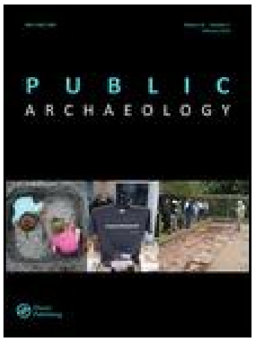

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Bridging the Gap: Classification, Theory and Practice in Public Archaeology

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Bridging the Gap: Classification, Theory and Practice in Public Archaeology

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Models and classifications have been a part of thinking about public archaeology since at least the early 2000s, but how are these ideas translated into practice? By looking into the development of such classifications and models and by examining archaeologists' attitudes to an archaeological education outreach project for schoolchildren in Oslo, Norway, this paper looks at the relationship between classification, theory, and practice in public archaeology.

KEYWORDS: public archaeology, classification, models, outreach, schools, Norway

Introduction

This article aims to take a critical look at public archaeology, examining how classification schemes have been built up and how these relate to theory and practice. How does theory influence practice, and how do archaeologists involved in public archaeology projects classify their work — if at all? Exploring these questions and the wider attitudes towards archaeologists' involvement and interaction with the public in Norway, I draw on the Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research's (NIKU) recent project 'Treasures from the Dirt' (*Skatter fra mørk jord*) (NIKU, 2017); a follow-up survey of the archaeologists involved forms an illustrative case study. The case study, 'Treasures from the Dirt', was an outreach project conducted in connection with the archaeological excavations undertaken as part of the Follo Line project, the construction of a new railway line between Oslo and Ski. The outreach project was funded by Sparebankstiftelsen DNB — a Norwegian charitable foundation — and gave schoolchildren from Oslo the opportunity to experience an archaeological excavation and learn more about the Middle Ages first hand. The project was a collaboration between, among others, NIKU and Oslo municipality's Office of Culture (*Kulturetaten*), and was staffed by archaeologists from NIKU and disseminators from the municipality. The archaeologists from NIKU were later invited to participate in the survey discussed in this article.

In terms of structure, I will first briefly provide a summary of the history of public archaeology, as a means to place both the presented case study and the concepts that

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are explored within a broader disciplinary setting. Thereafter, I will examine the development of classification models within public archaeology, and consider how these fit in with theory and practice. I will then present the case study of 'Treasures from the Dirt' and the survey of archaeologists involved, and relate this to the theoretical model-making previously discussed. To conclude, I will consider the way forward, and how practitioners can achieve an integrated practice of public archaeology, bridging the gap between theory and practice.

What is public archaeology?

As mentioned above, it is important to place the case study and the concepts discussed here in a disciplinary context. In the following section, I will touch upon some of the core themes of public archaeology and briefly chart its development as a field of both practice and thought.

Public archaeology traces its roots back to at least the 1950s, when Sir Mortimer Wheeler wrote of the need for archaeologists to disseminate their findings to the public (Wheeler, 1954: 224). Later impetus came in the 1970s, with calls for archaeologists to 'make their research […] relevant to the modern world' (Fritz & Plog, 1970: 412), and the general move towards acknowledging social values as an 'explicit component of conservation policy and practice' (Jones, 2016: 3). In the 1980s, an 'engaged archaeology' (Gero, 1999) connected to ethics, politics, and indigenous rights emerged through the work of Peter Ucko and the ideals of the World Archaeological Congress, and would be an integral part of a public archaeology concerned with 'the real world of economic conflict and political struggle' (Ascherson, 2000: 2; 2001). Later, Tim Schadla-Hall concretized the idea of public archaeology as a broad field of practice by defining it as 'any area of archaeological activity that interacted or had the potential to interact with the public' (Schadla-Hall, 1999: 147), arguably preparing the ground for the diversity of public archaeology that we see today. One could argue that public archaeology's current form, described by Richardson and Almansa-Sanchez (2015: 194) as 'both a disciplinary practice and a theoretical position', developed in the first decade of the twenty-first century, and shows an increased emphasis on making the interaction between archaeology and the public more than just a 'technical exercise of dissemination' (Merriman, 2004: 541). Indeed, public archaeology has come to be seen as an ethical best practice (Gould, 2016: 3), and, furthermore, it has been argued that 'the notion that public engagement is not central to archaeology as a discipline increasingly seems anachronistic' (Gould, 2016: 2).

