

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

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Discussion

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters the concepts of value assessment, value typology, and impact were discussed. We have seen that values are intricately connected to impact as they are sides of the same 'coin' (Bollo 2013), both expressing the relationship between people and cultural heritage. Academic views on this relationship between people and cultural heritage have changed over time. While initially the value of cultural heritage was linked primarily to its intrinsic aspect (object-oriented), and the preservation of monuments and artefacts was prioritized, we see that the societal value of cultural heritage becomes increasingly important as it plays a growing role in today's subject-oriented society (Van den Dries et al. 2015; Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015; Blessi et al. 2014; Ander et al. 2013). As such, the societal role of cultural heritage is emphasized in cultural heritage management guidelines and frameworks. One way of showing the societal value of archaeological heritage, is through analysis of the sociocultural impact, as is the main research goal of this thesis. Through public activities, participants are encouraged to interact and connect with archaeological heritage. This moment of interaction has a certain effect on people (an impact) which could be positive or negative.

Indeed, in the analyses of the results of the DOMunder, and NEARCH case studies (You(R) Archaeology, and Invisible Monuments) we have seen that participants are impacted on in a variety of sociocultural aspects. From these analyses, we can theorize that the level of impact is dependent on several factors, such as the nature of the activity, certain demographic factors of the participants, such as age and gender, and reasons for participation. Previously, it has been discussed that the generation of impact is not a given, and that steps need to be taken to achieve it (Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015, 53). These steps take the form of activity goals, set up to produce a certain outcome. Most of the factors that seem to influence the level of impact are connected to the activity goals set by the initiators of the activities, which are different for each of the three cases studies, attracting a different audience with different attitudes and expectations. In this sense, it is now relevant to reflect on what Pendlebury et al. write, that "Cultural heritage must be considered an opportunity space in which impact may occur" (2004, 12, emphasis added by author), which might imply that it is not exclusively the subject of cultural heritage, but rather the context of the activity, based on activity goals, that generates impact.

To analyze and validate this hypothesis, a comparison of various aspects of sociocultural impact will be made between the three case studies and their corresponding activity goals in the first section of this chapter (6.2). This section will also provide a model with the aim to provide future researchers and cultural heritage managers with a tool to predict and steer sociocultural impact, and will include some insights into the cost-benefit of the case studies.

As touched upon briefly in chapter 2, many of the aspects discussed in this thesis directly relate to the concept of Sustainable Development. The 'Council conclusions on cultural heritage as strategic resource for a sustainable Europe' (Council of the European Union 2014a), for instance, emphasizes the role of cultural heritage to enhance social capital in Europe (Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015, 52) and a strong lobby within the cultural heritage sphere can be observed which aims to incorporate culture into the UN Sustainable Development agenda (UNESCO 2013). In section 3 of this chapter, Sustainable Development and how sociocultural impact analysis of cultural heritage can contribute as means to validate cultural heritage as an important asset for a sustainable future will be discussed.

6.2 Comparing the case studies

6.2.1 Comparing activity goals

The first step in comparing the levels of sociocultural impact between the different case studies is to compare their activity goals (table 6.1). These goals, set by the initiators of the activities, form the context and structure of the activities and as such might influence the level of sociocultural impact they can generate. As the individual activity goals have been extensively discussed in the corresponding case study chapters, the table below lists a summarized version only. The table is divided by both case study and (target) audience with their corresponding activity goals. Target is placed in brackets as these audiences were not always targeted by the activity, but were instead included for research purposes.

6.2.2 Comparing results of the surveys

6.2.2.1 Demographics

Age comparison between the three case studies shows that each activity attracted a different audience age-wise (figure 6.1). Unfortunately, because of the different goals of the activities, the age categories used in their respective surveys are not entirely compatible. We see that the You(R) Archaeology contest had the largest number of children, especially in the age category of 1-11. This is not a surprise, as the contest purposefully included a category for children of that age group specifically and as such aimed to attract children. The Invisible Monuments activity had 41.8% visitors of the age category 21-35, which we can attribute to the fact that many students and scholars participated. Unfortunately, the DOMunder activity used a different scale for measuring participant's age categories, so an age comparison between DOMunder visitors and volunteers, and the other case studies is difficult and those numbers are not included in the comparison. However, the DOMunder survey did include a category for people

	DOMunder	You(R) Archaeology	Invisible Monuments
(Target) audience	 primary and secondary school students; visitors interested in cul- ture and history – emphasis on families with children ageing 9+, and visitors aging 50+; Sightseeing tourists 	Citizens from the 28 EU member states, both professional artists and amateurs. Children between 0 and 12 years old had a separate category for artwork submission and prices.	Passers-by, both tou- rists and residents of Thessaloniki. No specific age was mentioned by the organizers.
Activity goals	 To present DOMunder, together with the DOMplein to the audience and make visible the historic layers – together, create a 'cultural oldspot'. To increase visitor numbers The activity should be profiled as a 'unique' and 'real visitor experience'. 	 Visualize people's views, or representations, of archaeology and heritage in order to evaluate the social and economic orien- tation of the archaeological practice. Connected to the first goal is <i>the activity</i> goal to encourage participants to express positive or critical points of view about archaeology. 	The three activity goals for this activity were ranked by the initiator from strict to wide, from 'main objective', to 'main idea', to 'project ambition'; 1) The main objective was to re-introduce selected archaeological sites in Thessaloniki to the public; 2) The main idea was to use a combination of digital social media and mobile phone technology to raise public awareness in an unconventional way; 3) The ambition of the project was to turn hidden and forgotten sites into places of living memory, connecting them with people's everyday life.
(Target) audience	Residents living close to DOMunder	N.a.	N.a.
Activity goals	While residents living close to DOMunder form a unique stakeholder, they are not addressed as such in the DOMunder documentation. This stakeholder is included into this thesis to see how far sociocultural impact reaches (research goal).	N.a.	N.a.
(Target) audience	Volunteers	N.a.	N.a.
Activity goals	This stakeholder is not included in the activity goals of DOMunder, but is included in this study to see how far sociocultural impact reaches for this activity (research goal). While DOMunder did not provide activity goals for the volunteers, their reas- ons for joining are shared in the survey answers.	N.a.	N.a.

 Table 6.1. Comparison between the three case studies' activity goals and (target) audiences.

older than 61, which comes close to the category of 60+ for the other two case studies and is therefore included in the comparison. It turned out that DOMunder has a very different visitor audience in terms of age; 41.3% of them are older than 61+, compared to 8% for You(R) Archaeology (60+) and 2% for Invisible Monuments (60+). For volunteers, the oldest age category scores even higher; 54.5%.

In terms of gender, we see that for all three activities, mostly women participated, except for the volunteers of DOMunder (figure 6.2).

Archaeology and archaeological heritage activities in Europe attract, overall, an audience which is mostly male, older, and higher-educated as another NEARCH survey confirmed (Kajda *et al.* 2017, but see also Van den Dries and Boom 2017; Maeer *et al.* 2016); we are missing out on younger people, parents with children, and those that are often marginalized (*e.g.* poor or disabled) (Fujiwara *et al.* 2014). It is very interesting to see that gender-wise, none of the three case studies fit that observation – the NEARCH poll-survey shows that females are less active in participating in archaeological activities.⁴¹ In terms of age, the DOMunder case study fits that profile strongest; the other case studies attracted a (much) younger audience. Unfortunately, we do not have information on the education-level of the DOMunder and You(R) Archaeology visitors, but the Invisible Monuments activity attracted mostly high-educated visitors.

We can attribute the age differences to the different settings and goals of the activities. While unique in its appearance, DOMunder forms, arguably, a more traditional archaeological heritage activity (even though it uses innovative storytelling), in which an audience is invited to 'watch, but not touch', and stays in the same location. The Invisible Monuments activity is less conventional as it focussed on mobile technology and used a trail, based on a historical narrative, which people had to walk to visit the monuments. The You(R) Archaeology contest, in contrast, did not require for people to travel at all, and was very creative in nature as the sole requirement for people to join was to submit their perception of archaeology via artwork. While the You(R) Archaeology contest did attract a number of children, we do not know whether this is because of the existence of a specific children's category, or because of the innate creative nature of the activity. We know that children visit DOMunder, especially in school related activities, but they were not interviewed.

