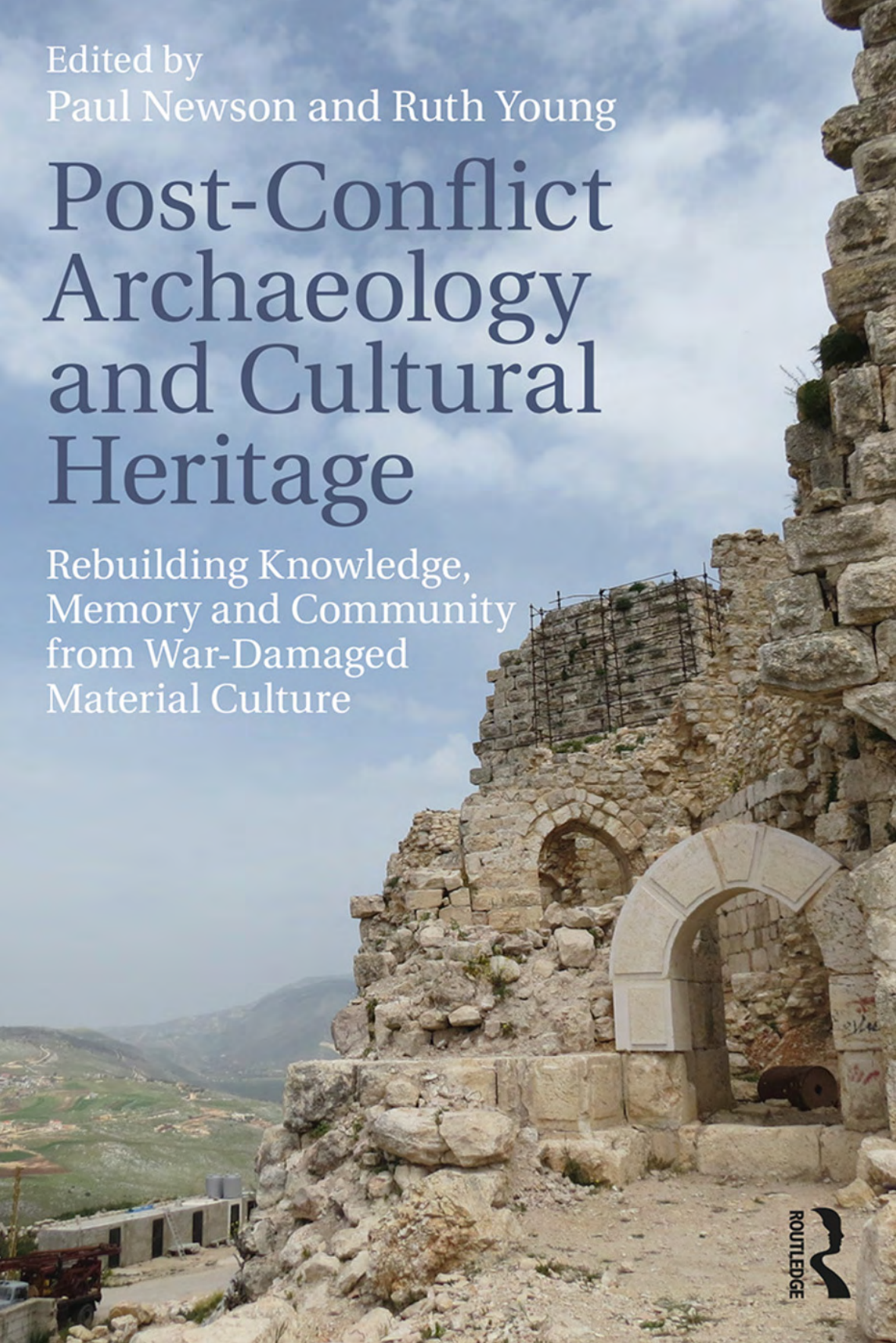Edited by
Paul Newson and Ruth Young

Post-Conflict Archaeology and Cultural Heritage

Rebuilding Knowledge,
Memory and Community
from War-Damaged
Material Culture

Post-Conflict Archaeology and Cultural Heritage

The human cost in any conflict is of course the first care in terms of the reduction, if not the elimination of damage. However, the destruction of archaeology and heritage as a consequence of civil and international wars is also of major concern, and the irreversible loss of monuments and sites through conflict has been increasingly discussed and documented in recent years.

Post-Conflict Archaeology and Cultural Heritage draws together a series of papers from archaeological and heritage professionals seeking positive, pragmatic and practical ways to deal with conflict-damaged sites. For instance, by showing that conflict-damaged cultural heritage and archaeological sites are a valuable resource rather than an inevitable casualty of war, the authors suggest that archaeologists use their skills and knowledge to apply good practice, protocols and procedures to bring communities together and giving them ownership of, and identification with, their cultural heritage.

