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CONTENTS PAGES

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Archaeology for local communities in Northern Italy: experiences of participatory research in an adverse legal framework

This paper proposes a particular way of developing archaeological research for and with local communities, using methods that overcome the legislative Italian restrictions to democratic research. It describes the theoretical and methodological grounds and its meaning for reconstructing the history of local communities, which is the final focus of our projects. It deals also on the benefits of using this participatory approach and the difficulties experienced.
Keywords: systemic archaeology, communities, legislation, participation, university, northern Italy

Questo articolo propone un particolare modo di sviluppo delle ricerche archeologiche per e con le comunità locali, utilizzando metodi che permettano di superare le restrizioni imposte dalla legge italiana alla ricerca democratica. Vengono descritte le basi teoriche e metodologiche e il significato per la ricostruzione della storia delle comunità locali, che è l'obiettivo finale dei nostri progetti. Verranno inoltre trattati i temi dei benefici di utilizzare questo approccio partecipativo e le difficoltà incontrate nell'attuazione.
Parole chiave: *archeologia dei sistemi, comunità, legislazione, partecipazione, università, nord Italia*

1. Introduction

In the last twenty years the web has entered strongly into competition with the traditional social and moral reference points of previous generations: family, school, political parties, the Church. Among these, museums and cultural associations, in particular archaeological ones, which were widespread in many regions, played in the past an important role in building local histories. This was especially the case in central and northern Italy due to a deep uninterrupted tradition since the 19th century that in the second post-war period still found many adherents (Brogiolo 2018).

Arguably, young people (and those not so young) have found the internet one of their main tools for training and socialization, a place where they can both find and express their individuality. Connected to the web,

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and particularly to social media for long periods of the day, their goal is not only entertainment but also the direct construction of new content, regardless of its actual value (Paterlini 2017). Consequently, many young people desert traditional places where they once tried painstakingly to identify a role, learning from those who were more experienced: they rarely visit a museum or an exhibition. Cultural meetings (particularly public lectures) are frequented mainly by retired people.

The contrast of this behaviour in relation to the involvement of volunteers and local interest groups in history and archaeology during the 20th century is striking, particularly considering the increasing volume of archaeological representation within popular culture (Holtorf 2007), mostly in the media (dedicated television programming, much of it in new cable, satellite or streaming TV platforms, the film industry and even videogames) but also an increased visibility (both physically and digitally) of excavations, exhibitions and research (Neal 2015).

Faced with this indifference, some archaeologists, in recent years also in Italy, have responded with varied initiatives entailing involvement in 3D visualisations, re-enactments and multimedia tools selected for specific target audiences (Ripanti 2017 which however shows only a selection of projects). Most of these initiatives, labelled "Public Archaeology", have also provided a clear distinction between the experts who conduct the research and the audiences, considered as users even in the most sophisticated projects. These initiatives, mostly of an outreach type "which represents a one-way process of communication and education" (Carman 2016) are certainly positive because they arise from awareness of the current decline in interest for heritage (Carman 2016).

The problem was also felt in Italy by the Ministry of Cultural Heritage (MiBAC - Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali), which however responded in a contradictory manner: on the one hand it granted autonomy to national museums, detaching them from the "Soprintendenze"; on the other hand, it has moved in the opposite direction, reserving the research to the State's civil servants (art. 88 d.lgs.n. 42/2004), applying a restrictive interpretation of the Valletta Convention that has been recently labelled as "socialist" (van den Dries 2011). And here it must be underlined that, differently from other European countries and particularly the UK, in Italy the impact of the European conventions (like the Florence and Faro Conventions) issued in the last 50 years promoting the democratisation and involvement of the whole society in planning, research and management of archaeological heritage has been limited. This is due to the legislative framework, which limits or even forbids the participation of non-professionals in most stages of management (cf. Benetti, Santacroce in this volume; Brogiolo, Benetti submitted). Most academic archaeology

has not reacted to this limitation and has continued responding to its own interests, helping in this way to reinforce the exclusion, restriction and regulation of archaeological practice (Faulkner 2000 more generally on the ivory tower behaviour of academics).

