Archaeology for the People? Greek Archaeology and its Public: an Analysis of the Socio-Political and Economic Role of Archaeology in Greece

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT **3**

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS **5**

TABLE OF CONTENTS **7**

LIST OF FIGURES **10**

LIST OF TABLES **15**

LIST OF PLATES **20**

INTRODUCTION **21**

Research objectives 21

The Rationale 21

Approach 25

CHAPTER ONE. ARCHAEOLOGY IN CONTEXT: PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY AROUND THE WORLD **28**

1.1 Introduction 28

1.2 Indigenous Archaeology 28

1.3 Community Archaeology 31

1.4 Public Archaeology 33

1.5 Post-Processual Archaeology 34

1.6 Archaeological Ethics 37

1.7 Archaeology and Nationalism 37

1.8 The Public in International Charters 38

1.9 The Public in Archaeological Resource Management 42

1.10 Public Perceptions of Archaeology 44

1.11 Conclusions 59

CHAPTER TWO. ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT IN GREECE **61**

2.1 Politics, Economics, Legislation and Administration 61

2.1.1 Introduction *61*

2.1.2 The Greek Politics of the Past *61*

2.1.3 Economics *74*

2.1.4 Legislation *77*

2.1.5 Administration and Bureaucracy *92*

2.2 Archaeology and the public in Greece 98

2.2.1 Introduction *98*

2.2.2 Greek Archaeological Museums *100*

2.2.3 Public Events *103*

2.2.4 Educational Programmes *104*
2.2.5 Archaeology in the Classroom *106*
2.2.6 Archaeology in the Press *111*
2.2.7 Archaeology and Local Communities: Public Perceptions of Archaeology and the Past *115*
2.2.9 Archaeology and NGOs *128*
2.2.10 Archaeology and Civil Society *129*
2.3 Conclusions 130

CHAPTER THREE. METHODOLOGY 133

3.1 The scope of this thesis 133
3.2 Research design and methods 134
3.2.1 Case Studies and Data Sources *134*
3.2.2 Quantitative Research Methods *135*
3.2.3 Qualitative Research Methods *141*
3.3. Limitations of the Methodology 144
3.4 My Approach 145
3.5 Presentation of Data 145

CHAPTER FOUR. CASE STUDIES 147

4.1 Case Study 1: The Archaeological Site of Philippi and the local community of Krenides, Kavala in north-eastern Greece 147
4.1.1 Introduction *147*
4.1.2 History and Archaeology *151*
4.1.3 History of Archaeology *155*
4.2 Case Study 2: The Archaeological Site of Dispilio and the local community of Dispilio, Kastoria in north-western Greece 160
4.2.1 Introduction *160*
4.2.2 History and Archaeology *164*
4.2.3 History of Archaeology *165*
4.3 Case Study 3: The Archaeological Site of Delphi and the local community of Delphi, Phokida in Central Greece 171
4.3.1 Introduction *171*
4.3.2 History and Archaeology *173*
4.3.3 History of Archaeology *177*
4.4 The Nature of the Three Communities 182

CHAPTER FIVE. GREEK ARCHAEOLOGY AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES TODAY - AN ANALYSIS 197

5.1 The Relationship Between Archaeology and Local Communities 197
5.1.1 Introduction *197*
5.1.2 Overall Relationship *198*

5.1.3 Practical Aspect of the Relationship *213*
5.1.4 Economic Impact of Archaeology *232*
5.1.5 Social and Cultural Impact of Archaeology *239*
5.1.6 Political Impact of Archaeology *274*
5.1.7 Cases of No Impact *275*
5.2 THE PUBLIC VALUES OF GREEK ARCHAEOLOGY 277
5.3 GREEK ARCHAEOLOGY: AIMS AND OBJECTIVES 295
5.3.1 Introduction *295*
5.3.2 Protection and Conservation *295*
5.3.3 Presentation and Interpretation *300*
5.4 STRATEGIES FOR RECIPROCITY 307
5.4.1 Introduction *307*
5.4.2 Economic Reciprocity *308*
5.4.3 Social Reciprocity *309*
5.4.4 Political Reciprocity *311*
5.4.5 A Change in Mentalities *311*
5.5 FOR WHOM IS ARCHAEOLOGY PRACTICED IN GREECE? 315
5.6 ISSUES 325
5.6.1 Nature of Archaeology *325*
5.6.2 Cultural Rhetoric *350*