The book is a mixture of the discussion of problems, suggested planning solutions and case studies for both archaeologists and heritage managers. It will be of interest to heritage professionals, archaeologists and anyone working with post-conflict communities, as well as anthropology, archaeology, and heritage academics and their students at a range of levels.

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Part I

Introduction

1 Conflict

People, Heritage, and Archaeology

Paul Newson and Ruth Young

Introduction

Conflict is an inescapable aspect of human life, and has had a huge impact on a significant proportion of the world's population in the recent past and present. Conflict is arguably an integral part of human interaction, and archaeological studies have provided evidence for conflict from at least the Palaeolithic onwards (Thorpe 2003). Conflicts have occurred throughout prehistory and history, and conflict is an unavoidable evil in many parts of the world today, often impacting on all aspects of human life and culture (Bevan 2006; Boylan 2002; Stone 2013; Wimmer 2014). The human cost in any conflict is high and obviously protecting people has to be the first priority during times of war. However, damage to heritage can be a deliberate tactic during conflict, and this can have major psychological consequences. This volume aims to explore several linked themes around heritage and archaeological sites damaged as a result of conflict.

Archaeologists, politicians, and many others recognize that damage to heritage is irreversible and has very serious, lasting consequences. Research by Boylan (2002, 44) notes the longevity of the practice of destroying, defacing, or converting significant religious and national buildings and monuments in times of conflict, and work by Harmanşah (2015) explores the explicit use of purported heritage damage by ISIS (Daesh) to enrage the international community and garner publicity. The impact of war on archaeological and heritage sites is rightly an area of great significance and concern to archaeologists and other heritage professionals, and is increasingly an area of research and debate, both within and outside academic circles, including the military of several countries. Steps taken by the US Military to educate and inform troops active in areas of conflict about archaeology and heritage form the basis for Chapters 3 and 4 of this volume.

Heritage, in its broadest sense a recognition of the past in the present, is a key element in allowing and supporting individuals and groups to have, create, and develop a secure sense of belonging and place, as well as playing a major role in individual and group identity creation and re-creation (Cresswell 2015; Harrison 2013, 155; Smith 2010, 11). Being aware of heritage and being

involved in heritage creation, interpretation, and presentation is important for building and maintaining engaged, stable communities: heritage is such a powerful concept and tool that it can play a vital role in post-conflict community re-building and re-engagement. While preventing conflict in the first place would be (arguably) the best approach, the reality is that conflicts continue to occur, and there is little sign that international peace and stability will prevail in the foreseeable future. If conflict is not preventable, then protecting all heritage in times of conflict in order to prevent any damage, whether deliberate or collateral (Cunliffe 2012), would be highly desirable. While major progress has been made around the listing and protection of key sites during conflict (e.g. Stone 2013), it is impossible for any country to fully protect its entire heritage during conflict. We believe that if conflict is inevitable and unstoppable, then it is critical to begin to explore ways of using archaeology and heritage in post-conflict situations as a means of helping communities to re-build themselves and overcome divisions and disengagement. At the same time, we also believe that as conflict-damaged sites are very much a reality, archaeological and heritage professionals need to consider how to obtain maximum knowledge from damaged sites, both for academic research and preservation purposes, and not simply disregard even very badly damaged sites as beyond usefulness.

Post–Conflict Archaeology and Heritage: Our Position

We have both conducted archaeological fieldwork for many years in countries that have been affected by conflict in different forms (e.g. Lebanon, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Syria). This has of course shaped the ways in which we approach fieldwork and interpretation, and has increasingly required us to think about the impact of our work on different local communities and how this might be both positive and negative. Our fieldwork and community engagements have allowed us to evolve our working definitions of what we understand post-conflict archaeology and heritage to be, and what we hope it could become. Given the huge potential value of understandings of the past to community re-building, including helping enfranchise groups and individuals, we believe that archaeologists and heritage professionals have a duty to protect and preserve sites and material during periods of conflict. They also need to commit to working with community groups, NGOs, government groups, and so forth, during and following conflict, in order to find ways in which archaeological and heritage material can be used to provide or strengthen a sense of belonging and identity development. This may come partly through the interpretation and presentation of extant materials, and partly through the practical processes of the production of both archaeology and heritage; through team activities and involvement in decision making, the latter can play a major role in rehabilitation (see Chapter 13). It is also vital that professionals recognize the potential in conflict–damaged sites. Rather than dismissing sites as badly damaged, and thus not worth investing time, money, and effort in exploring them, if the right methodologies and research questions are deployed usefully, a surprising

amount of information can be obtained (see Newson and Young 2015, and Chapters 8, 9, and 10 in this volume).