On the other hand the academic reaction to this continuous reduction of interest in archaeology and an impressive and quick diminution of students in the first degrees at Universities, has been rare. No real discussion has been developed on structural changes in the university curricula in order to readapt the academic content to the real career opportunities for modern cultural heritage management.

Waiting for legislative changes one can only try to develop locally innovative projects which involve local institutions in a participatory research and propose new meanings and values of heritage in the current phase of decline. This means choosing objectives that, in addition to the historical research questions, have a social and economic value for the communities that justifies the economic and time resources invested in these projects.

In this paper we will propose a particular way of developing archaeological research for and with local communities using methods that overcome the legislative (unfortunately growing) Italian restrictions to democratic research. We will describe the theoretical and methodological grounds and its meaning for reconstructing the history of local communities, which is the final focus of our projects. Then we will present the methods used in the participatory activities that we have been developing during the last 10 years in different projects in northern Italy, focusing also on the benefits and difficulties approached.

2. Constraints of the Italian legal framework

One of the most interesting results which emerged from the presentations and discussions in the Spring School held in Tenno and Riva del Garda from 9 to 14 April 2018, is that Italy, in terms of excavations, has one of the most repressive interpretations of legislation and probably the least participatory archaeological practice of the whole of Europe (cf. Benetti, Santacroce in this volume).

To centralization, not only of protection, but also of research, has been added a restrictive interpretation of the law[1] which requires an authorization by the Soprintendenze for the publication of photos and drawings of

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[1] In particular the "Ronchey law" (L. 4/1993) states that museums, libraries and State archives can sell the photographs of the objects in their collections. Instead the Decree 42/2004 reserves excavations to the State, so the reports (as well as pictures, drawings, etc.) produced by the excavations belong to the State.

almost *any* archaeological data. The diocesan offices of cultural heritage also adopted the same rule by imposing similar authorizations not only to publish, but even to photograph churches for the purposes of research.

Laws and the circulars have in fact enclosed archaeological research in a cage and it is really surprising that the academic community has not objected to these abuses, except for a few critical voices (Brogiolo 2012; Brogiolo 2019; Volpe in 2018 among other works).

For the moment, and while we are waiting for a rethinking of or modification to Italian cultural heritage legislation our only recourse is the tools of passive resistance.

There are in fact some fields of research which are still beyond the control of the Soprintendenza, and which can be carried out with local communities, for example ethno-archaeology or archaeology of buildings. Until very recently[2], also historical landscape research based on aerial photographs, remote sensing and field surveys was free and excluded from the need to ask for permissions. Focusing on these two subjects we have been developing projects in which the main aim was to reconstruct the history of their past using all available sources in order to provide a systemic vision based on the (scientific and traditional local) knowledge of landscapes, architecture, economic and social practices.

3. A systemic archaeology as the basis for an archaeology *of* and *for* communities: the research focus

The approach that we are developing is not only community archaeology in the sense that it is developed with local communities but also archaeology *for* communities as the final objective is to understand the limits of our present environment and to propose sustainable economic and social solutions to current problems (see among others Guttman-Bond 2019).

It is a transdisciplinary method in the sense that research refers to 'efforts conducted by investigators from different disciplines seeking creative ways of bringing about a fertile complementarity between and among them, and working jointly to create new conceptual, theoretical, methodological, and translational innovations that integrate and move beyond discipline-specific approaches to address a common problem' (Piaget 1972; Nicolescu 2014; Wakeford, Sanchez Rodriguez 2017, p. 18).

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2 Recent circulars have in fact introduced the duty to ask the Soprintendenze for an authorisation or a concession for studying aerial photographs and other remote sensing tools or doing fieldwork (cf. Benetti, Santacroce in this volume).

As we have already described in previous works (Brogiolo 2015) this kind of systemic approach analyzes the individual elements of a system (road and water networks, agricultural landscapes and the uncultivated land, settlements, architectures, production buildings, places of worship, burials) in the diachrony from its appearance / invention until they disappear / are abandoned (for example a settlement, a system of cultivated fields or a particular technology such as the waterwheel). Each element has, in other words, a duration that must be included in an overall sequence and as such can be represented in a stratigraphic diagram, divided into distinct phases, each referable to a particular historical moment, in which all the elements of the system itself operate synchronously (for example a system of fields with the village where the peasants live, the mill where the grain is transformed into flour, the church where social cohesion is cemented, the network of roads that connects everything).

