

INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR CULTURAL AND HERITAGE STUDIES  
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**Read All About It?**

**Newspaper Coverage of the Archaeological Excavation,  
Retention, and Reburial of Human Remains within the  
United Kingdom**

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## Abstract

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Human remains are one of the most popular aspects of archaeology for the public in the United Kingdom, yet they are also one of the most sensitive and debated. Changes in attitudes and guidance in the UK in recent years means that it has become increasingly important for archaeologists to engage and communicate with the public. The mass media such as newspapers provide an important, yet complex and often mistrusted interface through which this communication can happen. To date little research exists in this area, and this research project starts to address this gap by exploring newspaper coverage of the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains in the UK between 1989 and 2009.

An analysis of 413 newspaper articles, 59 surveys of osteoarchaeologists, six interviews with senior archaeologists in the North East of England and surveys from 100 members of the public allows the newspaper coverage of the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains to be explored from a number of perspectives. When data sets are compared, it can be seen that there are different expectations and understandings of newspaper coverage. Survey data from osteoarchaeologists show that newspaper coverage is expected to be a clear, detailed account which explains the process and reasons behind excavation, and reburial of human remains, and contributes to the public knowledge. However, content analysis of newspaper articles demonstrates that the reality is different. The newspaper article is a social construct, influenced by a number of external and internal factors including the news values of elites, negativity, and unexpectedness; the ability to time and coordinate the flow of information from archaeology to the newspapers; available word count; and presentations of archaeology in the wider mass media.

Concern about newspaper coverage from osteoarchaeologists was common and was found to lie in the perceptions of the negative effects that a newspaper article may have, such as the potential for poor public image and loss of support for the subject. This research project suggests that in reality the negative impact from newspaper coverage was minimal, and its key role was in creating an overview and interest in the

subject. Issues of the public's trust in newspapers, low level of recall of newspaper article details, and the interconnected nature of the different mass media mean that the impact from newspapers on the public is more complex than is often assumed.

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## List of Acronyms

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ADS	Archaeological Data Service
APABE	Advisory Panel on the Archaeology of Burials in England
APACBE	Advisory Panel on the Archaeology of Christian Burials in England
BABAO	British Association of Biological Anthropology and Osteoarchaeology
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CoBDO	Council of British Druid Orders
CoE	Church of England
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sport
EH	English Heritage
HAD	Honouring the Ancient Dead
HER	Historic Environment Record
HLF	Heritage Lottery Fund
HSS OPP5	Historic Scotland Operational Policy Paper 5
HTA	Human Tissue Act
IFA	Institute for Archaeologists (previously Institute for Field Archaeologists)
MGS	Museums Galleries Scotland
MoJ	Ministry of Justice
MORI	Market & Opinion Research International
NAGPRA	Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act
NPPG5	National Planning Policy Guideline 5
NPPF	National Planning Policy Framework
OASIS	Online Access to the Index of Archaeological Investigations
PPG16	Planning Policy Guidance 16
PPS5	Planning Policy Statement 5
TAG	Theoretical Archaeology Group
UK	United Kingdom
WAC	World Archaeological Congress



## Preface

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This research project began as a dissertation undertaken as part of an MSc in Palaeopathology at Durham University which examined the differences in the reporting of palaeopathology (the study of disease in ancient populations) between professional literature (academic journals) and public media (newspapers, television series, and museum displays) (Park, 2006). The MSc research project examined differences between professional and public media in the different types of diseases reported, how integrated results and interpretation were, and between the geographic and time periods focused on. A number of the key findings relating to the professional literature were published in the *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* (Park *et al.*, 2010), and relating to the public media in conference proceedings (Park, 2009).

The roots for studying such a topic came much earlier. As a child, my grandfather spent hours during school holidays reading books about Egyptian archaeology and Tutankhamen to me. This sparked an interest in archaeology, particularly in what it could tell us about the lives of people who lived in the past - people who were just like us, but who lived in such a different world. This interest led to me watching archaeology on television and reading about it in newspapers whenever I could, and eventually led to the decision to study archaeology and anthropology at undergraduate and Masters level. Upon embarking on an MSc in Palaeopathology at Durham, I realised that much of what I knew about archaeology and human remains came from what I had watched on television or read about in the newspapers. A curiosity developed about the level of information about the archaeological study of human remains (osteoarchaeology) available through the mass media, compared to that in professional and academic spheres.

A shift in focus came during a period of work as a field archaeologist and osteoarchaeologist (human remains specialist) in contract archaeology in the UK (2006-2008) and the Republic of Ireland (2008), where I was involved in the excavation and study of human remains. This work brought an increasing awareness of the discussions and debates surrounding the ethics of human remains within archaeology, as well as the observation that whenever I told a member of the public what I did as a

profession they immediately cited instances of archaeology in the mass media and newspapers. From the initial MSc research project outlined above, the focus for the PhD research became the portrayal of the excavation, retention, and reburial of archaeological human remains in the mass media.

# Chapter 1 : Introduction

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## 1.1 Introduction

This research project investigated newspaper coverage of the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains within the United Kingdom (UK). As will be explored in Chapter 2 and throughout the thesis, human remains are popular, fascinating, scientifically and archaeologically valuable, yet they are also sensitive and controversial. There is a need for archaeologists to communicate with society, yet this is often fraught with challenges, particularly when communication occurs through the mass media.

Human remains are frequently cited as being one of the most popular aspects of archaeology for the public in the UK (Parker Pearson, 1999; Sofaer, 2006; Time Team, 2006; Sayer, 2010a), as Williams (2007: 48) comments “archaeology’s popular persona is saturated by death and the dead”. This popularity can be seen in the draw of mummy exhibits within museums (Werner, 1998; Swain, 2002) and in the focus on human remains in many television series and programmes in the UK such as *Secrets of the Dead* (Channel 4, 1999-2001), *Meet the Ancestors* (BBC2, 1998-2003), and more recently *History Cold Case* (BBC2, 2010 – present). *Time Team* (2006: 1) once observed that “nothing captures the imagination of an audience quite like the discovery of human remains”, and the underlying reasons for this interest in human remains are explored throughout this thesis.

While human remains are perceived as popular and archaeologically interesting by many, they were also once living people. As such, they are part of the living world in a way that other archaeological findings such as pottery or building material are not. Concerns from different communities regarding the presence and use of human remains within institutions such as museums (Fforde, 2004; Restall Orr, 2006; Wallis and Blain, 2011), mean that they are an increasingly sensitive and debated aspect of archaeology (Smith, 2004; Tarlow, 2006; Mays and Smith, 2009; Sayer, 2010b; Jenkins, 2011). A consequence of such debates is an increasing concern amongst archaeologists about public image, and the need for accurate presentation to the

public of the archaeological use of human remains, as Parker Pearson (1999: 171) commented “the dead don’t care, but the living most certainly do”.

The public can experience human remains through carefully constructed museum displays, and be engaged through consultation, but the mass media provide another interface through which communication can happen (McQuail, 2005; Baron, 2010). This research project focused on one mass medium through which the public are presented with the archaeology of human remains: the newspapers.

This chapter begins in Section 1.2 by introducing a number of key terms that are used throughout the thesis. Following this, Section 1.3 introduces the literature on archaeology and the media, identifying gaps in existing research. Section 1.4 expands further on the particular focus on the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains, on newspapers, and on the need to examine the communication process from a number of perspectives. Discussions relating to the justifications and timeliness of the focus of this research project are continued in Chapter 2. Following this, Section 1.5 sets out the research question, Aims and Objectives, while Section 1.6 summarises the content of the remaining chapters in the thesis.

## **1.2 Terminology**

At this point in the thesis, it is of value to briefly introduce and clarify a number of key terms as they will be used throughout the thesis. Further discussion of some of the terms is found within the contextual background (Chapter 2), and the methodology (Chapter 3).

Archaeology is the study of the past through material remains (Greene, 2010). Within this, the study of archaeological human remains can be variously referred to by a number of terms including physical anthropology, osteoarchaeology, osteology, burial archaeology, mortuary archaeology, human skeletal biology and bioarchaeology (Sofaer, 2006; Williams, 2007; Roberts, 2009; Sayer, 2009). During this research project it is referred to as osteoarchaeology, and those who specialise in the field, as osteoarchaeologists, however, where survey and interview respondents used different terms, these have been left as they were. The term mortuary archaeology is

occasionally used by researchers to encompass the study of archaeological human remains in addition to the wider burial environment, i.e. tombs and graves (e.g. Williams, 2007; Williams and Giles, Forthcoming), and is used in the thesis where appropriate to reflect this broader discussion in the literature.

The mass media are the technical means for mass communication. The term includes television, radio, music, film, literature, newspapers, magazines and the internet (McQuail, 2005). This research project focuses on the newspaper, but other media are discussed throughout the thesis and collectively referred to as 'the mass media', or simply 'the media'.

### **1.3 Existing literature and gaps in the research**

The relationship between archaeology and the mass media is long and diverse with archaeology providing popular content for television, films, newspapers and even computer games (Arnold, 2001; Clack and Brittain, 2007; Lemaitre and Schall, 2009). However, communication with the public through the mass media is not straightforward, as Chapters 2, 4, and 7 demonstrate. Contact with the public through the mass media is not direct and is often fraught with challenges and conflict. This has led to an uneasy relationship, and as Stoddart and Mallone (2001: 459) comment, "all archaeologists have their media stories, unfortunately we tend to remember the outrages and mistakes rather than the smooth successes". Yet, despite concerns and unease about the mass media, "it is all around us, permeating the practices through which our intelligibility of the world transpires. We cannot stop this mediation: it has no off switch" (Clack and Brittain, 2006: 15). The ubiquitous nature of the mass media and its coverage of archaeology, alongside an increasing need to communicate with the public, means that there has been an interest, particularly in recent years, in exploring and understanding mass media portrayals of archaeology, and their potential to impact on the public and archaeology (e.g. Kulik, 2005; Brittain and Clack, 2007; Holtorf, 2007a; Kulik, 2007a). In doing so, the investigation of media messages helps archaeologists improve their understanding of their public role (McGeough, 2006).

Until the mid-2000s, the study of archaeology in the mass media was dominated by discussions based on casual observation but generally lacked empirical study, as Kulik (2005: 9) observed, “the debate about the relationship between archaeology and the media has for too long been based on anecdote rather than evidence”. Clack and Brittain (2007: 9) also note this lack of depth, prefacing their book *Archaeology and the Media* with the comment “the study has rarely been critically approached with any depth”.

Since the mid-2000s, a growing body of literature on archaeology and the mass media has emerged, with increasing number of books (e.g. Holtorf, 2005; Holtorf, 2007a) and articles (e.g. Joffe, 2006; Dixon, 2007; Sperry, 2008; Park, 2009) being published. More recently, archaeology in the mass media has been the focus of several conference sessions such as Archaeology in Contemporary Europe’s ‘Archaeology and the Media: What is at Stake’ in Brussels in November 2009; a session at The Institute for Archaeologist’s annual conference in April 2010 entitled, ‘Through a Glass Lens Darkly. Archaeology, the Media and an Image Crisis in the Making’, and a conference session at the annual TAG conference in December 2012, ‘Archaeology and the Media: Entertainment or Edutainment’. The findings and discussions from these books, journal articles and conference sessions are incorporated throughout this thesis.

As noted, human remains are popular with the British public and the mass media yet are also a particularly sensitive aspect of archaeology. This has led to discussions relating to the complex relationship between human remains and contemporary society. Research into this area is still in its infancy, as Williams (2007: 47) notes, “archaeologists have barely begun to investigate the complex nature of the popular appeal of the mortuary remains they study in the UK”. Sessions at the Institute for Archaeologists (IFA) annual conference and at the Theoretical Archaeology Group (TAG) conference in 2010 both entitled ‘Mortuary Archaeology and Popular Culture’ have started to investigate the ways in which human remains from archaeological sites intersect and interact with modern society, with papers covering ‘digging cemeteries without hiding’ (Sayer, 2010c), issues in excavating the Royal dead in Madagascar (Crossland, 2010) as well as more traditional discussions surrounding museum display of human remains (Croucher, 2010; Jenkins, 2010; Swain, 2010). An edited book

entitled 'Dealing with the Dead: Mortuary Archaeology and Contemporary Society' incorporating many of these conference papers is in preparation (Williams and Giles, Forthcoming).

However, despite the growing interest and study into the mass media and archaeology, and the popularity yet sensitive nature of human remains and the need to understand their relationship with contemporary society, the two have not been examined in conjunction with each other in any depth. This research project aims to address the gaps in discussions of both the mass media and archaeology, and also in mortuary archaeology and contemporary society by providing an in depth study of the coverage of human remains by the newspapers.

#### **1.4 Research project scope**

This research project focused specifically on newspaper coverage of the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains from archaeological contexts within the UK. These areas are of particular interest for a number of intersecting reasons discussed in Sections 1.4.1 and 1.4.2 below.

##### ***1.4.1 Excavation, retention, and reburial***

Archaeological excavation frequently takes place in towns and cities, and as a result is one of the parts of archaeology most visible to the general public. In the UK, the majority of human remains are excavated out of necessity and ahead of development, rather than for research purposes (Roberts, 2009), and it is therefore developer funded archaeology on which this research project largely focuses. Additionally, the close association that the public have between archaeology and excavation has been noted by a number of researchers. 'Digging' is what many people think of when they hear the word archaeology (Ramos and Duganne, 2000) and, for many, excavation offers the experience and thrill of discovery (Holtorf, 2007a; Simpson and Williams, 2008). Excavation is therefore one of the most likely parts of archaeological involvement with human remains to attract attention from newspapers.

In investigating newspaper coverage of the excavation of human remains, it is imperative to also explore coverage of the retention and reburial of human remains as the three are inextricably linked. In recent years, attitudes and wider international debate surrounding the ethics of retaining and/or reburying human remains have increased and this has had implications for human remains from archaeological sites within the UK (Mays and Smith, 2009; Sayer, 2010b; Jenkins, 2011; Wallis and Blain, 2011; White E, 2011; White B, 2011). The resulting changes to policies and guidance relating to excavation, retention, and reburial, affect archaeologists and their work at a day-to-day level and have led to calls for public consultation and engagement, as well as concerns about public image. While there is general support for the excavation of human remains within the UK (DCMS, 2005), it is the subsequent issues of retention and reburial which as will be seen in Chapter 2, have prompted debate. During the course of the research project it became clear that the retention of human remains featured very little amongst newspaper articles, however, it was decided to keep the data collected and include a brief analysis and discussion of newspaper coverage of this aspect due to its importance in the wider discussion on the ethics in human remains. It does however, for reasons which are discussed later, feature less prominently in discussions on the professional and public aspects (Chapters 5 and 6).

#### **1.4.2 Newspaper coverage**

The mass media are a means to mass communication (Oliver and Myers, 1999; Williams, 2003; Brittain and Clack, 2007). They provide a way to reach those beyond an immediate interest group, and as such they offer ways to reach audiences who perhaps are not traditionally interested in archaeology (Scherzler, 2007). In the past, research and discussions on archaeology and the mass media have tended to focus on television programmes and films (Clack and Brittain, 2007). The emphasis on television is unsurprising; a number of past surveys have shown that television is one of the key ways in which the public learn about archaeology (Ramos and Duganne, 2000; Paynton, 2002; Piccini, 2007). Television is a visual medium which can provide dramatic images, and cover ideas, processes and trends; it therefore lends itself to the interpretation of archaeological findings and the stories they tell (Sheppard and Bawden, 1997).



While the emphasis in the past has been on television programmes and films, the news media, and newspapers in particular, are interesting areas to investigate when archaeological process of excavation, retention, and reburial rather than the findings from archaeological study are considered. The news media are those media involved in the dissemination of current information and events (Allan, 2004). By helping to inform the public about events which are happening around them, the newspaper plays a valuable role within society (Holliman, 2004), and a number of small scale empirical studies have started to focus on newspaper coverage of archaeology more broadly (e.g. Coleman and Dysart, 2005; Benz and Leidmeier, 2007; Kulik, 2007a).

As Chapters 2 and 6 investigate further, the recent emphasis for archaeological excavations and projects to reach out and engage with the surrounding public (Holtorf, 2007b), means the newspaper, with its local as well as national reach and audience, is well placed to provide an important interface for engagement and communication with the public at an everyday level. There are documented instances in the literature of newspaper coverage of human remains having implications for archaeology and osteoarchaeology. While several instances of newspaper coverage impact are discussed in greater depth in Chapter 6, one event in particular is important to note here, as it played an important role in early discussions of ethics regarding exhumation of human remains in the 1980s, and highlights the value of investigating the reach and impact of newspaper coverage in greater depth.

Excavations at Jewbury in York in the early 1980s involved the exhumation of 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> Century skeletons from a medieval burial ground. Prior to the excavation, discussions had been held between the developer, the chief Rabbi, and archaeologists, and approval was given for the excavation, and re-internment, of any human remains encountered. During the process, the excavation was reported as part of a larger archaeological report in *The Guardian* (Walker, 1981), detailing that the site at Jewbury was to be developed but that “in medieval days, it was the site of a huge Jewish cemetery which could make the area one of the most important shrines for the Jewish community”. The newspaper coverage prompted requests for more information from members of the public, and also resulted in an intervention by the Rabbi from an orthodox Jewish community. While the Home Office and York Archaeological Trust

explained the archaeological importance of the site, the Rabbi highlighted the “reverence due to mortal remains...which we believe have an inalienable right to stay undisturbed” and that “the dignity shown to human remains, even centuries after death could contribute more than any scientific inquiry to the advancement of human civilisation” (Addeyman 1994:300). This prompted the Home Office to request that archaeological work on the bones be halted, and that they should be reburied (Parkin, 1983; Sayer, 2010b), with the reburial taking place in July 1984. The series of events, prompted by newspaper coverage, while halting archaeological investigation, also raised key concerns regarding burial licences, archaeology, and the sensitivities of different communities. As such, it serves as a key example of the reach and effect of newspaper coverage may have.

When studying newspaper coverage, a number of key stages need to be explored. As noted, newspapers are a means of communication, and consist of a number of different key elements which overlap and intersect: production, content, and consumption (Thompson, 1995; McQuail, 2005). In the past, communication between these different elements has been viewed as uni-directional (e.g. Shannon and Weaver, 1947), with the message moving from the producer to consumer. Decades of research has shown that the transmission of messages is more complicated and is influenced from many directions (Hartley, 1982; Hall, 1999; McQuail, 2005). As a result, it is of value to study the component parts and their interaction (Deacon *et al.*, 1999). In the case of archaeology in the mass media, archaeologists *produce* the event considered news. Archaeologists are also involved to a certain extent in the *production* of the newspaper article, although it is largely the journalists who write the *content* of the newspaper article, and during production are influenced by a number of external and internal factors (Franklin, 2008). The public *consume* the resulting newspaper article, but in turn it is their interest and power as a consumer that drives, amongst other factors, news *content*. Additionally, those archaeologists not involved in the particular excavation being reported on, or in the production process, also play the role of a *consumer* (Scherzler, 2007), and their views as well as experiences have the potential to influence their subsequent involvement with the mass media. These intersecting elements of production, content and consumption within the process of

communication are introduced further in Chapter 2 and explored throughout the thesis.

Exploring the different stages of communication, both as individual elements and as a whole, allows a better understanding not just of the coverage of the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remain, but also of public engagement and understanding of archaeology. Moreover, appreciating the different perceptions of the parts of communication from different perspectives will help “ensure that future debates about archaeology and society will be informed by a better understanding of some fundamentally different approaches concerning the aims and character of archaeology’s communication with public audiences” (Holtorf, 2007b: 161-2).

It is important to bear in mind that it is difficult to consider any one medium in isolation, because as Bolter and Grusin (1999: 15) comment, “no medium today, and certainly no single media event, seems to do its cultural work in isolation from other media, any more than it works in isolation from other social and economic forces”. Discussions relating to archaeology in the wider mass media and popular culture are therefore incorporated throughout this thesis.

## **1.5 Research question, aims and objectives**

This research project was guided by the following questions: i) *how and why are the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains from archaeological sites within the UK portrayed by the newspapers?* And, ii) *what are the influencing factors on, and impact of newspaper coverage?*

The following Aims and Objectives served to guide the research:

**Aim 1:** To critically investigate newspaper coverage of the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains.

Objectives:

- 1.1 explore how the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains are presented in the newspapers;
- 1.2 establish the reasons behind the newspaper portrayal;

- 1.3 determine whether the newspaper coverage has changed over time; and,
- 1.4 establish why newspaper coverage may, or may not have changed over time.

**Aim 2:** To examine osteoarchaeologists' and archaeologists' attitudes to newspaper coverage of the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains.

Objectives:

- 2.1 define osteoarchaeologists and archaeologists within the scope of this research project;
- 2.2 determine archaeological engagement with the newspapers regarding excavation, retention, and reburial of archaeological human remains;
- 2.3 analyse osteoarchaeologists' and archaeologists' impressions of newspaper coverage of the excavation, retention, and reburial of archaeological human remains;
- 2.4 establish the benefits and drawbacks of newspaper coverage as seen by archaeologists and osteoarchaeologists;
- 2.5 interpret attitudes towards newspaper coverage of the excavation, retention, and reburial of archaeological human remains; and,
- 2.6 analyse the implications of osteoarchaeological and archaeological perceptions of newspaper coverage.

**Aim 3:** To investigate the relationship between newspaper coverage of the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains and the public.

Objectives:

- 3.1 define 'the public' within the scope of this research project;
- 3.2 establish public perceptions of the excavation, retention, and reburial of archaeological human remains;
- 3.3 investigate the role of newspapers in presenting information to the public;
- 3.4 explore the impact on public opinion that may have arisen through newspaper coverage; and,

- 3.5 critically assess the impact of public opinion on archaeology and archaeological human remains.

**Aim 4:** To compare archaeological and public attitudes to newspaper portrayal of the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains.

Objectives:

- 4.1 explore the relationship between newspaper portrayals, archaeological and public attitudes to newspaper coverage excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains;
- 4.2 identify and explore the differences between archaeological perceptions of the impact of newspaper portrayal and actual impact, and,
- 4.3 assess the implications of the differences between newspaper coverage, archaeological attitudes, and public opinions.

## **1.6 Thesis organisation**

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. Chapter 2 provides a literature review of the archaeological context for the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains, as well as presenting the theoretical background to communication and the mass media.

Data were collected from a number of different sources in order to address the broad Aims and Objectives of the research project. This necessitated adopting a mixed methods approach to data collection and analysis. Chapter 3 describes and justifies the research design and the range of methods used within this research project, commenting upon the limitations which the selected methods impose on the data collected.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 present the analyses of the data sets. Chapter 4 presents the findings from the analysis of newspaper content, exploring what is reported in the newspapers and how. Chapter 5 investigates the engagement of archaeologists and osteoarchaeologists with the newspapers and examines their attitudes towards newspaper coverage. The third data chapter (Chapter 6) examines newspaper

coverage of human remains from the public perspective, considering their level of interest, reasons for interest, and perceptions of newspaper coverage. Where Chapter 5 explores perceived impact of newspaper coverage, Chapter 6 combines evidence from the data sets with instances of impact in the wider literature, to investigate the actual impact that newspaper coverage has had on archaeology and, in particular, osteoarchaeology.

Moving on from the individual data sets, Chapter 7 examines a number of areas of divergence and convergence between the data sets. Additionally, the chapter considers trends over time to newspaper coverage in more depth, focusing on the factors which contributed to the changes. It explores the differing views of newspaper coverage and archaeology between archaeologists and osteoarchaeologists, the public, and the newspapers. Chapter 7 also returns to the issue of impact, exploring the differences between perceived and actual impact upon archaeology of newspaper coverage. Perspectives from mass communication and science communication are drawn upon to help explore and understand these areas of conflict.

Finally, Chapter 8 presents the key findings and conclusions from previous chapters, offering final conclusions on the findings from the research project in relation to the Aims and Objectives. It reflects on the methodological process and overall research project, and offers recommendations for future research.

## Chapter 2 : Contextual Background

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### 2.1 Introduction

The two components at the heart of this research project, the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains, and the study of newspapers, are complex topics. Chapter 1 introduced them as the foci of this research project, and this chapter expands on this, providing a foundation upon which the data collected can be explored and understood. In exploring the topics, it also adds to the justification for the study introduced in Chapter 1. The literature drawn upon for this research project is not limited to this chapter, and further, more in-depth, consideration of certain elements are found alongside the data presented in Chapters 4 (news content), 5 (archaeologists' reception and interaction) and 6 (public reception), and are incorporated into the discussion in Chapter 7.

The first half of this chapter (Section 2.2) explores the context and background to the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains within the UK. It places this research project within the context of the wider national and international debates on human remains, as well as setting out the archaeological framework which exists within the UK. The debates surrounding human remains serve to highlight the sensitive nature of this aspect of archaeology, and the climate within which the data collection for this research project took place. Following this, the second half of the chapter (Section 2.3) considers the concept of news within the wider field of mass communication. It explores not only what news is and factors in its production, but also introduces the concept of media effects, something which, as will be seen, is at the heart of many investigations into mass media content.

### 2.2 Human remains: excavation, retention, and reburial

Human remains occupy an interesting and unique position within archaeology. From an archaeological and scientific point of view, they are direct evidence for the people who lived in the past, and can provide insights into issues such as health, disease,

demography, and adaptation to the environment (Roberts, 2009; Mays, 2010). Analysis of human remains allows an appreciation of the physical experience of our ancestors (Hamilakis *et al.*, 2002). As introduced in Chapter 1, human remains also attract considerable interest from the public (Pringle, 2002; Sofaer, 2006; Krmpotich *et al.*, 2010). However, human remains were once living people, and as a result are a sensitive and contested area of archaeology (Sayer, 2010b; Jenkins, 2011; Wallis and Blain, 2011).