Destruction of Heritage: Sites of Global Importance

Sites of international importance draw out the greatest public and arguably professional response when they are damaged or destroyed during conflict, whether deliberately or as collateral casualties of war. The Buddhas of Bamiyan in Afghanistan, and the temples of Palmyra in Syria, are two excellent examples of this, both provoking international outrage over their destruction among the public and professionals alike. In 2001 the Taliban government of Afghanistan enforced the destruction of two monumental statues of the Buddha carved into rock (Chiovenda 2014). The Taliban held press conferences and ensured that their plans to destroy the Buddhas were widely reported by the media of many countries, which led to attempts by various international agencies to stop them, including meetings between, e.g. UNESCO, the UN Security Council and Taliban officials (Chiovenda 2014, 417). The acts of destruction were effectively portrayed as evidence for Islamic Iconoclasm in the west (Flood 2002, 641), and at least in part as justification for further western involvement in the region. ISIS (ISIL, Daesh) have also deliberately targeted cultural heritage in both Syria and Iraq as part of their ongoing (at the time of writing) conflict strategy. Harmanşah (2015) has argued that ISIS members have deliberately staged and recorded 'acts of destruction' as part of their campaign to horrify and appall the west, while raising their profile as successful upholders of 'true' Islam, thus acting as a powerful propaganda tool. Condemnation of attacks on sites such as Palmyra by the Head of UNESCO, Irina Bokova (States News Services 2015), expresses the outrage felt by western organizations, and shows how important such sites are when understood to be part of an international heritage. While the Bamiyan Buddhas were not UNESCO World Heritage sites at the time of their attack, their global cultural significance was recognized (perhaps partly as a result of their destruction), and the Bamiyan Valley was inscribed in 2003 (WH List 2017). Since then, recent attacks on sites that have been inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage list, such as Palmyra, the ancient cities of Aleppo and Bosra, and the 'Dead Cities' of Northern Syria, have been characterized as attacks on humanity itself (Lostal 2015). The considered use of different international media meant has ensured even a decade apart the wanton destruction of unique, monumental heritage has drawn worldwide condemnation and outrage.

Destruction of Heritage: Quotidian Sites

While a small number of sites deemed of international significance dominate news headlines and capture public imagination, an unknowable number of lower profile sites of all forms and sizes from many periods will also have been severely damaged in recent conflicts. Sites such as Palmyra, Hatra, Babylon,

and Ninevah have all sustained considerable damage during conflict from a range of different causes, and all have received considerable media attention. That they are all major, monumental sites, with impressive, extensive standing architecture is undoubtedly why they have been the subject of attacks or occupation, and also why they have received such media attention. It is far harder to glamorize a small tell or a series of post-holes and middens. UNESCO and their list of sites that are deemed to represent World Heritage has also played a key role in the recognition of what constitutes 'heritage' and how it is valued, in some parts of the world at least (Askew 2010; Harrison 2013). With a clear bias towards monumental sites built from stone and other durable materials, the WH List has undoubtedly shaped a particular approach to heritage. The role of UNESCO in dealing with post-conflict heritage is explored in Chapter 2, and it is not our intention here to offer a critique of UNESCO or the WH List in relation to post-conflict archaeology and heritage. It is, however, incredibly important that the loss of quotidian sites through conflict is recognized and discussed, and strategies both for the protection of sites during conflict, and approaches to post-conflict archaeology and heritage are based at least as much around these 'ordinary' sites as they are around those deemed valuable by UNESCO or other western agencies. Monumental sites are far more likely to be reconstructed and subject to redevelopment and academic study, while smaller, quotidian sites are far more likely to be dismissed as having been compromised, both in terms of stratigraphy and authenticity. We argue that archaeologists should view conflict-damaged sites as opportunities to gain information and explore sites and regions with new agendas, as well as providing opportunities to engage different communities with their heritage (Newson and Young 2015).

That concern for heritage sites damaged in conflict is very much a political act is not in doubt; the disparity between attention, effort, and funding given to major sites at the expense of minor sites is clear, even when 'minor' sites might well hold more information, or be less well-studied than the 'major' sites. Many archaeological and heritage sites are known to have sustained damage in antiquity – not just by conflict, but by disasters such as earthquakes – and this seamlessly becomes part of the site history, and is treated as such by archaeologists (e.g. work in the Islamic period in the Middle East, Walmsley 2007). That modern conflict acted upon a site somehow renders it beyond or unworthy of academic investigation is not an approach we can reconcile.

Why We Came to This Subject

As noted above, we have both carried out fieldwork in conflict-affected countries over many years. Although we both started our careers as archaeologists, i.e. interested in the material culture of particular regions and people in the past, we very quickly discovered that it was impossible to separate our practice in the present from the contemporary context: a context that clearly included many difficult issues such as conflict, religious tensions, ethnic tensions, and

political manipulation of heritage. Of course we recognize that as western, educated 'experts' or 'elites' in our field, this brings with it all sorts of questions around archaeological imperialism and biases. We have always striven for a post-colonial approach in all our projects: to be as open and reflexive as possible about our theoretical and analytical orientations, and our academic and personal biases. In this way, we have become increasingly aware of the critical need for bottom-up community engagement in all archaeological and heritage work, including through outreach and education programs.

