeology and people, which form the overarching concepts of the setting of this research; Public Archaeology and Community Archaeology. Public archaeology is broader than Community Archaeology because it focuses on the entirety of participation of non-professionals, or 'the public', in archaeology; it encompasses the place of archaeology in the contemporary world (Skeates *et al.* 2012). The participation of non-professionals is "deemed beneficial as it fosters respect for the value of the archaeological resource" (Moser *et al.* 2002, 222), a fact demonstrated by numerous scholars in contemporary archaeological research. Lewis, for instance, assesses the impact of public archaeology in relation to education (2014), whereas others focus on the capacity of archaeological education to contribute to skill and knowledge transfer (Henson 2012), critical thinking (Rubertone 2007), or healthy eating (Cole 2012). The societal value here is based on the fact that "much of the aspects mentioned under the term public archaeology are focused on learning through archaeology rather than about it", as Bartoy (2012) sharply observed. This also counts for aspects such as social involvement and pride – they are all effected through public activities in archaeology.

Whereas Public Archaeology is broader and more process oriented, Community Archaeology describes the intersection of (local) communities and archaeology and focusses on networks and relationships (Nevell 2013). Moser *et al.* define the concept of Community Archaeology as, "incorporating a range of strategies designed to facilitate the involvement of local people in the investigation and interpretation of the past" (2002, 220). Moser *et al.* recognize three developments as causes for the adoption of a community-oriented approach within the archaeological discipline: the "socio-political analysis of archaeological research, increased involvement of descendant groups in the creation of museum exhibitions, and political pressures placed upon researchers by communities directly affected by their findings" (2002, 222). Based on their Community Archaeology project in Quseir, they have developed a methodology for conducting community archaeology and have identified seven indispensable components to be

included in a community archaeology project: communication and collaboration; employment and training; public presentation; interviews and oral history; educational resources; photographic and video archive; and community-controlled merchandising (Moser *et al.* 2002, 229). They furthermore suggest that for every step in an archaeological project at least partial control should remain with the local community (Moser *et al.* 2002). This connects with the Democratic model Cornelius Holtorf proposed as one of three models of the relation between archaeology and society, the others being the Education model and the Public Relation model (Holtorf 2007). This Democratic model "emphasizes scientific responsibility and Sustainable Development and is based on participatory processes in which non-scientists predominate" (Holtorf 2007, 150). According to Holtorf, "in a democratic state, academic disciplines must answer to people's needs, address their desires and concerns, and be subjected to political control by non-scientists – even if citizens may occasionally decide against what the experts would deem to be in their best interest" (Holtorf 2007, 157). Holtorf's Democratic model and the notion of community control in relation to archaeological projects can be linked to rungs 6,7, and 8 of Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation (Arnstein 1969, figure 2.2); his other two models are more connected to rungs 3,4 and 5. Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation is well recognized within academia and is deemed the classic typology of public consultation and participation (Pendlebury and Townshend 1999). Based on this model, research was done by Pendlebury *et al.* (2004, but see also Pendlebury and Townshend 1999) in the United Kingdom, in which the higher rungs were connected to battling social exclusion in relation to built cultural heritage. From their study, it appears that Built Cultural Heritage can indeed be a force of social

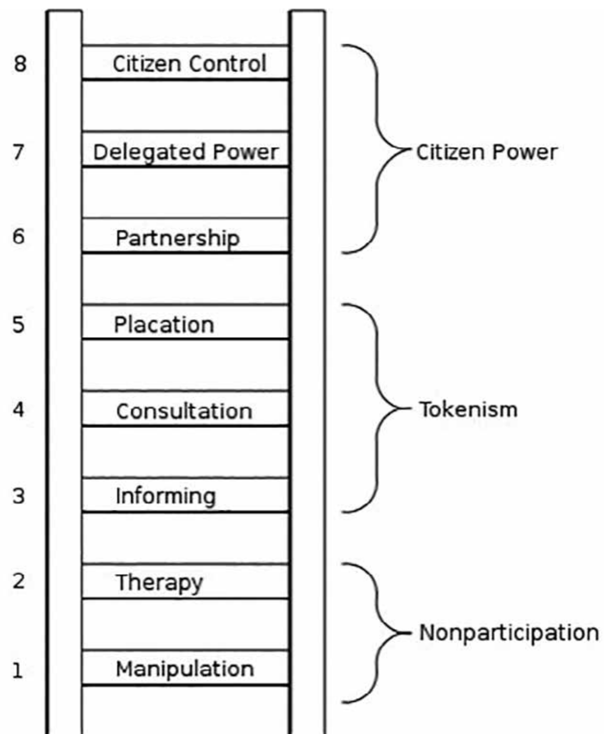

Figure 2.2: Ladder of citizen participation. After Arnstein 1969, source: https://lithgow-schmidt.dk/sherry-arnstein/ladder-of-citizen-participation.html.

inclusion, but unfortunately the level of participation is not taken into account in the conclusions of their research (Pendlebury *et al.* 2004). However, in a study on community participation in an archaeological project in the United Kingdom by Michael Nevell with the aim to battle social exclusion and increase pride, it was concluded that higher levels of participation – or in other words, greater community control – result in a stronger impact (Nevell 2013).