The 'public' in public archaeology can be used to refer to both the public sector (i.e. heritage management) and also the general public (i.e. everyone who is not an archaeologist) (Richardson & Almansa-Sanchez, 2015: 196). This means that both archaeology done 'on behalf of' and 'by' the public can be seen as public archaeology. We are also on somewhat difficult ground when discussing 'the public' as a unified whole; it is obvious that there are, in fact, multiple publics and that different individuals have varying degrees of access to, understanding of, involvement in, and engagement with, archaeology. A diverse public thus demands a diversity of public *archaeologies*. This broad concept of the public means that we must acknowledge how bound together archaeology and the public are. As Matsuda (2016: 2) notes, the recognition that public archaeology must inform all archaeology 'makes sense if one thinks that archaeology always has some public aspects'. Public archaeology exists in the 'blurred areas of overlap' (Moshenska, 2017) where practice, management, and research meet; it is something that is difficult to pin down, but you arguably know it when you see it.

Indeed, the wide scope of public archaeology is recognized by many archaeologists today (e.g. Grima, 2016: 2, see also Green, et al., 2003), with the seven-point typology developed by Bonacchi and Moshenska (2015; see also Moshenska, 2017) providing a particularly thorough overview of the field and acknowledging the degree of overlap between the different categories. However, this general acceptance and agreement regarding the broad range of arenas where archaeology can intersect with the public is not shared when it comes to the details regarding how this interaction should take place. Increasingly, though, there is an awareness that 'the needs and values of the communities and colleagues with whom we work' (Richardson & Almansa-Sanchez, 2015: 206) should be at the forefront of our minds when engaging in public archaeology. Furthermore, as Jameson has noted (2003: 159–60), the involvement of the public in interpretation is essential if archaeology is to be accessible and open to input, and helps make archaeological research more democratic.

The case presented here, 'Treasures from the Dirt', can be said to, at least partially, match four of Moshenska's seven types (2017): archaeologists working with the public, public sector archaeology, archaeological education, and open archaeology. The project was also archaeology done on behalf of *and* by the public: the archaeological excavations were ordered by the Norwegian Directorate for Cultural Heritage (*Riksantikvaren*), and the participants involved in the project played a part in the collection of real data that will be included in the excavation report, and found real artefacts that will be delivered to the Museum of Cultural History, Oslo.

Towards a classification of public archaeologies

Public archaeology has, in many ways, been 'used' in order to meet broader financial, social, and political goals (Gould, 2016: 4), as well as reforming the way in which archaeology, archaeologists, and the wider public interact with each other. As such, its various forms of practice have been theorized and interpreted, arguably starting with Merriman's (2004) division between the 'deficit model' and the 'multiple perspectives model', set out in Figure 1.

Over time, these concepts have been debated and refined, but the main dividing line between more practice-oriented and more theory-oriented approaches remains. One should be aware, however, that the models presented below represent a chronological development, rather than necessarily an 'evolutionary' development; some models build on previous ones, others do not.

Merriman's two categories were expanded to three by Holtorf (2007), with 'education', 'public relations', and 'democratic' models replacing the deficit and multiple perspectives models (see Figure 3). Hence, the passive/active or perhaps more practice-oriented/theory-oriented split identified by Merriman continues, but the passive/practice side is subdivided. According to Holtorf, the 'education model'

Deficit model	Multiple perspectives model
• More practice-oriented • Importance of stewardship • Correction of misapprehensions • Public needs to be educated • Value of expertise • Alternative views discouraged • 'Public interest approach'	• More theory-oriented • Non-professionals encouraged • Archaeology to satisfy public needs • Recognizes importance of agency • Diversity of beliefs about the past

FIGURE 1 Merriman's (2004) models of how archaeologists engage with the public.

involves archaeologists encouraging the public to 'see the past and the occupation of the archaeologist in the same terms as the professional archaeologists themselves' (2007: 109). The 'public relations model' is based upon the argument that social, political, and financial support for the professional archaeology sector will only improve if archaeologists can improve their image (2007: 119). In contrast to these passive models, Holtorf's (2007: 119) 'democratic model' proposes that everyone, regardless of their background, is supported in order to 'develop their own enthusiasm and 'grassroots' interest in archaeology'.