Working extensively in countries, such as Lebanon, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Syria, during and after diverse forms of conflict, exposed us to a wide range of ways in which these conflicts have affected archaeology, heritage, and communities. These impacts include immediate, very direct damage from conflict, such as occupation and activity by military forces, bomb and gun damage, and much longer-term impacts around lack of infrastructure, planning laws, encroachment, looting, and so forth (we discuss the latter further below, see also Chapter 8). This work has also forced us to recognize that if all conflict-damaged sites are dismissed as compromised, then a huge heritage resource is simply being lost – not just through conflict, but also through deliberate professional decisions to disengage with sites that are not pristine, or have only been previously investigated by other professionals.

Our separate work in both field archaeology and different conflict-damaged countries intersected in a project dealing directly with a severely conflict-damaged site in Lebanon (see Newson and Young 2011, 2015). This site – Hosn Niha in the Bekaa Valley – is discussed in more detail as a case study in Chapter 10, and is an excellent example of how prior to our project professional interest and expertise had been lavished on the monumental, religious buildings largely untouched by conflict, and the dismissal of the surrounding village which had been subject to extreme and repeated episodes of destruction. In many ways Hosn Niha can be seen as a typical site subject to extensive damage during conflict, and exemplifies our argument that not only can these sites still provide a great deal of unique information, but that archaeologists need to make plans to investigate such sites post-conflict.

Syria as an Example of Post-Conflict Preparation

The recent conflict in Syria has seen a great deal of deliberate (and collateral) damage to archaeological and heritage sites, and this has been the focus of a good share of both media and academic attention. Ever since 2011 as Syria rapidly descended into an increasingly brutal civil war, the international community has looked on seemingly powerless to halt the destruction to lives and property. At this point in time (2017), after six years of conflict, there have been almost half a million reported deaths, and more than 10.9 million people have been forced to leave their homes (McKernan 2017). Furthermore, the damage done to archaeological sites and cultural heritage has been on an unprecedented scale.

A tremendous effort has gone into recording damage in Syria (as has been the case in other conflict areas), through a variety of approaches such as analyses of aerial photographs and social media accounts, occasional site visits in person by both local and international professionals and conventional media. The accessibility of the destruction evidence has led to numerous campaigns to alert the world to the loss of heritage (e.g. Perini and Cunliffe 2013–2015; Leckie *et al.* 2017) and many articles which have progressively analyzed the threats (e.g. Ali 2013; Al Quntar 2013; Casana 2015; Casana and Panahipour 2014; Cunliffe 2014, 2016; Danti 2015; Kila 2013). Such records play a valuable role as a potential base for developing heritage management plans, as shown in the work carried out by the Endangered Archaeology in the Middle East and North Africa project (see Chapter 8).

Naturally, the shocking destruction of cultural heritage in Syria has galvanized a wide range of concerned individuals, experts, and institutions such as the AIA (Archaeological Institute of America), to come together in a range of organized conferences to discuss the extent of damage, and ways to protect cultural heritage from further destruction (e.g. Chalikias *et al.* 2015). With the changing fortunes of the war in Syria, more recent initiatives are beginning to discuss how best to plan for the end of the war and the reconstruction of the damaged infrastructure, including heritage (e.g. the recent conference series on postwar reconstruction of ancient Syrian cities – Urbicide Syria 2016). In fact, where possible, on the ground small-scale projects are beginning to make assessments and begin restoration work. For example, ASOR (the American Schools of Oriental Research) have begun funding a long-term project to repair and restore the ancient structures of the Syrian city of Bosra damaged in the conflict (ASOR 2016).

Therefore, among the outcry over destruction to major sites and deliberate destruction of globally important cultural heritage, we cannot lose sight of the professionals and concerned community leaders who are spending considerable time and effort developing and implementing positive and practical solutions to both working with conflict-damaged heritage and sites, and engaging with communities through heritage. It is a key purpose of this book to foreground the work of these people, and to show that while conflict remains an inescapable part of life for many, heritage and archaeological hand-wringing is not the only response open to us.

It is also vital to be aware that post-conflict problems are not only ongoing, but that they do not just cease after a certain period. The impact of conflict, direct and indirect, can continue over decades and in many cases is very intimately bound to political aspirations and developments. Looting is a consequence of conflict which has been widely reported and discussed, and while it is often closely linked to poverty and dire economic need, work by Elizabeth Stone (2015) in Iraq has shown that this is not always the case, and may be the product of opportunity, and the chance to assert some measure of control over heritage. In countries emerging from conflict, laws may be inadequate to directly protect heritage, or there may not be appropriate planning laws to protect heritage from

encroachment and development. In such situations housing, farmland, infrastructure development, and repairs are likely to take precedence in the minds of many over the protection and preservation of minor (even unrecognized) archaeological sites. It may also transpire that where religion or ethnicity has played a part in conflict, protection of the heritage of minorities and/or the defeated may not be a priority with the majority and/or the victors.