While many projects and initiatives are undertaken under the term Community Archaeology, they sometimes do not incorporate or even consider the aspect of democratic participation. In the Netherlands, for example, community archaeology as Moser *et al.* propose it, "does not exist" (van den Dries 2014, 70). Reasons for this are the emphasis on in-situ preservation, governmental regulations to safeguard the archaeological record, and the pace and cost-restrictions due to the development-led principle (van den Dries 2014) – all restricting (partial) control of the local community. However, we do see a recognition of the societal interest in heritage and an increased democratization process (Duineveld and Kolen 2009), but the manifestations of these developments are still limited: only a handful of 'community digs' were undertaken in the last years, and none of them had anything to do with empowering local community members (van den Dries 2014). Community Archaeology in the Netherlands is much more focused on the other two models proposed by Holtorf – the Education and Public Relations model (van den Dries 2014). In contrast, numerous community archaeology projects are undertaken in countries like New Zealand, Australia and the United Kingdom (*e.g.* Marshall 2002; Thomas 2010) where active and democratic participation are stressed and valued. Some of the Community Archaeology projects undertaken in these countries are also analyzed for their impact to society (see for example Rosemberg *et al.* 2011; Applejuice Consultants 2008; Mills and Young 2009).

Having analysed the concept of both Public Archaeology and Community Archaeology, it can be concluded that they each incorporate aspects which are relevant for research on the sociocultural impact of public activities in archaeology. Whereas Public Archaeology includes concepts such as social involvement, pride, and health, Community Archaeology revolves (primarily) around community empowerment and social inclusion. All these concepts can be included in the 'sociocultural' denominator and focus of this research, as will be argued in the next section.

2.2 Sociocultural impact as a theoretical framework

2.2.1 Introduction

In this section, the concept of sociocultural impact will be discussed. Sociocultural impact, as a theoretical framework, is based on the concepts discussed in previous sections, such as the values attached to heritage and the concept of Public Archaeology, but here it is explained what impact means and how it is used as a theoretical tool within this research, forming the basis of the methodology explained in section 2.3.

First, this section will discuss the difference between value and impact – how impact is based upon values and why impact is used as a means to describe the effects of participating in public archaeological activities on its participants. After this, it will be discussed how the concept of sociocultural impact was developed for the heritage field,

as well as its relevance and applicability of for cultural heritage management. Lastly, the theoretical framework based on sociocultural impact which is used as a basis for the methodological framework will be explained, as it forms the theoretical backbone of this research.

2.2.2 Impact versus value

It is important at this point to make a distinction between value and impact, as the latter will be used from here on to describe the case study data. Perhaps it is best to start with a widely used definition for each concept. For value, we can use Mason's definition. He writes that values are "morals, principles, or other ideas that serve as guides to action (individual and collective); and second, in reference to the qualities and characteristics seen in things, in particular the positive characteristics (actual and potential)" (Mason 2002, 7). In contrast, impact can be understood as "those effects that go beyond the artefacts and the enactment of the event and have a continuing influence upon, and directly touch, people's lives" it is a "dynamic concept which pre-supposes a relationship of cause and effect. It can be measured through the evaluation of the outcomes of particular actions, be they an initiative, a set of initiatives forming a policy, or a set of policies which form a strategy" (Landry *et al.* 1993).

Within the cultural heritage field, and as such in archaeology, this means that value is what people attribute to a particular site or artefact, whereas impact is how that site or artefact affects people's lives. This means that values and impact are two sides of the same 'coin' (Bollo 2013), intricately connected and seen as processes, susceptible to change (Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015, figure 1.1).

Perhaps more importantly, the two aspects of that same coin also interact and influence each other. For instance, when one person notices an increase in income because he, for instance, runs a café next to a World Heritage site – impact -, his values attributed to that site might (positively) increase and/or change. It works the other way around as well: when someone values a heritage site for its educational aspect, he or she might visit a museum, which in turn creates an economic impact (Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015). However, Pendlebury and colleagues remind us that for cultural heritage, multiple steps need to be taken in order for it to generate impact, and that cultural heritage does not generate impact *per sé*, but must be considered as an "opportunity space in which regeneration occurs" (Pendlebury *et al.* 2004, 12). This is an important note, as it presupposes that heritage is used as a conduit to create impact, rather than that the subject of archaeology creates impact by itself. The case studies discussed in the next chapters all revolve around archaeology, but make different use of the theme depending on their goals, and as such, use archaeology both as a subject, and as a means. Because of this, the ideas of Pendlebury and colleagues. will be examined and validated based on the case study data and thoroughly discussed in chapter six.