Similarly, Grima (2016) has reformulated Merriman's models into three (see Figure 2) In addition to the multiple perspectives approach, he adapts the deficit model into 'the gateway' and adds an 'ivory tower' perspective. This new subdivision has the advantage of recognizing that not all archaeologists accept or acknowledge the role of the public. As he writes regarding this 'ivory tower' perspective:

> Privileged access to the evidence, be it during an excavation or in a museum vault, is considered inseparable from the professional credentials of the archaeologist, which not only legitimize those privileges, but also reinforce them by cumulatively widening the divide between the specialists' knowledge and experience, and that of the wider public.
>
> (Grima, 2016: 2)

Likewise, Grima's 'gateway' concept privileges the expert and the sacredness of archaeological information, and gives expression to the idea that the public cannot handle such information without it being mediated by an archaeologist:

> The process of sharing insight and knowledge about the past with a wider audience is likely to be one of simplification, omission, and abbreviation, which is considered to produce narratives that are good enough to satisfy the uninitiated public, while specialists get on, once again, with the serious business of discovering and understanding the past.
>
> (Grima, 2016: 4)

Parallels to both of these perspectives can be drawn with the concept of the 'authorized heritage discourse' (Smith, 2006). It has been argued that this concept of

The ivory tower (Grima, 2016)	The gateway (Grima, 2016)	Multiple perspectives (Merriman, 2004)
• Non-engagement • Archaeologist as insider • Public Archaeology as a nuisance	• Mediation • Archaeologist as gatekeeper • Public Archaeology as something to be managed	• Encouragement • Archaeologist as facilitator • Public Archaeology as something to be embraced

FIGURE 2 Grima's (2016) models and Merriman's (2004) multiple perspectives model.

'archaeological authority' can be linked to the increasing professionalization of archaeology in many countries (Richardson & Almansa-Sanchez, 2015: 197), combined with national and international legislation which structures practice and reinforces the 'unilinear direction' of knowledge transfer from archaeologists to the public (Grima, 2016: 7). This concept of archaeological authority is very much dominant within heritage management, and affects how archaeological or heritage values are considered and evaluated (see also Gould & Burtenshaw, 2014: 7). As Jones notes (2016: 4–6), social values tend to be marginalized at the expense of historic, scientific, and aesthetic values: heritage with community values is only taken care of if it also has other values that can be identified and evaluated by the institutions of heritage management. Such an approach presents a facade of expertise, authority, and fact, but yet is built on half-truths, and an incomplete data set. As Grima (2016: 4) recognizes:

> The glaring omission of such an approach is that, in a rather presumptuous act of academic hubris, the range of possible insights that might be gleaned from the experience and knowledge of those outside the discipline are airbrushed out of the picture.

Further nuances in classification were made by Matsuda and Okamura (2011), and Holtorf's three categories were increased to four (Matsuda, 2016: 2): educational, public relations, pluralist, and critical — with the former two seen as more practice-oriented and the latter two more theory-oriented. According to Matsuda (2016: 2–3), the educational approach focuses on people's learning about the past and the importance of protection and conservation; the public relations approach aims to increase recognition, popularity, and support for archaeology; the pluralist approach looks at the diversity of interactions and how archaeology is a means of making sense of the past; and the critical approach engages with the politics of the past.

