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L'archeologia pubblica prima e dopo l'archeologia pubblica

I contributi pubblicati in questo volume sono stati selezionati dalle curatrici fra quelli pervenuti in risposta a una *call for papers* dal titolo “L'archeologia pubblica prima e dopo l'archeologia pubblica” lanciata dalla rivista «Il capitale culturale. *Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage*» nel 2018. Il volume è stato sottoposto a *peer review* esterna secondo i criteri di scientificità previsti dal Protocollo UPI.



L'archeologia pubblica prima e dopo l'archeologia pubblica

a cura di Patrizia Dragoni, Mara Cerquetti

Parte II

La ricerca partecipata in archeologia: attori,
metodi ed esperienze

A comparative analysis of Community Archaeology based on two excavations in the south-east of the Iberian Peninsula: local community involvement and social context*

Lara Delgado Anés**, José María Martín Civantos***

Abstract

This article presents the different socialisation methods of the excavation of two archaeological sites: the “Pago de Jarafí” (Lanteira, Granada), and “Mojácar la Vieja” (Mojácar, Almería). The projects involved the excavation of medieval Islamic settlements between 2014 and 2018 in two different social, economic and cultural contexts. The first,

* This research was carried out in the framework of the MEMOLab laboratory of Biocultural Archaeology of the University of Granada (<<https://blogs.ugr.es/memolab/>>, 08.27.2019). The study received funding from the Horizon 2020 European Union research and innovation programme (H2020/2017-2020) REACH project, under Grant Agreement no. 769827, as well from the Seventh Framework Programme of the European Union (FP7/2014-2017) MEMOLA project, under grant agreement no. 613265. HUM_952: Red de Estudios sobre Sostenibilidad, Patrimonio/ Participación/Paisaje y Territorio.

Special recognition goes to the municipalities and residents of Lanteira and Mojácar and all the students involved in the field work

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Lanteira, is a rural area of the Province of Granada that suffers from depopulation and ageing and a primary sector in economic crisis. The second, Mojácar, along the coast, has experienced a boom of tourism and the arrival of many foreign residents since the 1960s. This study analyses the methods and techniques to communicate and involve the local population during the entire archaeological excavation process and how these methods were adapted to each social reality. The research goes further to explore the link of the two local communities with their sites since the outset of the archaeological research and how they changed during the course of the excavation following application of a Community Archaeology.

In questo articolo presenteremo le diverse metodologie che abbiamo applicato per la socializzazione di due siti archeologici durante il nostro intervento: il “Pago de Jarafí” (Lanteira, Granada) e “Mojácar la Vieja” (Mojácar, Almería). I progetti sono stati condotti tra gli anni 2014 e 2018 in insediamenti islamici medievali, in due diversi contesti sociali, economici e culturali. Il primo, Lanteira, si trova in una zona rurale della provincia di Granada che soffre di un problema di spopolamento e invecchiamento e con un’economia in crisi basata sul settore primario. Il secondo, Mojácar, in una zona costiera con un grande sviluppo del settore turistico e con un elevato numero di residenti stranieri dagli anni ’60 del XX secolo. Il lavoro analizza le metodologie e le tecniche per comunicare e coinvolgere la popolazione locale durante l’intero processo di scavo archeologico e come queste metodologie si siano adattate alla realtà sociale di entrambi i comuni. Esporremo il legame che queste comunità locali hanno avuto con i relativi siti fin dall’inizio della ricerca archeologica e come tale legame sia cambiato durante lo scavo a seguito dello sviluppo di un’archeologia pubblica e comunitaria.

1. *Introduction*

MEMOLab, a Biocultural Archaeology Laboratory of the University of Granada, carries out research since 2014 on the subject of Public and/or Community Archaeology focusing on agrarian heritage and the excavation of various archaeological sites¹. Much has been written on the processes of socialisation, dissemination and participation on archaeological projects, especially from the theoretical and conceptual framework. However, precisely as a result of this, and of debates of the different theories and denominations of this type of activity, we believe it is essential that the reader recognises the foundation of our focus. The framework of action adopted by this project basically forms part of the concept of Cultural Landscapes and the historical relationship of humans with their environment, and the methodological approach is fundamentally that of Landscape Archaeology. For the archaeological excavations, we adapted the methodology and strategies of participation, socialisation and diffusion according to the specificity of each site and its local population while also bearing in mind the particularities of each socio-economic context.

¹ Delgado Anés, Martín Civantos 2016 and 2019; Delgado Anés 2017; Martín Civantos, Delgado Anés 2017.

Although the labels “Public” and “Community” Archaeology refer basically to the same reality, and terminology, in our opinion, is not as important as practice, we therefore prefer the designation “Community Archaeology” because of its significance (especially in Spanish and in the Mediterranean context) and due to the relationship that the team attempts to strike up with the population where excavations take place. This approach focuses on community involvement with archaeology and heritage² founded on the premise that the discipline of archaeology is best developed when it involves diverse voices to interpret the past³. In the current case we prefer to place an emphasis on the community because of its implications. Firstly, because the work of our laboratory focuses for the most part on rural contexts characterised by intense communal spirit due to the fact that the populations have a long history of collective irrigation management. The term also offers a sense of identity, closer than that of Public Archaeology, in a great framework of a political, social, cultural and ethical archaeological research⁴. And above all, Community Archaeology is closer to a part of our objectives and strategies where the archaeological activity itself becomes a tool of social intervention where heritage serves as a catalysing and energising element, a generator of processes of change, cultural development, social cohesion and community building⁵. Archaeology thus ceases to simply be a scientific discipline that generates historical knowledge and begins to play an active role in the lives of people. Thus, the discipline goes further and assumes a positive and real impact where excavations are carried out⁶. History therefore fulfils a paramount social role, beyond knowledge itself or erudition, offering its actors more sense and enthusiasm.