Impact created by cultural heritage is not always positive. For economic impact, this can for instance be traffic congestion, the loss of economic value, or the misstating of the multiplier effect (Klamer and Zuidhof 1999). On a more societal level, developments in the cultural heritage sector can lead to gentrification (Mc Loughlin *et al.* 2006), and even social exclusion (Boom 2013; Murzyn 2006; Ashworth and Tunbridge 1999). Furthermore, it can be argued that not all effects are 'impact', as not all effects

have a 'continuing influence', or in other words a lasting effect.[7] However, it can be argued that we often do not know whether effects will turn into impacts, especially before conducting field research, and where exactly the distinction lies between the two. This argument is strengthened by scholars such as Alessandro Bollo, who writes that "impact represents a dynamic notion which presumes a relationship of cause and effect that can be assessed in the short term (much more easily) or in the long term (more difficult to prove)" (Bollo 2013, 15) and Carol Scott, who makes a distinction between intermediate outcomes and longer term impacts (Scott 2006). As a result, all 'effects' described in the case study chapters will be grouped under the term 'impact'.

2.2.3 Sociocultural impact in cultural heritage

> *Gross National Product counts air pollution and cigarette advertising, and ambulances to clear our highways of carnage. It counts special locks for our doors and the jails for the people who break them. It counts the destruction of the redwood and the loss of our natural wonder in chaotic sprawl.* [...] *Yet the gross national product does not allow for the health of our children, the quality of their education or the joy of their play. It does not include the beauty of our poetry or the strength of our marriages, the intelligence of our public debate or the integrity of our public officials.*
> - Robert Kennedy, 1968

The heritage sector is facing a challenging time: the sector is not only increasingly being held accountable for the spending of public funds and the needs to justify financial allocation accordingly, at the same time there is growing pressure from local governments, international policy and funding institutions for cultural heritage to contribute to contemporary societal issues, such as unemployment, economic deprivation and health(care). This is in line with the evolution in public funding agreements in general, where demonstrating public expenditure has seen a shift away from economics into the realm of social policy, mostly to deal with rapid social change (Scott 2006). According to Chatterjee *et al.* (2009), the heritage sector can answer these issues by raising aspirations and by contributing to mental and general health care. Indeed, while answering these issues from a heritage perspective might seem challenging, in fact the shifting perspective in justification actually generates opportunities for the sector to show its impact on society, and thus its value. Luckily, as said, a similarly shifting focus from within the heritage field itself can be observed, enabling the field to not only address these challenges but to do so with the support of major national and international institutions.

Cultural heritage impacts four domains, which are in turn based on the various values attributed to heritage by society: culture, society, the environment, and the economy (Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015). In its study on these impacts within the cultural heritage field, the Cultural Heritage counts for Europe

7 This was also mentioned during a course on the use of measuring Social Return on Investment (SROI) by Jeremy Nichols. According to him, the DOMunder case study (chapter 3) did not create real impact, but more of an effect, and as such it would be difficult to use SROI for measuring impact

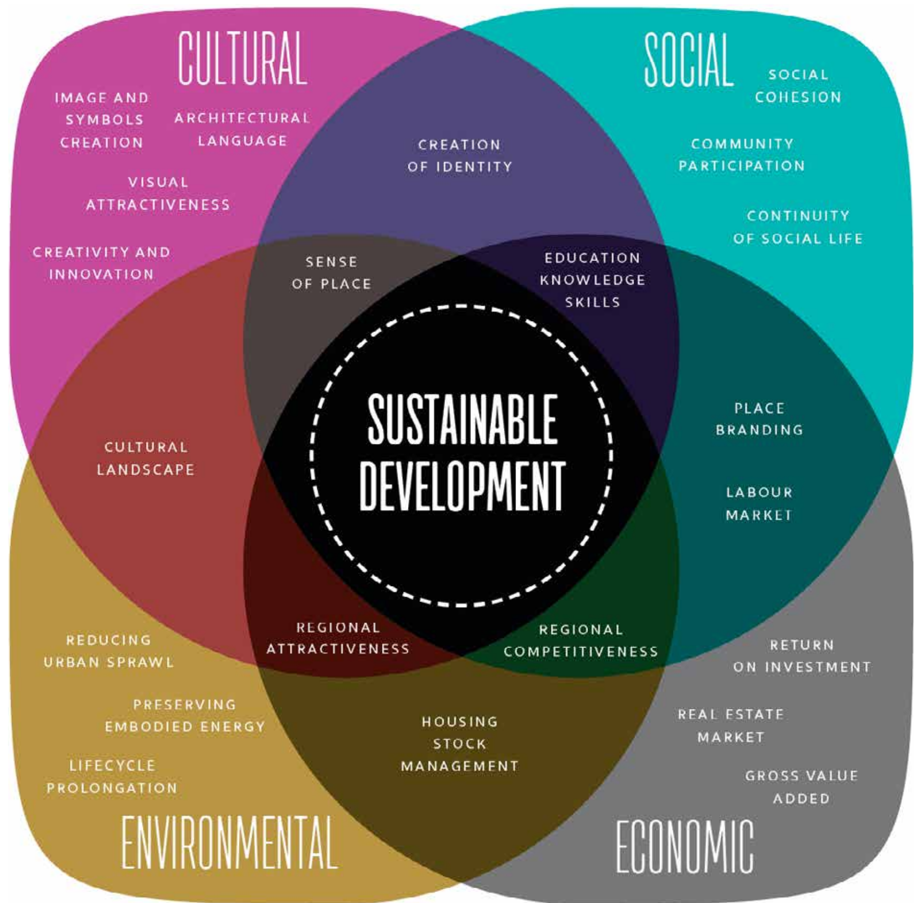

Figure 2.3: Holistic four domain approach to the impact of cultural heritage. Source: Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015, 17.