Attitudes to the dead vary between cultures and across time due to different concepts of the relationship between the soul and the body (Bienkowski, 2006). In recent decades there have been debates surrounding the meaning and value of human remains, and who should have the right to decide their fate amongst the archaeological community, the museum community, and different cultural groups (Fforde *et al.*, 2002; 2004; Smith, 2004; Restall Orr, 2006; Powell and Cassman, 2007; Jenkins, 2008; Weiss, 2008; Jenkins, 2011). The debates emerged from the broader questioning of the validity of the retention by Western Institutions of human remains, from different cultural groups. More recently, this has had wider effects on discussion and policy relating to retention and reburial of human remains from archaeological sites within the UK, and also on policy and guidelines relating to the excavation of those remains (Scarre, 2006; Jenkins, 2008; Mays and Smith, 2009; Sayer, 2010a; Sayer, 2010b; Jenkins, 2011; White L, 2011; White B, 2011).

Different opinions exist regarding the extent to which the international debate on human remains within collections has influenced policy and ideas surrounding human remains excavated within the UK and their subsequent retention. Some argue that it is not appropriate to place what has been termed a 'burial crisis' in the UK within the wider international context because of the different nature and origins of the issue (Sayer, 2010b). However, others feel that the issues are interlinked, with many textbooks and discussions on human remains within UK archaeology including these wider debates (e.g. Roberts, 2009; Mays, 2010). This research project takes the latter view: that the wider international context is valuable in contextualising the UK issue, and in particular for understanding the development of newspaper coverage and the diversity of opinion collected for this research project.



The following subsections cover the three interconnected key areas. Firstly, Section 2.2.1 presents the international debate surrounding the retention and repatriation of human remains, and its development into an issue affecting British remains. Sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3 present the archaeological framework within the UK as well as focusing on the process of excavating, retaining, and reburial of human remains within the UK. They take into consideration the changes and challenges faced in recent years. Finally, Section 2.2.4 reflects on the importance of communication and engaging with the public during the archaeological and osteoarchaeological processes.

### **2.2.1 *Changing attitudes to human remains***

In the 18th and 19th Centuries it was fashionable and of scientific interest to Western researchers to collect human remains from different cultures. At the heart of this was an interest in topics such as human classification, comparative anatomy, and human hybridity, stemming from the increased encounters with indigenous populations and new analytical approaches to classifying the natural world from the 17th Century onwards (Fforde, 2004). As a result, the physical remains of people from all over the world, including areas such as Australia and New Zealand, came into Western collections for research and educational purposes. It was not just living populations who were of interest; the remains of Ancient Egyptians also generated interest amongst professionals as well as the general public, and during the 19th Century a mummy unwrapping was a popular pastime for members of the upper classes (David and Archbold, 2000).

From the late 19th Century onwards, ideas about 'race' and racial hierarchy began to change. After World War Two the traditional views "became increasingly socially and politically untenable" (Fforde, 2004: 41), and there was an increasing appreciation of the variety of attitudes towards human remains. Not only were the reasons for collections, and collecting, becoming unacceptable and challenged, but some human remains had been collected under dubious circumstances. Accounts exist of remains being taken from Aboriginal groups before funerary rites had taken place, and graves being desecrated in order to obtain bodies (Zimmerman, 1989; Simpson, 1996;

Legassick and Rassool, 2000). Yet, despite this, collections of human remains were, and still are, retained by Western institutions.

From the 1970s indigenous groups increasingly campaigned for the right to decide the fate of their ancestors (Hubert and Fforde, 2002), and from the late 1980s Western attitudes around the world to the retention of human remains began to change. One event in particular is of note, that of the 1st World Archaeological Congress (WAC) held in 1986. At this meeting, individuals from numerous countries, from both archaeological backgrounds and indigenous groups, discussed the issue of human remains. The product of these meetings was the Vermillion Accord, adopted at the 1989 WAC Inter-congress (World Archaeological Congress, 1990a). The Accord called for respect for differing beliefs regarding human remains, and respect for the wishes of the dead, the local communities, as well as the scientific value. This was later incorporated into WAC's first code of ethics (World Archaeological Congress, 1990b).

In some parts of the world, such as the United States of America (USA), changes to rules governing indigenous remains began to be seen following the Vermillion Accord. For example, in November 1990 the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) was enacted by law by congress in the USA. This law established rules governing in situ protection, and repatriation, of Native American cultural items including human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony (National NAGPRA, 2012). Since its passage, NAGPRA has facilitated the repatriation of over 42,000 human remains, and over 1 million funerary objects.

Despite the changing rules and official acceptance of differing viewpoints, attitudes within the archaeological community did not change overnight. There were, and still are, diverse attitudes within the profession as the findings in Chapter 5 demonstrate. The retention and display of human remains in museums and institutions became the subject of debate in many countries (Fforde *et al.*, 2002; Fforde, 2004; Jenkins, 2008). Methods for the study of human remains, such as techniques for interpreting bone mineral structure (Thompson *et al.*, 2013), or interpreting joint disease (Rando and Waldron, 2012), which have the potential to help answer a range of research questions, continue to be developed, and complicate the issue of repatriation and

reburial of human remains. A key concern from some professionals is that all human remains, regardless of age or origin, might be reclaimed and lost to science (Chalmers, 2004; Foley, 2004). These have prompted sometimes extreme comments such as those of Weiss (2008: 100), who argues that “Native American activists...have been making progress on their front at the very cost of our scientific lives”.

In the UK, the first repatriation of human remains occurred in 1989 with the return of three aboriginal skulls from St Thomas’ hospital (Fforde, 2004). However, other requests, such as those by the Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre for two sets of remains from the British Museum in 1994, were rejected (Jenkins, 2011). The reasoning was that it was not legal to do so, as national museums, such as the British Museum, were not permitted to de-accession items in their collections. Moreover, it was felt that it was not appropriate for a museum with an interest in preserving the heritage of mankind to give away its collections (Anderson, cited in TAC, 2001: 36).

Continuing requests for repatriation of human remains within UK collections meant they became a more prominent feature in archaeological and museum sector debates within the UK from the late 1990s (Jenkins, 2011; White E, 2011). A number of key events played a role in a review of the issue of retaining human remains. Discussion between the British and Australian Prime Ministers in 2000 regarding facilitating the return of Aboriginal remains from British institutions led to the creation of a working group on human remains (Mays, 2010). Additionally, in the early 2000s, scandals surrounding the retention of human tissue and children’s organs at the Alder Hey Hospital in Liverpool led to a public enquiry (Redfern *et al.*, 2001). As a result, in 2004 the Human Tissue Act (HTA) was passed to regulate the removal, storage, and use of human remains in England and Wales, and in 2006 the Human Tissue (Scotland) Act was passed in Scotland (Sharp and Hall, 2013).

The introduction of the HTA, although not directly affecting archaeology as it applies to human remains of less than 100 years old and relates to the issue of consent, did however allow nine national museums to de-accession human remains. To support the HTA, the Department for Culture Media and Sport (DCMS) issued the Guidance for the Care of Human Remains in Museums in 2005, which offered a framework for claims for human remains (Mays, 2010; Jenkins, 2011). While much of the DCMS guidance

applied to Scotland, a separate Scottish working group was set up in 2005 with the aim of developing Scotland specific guidance. The result was the introduction of the Museum and Gallery Scotland (MGS) Guidance for the Care of Human Remains in Scottish Museum Collections in 2011 (Sharp and Hall, 2013).

Although the DCMS guidance was originally intended for human remains from overseas, groups from within the UK started to request the return of British human remains, and it is at this point that the issue starts to affect archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains from sites within the UK.

Traditionally in the UK there has been no particular sacred or symbolic importance attached to human remains (DCMS, 2005). According to the 2001 population census, 72% of the British population gave Christianity as their religion (UK Statistics Authority, 2004), and within this belief system, once dead, human remains cease to have any "import for the on-going resurrected life of the individual" (Church of England and English Heritage, 2005: 27). Within the UK, study on human remains is largely supported by the government (DCMS, 2005). However, groups with different beliefs have started to make their voices heard. In particular, modern day Pagan groups such as Honouring the Ancient Dead (HAD), and the Council for British Druid Orders (CoBDO), question the retention and use of British human remains excavated within the UK from British museums (Randerson, 2007; Jenkins, 2011). This has led to discussion and increased debate, as will be seen in Section 2.2.3. A high profile example of this in recent years was the request in 2006 by CoBDO for the reburial of the remains of a prehistoric child, 'Charlie', on display at the Alexander Kieller Museum in Avebury (Thackray and Payne, 2010; Wallis and Blain, 2011). The request from CoBDO resulted in a public consultation - the 'Avebury Consultation' - led by English Heritage (EH) to determine the fate of the remains, although in the end the request for reburial was not granted (Thackray and Payne, 2010). The debate and increasing concerns regarding human remains have led to what Jenkins (2010) termed a 'crisis of cultural authority' amongst museums and organisations who are reflecting on their role in presenting and managing such collections.

The debates outlined above serve to highlight the sensitive nature of human remains, the changing attitudes towards them, and their contested nature within the UK. It is

within this wider landscape that the excavation of human remains from archaeological sites within the UK, and subsequent retention and, or, reburial of human remains occurs, which the following section will now explore.

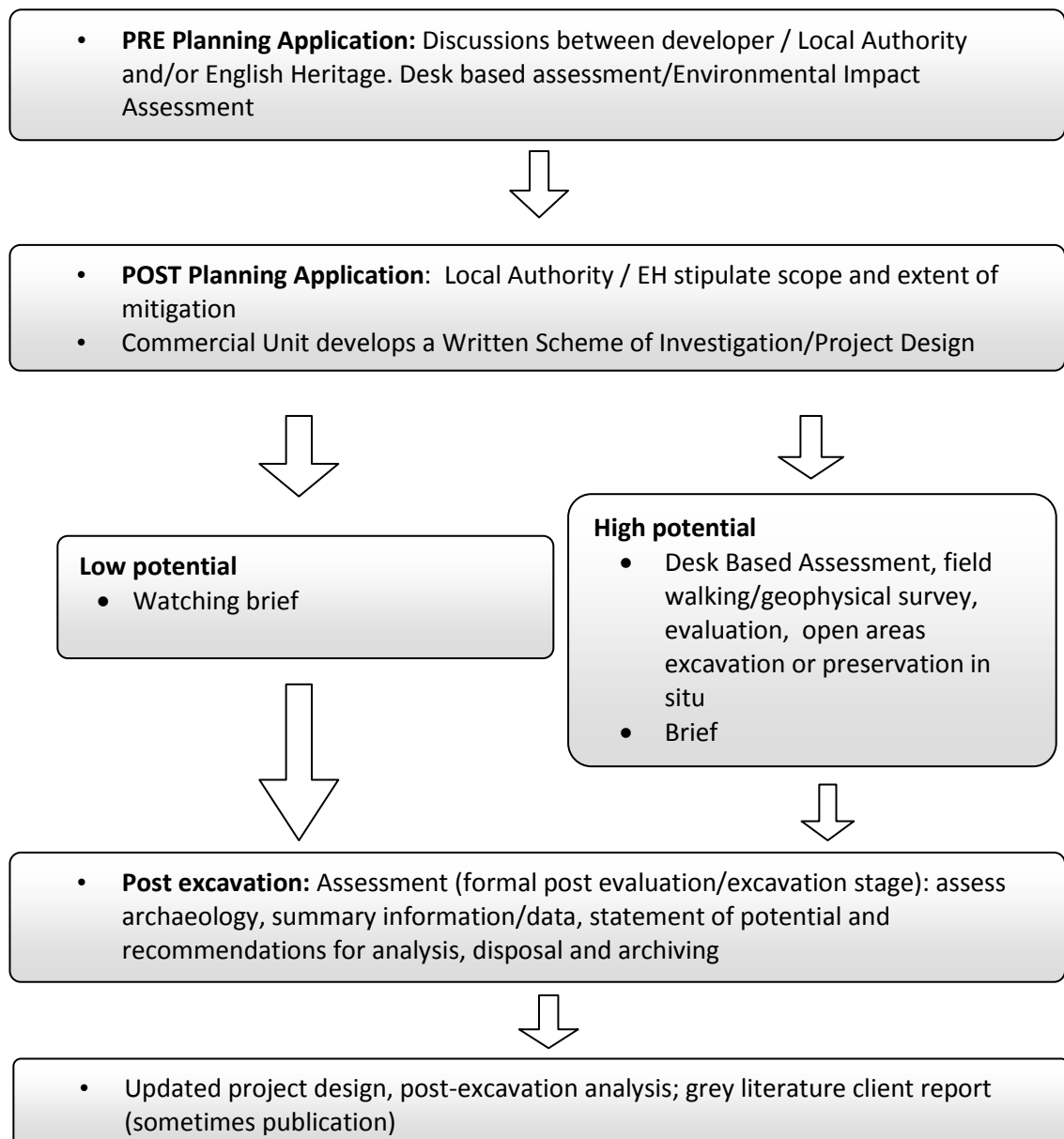
### **2.2.2 Archaeological excavation within the UK**

Archaeological excavation in the UK occurs in a number of different contexts, by a number of different organisations (universities, government organisations, museums, councils, or contractors) and for a number of reasons. Some excavations are undertaken for research purposes (often by universities); however, most excavations in recent decades have been linked to development. In the case of human remains, the majority within the UK are excavated out of necessity, in advance of development, rather than out of pure archaeological interest (Mays and Smith, 2009; Roberts, 2009).

Development, redevelopment and expansion of urban areas have happened at an increasing rate over the past century, and particularly since the early 1990s. Using the city of Sheffield as an example, Sayer (2010b: 25) notes that £300 million was invested in developing the city centre between 1990 and 1996. Development on this scale inevitably places pressure on heritage preservation. In response to a number of high profile cases of potential destruction of heritage as a result of the increasing development, Planning Policy Guidelines 16 (PPG 16) were introduced in 1990, which were replaced by the Planning Policy Statement 5 (PPS 5) in 2011, and again by the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) in 2012. These guidelines set out the Secretary of State's policy for archaeological remains on land and provide guidelines for how they should be preserved or recorded, in both an urban setting and the countryside. Similar guidelines exist in Scotland in the form of National Planning Policy Guideline 5 (NPPG5), although this is currently undergoing change (Schofield *et al.*, 2011). The introduction of these planning guidelines had the effect of transforming the nature of archaeology. Fulford (2011) estimates that since 1990 and the introduction of planning guidelines, there have been more than 60,000 planning-related archaeological investigations, costing more than £2 billion, and accounting for 90% of all archaeological investigations.

Archaeology, as part of the planning process, has a number of key stages. To serve as an example, the stages involved in an archaeological excavation in relation to the planning and development process in England and Wales are set out overleaf in Figure 2.1. Discussions between the developers, county council and archaeologists occur at both the pre-planning and post-planning application phase, and a desktop study is used to determine if the potential development is likely to affect any heritage. Low potential may result in a watching brief at the early stages of the development. In cases where there is a higher potential for uncovering archaeological remains, a more in-depth investigation occurs. This can range from an evaluation, which may employ various techniques such as trial trenches or geophysical survey, to more extensive open area excavation. It is here when skeletons are most likely to be uncovered, and also at this point in the process that is most likely to be reported by the newspapers.

The post-excavation phase involves the production of a number of reports, which form the basis of the 'grey literature', accessible through the local Historic Environment Records (HER). The planning guidelines also place an emphasis on communication with the public (Stone, 1997; McAdam, 1999). However, in some instances the final report may only be published after a lengthy gap, and in some cases not at all (Fulford, 2011). The delay in publishing results, and at times the inaccessible nature of the grey literature to the public is discussed further in Chapters 5 and 7. The stages set out above are similar to those for non-planning related archaeological investigation which in summary consists of a research question, initial research, trial trench or survey, research programme, project design, analysis, publication/report (Darvill and Russell, 2002).



**Figure 2.1: Stages of archaeological investigation within the planning and development framework in England and Wales (After English Heritage 2010).**

### **2.2.3 Human remains within the archaeological process**

Human remains, whilst being part of the general archaeological processes set out above, are also subject to additional laws and guidelines, many of which are currently undergoing review and changes. The key features and changes are set out below.

Exhumation, and subsequent investigation, of all human remains in England and Wales fall under the Burial Act of 1857, and occasionally the Disused Burial Ground Amendment Act 1981 (applicable to cemeteries closed after 1855). In Scotland,

excavation of human remains falls under Civil and Criminal law in which all human remains have the right to sepulchre (Logie, 2006; Roberts, 2009). In Northern Ireland, if the ground belongs to a District Council, then compliance with the Burial Ground Regulations (Northern Ireland, 1992) and Section II of the Coroners Act (Northern Ireland, 1959) is necessary (Buckley *et al.*, 2004). The discussion in this section focuses on the situation in England and Wales, as this has been studied and discussed in greater depth in recent years, and this serves to draw attention to some of the many issues that the archaeology of human remains faces in the UK.

The Burial Act was passed in 1857 as a result of the increasing urbanisation and development of cities, as well as wider reforms to ecclesiastical laws governing other aspects of life at this time (Gallagher, 2010). It was felt that previous laws (church and common law) did not adequately protect the dead, and there were increasing fears that bodies were being dug up to be passed on for dissection, or to steal associated artefacts such as wigs or false teeth (Gallagher, 2010). The new Burial Act therefore reflected concerns relating to public health, public decency and respect (Roberts, 2009) and made it an offence to remove a body from a place of internment without a licence. Of particular relevance to archaeology are the conditions attached to the licence of screening human remains from public view to avoid causing offence, and the nomination of a place for eventual deposition or reburial.

In most cases it will be known prior to archaeological excavation that human remains might be found, and in these cases an exhumation licence is applied for in advance. Occasionally human remains are found unexpectedly during development and archaeological excavation. In these instances work stops, the police are informed, and the coroner's office or an osteoarchaeologist are called to determine age. If the remains are determined to be archaeological, and felt to be of particular scientific value, they can be removed and an exhumation licence is applied for, as would be the case when human remains are anticipated (Anderson, 1993).

The application of the Burial Act, and the associated conditions, to archaeological excavation of human remains has varied over time. Sayer (2010b) notes that burial laws were not originally intended to apply to archaeological human remains, and this has led to calls for reviews in recent years, which are explored below. Throughout the



20th Century, many archaeological excavations of human remains were undertaken without exhumation licences. However, the development of the archaeological profession from the early 1990s onwards meant that licences started to be applied for more routinely (Parker Pearson *et al.*, 2011). The condition of screening human remains from the public has not always been uniformly applied during large scale cemetery clearances, or archaeological excavation (Sayer, 2011). This lack of consistency in the application of conditions and legislation in the past is in part due to a degree of confusion at the constantly changing plethora of guidance and laws, and in part due to the debate as to the extent to which the Burial Act and its conditions can, and should, apply to archaeological situations (e.g. Parker Pearson *et al.*, 2011; Sayer, 2011). Regarding the situation in Scotland, Sharp and Hall (2013: 72) observe that there is also a complex and unique situation within Scotland due the different legal status of human remains, leading to a “degree of uncertainty among...professionals over their legal rights and responsibilities in this area”.

In addition to the aspects introduced above, a range of additional guidelines exist outlining standards and ethical treatment of human remains during excavation, retention and analysis, and reburial. A number of these are collated on the British Association of Biological Anthropology and Osteoarchaeology (BABAO) website (<http://www.babao.org.uk/index/ethics-and-standards>). These include the Guidance for Best Practice for Treatment of Human Remains Excavated from Christian Burial Grounds in England (Church of England / English Heritage, 2005) and the aforementioned DCMS (2005) Guidance for the Care of Human Remains in Museums.

In Scotland, Historic Scotland has policies which cover human remains within the archaeological process: Operational Policy Paper 5: The Treatment of Human Remains in Archaeology (HS OPP5), and the Call-Off Contract (Historic Scotland, 1997 (2006); Sharp and Hall, 2013). These set out the processes for the contractor for the excavation, and subsequent archaeological processes involving human remains. They include the requirements to investigate, record, and where appropriate, retrieve remains, to undertake appropriate post-excavation analysis, and for all staff working with the human remains to act in a respectful manner (Historic Scotland, 1997 (2006); Sharp and Hall, 2013).

Most archaeological organisations throughout the UK, many of whom cover multiple regions within the UK, also have their own guidelines relating to the care of human remains whilst retained in their collections. These cover issues such as package and storage; where remains should be analysed and by whom; associated documentation; marking and labelling; and access for education and research purposes (McKinley and Roberts, 1993; Loe, 2008).

Guidance for the process of reburial is also available. Three quarters of the human remains excavated within the UK are from Christian burial grounds from the 7th Century AD onwards (Church of England / English Heritage, 2005), and therefore the Guidance for Best Practice for the Treatment of Human Remains Excavated from Christian Burial Grounds in England (Church of England / English Heritage, 2005: 50) is used in England. It states that reburial should be by inhumation rather than cremation; that remains “should be deposited in consecrated grounds where no disturbance of existing internments or non-burial archaeology...remains should be placed in separate containers rather than intermingled”; and where Christian remains are comingled with non-Christian remains “thought should be given as to whether it is appropriate to conduct a church service upon reburial”. Transfer of human remains to museums is also permitted, as long as the remains have been treated with the legal requirements and professional standards (DCMS, 2005). Current guidelines for Scotland regarding reburial state that “although not our normal practice, we recognise that the re-burial of late medieval, post-medieval or modern...human remains...will occasionally be considered appropriate” (Logie, 2006: 16). Historic Scotland also states within its guidelines for the treatment of human remains that “within six months of the completion of such studies, a formal decision on the final deposition of the remains is made” (Logie, 2006: 15).

The laws and associated guidance have developed and changed in recent years in light of concerns relating to the treatment of historical and archaeological human remains discussed above, as well as a result of calls from those within the archaeological profession regarding the need for specific policies to govern the archaeological excavation of human remains (Stirland, 1991; Roberts, 2009). A comprehensive review of the changing situation in England and Wales, where the focus of discussion and

research has been, are found in Roberts (2009: Ch.2) and Sayer (2010a; 2010b), and the key points are as follows.

Until 2007, which encompasses the majority of the period which this research project considers, licences for exhumation under the England Burial Act were applied for from the Home Office and contained the option to curate remains in museum as a deposition option. During a wider review of laws relating to disposal of the dead, responsibility was transferred from the Home Office to the Ministry of Justice (MoJ). During the transition period in 2007/08 the MoJ decided that burial laws did not apply to archaeology and they therefore did not issue licences for archaeological excavation of human remains. Following this, the need to apply for an exhumation licence for archaeological excavation was reinstated in 2008, but included the amended condition that reburial of human remains should occur within two years, although extensions could be applied for. The MoJ also stated that there would be a review of the conditions under a second stage of the review process (Sayer, 2009). This did not happen within the timeframe of two years expected by some archaeologists (e.g. Sayer, 2011), but followed discussion, and prompting by several archaeologists, including a letter which appeared in *The Guardian* (discussed further in Chapter 6, Section 6.6). The conditions were amended in early 2011. The licence is now more flexible so that archaeologists are no longer required to rebury all human remains.

Despite the debates noted above regarding the relevance of some of the conditions of the burial licences to archaeology, and the confusion which often appears to exist in the plethora of guidance and legislation, there is a general consensus that having such frameworks in place is a positive provision for archaeological excavation of human remains. As Historic Scotland note in the introduction to the *Treatment of Human Remains in Archaeology*, “it is crucially important that the archaeological profession adopts the highest ethical standards and conducts itself in a wholly appropriate manner at all times” (Logie, 2006: 8). The presence of laws and guidelines at a time where there is increasing discussion surrounding the ethics of human remains, helps to demonstrate the care, attention, and respect which human remains are afforded by archaeologists. Sayer (2009: 201) also comments that the removal of archaeology from

the burial legislation “could have led to conflict with outside groups and would have allowed the unregulated excavation of human remains from any period”.

The exploration in the above paragraphs brings the situation regarding excavation, retention and reburial up to the present (July 2012), and demonstrates the range of guidance, laws and guidelines which exist in relation to human remains within the UK. It is important to note that the most recent changes regarding excavation, retention, and reburial occurred after the data collection for this research project (2009 – early 2011). The data collection therefore took place at a point when archaeologists were waiting for the review of the burial laws and the public outcome of the Avebury consultation; a time during which it was felt that there was “a great deal of uncertainty, [and] a risk that very damaging precedents are being created” (Payne, 2008: 1). The situation led Sayer (2009: 199) to comment that “many archaeologists now feel that it is ‘getting more difficult to work with human remains’”, and the challenging situation was referred to by some as a ‘crisis’ (Sayer, 2009; Parker Pearson *et al.*, 2011). These concerns and uncertainty are undoubtedly reflected in the results of this research project.

#### **2.2.4 Value of communication and further justification for this study**

The highly emotive, sensitive and complex nature of human remains means that it is a subject in which there is a need for wider consultation and discussion across all interested groups (Roberts, 2009). As seen in Section 2.2.1, a public consultation was held into the fate of the Avebury remains (Thackray and Payne, 2010), and several surveys have been conducted into public opinion on the retention and reburial of human remains (e.g. Cambridgeshire Archaeology, 2006; Stuart, 2009; Butler, 2010), the findings of which are discussed in Chapter 6 (Section 6.4).

In conjunction with the need for wider consultation, there is an acknowledgement from those within the archaeological and osteoarchaeological profession that processes should be made clear, as the BBAO Code of Ethics stipulate,

“In both proposing and carrying out these activities, to be open about the purpose(s), potential impacts, and source(s) of support for research projects with funders, colleagues, the public and persons participating, or providing

information, and with all relevant parties affected by the research” (BABAO, n.d).

Thus, it can be seen that there is an increasing need to communicate with the public and, as will be seen, an interest from the public in such events. However, due to the sensitive nature, there are certain barriers in this quest to be transparent and communicate. As noted above, at the point of excavation, exhumation licences stipulate that during excavation human remains should be screened off from the public. Sayer (2011: 12) points out that this is at odds with the idea of openness and transparency as “the more we separate ourselves off from mainstream culture through our actions, the more we are in turn separated from it”.

Communication of any archaeological investigation to the public is not always successful or straightforward. Although excavation reports in the HER are intended to be publically accessible, they are not always easy to find out about, and have a restricted distribution (Fulford, 2011). Reports can be made publically available through the Archaeology Data Service (ADS) and Online Access to the Index of Archaeological Investigation Project (OASIS). Both of these sites have an increasing number of reports available, although there is often considerable delay between excavation and publication of a report (Fulford, 2011). Additionally, local authorities often publish their own reports, or hold open days. However, as a means of mass communication, “the media is a very effective way of laying archaeological information before a wider public” (Mays, 2005: 13) and, in particular, the local and national news serves as an interface between archaeology and the public.