2. Context

The current article presents two archaeological case studies carried out in two different geographical contexts. Each was characterised by a number of social and economic differences among their local population as well as by differences in the conditions and state of research at the moment of the arrival of the MEMOLab team, factors which had to be taken into account when applying the methodology and techniques of Community Archaeology.

² Simpson 2015.

³ Tully 2007.

⁴ Moshenska 2009.

⁵ Gassiot *et al.* 1997; Nicholas 2008; Rodriguez Rodriguez, Olivo del Olmo 2008; Prybylski, Stottman 2010; Turk 2012; Stottman 2016.

⁶ Delgado Anés 2017.

2.1 *Pago del Jarafí*

The first site, excavated between 2014 and 2017, is “Pago del Jarafí” in the Municipality of Lanteira in the interior of the Province of Granada.

Lanteira is in the Marquesado del Zenete region, on the north face of Sierra Nevada, 70 kilometres from the city of Granada. A part of its municipality is within the limits of the Sierra Nevada National Park. Its current population totals 576 (average age: 48.6). It is an ageing population comprising 10 foreigners mainly from Ecuador. The economy is based on the primary sector mainly in the form of agriculture, with the main crops being oats, barley and almonds. Tourism, although a secondary sector, offers hiking and mountain routes that are promoted by the town hall. Although the website of statistics of the *Junta de Andalucía* does not cite references to tourism in Lanteira, there is a rural hotel with a restaurant. The municipal unemployment rate in 2018 was at 21.4% with temporary contracts, mainly for women, as the most common⁷.

Lanteira’s budget for 2019 totals € 852,681.91. Although the municipality benefits from a grant from the *Diputación* of the Province of Granada of € 26,000 for the development of cultural activities⁸, this resource is not dedicated to historical heritage.

The municipality has a rural public school for students aged from 3 to 12 years, a health centre, a pharmacy, small local businesses and a cheese factory. Among the main local agents is the local irrigators community, a Mountain Club and a Women’s Association called “Vista Alegre”.

The excavation at Lanteira was carried out in the framework of the European FP7 MEMOLA project (Mediterranean Mountainous Landscapes)⁹ with the intention of conducting a historical-archaeological study of the area. The area of the intervention included three recorded Islamic sites (one with a silo) enclosed in an irrigated space. These circumstances led to choosing one sector for excavation in order to gain information as to the process of territorial occupation subsequent to the Arab-Berber conquest and the transformation in this period of the landscape through a special focus on the construction and management of features of irrigation. The excavation therefore served as the starting point to work with the local community on the question of cultural landscapes, thus generating different interventions with different social agents leading to the recovery of a historic irrigation channel, educational activities, creation of cultural itineraries, etc.

Archaeological work consisted of four one-month campaigns (2014-2017). The dig unearthed a quarter of the old *alqueria* (town) of Lanteira ranging from the Visigothic period (second half of the 7th century) to the second half of the

⁷ Data from the Institute of Statistics and Cartography of Andalusia, <<http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/institutodeestadisticaycartografia/sima/ficha.htm?mun=18117>>, 04.04.2019.

⁸ Data from the Council of Lanteira.

⁹ <www.memolaproject.eu>, 08.27.2019.

13th century when apparently its progressive abandonment began. The site's initial phase, until the outset of the 11th century, experienced great productive activity characterised by silos, pottery and iron working workshops, as well as a small cemetery and a few remains of walls difficult to interpret. The second phase is marked by an abandonment of the productive structures which were partly covered by dwellings, a local mosque with its surrounding cemetery with at least two phases of occupation.

2.2 *Mojácar la Vieja*

The second case study is the site of Mojácar la Vieja, located in the coastal town of Mojácar in the Province of Almería. This excavation was initiated in 2018 and will be the object of a second campaign in July 2019.

Mojácar (Almería) is on the Mediterranean coastline 78 kilometres from the city of Almería. Its municipality comprises 19 population centres. The total population in 2018 was 6,301 (average age: 48) with 2,906 registered foreigners. Most (52%) are from the United Kingdom. This community was established since the late 1960s and has grown since then. The economy is mainly based on tourism, with a total of 12,000 hotel beds registered in 2017. The number of registered hotel establishments is 765, most employing five or less workers. The number of registered tourist dwellings is 870. The annual influx of visitors accessing the municipal tourism office is approximately 50,000¹⁰, although the count of real tourists exceeds this figure. Mojácar benefits from a series of initiatives such as that promoting it as one of “the most beautiful towns in Spain”, as well as a recognition of quality of its beaches and family tourism. The overall municipal unemployment rate is 15% with little difference between women and men. Most of these contracts are temporary and geared toward tourism¹¹.

Mojácar's municipal budget for 2019 is € 11,000,151.77 of which € 100,000 is designated to promote tourism. Of this amount, € 39,000 was invested in the excavation¹².

The municipality's infrastructure comprises primary and secondary schools for students up to the age of 16, as well as a public health centre, a library, an English book library, a multipurpose building for cultural and artistic activities, several art centres as well as private spaces such as the ethnographic museum “Casa de la Canana”.

Among the main local agents are the Association of Moors and Christians, partnerships of local entrepreneurs and merchants, theatre associations, sports clubs, and about 20 associations of foreigners.

¹⁰ Data from the Tourist Office of Mojácar.

¹¹ Data from the Institute of Statistics and Cartography of Andalusia, <<http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/institutodeestadisticaycartografia/sima/ficha.htm?mun=04064>>, 04.04.2019.

¹² Data from the Council of Mojácar.

The Mojácar La Vieja project stems from the interest of the Department of Tourism of the City Council and the Valparaiso Foundation, owner of a part of the allotment, to develop a path leading to a vantage point at the site's upper sector. Subsequent to the first meeting with them, we proposed to transform the intervention into a more ambitious project from both the archaeological and social point of view. A proposal was advanced to carry out an archaeological campaign to identify the ancient settlement of Mojácar and its potential at the patrimonial level.