Consortium produced a vibrant scheme, showing these four domains and their overlap synergizing in Sustainable Development (figure 2.3).

The focus within this PhD research and thesis lies on the former two concepts; the archaeological lens with a focus on the social and cultural impact of archaeology. When we also use *participation* as a conductor to gather data, we arrive at the exact subject of this thesis. The reasons behind concentrating on social and cultural impact are threefold and both theoretical and practical in nature. Firstly, it suits and follows the contemporary shift in EU policy and governance to emphasize the subjective and more qualitative aspects of society in order to create a better understanding of its current and future functioning. It also follows the discourse change in the cultural heritage field and its goals to better study the societal values and impacts in order to validate public expenditure and show the value of cultural heritage. Secondly, this research takes place within the European NEARCH research programme, which aims to research New ways of Engaging audiences, Activating societal relations, and Renewing practic-

es in Cultural Heritage.[8] While these new ways do not necessarily exclude economic or environmental aspects, the focus within the project lies heavily on the interaction with and the involvement of (local) communities and on *new ways* of engaging with them. As a result, case studies within the project have a more societal and interactive nature; two of these are used within this research, the You(R) Archaeology case study (chapter 4) and the Invisible Monuments case study (chapter 5). Thirdly, by focusing on two of those domains connected closely to archaeology we start obtaining an insight into their synergetic workings and their contribution to our understanding of how to measure and analyze sociocultural impact and how to gather data. This last argument answers the call for more data to create a better understanding of (the workings of) sociocultural impact.

As mentioned, the focus on the social and cultural aspects within impact studies is a direct result of the growing pressure from governments to deal with rapidly changing social concerns, and their increasing expectations for the heritage field to acknowledge and collaborate to answer these. It appears that apart from its more economic use, cultural and archaeological heritage can be utilized as a 'sociocultural-tool' to address these social concerns, as studies show that cultural heritage can be utilized to enhance social inclusion (Pendlebury *et al.* 2004), community participation (Fujiwara 2014, van den Dries 2014, van den Dries *et al.* 2015), Quality of Life (Maeer *et al.* 2016; Clayton *et al.* 2014), and Well-being (Blessi *et al.* 2014; Fujiwara *et al.* 2014; Ander *et al.* 2013, 2011; Fujiwara 2013; New Economics Foundation 2009). Cultural heritage adds to the consolidation of someone's identity (Smith and Waterton 2009; McDowell 2008; Bevan 2006), and even aids in recovery and skill development of veteran soldiers who have been injured in conflict situations.[9] The significance of cultural heritage's social value, such as in the topics mentioned, can be studied, expressed, and proven by impact studies which can show advantages and disadvantages of a particular heritage site on those aspects in the past, and extrapolate for the future (McLoughlin *et al.* 2006, 18). Although social impact studies are geared towards showcasing a cultural heritage site's particular benefit for society, for instance in the increase of the Well-being of visitors, in reality value studies are often used to answer to government policies geared towards societal issues, as John Holden (2004) critically points out, and that merely showing data does not change this political system (2006). However, this does not mean that impact studies are useless for our field, nor that we should shy away from using them. On the contrary, the cultural heritage field, and the archaeological heritage field, should acknowledge and accept the fact that we now live in a contemporary society where values other than sheer science rule dominant, and even one in which values other than economic express the health of society. In effect, if we play the cards right, it can be argued that sociocultural impact studies can actually contribute to the heritage field in that they can validate for- and raise funds, while expressing the societal value of heritage at the same time. By engaging with and showing these values, we cannot fully cleanse ourselves of the fact that we (need to) play a numbers game, which might be deemed unethical. However, what better way to 'play' that game than by, for instance, not

8 See http://www.nearch.eu
9 See http://www.wessexarch.co.uk/OperationNightingale

only expressing economic revenue of an archaeological site but also showing that a person might feel better after a visit? The integration of economic and sociocultural values of heritage, expressed through impact studies, can shed light on sustainable growth and social cohesion. The difficulty lies in the fact that it is hard to express the more intangible benefits of cultural heritage, whereas the costs of maintenance are far easier to discern (McLoughlin *et al.* 2006, 43). Even more difficult is the comparison and calculation of tangible and intangible benefits of cultural heritage; methodologies behind cost-benefit analyses mainly focus on the economic aspect but in general fail to incorporate the less tangible benefits into their calculation, or vice versa (Burtenshaw 2014).