The need to communicate is evident more widely within archaeology, with calls throughout the 1990s for greater archaeological communication with the public (e.g. Jameson, 1997). Alongside this, came discussion on the nature of that communication and engagement, and two key models are found in the archaeological, and wider science communication, literature. First, the knowledge deficit model suggests a need to communicate and engage with the public in order to increase their knowledge, and subsequently allow them to make more informed decisions (Bauer, 2009). Second, more recent ideas of public archaeology and science communication centre on a multi-perspective model. This stems from the idea that there are multiple perspectives

through which archaeology and science can be viewed (Smardz, 1997; Hornig Priest, 2006), and that communication is a two way process. From this perspective, the needs of the public play a more central role in the communication process. These concepts are discussed in more depth in Chapters 5, 6, and Chapter 7 (Section 7.4) alongside an exploration of the data sets.

The chapter will now turn to exploring the concepts and theories within the study of news and mass communication. This will help to explore newspaper coverage in relation to the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains, and set up the concepts drawn upon for discussion in later chapters.

### **2.3 The newspaper: content and effects**

The study of news and newspapers sits within mass communication studies, a vast area, and one that has been described as a field of interest rather than a discipline (Halloran, 1998; McQuail, 2003). Communication studies “can be illuminated from several disciplinary positions” (Halloran, 1998: 18), and draws upon fields such as sociology, political science, psychology, anthropology and linguistics. This broad nature means that there are a multitude of theories, approaches and models within communication studies (Gunter, 1999; Williams, 2003; McQuail, 2005), leading Williams (2003: v) to comment that “any attempt to document and describe theories of the mass media faces the complex and sometimes intractable nature of the subject matter”. As a result, the selection of literature and theory presented in this section is not exhaustive, but is carefully guided by the Aims and Objectives of the research project. In particular it focuses upon the ideas of production, content, and reception which were introduced in Chapter 1. Also, as noted previously, the literature review is not confined to this chapter, and additional aspects are found throughout the thesis.

This section is divided into two further sub sections. Section 2.3.1 introduces news as a concept and considers the complexities of newspaper content. It presents the concept of news values, and framing, as tools for understanding newspaper content. Following this, Section 2.3.2 introduces the concept of media effects, providing a basis for exploring attitudes.

### **2.3.1 News**

The concept of news has been defined by many (e.g. Fiske, 1987; Fowler, 1991; Hall, 1999; McQuail, 2005; Allan, 2010). News is an event, an account of something that is happening in the world; it is often new information which is of interest or relevant to its audience. Fiske (1987: 281) describes news as “factual information that its viewers need in order to be able to participate in their society”. However, not all events are news, as Hall (1973: 181) comments,

“what makes the news is not straightforward. Of the millions of events which occur daily in the world, only a tiny proportion ever become visible as ‘potential news stories’, and of this proportion, only a small fraction are actually produced as the day’s news in the news media”.

Inevitably, what makes news, and the ways in which the news is constructed, are constrained by the medium within which it appears, as Hartley (1982: 8) comments, “the way news is produced, what it concentrates on, how its stories are put together and who takes interest in it, all depend to some extent on...habit and conventions – not to mention technology”.

There are many mass media through which news can be reported, including radio and television (broadcast media), newspapers and magazine (print media), webpages and online blogs (internet-based media). This research project focused on local and national newspapers, and therefore, the exploration of the concept of news in this chapter centres upon these. As will be explored further at several points throughout this thesis, the world of the newspaper has been changing at a rapid pace since the mid 1990s, with the introduction of online editions of print newspapers, as well as online only newspapers (Fenton, 2009; Riesch, 2011). However, in all of these types of newspaper, resources such as time and space are limited, and they are subject to varying levels of economic pressures and consumer demand (Nelkin, 1995; Schudson, 2003; Holliman, 2004). Additionally, Conrad (1999) observes that a number of individuals contribute to a news item: the journalist, editors, sub-editors, sources, informers and the public. These factors all impact on the way in which news is reported, and are explored throughout the thesis

### 2.3.1.1 *Selecting an event: News values*

The selection of some events over others as news is not random process. Items which become news are those “events, happenings, occurrences which impress journalists and their audiences with their importance or interest, their remarkableness, their noteworthiness” (Schudson, 2005: 173). Several factors influence the selection of events, such as journalists’ perceptions of reader’s interest, the predisposition of news organisations and other reporters towards certain kinds of events, and intuition (Oliver and Myers, 1999).

The concept of news values provides a framework through which to explore and understand the selection of certain events as news (Allan, 2004). News values are the elements of an event which contribute to it being considered newsworthy (Galtung and Ruge, 1965; McQuail, 2005; Allan, 2006; Brighton and Foy, 2007), and have been described as intangible, informal and almost unconscious elements of news production (Brighton and Foy, 2007). Galtung and Ruge (1965) proposed the original taxonomy of news values. Through a study of international news in the Scandinavian press, they created a list of 12 criteria which lead to an event being considered newsworthy. The more of these values an event meets, the more likely it is to be considered news. Galtung and Ruge’s study still remains one of the most influential studies into news values (McQuail, 2005), and several researchers have critiqued and built upon the original list (e.g. Hartley, 1982; Bell, 1991; Harcup and O’Neill, 2001; Allan, 2004). Combining these different studies produced a comprehensive list of 14 news values which were used within this research project (Table 2.1).

**Table 2.1: List of news values and their definitions (after Galtung and Ruge, 1965; Hartley, 1982; Bell, 1991; Harcup and O’Neill, 2001; Allan, 2004)**

<b>News Value</b>	<b>Definition</b>
1) Frequency	An event that unfolds at the same frequency as the news medium is more likely to make the news than an event or trend that occupies a longer time span.
2) Negativity	A negative event is more likely to be reported than a positive event.
3) Unexpectedness	Unexpected or rare events are most likely to be selected as news.
4) Unambiguity	The more clearly an event can be understood, and interpreted by a reader, the more likely it is to be selected as news.



5) Meaningfulness	Events which are culturally similar and meaningful to an audience are likely to be selected as they fit within a frame of reference. Therefore an event in a remote country is more likely to be selected as news, if individuals from the news media's country are involved.
6) Reference to elite nations	The actions of elite nations are perceived as more consequential than those of other nations, although definitions of elite nations may vary.
7) Reference to elite persons	Actions of elite individuals are perceived by those selecting the news as having more consequence than the actions of others. A news reader is also more likely to identify with them.
8) Conflict	Opposition of people or forces often has dramatic results, leading to these stories getting more coverage.
9) Consonance	Stories that fit with the mass media's expectation of what should be a news story, and are therefore more readily covered.
10) Continuity	A story that is already in the mass media continues to receive coverage because mechanisms are in place to report it, and it is already accessible to the reader.
11) Co-optation	An event that may not be newsworthy on its own, becomes more so if it can be related to another major event.
12) Prefabrication	An event that may only be marginal, but is already written and available may be selected over one that has not.
13) Time constraints and	Events that can be covered and researched within a short production cycle are likely to be reported.
14) Logistics	The ease with which an event can be covered by reporters also determines its newsworthiness.

While news values provide a way to understand news events, Nicholas and Price (1998) advise caution when considering lists of news values, arguing that the driving forces which lead to the selection of some items for the news are more complex than news values would suggest. Some have commented that the use of news values ignores the larger external factors such as power relations between sources, or economics which lead to news production (Staab, 1990). Moreover, there are those who argue that the universality of news values has not been fully explored and problematized; items which make the news in different countries may vary due to cultural differences which news values do not take into account (Watson, 2003). Additionally, news values such as consonance and meaningfulness rely to a certain extent on the perspective of the audience, who were not considered in Galtung and Ruge's original study (Brighton and Foy, 2007).

Despite these potential limitations, news values have been found by many to be consistent criteria for evaluating the newsworthiness of a story in Western newspapers (Allan, 2004). Using such a list allows for an understanding of why some events are prioritised over others (Brighton and Foy, 2007; O'Neill and Harcup, 2009). Within this research project, news values provided a useful starting point from which to explore the underlying reasons for newspaper coverage of archaeology and human remains. News values offered an insight into why the mass media were, and are, attracted to the subject, as well as providing a way to understand the particular interest the public are perceived to have in this aspect of archaeology. The news value of the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains are explored in Chapter 4 (Section 4.4).

#### 2.3.1.2 *Reporting an event: Framing*

Newspapers can represent events considered to be news in a number of different ways. Although many news organisations may strive to be objective (Soffer, 2009), in reality, objectivity is difficult to achieve. Different reporters and newspapers can produce different accounts of the same event but still claim to be objective (Ryfe, 2006). The processes of production and construction mean that the reporting of a selected event is not straightforward (Miller, 1997; Schudson, 2003). As Hartley (1982) observes, neither news nor language can be transparent windows on the world, as they are a socially constructed product. Thus,

"while journalists typically present a news account as an 'objective', 'impartial' translation of reality, it may instead be understood to be providing an ideological construction of contending truth-claims about reality. This is to suggest that the news account, far from simply 'reflecting' the reality of an event, is effectively providing a codified definition of what should count as the reality of the event" (Allan, 2000: 4).

As such, news is an account of an event or issue (Koch, 1991), and one in which the information has "been interpreted in context and given particular meanings" (Fiske, 1987: 281). It is not an objective account of reality, but rather a mediated account of reality (Williams, 2003; McQuail, 2005).

Shah *et al.* (2003: 227) comment that “certain enduring norms of newsworthiness, in combination with routines of media production, encourage journalists to organise – to frame – their reports in predictable ways”, and frame analysis provides a way of exploring representation in news media. Framing can be defined as the way in which events can be organised and made sense of. Frames combine elements relating to the construction, content and reception of news, but, as Gitlin (1980: 7) observes, “frames are largely unspoken and unacknowledged, organising the world both for journalists who report it and, in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports”. Gamson and Modigliani’s (1987:143) widely used definition defines a frame as “a central organising idea or storyline that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events”, and it is this definition which was used throughout this research project.

Analysis and awareness of the different frames which may exist to report an issue are useful because they “offer insights and leverage points – for communication practitioners, including journalists, planners of communication campaigns, and social activists” (Tankard, 2003: 97). The use of frames has been widely used to explore newspaper coverage of topics ranging from asylum seekers (Van Gorp, 2005) and conflict (Edy and Meirick, 2007), to the use of drugs (Gelders *et al.*, 2009), genetic modification (Cook *et al.*, 2006; Capella *et al.*, 2007), and climate change (e.g. Lockwood, 2009; Takahashi, 2011). In this research project, framing offered insights into the different ways in which the sensitive issue of human remains can be represented, and therefore how it might define the frames of reference for the reader. The use of frames in understanding how a topic is reported by the newspapers supported Aim 1 of this research project.

The analysis of frame lends itself to qualitative and, or, quantitative methodologies. The concept of framing informed one of the methods used in this research project, details of which are laid out in Chapter 3. The analysis and discussion of the different frames within news content is explored in Chapter 4 (Section 4.5).

### **2.3.2 Media effects**

Communication research is often described as being about the search for effects. There is an interest in knowing the content of mass communication because of the

impact that content might have on the consumer (Katz, 2001; McQuail, 2005; Neuman and Guggenheim, 2011). As introduced in Chapter 1, recent archaeology conference sessions have had titles such as *'Through a glass lens darkly: archaeology, the media and an image crisis in the making?'* (IFA annual conference, Southport, 2011), and *'Archaeology and the media: What's at stake'* (Archaeology in Contemporary Europe Conference, Brussels, 2009), and so it can be seen that the growing field of research into archaeology and the mass media reflects an interest in media effects.

Newspapers play a valuable role within contemporary society, helping to disseminate information and represent events to the public (Allan, 2004). They also play an important role as a source of information for events and issues beyond an individual's everyday experience (Peters, 2007) which, in the case of this research project, were details of the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains. Within Western society, newspapers have been described as occupying a significant place in the "informal talk of workplace, pub, and street" (Hartley, 1982: 7). Consequently, the way in which an event is reported by the newspapers has the potential to contribute to society's understanding and discussion of events and topics.

A significant amount of research exists into the relationships between the content of the mass media and the potential effects the content has on its audience (Williams, 2003), and, as a result, the field of media effects is vast and complex. This sub-section aims to present an overview of some of the key traditions and thinking within the field, and to present number of more specific theories of particular interest to this research project. These aims are of value for two key reasons. Firstly, discussions about the mass media "are often haunted by the ghost of theories that have long since passed away" (Glover, 1984: 4) because "common sense leads many to believe the media has a strong influence on people's attitudes and behaviour" (Williams, 2003: 165). As a result, an understanding of the development of media effects allows attitudes to be more fully explored and contextualised. Secondly, tracing the development of media effects also places the specific theories within the media effects tradition in context.

Media effects research began to be a subject of interest in the early 20th Century as mass communication technologies were developing and the mass media were becoming prevalent in society. The history and development of media effects research

has traditionally been divided into three key stages, those of 'direct effects', 'minimal effects', and 'not so minimal effects' (Anderson, 1997; McQuail, 2005).

Ideas of media effects in the early 20th Century up to the 1960s centred on a relatively simple theory of persuasion and transmission. There was the assumption that the mass media had 'direct effects' (Williams, 2003; McQuail, 2005; Shannon and Weaver, 1949). In this paradigm, communication was viewed as linear, with the message being transmitted from producer to receiver. In this early phase of media effects, the audience was viewed as passive (Williams, 2003), and the message was felt to have a direct effect on the receiver. Ideas of the direct influence of the mass media was based on observations of the rising pervasiveness of the mass media in the early 20th Century, and particularly the effectiveness of propaganda in Western Europe (McQuail, 2005). Ideas of mechanical transmission set out in the 'Shannon-Weaver Model' (Shannon and Weaver, 1949) also influenced perceptions of communication. This 'magic bullet' or 'hypodermic needle' hypothesis drove thinking and research in the early 20th Century, and research was largely directed towards the effects the mass media had on audiences.

The 1960s saw a new era of thinking, with the introduction of the 'limited effects model'. Empirical research on topics, such as the influence of the media on voters and the impact of propaganda on American servicemen, started to reveal that mass media messages were not as powerful as previously thought (Gitlin, 1978; Williams, 2003). Thus, the idea that the mass media have significant effects was rejected, and replaced with the idea that they only have 'minimal effects' which are largely indirect. In this limited effects tradition, the audience was perceived as active and they were felt to bring diverse attitudes to their interpretation of media texts. Personal influence was more important than media effects in determining an opinion about an issue, with certain individuals, and opinion leaders in particular, felt to have an important effect on public opinion. This new way of thinking placed media effects in a broader social context and acknowledged the diversity of individuals within groups. From this perspective, the mass media merely helped to diffuse ideas, rather than having a direct impact (Williams, 2003). However, despite findings, the 'limited effects model' was slow to disperse outside of mass communication research as many, particularly in the

fields of advertising and propaganda, were reluctant to accept its claims (McQuail, 2005).

From the 1970s, a third phase of thinking, and one which is still developing, emerged - that of 'not so minimal effects' (Iyengar, Peters & Kinder, 1982). From this perspective, the idea that the mass media have only minimal effects was readdressed, with a shift towards the idea that the media could in fact have important social effects (McQuail, 2005). This tradition of media effects was more complex than earlier direct effects and indirect effects models, with one central idea being that while the mass media cannot tell someone what to think, they are very successful in telling them what to think about (McCombs and Shaw, 1972: 180). Effects were perceived as being more socially situated than in previous theories, with an emphasis on the interconnected nature of the different elements and "meanings arising from the complex process of interaction...every producer also reads, and every reader also produces (meaning)" (Bertrand and Hughes, 2005). However, unlike in the limited effects model, "while audiences may be active in their consumption of texts, they are not necessarily critical of its denotation" (Deacon *et al.*, 1999: 7).

New media technologies further complicate the issue of media reach and effect, and the relationship between content and consumer. Research has shown that production and consumption of news changes with online editions. Online news allows a reader to search for further information about a news topic, and enables them to easily link to associated news items present and past, and from other news sites (D'Haenens *et al.*, 2004; Thorson, 2008). Online news sites can therefore be viewed as portals to a much wider world, rather than as the ultimate source of information about events happening in the world. Online news has the additional impact of further blurring the distinction between producer and consumer with the ability of readers to post comments under stories, and citizen journalism and blogs (Allan, 2006).

The relationship between the different elements of communication is therefore complex, and ideas about effects are driven by critical theory, semiology and discourse analysis (McQuail, 2005). Neuman and Guggenheim (2011) conclude that while the media effects tradition began with the idea of persuasion and transmission, it gradually incorporated a number of different elements. These elements include the

notion that the audience are more active; that mass communication is socially situated; that the character of the communication channel is a factor; that the political and institutional content needs to be considered; and that the impact on the salience and cognitive organisation of opinions and beliefs is central. Aspects of these are considered throughout this thesis.

Within the developing field of media effects, and the more complex view of the effects the mass media have on their audiences, there are a multitude of specific theories encompassed by the 'not so minimal effects' tradition. These include concepts such as Cultivation Analysis in which it is suggested that a person's view of reality is influenced by depictions on television (Gerbner, 1998) and Agenda Setting, in which it is felt there is a strong link between the emphasis the mass media place on an issue and the importance placed on it by mass media audiences (McCombs and Shaw, 1972; Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007). Of particular interest for this research project are a group of theories which Gunther and Storey (2003: 199) describe as 'indirect effects'. In these theories, people "perceive some effect of a message and then react to that perception" (Gunther and Storey, 2003: 199). Two theories in particular, the Third Person Effect, and the Hostile Media Phenomenon, are used in this thesis to help understand the perceptions which archaeologists and osteoarchaeologists hold about media effects.

The Third Person Effect theory centres around the idea that people tend to believe that others are more influenced by the mass media than they are themselves (Davison, 1983). The media effects within this theory lie in the perception of an effect. A number of concepts underpin the third person effect, such as social desirability, social comparison, social distance and pluralistic ignorance (Park and Salmon, 2005; Banning and Sweetser, 2007). Research surrounding the Third Person Effect has focused on two key aspects: the perceptual, which refers to an individual's tendency to perceive effects on others, and the behavioural, which centres on the idea that while people may not believe they themselves are influenced by a media message, the fact that they perceive others to be influenced by it, affects their behaviour (Perloff, 1999). Examples of studies on Third Person Effects include those focusing on the link between perceptions of the effects of violence in the mass media and subsequent censorship

(e.g. McLeod *et al.*, 1997; Hoffner *et al.*, 2001), and the mediation of health campaigns (Gunther and Storey, 2003).

Linked to the Third Person Effect is the Hostile Media Phenomenon (Choi *et al.*, 2009). Vallone *et al.* (1985) first conceptualised the theory during a study of perceptions of media coverage. In their study, pro-Arab and pro-Israeli students at Stanford University were asked to view news coverage on the 1982 Beirut massacre. Both sides perceived news coverage as biased against them, and the researchers concluded that regardless of whether news was objectively neutral, opposing parties would view it as biased against them. More recent research (Schmitt *et al.*, 2004; Choi *et al.*, 2009; Matthes, 2011) has explored the underlying cognitive aspects further, suggesting that perceptions of coverage may result from selective perception and selective evaluation.

What emerges from this discussion of media effects is that effects are complicated, and based upon the complexity of both the audience, and the media message. The issue is not as straightforward as the mass media simply having effects (direct effects model), or the audience interpreting a text in an infinite number of ways (limited effects model). As a result, understanding perceptions of media effects necessitates an appreciation of production, content and reception of the mass media.

## **2.4 Chapter summary**

This chapter explored human remains within archaeology, and the topic of news. It began by presenting the subject of human remains within archaeology, exploring why they have become a sensitive and debated issue at both an international and national level. The chapter also presented the context within which human remains are excavated, retained and reburied within the UK, setting out the guidance and legislation which covers this. These two aspects combined highlight the importance, and growing expectation, within the archaeological profession towards clear communication with interest groups and the public. In setting out these issues it has presented the climate within which the data were collected as well as adding further justification for this research project.



Newspapers provide an interface for communicating with the public; however, Section 2.3 demonstrated that the concepts of news and the newspaper article are complex. The introduction of key theories within mass communication provides a platform for exploring and evaluating news content in Chapter 4, as well as perceptions and reception of that coverage in Chapters 4 to 7. News is a socially constructed product and theories of news values and framing can help to explore and understand content. The mass media has the potential to create effect not only on the audience, or public, but as the Third Person Effect and Hostile Media Phenomenon show, there are indirect effects on those closest to an issue due to their perceptions and attitudes. The different dimensions of effect are explored throughout the thesis. The concerns that archaeologists have about mass media coverage are explored in Chapter 5, and the role of the newspaper in presenting events to the public is focused on in Chapter 6, while Chapter 7 brings these two aspects together.

## Chapter 3 : Methodology

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### 3.1 Introduction

Mass communication, as explored in the previous chapter, is a complex interaction between media content, producers, and consumers. The Aims and Objectives of this research project encompassed these different aspects, and as a result, data were drawn from a number of different sources: newspapers articles, archaeologists and osteoarchaeologists, and the public. In order to achieve the Aims and Objectives presented in Chapter 1, a mixed methods approach to data collection and analysis was adopted.

The chapter is divided into four key sections. Section 3.2 introduces the mixed method approach adopted by this research project, and presents issues of ethics and reflexivity. The chapter then sets out the individual approaches to data collection and analysis for the different data sets: Section 3.3 presents the newspaper data collection and content analysis; Section 3.4 presents the survey questionnaire approach to collect data from both osteoarchaeologists (the BBAO Survey) and the public (the Park Survey); and Section 3.5 sets out the semi-structured interview approach used to collect data from senior archaeologists in the North East of England. The sampling method, data collection process, and method of analysis for each data set are set out alongside a discussion of the ethical considerations and limitations.

### 3.2 Methodological approach

Before setting out the specific methods of data collection and analysis, the current section explores the overall approach taken to this research project and is divided into two further sections. Section 3.2.1 presents an overview of the mixed methods approach to data collection and analysis, while Section 3.2.2 introduces the issues of ethics and reflexivity.

### **3.2.1 A mixed methods approach**

Traditional approaches to research methods involve adopting either a qualitative or quantitative approach to data collection and analysis. Both emerge from different perspectives on the world, and approach data collection and analysis with different aims. As a result, each has its own strengths and weaknesses.

Quantitative research is based upon a positivist view of the world. From this perspective, the world is an external, objective entity, which can be observed and measured (Creswell, 2003; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003; Ridenour *et al.*, 2008).

Quantitative research has four main preoccupations, those of measurement, causality, generalisation and replication. Results from such studies are often numerical in nature. The results of a piece of research can, and should, be unaffected by a researcher's biases, and a largely deductive approach is taken to data analysis. Such an approach has limitations however, and the main arguments levelled against a quantitative approach are that it 'straightjackets' the world and does not allow for nuances within the data (Bryman, 2008).

By contrast, qualitative research is based on ideas of constructivism (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003). In qualitative research the focus is on understanding the social world through an examination of the interpretation of that world by its participants. Its main concern is with words rather than numbers (Mason, 2002; Bryman, 2008; Silverman, 2010). In qualitative research, the emphasis is on context, that is, on "why" something is as it is. As such, it generally offers a deeper understanding of issues, and takes a largely inductive approach to analysis. However the drawbacks to a qualitative approach are that it can be too subjective, is hard to replicate, has problems of generalisation, and potentially lacks transparency (Bryman, 2008).

In the past, these traditional paradigms, with their very different views of the world and emphases on different types of data, have created barriers to combining qualitative and quantitative approaches (Barbour, 1998; Morgan, 2007; Ridenour *et al.*, 2008). However, despite the fundamental differences between them, what the summaries above have also highlighted is that they allow different aspects of the world to be explored. Halloran (1998: 29) comments that "no single approach is

capable of providing more than a partial picture of social reality permitted by its own narrow perspectives and conceptual limitations". The research methodologies can therefore be seen as offering different approaches to the same research question. The mixed methods approach combines qualitative and quantitative methods in the research question design, data collection, and data analysis to produce complementary data rather than mutually exclusive data (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009). Those who advocate a mixed methods approach highlight the advantages of it, commenting that "certain types of research problems call for specific approaches, and mixed methods captures the best of both" (Creswell, 2003: 22).

A pragmatic approach is often associated with mixed methods research (Morgan, 2007; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009). Pragmatism is a deconstructive paradigm, which revisits the concepts of truth and reality found in other paradigms; it argues that many different approaches to data collection and analysis are possible, which are not mutually exclusive, but simply allow different ways of viewing the world to be appreciated (Creswell, 2003; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003). In a mixed methods approach, the emphasis is on the research questions rather than on a way of viewing the world (Patton, 1990; Creswell, 2003; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003), and as Ridenour *et al.* (2008: 1) comment, "the research question initiates the research...the research question is fundamental, much more fundamental than the paradigm (qualitative or quantitative) to which the researcher feels allegiance".

As explored in Chapter 2, within mass communication studies there is an emphasis on studying the entire communication process rather than just the text or message (Deacon *et al.*, 1999; Schudson, 2005). The Aims and Objectives of this research project follow this recommendation, and aim to capture a broad picture of the topic under investigation, from trends in newspaper content (Aim 1.3), to attitudes towards coverage (e.g. Aim 2.4). Using just one type of methodological approach would not satisfactorily address all of these aims: for example, content analysis alone cannot provide information about reception and perceptions. Because within mixed methods "each method is utilized to reveal findings for certain research questions...where using just one method (or approach) would limit the ability of the study to comprehensively answer all the questions" (Parmelee *et al.*, 2007: 187), a mixed methods approach is

therefore a valuable approach for addressing mass communication research questions (Thompson, 1995; Hanusch and Obijiofor, 2008).

A mixed methods approach offers the researcher the option to use both quantitative and qualitative data collection methods, as well as to integrate both numerical and thematic data analysis (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009). Within a mixed method approach, qualitative and quantitative methods can be combined in a number of ways. The different approaches can be used to different extents, and at different stages of the research. Mixed methods can facilitate the building of a research design, provide triangulation, or produce complementary data (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003). For example, primary quantitative data can be elaborated and discussed further using more qualitative data, or conversely, initial qualitative data can suggest avenues for further research in specific areas using quantitative methods (Creswell, 2003; Bryman, 2008; Ridenour *et al.*, 2008).