The findings of the first excavation campaign (July 2018) suggest that the old town of Mojácar was founded in the 12th century and the population moved to the current location in the following century. The excavation brought to light vestiges of a large castle and two enclosures. The lower sector of the excavation uncovered part of the gate while the upper sector unearthed a complex for the guard with two cisterns. Next to the gate of the interior enclosure appeared part of a well-preserved dwelling and a communal bread oven. In the upper area there was a surface feature corresponding to a large cistern with a single nave and another structure corresponding to the base of a large tower serving as a keep tower donjon. Other spaces appeared with a function linked to the existence of a guard: a space serving to store *bolaños* (spherical stone projectiles), a kitchen, a smithy and a small mosque.

3. *The case studies*

Below is a brief presentation of the methodology and techniques applied at each of the two projects. It is nonetheless necessary to state that not only the socio-economic contexts of each of the two differed, but also the means put in place to organise them. An evolution of a learning process on behalf of the members in their attempt to move toward more participatory and open methods. Thus, the “El Pago del Jarafí” project (Lanteira, 2014-2017) was more experimental as the individual charged with fomenting communication and participation did not form part of the daily team of field archaeologists and was simply limited to coordinating activities and attending the main events. At the later site of “Mojácar la Vieja” (Mojácar, 2018), by contrast, the specialist was not only involved since the beginning in developing the strategy, but also present at the site on a daily basis so as to manage, promote and organise the work with the local community.

3.1 “*Pago del Jarafí*”

The project was initiated in 2014 with Archaeological Campaign I, the first of three interventions at Pago del Jarafí within the framework of the MEMOLA

project. From the beginning we proposed resorting to an excavation open to all the public, without barriers to observe and visit the site. At the beginning we experimented with methods that led to basic initiatives intended to identify and evaluate local population reaction¹³. These resulted in great regional interest, especially after the discovery of a cemetery, which led to a great daily influx of curious onlookers.

The open excavation approach did not convince all the project's archaeological technicians as they feared unauthorised entry and pillaging. In fact, archaeological sites in the region have long suffered from constant looting, and there still exists a network of pillagers and purchasers in spite of the laws in Spain against the use of metal detectors and the sale or purchase of archaeological artefacts. Moreover, in these initial moments of the project certain members of the excavation team had difficulties managing the continuous trickle of onlookers.

However, this approach, along with the organisation of guided tours during the excavation and at weekends, led to a greater awareness on the part of the local population, who took on the role of guardians during the absence of archaeologists and volunteers. This moment marked a change in the pattern of behaviour of a large part of the local population who internalised the excavation and included it within the routes and hikes through the territory. Visitors arrived from different points of the surrounding Marquesado del Zenete district, as well as from elsewhere in the Province of Granada.

At the conclusion of the first campaign the team presented a video at Lanteira's Mountain Club summarising the preliminary results. During the showing, as throughout the visits of the excavation, the public conveyed their desire that the archaeological site's features be musealised. The team of archaeologists discouraged this, both due to the type of vestiges and the problem of annual maintenance by the municipality. However, insistence from the public grew, especially after a mosque was discovered.

The desire of the leaders of the subsequent campaigns of 2016 and 2017 was to go beyond the guided tours and involve the local population in activities usually restricted to archaeology and history students. They therefore offered the "Archaeologist for a Day" programme, an initiative initially open to all, that consisted of the possibility of excavating with the team and the archaeology students. The participation in this case of the local population was nonetheless scarce due to the timing of the two excavation campaigns in the months of September. Archaeological pottery workshops were also organised, again open to the public. These, in turn, finally had to be restricted to the women's association Vista Alegre de Lanteira as there was too much demand. One of the drawbacks of organising these workshops was the modest amount of pottery obtained from certain phases of the excavation and the necessity of preserving

¹³ Delgado Anés 2017.

enough for the excavation's university students as pottery studies form part of their professional training (fig. 1).

During these workshops a specialist guided and explained the different types of pottery from Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. The instruction also took into account different types of traditional ceramics. In fact, the participants could differentiate them with ease. The association showed great interest and a desire to collaborate in other aspects of the excavation. They also requested a guided weekly visit to be informed of the latest developments and organise a breakfast for the students.

These different factors, coupled with the support of the regional media, culminated a perception of the excavation as something close and personal leading to its integration as a source of pleasure. Furthermore, from the first campaign there was an interest in preserving the site, a position that intensified after the discovery of the rural mosque in 2016. This led to a fourth unplanned archaeological excavation. Interviews were conducted throughout the four campaigns with members of the different media generating many press releases. A remarkable event in 2017, with repercussions at the provincial level, was the live radio program transmitted from the excavation for the whole region.

This approach and vision of how to excavate an archaeological site led to a collaboration with the local population and with other social agents in initiatives in the framework of Cultural Landscapes that transcend the site itself. The initiation of relationships with local agents led to identifying the key individuals to develop concrete initiatives in the framework of mutual trust.

An example of these contacts was the recovery of the Maguillo channel, a high mountain irrigation channel, in collaboration with the Lanteira Irrigator Community, a project carried out with 40 students from the Emilio Muñoz de Cogollos Vega High School. A series of intergenerational meetings and educational activities were also held with the *acequero* (individual responsible for maintaining the local historical irrigation channels). Visits to the excavation also led to educational activities in collaboration with the *acequero* on subjects ranging from landscapes and historical irrigation with the local Camús Garzón school and with the high school of Marquesado del Zenete (Alquife).

A collaboration with the local Mountain Club also led to an extension of the *Ruta de los Molinos* (Route of the Water Mills) by including more stopping points in addition to the archaeological site itself. Visits to the site for members of this organisation were also organised during each of the campaigns.