Ways Forward

In order to advance post-conflict recovery, including community re-building, it is vital that we look forward, and find ways of exploring and exploiting archaeology and heritage as part of these agendas, as well as ensuring that conflict-damaged sites are not routinely overlooked during research. Dialogues between archaeologists, heritage professionals, and communities in different parts of the world are increasing, and this is a vital element of post-conflict work. Looking at examples where these groups are working together on all sorts of projects is inspirational, and this volume aims to offer further case studies of content, approach, and method.

For any post-conflict initiative to be as successful as possible, and perhaps even to ensure that sites are as well-protected from further harm as possible, it is critical that planning begins even while conflict is still occurring. Syria is a clear example of this need, not only because heritage sites have played a high profile role in the media throughout the conflict there, with destruction clearly being used to both outrage an international audience and demonstrate the power of ISIL and their contempt for national symbols of identity and place, but also because heritage and heritage tourism potentially have a major role in the reconstruction of civil society. The example of Syria highlights the pressing need for a volume such as this, to focus the attention of archaeologists and heritage professionals on ways forward and how to use heritage in community re-building, and not just to lament the destruction of resources.

Planning for What Comes Next: Lessons Learnt from Iraq

Being prepared to act as soon as it is safe and practical to do so on the ground is therefore a key foundation in post-conflict heritage action. Looking forward beyond the conflict itself and planning for this time are clearly critical. Ideally, plans being developed should cover immediate actions, and then short-, medium-, and long-term strategies. In this respect, many lessons have been learnt from Iraq, where various initiatives both during and after conflict have engaged communities with heritage and heritage professionals through careful planning and long-term visions (Stone 2013; Stone and Farakh Bajjaly 2008). The newly opened museum at Basrah in Iraq is an example of long-term vision, planning, and co-operation between a range of local and international groups and individuals (BBC 2016; Friends of Basrah Museum 2017). The support for the project by the local community shows that not only is heritage

an important part of identity and belonging, but that heritage projects have the potential to unite fragmented communities.

The Role of Politics

Politics, of course, plays a major role in the success or otherwise of all post-conflict endeavours, including those based in archaeology and heritage. That heritage sites are so consistently and publicly manipulated and attacked during times of conflict (Bevan 2006; Boylan 2002) demonstrates they are (or can be) heavily politicized, and this holds true in post-conflict periods also. Politics shapes the form post-conflict nation and community re-building will take, and this will include both heritage sites themselves, and the relationships between communities and these sites, both directly and indirectly. All of the case studies presented and explored in this volume show that politics is an inescapable issue in heritage and archaeology, although in some (e.g. Chapters 7, 9, 11, 13, and 15) politics plays a major role in directly shaping and even preventing post-conflict heritage and archaeological engagement. In others (e.g. Chapters 5, 6, 7, 12, and 14) the political is more overt, but no less potent for being more oblique in the impact on heritage.

One thing certainly is true of all post-conflict situations: there are no quick, easy solutions. Each situation is complex, and is complex in its own particular way. The human cost should always be the first concern in conflict and post-conflict situations; archaeology and heritage must be put in perspective. However, if we are committed to working with heritage in post-conflict situations then we need to be both prepared and flexible. We must be aware of and able to take advantage of useful models and previous experience, while at the same time fully conscious that each community, heritage site, and conflict is unique. Even within the same country and same broad conflict, differences between community characters have to be understood and treated with sensitivity in order for post-conflict actions to be successful.

The First Volume to Deal with Post-Conflict Archaeology and Heritage

This book is the first volume to bring together discussions and case studies of work that deal explicitly with post-conflict work in archaeology and heritage. Volumes exist that deal with threats to archaeology and heritage, damage to sites, and attempted preservation during conflict, alongside an increasing mass of academic journal articles and web sites on these topics. While individual accounts of post-conflict work have been published (e.g. Leslie 2012; Newson and Young 2015), this is the first volume to explore the key issues, a selection of case studies, and consider ways forward. Given the global impact of local and national conflicts, we believe that it is vital professionals, governments, and communities are all committed to developing post-conflict heritage and archaeology initiatives. As noted above, the developments in Syria and other

current conflicts such as Yemen, make this volume a timely contribution to wider debates about protection of cultural heritage.

In planning this volume, we wanted to aim for an explicitly international reach, and we hope that we have achieved this. We are aware that it is always impossible to cover every potential topic, case study, or conflict-affected area in one volume alone, but we hope that this will be a positive beginning, and that alongside debate (even disagreement), the challenges and achievements presented in the following chapters will stimulate archaeologists, heritage professionals, and others to think about how to engage with communities and governments in order to initiate and support post-conflict development. What all the chapters have in common is that they deal with places that have been affected by conflict, and where the archaeology and heritage has been damaged (often very badly) by such conflict. While this may be the first volume to deal explicitly with post-conflict archaeology, heritage, and communities, we sincerely hope that it will not be the last, and that it will at the very least raise awareness of potential and possibilities.