Recently, Matsuda (2016: 5) has refined the boundary between theory and practice (see Figure 3) in light of the expansion of economic neo-liberalism into the

	More practice-oriented		More theory-oriented	
Merriman (2004)	Deficit model		Multiple perspective model	
Holtorf (2007)	Education model	Public relations model	Democratic model	
Matsuda and Okamura (2011), Matsuda (2016)	Educational approach	Public relations approach	Pluralist approach	Critical approach

FIGURE 3 A comparison of Merriman, Holtorf, and Matsuda's models/approaches, after Matsuda (2016). Dotted line indicates Matsuda's (2016) reclassification of the pluralist approach as more practice-oriented in light of the influence of economic neo-liberalism.

archaeology sector. He notes that archaeology is increasingly under pressure to deliver 'public benefits' (Matsuda, 2016: 6; see also Schadla-Hall, 1999: 152 on public accountability), which encourages both the educational and public relations approaches: archaeology shows its usefulness to society by providing education, and the sector maintains its level of financial and public support by being on good terms with its stakeholders. However, Matsuda (2016: 6) also identifies that the pluralist approach has become more practice-oriented, and that a pluralist approach strengthens both educational and public relations work as it both helps archaeologists gain a 'careful understanding of the recipients of [archaeological] education' and helps them 'optimize their relations with [...] clients, stakeholders, and even potential customers'.

Thus, we can see that archaeology can adapt to the changing socio-economic situation and thrive in circumstances where tangible benefits or returns on investment are expected. But this also reveals that the critical aspect is being downplayed, and arguably left out of the discussion of what the social role of archaeology is and should be (Matsuda, 2016: 6). This is in many ways analogous with broader debates we have seen regarding the 'usefulness' of humanities research (e.g. Kent, 2012; Nussbaum, 2012; Research Council of Norway, 2017) and the need for 'a distinctively archaeological cultural economics' (Moshenska, 2009; Moshenska & Burtenshaw, 2010: 56; 2011).

As noted above, the practice-oriented approaches of education and public relations can easily be adapted to fit the neo-liberal economic climate, and both can point to how they fulfil the need for 'public benefit'. However, the splitting of the theory-oriented approaches is very much political in nature, and explains how one approach can be 'commercialized' while the other is sidelined; as Matsuda notes (2016: 7), the pluralist approach is more interested in the 'fragmented nature of (post)modern society', and has little concern for grand narratives or critiquing power structures.

This practice-oriented approach, with a focus on public benefit, tangible outcomes, and billable hours, is very much evident in archaeology today, and, while there is much to be said for the professionalization that results from this embrace of neo-liberalism, we need to be aware that the critical aspect of our work is being left under-nourished, as noted by Kristiansen (2008).

Theory in practice and vice versa: 'Treasures from the Dirt'

At this point, it is time to return to the practice of public archaeology; to introduce the case study and try to see where the classification and theorization of public archaeology fits in. Discussing theory and practice, I use NIKU's project 'Treasures from the Dirt' as a case study to examine the reflections of the archaeologists involved: about the project, about the interaction between theory and practice, between archaeology and archaeologists' relationship with the public, and if/where models fit in to all this.

As part of the 2015–16 Follo Line excavations in Oslo's medieval core, NIKU ran the outreach project 'Treasures from the Dirt'. This project was directed at schoolchildren aged ten to twelve and involved four different, but complementary, activities: an introductory presentation on Oslo in the Middle Ages and a brief history of archaeological investigations in the area; the presentation of finds from the current excavation, with the opportunity for the children to touch, feel, and think about them; a brief guided walk from/to the starting point and host location, Oslo Ladegård, through the urban space of the medieval city to/from the excavation area (Figure 4); and a 'controlled' excavation outside the 'live' excavation area, but with real and unexamined deposits. Each visit took approximately ninety minutes and involved one disseminator and two archaeologists. In total, thirty-seven school classes took part, with one or two classes visiting per day. Seven different archaeologists were involved in the execution of the project; three presented finds, four assisted with the 'excavation', and all seven led the tours. I was one of these seven archaeologists; my role involved presenting finds and leading the guided walk. The project was planned and funding acquired by others, before I started work for NIKU.