6.2.2.2 Local image and identity

In the comparison between the You(R) Archaeology and Invisible Monuments case studies, we can see a difference in how those activities impacted their participants in connectedness to archaeology. For the Invisible Monuments case study, participants clearly felt more connected to Local and National Archaeology after the activity, scoring strong on both Agree and Strongly Agree (in green; red shows the scores for the You(R) Archaeology activity, table 6.2). The You(R) Archaeology activity had more impact on how people connect to the international level, with 35.8% scoring Strongly Agree (in green) versus 14.3% for the Invisible Monuments activity (in red), although with the Invisible Monuments participants scoring 44.9% on Agree, they also clearly felt impact on that scale. The lower scores on Local and National archaeology for the

⁴¹ http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/catalogue/adsdata/arch-2749-1/dissemination/pdf/NEARCH _Image_of_archaeology_Europe_OK.pdf

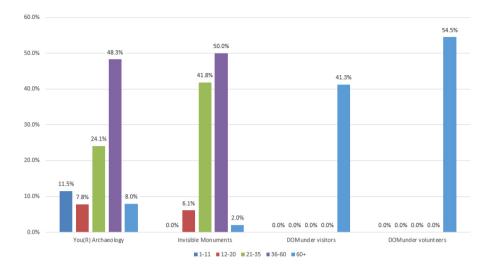


Figure 6.1: Comparison between age categories for the three case studies (n=87 for You(R) Archaeology, n=196 for Invisible Monuments, n=62 for DOMunder visitors, and n=32 for DOMunder volunteers).

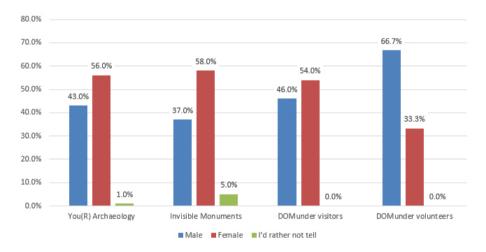


Figure 6.2: Comparison between gender figures for the three case studies (n=87 for You(R) Archaeology, n=196 for Invisible Monuments, n=63 for DOMunder, and n=32 for DOMunder volunteers). N/A is Not Applicable – incomparable data from DOMunder.

You(R) Archaeology contest are a result of participants scoring both more Neutral and Not Applicable (in orange). We have seen that the visitors of DOMunder also felt more impact on a local level (in this case the archaeology of Utrecht scoring higher than the archaeology of the Netherlands). This means there is a difference in impact between the DOMunder and Invisible Monuments case studies on the one hand, and the You(R) Archaeology case study on the other. This can be attributed to their respective geographic contexts; the You(R) Archaeology activity was an international art contest, with people submitting from 11 different EU countries, and having chosen mostly archaeological subjects crossing their own border for their artworks. In contrast, both the DOMunder and Invisible Monuments activities had a strong focus on local archaeology and history, and although narratives of these activities connected the local with the national and international, local archaeology was both their focal and vantage point. From studies of public archaeological activities in the Netherlands and Germany we know that a local context and set-up results in receiving mostly local audiences (Boom *et al.* forthcoming; Van den Dries *et al.* 2016). In addition, this PhD research shows that a focus on local archaeology not only attracts a local audience, it also makes them feel more connected to local archaeology, even when that archaeology is placed in a broader geographical context.

That participating in, or having access to, cultural heritage increases (civic) pride is a known fact (for an overview of relevant literature, see Dümcke and Gnedovsky (2013) who reviewed 87 publications, in the context of the European Agenda for Culture). The You(R) Archaeology and Invisible Monuments survey data also provide details of perceived impact on people's (civic) pride. Because the relevant question and answer categories are similar in set-up, a comparison can be made between the two datasets. For this comparison, the categories 'Not Applicable' and 'Blank' are left out to provide for a clearer image; 'Strongly agree' and 'Agree' are grouped under 'Agreed' and 'Strongly disagree' and 'Disagree' are grouped under 'Disagreed'. The comparison shows that the two activities triggered very different responses: people who participated in the *Invisible Monuments* activity felt an increase in pride for Local archaeology primarily, declining through National archaeology to International archaeology whereas for the *You(R) Archaeology* participants this trend is exactly reversed (figure 6.3).

The reason for this difference could lie in the specific goals of the activities and the inherent way in which they were set up. The Invisible Monuments activity aimed to (re-) connect the citizens of Thessaloniki to the, often hidden, cultural and archaeological monuments of the city. This resulted in a specific set-up of the event in terms of communication and outreach, attracting mostly residents of Thessaloniki. Both the goal of the event and its audience can be considered local, as discussed before. The opposite is true for the You(R) Archaeology contest. That event aimed to attract a large and varied audience as a means to gain insight into Europe's representation of archaeology. This resulted in it bolstering art subjects with a local, national, and international provenance (most artworks, in fact, belonging to the international provenance category). While 48 of the participants of the You(R) Archaeology contest were Italian, 40 other contributions were counted from 10 other countries, meaning that the contest indeed had an international audience. From these observations, it can be concluded that the goals of the event, resulting in a certain audience dealing with specific archaeological subjects, forms an important factor and steers how those people perceive an increase in civic pride. It seems that keeping an event focussed on a small location helps to increase pride for that specific set geographical boundary, whereas opening up those boundaries to a wider horizon enlarges the pride increase effects respectively; the same hypothesis was stated for connectedness in the previous sub-section, indicating that the two variables are possibly connected.

While many people felt an impact in pride, numbers are not as high as seen in the UK, where a study by English Heritage reveals that over 90% of visitors and residents living in areas with a significant historic environment felt an increase in civic pride (Davies and Clayton 2010). While other studies note that impact in pride is an

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	N/A	Total amount (n)
Local Archaeology	You(R) Archaeology	1.3%	7.6%	30.4%	26.6%	21.5%	12.7%	79
	Invisible Monuments	1.5%	0.5%	1.0%	41.8%	55.1%	0%	196
National Archaeology	You(R) Archaeology	1.3%	5.3%	26.3%	32.9%	23.7%	10.5%	76
	Invisible Monuments	2.0%	5.1%	10.2%	54.1%	28.1%	0.5%	196
International Archaeology	You(R) Archaeology	3.7%	2.5%	18.5%	35.8%	35.8%	3.7%	81
, 	Invisible Monuments	3.1%	12.2%	24.5%	44.9%	14.3%	1.0%	196

Table 6.2: Comparison in connectedness with Local-, National-, and International archaeology for the You(R) Archaeology and Invisible Monument case studies (n=196 for Invisible Monuments, n=87 for You(R) Archaeology).

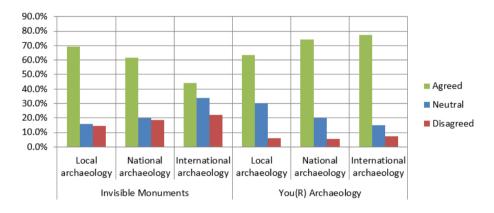


Figure 6.3: Comparison between increase in pride for the Invisible Monuments (n=193 for Local archaeology, n=190 for National archaeology, and n=190 for International archaeology) and You(R) Archaeology (n=66 for Local archaeology, n=70 for National archaeology, and n=80 for International Archaeology) activities.

important positive benefit of interacting with cultural heritage (for instance, Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015; Labadi 2008), they either aggravate other data to demonstrate pride, or do not reveal figures, making comparisons with other case studies difficult.

6.2.2.3 Personal development

It seems that the *Invisible Monuments* activity had a higher impact on learning than the You(R) Archaeology contest (figure 6.4) as more people scored Strongly agree after the former activity (42.9% versus 9.2%).

There were no big differences per score between the age groups (table 6.3). The only exception can be seen between the group of 12-35/36-60 and the group older than 60

for the Invisible Monuments, scoring Agree; the older than 60 group scored 100% versus 53.2% and 49%, respectively. However, that group comprises very low absolute numbers for both activities (7 people for *You(R) Archaeology* and 4 people for *Invisible Monuments*), so that image is quite possibly skewed.

The difference between the two datasets is perhaps not unexpected when we take into account the different goals of those activities. One of the goals for the *Invisible Monuments* activity was to increase awareness in order to (re-)connect residents with these antiquities. As such, the activity was centred on participants' accumulation of knowledge. Some participants stated that it was also their intention to learn something: "that is the reason for my participation" (anonymous respondent) and "to gain knowledge" (anonymous respondent). Others expressed that through learning they now see the monuments differently; "Saw the monuments in a different way" (anonymous respondent) and "Combine the archaeology with sides of daily life in the city" (anonymous respondent). This means that the goals of the *Invisible Monuments* activity fitted the expectations of its participants. The goal of the *You(R) Archaeology* contest was not focussed on learning, but on people expressing their ideas about archaeology – in order for the NEARCH programme to gain an insight into people's perceptions of archaeology. Although for some this meant studying an archaeological object and learning about its history, increasing knowledge can be considered a by-product.