Finally, in response to the demand of the local population for at least part of the site to be restored and musealised, an agreement in conjunction with the Municipality of Lanteira was advanced to put forward a project to the Rural Development Group for European structural funds. Although this project was prepared and submitted, the harsh conditions of pre-financing and co-financing rendered it unfeasible for this small municipality with scarce resources.

Measuring the impact of participatory practices in archaeology				
ACTIVITIES Category, aim, methods and techniques	INPUTS Internally or externally deployed staff and resources	OUTPUTS Quantitative evidence, units of “product” or “service”	OUTCOMES Qualitative evidence or observable change	TIMESCALE
<p><i>Stakeholder mapping</i></p> <p>Identify the different stakeholders and adapt the activities to their interests</p> <p>Meetings for consultations, interviews, visual analyses, online searches</p>	2 archaeologists, the mayor of the city	6	Stakeholders of nearby municipalities that desire to visit the site.	At the outset of each campaign
<p><i>Stakeholder meetings</i></p> <p>Meetings to bring up themes related to the excavation and cultural landscapes</p> <p>Informative meetings, interviews, discussion groups, community forums</p>	Participation of 5 archaeologist	Approximately 23 with 6 stakeholders	Interest in preserving the site and facilitating visits.	Contact was continuous to organise activities throughout the 4 years.
<p><i>Presentations and conferences</i></p> <p>Presentation of preliminary results</p> <p>Chat, community forum</p>	6 archaeologists, the mayor and a member of the mountain club	30 assistants	Most of the assistants assisted the guided visits.	1 day
<p><i>Studies of perceptions</i></p> <p>Understand the relation and opinion of the local population with and about the site</p> <p>Visual analyses, interviews</p>	2 archaeologists	With the public attending the visits	Include the site in their cultural itineraries. They develop a link with the ancient settlement as they recognise its occupants as their ancestor.	Throughout the 4 campaigns

Measuring the impact of participatory practices in archaeology				
ACTIVITIES Category, aim, methods and techniques	INPUTS Internally or externally deployed staff and resources	OUTPUTS Quantitative evidence, units of “product” or “service”	OUTCOMES Qualitative evidence or observable change	TIMESCALE
<p><i>Guided visits</i></p> <p>Explain the excavation and the history of the territory</p> <p>Visual analyses, interviews, photographic records</p>	3 archaeologists, 1 member of the Mountain Club, the town mayor, 1 member of the council	700 persons	The discovery of the cemetery leads to an increase in both scheduled and unscheduled visits. Visits are included throughout the rest of the year in the framework of Meetings of European Heritage.	Throughout the 4 campaigns
<p><i>Engagement in the archaeological excavation</i></p> <p>Allow the population to participate in the study of local archaeological heritage</p> <p>Visual analyses, interviews, photographic records</p>	2 archaeologists	2 persons	There is interest but little availability during the week due to work.	3 days
<p><i>Archaeological pottery workshops</i></p> <p>Offer information about medieval archaeological pottery</p> <p>Visual analyses, interviews, photographic records</p>	2 archaeologists, the President of the Association	20 persons	Interest in participating in more laboratory pottery workshops.	6 sessions
<p><i>Participatory mapping</i></p> <p>Identify potential sites and heritage features</p>	X	X	X	X

Measuring the impact of participatory practices in archaeology				
ACTIVITIES Category, aim, methods and techniques	INPUTS Internally or externally deployed staff and resources	OUTPUTS Quantitative evidence, units of “product” or “service”	OUTCOMES Qualitative evidence or observable change	TIMESCALE
<p><i>Photo contest</i></p> <p>Promote participation through social networks and encourage visits to the site</p> <p>Photographic records, statistics, audience, interaction</p>	X	X	X	X
<p><i>Archaeological team participation in popular events</i></p> <p>Involvement and collaboration in community activities</p> <p>Visual analyses, interviews, community meetings, interaction</p>	The Town Council	25 archaeologists	The local population appreciates the archaeologist’s attendance to the events.	Yearly Patron Saint festivities from 13 to 17 September
<p><i>Educational activities</i></p> <p>Teach and raise awareness as to heritage and cultural landscapes</p> <p>Informative meetings, interviews, visual analyses, questionnaires</p>	1 archaeologist, 2 irrigation specialists, 3 teachers	25 primary school students and 30 secondary school students	Students reveal a great interest and curiosity for the excavation.	12
<p><i>Tourism</i></p> <p>Promote sustainable tourism that respects heritage</p> <p>Informative meetings, interviews, work group analyses</p>	1 archaeologist and 1 member of the Mountain Club	Add 2.5 km more to original 6.5 km itinerary	It was not possible to include a musealisation to the itinerary due to the lack of funding.	5 sessions

Measuring the impact of participatory practices in archaeology				
ACTIVITIES Category, aim, methods and techniques	INPUTS Internally or externally deployed staff and resources	OUTPUTS Quantitative evidence, units of “product” or “service”	OUTCOMES Qualitative evidence or observable change	TIMESCALE
<i>Conflict resolution</i> Mediation of conflicts related to heritage and facilitating areas of understanding Discussion group, community forum, visual analyses, analyses of groups in social networks, questionnaires	X	X	X	X
<i>Media impact</i> Disseminate the information at regional and national levels Statistics, audience, number of media, news analyses	2 archaeologists	More than 5 million people representing an inversion in publicity of € 48,982*, 11 interviews, 53 press articles and a video reportage in 6 languages**	Discoveries such as the mosque had a great impact through the headline “Discovery of the first rural mosque”.	Press releases were sent at the outset and end of each archaeological campaign. Interviews were given throughout the 4 campaigns.
<i>Audiovisual resources</i> Generate communication resources statistics, audience, interactions	3 archaeologists and 1 anthropologist	1718 viewings		At the end of the first excavation campaign

Tab. 1. Measuring the impact of participatory practices in archaeology “Pago del Jarafí”, Lanteira – Granada¹⁴

* Data from the Cabinet of Communication of the University of Granada and the Office of Management of Corporative Communication through an agency specialised in audiences that has calculated the impact of the news as to the discovery of the rural mosque during campaign III of the Lanteira excavation.