The project was specifically designed to fit in with the national curriculum and was directed at school groups; it is thus a clear example of the sub-field of archaeological education. Such activities are seen to be 'valued for [their] ability to increase stewardship and/or to develop social justice' (Cole, 2015: 118). As such, it also fits nicely with the need for an 'outcome', as noted above and discussed by Matsuda (2016). Furthermore, despite the lack of systematic research into archaeology and education in general (Moéll Pedersen, 2008), there is an assumption that children enjoy learning about archaeology and that archaeologists think that engaging with children is valuable (Cole, 2015: 115). Archaeology is in many ways about what it is to be human, and thus the skills and inquisitiveness that are aroused by archaeology are valuable in other endeavours — both at school and in life. As Henson (2017) has stated, 'archaeology offers both intellectual challenge and

FIGURE 4 A school group is taken on the guided walk.
Photo: NIKU

emotional connection'. The intention of NIKU's project was thus to provide a fun and unique learning experience; however, the 'model' of the project was less clear, and was in many ways left up to the individual archaeologists involved.

As a follow-up to the project, a brief survey of the archaeologists involved in the project was undertaken. There was, unfortunately, no baseline data to properly evaluate the effects of the project, and its goals were nevertheless somewhat fuzzy. As such, the survey was an attempt to gain some insights about the project, albeit very much *post hoc*. The focus of the survey was the archaeologists involved in the execution of the project; finding out more about what the archaeologists thought about the project and engagement with the public (in this case the schoolchildren who participated) could provide interesting, meaningful (albeit not statistically significant) information that could inform future practice.

This questionnaire was undertaken using an online survey tool, with each participant invited by email; there was a 100% response rate. I did not take part in the survey. The survey was in Norwegian, and I have translated the results for this article. The archaeologists involved form a small group, just six people, and so the results should not be seen as being statistically significant — broader conclusions cannot be made from this data — but it gives us an indication of what archaeologists involved in a public archaeology project think about their roles, the aims of the project, and how public-oriented archaeology should be.

The questionnaire was a combination of open and closed questions, and aimed to gain an insight into a range of issues and perspectives. Cole (2015) has previously — and interestingly — considered how theories, both educational and archaeological, influence archaeological education projects, and so I wanted to see if there were any noticeable tendencies within our group — or whether theory played a conscious role at all. Hence, questions were asked regarding the extent to which the archaeologists had any formal pedagogical education, whether theories played any role in their work, and whether they thought that the project had a clear theoretical basis. The respondents also had to pick a statement that best described their role in the project: this aimed to try to make the link between theory and practice, with the statements relating — perhaps somewhat crudely — to particular theoretical perspectives (see Figure 5).

Another question aimed to place the project within the four categories suggested by Matsuda (2016). The project was aimed at schoolchildren and was constructed to fit in with the curriculum. It was also covered in the media — both during the excavation stage and the exhibition phase. One would thus expect that the 'educational' and 'public relations' categories would dominate the responses, and these were indeed common answers (see Figure 5). However, it was interesting to note that, despite the seemingly clear connection between schoolchildren and education, the education approach was not selected by one of the respondents.

A clear link to the 'deficit model' and its one-way communication/learning can be seen in the number of responses to the statements 'Its purpose was to make the diverse public of Oslo better known to archaeologists' and 'Its purpose was to make archaeology better known to the public': all respondents disagreed with the former, but agreed with the latter. This is an interesting finding, and resonates with the hubris identified by Grima (2016) and noted previously.

Another question asked was, 'Should archaeologists and the public collaborate in order to create enthusiasm for heritage?' (see Figure 6). All six respondents replied yes to this, and so were asked to explain why and how so. The responses here varied

Which of the following statements best describes the project? (can choose multiple)					
Respondent	It aimed to contribute to the children's education	It aimed to make NIKU better known and more visible	It aimed to make archaeologists more aware of Oslo's diverse public	It aimed to make archaeology better known to the public	It aimed to critique archaeological theory and practice
#1	No	No	No	Yes	No
#2	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
#3	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
#4	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
#5	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
#6	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes

FIGURE 5 Table showing the answers to the question 'Which of the following statements best describes the project?'.