6. CONCLUSIONS 356

BIBLIOGRAPHY 363

APPENDIX I TIMELINE OF MODERN GREEK HISTORY 384

APPENDIX II SUMMARY TABLE OF DATA 385

APPENDIX III QUESTIONNAIRE ON ARCHAEOLOGY IN KRENIDES, DISPILIO AND DELPHI 387

APPENDIX IV FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND CONTINGENCY TABLES 392

APPENDIX V MAPS AND PHOTOS 425

5.5 For Whom Is Archaeology Practiced in Greece?

The final question this thesis aims to examine and hopefully answer is (see Introduction) *'For whom is archaeology practiced in Greece?'* To explore whether the Constitutional premise of protection and conservation as a collective and individual right is actually happening, a series of further questions were asked. The answers of participants regarding disadvantages that derive from the proximity of their community to the archaeological site were also used to shed further light to how people perceive the requirements for protection and conservation. Their answers were grouped in four categories: 'no disadvantages', 'activities' restrictions, bureaucracy, delays, behaviour', 'restrictions in building and the use of private property' and 'other'.

Restrictions on building and the use of private property were by far the most frequently mentioned in Delphi and in Krenides (figure 96, table 91). It was third in participants' preference in Dispilio.

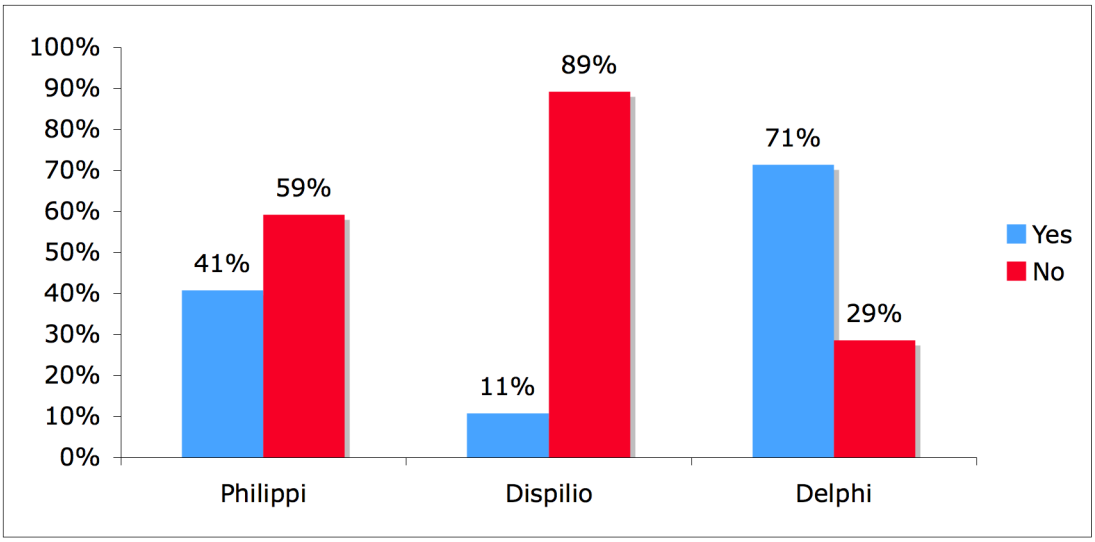

Figure 96 Building restrictions as a disadvantage

The most frequently mentioned disadvantage in Dispilio was 'activities restrictions, bureaucracy, delays and behaviour' (figure 97, table 92). It was the

second most frequently mentioned disadvantage in Krenides and the third one in Delphi.