In this research project, a mix of qualitative and quantitative data collection methods were adopted throughout in order to collect data from a range of sources, and produced complementary numerical and descriptive data from which to investigate and answer the research questions. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of newspaper content allowed the investigation of the ways in which archaeological excavation, retention and reburial of human remains have been covered by newspapers. A combination of survey questionnaires containing both open and closed questions, and semi structured qualitative interviews produced both qualitative and quantitative data from osteoarchaeologists, archaeologists and the public, allowing an insight into the wider communication process, and patterns and trends to be explored.

The intertwined nature of the qualitative and quantitative data in a mixed methods approach means that data exploration is often abductive in nature (Morgan, 2007). In an abductive approach, reasoning moves between inductive and deductive approaches to theory and data as the research project develops. For example, Morgan (2007: 71) comments that “inductive results from a qualitative approach can serve as inputs to the deductive goals and a quantitative approach and vice-versa”.

An overview of the data collection methods used within this research project and the links between them, as well as the chapters within which the data are presented and discussed are found in Figure 3.1 (overleaf). After an initial literature review, which informed all aspects of the data collection and analysis, this research project took the newspaper articles as the starting point. These were collected in the second half of the first year of the research project (June to December, 2009). Alongside the newspaper content analysis phase, the BABAO Survey questionnaire was developed and administered between March and July, 2010. The analysis of data from the BABAO Survey highlighted a number of specific concerns that respondents had relating to the inclusion or exclusion of certain archaeological details within the newspaper articles. These concerns were incorporated back into the content analysis, with additional categories added. The data and themes that emerged from early newspaper content analysis helped to inform not just the BABAO Survey, but also the interviews, and the Park Survey of the public. Findings from the BABAO Survey also suggested areas that were of interest to investigate further during the semi structured interviews and the Park Survey. Details of the methods adopted for each of the different data sets (news, archaeologists and public) are found in Sections 3.4, 3.5, and 3.6 respectively.

### ***3.2.2 Research ethics and reflexivity***

Research takes place in the social world, and as such involves interactions with people. Due to this, a number of ethical factors need to be taken into account, such as the ethical nature of the subject matter, consent and anonymity (McAuley, 2003).

#### ***3.2.2.1 Research Ethics***

Newcastle University provides ethics guidelines on how research should be conducted, and aspects to consider when planning research (Newcastle University, 2012). During the early stages of this research project, a Project Approval Application Form was completed. This included an ethical issues section, a copy of which can be found in Appendix 1. If research involves human subjects in a non-clinical setting then a series of further questions need to be considered, including whether the study will “involve discussion of sensitive topics”. The subject of this research project was

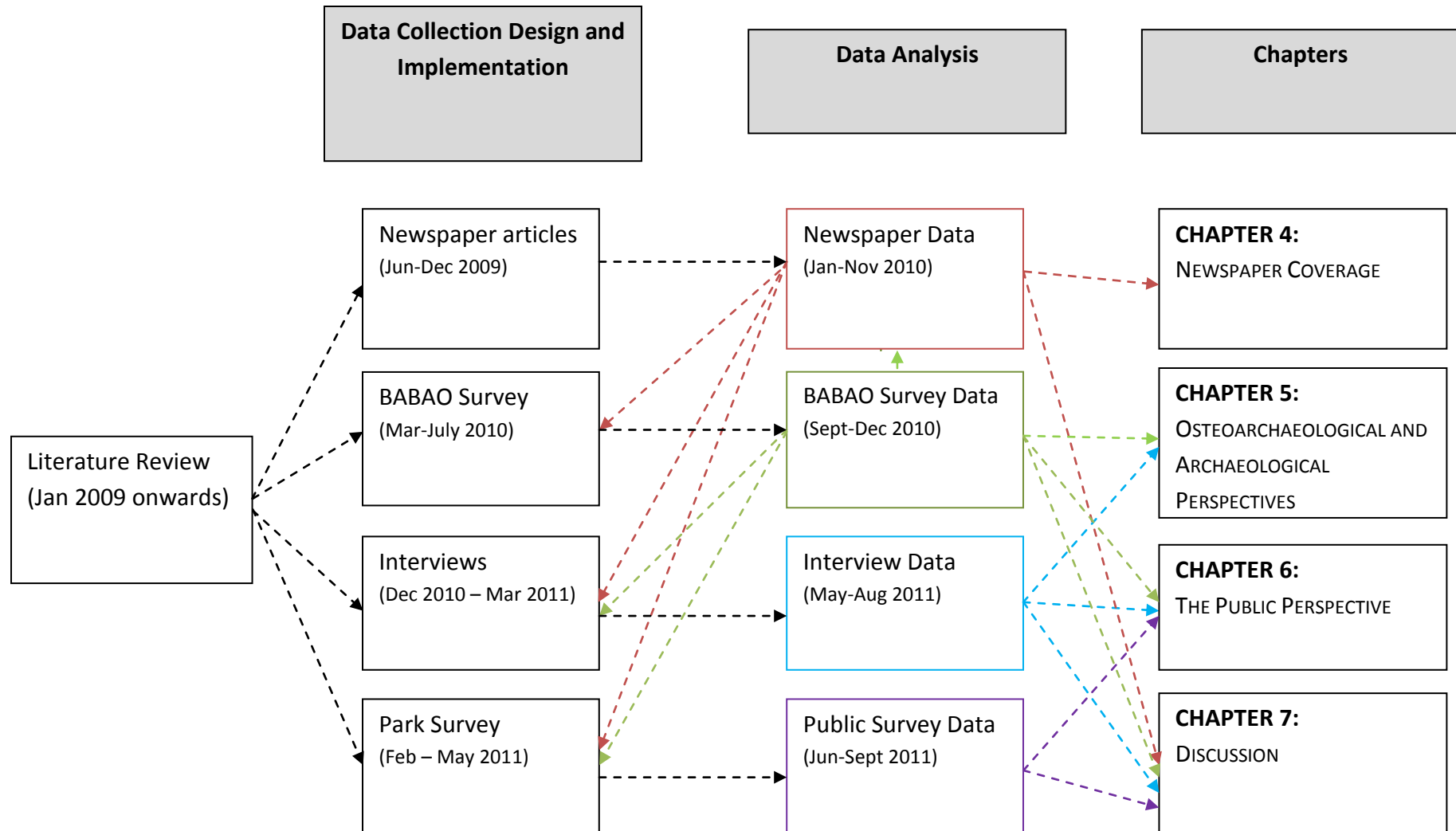


Figure 3.1: The data collection and analysis process, showing links between the different data sets and the thesis chapters

human remains, which, as discussed in Chapter 2, can be considered sensitive by some groups. A discussion was therefore held between the researcher and the supervisory team as to whether researching attitudes to human remains would fall under “sensitive issues”. The outcome of the discussion was that they were not deemed sensitive due to the fact the research project focused on human remains that were over 100 years old, from archaeological sites, and originated from the UK. As a result, they are carefully excavated and curated under rules and guidelines, and hold a different status to more recent human remains, and to human remains originating from outside the UK. The form was submitted and approved by the university. It should be noted however, that given the on-going debates surrounding human remains and their sensitivity, if the study were to be repeated in the future, a more detailed ethical consent form may be required.

In addition to the topic of research, a number of ethical issues needed to be considered during the data collection and analysis in the case of this research project. As well as newspaper articles, data were collected from archaeologists, osteoarchaeologists, and the public. All of these are individuals in the real world who have the potential to be affected by both the data collection and subsequent use of the data (McAuley, 2003). Issues of informed consent, confidentiality, and accuracy in data collection and presentation, were therefore taken into account when designing and conducting research (Mason, 2002; Denscombe, 2007; Bryman, 2008; Silverman, 2010). The ways in which these were addressed for the different data sets are discussed in the relevant subsections of Sections 3.4 and 3.5.

#### 3.2.2.2 *Reflexivity*

Researchers are part of the world they study, and as a result they do not collect and produce “uncontaminated data” (Brewer, 2003: 259). The research question, and methodology employed, as well as a researcher’s own experiences, values, and interests can impact on the results and how they are interpreted (Willig, 2001). For example, inductive coding of data, which occurred for several data sets within this research project, involves immersing oneself in the material so that themes and categories emerge. It is therefore inevitable that the researcher’s own interests, background and expectations play a role in the categorisation process (Willig, 2001).



Being 'reflexive', through disclosing these factors, and being aware of them during data collection, analysis and writing up, is therefore an essential part of any research project (Denscombe, 2007; Rallis and Grossman, 2012). As such, the individual methods used to collect the data sets are presented in detail in Sections 3.4 to 3.6 and the researcher's archaeological and osteoarchaeological background was detailed in the Preface. In addition, given that the topic of this research project is the sensitive issue of human remains on which there is a variety of opinions within the UK, it is important to make the researcher's attitudes clear. It is the researcher's view that human remains should only be excavated if there is no alternative, for example if excavation takes place in advance of development and to prevent destruction, as is currently the case with most human remains excavated within the UK. The excavation of such human remains allows a period of time within which osteoarchaeological study can be carried out. However, the previous time limit of two years was unrealistic to allow the completion of studies of large populations which inevitably take longer to analyse. On the reburial/retention issue, then the researcher feels that this needs to be decided on a case by case basis. While the researcher has been actively involved in the analysis of human remains and has used them in teaching, given that human remains which are excavated are the ancestors and part of the history of the British Isles, their fate should be decided by a majority (the public, professionals, and all interested groups), rather than by the minority (be it modern day pagans or osteoarchaeologists).

### **3.3 Content analysis of newspaper articles**

Newspaper articles covering the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains are at the centre of this research project, and were the first data set to be collected. Newspaper articles were collected and analysed using content analysis and framing methods adapted from guidelines within media studies set out by Purvis (2007), Krippendorf (2004), and Nuendorf (2002). The details of the data collection and analysis methods are set out in this section.

### **3.3.1 Sampling**

Newspaper articles were collected which spanned the time period January 1989 to December 2009. This time period was selected for a number of key reasons, which were introduced in Chapter 2. Firstly, the start year (1989) is the year in which the Vermillion Accord was adopted, and as noted in Section 2.2.1, the issues and debates surrounding the use and retention of archaeological human remains have increased within the archaeological and museum professions since its adoption. Secondly, this period of time encompasses substantial changes to the nature and scale of archaeological excavation within the UK (Fulford, 2011). Thirdly, an increase in wider public and mass media interest in archaeology has been observed during this time period (Kulik, 2005). Finally, in the 1980s a number of high profile excavations occurred which would likely have served to bring the excavation of human remains to the attention of the public, and therefore serve to increase this as a topic of interest for the newspapers. The excavation at Jewbury, and subsequent newspaper coverage, was introduced in Chapter 1. Additionally, the excavation of a large number of post medieval skeletons from Christ Church in Spitalfields between 1984 and 1986 was one of the most important cemetery excavations for archaeologists (Reeve and Cox, 1999). While many newspaper articles on the site were written during the analysis and writing up period, and therefore are within the time period this study investigates, the project nonetheless involved the local community in researching their ancestors and would have brought the wider value of such sites to the attention of the public, and of the newspapers. The period of 21 years from 1989 to 2009 therefore follows a period of increased archaeological excavation of human remains, and encompasses key debates and developments, and the investigation of any changes to newspaper coverage which may have occurred as a result.

Local, regional and national UK-based newspapers were included in this research project, and details of the ways in which these were collected are found later in this section. For the purposes of this research project, newspapers were grouped into two key groups: *national* and *local-regional*. National newspapers included only those that have a UK-wide remit. While English, Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish newspapers could be considered to be national newspapers, they were considered local-regional

newspapers for this research project because of their narrower geographic focus on a region of the UK. The national newspapers were further divided into three groups along traditional distinctions: the 'quality' national newspapers (e.g. *The Guardian*, *The Times*, and the *Daily Telegraph*), the 'mid-market' tabloid newspapers (e.g. the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Express*) and the mass-market 'tabloids' (e.g. *The Sun*, the *Daily Mirror*) (McNair, 2009).

The various newspapers have different readerships and foci and, therefore, they have the potential to report events in diverse ways. Including a range of newspapers allows for detailed discussion and a comparative account of the content of those newspapers, and allows a better appreciation of the diversity of newspaper coverage, and the factors affecting this. The articles and opinions which appear in national papers can help inform decision makers and can indicate the opinions of the wider public (Maesele and Schuurman, 2008). By comparison, regional-local newspapers are more parochial and capture local interest. By reporting events that readers may feel more involved with, McNair (2009: 169) comments the newspaper is "a good pub landlord. It should make people feel that they belong, that they are valued, and their lives have some significance. People need to feel, from the paper, that their community is being noted and celebrated".

As noted in Chapter 2 (Section 2.3) the world of the newspaper is changing. Yet despite the increasing number of alternative sources of news online, such as blogs and online-only newspapers, the traditional newspapers have retained a large share of the newspaper readership which has merely shifted to their online sites (Riesch, 2001). As such, it was the traditional print newspapers, and their online counterparts, which were largely the focus of this study. Newspaper articles from the *British Broadcasting Corporation Online (BBC News Online)* were also included in the data set, and categorised as a 'quality' newspaper. The *BBC News Online* has become a major source of newspaper articles for many people. A report in 2011 found that the *BBC* website reaches 57% of the UK population, and the *BBC* (2011: 1) commented that this percentage was "driven by particularly strong performances for news, with *BBC News Online* playing an important role in engaging audiences with major news stories". It

was therefore considered important to include articles from the *BBC News Online* in this research project.

Newspapers, and journalism are undergoing a fundamental change with the move online (Fenton, 2009, Freedman, 2009; Riesch, 2011), which has the potential to impact on the resulting newspaper articles. Some feel that the quality of journalism is declining with cheaper, shorter articles with less depth replacing time-consuming, well researched articles. This tendency is the result of increasing time pressures with the requirement to publish quickly and 24 hours a day; decreasing staffing levels and economic pressures; the ability to gather information without leaving the desk, and the reliance on news agencies as sources (Fenton, 2009, Freedman, 2009; Riesch, 2011). These issues and their implications are returned to in Chapters 7 and 8.

More importantly for data collection in this research project is the issue of the fluid nature of online newspaper articles. Newspapers can, and do alter their articles, or the article headline over the course of the day, incorporating changes, and addressing complaints or comments made by readers. As a result, the final article retrieved for analysis may be very different, contain different information, or have a different slant to the original article. This, as Riesch (2011: 771) notes, poses a problem for the researcher because “it is no longer clear who has read and written what version, and what impact they potentially had on the national debates on these topics”.

Additionally, it may not be possible to trace all versions of the article, and the online and print versions by the same newspaper may be different. In order to evaluate the extent to which this may have been an issue for this research project, a comparison of the print and online versions of newspaper articles was undertaken as detailed in the following section, but this revealed no differences between the two. The problem of different, and updated, versions was therefore not an issue for the analysis and interpretation of the results of this study. However, as noted in Chapter 8, this issue should be borne in mind for future research.

### **3.3.2 Data collection**

Preliminary investigations into newspaper articles covering the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains revealed that unlike an issue

such as the economy or politics which would produce a vast number of newspaper articles, the number of articles covering these topics was relatively small. As a result, it was possible to attempt to collect all relevant articles relating to the topic. However, the use of a database, such as *Lexis Nexis* in the case of this research project, means that there was an unavoidable sampling element involved as will be discussed below.

Newspaper articles were collected using the *Lexis Nexis* full text electronic database, which contains archives of globally published newspapers and was accessed through Newcastle University library webpage. It allows access to a large number of national, regional and local UK based newspapers, and is used extensively by researchers investigating newspaper content (e.g. Capella *et al.*, 2007; Feeley and Vincent, 2007; Augoustinos *et al.*, 2009). However, it should be noted that the *Lexis Nexis* database is not an exhaustive collection of newspapers in the UK. There are 12 national newspapers, and over 1000 local and regional newspapers in the UK (Peak and Fisher, 2003; McNair, 2009). However, the *Lexis Nexis* database contains just 100 of these, less than 10% of the total (a full list of newspapers accessible through *Lexis Nexis* can be found in Appendix 2). Additionally, *Lexis Nexis* does not hold complete runs of newspapers for every year; the number of newspapers in the database each year varies. The total number of newspapers held by the *Lexis Nexis* database is shown in Table 3.1.

**Table 3.1: Number of newspapers per year within the *Lexis Nexis* newspaper database**

Year	Number of newspapers in <i>Lexis Nexis</i>
1989	4
1990	6
1991	6
1992	9
1993	10
1994	13
1995	15
1996	17
1997	26
1998	45
1999	52
2000	58
2001	65

2002	65
2003	90
2004	86
2005	85
2006	82
2007	79
2008	66
2009	66

In order to mitigate for the different number of newspapers in the database when exploring changes over time to newspaper coverage, the average number of newspapers with articles per year was calculated, and this was compared to the average number of newspapers with articles for the whole time period (1989-2009). Further discussion and presentation of this data can be found in Chapter 4 (Section 4.2).

Despite these limitations, using an electronic database allows for a systematic approach to data collection. The range of local-regional, and national newspapers included means that findings are indicative of wider coverage of both online and print newspaper articles (Cushion, 2007). As noted above, the *BBC Online* search facility was used to collect relevant newspaper articles from this source, and checks were performed in the online search facilities for online newspapers in order to check for any additional newspaper articles, or any differences between the online and print versions of articles. However, in both cases none were found.

A keyword search to locate relevant newspaper articles was conducted on the *Lexis Nexis* database and the *BBC Online* news website search facility. Initial articles were found using the key terms in this research project: 'human remains', 'excavation', 'retention', and 'reburial'. However, a number of different terms can be used to refer to the archaeological processes of excavation, retention, and reburial (e.g. 'dug up', 'uncovered', 'disturbed', 'laid to rest' etc.) and to human remains themselves (e.g. 'remains', 'bones', 'bodies' etc.), and these terms hold certain value judgements. From the collected newspaper articles, a list of synonyms was produced (Table 3.2). These were used as keywords for further searches. Using a range of terms collected a much larger range of newspaper articles than might have been the case if just the initial keywords had been used.

**Table 3.2: List of keywords used during data collection to locate newspapers articles on the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains.**

Human remains	Excavation	Retention	Reburial
Human remains	Found	Archive	Laid to rest
Bones	Disturb	Store	Return
Graves	Excavated	Storage	Re-inter
Skeletons	Dug up		Burial
Bodies	Uncover		

The initial searches for articles, using the keywords above, returned over 2000 newspaper articles, many of which covered events outside the topics being researched. The headline and initial paragraphs of articles returned during the initial search were read for relevance to the research project. Only articles which focused upon the archaeological excavation, retention, or reburial of human remains within the UK were selected. Articles were only included if the human remains were greater than 100 years old, as these are deemed archaeological under the Human Tissue Act 2004 (see Section 2.1), and are therefore exempt from the HTA licensing requirements. After the filtering process, 413 newspaper articles were found to meet the research criteria, and these formed the data set for content analysis.

The 413 newspaper articles were added to an *NVivo 8* database. *NVivo 8* is a software package designed for qualitative data analysis, allowing the researcher to manage data, generate ideas, query data, graphically model data, and report data (Bazeley, 2007). For this research project, it provided a convenient way to easily store and access the newspaper articles, as well as a way of initially identifying key themes and codes.

### **3.3.3 Data analysis**

A content analysis approach was adopted for the analysis of the 413 newspaper articles. Within mass communication studies, Holsti (1969: 2) defines content analysis as a “multipurpose research method developed specifically for investigating any problem in which the content of communication serves at the basis of inference”. It is a valuable tool for making replicable and valid inferences from texts by breaking down a text into categories relevant to the research question (Krippendorff, 2004).

Both quantitative and qualitative content analyses were conducted for this research project. Berelson (1952: 147) refers to quantitative content analysis as an “objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication”. It is an effective way of analysing large amounts of text, gathering initial information from content, and providing a bigger picture. As such, it provides a basis for using terms such as ‘frequently’, ‘often’, and ‘rarely’, in the discussion and analysis of results (Deacon *et al.*, 1999). Adopting a qualitative approach alongside a quantitative approach “enables the reader to make more sense of the quantitative data, it allows themes to be drawn out of the texts, and meanings explored” (Cushion, 2007: 421). As noted in Section 3.2.1, combining qualitative and quantitative approaches is common in media studies, and in the case of content analysis Holsti (1969: 14) goes as far as to comment that “a rigid qualitative-quantitative divide seems unwarranted for the purposes of defining the technique”.

In this research project, initial quantitative analysis established basic data such as the relative numbers of articles on each topic, between newspaper types, and the number of articles in each year. Combined with subsequent qualitative analysis, this approach allowed for a more detailed understanding of the ways in which the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial were presented by the newspapers.

With the overall approach determined, the next step was to select the categories for analysis. Hansen *et al.* (1998: 106) note that “any number of text characteristics can be categorised, counted and quantified” during content analysis. With this in mind, the elements of the newspaper articles to be coded were carefully selected from a large number of possibilities and were guided by the research Aims and Objectives set out in Chapter 1.

All newspaper articles were first coded for a number of basic newspaper characteristics such as newspaper type, specialism of the reporter, page number, and page length (Table 3.3). In addition to the basic characteristics, content more specific to the archaeological processes was quantitatively coded. The variables included the reason for excavation, and whether any guidelines were mentioned in the newspaper article (Table 3.4). These variables were included as a result of concerns expressed by



osteoarchaeologists and archaeologists during initial conversations and also the literature review (e.g. BABAO n.d; Sayer, 2011).

**Table 3.3: List of basic newspaper article features recorded during content analysis.**

Feature	Description
Headline	Headline of the article – taken verbatim from the article
Date	Date of article
Newspaper	Newspaper the article was published in
Type of newspaper	Regional-local or national
Type of article	News, feature, letter
Reporter	Reporter’s full name and designation, e.g. science reporter
Page no	The page number of the article noted on <i>Lexis Nexis</i> (n/a)
Length	Number of words in the article

**Table 3.4: List of archaeological specific content coded as present or absent within the newspaper articles during content analysis.**

Archaeological content	Description
Reason for excavation or reburial	Development, research, accidental discovery
Reason for reburial	End of the archaeological process, laying to rest
Fate of the remains in the article	Was reburial, retention, display mentioned?
Legislation/guidelines/guidance	Was the burial licence, DCMS guidance, or other guidance or processes mentioned?

With the newspaper articles coded for key characteristics and archaeological content, the ‘frames’ used to present the archaeological information were identified and analysed. These allowed an in-depth look at how the archaeological excavation, retention and reburial of human remains were presented by the newspapers. Frames were introduced in Chapter 2 and are defined in this research project as “a central organising idea or storyline that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events” (Gamson and Modigliani 1987:143). In order to establish the frames present within the newspaper sample, a largely inductive approach to the data set was taken. Through a close reading of the newspaper articles and identification of repetitive elements using *NVivo 8* software (mentioned earlier in Section 3.4.2), frame categories began to emerge from the data. This is an approach commonly used “when the topic of interest has been relatively ignored in the literature, or only given superficial attention” (Goulding, 2002: 92) as is the case with this research topic. Purvis (2007) suggests that

first step in undertaking qualitative content analysis is to start to analyse how messages are formed, considering semantics and lexical associations. In particular, the headline and first paragraph were the primary determinants of the frame. Headlines summarise salient points of an article and attract the reader to an article (Rafferty, 2008), and were therefore useful indicators when establishing frames within an article. If the headline and first paragraphs appeared to contradict each other, then the first paragraph was used in establishing the frame. Additionally, as Krippendorff (2004) recommends, in instances when coding themes or frames is difficult, or they are ambiguous, it is important to be consistent and systematic in applying the categories in order to try and eliminate bias. This was achieved through careful and methodical coding of articles, with one in 20 articles rechecked for consistency at the end of the coding of all the newspaper articles.

Recording of all codes and frames was undertaken in a *Microsoft Excel 2007* worksheet following initial identification of frames using *NVivo 8*. A copy of the recording form can be found in Appendix 3. Once coded, quantitative data were analysed using the programme *Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS 17)* which allowed tables to be produced and statistical analyses to be performed. Chapter 4 presents the findings from the analysis of the 413 newspaper articles.

### **3.4 Survey questionnaires**

In addition to exploring newspaper content, this research project aimed to consider aspects of production, as well as reception and attitudes to that newspaper coverage. Survey questionnaires were selected as the most suitable data collection method through which to collect data from osteoarchaeologists and the public, and the details of each survey are discussed in the current section. The initial research design also planned to use survey questionnaires to collect data from the wider archaeological population within the UK in order to allow for a comparison with more specialised archaeologists. However, several issues which are discussed further in Section 3.5 meant that this was not possible and, as a result, interviews with a smaller number of senior archaeologists from the North East were eventually used to collect more in-depth data. Details of the interview data collection process are set out in Section 3.5.

Survey questionnaires are a “systematic method for gathering information from (a sample of) entities” (Groves *et al.*, 2009: 2). They are a valuable data collection tool which allows for comparisons between a large number of people (Stokes, 2003). In the case of both osteoarchaeologists and the public in this research project, the sample populations were large, and so adopting a method that allowed the most useable amount of data to be collected within the constraints of available resources was essential (Hansen *et al.*, 1998: 225). Open and closed questions were used throughout both survey questionnaires. Closed questions allow for numeric description of attitudes, trends, and opinions through the study of a sample, while open questions within the survey allowed for more in-depth and descriptive data to be collected (Creswell, 2003).

Surveys, as with any research method, have their limitations. Questionnaires have the potential to influence the data collected in that they impose “a structure on the answers and shape the nature of the responses in a way that reflect the researcher’s thinking rather than the respondents” (Denscombe, 2007: 160). Types of questions, ordering of questions, sampling, and methods of administering survey questionnaires can all impact on the responses obtained. Additionally, those who complete the questionnaire are self-selecting, and are often those who have an opinion to express. As a result, generalising the results back to the wider population can be difficult, particularly in the case of the public, as will be discussed in Section 3.5.2. These issues were carefully considered for each survey as Schroder (2003: 352) comments that “the remedies to the various problems of the questionnaire approach may take quite different forms, depending on the objectives of a particular survey project”. The specific design, data collection methods, and data analysis for the survey questionnaires are presented in Section 3.4.1 for osteoarchaeologists and in Section 3.4.2 for the public.