While researchers and institutions are now working on 'bridging the gap' between the economic and sociocultural values in order to show the true value of culture, according to Allesandro Bollo, in his work on impact studies in the museum world, it was only in the mid-80's that 'a real interest for the impact of the cultural and artistic sector led to a season of studies and research aimed at collecting significant empiric evidence' (Bollo 2013, 9). In this time the new right thinking of the United Kingdom and United States of America stimulated research on efficiency, accountability and, in general, the way public money was spent, primarily by stressing the economic impact; for museums specifically, conventional economic measures where emphasized, such as employment, sales and spillover effects (Bollo 2013). By the mid-90's it was acknowledged that economic impact studies alone where not enough to indicate the total impact of arts and culture for society and many authors contributed to the study of the social impacts of the arts (Bollo 2013). Of importance here is the study of François Matarasso called *Use or Ornament? The social impact of participation in the arts*, according to Bollo 'the first large-scale attempt in the United Kingdom to gather evidence of the social impacts stemming from engagement in arts' (Bollo 2013, 9). Matarasso's work is considered a key publication, as it created a methodological framework in order to justify public and private investment into cultural projects (Labadi 2008) and is still cited in studies today (Crossick and Kaszynska 2016; Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015; Taylor *et al.* 2015). While criticized for its lack of internal and external validity, mainly because of the use of the small number of questionnaires (Merli 2002), Matarasso's study is of relevance for this thesis because it deals with much of the same issues faced in the archaeological heritage field, and can be connected and framed under the Socio-cultural valuation typology of Randall Mason. For instance, it showed that the arts can contribute to social policy objectives (Reeves 2002), just as archaeological heritage management is expected to today. Furthermore, the study established a useful methodological framework for social impact assessment in the arts and museum world (Bollo 2013), which can be used as a starting point and base for this research. In his work '*Use or Ornament? The social impact of participation in the arts*', Matarasso used Generic Social Learning outcomes to create an indicator bank for the art- and museum world in the United Kingdom. This indicator bank consists of a list of 50 social impact indicators, based under 6 different so-called headings (Matarasso 1997, table 2.2): Personal development, Social cohesion, Community empowerment and self-determination, Local image and identity, Imagination and vision, and Health and well-being. The applicability of Matarasso's list for cultural heritage management is argued by the Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe consortium, as they state that

Personal development	Social cohesion	Community empowerment & self-determination	Local image & identity	Imagination & vision	Health & well-being
Increase people's confidence & sense of self worth	Reduce isolation by helping people to make friends	Build community organisational capacity	Develop pride in local traditions & cultures	Help people develop their creativity	Have a positive impact on how people feel
Extend involvement in social activity	Develop community networks & sociability	Encourage local self-reliance & project management	Help people feel a sense of belonging & involvement	Erode the distinction between consumer & creator	Be an effective means of health education
Give people influence over how they are seen by others	Promote tolerance and contribute to conflict resolution	Help people extend control over their own lives	Create community traditions in new towns or neighbourhoods	Allow people to explore their values, meanings & dreams	Contribute to a more relaxed atmosphere in health centres
Stimulate interest & confidence in the arts	Provide a forum for intercultural understanding & friendship	Be a means of gaining insight into political & social ideas	Involve residents in environmental improvements	Enrich the practice of professionals in the public & volunteer sectors	Help improve the quality of life of people with poor health
Provide a forum to explore personal rights & responsibilities	Help validate the contribution of a whole community	Facilitate effective public consultation & participation	Provide reasons for people to develop community activities	Transform the responsiveness of public service organisations	Provide a unique & deep source of enjoyment
Contribute to the educational development of children	Promote intercultural contact & co-operation	Help involve local people in the regeneration process	Improve perceptions of marginalised groups	Encourage people to accept risk positively	
Encourage adults to take up education & training opportunities	Develop contact between the generations	Facilitate the development of partnership	Help transform the image of public bodies	Help community groups raise their vision beyond the immediate	
Help build new skills & work experience	Help offenders and victims address issues of crime	Build support for community projects	Make people feel better about where they live	Challenge conventional service delivery	
Contribute to people's employability	Provide a route to rehabilitation & integration of offenders	Strengthen community co-operation & networking		Raise expectations about what is possible and desirable	

Table 2.2: Socio-cultural headings. After Matarasso 1997.

"Although it does concern a wide array of arts, it could also apply equally to heritage" (2015, 77). The arguments made above argue for Matarasso's framework of impact headers and indicators implementation as a base for sociocultural impact analysis in this thesis. Because Matarasso's original list is focused on the arts within the cultural sector, this means that for using it as a base in archaeological activities some translations need to be made. In fact, this framework needs to be adapted for each specific situation, as the indicators should be connected to the goals of a specific institution or activity (Bollo 2013) and there is no template that can be consistently used with confidence across a number of situations (Reeves 2002). The next sub-section will explain how this translation is done for the included case studies.