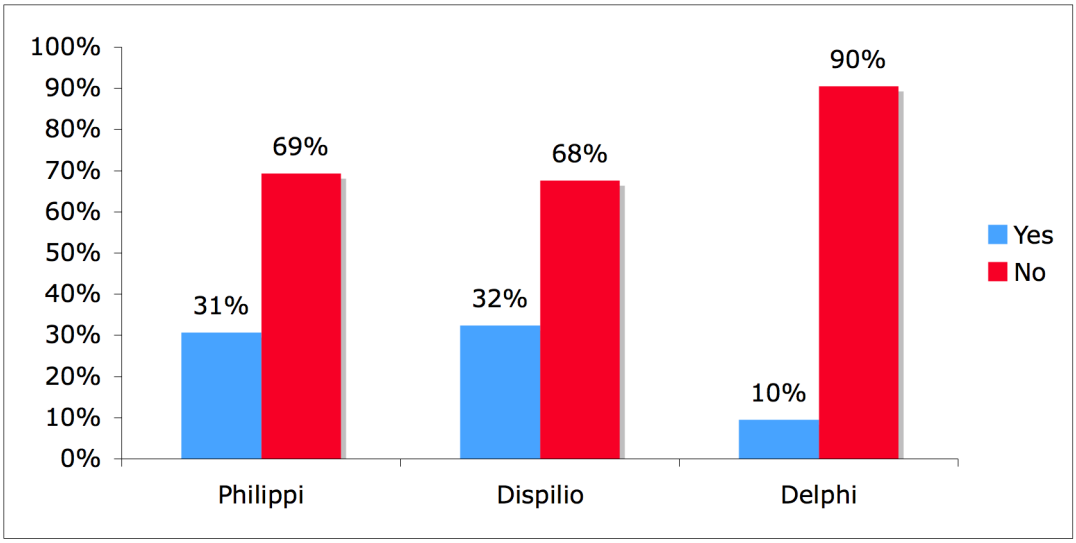

Figure 97 Activities restrictions, permissions requests, bureaucracy, behaviour, and delays

The second most identified disadvantage in Delphi and in Dispilio (which is lower at Krenides) is the group of other disadvantages that in Delphi included consequences of tourism, lack of infrastructure and of counterbalance measures, social division, lack of financial profit and accidents (figure 98, table 93).

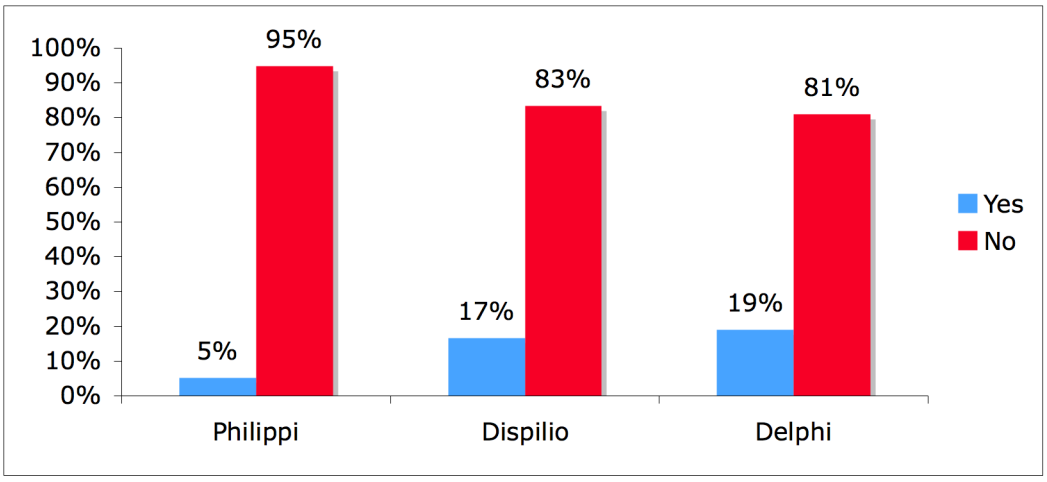

Figure 98 Other disadvantages

In Dispilio, other disadvantages include the threat to demolish the church (see 5.1.7) and restriction of the additional use of the settlement (e.g. the use of the logo). Other disadvantages noted at Krenides included accidents, the road diversion, town expansion, muddy roads and archaeology generally as an impediment to tourist development.

'Activities restrictions, bureaucracy, delays and behaviour' correlated with educational level in Krenides. Fewer participants who stated these as disadvantages had graduated with compulsory education or less (figure 99, table 94); confirming that participants with less education were less negatively disposed towards archaeology.