#### **3.4.1 Osteoarchaeologists: the BABAQ Survey**

The first survey questionnaire, the BABAQ Survey, was targeted at osteoarchaeologists. It was felt important to collect their opinions in addition to those of more generalised archaeologists (see Section 3.6) as they are likely to have a closer

interest in how their field of interest is presented by the mass media, and be more affected by any impact from newspaper coverage.

#### *3.4.1.1 Sampling*

The osteoarchaeological profession has grown alongside the broader archaeological profession since the late 1980s. Prior to this, many of those working on the analysis of human remains from archaeological sites came from a medical or anatomical background (Roberts and Cox, 2003). Masters courses focusing on the analysis of human remains within an archaeological context started to be established from the late 1980s, such as those at the University of Sheffield and University College London, with increasing numbers of courses appearing throughout the 1990s (Roberts, 2006), and the establishment of BABAO in 1998 (White, B, 2011). Many osteoarchaeologists work within museums or contract archaeological units, while many are also found within universities.

Although data exists on the number of archaeologists working within the UK (Aitchison and Edwards, 2008), no comprehensive study exists as to the number of osteoarchaeologists within this group. But as is the case with more general archaeology jobs discussed in Section 3.5, the number of osteoarchaeologists is likely to fluctuate with contract work, and Masters course numbers. For the purposes of this research project, BABAO provided a ready-made group of osteoarchaeologists from which to collect data. BABAO is a specialised organisation with relatively informal membership criteria. Its mission is to:

“Promote the study of human bio-archaeology and osteoarchaeology for the purpose of understanding humanity from the past to the present. BABAO also provides a forum for the exchange of ideas and information on these topics and strives to improve standards in all aspects of the study of the biological remains of past and present peoples. BABAO is fully committed to promulgating the highest ethical standards in the treatment and care of human skeletal remains and does not condone actions or statements that violate these principles. Membership of the organisation is open to all who support these aims” (BABAO, 2007).

In June 2010, when the survey was conducted, BABAO membership stood at 401 members (BABAO, 2010). It should be noted however that not all osteoarchaeologists within the UK are members of BABAO. Additionally, not all BABAO members work within the UK, and care was taken to ensure that respondents were aware that the questions related specifically to human remains from within the UK. Additionally, only UK-based osteoarchaeologists were asked to complete the survey. As a result care was taken in generalising the results back to the wider population of UK osteoarchaeologists. The results from this survey can however, be considered indicative of the range of opinions and views that osteoarchaeologists hold on the issue.

#### *3.4.1.2 Survey design and implementation*

The BABAO Survey questions were carefully guided by the research Aims and Objectives, and were further developed as a result of the analysis of newspaper articles. As noted above, the BABAO Survey questionnaire was designed with a combination of closed and open questions to allow a range of data, both quantitative and qualitative, to be collected. Survey questions were divided into four sections covering a number of key areas: 1) overall attitudes to newspaper coverage of the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains; 2) perceptions of newspaper impact on the public; 3) experiences of engaging with the newspapers; and 4) basic data including current organisation worked for and role. For this last category of questions individuals were asked to tick all boxes that applied, as many individuals work in more than role, or for more than one organisation. A free text entry space was included at the end of each section in which the respondent could enter additional comments. A copy of the BABAO Survey is included in Appendix 4.

The BABAO membership is spread over the whole of the UK (and beyond), and a survey request sent out via email was felt to be the most efficient means of reaching this group. Permission to use the BABAO emailing list as a means of distributing the survey was sought from, and approved by, the BABAO committee. The email sent to the members contained a link to the survey rather than including the survey itself within the email text or as an attachment to avoid overfilling recipients email inboxes. The survey was constructed using Newcastle University's *Formbuilder* facility.

*Formbuilder* is an online survey tool which allows survey questions to be easily constructed and accessed. It has the additional benefit that responses are collected and recorded automatically, with the data easily being exported into *SPSS17* and *NVivo 8* for analysis.

The survey was piloted with six postgraduate archaeologists at Newcastle University, five of whom had worked in archaeology and osteoarchaeology prior to taking up their postgraduate study. They were asked to complete the survey, provide feedback on the clarity and sense of the questions, and note any other problems they encountered in accessing and completing the survey. The feedback was on the whole positive with just small number of grammatical errors noted. These were addressed prior to sending out the survey to BBAO members.

The email to the BBAO members included the link to the survey and information about the nature and purpose of the research, and the use of the data. It stated that the results would be entirely anonymous unless contact details were provided, in which case responses would be confidential, with only the researcher being aware of who had made the comment. The email also highlighted the fact that, in addition to the thesis, results would be presented at a forthcoming BBAO conference. By indicating that results would be presented back to the membership and, therefore, accessible to those who had contributed, it was hoped response rates would be better than they may have otherwise been. A copy of the BBAO Survey covering letter is found in Appendix 5. The questionnaires were sent out to the BBAO mailing list on 22 June 2010 with a deadline of 31 July 2010 for completion. One reminder was sent out to the list after three weeks of the initial email in order to boost responses.

Fifty nine BBAO members responded to the survey, giving a response rate of 15%. A meta-analysis comparing web and traditional mail survey responses found that 34% is an average response rate for a web or email survey, while 44% is an average for a traditional mail survey (Shih and Fan, 2008). These figures indicate that the response rate in this research project is low, for which there are several potential reasons. As mentioned in Section 3.4.1.2, some members of the email list are not UK-based and were instructed not to complete the survey, although exact figures for overseas and UK based members were not available. Additionally, an examination of some of the

current issues surrounding osteoarchaeology also suggests reasons for the low response rate. A number of surveys relating to human remains have been conducted in recent years (e.g. Weeks and Bott, 2003; White E, 2011), which has led some to conclude that osteoarchaeologists are feeling over surveyed and therefore less inclined to respond to surveys (Giesen *et al.*, 2013). The current pressures facing archaeology companies in light of the economic climate may also mean there is likely to be much less time to complete a survey.

While the overall response rate was low, and has the potential to impact on the research project discussion and conclusions, those individuals who did complete the BABA Survey often gave detailed answers to the open questions. These in-depth responses give valuable insights into the nature and range of perceptions surrounding newspaper coverage of the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains. As such, the quantitative data collected provides a platform from which to discuss the findings from the qualitative questions, rather than providing definitive conclusions regarding attitudes to newspaper coverage of the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains.

Quantitative data was analysed using *SPSS17* to establish patterns and frequencies of certain responses. An inductive approach, similar to that taken for the newspaper content analysis, was applied to the qualitative data. Through careful reading of the responses to the open questions in *NVivo 8*, themes emerged from the data. Chapter 5 presents the findings from the 59 responses to the BABA Survey.

### **3.4.2 The public: the Park Survey**

The second survey questionnaire collected data from the public, and will be referred to as the 'Park Survey'. Focus groups were initially considered as a means of collecting data from the public as they are of particular value within mass communication research. Focus groups allow the researcher to explore how audiences make sense of messages, based on the underlying assumption that "audiences form their interpretations of media content, and their opinions about such content through conversations and social interactions" (Hansen *et al.*, 1998: 261). Such groups allow subjects to discuss and explore an issue in a group setting (Bryman, 2008). However, it

was felt that the largely qualitative data collected through such a method would not be as valuable as the mix of quantitative and qualitative data that could be collected through a survey questionnaire. As noted earlier in Section 3.4, the questionnaire has the benefits of collecting standardised data from a large number of people, and providing a snapshot of audience beliefs attitudes and behaviours (Hansen *et al.*, 1998).

The survey questionnaire was selected as the methodological tool in a number of other studies looking at public opinion on archaeological and heritage matters (e.g. Ramos and Duganne, 2000; Colley, 2005; Cambridgeshire Archaeology, 2006; Pokotylo, 2007; Stuart, 2009; Butler, 2010). Adopting the method in this research project, and including similar questions to the previous surveys relating to attitudes to human remains, level of interest in archaeology, and sources of information about archaeology meant that the data could be tied back into the wider literature and contribute to growing body of research in these areas.

#### 3.4.2.1 *Defining the public*

‘The public’ is a large and diverse group to define (Stokes, 2003; Schiappa and Wessels, 2007). The Oxford English Dictionary simply defines ‘the public’ as the “ordinary people in general, the community” (OED, 2011). However, there is a difficulty in conceptualising the ‘the public’ as a useful research term. ‘The public’ is made up of many individuals and therefore is not a homogenous entity, and “while the term...resonates as an element of everyday discourse, its use hides any number of contradictions” (Higgins, 2008: 3). Molyneaux (1994: 6) highlights this difficulty, referring to the public as “a confusion of individuals and groups in endless networks and levels of relationships”.

While the term ‘the public’ may not be useful in identifying the individuals within it, it can be a useful term for grouping people together, providing that a definition which can be used consistently throughout the research is set out. The public can be those who have been grouped together by “the circumstances of a collective work or idea” (Molyneaux 1994: 54). Calhoun (2005: 283) defines the public as “the sum of those outside of an immediate professional or administrative circle” (Calhoun, 2005:283),



and this provides a useful concept of the public within the context of this research project. Following Merriman's (2004: 2) definition, 'the public' in this research project is used as "shorthand to describe the huge diversity of the population, who do not earn their living as professional archaeologists". However, it is important to bear in mind that while a collective term is used, it is made up of individuals and there is "the potential for diversity in interpretation and contextualisation of media content" (Holliman, 2004; 110).

#### 3.4.2.2 *Sampling*

Due to the nature of the public, defining a representative sample is very difficult both theoretically and logistically. The difficulty in sampling the public, or the audience of a mass media, has been discussed by many (e.g. Schroder, 2003; Schiappa and Wessels, 2007). As a result, establishing the population and sample followed the lead of other surveys conducted into public perceptions of archaeology, which have used quota sampling to collect data from between 62 and 300 individuals, with most targeting between 80 and 120 people (Ramos and Duganne, 2000; Colley, 2005; Cambridgeshire Archaeology, 2006; Pokotylo, 2007; Stuart, 2009; Butler, 2010). Quota sampling, often conducted by targeting people on the street, is useful for obtaining an idea of the range of responses that people have on an issue (Hansen *et al.*, 1998). This type of sampling is frequently used when the sampling frame is not available, and given the difficulty in determining this for the section of the UK population who are not archaeologists, it was considered an appropriate method in this research project. A target of 100 members of the public was set for this research project. This number was felt to be realistic within the limited time and resources available to the researcher. It also took into consideration the fact this was just one of several data sets to be collected and analysed, while allowing comparisons with the wider literature.

To this end, 50 members of the public were surveyed in Newcastle, and 50 in York. The locations within the cities were carefully selected to avoid areas where people who had a particular interest in archaeology would be located, such as immediately adjacent to museums or heritage sites. Cambridgeshire Archaeology (2006) conducted their public survey at a heritage event, and the public attending this event were likely to have a higher level of interest in heritage and archaeology than the average

member of the public, which may have impacted on the results. It was intended that by selecting city centres in this research project that this potential bias could be avoided. The decision to conduct the surveys in the centre of the cities also follows surveys done by Butler (2010), and Stuart (2009) that captured public opinion regarding the retention and study of human remains within archaeology. Surveys were conducted on weekdays and weekends in order to capture a range of individuals.

A key issue when analysing and drawing conclusions from the results of non-probability sampling is being aware of the extent to which generalisations can be drawn from the data (Gray *et al.*, 2007), and this was kept in mind during interpretation and discussion of the findings in Chapters 6 and 7. As noted above, the findings were also to be used in conjunction with data sets from previous studies on archaeology and the media, and issues relating to human remains. As such, quantitative responses could be combined with these data to create meta-data. Quantitative findings were used as a base, often in conjunction with other studies, from which to explore the issues in greater depth.

#### 3.4.2.3 *Park Survey design and implementation*

The survey questions were guided by the research Aims and Objectives set out in Chapter 1, and were designed to be clear and unambiguous, and to complement the other data sets. In addition to basic demographic data, which included level of education and religion, questions were collected around three key areas: 1) interest in archaeology and attitudes to human remains; 2) consumption and perceptions of the newspaper; and 3) issues relating to newspaper coverage of human remains, such as items that should be included, and level of recall. The questionnaire was designed to be as short and comprehensive as possible, to encourage a high completion rate. A copy of the Park Survey can be found in Appendix 6.

Prior to surveying the public, the questionnaire was piloted with four Newcastle University undergraduate students (all of whom were non-archaeologists) in early January 2011. Following the testing of the questionnaire, a number of alterations were made to the wording of some of the questions to increase clarity, while some questions were combined to streamline and shorten the survey.

The Park Survey was conducted between 24 January 2011 and 4 February 2011. The date, time, and location were recorded at the top of each questionnaire. Three research postgraduates from the International Centre for Cultural and Heritage Studies (ICCHS) at Newcastle University helped in administering the survey in Newcastle, and the researcher's parents assisted in York. Most surveys were conducted face to face, although some members of the public chose to self-complete the survey with the research assistants on-hand to answer any questions or clarify any points.

When using several individuals to administer a survey, there is the potential for inconsistency in asking questions and addressing any concerns the respondent has, which may result in non-standardised responses (Grinnel and Unrau, 2008; Matteson and Lincoln, 2009). The level of concern over this is low in a short and largely quantitative survey such as the Park Survey. In order to further minimise any potential problems, the research assistants were also given copies of the survey questionnaire to review during the pilot study to assist in identifying any problems and to ensure that they felt comfortable in conducting the survey. Additionally, a sheet was given to the research assistants outlining the background to the study, which they could use to help answer any questions the public may have had.

At the start of the questionnaire, members of the public were provided with a short introduction to the research project, which included the purpose of the research and what would be done with the data. It was made clear to participants that taking part in the survey was entirely voluntary, that all responses were completely anonymous, that they did not have to answer all the questions, and that they could stop at any time. Additionally, members of the public were asked if they were over 18, with only those who were being asked to complete the Park Survey.

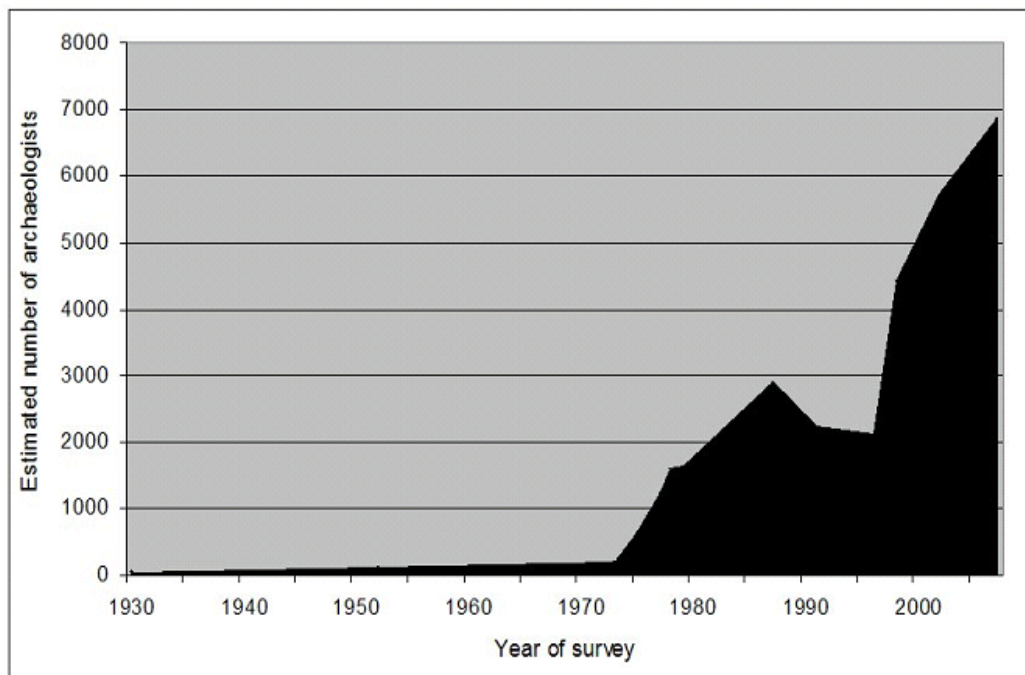
Park Survey responses were transcribed onto a *Microsoft Excel 2007* worksheet. As with the BBAO Survey, quantitative responses were analysed using *SPSS17*, and the qualitative data were analysed and coded using *NVivo 8*. The findings from the 100 completed Park Surveys are presented and explored in Chapter 6.

### **3.5 Interviews**

Interviews were used to investigate senior archaeologists' perceptions and experiences in more depth. As noted above, the original research design utilised questionnaire surveys as a means of collecting data and opinions from both the osteoarchaeologists (the BABA Survey) and the wider archaeological community (defined in Section 3.5.1 below). The change in data collection method is discussed in Section 3.5.2.

#### **3.5.1 Sampling**

In 2008 the IFA estimated that there were around 6865 archaeologists working in the UK, of which 3890 were in field investigation and research (Aitchison and Edwards, 2008). As noted in Chapter 2, the vast majority of excavations within the UK occur as a result of development. The introduction of PPG16 meant that the size of the archaeological profession increased dramatically in the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century (Figure 3.2). In 1999 it was estimated that there were 4425 archaeologists working for 614 organisations, including universities and contract units, and this had increased by 55%, to 6865, by 2007/8. As a result of the link to development, the archaeological community within the UK is one that is constantly fluctuating. Archaeological work, as discussed in Chapter 2 (Section 2.2.2), is usually tendered for, and undertaken, in advance of construction. This means that, while a contract archaeology company will have core staff, the numbers of individuals in site assistant, or post-excavation assistant posts are liable to change and fluctuate with workload. As a result, a large number of employees are on temporary contracts, frequently move between companies, or even move in and out of the profession altogether, and have been referred to as a 'mobile casual workforce' (Everill, 2007: 173).



**Figure 3.2: Number of archaeologists in the UK between 1930 and 2008 (Aitchison and Edwards, 2008).**

However, despite the dramatic increase in the number of archaeologists towards the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century and the beginning of the 2000s, at the time of conducting research for this research project (2009-2012) archaeology as a profession had been hit by the economic downturn. Most companies made cuts in staff and resources, and some companies ceased to exist altogether (IFA, 2012a). A study commissioned by the IFA shows that the numbers working in contract archaeology dropped by 15.7% between 2007 and 2010, from 4036 to 3404 (Aitchison, 2010).

The original survey in this Research Project was to be administered through the mailing list of the IFA, the professional organisation for archaeologists. The IFA exists to:

“represent the interests of archaeology and archaeologists to government, policy makers and industry, sets standards and issues guidelines, works to improve pay and conditions, improves member career prospects by promoting and organising training and informing them of developments in professional practice, provides a wide range of membership services, and through its Registered Organisations scheme improves employment practices and raises standards of work” (IFA, 2012b: 1).

As with the BABAO Survey, the organisation provided an effective way to reach a large number of archaeologists. However, during the initial data collection a number of

practical problems were encountered in administering the survey to the wider archaeological community through the IFA, resulting in only seven responses (out of a potential 1500 members). Factors that contributed to this extremely low response rate include the increasing pressures on archaeologists' workload as outlined in Section 3.4.1, changes in structure at the IFA central office including alterations to the IFA's bulk emailing system, and the survey details and link to the online questionnaire perhaps being lost within the content of a larger news email.

In response to this problem, rather than trying to contact IFA members for a second time and without a guarantee that the response rate would improve, the decision was taken to change the approach and interview a smaller number of senior archaeologists from a range of organisations in the North East of England. Senior archaeologists were defined as those who were managing directors of companies, or county archaeologists, and were those individuals who were likely to have experience of working directly with the media. It was felt that by targeting these individuals their knowledge and experience would enhance the data already collected from BABAO members, and offered the potential to explore issues further. In doing so, a more in-depth view of the ways in which the archaeological community interact and deal with the newspapers could be obtained.

Given the large number of archaeologists working within the UK, purposive sampling was selected as the most appropriate data collection method as it allows the selection of the individuals most likely to provide valuable information (Denscombe, 2007; Silverman, 2010). Due to practical constraints those archaeologists working in the North East of England were selected. Information gained from the interviewees could give a valuable insight in the subject in the UK as a result of the fact archaeological organisations throughout the UK conduct excavations in similar ways; are subject to similar guidelines set out in Chapter 2; and that newspapers operate in the same way throughout the UK.

Interviews allow people's knowledge, views, understandings, experiences, and interactions to be explored and studied, and they allow the researcher to understand experiences and reconstruct events in which they did not participate (Rubin and Rubin, 1995; Mason, 2002; Punch, 2003; Denscombe, 2007). The nature of interviews, and in

particular of semi-structured interviews, meant that more than just factual information and short responses, which might have been gleaned through the survey method outlined above, could be collected. The change in methodology provided an opportunity to enhance the data already collected during the BABAQ Survey by investigating in greater detail the ways in which archaeologists interact with the mass media, as well as exploring the views and opinions held by archaeologists in more depth.

Qualitative interviews are not without their limitations however. Issues such as the interviewer effect, the interviewees concern with self-presentation, and issues of confidentiality and anonymity which are preserved better through a self-completion questionnaire all have a bearing on the interview conversation and the resulting data collected (Denscombe, 2007). In addition, those interviewed for this research project were senior individuals, and it has been commented that when interviewing 'elites' there is likely to be an increased awareness of presenting themselves and their organisations in a positive light (Marshall and Rossmann, 2006). These issues were borne in mind when conducting the interviews and analysing the data, and are included in the following section.

### ***3.5.2 Interview design and implementation***

Interviews were semi-structured and conducted face-to-face. Involvement with the press will inevitably vary from organisation to organisation, and the semi structured interview was flexible enough to explore different experiences, while also having enough structure to allow data collected during the different interviews to be combined and compared. The questions focused on archaeologists' experiences and methods of dealing with newspaper coverage, as well as incorporating some of the questions that had been asked during the BABAQ Survey, such as those regarding perceived benefits and drawbacks of newspaper coverage. A copy of core questions asked during the interview is included in Appendix 8.

Eight senior archaeologists (directors and county archaeologists) from range of organisations (from museums to commercial archaeology units) were sent emails explaining the purpose of the research project and asking if they would be prepared to

be interviewed on the issues raised in this research project. Six individuals responded positively, and there were two non-responses. A copy of the initial contact letter is included in Appendix 7.

Interviews were conducted in March and April 2011. Each interview lasted between 30 minutes and one hour. Upon agreeing to be interviewed, interviewees were emailed a plain statement of research and consent form. These documents were also brought along to and signed at the face-to-face interview. Copies of these documents are included in Appendix 9. Interviews were fully transcribed as soon as possible after they had taken place and usually within seven days. Once all interviews were transcribed, transcripts were read through in *NVivo 8* to identify the key topics and themes that were present, using the inductive approach to data analysis which has been discussed above. The results and analysis of the six interviews can be found in Chapters 5 and 6.

### **3.6 Chapter summary**

This chapter set out the methods used for collecting the data. The data collected consisted of 413 newspaper articles, 59 survey responses from BABAO members, 100 completed surveys from members of the public, and six interviews with senior archaeologists in the North East. The adoption of a mixed methods approach, with an emphasis on the Aims and Objectives, allowed the different elements of the communication process within an archaeological context to be explored. The limitations and extent to which the data can be generalised was also set out in this chapter, and were kept in mind throughout the data analysis and interpretation.

The following three chapters (Chapters 4, 5, and 6) present the findings from the data, draw out patterns, and explore the results alongside the wider literature. In presenting the data in such a way a more comprehensive understanding of the issues surrounding the portrayal and reception of newspaper coverage of archaeological human remains can be appreciated.



## Chapter 4 : Newspaper Coverage

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### 4.1 Introduction

The newspaper article lies at the centre of the communication process that this study investigates. As introduced in Chapter 2, a newspaper article is not a window on an event happening in the world but is a socially constructed product (Hartley, 1982). The content of a newspaper article is constrained and influenced by a number of factors including physical space, economics, newspaper structure and news values. Additionally, there are many ways in which the same event can be portrayed or 'framed' in the news. The resulting newspaper article is a selected and edited version of an event that is read, interpreted and acted upon by both archaeologists and the public. These ideas are explored further in Chapters 5 and 6 respectively. Investigating the newspaper article and its content is an important part of understanding communication, for as Williams (2003: 15) observes, "any examination of the impact of the media...has to be rooted in exploring the ways in which the media report and represent the social world".

Presentation of the findings from the analysis of the newspaper articles is divided into five key sections in this chapter. Section 4.2 provides an overview of the newspaper article data set. It introduces the different topics reported, the distribution of newspaper articles over time (4.2.1), and differences between the newspapers (4.2.2). Following this, Section 4.3 explores the details of newspaper coverage including the type of article, page number, length of the article and attributes of the journalist. Focusing on these aspects in the first two sections establishes an overview of the data set and highlights the constraints within which articles on the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial are presented by newspapers. With the background established, more detailed discussions of the newspaper content are presented. Section 4.4 explores the news value of the topic of archaeological human remains more broadly, and sheds light on why some events capture more attention than others. Section 4.5 focuses on the frame within which the topic of excavation, reburial, and retention of human remains are reported, offering insights into the range of ways

in which the same event can be presented and providing a more in-depth insight into newspaper portrayal. Section 4.6 investigates the extent to which the different aspects of the excavation or reburial process are included in the newspaper articles. Throughout the chapter, differences between articles in the local-regional and different national newspapers, and over time, are considered.

## **4.2 Newspaper article data set**

The newspaper sample consisted of 413 newspaper articles. Of those articles, 365 (88%) focused on the excavation of human remains, 45 articles (11%) on the reburial of human remains, and just three articles (1%) on the retention of human remains from archaeological sites. As a result, the majority of discussion in the remainder of the thesis focuses on excavation and reburial. The newspaper articles span the period 1989 to 2009, and come from a range of local-regional and national UK newspapers. The sections which follow identify key differences over the time period and between the different newspapers, providing a base for more detailed observations and discussion later in the chapter.

### **4.2.1 *Distribution of articles over the time period***

As noted in the methodology, the *Lexis Nexis* database did not have full runs of newspaper for all years under investigation. In order to mitigate for the incomplete dataset, the number of newspapers in the database each year was divided by the number of articles returned during the database search for each year. This provided the average percentage of newspapers in the dataset with articles for each year, which was then used to examine how the percentage of newspapers with articles changed over the time period in comparison to the average for the whole time period (n=19) (Figure 4.1).