The DOMunder case studies brings comparable data, but voiced in a different way. People were not asked about an increase in knowledge, but rather on whether they learned something new during their visit and if this was more than they expected. To accommodate comparison, these two questions were also included in this case study. Comparison shows that for both case studies the 'Moderately' level was chosen the most (over 50% of total). However, people who participated in the Invisible Monuments activity were more positive, scoring higher in the 'Extremely' category and lower in the 'Somewhat', 'Slightly', and 'Not at all' categories for both questions (figure 6.5).

The Invisible Monuments and DOMunder activities had quite similar goals; through unique activities aimed at 'uncovering hidden layers', educate people about the local monuments, archaeology, and history. Both activities also gave participants the opportunity to discover artefacts themselves and at their own pace. Of course, the DOMunder case study is more restricted, as participants only have one hour to complete the trail, and the objects they needed to 'scan' are located much closer together than the monuments scattered throughout Thessaloniki. Nonetheless, it can be said that participants for both activities were 'active' in their pursuit of knowledge (in the case of DOMunder, this is even verified, as 64% of the visitors agreed to this

	Strongly Agree		Agree Neutral		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly disagree		Not applicable		Total	
	IM	YA	IM	YA	IM	YA	IM	YA	IM	YA	IM	YA	IM	YA
12-35	43.6%	8.1%	53.2%	45.9%	0.0%	32.4%	0.0%	5.4%	0.0%	8.1%	3.2%	0.0%	100%	100%
36-60	43.9%	11.9%	49.0%	42.9%	1.0%	33.3%	3.1%	2.4%	0.0%	9.5%	3.1%	0.0%	100%	100%
Older than 60	0.0%	0.0%	100%	28.6%	0.0%	57.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	14.3%	0.0%	0.0%	100%	100%

Table 6.3: Cross-comparison between age groups and scores for knowledge increase for the Invisible Monuments (IM) activity (n=196) and the You(R) Archaeology (YA) activity (n=87).

statement). This means that we cannot link the differences discussed above to the goals of these activities and their practical approach. Rather, it seems that the differences are linked to the dissimilarity in audience and their enthusiasm for the subject. For the *Invisible Monuments* survey, we have participants with a high level of education, including a number of doctors. Some of these participants also indicated to be archaeologists themselves. Although in the DOMunder survey this information was not directly asked for, none of them indicated in the 'feedback question' that they had any relation with historical studies or historical professions and some of them even

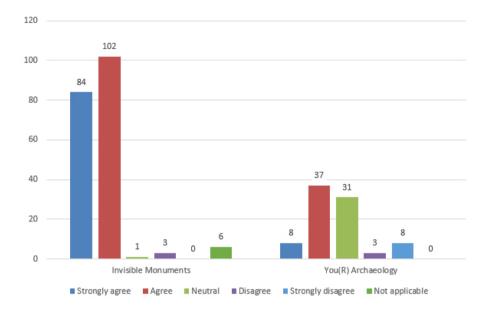


Figure 6.4: Comparison between the Invisible Monuments (n=196) and You(R) Archaeology (n=87) activities for the scores on knowledge increase.

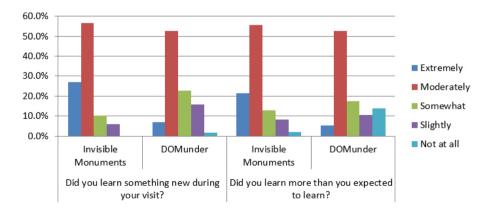


Figure 6.5: Comparison between the relative scores for the questions "did you learn something new during your visit?" and "did you learn more than you expected to learn" for the Invisible Monuments and DOMunder case studies (n=196 for Invisible Monuments and n=87 for DOMunder).

indicated that they were 'laymen' when it comes to history. We would then assume that participants for DOMunder learned more new things during their visit (and perhaps more than they expected to learn). However, this was not the case – it was exactly the other way around. As discussed in the respective chapter, DOMunder visitors seem to be moderately enthusiastic almost throughout the whole survey and were quite critical about the survey questions. Perhaps the difference lies in the overall enthusiasm of the participants (which is lower for the older age categories, of which DOMunder has the highest percentage) and their eagerness to learn something about their past which translates in more positive scores.

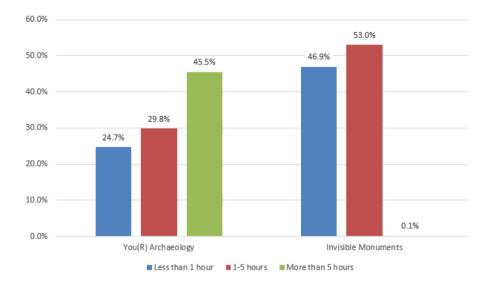
To create a better insight into the level of sociocultural impact, time investment was studied for the participants of the You(R) Archaeology contest, the Invisible Monuments activity, and the volunteers working at DOMunder. As each activity has a different goal and setting, time investment scales were different for each survey. This makes comparisons between the figures difficult, especially in comparing with the volunteers for DOMunder, who are often involved for months, sometimes for longer than a year, and spent a considerable amount of time per month, with the biggest number, 33.3%, spending between 11 to 15 hours a month. This scale of time investment is much larger than for the You(R) Archaeology and Invisible Monuments activity scales are quite similar and from those figures three categories can be distilled and compared; less than 1 hour, 1-5 hours, and more than 5 hours (figure 6.6).

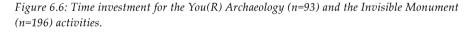
Data shows that people participating in the You(R) Archaeology contest spent considerably more time than those participating in the Invisible Monuments activity, especially the difference in the More than 5 hours category is large; 45.4%. The Invisible Monuments activity trail could be completed in about 2 hours. While creating an art piece is a variable time investment, one can also create an artwork within this time period. For both activities participants were free to spend as much time as they wanted. While the Invisible Monuments activity scored lower on time investment, numbers are comparable with a case study in the Netherlands, where visitors of the Dutch National Archaeology days – a public activity in the Netherlands revolving around local archaeological and archaeological heritage activities – were surveyed. On average, visitors there spent 75 minutes, with some staying longer than 2 hours (van den Dries *et al.* 2015). The difference in time investment can be attributed to the different nature of the activities, based on different goals, wherein the You(R) Archaeology contest is more creative, and the Invisible Monuments activity more educational.

In the You(R) Archaeology case study chapter, we saw that people who spent more time creating their artworks perceived a bigger impact on knowledge increase. While this might be the case for that case study, comparing the two case studies here shows a different picture, one in which people who spent less time – the Invisible Monuments activity – perceived a bigger impact on knowledge increase. Apparently, time investment alone does not influence people's perceived impact on knowledge increase.

Nine personal attributes were included in three out of five surveys; the DOMunder visitors, You(R) Archaeology, and Invisible Monuments. Four of these attributes were also included in the DOMunder volunteer survey (figure 6.7).

Participants of the You(R) Archaeology contest scored highest overall, except for Understanding of the past and Views on religion, which were scored highest by the participants of the Invisible Monuments activity. DOMunder visitors scored lowest across the board. In the DOMunder chapter, we have already seen that volunteers score higher on every aspect compared to the visitors, but here we see that they score not as high as participants of the You(R) Archaeology contest, and only higher for one aspect (self-confidence) compared to the participants of the Invisible Monument activity.





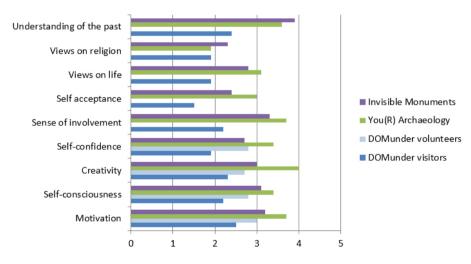


Figure 6.7: Comparison between the weighted averages of personal attributes for four different stakeholders out of the three case studies; DOMunder visitors (n=57), DOMunder volunteers (n=32), You(R) Archaeology participants (n=83 for Motivation, n=79 for Self-consciousness, n=85 for Creativity, n=79 for Self-confidence, n=79 for Sense of involvement, n=77 for Self-acceptance, n=78 for Views on life, n=78 for Views on religion, and n=81 for Understanding of the past), and Invisible Monuments participants (n=196).