** The data correspond to minimal estimations. They are not complete because, subsequent to the Law of Intellectual Property, Google closed the service News in Spain that allowed access to all the articles in newspapers, specialised media and blogs.

¹⁴ The two tables of this article are based in part on the findings of a study presented at the *SpringSchool – Participatory Research in Archaeology*, meeting held in 2018 at Garda (Italy). They form part of a table entitled *Evaluating Participatory Practice in Archaeology* in a forthcoming article submitted to the «Journal of Social Archaeology». The two tables are also based on tables concerning methods of site socialisation from Delgado Anés 2017 and “Our Theory of Change” of Wilkins 2019.

3.2 *Mojácar – “Mojácar la Vieja”*

In this case, as noted previously, the initiative arose from a request by Mojácar’s City Council, the entity that originally financed the excavation. This led to conducting a survey a few weeks prior to the excavation to estimate the perception and the opinion of Mojácar La Vieja among the local population. Focus was on Mojácar’s permanent yearly residents. The summer months, in fact, see the greatest tourist activity of the year in the municipality and a multiplication of the population mainly in the lower area called Mojácar Playa, along the beach, that is geographically separated from Mojácar Pueblo. Most of the foreign permanent residents, in turn, take advantage of these months to return to their countries to avoid the tourist influx.

In light of this situation, the face-to-face surveys were therefore carried out in the residential areas and among the local businesses of Mojácar Pueblo. To facilitate participation, the survey was also conducted online profiting from Facebook groups linked to the town to connect with the sample population. They were available to both the Spanish and English public. The main age range was between 25 and 64 as schools were closed at this time for holidays. The nations with the greatest participation were Spain and England¹⁵.

The survey allowed to inform the local population that an archaeological excavation was going to be carried out before it was made public in the media. It also led to contacts with key individuals that assisted in involving the population and diagnosing the local concern for their heritage, the sadness at the loss of outstanding features such as the town’s fountain, and the desire to preserve and avoid the pitfalls of mass tourism. There were also signs of distrust as to how the excavation would be carried out and the site’s future, especially due to the longstanding negative perception of the performance of the Town Council regarding patrimony.

The site is perched on a hill shaped like of ziggurat due to its many cultivation terraces and archaeological structures. Since it is in a valley with other similar hills, it is popularly known as the “Valley of the Pyramids”. It has also been taken for a volcano as there are nearby volcanic outcrops in the Province of Almeria at Vera and Cabo de Gata. The hill’s shape conditioned the local imaginary, mainly among residents of the English community, affording the site an emotional slant. Even though it remains a minority even among the English residents, the vision of this space among this smaller sector of the population combined with the negative conception of the municipal heritage policy clashed with the idea of an excavation throughout the campaign. The intention was not to change the symbolic and emotional load among the residents, but rather to alter the preconceptions of acquisition of historical knowledge and respect

¹⁵ The other nationalities taking part in the survey were Germany, Belgium, Denmark, France, Holland, Argentina, Iran, Russia, South Africa and Ireland.

for heritage. In fact, as noted above, one of the objectives of this project was that the archaeological intervention also serves as a tool of social intervention generating a positive impact on the relationship of the community with its past and its heritage through social cohesion and sustainable development.

This entails a search for solutions to fulfil all the desires for the site of all sectors so long as they do not entail damage. Considering this reality, the project advanced the notion of an open archaeological excavation. This supposed not only participatory and communicative activities but an investment of time to fashion a public access to the site. This path was built by the team of archaeologists during the excavation profiting from the earth and stones removed from the work. This sensitivity and approach were shared by all the technical team and in fact conditioned the locations of the initial trial trenches, which direction to extend them, and how to evacuate the fill. The idea was for the archaeological work to not have a great impact on transforming the hill and to gain little by a little trust from the population in the team of archaeologists and the project.

This initial contact allowed the project, among other things, to count on the collaboration of the Association of Old Moors – Kabila Ali-ququei. Its members installed a *jaima* (tent) during the Moors and Christians festivities that offered shade during breakfast and lunch hours and at weekends as a reception point of the guided tours.

Due to this previous activity the project was able to organise a program of bilingual activities (Spanish and English) so as to involve the maximum number of sectors. Guided tours were organised on Sundays with a member of the English community welcoming the visitors while playing the role of a character from the 13th century (theatrical guided visit). Given the large influx of visitors and the site's orography, the visitors had to be divided into two groups. Furthermore, to liven the period of wait, a local resident offered a recital of flamenco music.

In a bar of the elderly the project organised a participatory map with a group of ten older residents who pointed out other sites throughout the territory as well giving information as to their plunder. This contact also led to learning through different witnesses of the disappearance of certain features of Mojácar La Vieja such as a stone to decant the water connected to a larger cistern.

During that month the possibility of participating in the archaeological excavation was open to all under venture "Archaeologist for a day". Certain participants even ended up working at the site the whole month. This allowed the interested to follow the excavation results and contribute to the study of their heritage. The age of the participants was broad. It is worth highlighting that families with children saw this as an opportunity to take part in a different summer activity. This sector of the population along with a great number of retired people also showed great interest in participating in the "Archaeological Pottery Workshops".

The project also included an activity to render its Instagram account more dynamic. It consisted of a photography contest through the hashtag PatrimonioMojácar. This venture had wide participation in spite of the inactivity during the holidays of the local photography groups. What stands out of this project was the daily 2D photographic and 3D video (Youtube) coverage by two people. Their photographs were subsequently exhibited and served for the presentation of the excavation results.