'Should archaeologists and the public collaborate in order to create enthusiasm for heritage? If yes, why?'
Yes. In order to reduce the destruction of heritage from our shared past.
Yes. Archaeologists alone cannot create an equally good level of enthusiasm as they would do in collaboration with others. Nevertheless, it is not clear that the level of knowledge would be as high without the help of archaeologists.
Yes. Archaeology is not very worthwhile, in my eyes, without dissemination. Archaeology is largely externally financed, and thus we also have a great responsibility to disseminate.
Yes. What we learn about the past at school is quickly out of date. In order to be able to spread new information, it would be good if archaeology were visible in society.
Yes, but I am somewhat in doubt, maybe my answer to the question should have been 'no'. Archaeologists should disseminate, I am sceptical about dissemination done by people without an archaeological background (curators, for example). The public can contribute with financing, as in our project. Otherwise I wonder about the value of, for example, the Medieval Festival in Oslo — in reality there is quite a distance between fun jousting tournaments and toffee apples and what we find.
Yes. It is important that heritage and the past engage more than just archaeologists. This can be done by archaeologists being more open about excavations and the effects of these, such as through guided tours. Enthusiasm must be created among the public through such means as dialogue and open discussions.

FIGURE 6 Responses to the question 'Should archaeologists and the public collaborate in order to create enthusiasm for heritage?'.

somewhat, but show a clear tendency towards instrumental, expert, and monumental ideas of heritage and conservation.

In light of these responses, it is interesting to look at the role theory played for those involved in the project. Two of the six said that they were influenced by education theories, and three of the six said that they were influenced by archaeological theories. However, the explanations for how they were influenced by theories (archaeological or educational) suggest that some archaeologists had a somewhat loose understanding of the word 'theory'. Just one was influenced by both educational and archaeological theories.

Those who say that they were influenced by educational theories see the children as the focus for the project, rather than the archaeology; the project is thus seen as learner-centred. Only one response, however, is truly theory-informed:

> Cognitive and social constructivism has formed the basis for the development of some parts of the project. This specially applies to the tasks the children have undertaken where they have explored the past through finds, and where they have had to understand themselves as part of a continuity of place from the Middle Ages in Oslo. We have also used Vygotsky and sociocultural learning theory in tasks where the pupils have together found out answers or solutions. This applies especially to the walk to the reconstructed houses, and the finds they have examined at Ladegården.

Those who state that they were influenced by archaeological theories are seemingly most influenced by ideas stemming from the New Archaeology, with Lewis Binford's work mentioned specifically by one archaeologist, and clear links to the principles of ethnoarchaeology and logical positivism in other answers. Furthermore, there is a recognition that archaeological theory has played a limited, or perhaps rather an unconscious, role in their work with archaeological education, for example:

> Not very much, but we have used some symmetrical archaeology or affordance theory when we have encouraged the pupils to guess what certain finds are based on the knowledge they have of modern and known objects.

And:

> Not so much. But I will say that Binford's formalization of excavation as hypothesis-testing is still valid. And it is possible that this contributes to the way one tells others about archaeology; one can, for example, describe how one first gets an idea, then chooses a strategy to find out whether it is correct. Other than that, anything that may be relevant is either from before 1960 or pure natural science.

The results seemingly support Cole's (2015: 127) findings that archaeological thinking and teaching linked to processual ideas is more common than links to post-processual ideas. However, in contrast, this emphasis on processual archaeology is seemingly not reflected in the manner in which the archaeologists and children interacted; despite this emphasis on the role of science, data, and hypothesis-testing, my observations were that interaction with the children was much more learner-centred than didactic (cf. Cole, 2015: 128). This suggests that archaeological and educational theories are compartmentalized and not seen as both playing a role in archaeological dissemination and education; indeed the only respondent who stated that they were influenced by both educational and archaeological theories was also the only respondent to have qualifications in both education and archaeology. One may therefore ask whether we are seeing the unconscious influence of both the archaeologists' experiences within the Norwegian school system and their experiences as professional archaeologists (see Cole, 2015: 127, for links between processualist thought and professional archaeology) playing independent-yet-linked roles in the performance of archaeological education?