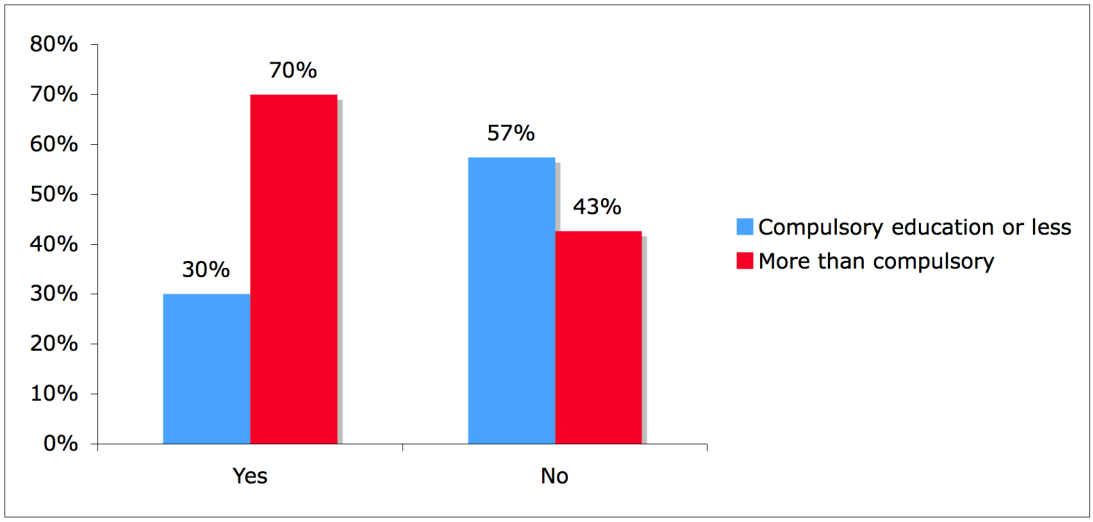

Figure 99 Activities, permissions, bureaucracy and delays by educational level in Krenides (n= 98)

In Dispilio, other disadvantages, including the purported threat to demolish the church and the control in using the lake settlement logo, correlated with age. More participants who mentioned other disadvantages were 65 years old and over (figure 100, table 95); confirming older residents as more reluctant towards changes in their social environment, even if these were only presumed, such as the threat towards the church of the Ascension (see 5.1.7).

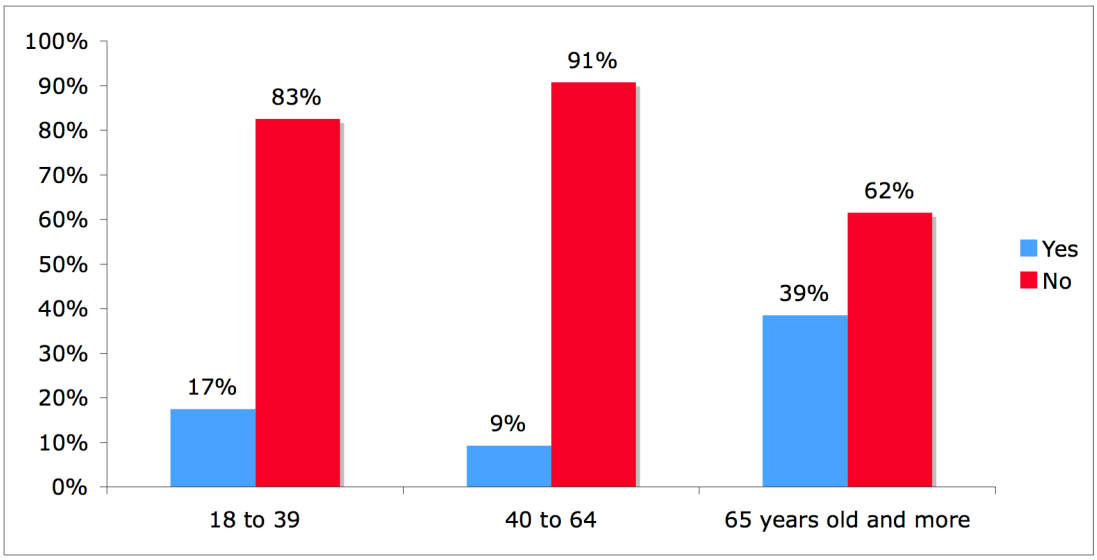

Figure 100 Other disadvantages by age in Dispilio (n= 102)

Participants' answers regarding the improvement of their quality of life as a result of the existence and work on these archaeological sites demonstrated a considerable level of agreement — a result that proved that the positive value of archaeology is identifiable (figure 101, table 96).