The great attendance and participation in the different activities surprised the city council itself. Some of its technicians and councillors were worried for the open method, without barriers, would lead to even more plunder. However, the findings indicate an increase in awareness and respect for the site. The locals, in fact, kept tabs on visitors in the afternoon during the absence of the dig technicians and throughout the last year took part in a social surveillance that has preserved the site. Another remarkable fact is that during the last weeks of the excavation certain individuals decided to “return” amorphous fragments of pottery that they had carried off years ago.

It did not take long for the archaeologists and the team to be welcomed by the local community and invited to participate and collaborate in local festivities. This affection was expressed during the excavation by the offer of the locals of ice cream and soft drinks, and an invitation at the end of the excavation to a tasting of local specialties. Other local artists offered gifts with representations of regional archaeological elements. An example is a copy of a stone bearing a carved geometric pattern unearthed in one of the excavation’s domestic spaces. This representation has since become the site’s symbol and represents the real process of appropriation of the site by the local population.

Local involvement was also manifested by participation in the presentation of the excavation’s preliminary results. This was through the two photographic exhibitions mentioned above (2D and 3D), a flamenco recital and a tasting of local craft beer. The photography exhibitions were also later transported by the photographers themselves for a conference held at the Archaeological Museum of Almería where they were accompanied by a video summarising the excavation.

In this case, the project also benefitted from the support of the local, regional and national media, as well as the press director of the City Council. Contacts were also made with members of the local English radio to maintain the English residents informed of the progress of the excavation and other activities.

In what concerns tourism, the guides of the local office were trained so as to offer accurate historical information when hosting visits to Mojácar.

A second survey was carried out upon completion of the excavation in order to assess and determine what improvements could be applied for the subsequent excavation (Campaign II). The results were clear: the model of local community participation was very widely accepted encouraging the members of the project to continue working, as one stated, “with the same sensitivity,

respect and enthusiasm”. A unanimous agreement among all the Town Hall’s political parties was reached supporting the continuity of the Mojácar La Vieja excavation. Over the subsequent months, in addition to presentations, its members continued to disseminate information through the internet and social media. Invitations were offered during the school year to participate in the Culture Week at the Mojácar school, presenting the excavation and offering a guided tour to the secondary school students. A gaming project was also developed with high school students within the PIIISA program by reconstructing Mojácar la Vieja with the video game Minecraft.

Measuring the impact of participatory practices in archaeology				
ACTIVITIES Category, aim, methods and techniques	INPUTS Internally or externally deployed staff and resource	OUTPUTS Quantitative evidence, units of “product” or “service”	OUTCOMES Qualitative evidence or observable change	TIMESCALE
<i>Stakeholder mapping</i> Identify the different stakeholders and adapt activities to their interests Meetings for consultations, interviews, visual analyses, online searches	1 archaeologist and 1 worker of the Tourist Office	38	Many stakeholders shut down their activity in the summer. At the end of the campaign an association wants to contribute a small amount of money for posters.	At the outset of the excavation
<i>Stakeholder meetings</i> Themes related to the excavation Informative meetings, interviews, community forums	6 archaeologists	15		The months prior to the excavation and during the excavation
<i>Presentations and conferences</i> Presentation of the preliminary results Chats, community forum	6 archaeologists	130 assistants and 50 for its online retransmission	Great interest in the musealisation of features of the site.	3 presentations: 2 in Mojácar and 1 in the Archaeological Museum of Almería

Measuring the impact of participatory practices in archaeology				
ACTIVITIES Category, aim, methods and techniques	INPUTS Internally or externally deployed staff and resource	OUTPUTS Quantitative evidence, units of “product” or “service”	OUTCOMES Qualitative evidence or observable change	TIMESCALE
<p><i>Studies of perceptions</i></p> <p>Understand the relation and opinion of the local population with and about the site</p> <p>Visual analyses, interviews, questionnaires</p>	1 archaeologist	220 surveys	They allowed identification of the community links and opinions of the site and local heritage.	<p>During the 2 weeks before the excavation</p> <p>During the 2 weeks after the excavation</p>
<p><i>Guided visits</i></p> <p>Explain the excavation and history of the territory</p> <p>Visual analysis, interviews, photographic records</p>	2 archaeologists, 2 members of the local community, 2 members of the Tourist Office	470 persons	The last visits saw an increase in the number of visitors. The number had to be limited due to the conditions of the terrain.	During the excavation and weekends with programmed visits
<p><i>Engagement in the archaeological excavation</i></p> <p>Allow the population to participate in the study of the local archaeological heritage</p> <p>Visual analyses, interviews, photographic records</p>	6 archaeologists, 2 members of the Tourist Office	26 persons	Families were keen to participate with young people to learn and value local heritage. 3 attended every day throughout the month.	During the excavation
<p><i>Archaeological pottery workshops</i></p> <p>Offer information about medieval archaeological pottery</p> <p>Visual analyses, interviews, photographic records</p>	2 archaeologists	58 persons	Being an activity within the town aroused a great interest but the number had to be limited by lack of space.	2 sessions