Between 1989 and 1993 there were very few newspapers on the *LexisNexis* database, (less than 10 per year). As a result, the percentages for these years are skewed and cannot give an accurate reflection of the extent of newspaper coverage. From the mid

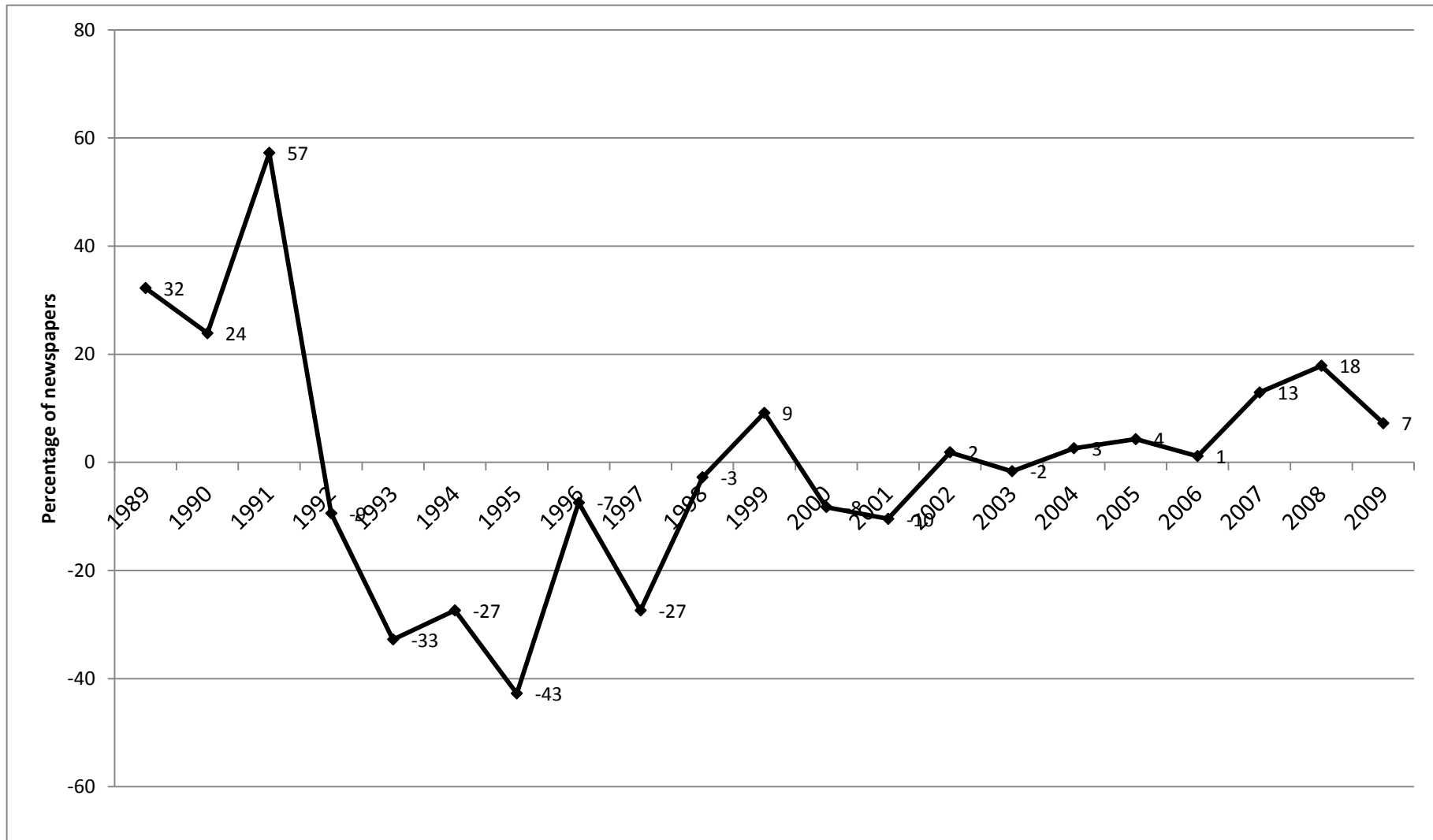


Figure 4.1: Changes over time (1989-2009) in the percentage of newspapers containing articles on the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains (n=413).

1990s onwards, there were an increasing number of newspapers in the *LexisNexis* database, and the findings can be considered more indicative of the extent of newspaper coverage of the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains. Figure 4.1 shows that, although there was some fluctuation, there was an overall trend towards an increase in the percentage of newspapers with articles on the excavation, retention and reburial of human remains over the time period. This increase was slightly more pronounced in the mid to late 1990s.

Between 1989 and 2009, changes were observed in the proportion of articles covering the different topics (excavation, retention, and reburial) (Figure 4.2). Newspaper articles focusing on the archaeological excavation of human remains are present in all years between 1989 and 2009, with the exception of 1995 when no articles appeared, and these comprise the majority of the sample. Newspaper articles on the reburial of human remains show a slightly different pattern. The total number of articles on reburial between was lower than the total number on excavation, 45 compared to 365. Prior to 2002, articles focusing upon the reburial of human remains appeared only occasionally (in 1990, 1996, 1997 and 1998). After 2002, articles on the reburial of human remains appeared in newspapers more consistently, with an average of five articles per year. The largest proportion of articles on reburial appeared in 1998 when six articles were published, all relating to the reburial of Robert the Bruce's heart. The three articles relating to the retention of human remains all appear in the early to mid-2000s.

#### **4.2.2 Distribution between newspaper types**

Newspaper articles reporting the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains were found in 73 different UK newspapers over the period 1989 to 2009. One hundred and eighty articles (43%) in the sample came from nine national papers, and 233 articles (57%) from 64 local-regional newspapers (Figure 4.3). When considering these data, it should be remembered that not all local-regional newspapers could be accessed using the *Lexis Nexis* database and therefore the actual number of local-regional newspapers with articles is likely to be higher. However, the data nonetheless indicates the appeal of stories on human remains across a range of newspapers.

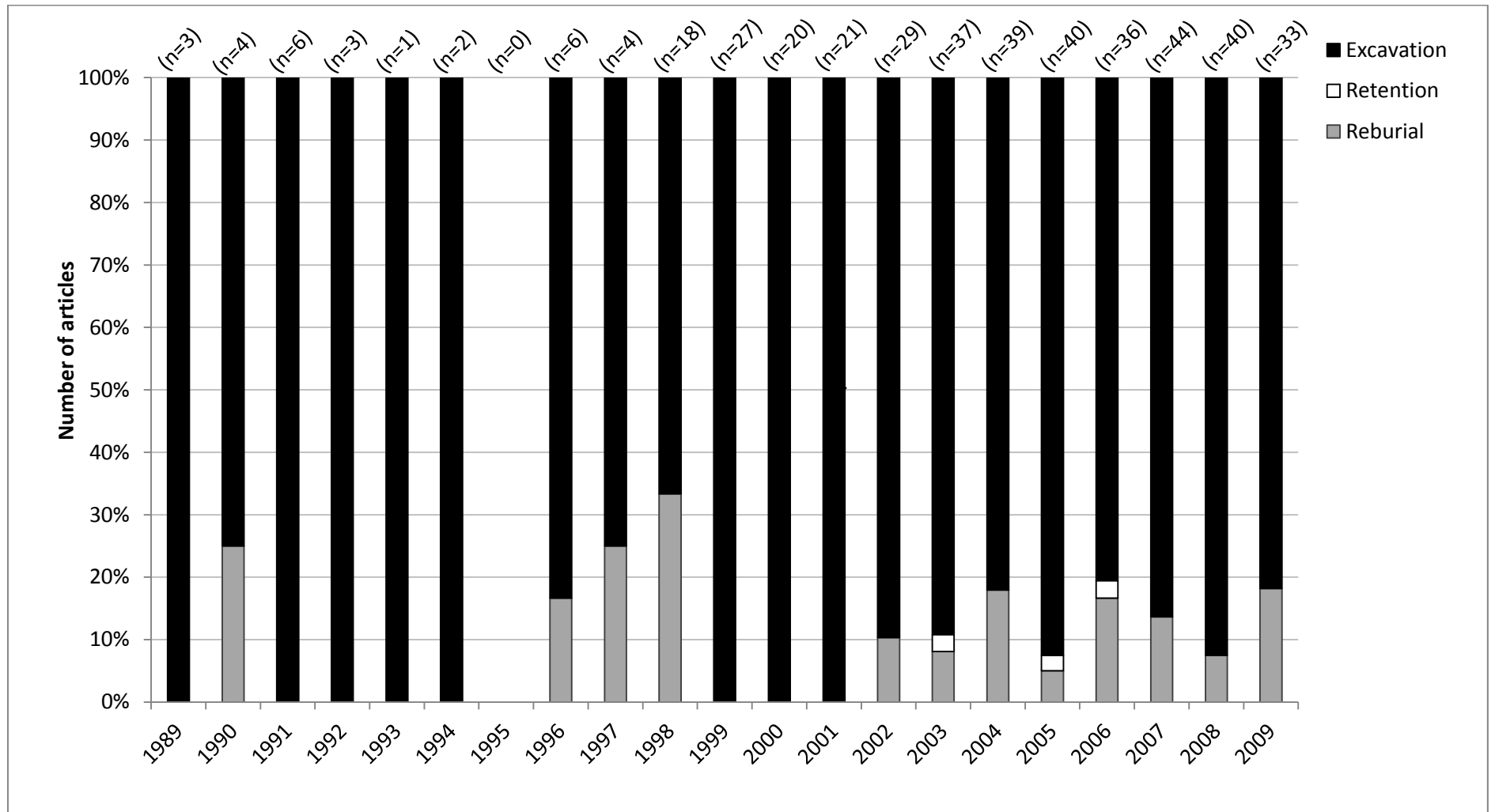
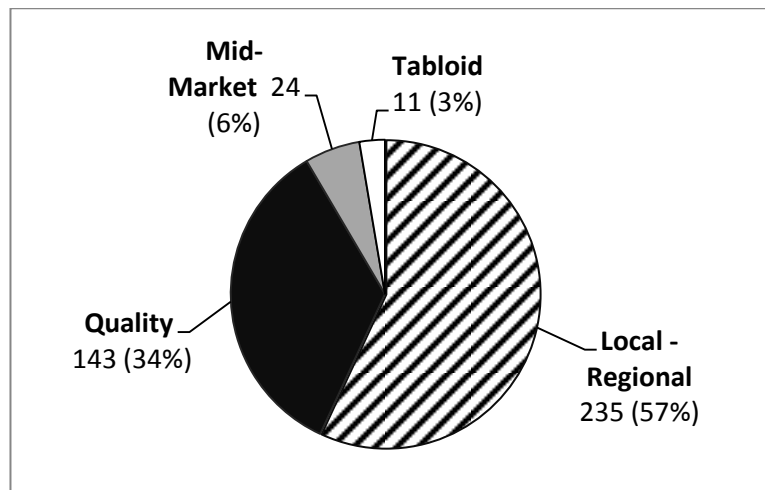


Figure 4.2: Changes over time (1989-2009) in the percentage of articles on excavation, reburial, and retention of human remains (n=413).



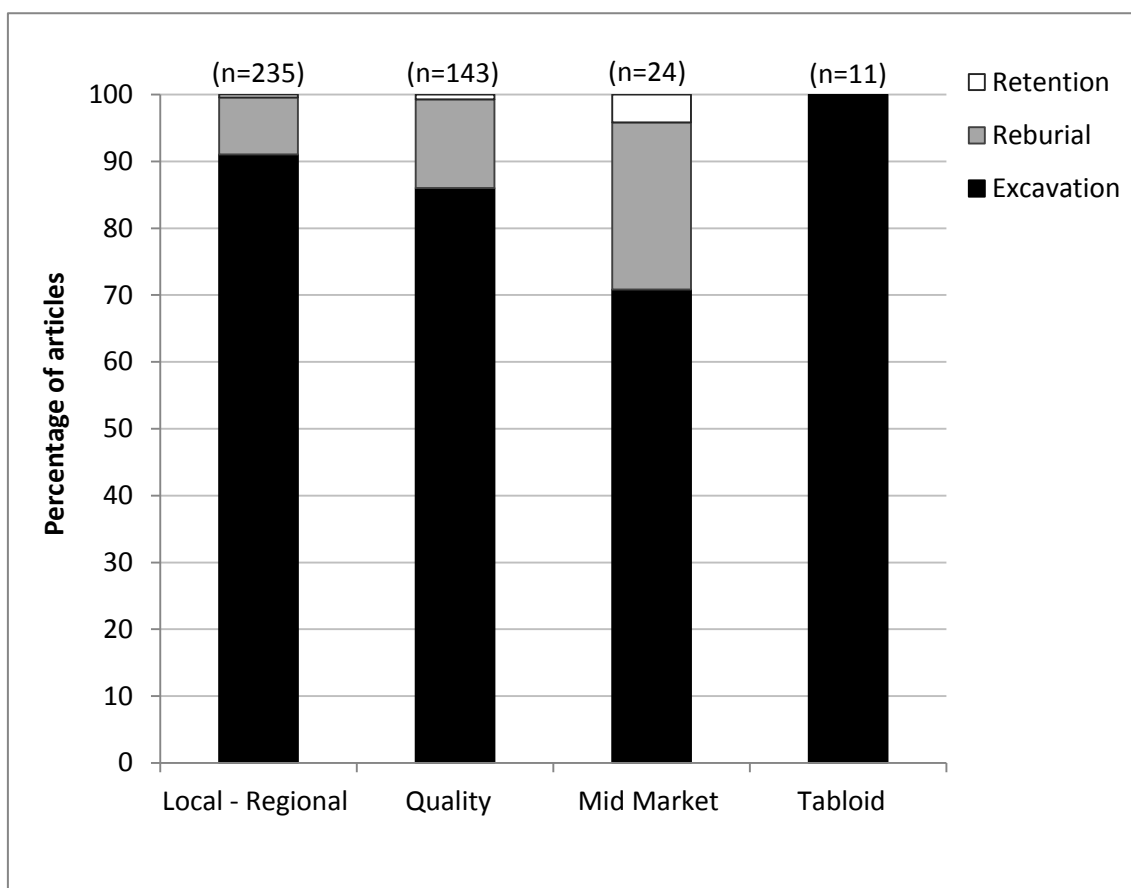
**Figure 4.3: Distribution of all newspaper articles in the data set by newspaper type (n=413).**

Newspaper articles appeared more frequently in the quality national newspapers such as *The Times* and *Independent* than in the mid-market newspapers such as *The Daily Mail*, or tabloid newspapers such as *The Sun*. A breakdown of the newspapers with the most articles on the excavation, retention, or reburial is given in Table 4.1. The prominence in the quality national newspapers is unsurprising. A look to the socio-demographic groups who have traditionally been perceived as interested in heritage, or recorded as heritage viewers (Piccini, 2007; YouGov, 2007), echo the readerships of these newspaper.

**Table 4.1: UK newspapers with 10 or more articles on the excavation, retention, or reburial of human remains.**

Newspaper	Newspaper Type	Number of articles
BBC ( <i>News Website</i> )	Quality	63
The Times	Quality	33
The Independent	Quality	21
The Northern Echo	Local-Regional	21
Daily Mail /Mail on Sunday	Mid-Market	20
The Herald (Glasgow)	Local-Regional	20
The Scotsman	Local-Regional	17
The Guardian	Quality	16
Aberdeen Press and Journal	Local-Regional	15
Evening News (Edinburgh)	Local-Regional	15
Yorkshire Post	Local-Regional	14
The Evening Standard (London)	Local-Regional	11
The Mirror/ Sunday Mirror	Tabloid	11
Daily Post (Liverpool)	Local-Regional	10

Differences were observed in the topics the different newspapers chose to report. The majority of articles in all types of newspaper focused on the excavation of human remains, with the national tabloids focusing exclusively on this aspect (Figure 4.4). Articles on the topic of reburial of human remains featured proportionately more often within the mid-market newspapers. The number of articles on the retention of human remains is too small to establish any trends; one article was found in the local-regional papers, and two articles in the mid-market national papers.



**Figure 4.4: Proportion of articles on each topic (excavation, retention, or reburial) by newspaper type (n=413).**

### 4.3 Newspaper article characteristics

“Reporting the news...has always necessitated the commercial management of time with issues of design and space” (Harrison, 2008: 39), and elements of this are at the core of this section. The characteristics explored include the type of article, article length, page number of the article and journalist specialism. Together these

characteristics provide information on the constraints and format within which articles on the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains are written.

#### **4.3.1 Types of newspaper article**

Newspapers contain several types of article, which are typically categorised as news items, features, or letters, all of which have different purposes and functions (Franklin, 2008), and which are described below. Of the articles in the data set, 399 (97%) were news items, 10 (2%) were features, three (1%) were letters, and one article was a photo caption/comment.

The function of a news item, as introduced in Chapter 2, is to relay something which is happening in the world to a wider audience. It is the presentation of an event as something new and relevant to its audience. News articles were the most common type of article covering excavation, retention, and reburial. Details about the way in which events were framed within news articles are discussed in more detail in Section 4.4 below.

In contrast to a news item, feature articles allow a more in depth look at a topic. They take readers behind a headline and allow them time to reflect on a particular issue (Niblock, 2008). Seven of the ten feature articles in this research project came from national newspapers: *The Guardian*, *The Daily Mail*, *The Independent*, *The Mirror* and *The Times*; and three from larger local-regional newspapers: *The Scotsman*, *The Western Mail*, and *The Aberdeen Press and Journal*. Of the ten feature articles, eight focused on the excavation of human remains, and two on the reburial of human remains. Those articles on excavation focused on debates, “Anger as burial site digs are blocked” (*The Observer*) (McKie, 2008); the process of excavation, “Grave matters of archaeology: excavating a church crypt presents unusual risks” (*The Independent*) (Williams, 1989); and the results from excavation and subsequent analysis, “They used to be cannibals at Eton” (*The Times*) (Charter, 2000). The two feature articles covering reburial focused on debates and issues such as the Druid request for reburial, “Druid Wars! First a drunken row - now British Druidism is in turmoil and King Arthur is hopping mad. So just how did a 4,000 year old girl called Charlie cause chaos in pagan



circles?" (*Daily Mail*) (Fryer, 2009). The small number of feature articles show that focusing on particular issues in depth happened only in very specific circumstances.

Letters enable the newspapers and their readership to have an 'ear to the ground' and be aware of issues that are of current concern. Most letters are designed to be argumentative, to convince and to provoke action (Richardson, 2008). Only three letters appeared in the sample, all of which were in the national papers. One appeared in *The Daily Telegraph* with the headline, "When archaeologists become more like tomb raiders" (The Daily Telegraph, 2007), and another, "Reburial of bones held in museum", appeared in *The Times* (Cunnane, 2004). Letters, although contributing a small percentage to the total number of articles, are of interest when considering how archaeologists use newspapers to raise awareness, as will be explored in greater detail in Chapters 5 and 7.

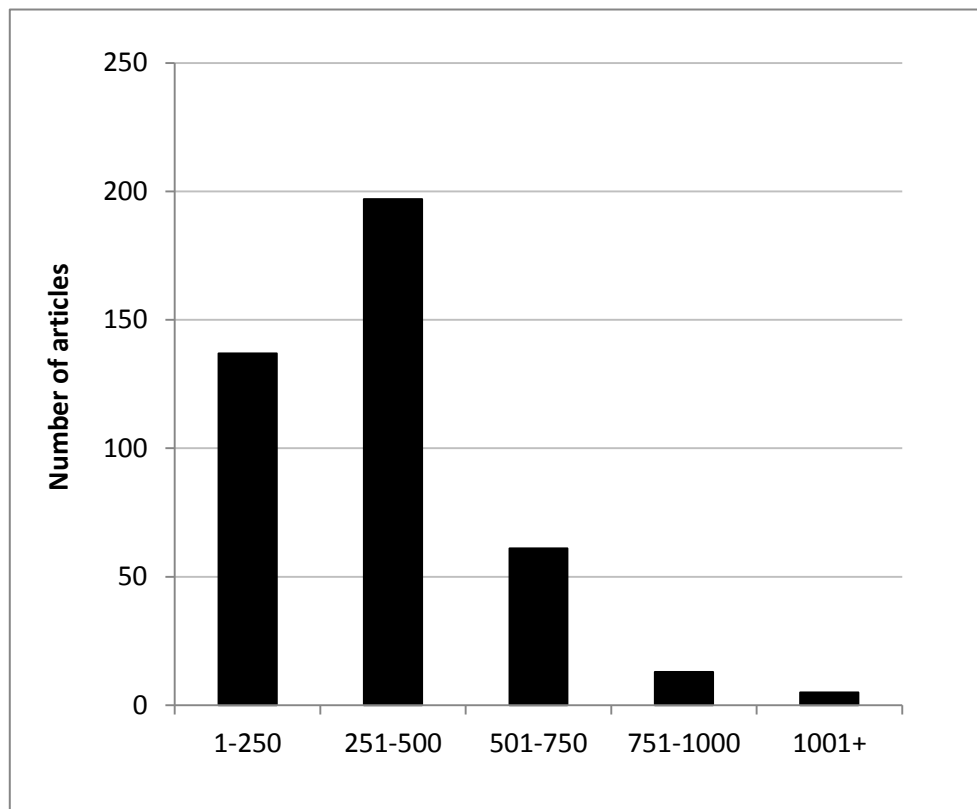
Since the majority of newspaper articles were news items, rather than feature articles or letters, it suggests that the newspapers are an arena for reporting archaeological events, rather than being a space to learn more about a topic (feature article) or for the discussion of an issue (letters).

#### **4.3.2 Word length**

Word lengths of newspaper articles reflect a balance between the need to fit the information about an event into the space available, and reader concentration spans (Harcup, 2004). Knowing the average word length of an article is valuable because, as Bell (1991: 45) observes, many articles that journalists write are subject to the cutting room and editing, often simply lose their last paragraphs if they are too long. It therefore is this limited amount of space to report what is happening where the wishes and needs of archaeologists and journalists come into conflict.

Most newspaper articles in the sample were between 251 and 500 words (Figure 4.5). The shortest article, a photo caption from *The Mirror*, was 38 words long and the longest article, a feature article in *The Guardian*, was 2457 words. Feature articles were generally longer, and all articles over 1000 words were feature articles. If just news items, which comprised the majority of the articles in the sample, are

considered, then the mean length of an article on the excavation, retention, or reburial of human remains was just 341 words long.



**Figure 4.5: Word length of all articles across all newspapers (n=413).**

Word length of the newspaper article varied slightly between the different types of newspapers. Articles in the mid-market national papers were on average the longest, with 464 words, while the shortest articles were found in the tabloid newspapers with an average of just 173 words. News articles in the quality national newspapers were an average of 324 words long, while the average length of an article in the local-regional newspapers was 355 words. Word lengths remained relatively consistent over the time period, and if anything got slightly shorter (Figure 4.6). A meta-study of UK newspaper coverage of scientific topics including cloning and climate change by Hargreaves *et al.* (2003) found that the average length of newspaper articles on scientific topics was 505 words. This therefore suggests that newspaper articles on the excavation, retention, and reburial, are given slightly less space than other scientific topics.

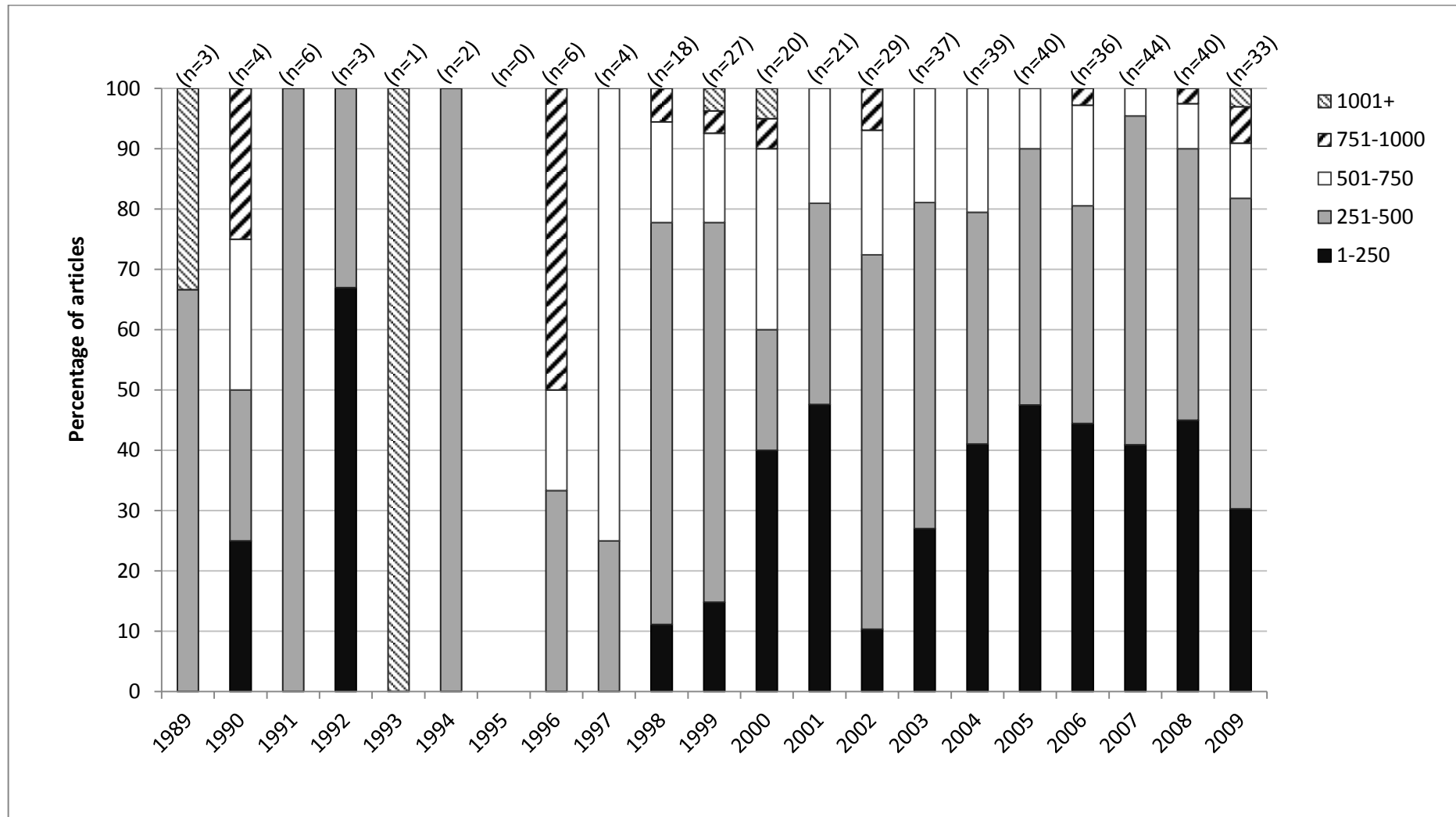


Figure 4.6: Change in proportion of articles of different word lengths on all topics between 1989 and 2009 (n=413).