Social impact is divided into societal and individual impact (for an overview of studies focusing on the differences between these two aspects, see Bollo 2013, 11), and their use can be intrinsic and/or instrumental. An overview of the various social indicators stretched along those four points on two axes – including their overlap – is included here as a reference (figure 2.4). While this map gives a general overview of

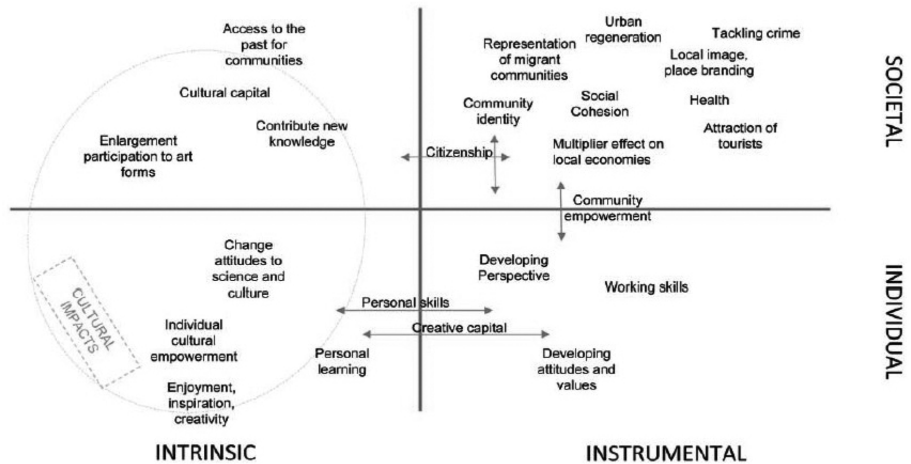

Figure 2.4: Social impacts map. Source: Bollo 2013, 22.

the four aspects and the underlying indicators, the author of this map acknowledges that some of the indicators can shift from instrumental to intrinsic (or vise-versa) as the indicators are not set, but bound to the goals of a museum, and its mission and identity (Bollo 2013).

Next to social impact exists the concept of cultural impact. According to Bollo, who has incorporated this concept into his map of social impacts (circle, figure 2.4), cultural impact is "a particular area of impacts specifically related to the essence, the mission and vision of the museum and to its core activities" (Bollo 2013, 11). This means that while social impacts are more related to society or the individual and are more generic (although their intrinsic or instrumental use can shift), cultural impacts are specific to each activity or institution. According to Michelle Reeves, cultural impact manifests itself by people making sense of the world and its surroundings, which is realized through knowledge transfer (Reeves 2002). This can be related to what Randal Mason writes about sociocultural values (of which impact is the effect), which are at the "traditional core of conservation–values attached to an object, building, or place because it holds meaning for people or social groups due to its age, beauty, artistry, or association with a significant person or event, or (otherwise) contributes to processes of cultural affiliation" (Mason 2002, 15). While social and cultural impacts are generated on different levels, this does not mean that they are not closely related. They can even overlap, as we can see for education, which can be either social, cultural, or a mix of both depending on how it is deployed and by whom (Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015). Acknowledging this, for the sake of clarity and conciseness, when talking about the totality of research aspects within each case study in this research, *sociocultural* impact will be the to-go term, and where applicable and relevant, a distinction between the two aspects will be made.

Sociocultural impact is an interesting subject to analyze and research within archaeological heritage because it can give us an insight into how archaeology can impact people's lives (academic reason) and cultural institutions such as museums, archaeological centers, and art galleries can adapt their consumer strategies accordingly if they so

desire (economic reason). There is, however, another reason why sociocultural impact is relevant to study in contemporary society and that is because it can be connected to broader societal issues, increasingly emphasized by local and international governments; its responsibilities to answer shared or sometimes implied with the cultural and archaeological heritage field. As said before, this rather 'top-down' expectation is not necessarily a bad thing. Heritage's contribution to societies' health and Well-being in particular provides opportunities which some scholars and studies, including the author of this thesis, seek to consolidate.

2.3 Sociocultural impact as a methodological framework

2.3.1 Introduction

For this research, the focus lies on getting to grips with the impact cultural heritage generates and to do so, this sub-section will describe how the theoretical footing discussed previously, leads to and connects with the methodological framework. It was decided that creating a cumulative and commensurable dataset, based on Matarasso's list, would be more beneficial for this thesis than the alternative – a dataset comprising three different and incomparable case studies, which would then focus more on different aspects, methodologies, or reasons behind doing sociocultural effect analysis. While this alternative approach might seem interesting and relevant, its disadvantage would be that data gathered would not be substantial enough to cover and validate separate methodologies and as such only indicate certain aspects without supporting them on a quantifiable basis. By creating a commensurable dataset this disadvantage is overcome and the focus on one particular methodology will strengthen the final conclusions. As such, online and face-to-face surveys are used as method*;* argumentation for this decision can be found in sub-section 1. It should be noted that the generation of impact onto a person visiting an archaeological site or activity is not a given; "steps need to be taken in order to trigger the impact potential of cultural heritage" (Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015, 53); Cultural heritage must be considered an opportunity space in which impact *may* occur (Pendleburty *et al.* 2014). Those 'steps' taken are often executed in the form of goals, set by the initiator of the event to generate a certain outcome. How these goals are used for the creation of indicators and, ultimately, questions for the online and face-to-face surveys, is elaborated on in sub-section 2. Sub-section 3 discusses how data derived from these surveys are analyzed and interpreted.