In the systemic approach, which requires prolonged research using the methods of several disciplines (including history, archaeology, geography, natural sciences) and detailed documentation, the best scale is that of the communities that in the past managed individual territories. We are aware of the problems faced in the definition of a "community" (a subject that has been discussed at least since the 1950s and returns to discussion again and again: since Hillery 1955, to Bell, Newby 1976, McFarlane 1976 to an infinite recent literature about the meaning of community). Without denying the multifaceted meaning of the communities highlighted by the theoretical debates, in practice when working on the field we get in contact first with "geographical" communities, which of course include a variety of individuals with different interests.

At the scale of a single community, physical relationships are joined by social ones (organizational, religious, judicial) able to ensure cohesion and infrastructure management through tax levies and the social hierarchies that make the whole system work. There was also a hierarchy of different communities, at the top of which, at least since the Iron Age, were the cities, each with their own territory.

The history of local communities (from the Iron Age to today) has been very dynamic, even within a stable economic and social system based on the exploitation of local resources. Relative continuity was preserved by ensuring sustainability with respect to available resources, demographic control, resilience to traumatic environmental or man-made events, the maintenance of a social organization based on a socio-cultural identity, the adherence to a hierarchy of power that, in exchange for security, applied to the local communities' various forms of levy (through

tributes, taxes, servitude). When radical changes took place (Romanization, feudalism, national states, globalization) they were determined by the interaction of multiple factors: environmental variations and erosion of resources, internal system crises or those caused by the arrival, sometimes violent, of a new population.

These stories can be found from the sources and tools mentioned above, which, although using the archaeological method (identification of sequences of the various elements of a system based on stratigraphic relationships), do not fall into the category of Archaeology on which the Italian State has legislated.

For the late medieval and modern periods, land registers as well as architectural types are able to provide information on the evolution of: infrastructures and settlements; land use; public and private properties; ecclesiastical networks; owners between wealth and poverty; income and taxation; work, entrepreneurs and society. For the more distant past, to reconstruct protohistory and the Middle Ages, we can use place names, various remote sensing tools, archaeological data, written and epigraphic sources that also give us general, though less exhaustive, information on infrastructures, settlements and landscapes (agrarian and uncultivated).

In the end we will have a history, more or less detailed according to the quality of the sources, of the communities that in the past have lived in a certain area. The smaller the variations, the simpler it will be to re-propose a recovery of historical memory. This is, for example, the strategy adopted by José María Martín Civantos with the recovery of the Sierra Nevada irrigation systems dating back to the Islamic period (Martín Civantos 2016). In cases where the current community no longer has a direct relationship with those of the past (think of the areas transformed into suburbs or tourist centres where the only economic resource still active is linked to visitor flows) it is essential to re-invent routes in the past based on surviving testimonies (places of worship, castles, surviving architectures in a renewed context) able to offer emotional links through plausible historical narratives.

In both perspectives, this research can *only* be participatory and built with the involvement of the local community from the planning stage (and definition of subjects and methods to be employed), the research process and the uses of the historic results for wider economic, social and even political purposes.

A further advantage of this approach is that it does not provide, at least in the initial phase, new excavations that require considerable resources both for the archaeological investigation and for the conservation of the finds and the eventual musealization. In fact, the excavation

should be limited, aside from particular situations, to those investigations genuinely able to ensure real progress of research for entirely new topics.

The systemic approach carries with it two further reflections. Firstly, it offers a scientific justification for the "holistic" protection of heritage, aimed at ensuring knowledge, conservation and the enhancement of all of the elements that constitute it, as promoted by European conventions (see Olivier in this volume). It emphasizes a polycentric vision that involves today's communities in the task of safeguarding their own historical memory, in which we find traces of forgotten identities (Brogiolo 2018a).

It also proposes a reunification of the knowledge that the academy, in the last twenty years, has splintered into separate chronological, geographical and data classifications, too often out of self-interest rather than to the benefit of the discipline. This resulted in greater and greater specialization, focused on single elements (such as ceramics or masonry techniques), seldom eventuating in a synthesis of overall meaning, acquired through examining their interrelationships. Such synthesis is needed to tell stories, something of vital importance to communicate and make research understandable and usable to the community with which and for which we are working.