From this data, we can again infer that time investment alone is not a factor contributing to the impact on these attributes, as volunteers spend way more time than, for instance, the participants of the contest. Both the DOMunder and the Invisible Monuments activities had an educational goal, which was to share the archaeological history with their participants. However, the former used a more 'traditional' approach to engagement whereas the latter a more active and technologically advanced one. Perhaps these different settings resulted in the discrepancy in Understanding of the past. Creativity scoring higher than the other attributes for the You(R) Archaeology contest is to be expected as this was the goal of the activity, the same can be argued for Motivation and Sense of involvement attributes. However, it seems that the creative aspect, perhaps combined with the thrill of participating in a contest with the chance to win prizes, also generates impact in less expected attributes, such as Self-confidence, Self-consciousness, and even Understanding the past. For the last aspect, scores were even higher than for the DOMunder visitors, even though DOMunder had a very specific educational goal.

In the DOMunder chapter we have seen that the youngest age category (21-30) felt the least impact on these 9 personal attributes and the age group of 31-40 felt the most impact. This was different for the You(R) Archaeology contest in which participants aged 12-20 felt the most impact, and those older than 60 the least. Scores were different again for the Invisible Monuments activity, in which the age group of 36-60 felt the least impact and those older than 60 the most. Along these lines, we can hypothesize that a 'traditional' activity such as DOMunder has the most impact on young adults, a 'creative' activity such as You(R) Archaeology has the strongest impact on children and adolescents, and an 'unconventional approach which combines narrative, technology, and physical exercise', such as the Invisible Monuments activity, has a diffuse impact on age categories. However, while the oldest age group (older than 60) of the You(R) Archaeology contest scored lowest on average for that activity, some scores were higher than the highest scores for the other two case studies - motivation, for example, scored 2.9 as highest for DOMunder, 3.4 as highest for Invisible Monuments, but 4.0 for You(R) Archaeology. From these observations, we can conclude that age does influence impact, but both the strength of the impact, and the exact attribute impacted on, depend on the context of the activity and, possibly, on each person's individual motivations and receptiveness.

Both the DOMunder and Invisible Monuments activities contributed to peoples' ability to better understand the value of archaeology, but the scores were different between the two. Figure 6.9 shows that participants of the Invisible Monuments activity perceived a higher impact on this aspect than the visitors of DOMunder, most notably in the Strongly agree score (25% versus 8.7%, respectively). Furthermore, participants of the Invisible Monuments activity also felt much more comfortable talking about archaeology after their visit; the difference in score between the two case studies for Agree (34.1%), and Strongly agree (10.4%), are quite substantial (figure 6.8).

Both activities had as goal to uncover the historical layers of their respective cities, thereby educating people on the importance of archaeology. However, while DOMunder's activity goals stop at showing people these historical layers, the ambition of the Invisible Monuments project was to turn "hidden and forgotten sites into places of living memory, connecting them with people's everyday life" (Theodoroudi *et al.* 2016,1). It seems that the initiators succeeded in this, as people not only indicated to better understand the value of archaeology, but also felt much more confident to talk about this to others. Apparently, participants of the Invisible Monuments activity understood the relation between the 'distant' archaeological remains scattered throughout the city and their own identities better than the DOMunder visitors. Perhaps the fact that the monuments were scattered throughout the city strengthened peoples' ability

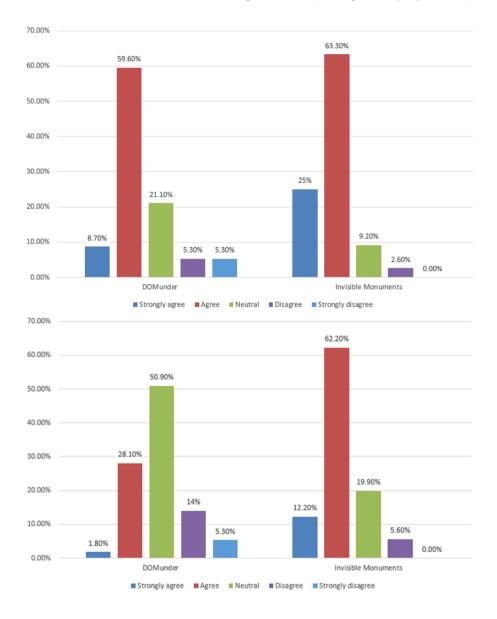


Figure 6.8: Top: Relative scores for the statement "This activity contributed to your ability to better understand the value of archaeology" for the visitors of DOMunder (n=57) and the participants of the Invisible Monuments activity (n=196). Bottom: Relative scores for the statement "You feel more confident talking about archaeology after this activity" for the visitors of DOMunder (n=57) and the participants of the Invisible Monuments of the Invisible Monuments activity.

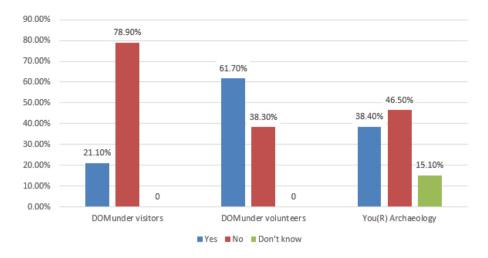


Figure 6.9: Comparing skill development between two out of three case studies for three different audiences (DOMunder visitors n=57, volunteers n=32, You(R) Archaeology participants n=86).

to connect the past with the present. The previously described difference in knowledge impact and 'Understanding of the past', where the visitors of the Invisible Monuments activity scored higher as well, is probably a result of the same cause.

The impact on skill development was asked of visitors (n=57) and volunteers (n=32) of DOMunder, and the You(R) Archaeology contest participants (n=86) – figure 6.9. DOMunder visitors had the opportunity to answer 'yes' or 'no', while volunteers had to score via a Likert scale, ranging from 'Not at all', 'Slightly', 'Somewhat', 'Moderately', to 'Extremely'; participants of the You(R) Archaeology contest could select 'yes', 'no', or 'Don't know'. While the survey categories were unfortunately not the same, we can still distil positive and negative answers, but the comparison below has to be interpreted with care.

It is clear that the volunteers working at DOMunder felt the highest impact on skill development; from the DOMunder chapter, we have learned that highest scores were given for communication and interpersonal skills and lowest for technical skills. Clearly, volunteers have the opportunity to work on communicative skill development, as hosting involves presenting for large groups and guiding them through the exhibition. Participants of the You(R) Archaeology contest had the opportunity to develop their creative skills, and this was mostly done by people who consider themselves not to be professionals (see chapter 4); we can assume that these people felt their creative skills could still be improved. This is supported by the fact that the younger groups scored highest on impact in skill development and oldest people lowest. Visitors of DOMunder scored lowest in comparison, with 21.1% of them indicating to have learned new skills, although they indicated these were mostly related to learning, which is not a skill in this context. From this comparison, we can conclude that archaeology can be used as a conduit for skill development; the subject of archaeology attracts people, but it is the setting of the activity that allows for skill development potential. The nature of the activity, combined with the receptiveness of the participants, depending on age, previous skill development, and other factors, influences the impact in skill development.

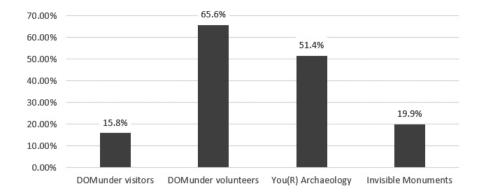


Figure 6.10: Showing the percentages of activity participants who have met new people thanks to their participation (DOMunder visitors n=57, DOMunder volunteers n=32, You(R) Archaeology participants n=70 and Invisible Monuments visitors n=196).

6.2.2.4 Social cohesion

To get insight into the possibilities for archaeology to contribute to social cohesion, respondents of 4 surveys (DOMunder visitors (n=57), DOMunder volunteers (n=32), You(R) Archaeology participants (n=70) and Invisible Monuments visitors (n=196) were asked whether they had met new people during the activity (figure 6.10). It was not specified to what that 'meeting' meant, so we cannot deduct whether people have only seen other people, or actually spoken to them as well. However, for the DOMunder visitor survey the follow-up question asked whether they still are in contact with the people they met, implying that the former question met an actual connection. Participants of the You(R) Archaeology contest were specifically asked whether they took the contest as an opportunity to meet new people, which also implies interaction.