Measuring the impact of participatory practices in archaeology				
ACTIVITIES Category, aim, methods and techniques	INPUTS Internally or externally deployed staff and resource	OUTPUTS Quantitative evidence, units of “product” or “service”	OUTCOMES Qualitative evidence or observable change	TIMESCALE
<i>Participatory mapping</i> Identify potential sites and heritage features Interviews, visual analyses	2 archaeologists	10 persons	Allowed recognising archaeological elements that had disappeared from the site.	1 session
<i>Photo contest</i> Promote participation through social networks and encourage visits to the site Photographic records, statistics, audience, interaction	1 archaeologist	166 photos and 16 participants	The photography groups are on holiday in the summer months. The greatest participation was that of the students of the excavation.	Throughout the whole excavation campaign
<i>Archaeological team participation in popular events</i> Involvement and collaboration in community activities Visual analyses, interviews, community meetings	The Town Council and the Association of Moors and Christians	36 archaeologists	Certain students did not understand the importance of collaborating and getting involved in the town’s activities.	July 25 “Night of the Candles”
<i>Educational activities</i> Teach and raise awareness of heritage and cultural landscapes Informative meetings, interviews, visual analyses, questionnaires	1 archaeologist	28 students		4 sessions
<i>Tourism</i> Promote sustainable tourism that respects heritage Informative meetings, interviews	2 archaeologists	2 members of the Tourist Office	There is interest on the part of the council of tourism to invest and support heritage, for the local population and family tourism.	A pair of sessions

Measuring the impact of participatory practices in archaeology				
ACTIVITIES Category, aim, methods and techniques	INPUTS Internally or externally deployed staff and resource	OUTPUTS Quantitative evidence, units of “product” or “service”	OUTCOMES Qualitative evidence or observable change	TIMESCALE
<i>Conflict resolution</i> Mediation of conflicts related to heritage and facilitating areas of understanding Discussion group, community forum, visual analyses, analyses of groups social networks, questionnaires	2 archaeologists	4 local residents	Lack of knowledge of how to carry out an archaeological excavation.	Throughout all of the excavation process
<i>Media impact</i> Dissemination of excavation information at regional and national levels Statistics, audience, number of media, analyses of news	2 archaeologists	19 press articles, 2 television features	They requested news and information to publish. When we do not directly send the press release, we cannot know which approach the news will be given.	Press releases were sent at the outset and end of the archaeological campaign and for the presentations.
<i>Audiovisual resources</i> Generate communication resources Statistics, audience, interactions	2 archaeologists	2,598 viewings		At the end of the first excavation campaign

Tab. 2. Measuring the impact of participatory practices in archaeology “Mojacar la Vieja”, Mojácar – Almería

4. Discussion

Public Archaeology englobes a wide framework of actions and a number of different approaches. The perspective of the current intervention, as noted at the outset of this paper, is a focus on local communities (Community Archaeology). As members of a Biocultural Archaeology Laboratory, it is our task to attempt

to acquire an understanding of the historical relationships between humans and the natural environment. The interest of our laboratory is to study the processes of production and reproduction, as well as to identify the local knowledge and practices developed over time between society and nature. But above all, we are interested in acquiring knowledge of the mechanisms generating sustainability and resilience of many traditional socio-ecosystems, and the local systems of governance, management, participation, conflict resolution and strategies that rendered them possible¹⁶. Hence, the central point of the action of the MEMOLab study and our way of understanding the aim of archaeology focus on the local communities. That is, the starting point is the local community followed by designing the remaining aspects with the intention that our research reverts back to the communities. Archaeology thus also becomes a tool for social intervention with a real impact that attempts to assist in improving the population's reality, through, for example, empowerment or attempting to convince the administration to take these rural realities into account¹⁷.

The first question to discuss is that of the understanding of the community itself¹⁸. Who forms it? Can one mean a single local community or several coexisting communities that simultaneously overlap? It is not the intention of this paper to engage in a theoretical or methodological disquisition, as it has also not, as noted in the introduction, attempted to define the concepts of Public and Community Archaeology. But as in the first case, we are interested in at least raising the issue and outlining our perspective. It is our view that communities correspond, in the first place, to the individuals of a certain locality. That is, to the community of local residents, whether permanent or not, who share a territory, landscape, space and identity. This does not imply homogeneity. Communities, in fact, are characterised, among other things, by their heterogeneity and dynamism. It is not possible to pretend to face and interact with homogeneous groups that do not evolve over time. Their interests, circumstances and members change. Moreover, there are many communities within each community, that is, groups or sectors organise or identify themselves with certain specific aspects. There are, for example, communities of irrigators, farmers and herders; women; children; adolescents; neorurals or foreigners; elderly; tertiary sector workers (especially tourism); part-time residents, etc. Among these communities within the larger community there are also overlaps so that one can belong simultaneously to one or several sectors depending on their circumstances. People can even change over time. All this and many others fall into this normalcy. Understanding the type of social context is essential, although at times the learning process relies on one's own practice. Not all sectors reveal the same interest in what can be offered. And not all bear the

¹⁶ Toledo, Barrera 2008.

¹⁷ Delgado Anés 2017.

¹⁸ Álvaro 2010; Gertenchach *et al.* 2010; de Marinis 2010 and 2013.

same level of dynamics. There are even those that consider archaeological research useless and negative.

The starting point is therefore that of an inclusive, open, complex and dynamic community comprising different actors characterised by a diversity of approaches and interests. The project may thus be oriented to a collaboration with the whole community in general yet, at the same time, be focused on certain particular sectors. Each will have to be treated differently. Moreover, certain sectors may also act as dynamisers or motors of alternate segments of the population or others bearing different profiles. The strategy adopted must therefore be flexible, diversified and integrating.

With respect to the two case studies, the current research faced two different rural realities as well as two different strategies (and two different phases of the existence of the research team). Although this has led to different findings, they bear many elements in common. In both cases, the assessment of each is enormously positive in terms of the project's capacity in generating a social impact beyond the scientific results themselves. Both the quantitative and qualitative results are very explicit in each case. The project has managed to mobilise a significant section of the local population leading to attendance in one or more scheduled activities and a following of the news in the press and social networks. The response from local authorities and different associations, collectives and stakeholders has likewise been magnificent as evidenced by a significant change in the perception of heritage in general and of archaeology in particular leading to a new relationship with the past. A significant change is also perceived among the local administrations themselves reflected in their sensitivity and strategies. Yet it is more difficult to determine if this will result in an enduring change beyond completion of the project. The last issue is fundamental and has to do with what is left behind when the interventions and projects end, how future research will continue and what social dynamics the project was able to put into place.