The authors who have contributed to this volume come from a wide range of backgrounds, all with different experiences in post-conflict archaeology and heritage in many different areas of the world. Engagement with communities, heritage, and archaeology therefore takes many different forms, but it is clear that for each author, their time and work in these places has had a huge personal and professional impact. It would be very difficult indeed to imagine a situation where this was not so – witnessing first-hand the devastation of conflict on people and a community is a profound and often very difficult experience. Drawing on such experiences to use professional skills and knowledge to help re-build and support communities is one way of channelling sadness, even despair, towards a more positive end. This means that post-conflict archaeology and heritage endeavours are not purely an intellectual exercise. While we would definitely argue that post-conflict strategies can result in increased academic knowledge, we see this as one part of the wider practical outcomes of engaging with heritage in post-conflict situations. Just as people are the primary concern during conflict, so benefits to people via community engagement and possibly even through heritage tourism, is a major concern of post-conflict work.

Local, Practical, Context-Based Solutions

As we have stressed throughout this introductory chapter, heritage and archaeology can play multiple roles in post-conflict situations: recognizing that damaged sites can still yield considerable information could transform archaeological understandings in some areas; the practice of archaeology as a team-building exercise can contribute hugely to community cohesion and engagement; gaining some control over what and how a past is presented can lead to an enhanced sense of identity and belonging. Critical to the success of post-conflict work is the recognition that there are no global models that

can be developed and applied to all situations. Local, practical, context-based solutions produced through collaboration between local communities and heritage professionals are essential, and these need to be supported by governments. Without informed and imaginative projects that address local needs and local issues, post-conflict work risks being yet more well-intentioned aid from external, international sources that ultimately changes little, as in the case of Afghanistan.

The Themes of the Volume

One of our aims in planning this book was to take disastrous scenarios and seek positive, pragmatic and practical solutions that aim to mitigate the destruction of conflict-damaged cultural heritage and archaeological sites, and show that valuable information can still be produced from them, and that they can still serve useful purposes within and for society. It is also important to address issues and situations critically, as many of the case studies presented in the following chapters provide examples of problems, challenges, and the ways in which heritage can be used for less than positive outcomes.

This book is divided into six parts, although there are strong links and resonance between many of the chapters. This introductory chapter is a review of the key issues as we understand them, around post-conflict archaeology and heritage. As we have been at pains to stress throughout this chapter, post-conflict archaeology has been largely under-explored, and the use of archaeology and heritage in post-conflict situations is not always a priority or included in post-conflict planning. We want this volume, the first of its kind, to raise awareness of issues and possibilities and signpost ways forward. This volume is not intended to cover all situations, or provide hard and fast models and processes to 'fix' post-conflict societies or heritage. We hope it will engender discussion, even disagreement, and then encourage further action. The different parts of the book are intended to explore themes that are important to considerations of any kind of archaeological or heritage work in post-conflict situations, ranging from how legal frameworks enable or challenge work on the ground; the importance of planning and preparation; the role/s of the military in post-conflict work; heritage as a source of identity and memory; the importance of the right methodologies for dealing with conflict-damaged heritage and even preventing or mitigating further damage; how to link with communities and the roles of communities; and the role of the archaeologist in post-conflict work.

While international laws, conventions, and institutions have valuable roles to play in recognizing and protecting heritage in conflict and post-conflict situations (see Chapters 2 and 3), these frameworks work through engagement with nation states, or state parties, i.e. the internationally recognized political entities. Other geo-political bodies and non-state actors may well be involved in conflicts, but may not be recognized by the external, often international bodies such as the UN or UNESCO. This presents many heritage-related

difficulties even in peace, such as the struggle by the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) within Iraq to gain control of its own identity and resources, including heritage (Hadji 2009), and the situation becomes even more complex during conflict. When a region within a country demands autonomy but this is denied, the region and its heritage can lapse into a state of unrecognized, unprotected limbo. Western Sahara is a good example of this (Brooks 2005) where Morocco has not only claimed the territory for itself and disregarded calls for a separate state (i.e. Western Sahara), but it has made any kind of foreign movement into this area extremely difficult. Further, any archaeologist or heritage professional who works in the Western Sahara will then be unwelcome and unable to work in Morocco itself. Similar political forces are at work in other places around the world, such as Northern (Turkish) Cyprus – any non-Turkish archaeologist who works in that region would find they are unable to work in the south, or in other parts of Greece, and may even be considered to be working illegally (Hardy 2008).