The figure above shows that DOMunder volunteers have met the most people and the visitors of DOMunder the least. In fact, scores of the visitors of DOMunder and those of the Invisible Monuments seem quite comparable. We know that for both activities people participated in the activity in groups, smaller for the Invisible Monuments and larger for DOMunder. We also know that 35.2% of visitors of the former went to the activity with others and 64.8% went alone. Unfortunately, we do not have these numbers for the visitors of DOMunder, but residents indicated that would they visit DOMunder, only 5.7% would go alone and 94.3% would go with someone else. It seems that DOMunder is better suited as a group outing, perhaps because Invisible Monuments has a more individual and or ad-hoc character, one where people do not have to buy tickets in advance to participate. In that sense, DOMunder is more an exhibition than an activity, especially since people can also buy coffee at the bar in the ticket shop, or visit the Dom tower and the Dom church; combination tickets are even sold for that purpose. For both activities applies, however, that once participation commences, visitors are expected to search for information alone, either using a mobile device (Invisible Monuments) or a scanner (DOMunder). While Invisible Monuments does not have a common starting point and time, DOMunder has, resulting in people participating in groups of about 30 to 40. It is striking then that only 15.8% of the DOMunder visitors seem to 'meet' these other people; apparently DOMunder is not a place to start social conversations or expand ones' social sphere – even less so than for the more individual Invisible Monuments.

For the volunteers, DOMunder had much more social potential, as the majority indicated to have met other people there; at least all volunteers have met each other, but some of them have even met between 11-20 visitors, of which two volunteers indicate to speak to these visitors after working hours (12 indicate to speak to other volunteers after working hours). More than half of the participants of the You(R) Archaeology contest took it as an opportunity to meet other people, especially the youngest participants, aged 12-20.

From the above, we can conclude that the opportunity to meet new people differs per activity, some seem more individualistic, some more social. However, bigger opportunities do not result in meeting more people. Rather, it seems that people use the social possibilities of these activities in the way they want to. In other words, the social opportunities these activities offer are not concrete, nor can they be counted in group numbers, but are relative, dependent on the motivation of the individual visitors. Furthermore, we can state that activities such as You(R) Archaeology, and DOMunder for the volunteers, in which participants have greater control over what they want to achieve by joining, create a bigger impact. This is in line with what Nevell (2013) observes in his research on social impact during the Dig Manchester Community Archaeology Experience in the United Kingdom.

6.2.2.5 Community empowerment and self-determination

Participants of the You(R) Archaeology contest (n=85) and visitors of the Invisible Monuments activity (n=153) shared information about their reasons for joining, through open comments. Residents living close to DOMunder (n=87) shared information about their reasons where they to visit DOMunder in the future, and were also free to comment; volunteers (n=31) shared their reasons for doing volunteer work and could score this from 1 to 5, with 1 being not at all important and 5 extremely important. Open answers were analysed and categories were deducted for those specific case studies; participants were able to select freely so scores could be counted towards multiple categories. As interviewees were free in providing reasons for participating, every case study has its own list of reasons. However, as it turned out, some of these reasons overlap; others are grouped for the sake of comparison (figure 6.11).

From these numbers, we can conclude that people have many reasons to join public archaeological activities but it is clear that the strongest reason for the target audiences was their interest in the topic of archaeology and history. The NEARCH poll-survey shows similar results, as the majority of the respondents see archaeology as a science, providing knowledge to study the past, while only a small percentage – 4% – sees archaeology as a leisure activity (Kajda *et al.* 2017). Some of the respondents talked more about being curious to see what is out there, because for instance in the case of the DOMunder residents, they live close by. Some people also indicate to have joined because of social reasons; this is especially true for the DOMunder volunteers, but the participants of the You(R) Archaeology contest scored high as well. Social reasons were also observed in another case study in the Netherlands (Van den Dries *et al.* 2015). Skill development seemed to be only majorly important for the volunteers, whereas DOMunder residents and the participants of the Invisible Monuments activity feel

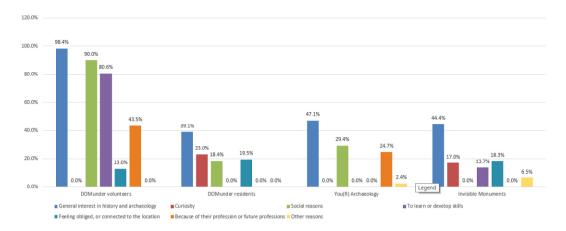


Figure 6.11: Comparison of target audiences' reasons for participating (DOMunder volunteers n=31, residents n=87, You(R) Archaeology contest n=85, and Invisible Monuments activity n=153).

an obligation to join, either because they 'live there so they have to see it', or because they feel a sense of connection to the local artefacts. Volunteers and the participants of the You(R) Archaeology contest joined because of professional interest; some had other reasons.

The above signifies that the topic of archaeology is still the most important factor for people to participate, but they have other 'needs' as well. These needs are interesting for initiators of public archaeological activities who want to create an impact which goes further than the merely educational level, such as for instance social cohesion or to help them in their careers. While the subject of archaeology draws people in, through participation archaeology is also a conduit for social impact.

6.2.2.6 Health and well-being

As described in their respective chapters, the target audiences of the various case studies were asked if they wanted to indicate how much participating impacted their personal emotions. Analysis of the impact of the public archaeological activities gives us an insight in how such activities can contribute to people's health and well-being. DOMunder visitors could indicate their score for 7 'positive' and 2 'negative' emotions; participants of the You(R) Archaeology contest could indicate scores for 8 'positive' and 5 'negative' emotions, and the Invisible Monuments visitors could indicate scores for 9 'positive' and 5 'negative' emotions. DOMunder volunteers could indicate perceived impact on their happiness only (table 6.4). The above indicated difference in scoring possibilities is due to the fact that the methodology for this study developed over time and was improved.

Overall, for the 'positive' emotions, it seems that participating in these public archaeological activities impacted people's energy levels the most, although this number is probably higher because there are no numbers for DOMunder; happiness scored high too, as well as inspired. People indicated to feel the least impact on health, although a 2.6 on average can still be considered decent. As discussed previously in this chapter, DOMunder scores are comparatively low, but we can, at this stage, only guess why this

		DOMunder volunteers	DOMunder visitors	You(R) Archaeology	Invisible Monuments	Average
	Нарру	3.7	2.6	3.8	3.8	3.5
	Useful	-	2.0	3.7	3.9	3.2
	Relaxed	-	2.3	3.2	3.3	2.9
su	Capable	-	1.9	3.6	3.4	2.9
Positive emotions	Inspired	-	2.9	4.1	3.7	3.5
tive e	Healthy	-	2.0	2.6	3.2	2.6
Posi	Positive	-	2.6	4.0	3.4	3.3
	Energetic	-	-	3.6	3.7	3.6
	Safe	-	-	-	3.1	3.1
	Average	-	2.3	3.6	3.5	3.1
	Anxious	-	1.2	1.9	2.1	1.7
suc	Angry	-	-	1.3	2.0	1.6
Negative emotions	Depressed	-	-	1.2	1.8	1.0
ative 6	Insecure	-	-	1.4	1.9	1.6
Neg	Judged	-	-	1.8	1.5	1.6
	Average	-	1.2	1.5	1.8	1.5

Table 6.4. Weighted average scores for personal emotions per case study group. Highest scores are highlighted in green, lowest scores in red (n=32 for DOMunder volunteers, n=50 for DOMunder visitors, n=82 for You(R) Archaeology, and n=188 for Invisible Monuments.

is the case. Scores for You(R) Archaeology and Invisible Monuments are considerably higher, but it varies per emotion which activity gets the highest scores. Interestingly, participants of the Invisible Monument activity felt the most impact on health, which might be related to the fact that the activity involved physical exercise. Participants of the You(R) Archaeology contest, in contrast, felt most impact in feeling inspired and capable, which might be related to the creative context of the activity; they also felt most positive, perhaps related to the creation and submission of a 'finished' art product of which they can feel proud. Luckily, 'negative' scores are low; anxiety scored highest with a 1.7 on weighted average. We have to bear in mind, though, that the numbers shown above are averages for each activity; as discussed in the respective case study chapters, these numbers differ per age category. Overall, it seems that the younger participants - aged 11-20 for You(R) Archaeology and Invisible Monuments, and aged 31-40 for the DOMunder visitors, scored higher than older participants aged 40 and above. This is interesting, as archaeology has difficulties attracting a younger audience, both in the Netherlands (Van den Dries and Boom 2017; Van den Dries et al. 2015; Van den Broek et al. 2009) and in Europe (Kajda et al. 2017). Apparently, a high impact on personal emotions does not result in higher visitor numbers. Perhaps this is

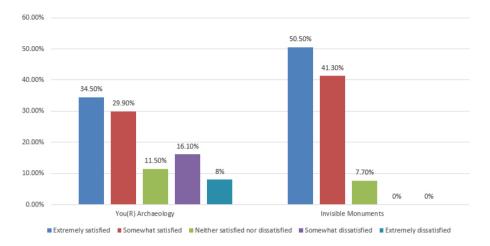


Figure 6.12: Participant's satisfaction after participating in the You(R) Archaeology and Invisible Monument activities.

related to the fact that most of the participants of these activities, including the young participants, were already interested in archaeology, which prompted them to join in the first place. Another theory is based on a study comparable to this PhD thesis, which revolved around impact assessment on participants of a horticultural show in Germany who had the possibility to visit a reconstruction of a Neolithic longhouse. This study shows that 91.6% who visited the reconstruction, had not anticipated to have such an encounter with the past, but they nonetheless show relatively high scores, above the 3.0 mark, on impact, such as happiness, and feeling content and positive (Boom *et al.* forthcoming). This might mean that impacts on personal emotions are perhaps not reasons for people to join, but are rather side-effects of joining, perhaps even subconsciously until the question is asked. In the Oss-Horzak case study (Van den Dries *et al.* 2015) for example, participants indicate substantial health impact while they initially, before participation, thought they would mostly be impacted on education and joined for that specific reason.