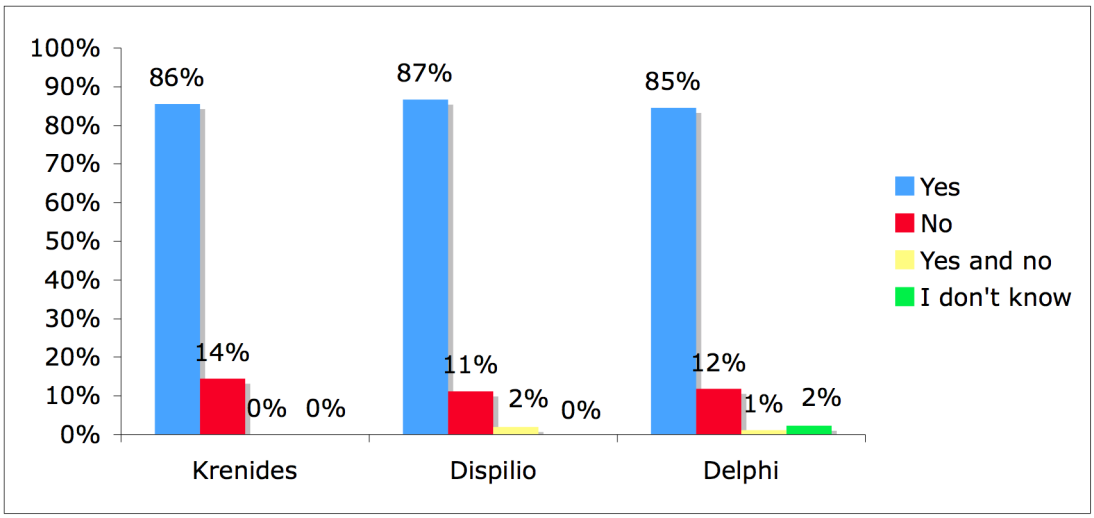

Figure 101 'Do you believe that these archaeological sites/museums improve the quality of life in your area?'

The answers to this question correlated with employment status in Krenides. Unemployed participants believed that these archaeological sites and museums improved the quality of life in their area (figure 102, table 97), confirming again the pattern of unemployed participants as more positively disposed.

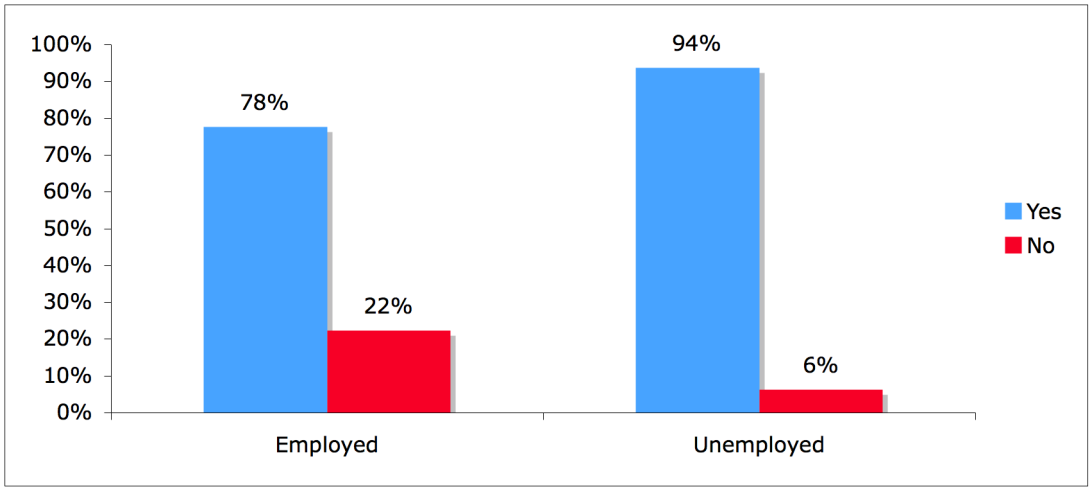

Figure 102 Quality of life by employment condition in Krenides (n= 97)

In an effort to further tease out participants' perceptions of the role of archaeology in their area, the issue of archaeology as an impediment to local development was raised. Participants' answers demonstrated the divide between the three local communities already identified (figure 103, table 98).