4. Participatory Summer Schools: methodology

Since 2014 we have been organising and developing with local institutions (among them the administrations, cultural, historical, naturalistic, art associations and individuals) a number of participatory Summer Schools in order to record and understand the history of different communities in northern Italy including the Trentino, Lombardy and Veneto regions (fig. 1).

The idea originated from Monica Ronconi, formerly employed by the Museum of Riva del Garda (Trentino), when a large research project on the study of Mountainous Landscapes of the Trentino project (APSAT) finished[3]. An important requirement when she contacted us for the first Summer School was that research should have a participatory character and that subjects would be formulated in conjunction with the communi-

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[3] The project was funded by the Provincia Autonoma di Trento (call "Grandi Progetti 2006") and involved numerous Universities, research centres and cultural institutions of the territory under the coordination of G.P. Brogiolo (University of Padua). A brief synthesis on scientific results and methods in COLECCHIA *et al.* 2011 as well as the 12 volumes APSAT series published between 2012 and 2013: http://www.archeologica.it/index.php?page=editoria&category=06 (last accessed 09/04/2019).

Fig. 1. Areas where Summer Schools of participatory research have been organised since 2014 and main scientific products.

ties in order to improve the knowledge of their own territory and have an impact on their future development. The success of the first initiative, developed in the territory of Campi (2014) led to the involvement of other nearby territories in successive Summer Schools (Drena 2015, Bolognano-Massone 2016-2017, Nago-Torbole 2018-19) (see Chavarría 2018 for a synthesis). Further campaigns have been developed also in the territories of Brescia (Vobarno, Toscolano, Salò and Vallio) and Padua (Colli Euganei).

Participation of local volunteers in excavations had been part of general archaeological activity in our projects for a very long time (particularly in the Brescian area where we collaborated with the ASAR cultural association created 45 years ago) but we had to "stop" it 5 years ago because of the new legislation on archaeological practice (see above).

Summer Schools research starts in a traditional way with a first catalogue of the bibliography and the sources published or preserved in archives (including cadastres, maps and photographs), then continues with the new tools able to document the environmental characteristics and historical landscapes through an overview provided by LiDAR and satellite scans. Adding to this information, the place names, the networks of infrastructure and settlement, and the various architectures (recorded during field work and local knowledge) will help us obtain not only a diachronic evaluation of the information potentiality of a territory, but also a first reconstruction of the history of the communities that have inhabited it.

Very briefly Summer Schools generally involve (figg. 2-6):

- 1 week to 15 days activity in a certain territory.
- Teams includes academic staff (2-3 academics, up to 10 students), members of local communities including local administrators, local specialists (historians, geologists, photographers), members of local associations, interested individuals with particular skills, equipment and knowledge of the territory[4].
- Research combines fieldwork (generally in the morning) including archives, libraries but also territory survey and cataloguing of heritage, laboratory-computer work (digitalisation and re-elaboration of data) in the afternoon, and evening daily presentation of different aspects of the territory by local experts. Interviews among members of the team and local population to recostruct oral history, sampling of historical photographs and further material continues during the research. Summary and presentation of provisional results in a final public presentation for all the team members and the wider community takes place on the last day.
- After the Summer Schools research continues on chosen subjects (preferably in mixed groups composed of university students and local scholars) and co-authored publication (in the same national series where the APSAT project is published) thus guaranteeing a wide dissemination of the results.

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[4] Banda Liberi Falchi della Valletta di Campi - Coro Lago di Tenno - Gruppo Alpini di Campi - Consorzio Miglioramento fondiario di Campi - Associazione Tutela Maroni e prodotti tipici di Campi - Società di Studi Trentini di Scienze Storiche - Albatros S.r.l. - Gruppo Alpini Drena - Comitato DOC Drena Oltre Confini - Associazione "Imperial Wines" - Coro Trentino Lagolo di Calavino - Associazione "Mnemoteca del Basso Sarca", Fondazione Edmund Mach, Associazione "Amici della Rizola" - Associazione "Il Sommolago" - Progetto "Portobeseno" - Cassa Rurale Alto Garda - Associazione "Il Sommolago" - Società Sportiva "S.S. Stivo" - Associazione Cacciatori trentini - Riserva di Arco - Circolo Pensionati Arco Circolo ricreativo di Bolognano (Arco) - Associazione "Monte Velo" - ANA Gruppo Alpini Arco - ANA Gruppo Alpini di Nago e Torbole **-** Ufficio Beni Archeologici e Ufficio Beni architettonici, Soprintendenza Beni Culturali della Provincia Autonoma di Trento - Comune di Nago Torbole - Comune di Drena - Gruppo culturale Nago Torbole - Associazione culturale Benach - Parco Naturale Locale del Monte Baldo.