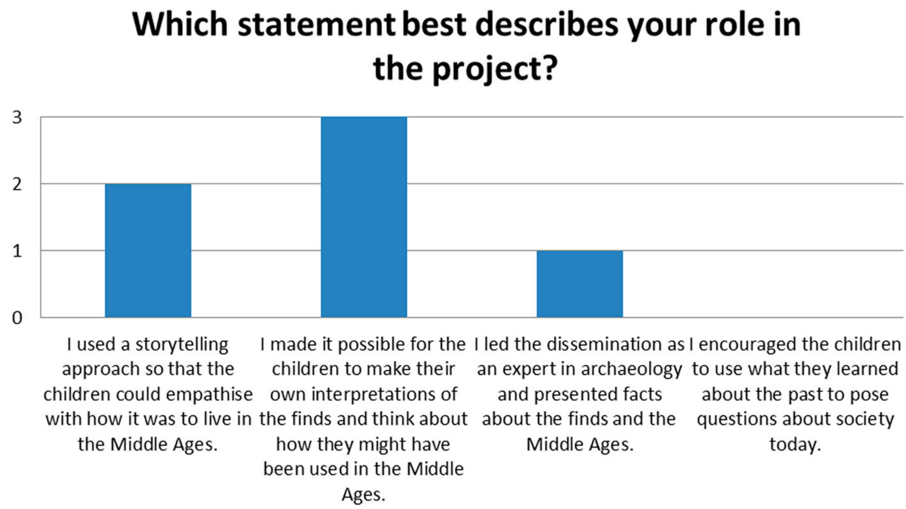

FIGURE 7 Chart showing how participating archaeologists view their role in the project.

While the above question is difficult to answer based on one respondent, there are further parallels that can be drawn between Cole's results and those of our survey. Firstly, Cole notes how 'pupils were not encouraged to think about how their learning might have further impact' (2015: 130). This echoes our results (see Figure 7), where none of the respondents felt that the statement 'I encouraged the children to use what they learned about the past to pose questions about society today' best matched with their role in the project. Secondly, Cole has written that 'archaeological educators are taking on a range of ideas from different areas of two richly theorized subjects when they develop their programmes for schools, often without conscious thought about the theories underpinning their ideas' (2015: 132). Our results show that theory is either not thought about or remains unconscious for many of the archaeologists involved in our project. Although a number did indeed state that theory played a role or influenced their work, their explanations for how or in what way betray a lack of clarity: while four of six respondents answered 'yes' to the question, 'Do you feel that the project had a clear theoretical basis?', only one really referred to how the theoretical was connected up to the practical. Responses such as 'The project was well-planned, so it seemed that there was a good deal of theory behind it, even though it is not possible to put my finger on any particular theory' show how theory was assumed to be present but not explicit.

This survey seems to suggest that the deficit model is dominant within Norwegian archaeology; the small size of the sample, however, means that this conclusion cannot be any more than tentative. If the results of this survey were repeated in a larger sample, one could with greater security argue that the sector feels that engagement with the public is to be done on our terms, that the public need to be informed and educated, and that we have nothing to learn from them (cf. Matsuda, 2016: 4). Nevertheless, the impression that the survey results leave is one of a 'top-down' Community Archaeology (e.g. Belford, 2011; Tully, 2007), whereby public involvement shall take the form of 'carefully controlled non-professional participation' (Richardson, 2013: 3). This is not is a sustainable strategy — and is more archaeology with an audience than public archaeology. As Richardson and Almansa-Sanchez write (2015: 202), 'simply allowing non-professional parties to be involved [...] does not mean that its practice is truly participatory and inclusive'. However, one must recognize that public archaeology is a relatively young and underdeveloped field in Norway, and that inspiration and encouragement can be taken from our neighbours other parts of Scandinavia, where a number of projects (e.g. eScape in Skanderborg, Denmark) have shown the diversity of possibilities for a public-oriented and public-engaged archaeology.