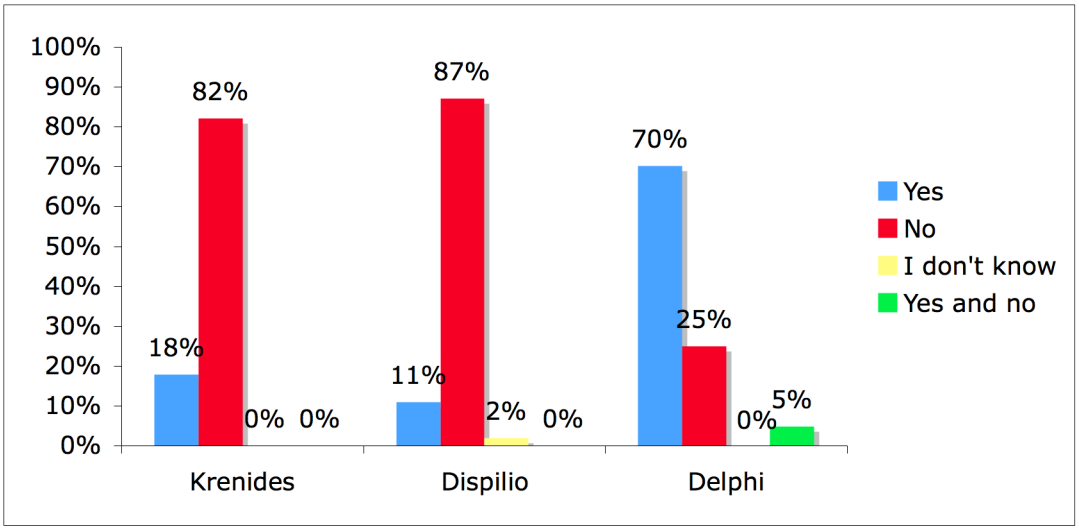

Figure 103 'Do you believe that archaeology has been an impediment to the development of your area?'

Percentages were similar at Krenides and Dispilio. However, at Delphi, the results were completely reversed. Although the term development was not used in a specific context, the results can still be explained by the minimal disruption that archaeology and archaeological activity has caused in the first two communities' lives. In Delphi, by contrast, where archaeology has directly affected the settlement's expansion and any new building activity (see 5.1.3), participants were in overwhelming agreement that archaeology had been an impediment to development. As a participant said 'there has not been a merging of contemporary society and archaeology. The Delphiot breaks the law the moment he or she is born. His property is confiscated and bound without any return. It is unfair'. Restrictions do not bring development.

Answers to this question correlated with gender at Krenides. Fewer female participants believed that archaeology has been an impediment to the development of Krenides, confirming thus females as less negatively inclined towards archaeology than male participants (figure 104, table 99).

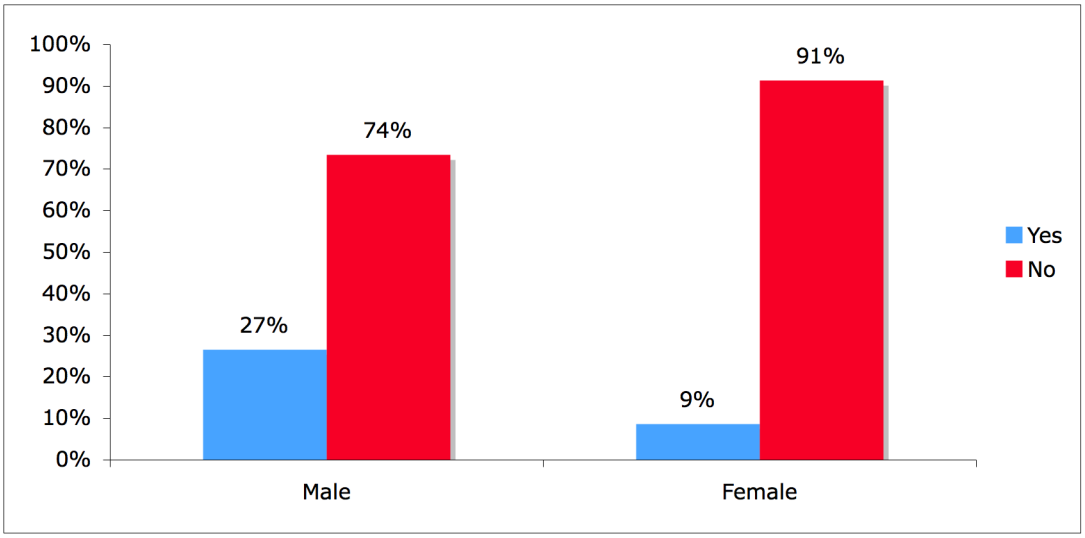

Figure 104 Impediment to development by gender in Krenides (n= 95)

Answers to the same question correlated with frequency of visits to other archaeological sites and museums in Delphi. Significantly more participants

who visited other archaeological sites and museums about or more than once a year did not believe that archaeology had been an impediment to the development of Delphi (figure 105, table 100), an expected result.