In Chapter 9 Higueras explores the major problems that his project has faced trying to work in the Armenian-controlled Nagorno-Karabakh territory of Azerbaijan, where the geographical separation of the territory from the majority of Azerbaijan acts as a further complication. In Chapter 6 al-Azm points out some of the problems that occur when international bodies and agencies are only willing to engage with official state parties. In situations where the official government is unable or unwilling to protect and preserve heritage and archaeological sites, archaeologists and heritage workers may act independently, or non-state military or political groups may involve themselves in heritage protection. Not dealing with these non-state actors might well seriously endanger the archaeology and heritage, or even individuals, as al-Azm notes has happened in Syria. Such issues are linked to wider debates around ethics and law in times of both conflict and peace that are increasingly important in archaeology and heritage (Soderland and Lilley 2015).

In some contexts, heritage and archaeology may not have a contribution to make to re-building post-conflict societies with stable, diverse communities. This point is made explicitly in Chapter 11 where Horning and Breen discuss community members who chose not to engage with archaeology and new, more nuanced understandings of a hitherto straightforward historical narrative. When peace is obtained by drawing a line under the past and moving forward, attempts to critically evaluate the causes of conflict can in fact destabilize communities and undermine a fragile reconciliation. This should act as a warning to archaeologists and heritage professionals to consider whether their work is indeed appropriate for any given situation, particularly in the face of resistance or repeated failure to engage, but also to remember that heritage is incredibly powerful, and has the potential to complicate simple narratives much beloved by politicians and military leaders and ask people to confront often uncomfortable, if not painful, truths.

Memorialization is a very difficult, politically fraught process, often contested and rarely subject to consensus. Memorials linked to conflict are even more

complex and difficult to achieve, as examples from around the world, such as the contentious Genbaku Peace Dome, a memorial erected to mark the dropping of the nuclear bomb on Hiroshima, attests (Beazley 2010). Giblin's work in Rwanda (Chapter 7) throws this into stark relief, where very visual, even visceral memorials to conflict are often partial and selective in what is preserved and displayed, and who is being commemorated. Memorials and museums dedicated to conflict have proliferated in recent years, not least because of a heritage paradigm shift which stresses the importance of presenting the realities of conflict not only as a means of remembering those involved and impacted by violence, but also as a means of underscoring the need and processes for peace. Amna Surka, or the Red Museum in Sulimaniyah in Iraqi Kurdistan presents the brutality of Saddam Hussein's sustained campaign against the Kurds and is located in the very buildings where imprisonment and torture of large numbers of Kurds took place. Like many of the examples from Rwanda that Giblin presents, this use of place is incredibly powerful and underscores the impact that heritage can have. This power and impact of course need not necessarily be positive, or a force for what we might deem good – heritage can be, and indeed frequently is, manipulated. There are also situations, such as the Khmer Rouge sites of Anlong Veng, where it is argued that preserving the "sites does little or nothing to further understanding of or commemoration of Cambodia's tragic and painful past" (Long and Reeves 2009, 80).

The power of archaeology and heritage is seen clearly in Chapter 5 where Lino *et al.* talk about the ways in which an archaeological project has explored the materiality of a largely forgotten war and the impact this has had on the local community. Such work brings into focus the ways in which communities can be marginalized by having major events of their past denied or downplayed, and further emphasizes the power of heritage in both remembering and forgetting. Revisiting this war and explicitly engaging local people in the presentation of the material remains of this war has raised many issues around how to approach and deal with contested heritage, and has also shown how heritage can be used in the present to highlight social injustice. Lino *et al.* also draw attention to the politics at work that attempt to limit the use of archaeology and study of material culture in the recent past, deeming them an inappropriate way to think about events and processes that many claim are better served by historical sources.

Recognizing the potential value of even badly damaged archaeological and heritage sites is one of the main themes of this book, alongside the value to communities of heritage as both a practice and in symbolic terms. In Chapter 10 we present the methods and results that were used to explore one archaeological site that had been very badly damaged by conflict over a long period in Lebanon. While the monumental religious buildings at this site had not been damaged during conflict, and had been subject to intense study by archaeologists both before and after the civil war, the surrounding village which had been extensively damaged was seen as being compromised and was therefore dismissed by archaeologists as unsuitable for investigation. When compared

with the efforts expended on the major sites in Lebanon that had also been damaged during conflict, this highlights the ways in which heritage hierarchies are created and judgements enacted (see also Hamilakis 2009).