In conclusion, based on the numbers above we can state that it depends on the nature of the activity, which is in turn based on the activity goals, how people are impacted on personal emotions; different activity contexts generate a different set of impacts. We can also state that as many of the averages listed above score above the 3.0 mark, out of a possible 5.0, impact is quite considerable, However, what this impact means for people, and why they seem to overlook this type of impact, is still unclear.

In the You(R) Archaeology contest and Invisible Monuments surveys, people were asked about their feeling of satisfaction after participation (figure 6.12).

In comparison, it seems that visitors of the Invisible Monuments activity were more satisfied after participation then the participants of the You(R) Archaeology. This could reflect the fact that participants of the You(R) Archaeology contest were not satisfied with their submission, as described in the You(R) Archaeology chapter. While there is a difference between the two case studies in scores, we can conclude that both activities had a positive impact on people in regard to their satisfaction. The same can be said for visitors of DOMunder, although the question in that survey entailed sense of accomplishment rather than satisfaction. Thirty-seven percent of the respondents there (out of 53), either Agreed or Strongly agreed to the statement 'After my visit to DOMunder, I felt a sense of accomplishment'. This is somewhat lower than the almost 90% positive score (Extremely satisfied and Somewhat satisfied) for You(R) Archaeology, and the more than 90% positive score for Invisible Monuments, but can still be considered high. We could argue that visitors of at least the DOMunder and You(R) Archaeology activities did know what to expect as DOMunder visitors had to buy tickets in advance, and You(R) Archaeology participants had to read the contest guidelines. For the Invisible Monuments, this was slightly different as visitors could 'jump into' the activity at any time by scanning the QR-code on the monuments and reading the information. However, we know that many of the Invisible Monuments visitors were invited via media campaigns, especially in the local universities. The above could mean that all three activities were successful in fulfilling visitors' expectations; visitors felt that their reasons for joining were sufficiently offered by the activity. Boom et al.'s study (forthcoming) shows that visitors who did not know what to expect scored less high on satisfaction. In that study, only 59.1% of the visitors indicated to feel a sense of accomplishment.

6.2.2.7 Closing remarks

It seems that overall, the activities attracted an audience quite similar to what we often see in cultural heritage activities; mostly older and high-educated (although, contrary to European findings (Kajda *et al.* 2017, Van den Dries and Boom 2017; Maeer *et al.* 2016), the activities attracted mostly a female audience, except for the DOMunder volunteers. Furthermore, visitors from all case studies indicated that their interest in heritage and archaeology was the main reason for joining; other reasons, such as social reasons, where less important. We also have reason to suspect that visitors deliberately visited the heritage sites, knowing what to expect. In this sense, it seems that the activities did not attract new audiences.

Overall, we could state that these activities are quite successful in delivering a pleasing activity and have a positive impact on people's lives. This is in-line with what Fujiwara *et al.* (2014) argue when they state that heritage has a positive impact on people's life satisfaction, and this impact is higher than participating in sports and arts. We see that younger participants indicate a higher impact on several indicators and although variations exist in case studies, overall this impact decreases when people get older. We would expect that happier and more satisfied people would visit more than those who feel less so. It is strange then that the case studies attract a higher number of older participants. Perhaps, sociocultural impact is not a determinant for attendance but a side-effect of visiting. Fujiwara *et al.'s* study (2014) indicates that a lack of time, transports, costs, and poor health prevents people from visiting heritage activities; people without children and who are not full-time employed are more likely to visit. Perhaps children, and their parents, are simply pre-occupied with other things and have therefore no inclination to visit heritage activities, although there are of course exceptions to this.

In terms of impact, it seems that not an increase in knowledge alone, but rather a myriad of factors determines the level of sociocultural impact, of which people's enthusiasm, reasons for joining/expectations, and the setting of the activities seem most important. However, overall, we can state that these public activities in archaeology do positively impact people on a sociocultural level, without this even being the main *activity* goal. However, it seems that the context, or nature, of the activities and the opportunities they bring does engender impact. Of course, the contexts of these activities are based on their activity goals, but it seems that not the goals themselves, but rather the way the activities aim to meet these, are important. These aspects are concurrent with Pendlebury *et al.'s* observation that "Cultural heritage must be considered an opportunity space in which impact *may* occur" (2004, 12). These are important considerations for heritage managers who want to organize similar public activities; through these public activities they will generate positive sociocultural impact, increasing people's quality of life, but it is not yet clear what this impact means for the actual visitors.

6.2.3 Recommendations – a 'step-by-step' guideline

The analysis of the case study data in their corresponding chapters, as well as the comparison between the case studies results in this chapter, are aimed at answering the research questions posed in the introduction chapter of this thesis. This thesis showed that public activities in archaeology can – and do – contribute to sociocultural impact, and quite significantly so, and that the level of impact is dependent on a variety of factors. By not only discussing the case study results, but also providing a commensurable dataset, with the raw data shared open access⁴², this thesis answers the call from scholars to 'get in the field' and share findings (Crossick and Kaszynska 2016; Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015; Burtenshaw 2014, 2013; Nevell 2013; Heritage Lottery Fund 2010; Labadi 2008; Selwood 2002).

Because the research in this thesis is unique in the sense that it focusses on sociocultural impact, and incorporates not only national, but also cross-border activities in its comparison, it is exploratory in nature. As the survey numbers from all three case studies are not fully representative, results are indicative rather than absolute and outcomes have to be interpreted with care. However, they present tantalizing trends in their results. From these findings, as a pioneering aid for future research, a first version of a guideline for professionals is presented here. This guideline will help heritage managers and initiators of public activities in archaeology in streamlining their activity outcomes and steering the level and type of sociocultural impact they create. The guideline is best used in the design phase of the activity as it covers the full spectrum of the creational process, starting with the selection of the type of sociocultural impact, followed by the creation of corresponding activity goals (table 6.5). These two steps should form the basis of any public activity because, as discussed previously, they form the most important factor in steering both level and type of sociocultural impact. The next steps are to select a target audience, and to define the contents and setting of the activity. Then the activity can be developed, executed, and finally altered on the basis of feedback.

Multiple types of sociocultural impact can be selected for one single activity, for instance Social Cohesion and Health and well-being, but each type of sociocultural impact requires its own (set of) well-articulated activity goal(s). Target audience, topic, and settings, however, can overlap.

⁴² http://www.nearch.eu

Step 1	Select type of sociocultural impact (multiple types can be selected)
	 Local Image and Identity Personal Development Social Cohesion Community Empowerment and Self-determination Imagination and Vision Health and Well-being
Step 2	Create corresponding activity goal(s) . These activity goals form the basis of the activity and influence the setting, implementation, and execution of the activity. They should be well-articulated, unambiguous, and connected to the type of sociocultural impact.
	While the topic of archaeology is the strongest incentive for people to join an activity, some people are attracted by the social possibilities. For instance, volunteers are very eager to work with other people, both colleagues and the public. This means that if the activity goal is to create impact on social cohesion, one might think about providing volunteer jobs first before thinking about the contents of the actual activity. In any case, when 'people getting together to discuss an archaeological topic' is the goal of an activity, it is not enough to only provide a discussion space – people should be actively encouraged to connect.
Step 3	Select a target audience. The selection of the target audience is dependent on the activity goals as people's age influence seem to influence both the level and type of impact.
	Younger people are more impacted on personal emotions such as happiness and usefulness. This means that if the goal is to achieve a high impact on happiness, a younger audience will be more susceptible and will allow this goal to be achieved more easily.
Step 4	Define the contents and setting of the activity. At a more tangible level, these two factors are dependent on all the previous steps and require both practical and creative thinking.
	This research showed that a creative activity attracts younger people, including children, whereas a more traditional setting attracts more young adults. We also saw that impact on satisfaction is connected with people's expectations rather than the setting of the activity. This means that if the goal is to let people leave satisfied after the activity, communication about the contents and setting of the activity should be clear – people are most satisfied when they'get what they came for'.
Step 5	Develop, execute, and alter activity if necessary. The development and execution of the activity are dependent on the previous steps. The direction of development should be regularly checked to see if it follows the previously determined steps. The activity should be monitored regularly to prevent unforeseen mismatches between execution and activity goals. If necessary the activity can be altered either during execution, or after the activity has ended to prepare for a next iteration.