2.3.2 Online and face-to-face surveys

Most of the approaches within cultural heritage impact assessment use a combination of methodologies in order to gather both quantitative and qualitative data (Bollo 2013). There is a difference in approach in that some researchers use a set methodology with 'hard' indicators, such as Social Return on Investment or Cost-Benefit-Analysis, whereas others use a methodology where outcome areas are identified, against which the potential impacts of a project are assessed – using a combination of soft and hard indicators (Bollo 2013). The tools of the trade which are most used are, amongst others, questionnaires, panels, case studies, ethnography, focus groups – prior to a stakeholder

analysis (Bollo 2013, 22). For this research, online and face-to-face surveys were chosen as methodology. Online surveys have a multitude of advantages, most importantly greater speed and lower cost (Duffy *et al.* 2005), but other advantages noted are that online surveys allow research that is more visual, flexible, and interactive (Taylor 2000), avoid interviewer effects by, for example, providing anonymity (Duffy *et al.* 2005), and online research connects better with the increasing individualism and selectiveness of potential respondents (Duffy *et al.* 2005). Three major issues, relating to coverage bias or selection error, are recognized for online surveys; 1) they reach only those people who are online, 2) they reach only those who agreed to become part of the panel and 3) not all of those who are invited actually respond (Duffy *et al.* 2005). Because of this, the issue of under-coverage of the elderly and lower educated is noted, together with the issue of non-response (De Leeuw 2012). Some of those issues can also be linked to face-to-face surveys, for example the fact that only those people are reached who are home during a particular time of the day. However, respondents in face-to face are less inclined to answer 'don't know' or 'neither/not sure' (Duffy *et al.* 2005). Furthermore, online survey respondents are found to be more politically active, more likely to be early adopters, and tend to travel more than face-to-face survey respondents (Baker *et al.* 2003). While both approaches have their pros and cons, the reason for using both are based on the type of research audience. The DOMunder case study has three types of audiences; 1) visitors, who are most easily reached via an online survey as e-mail addresses were available, 2) residents living close by, who are most easily reached via a face-to-face survey as no e-mail addresses were available, and 3) volunteers, who are most easily reached via an online survey because those e-mail addresses were available as well. The You(R) Archaeology case study only has one target group; those who participated in the contest. They are most easily reached via an online survey as they left behind e-mail addresses and by submitting to the contest they automatically agreed to be available for contact and research purposes. Finally, the Invisible Monuments case study also has one target group; those who participated in the event. Participants of this event had to use a mobile application in order to access information, and by doing so they provided their e-mail addresses to be used for contact and research purposes, too. Hence; an online survey was the most applicable approach. Furthermore, the target group of the You(R) Archaeology contest was divided over various countries in the EU and as such a face-to-face survey was not possible.

2.3.3 From goals to indicators to survey questions

Now that online and face-to-face surveys have been established as methodology, the next step is to determine the material to study. As a general guideline for impact assessment, Bollo (2013) proposes the following scheme on which the methodological approach of this research is based;

1. Defining goals, outcomes, and targets;
2. Identifying indicators;
3. Developing and executing a methodology for collecting data;
4. Interpreting;
5. Improving planning and evaluation.

2.3.3.1 Defining goals

The first step is the definition of the goals because, as mentioned before, impact should be measured against the aims and goals of an activity or institution; the focus should lie on the outcomes of an activity (such as a change in people's attitudes) rather than on the outputs that make up an activity (such as the number of visitors) (Bollo 2013). There are three case studies included in this research; the DOMunder case study (chapter 3), the You(R) Archaeology case study (chapter 4), and the Invisible Monuments case study (chapter 5); for each a difference is made between *research* goals and *activity* goals. The former is based on the overall research goal of this thesis, which is to create a commensurable dataset in order analyze and understand the sociocultural impact of public activities in archaeology – and is thus connected to this research. While every case study shares this overarching *research* goal, each case study has specific research goals as well, for instance to better understand the interaction between a certain audience and the activity. The latter, the activity goals, are goals set by the initiators of the case study activities; for DOMunder, this is Foundation Domplein 2013, for the You(R) Archaeology case study this is the Instituti per i beni artistici culturali e naturali (IBC), and for the Invisible Monuments case study this is the Aristotle University. These activity goals define, for instance, a certain audience, project outcomes, or expected results of the activity.

2.3.3.2 Identifying indicators and developing and executing a methodology for collecting data

Both sets of goals are combined in order to create a list of indicators. Combining these goals into one group of indicators mean that this one overarching group of indicators serves two purposes; measuring sociocultural impact, which is more connected to indicators translated from the activity goals and understanding how sociocultural impact works in the unique case study settings – indicators derived from the research goals. The reason for merging these two sets of goals into one group of indicators is to streamline the methodological approach and work towards a single questionnaire (see later) in which no difference in objectives is observable for the respondent.

The *activity* and research goals are translated into applicable indicators on the basis of the previously discussed framework of sociocultural impact created by François Matarasso (1997). This theoretical framework translates, via a 5-tier process, the broader, theoretical first tier, step by step, into case specific survey questions (figure 1.2). This process and structure is based on the North East Regional Museums Hub Tool.[10] Tier 1 divides the framework into 6 headings; local image and identity, community empowerment and self-determination, imagination and vision, health and Well-being, personal development, and social cohesion. Tier 2 specifies Matarasso's list of 50 social impact indicators, or actions, for each of these 6 headings – for instance 'develop pride' for the local image and identity header and 'Develop community networks and sociability' for the social cohesion header. Tier 3 translates these actions into case specific actions, which are based on activity goals. Tier 4 translates these into relevant indicators, but also adds indicators based on research goals and comparable studies on sociocultural impact (Rosemberg *et al.* 2011;

10 http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/generic-social-outcomes/additional-gso-resources

Applejuice Consultants 2008; Mills and Young 2009). Tier 5, finally, translates the relevant sociocultural indicators from tier 4 into (possible) survey questions.