From the perspective of the intervention strategy, there is a fundamental difference in terms of weight and the presence of participation throughout the whole process. The archaeological interventions of each were open to the public, both for visit and participation (although at Mojácar this aspect was more highly stressed). However, as noted above, there was not a permanent presence at the site of Lanteira of a specialist of Community Archaeology, and throughout the different campaigns the performance of the team improved. The strategy of participation and communication at Mojácar differed in that it was planned since from the outset, and included a survey carried out prior to the excavation to perceive the views of the local population. In this case, the presence of the specialist was continuous and the intensity of the activities much greater in encouraging involvement by the population. This represents a qualitative leap (also quantitative in terms of effort and energy) leading to a greater impact on the larger coastal touristic locality of Mojácar marked by a very large contingent of foreign residents.

Research at the site of Lanteira, in turn, benefitted from prior complementary landscape and agrarian systems (especially irrigation) research. This prior work also allowed putting together a historical discourse that connected well with the current social and economic reality and the relationship of the local population with some of its most important elements of identity: the Sierra Nevada Mountain range, the availability of snow and water and the irrigation systems. The local and regional inhabitants identified with medieval vestiges of the district of Lanteira. They identified the site as that of their ancestors who developed the irrigation system and founded the town, despite the fact that their predecessor were Muslims and belonged to a different culture. It is striking that they requested a musealisation of the mosque, in addition to their curiosity to learn more about the individuals unearthed in the cemeteries.

Mojácar, on the other hand, did not benefit from prior research. The excavation stemmed from a municipal initiative that assumed, after our proposal, a new orientation. The project, however, focused on the site, and in this case, it has been necessary to build an *a posteriori* discourse, still in progress, about the territory and the history of the town. However, in this case, the site was known by the entire population and the hill where it is located has a strong identity for local communities. In this case, the perception surveys carried out prior to the excavation were key, because they publicised the project and determined the interests and opinions of the locals, including the reluctance and strong criticism of the role of the municipality in terms of its heritage. This information offered the possibility to develop better strategies of communication and participation that has yielded very positive results. Not only has the participation and the evaluation been extremely favourable, but a general consensus was achieved both in the social and political spheres. This is currently leading us to propose a medium-term strategy allowing to continue maintaining an interest, attain other sectors heretofore not involved, and achieve a lasting social change.

But the differences between each of the interventions are not due exclusively to obvious factors such as the type of residents or the socioeconomic context. There are other keys to take into account that have a great influence such as the month chosen to carry out the excavations. This factor, in fact, conditions the availability to participate or even the number of residents present in the locality. Thus, scheduling the excavation in the summer allows the participation of vacationers and emigrants who return to their home towns. This summer months of the year, nonetheless, coincide with the school holidays and in the case of coastal Mojácar the moment of an influx of tourists. There are many other elements to take into account and not all can be controlled. Multiplying the number of campaigns allows the introduction of corrective elements and improvements. Yet what worked one year does not necessarily have the same success the following year and vice versa. Not all factors can be known or controlled. For this reason, one must also attempt to avoid falling into frustration when certain activities are not successful or do not generate the expected reaction.

In each case it is especially fruitful to collaborate directly with associations and local groups. Little matters if these entities are of cultural, environmental or collective ilk. Their common denominator is that they are already organised, accustomed to carry out and arrange activities, and are concerned not only at the personal level but also with the future of their town and region. The same can be said of educational activities in schools. In this case the range of possibilities is enormous, either working directly with them or combining the action of local associations or groups with educational centres (participation of the elderly, of irrigation communities...).

Each case also reveals a noteworthy difference that can be labelled as an emotional dimension linked to the space occupied by the site. The space occupied by the Lanteira site was an almond orchard devoid of any special significance practically unknown to all the population. “Mojacar La Vieja”, by contrast, has always been recognised as the place where the old Mojácar was built in spite of the fact that its residents are unaware of its chronology and cultural ascription. In addition, for many people the site occupies a space with different types of interactions, feelings and symbolic implications, mainly due to the shape of the hill and its location. It is even identified at times as a “magic mountain” or a “spiritual place”.

However, despite this contrasting initial relationship with the sites, the open and participatory approach adopted for the excavations has attained very similar results: each community has developed a link with its heritage and with its former populations and societies. The current populace, in fact, recognises the populations that once inhabited the sites as their ancestors and founders of their towns. In each case, they placed a high value on the possibility of visiting and securing information at any time of the excavation’s progress and in some way of participating in the work and in the investigation. This has generated, in fact, more demand and greater curiosity. The change in perception in the case of Mojácar is without a doubt astounding. The team of archaeologists was in any case welcomed by each of the communities, inviting them to participate in other activities such as local festivities.

Each case resulted in the development of a sense of belonging and ownership of the site which led in social monitoring to prevent pillage and deterioration, and in the demand by the local and regional administrations to continue investigating and conserve and value the sites. The outcome is that the excavation is perceived as something close, familiar and comprehensible. It becomes a part of them, giving place to its integration as a space for enjoyment, learning and even leisure. It has, in short, granted the residence the possibility to approach archaeology itself not only with a certain fascination due to the “discovery” aspect, but with curiosity and recognition for the scientific aspects and its interpretation, but also for the questions of management, conservation and musealisation. We are, therefore, convinced that opening our discipline and our activity to residents has positive effects for heritage and archaeology

itself, and above all, for social, cultural and economic development of the areas and the communities with and for which we work.

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Appendix

Fig. 1. Archaeological pottery workshop (Photo: P. Romero Pellitero)



Fig. 2. Theatrical guided visit (Photo: L. Delgado Anés)

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