Fig. 2. Surveying the territory of Nago during the Summerschool - 2018 with members of the Gruppo culturale Nago Torbole, the Associazione culturale Benaco and the guides of the Parco Naturale Monte Baldo.

Fig. 3. A visit to the monumental religious buildings in the area of Bolognano (2017) guided by R. Turrini, local historian and other members of the community.

Fig. 4. During the Summer School 2015 in Drena an archaeological radio broadcasted the whole activities.

Fig. 5. M. Avanzini (MUSE - Museo della Scienza), S. Schivo (University of Padova) and Sara Vicenzi (MAG - Museo dell'Alto Garda) preparing geological survey in the area of Massone (2016).

Fig. 6. Evening presentation of historical research by the members of the community and the students. Presenting Alessandro Paris (MAG), Luisa Rigatti (city council of Nago-Torbole).

- Adaptation of scientific research into: educational resources for schools, digital resources for wider community access to the results (apps, web documentaries); guided tours, seminars and other activities for both the community and visitors. Main activities (field trips, conferences and interviews) have been video and photographically recorded. Sometimes research can also be instrumental to local communities asking for funding of further projects to protect or preserve specific monuments in their territories.

- The subject of research

Within the general subject of systemic archaeology, 2-3 specific subjects are chosen as main topics for the Summer School depending on community interest (figg. 7-10): agricultural history and evolution (Campi), the history of the castle (Drena), woods and caves (Bolognano-Massone), alpine huts, the itinerary followed by Venetian ships through the territory in 1439, First World War heritage (Nago-Torbole). At the same time, a systematic recording of historical buildings in the territory is carried out (comprising rural architecture, churches, historic centres) as well as an analysis of agrarian landscapes.

Subjects of research are therefore always chosen by local communities and the local institutions (museum and local administration) and discussed with the academic team and local researchers in preparatory meetings preceding the Summer School[5]: in Campi development of agrarian landscape, in Drena the history of the castle, in Massone it was just the coincidence of meeting an old stone worker and the collaboration of M. Avanzini (geologist of the Museum of Natural Sciences of Trento)

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[5] Our last participatory project in Brembate (Lombardy) for example was born with the objective of providing knowledge about the local church and its historical surrounding environment in order to apply to a funding for the restoration of this building.

Fig. 7. Surveying in the Monte Baldo area (2018) with the objective of recording and understanding First World War structures.

Fig. 8. The caves of Massone were chosen as a research topic by local inhabitants not only because their historical value linked to the production of stone material, but also because their sentimental value as they served as refuge for local inhabitants during Second World War.
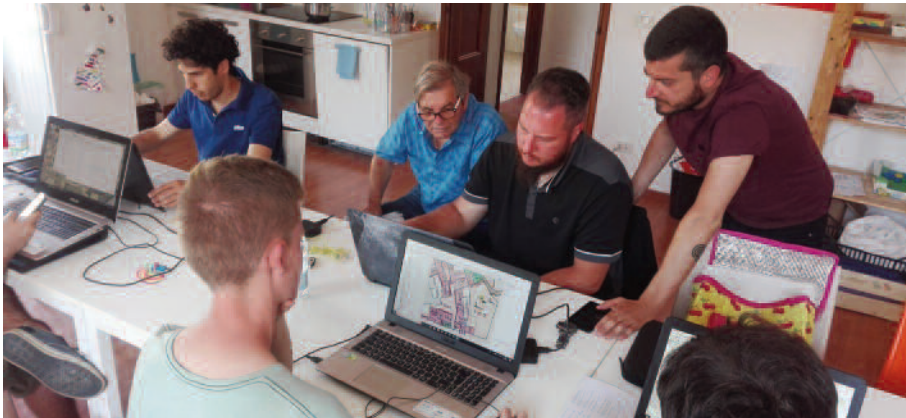
Fig. 9. Studying one of the churches of the territory with M. Avanzini (geologist) and R. Turrini (local historian).
Fig. 10. Evenings are generally devoted to the migration of data into the GIS platform created for each project. Work is developed by UNIPD students with the collaboration of local historians.