### **4.3.3 Page number**

The page on which an article appears within a newspaper can give an indication of the importance of an item, particularly those that make the front page. To make front page news, a story has to be considered particularly 'newsworthy' and considered by the editor to be of more interest than other current events that are happening on a particular day (Ludwig and Gilmore, 2005: 143).

The page number of the newspaper that the article was published on was available for just 238 articles in the sample (58%). Of those newspaper articles with a page number available, most were located between pages 6 and 10. Only four newspaper articles (2%) made front page news, with three focusing on the excavation of human remains, and the other focusing on reburial. These findings indicate that while of some interest to a readership, stories about the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial, are not of primary concern to a newspaper.

### **4.3.4 The journalist**

Journalists are a key part of the social construction of news. A journalist's background and area of expertise is an important factor to consider in the construction of a news story. Details of the journalist who wrote the newspaper article were only available for 212 (51%) of the articles in the sample (Table 4.2). One hundred and sixty six (40%) newspaper articles were written by journalists with no given specialism. Only 46 articles, or 12% of the total sample, were attributed to a journalist with a specialist field. In just two instances the article was written by an archaeologist rather than journalist, and these were both in the national quality newspapers.

Of those articles written by a journalist with a specialism, 16 (36%) were written by specialist 'Heritage' or 'Archaeology' correspondents, all of whom were writing for national quality newspapers. Two reporters in particular wrote the majority of articles, Maev Kennedy and David Keys working for *The Guardian* and *The Independent* respectively, and one article was written by Norman Hammond for *The Times*. Articles on the excavation, retention or reburial of human remains were written by 'Arts' correspondents (10 articles) more often than by 'Science' correspondents (seven

articles), although the overall numbers are low. Ten articles were attributed to a ‘Regional’ correspondent (e.g. ‘Scotland’ or ‘The North’). Interestingly, one of the newspaper articles was written by a ‘Transport’ correspondent, and focused on an excavation that was happening as a result of works on the London underground: “Tube dig finds Iron Age bones” (*The Times*) (Dynes, 1991). The coverage of archaeology by reporters from different fields, and subsequent placing of archaeology in different sections within a newspaper such as art or science, as well the lack of journalist specialism, is an area of conflict between archaeologists and the newspapers and is an issue which is explored further in Chapters 5 and 7.

**Table 4.2: Specialism of journalist by newspaper type (n=413).**

Type of correspondent	Type of Newspaper				Totals
	Local-Regional	Quality	Mid-Market	Tabloid	
Academic/Specialist	-	2 (1%)	-	-	2 (1%)
Archaeology/Heritage	-	16 (9%)	-	-	16 (4%)
Arts	-	10 (6%)	-	-	10 (2%)
Other	-	1 (1%)	-	-	1 (0%)
Regional	-	10 (6%)	-	-	10 (2%)
Science	-	6 (4%)	1 (4%)	-	7 (2%)
Unknown specialism	121 (52%)	22 (25%)	16 (67%)	7 (64%)	166 (40%)
No information	114 (48%)	76 (49%)	7 (29%)	4 (36%)	201 (49%)
<b>Totals</b>	<b>235 (100%)</b>	<b>143 (100%)</b>	<b>24 (100%)</b>	<b>11 (100%)</b>	<b>413 (100%)</b>

#### 4.4 News values

Not all events are considered news and those that are, are not presented in an identical way by each newspaper (Hartley, 1982; McQuail, 2005). News is selected and written by a journalist within the constraints of space and format. As a result of limited space, some events are considered more newsworthy than others. The observation that the mass media focus on certain topics within archaeology is not new. Several researchers have commented on the media’s preference for archaeological stories that can be linked to topics such as treasure, or catastrophes (e.g. Hills, 2003; Ascherson, 2004; Holtorf, 2007a). However, these studies have not explored the relationship of these preferences to concepts such as news values. This section is split into two

subsections. Section 4.4.1 examines the news values relating to the archaeology of human remains more broadly. Section 4.4.2 then moves on to focus in more detail on the instances of the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains which capture the most attention.

#### **4.4.1 The news value of archaeological human remains**

Human remains hold an interest for the public, perhaps more so than other archaeological topics (Parker Pearson, 1999; Sofaer, 2006; Time Team, 2006; Sayer, 2010a). This interest was introduced in Chapter 1, and several of the underlying theories that have been used to explore and understand the popular interest in the topic are considered further in Chapters 6 and 7. In addition to the wider archaeological and sociological literature surrounding this interest in human remains, the concept of news values can be used to examine the aspects of human remains within archaeology which makes them a topic worth being turned into a newspaper article.

As introduced in Chapter 2, by synthesising a number of studies and commentaries on the topic of news values (e.g. Galtung and Ruge, 1965; Bell, 1991; Allan, 2004; McQuail, 2005), the following list of news values was compiled and is used within this research project:

- |                    |                                |                           |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1) frequency;      | 6) reference to elite nations; | 11) co-optation;          |
| 2) negativity;     | 7) reference to elite persons; | 12) prefabrication;       |
| 3) unexpectedness; | 8) conflict;                   | 13) time constraints; and |
| 4) unambiguity;    | 9) consonance;                 | 14) logistics.            |
| 5) meaningfulness; | 10) continuity;                |                           |

Within this list of news values it is possible to identify several values of particular relevance to this study, and to human remains within archaeology. In particular the following news value relate most closely to the idea of human remains within archaeology.

- *Frequency*: the discovery of human remains is not an everyday occurrence; when discoveries do occur, they spark interest.

- *Negativity*: human remains are linked to death and mortality, and can therefore be viewed as negative. There is something slightly macabre about the dead body in any form, and, as Parker Pearson (1999: 183) comments, it is perhaps a “grim fascination and morbid voyeurism” which underlies the popular interest in archaeological human remains.

- *Unambiguity and meaningfulness*: unlike many other aspects of material culture and archaeological evidence of past people, the human body is familiar to all. Sofaer (2006) suggests that the interest in human remains in the Western world comes from the idea that human remains can personify the past, providing windows into the past, and make it seem a friendlier, more tangible place. It could be argued that because a reader can relate directly to a person, human remains are more immediately understandable and therefore of interest to them.

The aforementioned news values also link directly to the news values of *time constraints* and *logistics*. A story about human remains can be quickly constructed and made intelligible to an audience without the long explanations that would perhaps be necessary if the subject matter was less familiar. The multiple news values that human remains encompass helps support and explain the popularity with news organisations and their readership.

#### **4.4.2 *The news values of instances of excavation and reburial***

Beyond the news values relating to the topic of human remains in general, some instances of excavation, retention, and reburial in the research project sample attracted more attention than others. Although there were 413 newspaper articles in the sample, these articles reported just 245 instances of excavation, retention, or reburial. Those instances which were covered in five or more articles (often appearing in local-regional newspapers as well as a number of national newspapers) are listed in Table 4.3 alongside their news value, and are presented in full in Appendix 10 with the headline, newspaper they appeared in, and the date of publication.

**Table 4.3: Instances of excavation, retention or reburial which were reported in five or more newspaper articles.**

Event	Year	Number of articles	News Value
Robert the Bruce	1996/1998	9	Elite people
Roman Coffin with wealthy woman inside	1999	8	Elite people
Iron Age baby found	2001	5	Negativity, meaningfulness
Stonehenge	2002/2003	7	Elite Places
Hebredian Mummies	2003	5	Unexpectedness
Plans for reburial of museum skeletons	2004	5	Conflict
Skeletons in the Hebrides	2005	5	Unexpectedness
Decapitated Romans	2005	5	Negativity
Roman found in London	2006	5	Elite places
Wealthy Roman in Yorkshire	2007	8	Elite people

As the table highlights, several news values can be identified in these events. In particular the values of *elite persons*, *elite places*, *conflict*, *negativity*, and *unexpectedness* were seen in the instances of excavation and reburial which attracted most coverage. Stories about well-known individuals of national interest were popular (e.g. Robert the Bruce), as were those about the upper classes (e.g. wealthy Romans). Well known places, either archaeological (Stonehenge) or contemporary (Edinburgh), captured interest. Other instances of excavation or reburial of human remains which generated several newspaper articles involved Hebredian mummies, decapitated Romans, infant burials, controversies such as the request for reburial from modern day pagans and issues about potential reburial of remains currently in museum storage. While all human remains can be considered negative because of their association with death, instances of infant death and decapitated Romans are more poignant and extreme cases.

The popularity of the discovery of Hebredian mummies can be considered from an additional perspective. Not only is the discovery of mummies unusual in the UK, it also relates to a longstanding popular fascination with mummies (Day, 2006). Preserved bodies, such as mummies and bog bodies, have been described as holding a special fascination because instead of the body decaying to bone, remains are “stuck in limbo,



neither fully in the world of the living nor entirely in the world of the dead” (Chamberlain and Parker Pearson, 2001: 7). The level of preservation means that mummies have an ability to bring us “face to face with history” (Sofaer, 2006: 1).

Finally, the news value of *co-optation* is worth commenting on further. This news value relates to the idea that a news story is more newsworthy if it can be related to other events that are happening (Harcup and O’Neill, 2001). During the course of analysing the data set it was noted that several headlines drew upon other popular culture references from documentaries to television series and films such as *Time Team* (Channel 4) and *One Foot in the Grave* (BBC), to grab the audience’s attention (Table 4.4).

**Table 4.4: Examples of newspaper headlines which draw upon other popular culture references.**

Headline	Date	Newspaper	Popular Culture reference details
“One foot in the medieval grave”	13 February 2000	<i>The Sunday Herald</i>	<i>One Foot in The Grave</i> (BBC sitcom, early 1990 to late 2000)
“Changing Tombs”	22 July 2000	<i>The Mirror</i>	<i>Changing Rooms</i> (BBC, 1996 to 2004)
“Silent Witness to murder riddle”	3 February 2002	<i>Scotland on Sunday</i>	<i>Silent Witness</i> (Forensic thriller drama series which ran on BBC from 1996, and is still running)
“Indiana Bones unearths new finds”	16 June 2003	<i>Yorkshire Evening Post</i>	<i>Indiana Jones</i> (popular fictional archaeology films series, released in 1981, 1984, 1989 and 2008)
“Time-team search uncovers graves of Greyfriars' bodies”	7 April 2009	<i>Aberdeen Evening Press</i>	<i>Time Team</i> (Channel 4)

These examples demonstrate the co-optation of popular culture and the use of wider cultural references to capture the reader’s attention, drawing them into the articles, and optimising the relevance for the reader (Dor, 2003). As such, they demonstrate the way in which archaeology, and human remains, are thought about within wider contemporary society, an issue which is touched upon further in Chapters 6 and 7.

The news values of *time constraints* and *logistics* are again important factors in determining news coverage. Writing about events that fulfil newsworthy criteria, and therefore those to which an audience can relate to more easily, mean less time and

effort is needed to explain the event to the public. Additionally, as Oliver and Meyer (1999; 47) remind us, “geographic proximity of the event to the media outlet is an important factor in coverage”. Events happening at locations where there are offices of national papers, for example London or Edinburgh, mean that stories in these locations are more likely to be covered in the national newspapers who have their bases in these locations. Another factor which influences the extent to which a story is taken up by different newspapers, and whether it reaches the national newspapers, is that of an archaeological organisation’s relationships with the journalists and newspapers. This aspect of news production is discussed in Chapter 5.

#### **4.5 Framing the news**

In addition to the selection of some events over others, the same event can be reported in a number of ways. This chapter will now consider the frames within which the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial are reported by the newspapers.

Journalists work to tight deadlines, and have a limited amount of time and space in which to construct an article. Frames, which were introduced in Chapter 2, provide a way for a journalist to package information for their audiences. As a result, a newspaper article is not a set of impartial facts, but is someone’s interpretation of an issue or concept (Koch, 1991). Certain aspects of an event are focused on, and framing can be defined as a process of exclusion and inclusion. Frames become salient through mechanisms such as headlines, sub headlines, quotes and photographs (McCombs and Ghanem, 2003). Exploring newspaper content through the identification of frames allows for an in-depth understanding of newspaper coverage of the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains. As Oliver and Meyer (1999: 39) observe, “understanding the filter that is applied by newspapers to the realities...is essential to understanding” the construction of an event.

The sections which follow explore the frames identified in newspaper articles on the archaeological excavation (Section 4.5.1), reburial (Section 4.5.2), and retention (Section 4.5.3) of human remains. It should be noted that frames often overlap and the issue of competing frames within the same article can be complex (Tankard, 2003). In

the case of some newspaper articles in this research project, different frames could be identified at different points within the same article; however, as presented in the methodology it was the dominant frame, the one suggested by the headline and leading paragraph, that led to the allocation of the frame in the analysis. The information presented in the following sections is largely descriptive with an emphasis on identifying the key frames which reoccur. Following Entman's (1993: 52) suggestion that researchers use excerpts from texts that most clearly exemplify the organization of arguments in a specific frame, this section uses extracts from the newspaper articles to help explore the different frames. Changes over time and between the different newspapers are also commented on.

#### **4.5.1 Framing excavation**

A total of 365 newspaper articles collected for this research project focused on the excavation of human remains. Three key frames were identified within newspaper articles reporting the excavation of human remains. The act, or *process of excavation* itself could be focused on; the excavation could be viewed as something that *reveals secrets*, or presents puzzles to be solved; or the focus of the article could be on the *value*, either archaeological or monetary, of the findings.

##### *4.5.1.1 Excavation as a process*

The process of excavation of human remains, where the emphasis on the act of excavation, was the most common frame, and was found in 211 (58%) newspaper articles. In these articles, the language used was largely factual with few superlatives, and resulted in the event often being reported in a relatively neutral, matter-of-fact way as the example from Durham City and reported by the *BBC* demonstrates (Figure 4.7)

Excavation was often linked to development in articles with this frame, with the reason for excavation, or the location of the excavation quite prominent in the article. For example, articles often featured headlines such as "Skeletons found buried under museum" (*Birmingham Post*) (Goad, 2004), or "Builders dig up 35 skeletons" (Doncaster Free Press, 2008).

## Remains found at toll road site

**BBC NEWS**

23 April 2008

Human remains have been uncovered by workers laying gas pipes alongside Durham City's toll road barrier.

The bones and skulls are thought to be medieval and may be part of an old graveyard attached to the nearby St Nicholas' Church.

Work has been suspended while archaeologists from the Tyne and Wear Museums Service investigate.

Durham County Council has withdrawn the road toll temporarily, although limited access to the city centre remains.

Archaeologist Jonathan McKelvey believes the area is the former graveyard of a 12th Century church which was demolished to make way for the present church, built in 1858.

### Signs of disease

He said: "There are four rather mashed up skulls and a lot of disarticulated bones. It is a bit of a mess. "That church dated right back to the 12th century so it is possible the bones date from then. "We do know they predate the present church."

The remains will now be examined for age, gender and any signs of disease.

Archaeologists at the site expect to find further bones when the work restarts.

A £2 toll was introduced in October 2002 for drivers wanting to access Saddler Street near the historic cathedral

**Figure 4.7: Example of newspaper article focusing on *excavation as a process* (BBC, 2008).**

In some instances where the focus was on the process, the reason for the excavation was emphasised more heavily in the headline, for example, "Burial site may make way for airport rail link" (*Evening Times*) (Leask, 2005), and "Work must go on as remains found at county hospital site" (This is Herefordshire, 2003). In some articles, which were largely published in the 2000s, the act of excavation almost seems to be appropriated, in the headline at least, to generate public concern about the wider issues of development, e.g. "Car park plan for burial site" (*This Is Local London*) (Raine, 2004). At other times, the emphasis moved away from the event of excavating human remains, and onto the person finding and excavating human remains. This was either done in a neutral way e.g. "Workmen uncover medieval graveyard" (*The Times*) (Harris, 2002), or at times emphasised the 'grim' aspect, bringing in the impact on

those who find the skeletons, e.g. "Human Remains shock for building workers" (*The Northern Echo*) (Barlow, 2004).

#### 4.5.1.2 Excavation as revealing secrets

A second way of framing the excavation of human remains was as a secret that is being revealed, as a mystery, or as a puzzle to solve. This frame was identified in 99 (28%) articles, with an example given in Figure 4.8. These articles had headlines such as "Skeleton mystery surfaces" (*The Herald*, 1999), and "Graves yield secrets of city's early Christians" (*The Independent*) (Keys, 1990).

**Unravelling mystery of historic find**  
*This is Hampshire*  
March 11 2006

Archaeologists have a mystery to unravel after digging up the remains of a man buried several hundred years ago with nine Tudor-age coins.

The body was found on a hillside just outside the historic town of Alresford, and had been buried in a shallow grave prompting speculation he was a plague victim.

A team from Wessex Archaeology made the discovery at Pinglestone Farm earlier this month prior to the site being redeveloped, and have speculated he was buried quickly to avoid spreading the deadly disease to other villagers.

The man was found with nine coins and an iron thimble which experts think could give a clue as to his profession.

The coins were all small denominations, including a sixpence, a groat (or fourpence), a tuppence piece, a penny and a halfpenny.

They were originally minted in Tudor times, between 1400 and 1600, but because they look quite worn archaeologists believe he was probably not buried until the early 17th century.

The coins have now been given to the city council-run Winchester Museums Service, which cares for materials found during archaeological excavations in the area.

Helen Rees, curator of archaeology, said: "The find is rather unusual, valuable - and slightly mysterious - and from a part of the district that is not well understood archaeologically, which makes it an added bonus."

Councillor Therese Evans, portfolio holder for culture heritage and sport, said: "With the interest in our own ancestors increasing, this discovery will hopefully make people more curious about the people who lived in our neighbourhood hundreds of years ago."

**Figure 4.8: Example of newspaper article which frames excavation as *revealing secrets*, or as a mystery to solve (This is Hampshire, 2006).**

In this group of articles, archaeology was presented as a discipline that seeks to uncover, and to reveal things that have been hidden. It was the anticipation of what

oste archaeology can do that was the focus, rather than just the process of excavation. Oste archaeology was frequently presented as an exciting discipline, with quotes from sources reflecting this excitement. At times, it was the experts who were reported as being excited by the potential of the find, "Thanks to modern technology, we will be able to use these to shed light on the person...this really is an exciting find" (Alberge, 2007). In other cases, it was the local community who was used to reflect excitement, "The school is delighted to be able to facilitate this exciting development which may give archaeologists and historians new insights into life in this area in the first few centuries AD" (Maden, 2007). The use of the non-specialist public to portray a sense of interest and excitement places archaeology, and the excavation of human remains, within the community.

#### 4.5.1.3 *Excavation as value*

A third key way in which the excavation of human remains was framed was through a focus on the value of the finding. This was identified in 55 (15%) articles. Here, superlatives were often used, and the findings were often described as being the oldest or most impressive or important case of something, or as having a value in terms of wealth. These articles were identified by headlines such as "Roman VIP found at burial ground" (*BBC News Online*) (BBC, 2007), or "Trafalgar Square skeleton rewrites history of London" (*The Evening Standard*) (The Evening Standard, 2007) (Figure 4.9). In these articles it was often the archaeologists who were quoted, describing the finds as "extremely rare" or "valuable". The notion of value, and its use to frame the excavation of human remains, links back to the news value of elites, and, as seen earlier in Table 4.1, it was often these stories which attracted coverage from more than one newspaper. This theme or frame has been noted by others. Holtorf (2007a) comments that the use of terms and superlatives such as 'sensational', 'first', or 'oldest' in presenting archaeological stories makes them more relevant to the reader, and places the event in relation to what the reader already knows. The inclusion of superlatives to present something in the news is not confined to archaeology but is used widely throughout science journalism, and newspapers in general (Gregory and Miller, 2000).

## Trafalgar Square skeleton rewrites history of London

*The Evening Standard (London)*

May 18 2007

For 1,500 years, this skeleton of a wealthy Roman man was buried beneath Trafalgar Square. Now its discovery is forcing archaeologists to rewrite the history of London.

Until the bones were found, along with jewels and other valuables, it was thought that the Romans had abandoned Londinium around AD400 and the city was virtually desolate until the Saxons arrived in the seventh century. But the Roman skeleton has been dated to AD410 and it was found surrounded by the graves of rich Saxons rewrites history One had been buried with a pot that has been dated to AD500.

The finds made during the £36 million redevelopment of St Martin-in-the-Fields church prove the Romans remained in the city Three rare Roman burial sites have been uncovered in Kent by archaeologists called in to survey land for road-widening. They found highly decorated bronze wear, jewellery, bones and even gaming boards. Security guards have been brought in to protect the 2000- year-old haul on a stretch of the A2 between Pepper Hill and history of London longer than previously thought and the Saxons arrived sooner.

Francis Grew, senior curator at the Museum of London, said: "For the first time we have the beginnings of a link between the Roman city and Cobham. Tim Allen, who supervised the dig, said: "We knew there was a Roman enclosure on the route but previous discoveries had suggested a farmstead. At the bottom of a pit we came across the metal handles of a wooden board, a set of 23 glass counters and two bone dice suggesting we had found a gaming board."

"Before, we always believed London collapsed into ruins quite quickly after AD400. What I find really quite moving is this Roman symbolises the end of the ancient world and was around just about long enough to see the beginnings of what would become modern London.

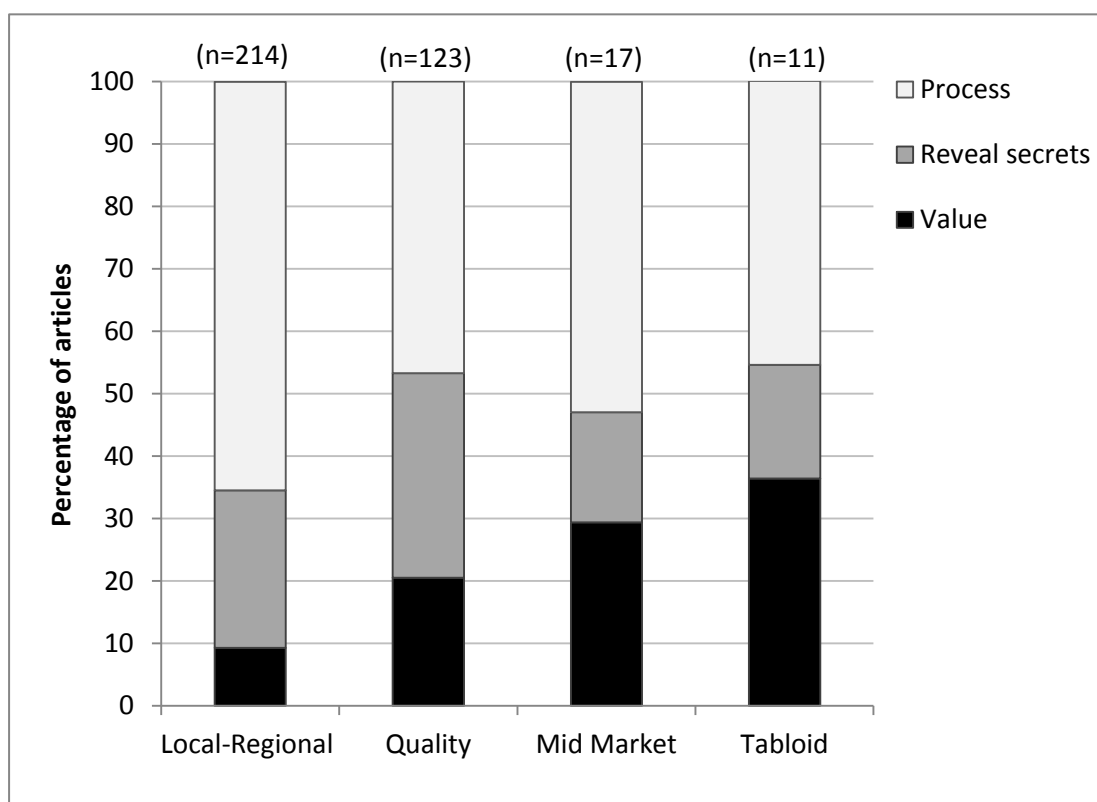
"It would have been quite frightening for him because he would have grown up in a world where the Emperor's face was on every coin and Roman officials and soldiers walked the streets. By the time he died the first Saxons would have probably started arriving from northern Germany, after centuries of no immigration. Coins would have been replaced by barter. He would have felt quite isolated and disconnected." Other graves found on the site date from AD600 and appear to be Christian, raising the possibility that St Martin-in-the-Fields was a sacred site for longer than had been thought.

**Figure 4.9: Example of newspaper article focusing on the *value* of the excavation (The Evening Standard, 2007).**

### 4.5.1.4 Trends in excavation frames between newspapers and over time

The data show that there were differences in how different newspapers framed excavation. The *process* was the most common way of framing an excavation in all newspapers (Figure 4.10). Taking this further, it became evident that the local-regional newspapers were more likely to report the excavation as a *process*, focusing on the where and when of excavation. Quality newspapers had a slightly larger proportion of

articles which focused on excavation as *revealing secrets* or uncovering mysteries than the other newspapers. The tabloid and mid-market newspapers had more articles which framed the excavation in terms of the value of the findings, discussing the wealthy or elite individuals, and commenting upon the value of the associated findings than other newspapers. These findings reflect and highlight the difference between readerships and the diversity of public interest in archaeology. The proportion of articles framing the event as a process increased slightly over the time period, particularly from the late 1990s onwards (Figure 4.11).