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Table 6.5: A step-by-step guideline to steer impact creation.

6.2.4 Cost Benefit of the case studies

A note has to be made about the cost-benefit, or return on financial investment, of the three included case studies. A Social Return on Investment calculation (SROI) course⁴³ was followed as a method to incorporate financial variables into the sociocultural impact analysis in order to 'bridge the gap' between the previously mentioned economic view on the one hand and the cultural view on the other (see Burtenshaw 2014). Results from the Oss-Horzak survey, referred to previously in this dissertation, were used to calculate a cost-benefit ratio. While the ratio was positive – for every euro invested, 1.4 euros were returned in social capital – the methodology was rather difficult to apply for such an archaeological activity, which only lasted for half a day and did not have clear sociocultural goals set. As such, the outcome of this analysis is not quite reliable, and can be heavily debated. This was also the main feedback received during the course from the course instructor; short activities such as a visit to, or participation in, a public activity, taking only a couple of hours, and do not create *impact*, but rather

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⁴³ http://www.sinzer.org/

affects people in the short term.⁴⁴ As the outcomes were both short term, and not connected to the goals of the activities, it proved difficult to perform Social Return on Investment calculations. To illustrate, a representative from a Dutch telecom provider used SROI to calculate the social benefits of using their assets as a means to connect people together, a clear goal of the company (apart from making profit as a commercial company). For this person, it was much easier to calculate impact, as numbers were readily available and the structure of the calculation was clear.

It is unfortunate that SROI turned out to be a methodology not quite applicable for this kind of research, because it would be interesting to incorporate costs into the equation. While this could not be done via the SROI method, it can still be stated that the differences in costs involved did not create a difference in impact. DOMunder, for instance, is by far the most expensive activity, costing – in total – more than 5 million Euro's.⁴⁵ In contrast, both the You(R) Archaeology and the Invisible Monuments activities were much cheaper in realization, with the former costing about 10.000 euro's, and the latter about 3500 euro's. As we have seen, visitors of DOMunder were much less impacted upon in a variety of factors, whereas visitors and participants of the other activities painted a much more positive impact picture. This means that it is not the financial input, but rather the goals of the activity and how these are executed, which engenders a higher impact, and that this impact generation can be already achieved at a relatively low cost.

6.3 Sustainable Development

6.3.1 Introduction

Sustainable Development connects (inter-)national policymaking with the cultural heritage management field; its nexus lies where the economic, cultural, social, and environmental impact of cultural heritage are connected with societal challenges, such as social cohesion and inclusion, better healthcare, and economic prosperity and revenue.

In this section, it will first be described how the concept of Sustainable Development came into existence and how it is based upon two dichotomous focal points in the history of development policy. After this, the connection between Sustainable Development and culture will be discussed by focusing on the debate revolving around the inclusion of culture as a fourth pillar to Sustainable Development and the potential benefits this will provide for the archaeological field. This link is the reason why Sustainable Development forms the backbone of this PhD research, covering the concepts of Quality of Life and Subjective Well-being, and as such, sociocultural impact.

6.3.2 Emergence of the concept (within cultural heritage management) According to the European Commission, "Sustainable Development stands for meeting the needs of present generations without jeopardizing the ability of future generations to meet their own needs – in other words, a better Quality of Life for everyone, now and for generations to come. It offers a vision of progress that integrates immediate and

⁴⁴ Jeremy Nicholls, personal comment

⁴⁵ https://museumactueel.nl/museum-domunder-heeft-een-tekort-van-16-miljoen-euro/

longer-term objectives, local and global action, and regards social, economic and environmental issues as inseparable and interdependent components of human progress".⁴⁶ Used as fuel for a decade of debates and writing about the subject, a shorter, perhaps more concise, definition comes from the World Commission on Environment and Development (the Brundtland Commission), which sees Sustainable Development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987, 43). An aggregation of two words, the phrase interlinks the ideas of economic development, a self-perpetuating force, with ecological sustainability which entails the preservation of a range of environmental values through maintaining a balanced ecosystem in the natural world (Throsby 2001). During the 60's and 70's of the last century, the mythological Great Idea of Progress, which entailed the idea of an unending and continuing economic and technological progress - fueled by the economic boon after the second world war - was debunked. Instead, "people became aware of the threats which rapid population growth, pollution, and resource depletion posed to the environment and their own survival as humans" (Du Pisani 2006, 89). During the early 1970's a group of prominent researchers published a report titled The Limits of Growth, which became well-known as "the key moment in the transformation of disparate anxiety about environmental problems into more focused discussion of an alternative to present-day society" (Kenny 1994, 229). In this report, the authors painted a dark picture in relation to these environmental problems:

If the present growth trends in world population, industrialization, pollution, food production, and resource depletion continue unchanged, the limits to growth on this planet will be reached sometime within the next one hundred years. The most probable result will be a rather sudden and uncontrollable decline in both population and industrial capacity. Meadows (1972, 23)

These issues necessitated solutions. As a result, new technologies needed to be developed to counter the damage caused by the industrialization and consumerism and to help contribute to people's overall Quality of Life (Von Wright 1997, 12); Sustainable Development, as a compromise between both paradigms, was put forward (Du Pisani 2006).

In 1994, John Elkington envisioned Sustainable Development to be the result of a synergy between three different pillars important for corporate trade and businesses. According to him, companies need to have in place three bottom lines, namely corporate profit, a 'people' account, and a 'planet' account, as a way to contribute to a social responsibility agenda as an answer to contemporary societal issues (Elkington 1997). The names of these pillars have changed slightly over time, and are now more commonly referred to as the economic, societal, and environmental pillars. Called the Triple Bottom Line, this conceptualization has been the common ground for numerous policy documents and (corporate) standards in the 20th and 21st centuries.

⁴⁶ http://ec.europa.eu/environment/eussd/

At the present, Sustainable Development is part of both smaller and larger international policies geared towards creating a better sustainable future for the world and its inhabitants. Perhaps the best-known and most influential example prompting policy worldwide is the follow-up agenda of the 'Millennium Development Goals'; the '2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development'. Put forward in 2015 by the United Nations, incorporating 17 Sustainable Development Goals or SDG's, this "agenda is a plan of action for people, planet, and prosperity [and] seeks to strengthen universal peace in larger freedom, [thereby recognizing] that eradicating poverty in all its forms and dimensions, including extreme poverty, is the greatest global challenge and an indispensable requirement for Sustainable Development".⁴⁷

Within the policy of the European Union, the most relevant framework document regarding Sustainable Development is called the 'Europe 2020 Strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth' (European Commission 2010). To answer to the financial crisis, which has "wiped out years of economic and social progress and exposed structural weaknesses in Europe's economy [...] Europe 2020 puts forward three mutually reinforcing priorities; Smart growth – developing an economy based on knowledge and innovation; Sustainable growth – promoting a more resource efficient, greener and more competitive economy; and Inclusive growth – fostering a high-employment economy delivering social and territorial cohesion" (European Commission 2010, 3).

Both agendas are based upon the Triple-Bottom-line as proposed by Elkington. However, both make no mention of cultural heritage as a driver for Sustainable Development. Because many scholars, institutions and key political players within the heritage field believe that culture contributes to Sustainable Development, but not within, or through, the triple-bottom-line, a fourth pillar – culture – had to be introduced.