which directed research towards the old caves located in the territory in order to give the focus for future heritage investigation. At Nago, local authorities were interested in recovering the ancient pastoral structures of the territory for future valorisation while the programme planned by the local associations showed the relevance of First World War remains as well as the frontier character of this territory through time. Historical architectures of all the the territories (churches, fortifications, residential buildings) are systematically recorded and analysed as well as the study of historical landscapes and their evolution.

- Participatory methodology

The main method used consists of the continuous exchange of knowledge between the community and our team which includes: 1. the gathering by all the members of the team (including local population) and digitalisation of all available documentation (from maps, historical aerial photographs, LiDAR images, historical photographs, books, journals); 2. Joint recording and discussion of sites and particularities of the territory (through the field work); 3. Training of students as well as local population in particular skills (computer programs for example but also construction of dry walls, sculptural practice with stone) (figg. 11-12); 4. Interviewing members of the community (who may or may not be actively participating in the Summer School); 5. Questionnaires to the inhabitants of the territories where the research is developed (figg. 13-14). Locals involved in the Summer School collaborate in the identification of members of the community who have interesting information as well as in the creation of questionnaires.

In order to facilitate exchange of information and a permanent meeting point with the community, a central base is established in the main settlement of the community which may also be the place where the students and the academic staff sleep and eat. The community knows from the first day where they can find us and are encouraged to visit us to collaborate in the research. Fieldwork is generally advertised as "excursions" and local people are invited to participate even if not directly involved in the research. The same is true for evening conferences and other activities held by local experts. All the activities carried out during the 2 weeks of Summer Schools are scheduled in a formal programme and advertised with traditional (flyers) and online media (Facebook, museum webpage, local administration channels).

5. Benefits of community archaeology

Benefits of community archaeology and generally implication in heritage projects among local communities have been largely described in previous contributions on this subject and their impact in cultural, social, economic even health have been stated in numerous studies[6]. A recent report by the project "What works wellbeing"[7] for example shows posi-

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[6] Since the influential work by MATARASSO 1997 about the involvement in the arts, various studies have been carried out. Among the most recent: the project Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe (http://blogs.encatc.org/culturalheritagecountsforeurope/outcomes/); CROSSICK, KASZYNSKA 2016. See also HENSON 2011 for the specific archaeological domain.

[7] https://whatworkswellbeing.org/blog/heritage-and-wellbeing/ (last accessed 01/04/2019).

Figg. 11-12. Interviews with local craftspeople and representative members of the community are an important part of the Summer Schools in order to reconstruct also oral history linked to the territory or local traditions (such as the construction of drywalls, traditional work in stone or knitting).

tive impacts of taking part in heritage projects on individual wellbeing including outcomes such as increased confidence, social connectivity and life satisfaction. There is also evidence of positive effects on community wellbeing, including outcomes on social relationships, sense of belonging, pride of place, ownership and collective empowerment.

Clearly for us academics, all these participatory activities help to reconnect us to communities by a continuous exchange of information and negotiation in order to identify the subjects of interest, sample the raw material, recording sites and practices and to build therefore in a multi-directional approach a common idea of the past and of its sustainability.

There also huge benefits for the students by participating in these activities mostly linked to the improvement of knowledge and skills that rarely have been incorporated in university courses (Suttclife 2014; Wilhems *et al.* 2018). First of all, diachrony implies often having to deal with modern and contemporary heritage which is frequently perceived by communities as an important part of their heritage (more rarely the object of attention in academia). Important is also the development of soft and transferable skills such as communication abilities (being open, friendly and effective), and becoming good and active listeners, flexible and adaptable (and able to accept varied opinions), efficient record keepers, with a capacity for negotiation and solving problems (see Tully in this volume). Participatory projects involve of course working in a team with students, researchers, technicians and other people including local business managers and the capacity to build new relationships. All these abilities are furthermore basic for students to improve their jobs prospects (by understanding the functioning of local institutions, organisations, museums and associations).