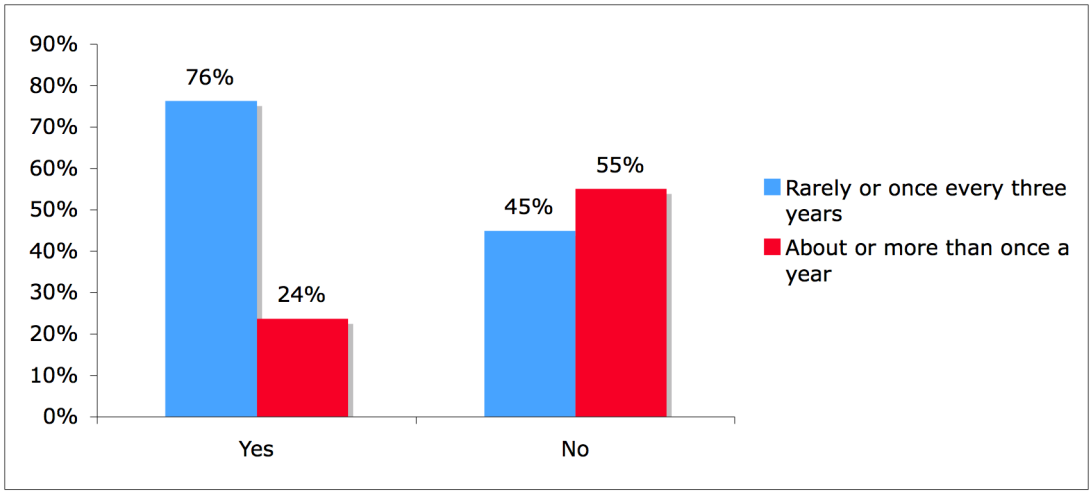

Figure 105 Archaeology as impediment to development by frequency of visits to other arch. sites/ museums in Delphi (n= 79)

Participants gave a wide range of answers to the question '*Who do you believe is mostly concerned with archaeology today?*' but a clear majority of respondents believed that it was 'the state and its responsible officials' (varying from 68% in Dispilio to 56% in Krenides and slightly less, 54% in Delphi) (figure 106, table 101).

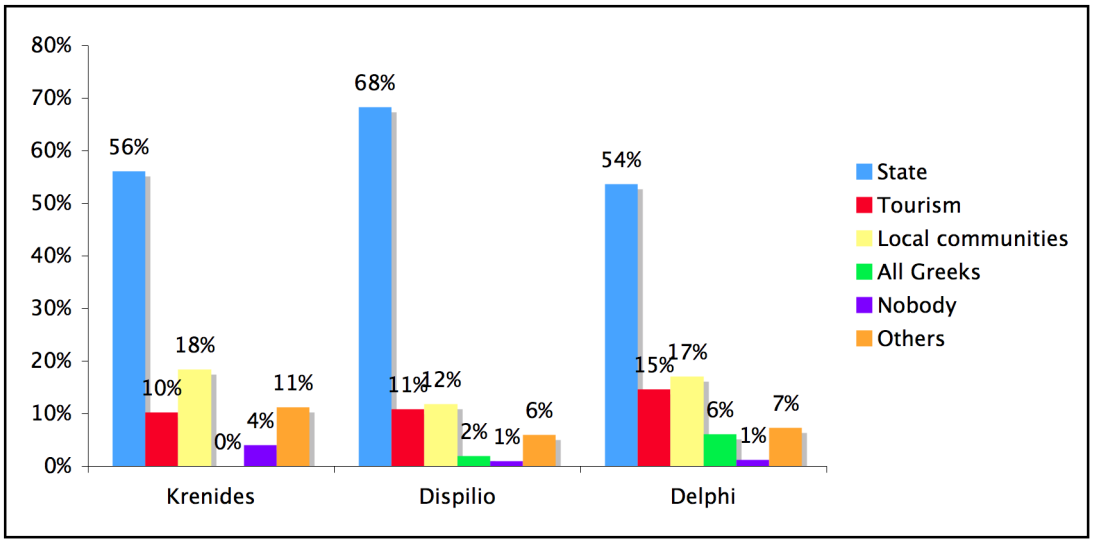

Figure 106 'Who do you believe is most concerned with archaeology today?'

These results clearly demonstrate that longevity of archaeological works and regulations may result to more exposure to public criticism and consequently to lack of support and distrust towards state archaeologists and the Archaeological Service and not necessarily to a better relationship between them and local communities. Although a reassuringly high percentage of participants in Krenides distinguished between their relationship with the discipline and the one with the Archaeological Service (see impact of bureaucracy in 5.1.3), not all participants make this distinction.

Considering that archaeology is an exclusively state profession according to legislation in Greece (see 2.1.4), it is important to understand what else participants thought. At all the sites 'the local communities' came second. The tourist industry was the respondents' third choice and then came 'all Greeks'. There was a series of other responses where participants expressed their distrust in the state with cynicism. Answers included 'romantics' or 'whoever loves our history', 'nobody', 'tourists', 'the French' (in the case of Delphi), 'those who are paid to' or 'make a profit', 'looters', 'worshipers of the Twelve Gods'. Manolis Andronikos, the archaeologist who excavated Vergina, was also mentioned, an unsurprising answer regarding this archaeologist's public appeal (see Hamilakis 2007).