6.3.3 Adding to the triple bottom line: culture as a fourth pillar

During the 1990's the word sustainable appeared more often in cultural heritage policy documents and in more than half of the documents it was combined with the word development (Veldpaus et al. 2013, 11). Within cultural heritage management policy, the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, called Our Creative Diversity, was one of the first to refer to Sustainable Development (World Commission on Environment and Development 1995), although according to David Throsby the report still adopted the term in relation to environmental and ecological issues; a line between culture and sustainability was merely suggested (Throsby 1997). As an answer to this, Throsby called for a separation of the word sustainable with its environmental connotations, proposing to use it in "its substantive intrinsic sense connoting long-term self-supporting viability of any type of system" (Throsby 1997, 10). In relation to cultural capital, which "exists as a source of cultural goods and services which provide benefits both now and in the future" (Throsby 2001, 53), Throsby identifies six principles which define sustainability. The first is 'material and non-material Well-being', which can be seen as a both a material direct-utility derivative of the economic and cultural values people attach to cultural heritage and as non-material benefits adding to the Quality of Life (Throsby 2001). Secondly, Throsby identifies 'intergenerational equity and dynamic efficiency' as contributing to sustainability in relation to cultural heritage. Intergenerational equity, or

⁴⁷ https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/post2015/transformingourworld/publication

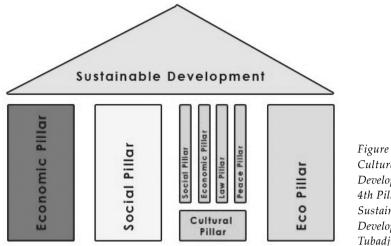


Figure 6.13: Culture Based Development – 4th Pillar of Sustainable Development. After Tubadji 2010, 198.

intertemporal distributive justice, refers to the fairness and justness of the distribution of welfare, utility and resources between generations and here refers to the 'stock of cultural capital' we inherited from our forebears and are handing over to future generations. Dynamic efficiency could be seen as a tool to achieve this goal, as it describes a way to achieve maximum net present value of cultural heritage, which can then be distributed in a dynamical and ethical way (Throsby 2001). Thirdly, 'intragenerational equity', is a principle which asserts the rights "of the present generation to fairness in access to cultural resources and to the benefits flowing from cultural capital" (Throsby 2001, 56), a seemingly 'cultural' equivalent of the definition on Sustainable Development by the World Commission on Environment and Development. As a fourth principle 'Maintenance of diversity' is put forward. This concept revolves around the importance of diversity in culture as it has the capacity to yield new capital formation (Throsby 2001). The 'precautionary principle', states that "decisions which may lead to irreversible change should be approached with extreme caution and from a strongly risk-averse position" (Throsby 2001, 57) and lastly, the 'Maintenance of cultural systems and recognition of interdependence'-principle underlines the proposition that, just as in the natural world, "no part of any system exists independently of other parts" (Throsby 2001, 57). In culture this means that, for example, by neglecting the conservation of cultural heritage this can result in the loss of value and eventually will place cultural systems in jeopardy, causing the loss of welfare and economic output (Throsby 2001).

Annie Tubadji, in her article called 'See the forest, not only the trees: Culture Based Development (CBD) Conceptualizing Culture for Sustainable Development Purposes' (2010), proposes a framework which includes culture as a fourth pillar contributing to Sustainable Development under the Culture Based Development header (figure 6.13).

As can be inferred from the figure, within this fourth cultural pillar, Tubadji recognizes four channels with which culture can make its impact on Sustainable Development, or in her own words "there are four channels of utilization of culture as a resource" (Tubadji 2010, 197). The social pillar of culture refers to the impact of culture on 'health, education, gender equality, ethnic diversity, community vitality, and social capital', and tracks how this affects societal Well-being, whereas the economic pillar of culture encompasses

'creativity, cultural tourism, and cultural industries as mechanisms' and focuses on economic impact and growth (Tubadji 2010, 197). The law channel focuses on the roles and contributions of legal policy, institutions, and frameworks to Sustainable Development towards cultural legislation and how that affects social Well-being and economic growth; the peace channel encompasses topics such as social cohesion, identity, and conflict management (Tubadji 2010). These four channels also comprise both the of Quality of Life and Subjective Well-being concepts, but from a cultural heritage point-of-view. In this sense, and as elaborated on before, culture can be seen as a conductor, here divided into four different channels, through which Sustainable Development is achieved. This means that culture itself, meaning the intrinsic values attached to it, does not contribute to Sustainable Development but its impact is based on culture as a utilization, or lens, of values turned manifest. This connects well with Pendlebury et al.'s observation that "Cultural heritage must be considered an opportunity space in which impact may occur" (2004, 12) and with the outcomes of the case study analyses in this thesis. This observation also relates heavily to the holistic landscape-based approach which considers heritage not as a goal in and of itself, but as placed within a social, economic, ecological and cultural context (Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015).

Within the cultural heritage field, and more specifically in the context of World Heritage, we can observe a strong lobby to include cultural heritage as a fourth pillar contributing to Sustainable Development in major international frameworks such as the Europe 2020 Strategy for smart, sustainable, and inclusive growth, and the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Reasons for this are based on the theoretical works of Throsby, Tubadji, and others, but also on an increasing body of evidence from the field proving that cultural heritage indeed contributes to Sustainable Development. Moreover, the wide range of opportunities the inclusion into those frameworks could bring, including financial benefits through for instance, job opportunities and international collaborations, adds to those motivations. UNESCO, for example, writes that "Culture, in all its dimensions, is a fundamental component of Sustainable Development. As a sector of activity, through tangible and intangible heritage, creative industries and various forms of artistic expressions, culture is a powerful contributor to economic development, social stability and environmental protection. As a repository of knowledge, meanings and values that permeate all aspects of our lives, culture also defines the way human beings live and interact both at local and global scales" (UNESCO 2010, 2). In 2011, ICOMOS released their Paris Declaration on Heritage as a Driver for Development that "forms part of a series of initiatives and actions that have been undertaken by ICOMOS over many years in order to promote a development process that incorporates tangible and intangible cultural heritage as a vital aspect of sustainability, and gives a human face to development (ICOMOS 2011, 1)". Another relevant document is the UNESCO Historic Urban Landscape Recommendation, which "addresses the need to better integrate and frame urban heritage conservation strategies within the larger goals of overall Sustainable Development, in order to support public and private actions aimed at preserving and enhancing the quality of the human environment".⁴⁸ The recommendation also

⁴⁸ See http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=48857&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION =201.html

mentions and emphasizes the importance of the environment in relation to cultural heritage, which can be deemed new in heritage policies (Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015). UNESCO also lobbied for the integration of natural and culture heritage contributing to Sustainable Development during the 'RIO+20' UN Conference on Sustainable Development in June 2012 in Brazil. This ultimately culminated in a paper called 'the Hanghzou Declaration: Placing Culture at the Heart of Sustainable Development' (UNESCO 2013). This document stresses once again the impact of culture on Sustainable Development and proposes culture as a fourth pillar, equal to the other pillars (Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015). In regard to heritage in particular, the declaration states that "rehabilitation of cultural heritage and cultural activities should be prompted to enable affected communities to renew their identity, regain a sense of dignity and normalcy [and] inclusive economic development should also be achieved through activities focused on sustainably protecting, safeguarding, and promoting heritage" (UNESCO 2013). However, while the document states that 'development is shaped by culture and local context' and that therefore culture should be included as a fourth fundamental principle of the post-2015 UN development agenda (UNESCO 2013), we now know by reviewing the UN 2030 Agenda on Sustainable Development that this has not yet happened.

6.3.4 Wrap-up

While the lobby for the inclusion of culture as a fourth pillar into the UN 2030 agenda failed, this does not mean that the discussion is irrelevant or futile. Indeed, the opportunities inclusion might provide are worth the numerous efforts to not only push for a strategic inclusion of culture into the Sustainable Development framework, it also warrants research such as the current study or studies and activities performed by the NEARCH project under the D section, called 'Archaeology in a changing economy: towards sustainability' (NEARCH 2013, 8). The framework of Sustainable Development thus functions as a point of convergence to which value and impact assessment of culture, or in this case archaeological heritage, can be most naturally – and strategically – attached.

Furthermore, to add to the strength of argumentation for the inclusion of culture into Sustainable Development, many have advocated for more and better research on both economic and sociocultural impact, as there is a lack of comprehensive qualitative and quantitative evidence, which translates impact into 'readable' and, perhaps more importantly, commensurable outcomes. This lack of evidence is especially dire for sociocultural impact of cultural heritage – a fact recognized by various scholars and institutions (Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015); Taylor *et al.* 2015; Burtenshaw 2014). According to the Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium, such an overview would "form a credible basis for policy development that is statistically valid and reflects all aspects of the subject" (Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015, 34). The current research answers this urgent call for data, thus contributing unique new material to the field of Sustainable Development, while also proving the validity of this type of research into Sustainable Development by proving that cultural heritage does indeed positively impact people's lives.