Finally it is also important for academics because they offer a route to gain funding by creating new networks and demonstrating wider social impact but mostly because they help to transmit local communities a new fresher idea of the academia, of what archaeological practice is and what subjects of research it includes. Archaeology reveals itself as much closer to the community's day-to-day life and interests and less a discipline existing for its own sake developing esoteric knowledge interesting only to a few (see Faulkner 2000; Henson 2011; Wakeford, Sánchez Rodriguez 2017, pp. 25-27; among others).

6. Difficulties: not all experiences are a path of roses

Not all our experiences have been successful. On the contrary, there are areas in which the participatory approach has left us with a very negative feeling of uselessness and a waste of time and resources. Each

participatory project is different as it involves different project aims which require a wide range of methods, instruments and skills, some of them discovered when the project is already ongoing. The teams do not always include all specialists and competences needed so we have to improvise. Mostly communities we involve (or try to involve) have the same social, cultural and economic basis and this interferes with the degree of interest and participation. Even communities with the highest level of involvement and initiative can be problematic and the participatory projects can revive conflicts between different groups (associations, schools, politicians) as well as competition among different associations for example.

This is the case, for example, with our multiple attempts to apply the Summer Schools model in an area south of Padua (Colli Euganei), where, although with resources (both time and economic) much higher than in other places[8] we have not been able to develop an interest from local administrators or the inhabitants to understand better and research in a participatory way the history of their territory[9]. Local historians and associations have simply ignored our work although a series of scientific volumes and papers have been published and widely distributed and promoted in the territory (Brogiolo 2017; Brogiolo, Chavarría 2017 among others).

That has lead us to reflect and try to develop efficient ways to evaluate the impact of our activities in the territories we have been working in to understand if we had any positive or negative impact, a process of assessment that is also being undertaken by many teams dealing with community projects around the world (Halperin 2017). Much of the discussion developed during the Tenno Summer School was in fact related to whether and how we should evaluate the impact of our research in the territories in which we are working.

Many projects have been developed recently and it is difficult (if not impossible) to evaluate long term impact on the economic, social and cultural development of the community. However it is important to develop instruments for evaluation from the beginning (if not before). Some results can however be observed in the short term, for example changes in local policies (new activities having to do with tangible or intangible heritage which did not exist before, cultural heritage information in nat-

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[8] Thanks to the partnership with the European FP7 project MEMOLA (Mediterranean Mountainous Landscapes).

[9] It must be said that the territory is extremely problematic from an administrative point of view. It is managed by a "Park", which however has been commissioned for some years. Strong political tensions exist within the civic councils that are part of the Park.

ural park panels or websites, replication of activities or actions organised during the project, calls from nearby communities to organise participatory activities in their territories, schools asking for support in organising didactic activities about local heritage, founding of new associations or local tourism boards, more open attitudes with respect to our work and involvement with the communities …).

The analysis of the local impact of our activities in different areas shows how it could depend on the different perceptions and interests of communities surrounding their heritage (and our work), an aspect that perhaps needs greater evaluation before starting future activities (see Castillo in this volume on perception and stakeholders analysis).

In two of our study areas the degree of involvement could depend on the characteristics of the local communities.Where the sense of historical community is lost there is no interest in preserving heritage. It becomes therefore important to our work to understand: What communities are we dealing with? What makes a community? When has a certain community started to lose its own prerogatives linked to the possession of common assets? And why? One of the roles of PRESENT and FUTURE archaeologists could be in this sense to return a sense of 'traditional' community by understanding and transmitting how past communities functioned.

Another problem relates to the numerous skills and breadth knowledge that are needed to conduct this type of research, including a wide diachronic knowledge to deal with cultural heritage dated from pre-history to World War 2 or even more recent industrial heritage. Sources are also very varied, including written sources (often in Latin), cartography, cadastres, aerial photography and remote sensing material, geology, buildings, and archaeological material. In addition to this technical knowledge, we often feel the lack (and therefore have started collaborations as well as specific training for some of our team members) of psychological or sociological skills to work with local communities. It is extremely easy to create or get into delicate situations or conflicts and difficult to solve them (should we solve them?). We also recognise the need for statistical knowledge to interpret our questionnaires.