The Archaeological Service as the main archaeological actor involved with work taking place currently was even less acknowledged in areas where more agents are more actively involved, as is the case of Naxos (see 2.2.7). However, the important role students attributed to the state when they were asked about what agent they expect to familiarise them with archaeology (Dassiou 2005; see 2.2.5) demonstrated that expectations from the state as attributed by public education are renewed with every generation.

Differences in the answers to the same question in surveys conducted in Northern America demonstrate the different system of management of archaeological resources. There the majority of participants attributed archaeological work to university and museum researchers, a situation that was true until a few decades ago, when archaeological work was taken up by private firms, demonstrating thus a lack of awareness of archaeological management reality (see 1.10).

Finally, the question '*for whom do you think archaeology is practiced today in Greece and in your area in particular?*' was posed. The majority of participants at Krenides and Dispilio stated that archaeologists work for themselves (figure 107, table 102). Only 10% gave this answer in Delphi. In Delphi, the majority believed that archaeologists work with the primary motivation of contributing to society, which was the second biggest category in answers at Krenides.

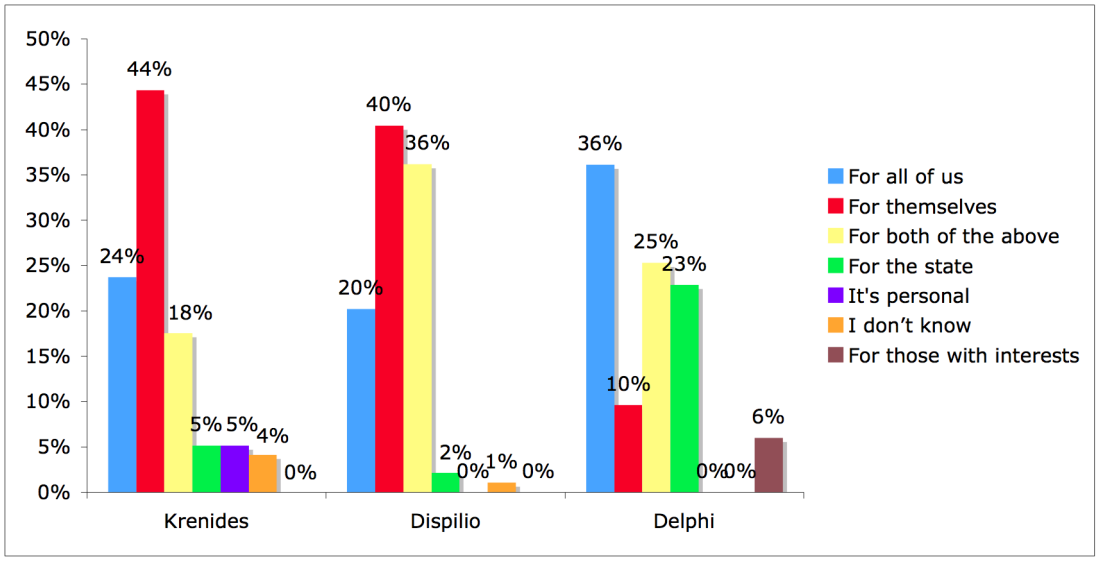

Figure 107 'For whom do you believe that archaeology is practiced today in Greece and in your area in particular?'

The second biggest category in Dispilio believed that the archaeologists' motivations were a combination of social and personal agendas, the third most popular category at Delphi and Krenides. After these major categories came

participants who saw them as any other employee of the state. Finally, few participants in Krenides stated that it was an entirely individual matter and others in Delphi that they work for vested interests.

These percentages demonstrated a quite fragmented picture of public perceptions about archaeologists. Overall, a more realistic impression of archaeologists seems to exist in Delphi than in the other two sites. Participants at Krenides and Dispilio, who believed that archaeologists worked for themselves, were balanced by those who believed that their primary motivation was their contribution to society. If the latter are combined with those who believed in a mixture of social and personal agendas, then percentages reach and surpass the first group.

The picture is just as balanced in Delphi: although the percentage of participants who believe that archaeologists work to contribute to society initially seems high, when one combines participants who believed that archaeologists work for themselves with those who believe in mixed motivations, the two groups are equal. The groups that are most notable were the fourth highest group identified at Delphi who saw archaeologists as being like any other civil servant and those who believed that archaeologists work for vested interests. The two groups combined make almost one third of participants in Delphi.