The key for public archaeology projects is that archaeologists need to be clear about what they want to achieve and how they are going to go about achieving it. As Cole (2015: 133) has recognized, 'if archaeologists are serious about making a positive impact they need to understand what they are doing; without a greater awareness of theory, they will plough on delivering unknown messages'. NIKU's evaluation of 'Treasures from the Dirt' notes that the project was 'well executed' (NIKU, 2017: 12), but the ideas and concepts behind the content and format of the project have not been subject to the same critique or evaluation; one could thus say that this project was an example of delivering unknown messages effectively.

Conclusions: towards an improved and integrated practice

It is clear from the case presented here, as well as from many other examples, that public archaeology projects are never just one type, or fit in with just one model. However, the fundamental value of model-making has been to make archaeologists think critically about public archaeology. Where does it fit in? How do we theorize it? How do we practice it?

There are contrasting ideas of how public archaeology should be practised, and how to best integrate a public archaeology approach into professional archaeology. Richardson and Almansa-Sanchez (2015: 204), for example, have argued for the role of the specialist public archaeologist, stating that 'In the same way that we contract specialists for chemical/physical analysis, we need specialists to deal with communities'. However, this is not a universal view (e.g. Grima, 2016: 1, 5; Matsuda, 2016: 8) and is arguably in contrast to the wider ideals of public archaeology, and the agenda of earlier public archaeology (e.g. Ascherson, 2000; 2001). Such a policy would arguably contribute to a strengthening of Grima's 'ivory tower' (2016: 2), and, as he notes, 'we simply cannot afford to have practicing archaeologists who do not have the awareness, sensibility, and competencies to practice archaeology in a manner that is informed of and responsible for its actual or potential interaction with the wider public' (Grima, 2016: 6). I tend to agree with this latter view; public archaeology is much more of a mindset or approach than a specialism — a postprocessualism rather than an archaeobotany. As such, it should be integrated into all excavation plans and form part of the wider project, and not '[hived off] into a safe corner, where it may remain largely overlooked by the mainstream archaeological community, or only admitted as a 'bolt-on' afterthought to archaeological agendas that remain essentially unreconstructed' (Grima, 2016: 8).

Hence, in order to be a fully integrated and worthwhile part of archaeological practice, public archaeology must have rigorous methodologies and clear goals. I am aware of the irony in arguing for this with the help of a small-sample survey, but the fact that this non-significant survey was an attempt to gain *some* usable data, rather than relying purely on anecdote, gives credence to this call. Good, significant data is essential in order to know that the desired outcomes are indeed being realized, no matter whether an educational, public relations, pluralist, or critical approach is being taken. As Gould (2016: 4) has recognized:

> Waste of time, money, and credibility can be avoided by knowing which approaches are actually effective at delivering the educational, social, economic, or community outcomes that archaeologists desire in their public work.

This is an especially important point given the neo-liberal turn identified by Matsuda (2016) and the need to ensure that archaeological projects of all kinds have 'public benefit'. The fact that we as archaeologists say that a project was a success does not make it so (e.g. Gould, 2016: 14); the effects on the 'audience' need to be evaluated and quantified. This is crucial in order to maintain both funding and credibility; furthermore, if one accepts that public archaeology is ethical best practice, then it is also 'an ethical imperative that we know the effects, implications, and consequences of archaeology' (Castañeda, 2014: 79). As public archaeology matures, the need for a clearer and more explicit focus on data and quantification becomes increasingly evident (see also Gould & Burtenshaw, 2014: 7–8). Better data on public archaeology is not only a prerequisite for 'public benefit' archaeology, helping to quantify outcomes or values (Moshenska & Burtenshaw, 2011: 83), but also provides a basis for a solid critical engagement. More data means better evaluations, and nourishment for the pluralist and critical approaches that have gone hungry whilst we have been busy counting outcomes.

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