Re-building and organizing archaeology and heritage frameworks in a country deeply traumatized by long-term conflict is a major undertaking, and with many other immediate demands placed on post-conflict governments, this may not be a high priority. Stark and Heng (Chapter 12) offer a fascinating account of the ways in which history and politics played their part in shaping the ways in which archaeology and heritage were organized and conducted in postwar Cambodia. Many of the issues and decisions covered in this case study are also important in the examples presented in other chapters in this volume. As well as finding the capacity to train and equip professional archaeologists, there are many decisions around what to excavate, preserve, conserve, and present, and what to leave aside, or even actively discard. Decisions around public engagement and interpretation of heritage need to be made, even if this happens by default – offering no interpretation or minimal interpreta- tion is as much a decision as offering biased or partial information. There are many lessons to be learnt from the Cambodian (and other) experiences that we should be taking forward into discussions and plans for countries such as Syria. Developing extensive databases and records of archaeological sites that cut across borders based on aerial photography (Chapter 8) is one way of being able to support archaeologists in countries emerging from conflict. While the ability to gather detailed information remotely is hugely advantageous, Bewley notes that there are still issues and questions around verifying such data and decisions on who has access to this data, e.g. state parties only, or non-state parties, and if so, what criteria are used.

Practical issues around heritage and archaeology (such as making sure workers are paid regularly and on time) may seem both mundane and obvious, but they can be critical, as Curvers' work in Afghanistan showed (Chapter 15). Curvers' work, and some of the projects outlined by Rush (Chapter 4) also serve as very timely reminders that archaeology and heritage projects can fail, either entirely or in part, and for a whole host of reasons – there are many ways to fail. We are all aware that heritage is not a magic solution for post-conflict societies, and for any project to be successful (however that is measured), political will, funding, and being able to identify the right approach for each individual situation are essential even before we draw on specialist knowledge and skills.

There is also perhaps a role for serendipity in post-conflict work; for being in the right place at the right time (having put in all the effort and hard work to get to that point, of course). In Chapters 6 and 15, both al-Azm and Curvers document some of the frustrations that can come when working in coun- tries without fully functioning governments and infrastructure. However, both Olivieri (Chapter 13) and Sampeck (Chapter 14) have found that even work- ing in very difficult political and logistical situations in war-torn countries and regions can lead to spectacularly good post-conflict co-operations and projects. Perhaps at least part of the success of both these projects (in the Swat region of

Pakistan, and El Salvador respectively) was the longevity of institutional and personal relationships made to these areas based on archaeological fieldwork. These long-term commitments to both communities and places had long preceded the conflict in each, but in both the key actors were willing to return to work very quickly after the conflicts had ceased, and despite major logistical issues resulting from the conflicts.

Anyone who has attempted any kind of community engagement in their work will know that building relationships and networks is critical, and that these cannot be forced; they need to develop organically and over time. The very long commitment the Italian Archaeological Mission has made in Swat has rightly earned the whole archaeological team great local respect and trust (particularly Luca Olivieri), and the local community has therefore shown great willingness to work with and for the team in their new venture discussed in Chapter 13, and even challenge the enactment of entrenched social structures. For Kathryn Sampeck, being able to work in El Salvador with her husband, and thus combine both personal and professional interests, has clearly been a very important element in being accepted by local communities and archaeologists; they trusted her and her husband's commitment to them and their heritage.

One issue that is clear from all of the chapters and examples in this volume is that post-conflict projects that aim to draw on archaeology or heritage to build stronger, more stable societies, are not just the responsibility of the archaeologists and heritage professionals alone. Any project that impacts, or wants to impact on communities must involve these communities right from inception, and also involve a whole range of stakeholders. Only with discussion, inclusion, and co-operation do such projects have any chance of real, long-term success.

Conclusion

This book alone cannot cover all the issues around post-conflict heritage and archaeology. Building on all the work that has been published around the protection of cultural heritage during conflict, and on the publications of individual experiences and projects dealing with post-conflict heritage, we wanted it to cover some of the main challenges and issues that archaeologists and heritage professionals working in these areas face. As the case studies presented in the following chapters show very clearly, there are no easy solutions and there are as many problems and difficulties as there are situations of conflict. We hope that this volume will both raise questions and stimulate discussion, and also offer ideas and encouragement (or warnings) for readers to take forward into their own work.

In order to offer the best and most appropriate approaches to post-conflict heritage we need to draw from community and public archaeology, museology and interpretation theories, sociologies of memory, geographies of place, peace studies, and much more. Just as no individual or agency can work alone in post-conflict heritage projects, so there is no single academic or professional

approach that can offer all that is needed in such complex endeavours. Learning how to listen to disparate communities and translate their needs and aims into meaningful heritage projects is our major challenge, and one that we must meet with sensitive and context-driven solutions. We also have to be honest about our failures and learn from them.

Whether successful or unsuccessful, heritage is undoubtedly incredibly powerful. It has a major role in the modern world, and is inextricably linked with politics, power, identity, belonging, and the economy. Heritage cannot be ignored, and it needs to be treated with great respect, and recognizing this is perhaps more important in periods of post-conflict social and political re-building than at many other times. Material remains, including places, have immense power, as the discussions in this volume show very clearly, and herit-age plays a major role in memory, both remembering and forgetting. We hope readers will find the volume challenging and thought provoking, and that it will, at the very least, help bring the problems into clearer focus and stimulate further discussion and action.

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Part II

Legal Frameworks