Furthermore, being a non-traditional way of doing archaeology (generally associated with excavations) and very often entailing modern and recent heritage, it can be difficult to engage university students to take part in participatory projects. This is due to the lack of courses dealing with non-traditional archaeologies in Italy (industrial archaeology, public archaeology, managing of cultural heritage) and the difficulty of dealing with participatory concepts within an academic milieu which still in some cases sees such processes as a threat to the scientific supremacy.

7. Challenges for archaeologists

Is this the archaeology of the future suggested by the title of the Tenno meeting? We do not know, but we are sure that the hyper-specialism of today has no future if we do not find a consensus that in recent years we have lost. An archaeology of sustainability developed with a participatory approach, which requires an interdisciplinary methodology from the environment to productive landscapes, settlements and buildings, could be one answer (or a good start) if we can solve issues of sociology, individual psychology, planning and so on. But, from this perspective, how should a participatory archaeologist be prepared? In a normal course or in a specific master's course (Willems *et al.* 2018)? Possibly the answer to this question could be (as it is in our case) in more experiential learning and the continuous participation of the students in real projects as those we develop.

Even some large state museums are now adopting policies that some local museums have been pursuing for years. Among these is the Museum of Alto Garda (MAG) we already mentioned. We completely agree with Gemma Tully (2007) among others (Weil 1990; Simon 2010; Anderson 2012) on the fact that participatory research is intimately linked to the role of museums as facilitators, which has been demonstrated as vital for the success and sustainability of the initiatives we have carried out.

Both bottom-up or top-down involvement is useful and necessary in projects. Bottom-up initiatives can be extremely exclusive if developed by a certain local group (local cultural groups are frequently in conflict with each other) and top-down projects can have an enormous positive impact on the territories thanks to financial support in some cases and the role of local institutions as facilitators in others. A project that does not enjoy local politicians' approval can, on the other hand, be extremely problematic and frustrating.

8. Conclusions

In the last twenty years, while academics were discussing theories on heritage, European archaeologists have been bypassed by an epochal change that not only reassembles the principles on which the world has been based since the Second World War, but which undermines the nations to which the concept of heritage has been linked up to now.

To globalization, the ruling classes and intellectuals (not always in an independent role), often respond in two ways. On the one hand supporting a rear-guard attempt to recover through heritage practices the traces of

a historical memory, artificially extracted, as in the two Italian phases of the 19th and first half of the 20th century; on the other hand, by adhering to the interests of multinationals (with first-hand financial and, for those that control the networks, new global power), they contribute to the demolition of Eurocentric historiography built on the concept of nations.

These two ideological positions are now clashing in many countries and it is difficult to predict which of the two will win, because we are not able to assess the economic hold of globalization that reverberates especially in the weakest countries, including Italy, now in last place among European countries for numerous parameters.

In this situation, it is evident that surrounding the concept of heritage as a "cultural heritage of a nation" or "historical memory" of a community, we play, at least in part, a role in our destiny. And this is what is discussed today. There are those who, like Serge Gruzinski (2016), in answering the question "Do we still need history (…) in a globalized world?", propose a new start from the Renaissance when Europe, with the discovery of new worlds, started globalization of trade. There are those who, like Isaiah Berlin, re-proposed by Andrea Carandini (2015), advocate a liberal vision, which sets limits "to the interference of the state in social, economic and cultural life, of individuals and communities". For him, in fact, the concept of freedom has always been flanked by interest in the multiplicity of values that guide human actions and nourish conflict: to contain it, political action must be oriented towards the pluralism of values. Participatory archaeology is therefore an idea of education from below and not imposed from above, favouring an open research without proposing any identity, able to revive a new memory of the past that must be measured within a globalized society, in which the horizontality and liquidity of culture and where local cultural identities of the past, built on a vanished/vanishing peasant and artisan world, now appear as extraneous concepts. This is an archaeology of and for local communities, who knew in the past how to preserve biodiversity through eco-sustainable choices upon which it is still appropriate to reflect today. Through reflexive collaboration with communities, archaeologists can make a contribution to choices which assure this heritage a place in the present world.

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