The questionnaires included open and closed questions and had, as such, a qualitative and quantitative focus, respectively. The former allowed for survey participants to answer freely without restrictions, enabling them to express their unconstrained opinion and add comments, and were included to find the range of answers possible or to provide qualitative comments for quantitative questions. In the You(R) Archaeology case study (chapter 4), for example, survey participants had to score whether or not the contest increased their knowledge about archaeology. To get more insight into this matter, people were then asked why this increase happened, via an open question. This resulted in some unique answers which would not have been included where the question a closed one. Being qualitative data, these answers would not only provide insight into each individual's respective impact analysis, but would, cumulatively, also serve as a valuable supplement to the case study in total, adding to the inclusiveness and robustness of the research. Closed questions were used for demographic details, such as 'male' versus 'female', and for questions which only had a select number of relevant answers. Answers based on a 5-point Likert-scale were also included as closed questions. A Likert-scale is a very common tool in sociological studies and surveys in which a participant is asked to indicate their opinion on a graded scale, for example with options ranging from Strongly disagree and Strongly agree with several intermediate options (Likert 1932). The decision to use a 5-point Likert scale was largely based on comparable studies which also included 5-point Likert scales, which meant that using this scale greatly increased comparability. Furthermore, differences in results between 5 and 7-point Likert scales, arguably the most used scales, are still debated (Dawes 2012). There were 2 types of Likert-scales included in the questionnaires. The first ranged from 'Strongly disagree' to 'Strongly agree' and were used in 'statement'-like questions, such as 'Participating in this contest increased your level of education'. The second ranged from 'Not at all', to 'Extremely', with 'Slightly', 'Somewhat' and 'Moderately' in between and was used in more 'question'-like questions, for instance 'Did you like participating in this activity?'.

After consulting with the initiators of the activities, a draft version of the survey was created. For online surveys, SurveyMonkey[11] and Qualtrics[12] were used, and for the face-to-face survey for the resident target group of the DOMunder case study, the questionnaire was printed to paper. After approval by the activity organizers, these questionnaires were finalized and the surveys were launched (see the specific case study methodology sections for further details).

2.3.4 Analysis and interpretation of the results

The various surveys of the three case studies provided different, yet comparable, sets of data. This was due to the fact that each case studies had different *research* and activity goals, necessitating the use of different indicators and questions. However, when applicable and useful, the same questions were included for multiple surveys in order to optimise comparability.

11 http://www.surveymonkey.com
12 http://www.qualtrics.com

Analysis was largely based on quantitative data, obtained via the surveys. When applicable, qualitative answers were analysed for contents in order to annotate and help interpret quantitative data. The quantitative data were processed in order to create analysable datasets through the creation of weighted averages, visualisation in bar charts, and statistical tests. Weighted averages (weighted arithmetic means) were used to help avoid the skewing of data, but also to compensate for non-response and post-stratification (Lavrakas 2008). Visualisations for both the raw data and weighted averages were made in Excel (version 2016/v16.0), both for illustration and to aid in analysis and interpretation. Statistical tests were used as an extra assessment of the data when bar-charts showed striking patterns which stimulated further analysis. The data were tested statistically to assess differences in impact in various age and gender groups, and the differences and/or correlations in scores between different questions. Data from the surveys were all ordinal, except for gender which is nominal. Kolmogorov-Smirnoff tests were used to evaluate whether the data were distributed normally, *i.e.* whether any outliers were severely distorting the data. Wilcoxon signed rank tests were used to compare answer patterns of different questions to each other. Spearman's Rho tests were used to evaluate correlations between the answers to two questions given by participants (for instance, whether people who felt an impact in learning about archaeology were also more confident to talk about it). Mann-Whitney U tests were used to analyse the relationship between gender and survey question answers. Kruskal-Wallis H tests were used to assess correlation with age while avoiding skewing by outliers. All statistical tests were performed using IBM SPSS 23 (IBM Corp. Released 2013. IBM SPSS Statistics for Windows, version 23.0. Armonk, NY: IBM Corp). Statistical significance is set at $p \leq 0.05$. All statistical tests are reported with statistical factor, p-value and n-value.

Interpretation and discussion of the data was done through in-depth analysis, comparison, and contextualization with the available comparable datasets set in the cultural heritage or archaeological context. An additional source of information for the discussion of the data was feedback given by the initiators of the activity of the three case studies who had unique knowledge of the specific sociocultural contexts in which they operate.

This methodological chapter delineated how specific methodological choices were made and approaches were combined to create a dataset which can be optimally compared both within the current study and with other studies in the cultural heritage and archaeological field.