**Figure 4.10: Proportion of articles within each newspaper type by excavation frame (n=365).**



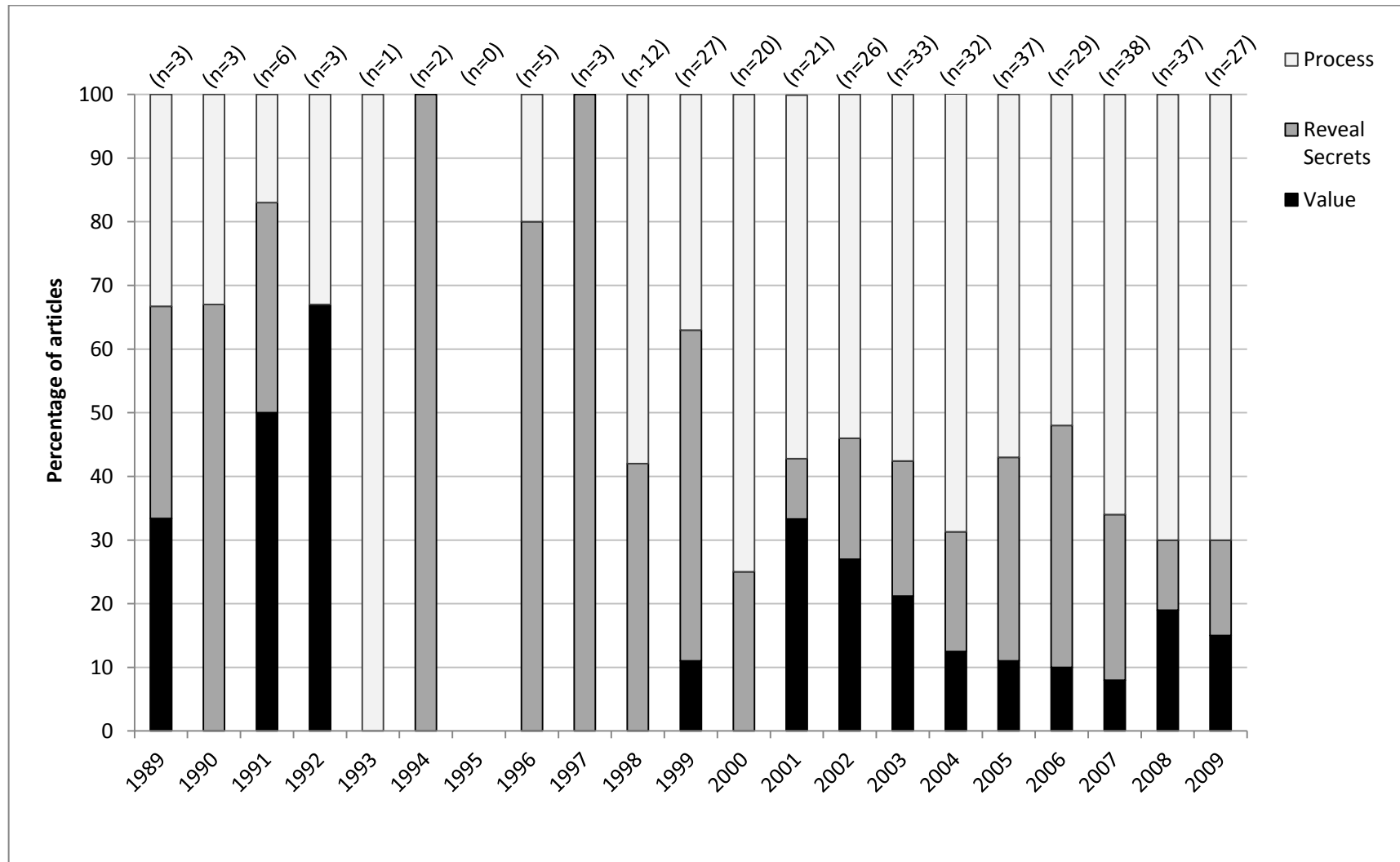


Figure 4.11: Proportion of newspaper articles by excavation frame over the time period 1989-2009 (n=365).

## 4.5.2 Framing reburial

Fewer newspaper articles focused on the reburial of archaeological human remains than on excavation, just 45 (11%) compared to 365 (88%). Three key frames were identified: reburial could be reported as the *laying to rest* of remains of once living people; as the impartial reburial of human skeletons, with a focus on it being part of the *archaeological* process, and the findings from archaeology; or as a story about the *controversy* and differing views on reburial.

### 4.5.2.1 Reburial as 'laying to rest'

The reburial of human remains could be framed as the *laying to rest* of human remains. This frame was seen in 22 (49%) newspaper articles, and an example can be seen in Figure 4.12. Reburial was reported as being a positive, peaceful, event in these articles, as something that should be afforded to all human remains. The language used suggested a sense of human remains being laid to rest after a period of time, a sense of respect, and that this was the right final course of action for remains that had been excavated by archaeologists. Articles identified as belonging to this frame used headlines such as "Farewell at last to ancient bones" (*The Northern Echo*) (Walker, 2009), and "After 300 years, Army finally buries its dead from Edinburgh Castle's last siege" (*Daily Mail*) (McBeth, 2006). The focus was almost exclusively on the individual or individuals being reburied; and terms such as people, men or children were frequently used to refer to the human remains rather than bodies or skeletons. The event or ceremony accompanying the reburial was often prominent within the article, as well as the views of those facilitating the process, as the following extract demonstrates, "As the castle is still home to a garrison we felt it was fitting that the modern day army should have the opportunity to pay their respects, and ours, at the reburial of the troops who were stationed here more than three centuries ago" (BBC, 2006a).

## Medieval dead laid to rest once more

*Yorkshire Post*

March 20 2009

The remains of dozens of medieval "VIPs" were laid to rest for a second time yesterday after being dug up by archaeologists nearly a quarter of a century ago.

The bones of 47 people were recovered and later cremated during excavations at Gisborough Priory in 1985 and 1986 by team of experts who later concluded they had found the graves of people of privileged, healthy and perhaps wealthy backgrounds. Yesterday Canon Michael Bayldon, from St Paulinus Church in Guisborough, performed the ceremony to mark the interment of the ashes in the centre of the Monks' Walk. The event watched by partners of the Gisborough Priory Project and the public looked back to the 1980s diggings by Tees Archaeology which centred on the western end of the priory church. Forty-seven human skeletons were found buried and studies concluded they were affluent townspeople. The remains were subsequently cremated and have since been stored by Tees Archaeology. In more recent years Tees Archaeology wanted to return the ashes to the Priory site and after approaching the Gisborough Priory Project it was agreed Monks' Walk would be suitable. At the centre of the Monks' Walk lay the historic gardens that once encompassed the entire priory site.

The area had been cleared so it was decided this would provide a burial spot, marked by a simple stone memorial. Ann Roe, secretary of the Priory Project, said: "It seems apt these remains are returned close to their original burial site and that present day members of the local community can show respect for these people who lived here so many hundreds of years ago. The ceremony followed the completion of the first phase of the Gisborough Priory Gardens restoration plan funded by £21,500 of Heritage Lottery grant and run entirely by volunteers. mark.branagan@ypn.co.uk

**Figure 4.12: Example of newspaper article framing reburial as the *laying to rest* of human remains (Branagan, 2009).**

### 4.5.2.2 *Reburial as the end of the archaeological process*

A second frame identified in the newspaper articles on the reburial of human remains was more neutral and matter-of-fact about the process, and was found in 14 (31%) articles (Figure 4.13). In these articles the focus was more on the *archaeology* rather than on the reburial of the individual or individuals. Headlines in these articles contained less emotive language; e.g. "Ancient bones unearthed by archaeologists to be reburied" (*Birmingham Post*) (Brady, 2002); "Reburial for bodies found at science site" (*The Evening Times*) (Braiden, 2005); and "Human remains reburied" (*Bucks Winslow Advertiser*) (Bucks Winslow Advertiser, 2004). Reburial, in these instances, was often used as a vehicle through which to report the excavation and analysis of

human remains retrospectively, rather than about the actual reburial. Terms such as bodies, remains and skeletons were often used.

## **Ancient bones unearthed by archaeologists to be reburied**

*Birmingham Post*

**February 7 2002**

More than 500 bodies unearthed by archaeologists at a Birmingham church are to be reburied following a ceremony next year.

Skeletons dating as far back as the early 18th Century were discovered during digs around St Martin's in the Bull Ring, carried out as part of essential excavation work undertaken as part of the pounds 500 million Bullring development. It is thought to be the biggest find of its kind outside London, which archaeologists and researchers will discuss during a seminar - News from the Past - at Birmingham University a week on Saturday.

Catharine Mould, archaeology consultant for the Birmingham Alliance, said she hoped research would reveal who some of the people were. She said: 'St Martin's was the biggest dig of the five carried out around the Bullring site, and outside London it has the largest number of bodies being uncovered.

'The churchyard has been in constant use since 1166 and the final body to be buried was in 1915, so there's a lot of history here. Most of the remains have become disarticulated - the skeletons' bones are no longer connected - and people weren't buried in lines as they are now, so some of the graves were disturbed as more bodies were buried.

'What is interesting is that there is a real mix of wealthy and poor, young and old. Families with money could afford to bury their relatives in vaults, and in general their bodies are in much better condition.'

A service is planned at St Martin's in spring 2003 when vaulted remains will be reburied, and the rest of the bodies will be laid to rest elsewhere in Birmingham, following strict Home Office restrictions. Work was also carried out around the church's foundations. Although the building was rebuilt following the Second World War, it has remained on the same spot for 836 years. Ms Mould added: 'Previous excavations have revealed how Birmingham operated in medieval times but these findings highlight how important the church was to people's lives in the 18th and 19th Centuries. We will be using this information not only for academic research, but also on panels dotted around the Bullring telling the city's history.'

Mel Bannister, for the Birmingham Alliance, said the digs played an important role in bringing the city's history to life. She said: 'There have been five archaeological digs carried out as part of the Bullring's development which have provided a fascinating look into the city's past.'

**Figure 4.13: Example of a newspaper article focusing on reburial as *the end of the archaeological process* (Brady, 2002).**

#### 4.5.2.3 Reburial as controversy

A third frame identified in the newspaper articles focused on reporting the *controversy* surrounding the reburial of human remains, which links to Galtung and Ruge's (1965) newsworthiness criteria. This was the focus of 14 (31%) of articles. Several of these articles focus on the request by modern day pagans for the reburial of a skeleton from the Alexander Kieller Museum e.g. "Druids in row over boy's skeleton" (*BBC News Online*) (BBC, 2009) (Figure 4.14) and "Druid Wars! First a drunken row - now British Druidism is in turmoil and King Arthur is hopping mad, so just how did a 4,000 year old girl called Charlie cause chaos in pagan circles?" (*Daily Mail*) (Fryer, 2009).

**Druids in row over boy's skeleton**

**BBC NEWS**

**28 January 2009**

**A decision is due to be made over the future of a skeleton found near an ancient stone circle 80 years ago.**

Druids have called for the remains of the three-year-old child to be reburied at Avebury, Wiltshire, out of respect. But archaeologists insist the skeleton - currently on display at the Alexander Keiller museum - should be kept available for research and testing. Public consultation on whether the remains should be reburied ends this weekend. English Heritage and the National Trust are due to make the decision on whether to rebury the skeleton later this year.

**Human remains**

The skeleton, known as "Charlie", was discovered at the nearby Neolithic site of Windmill Hill by archaeologist Alexander Keiller in 1929. It has been on display at the local museum since it opened. But in 2006 a claim was lodged by the Council of British Druid Orders to have Charlie and seven other human remains reburied.

Rollo Maughfling, the archdruid of Stonehenge and Glastonbury, said: "Beyond all the other philosophical, scientific and religious arguments, in the end it comes down to something called common human decency." Fellow pagan Arthur Pendragon added: "These are human remains - you wouldn't dig your grandmother up from a churchyard."

But many archaeologists are unhappy that English Heritage and the National Trust are giving the druids' claim serious consideration. Dr Josh Pollard, of Bristol University, said: "It's a very, very bad idea and it's entirely unnecessary, entirely unwarranted." "I think it could set a very dangerous precedent, one in which we would find a situation where all prehistoric human remains held in museums, held in other collections across the United Kingdom, have to be reburied."

**Figure 4.14: Example of newspaper article on reburial focusing on *controversy* (BBC, 2009)**

#### 4.5.2.4 Trends in reburial frames between newspapers and over time

Overall, 21 (46%) of newspaper articles on reburial appeared in the local-regional newspapers, and no articles on reburial appeared in the tabloid newspapers.

Differences were observed between the different newspaper types in the way they framed the subject of reburial (Figure 4.15). Within local-regional newspapers, the *laying to rest* frame was the most common, followed by *archaeology*, with less than a quarter focusing on *controversy*. By contrast, the *laying to rest* and *controversy* frames appeared in equal numbers (n=7) in the quality newspapers. The mid-market newspapers also tended to focus on the event as *laying to rest*, with slightly fewer focusing on *controversy*. None of the articles in the mid-market newspapers took the *archaeology* frame. These foci appear to reflect the overall style and dominant news values of the different newspapers, an issue returned in in Chapters 6 and 7. It is not possible to comment on differences over time due to the relatively small number of articles.

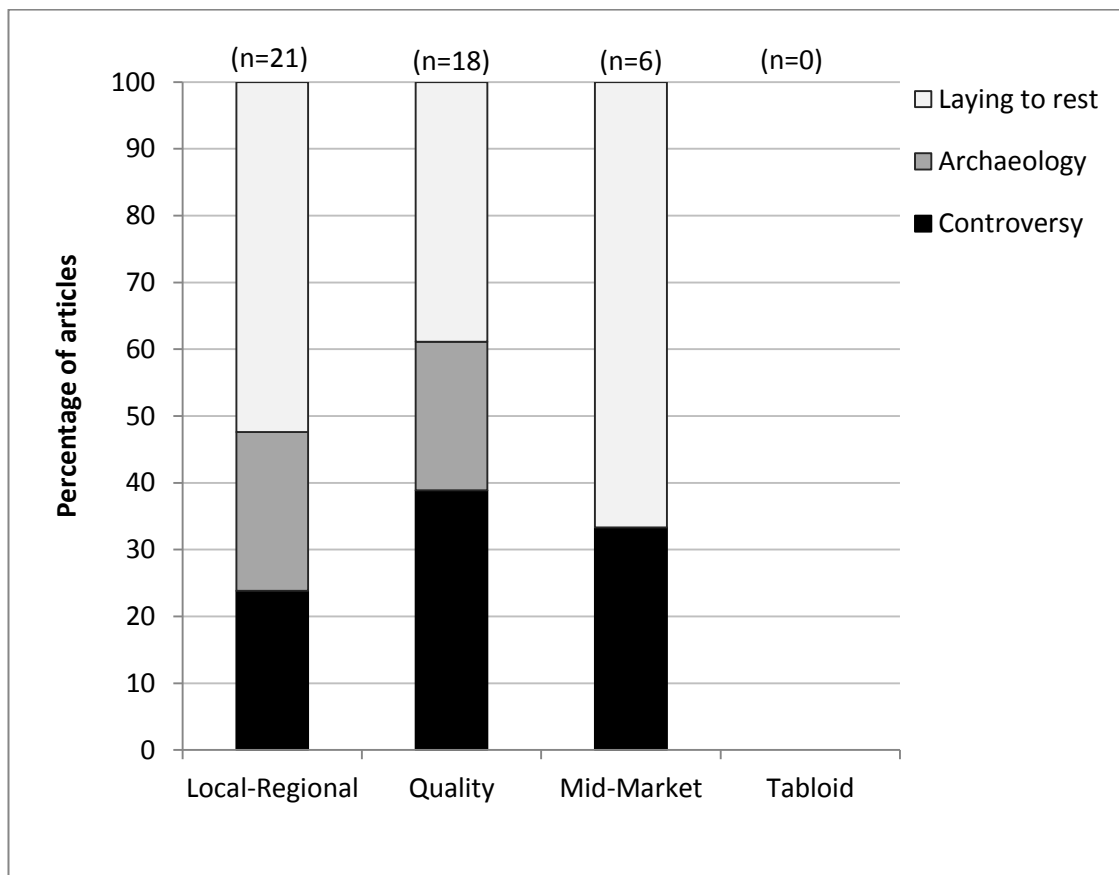


Figure 4.15: Proportion of articles within each newspaper type by reburial frame (n=45).

### **4.5.3 Framing retention**

Only three articles considered the retention of human remains, and therefore it is only possible to comment on the topics covered, rather than establish framing categories. One article was negative, and commented on what the human remains would be stored next to, "Warrior chief's bones to be dumped in a warehouse along with stuffed poodle and a model of Gareth Gates" (Sunday Express, 2003). Another article reported on a new protocol for retention of human remains, while a third article related an incidence where human remains were lost while being retained, but had now been returned. The second article, which appeared in *The Guardian*, "Protocol for ancient human remains" (Kennedy, 2005), commented in depth on the processes regarding retaining human remains.

In terms of distribution between newspapers, one article appeared in a tabloid newspaper (*The Sunday Express*), one in a local-regional newspaper (*Aberdeen Press and Journal*), and one in a quality newspaper (*The Guardian*). The low numbers of newspaper articles on this topic indicates that, in general, the retention of human remains is not something that is of interest to a newspaper, it happens away from public view, and it is not immediate. There appears to be no reason for retention to be reported unless something has been brought to the attention of the newspapers, i.e. it is causing controversy, or concern.

## **4.6 Archaeological content**

In addition to the way in which an event can be framed, there are certain details of archaeological excavation, retention, or reburial which were found to be included, or excluded, from a newspaper article. One of the accusations often levelled at the mass media coverage of archaeology by archaeologists is that details of the archaeological process are omitted, critical information is missed, and therefore an inaccurate picture is given to the public. As will be explored in more detail in Chapter 5, details were felt to be a particularly important issue when human remains were the focus of newspaper coverage. Of particular concern to BABAO Survey respondents (prefixed 'B-') and interviewees (prefixed 'I-') was that,

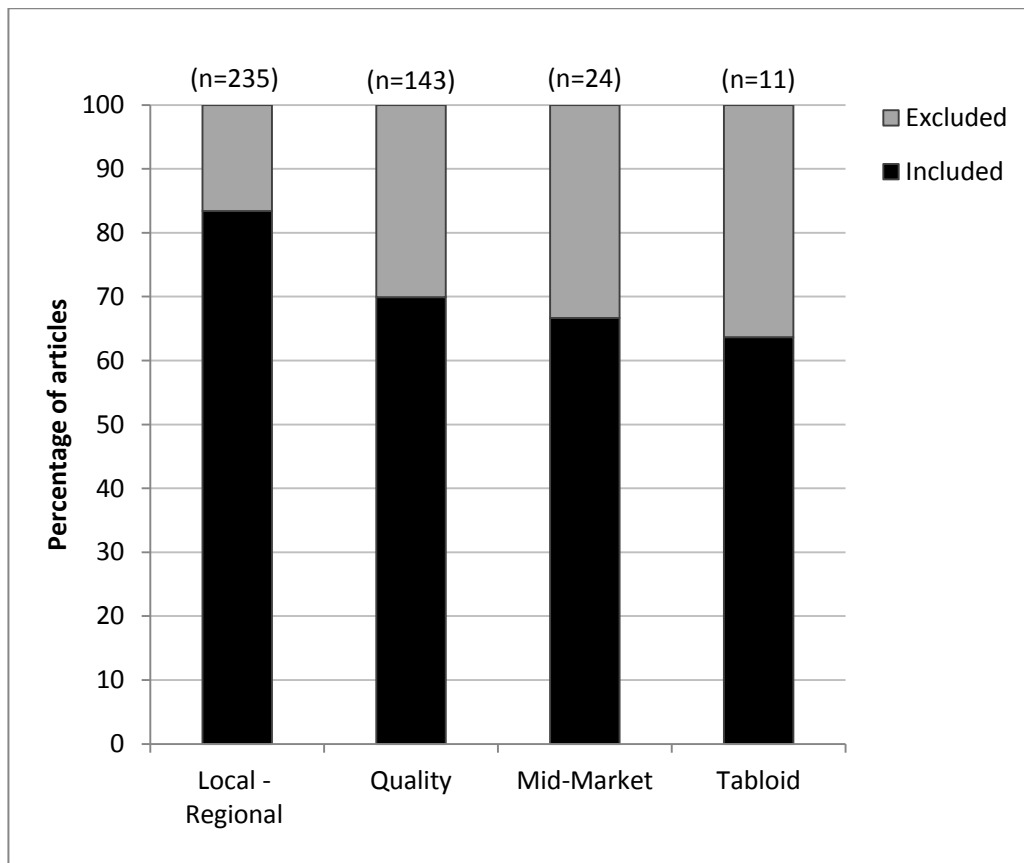
- 1) there was “a lack of effort to accurately present...why such studies are carried out” (B-46);
- 2) “the process of excavation of human remains needs to be reiterated throughout the article, e.g. exhumation license, rules and regulations etc.” (B-15);
- 3) “they rarely state what will happen to the human remains” (B-19); and,
- 4) there need to be reason given for reburial as “a full discussion of the reasoning for a reburial is a prerequisite to useful coverage” (I-01).

As a result of these comments, the inclusion or exclusion of four key details within the newspaper articles was evaluated, and these are explored in the sub-sections below. Section 4.6.1 examines the inclusion or exclusion of the reason for excavation; Section 4.6.2 discusses the inclusion or exclusion of guidelines, legislation or official procedures; the fate of the excavated human remains is explored in Section 4.6.3, and the reason for reburial is presented in Section 4.6.4.

#### **4.6.1 Reason for excavation**

The reason for the archaeological excavation of human remains was included in 319 (77%) of all newspaper articles, and in 295 (81%) articles which focused on the excavation of human remains. Small differences could be detected in the inclusion of this detail between the types of newspaper (Figure 4.16). The reason for the excavation was included in 196 (83%) articles in the local-regional newspapers, 100 (70%) articles in the quality national papers, 16 (67%) articles in the mid-market newspapers, and seven (64%) articles in the tabloid newspapers. The percentage of newspaper articles which include a reason for excavation in all articles fluctuated over the time period (1989-2009).





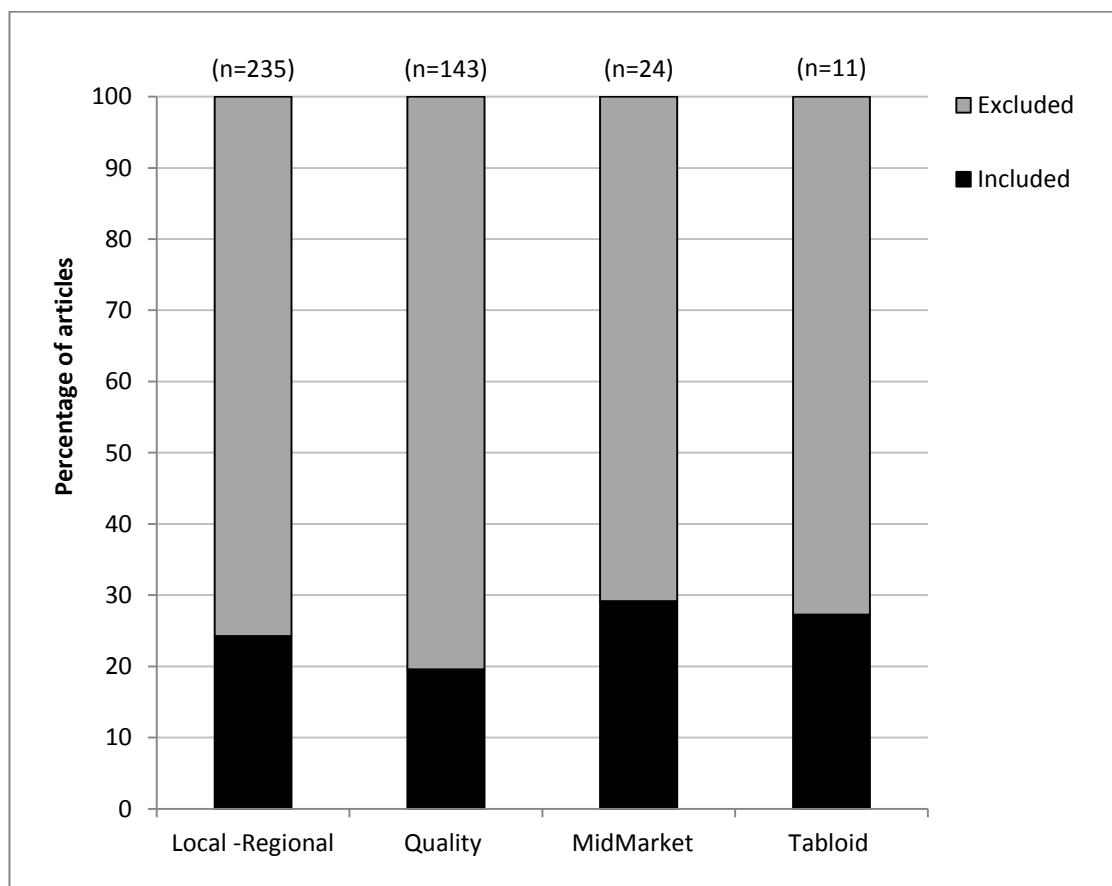
**Figure 4.16: Proportion of articles in each type of newspaper which included the reason for excavation (n=413).**

Three reasons for the excavation of human remains were found within the newspaper articles: development, accidental and research. Excluding the 94 articles in the complete data set which did not give a reason for excavation, development was reported as the reason for excavation in 233 (73%) articles; being found inadvertently, or accidentally (e.g. found by members of the public or exposed by erosion) was the reason noted in 46 (14%) articles; and in 40 (13%) articles research was suggested as a reason for excavation.

#### **4.6.2 Guidance, legislation and official procedures**

As introduced in Chapter 2, several laws, guidelines, guidance, and official procedures regulate and guide the process of the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains. However, the majority of newspaper articles made no mention of any of these. Overall, only 95 (23%) newspaper articles on any topic included these. This varied slightly between the newspaper types from 28 (20%)

articles in the quality newspapers to seven (29%) articles in the mid-market national newspapers (Figure 4.17), although numbers were still relatively low. If the main topic of the article is considered, then a slightly larger percentage of articles on the reburial of human remains included guidelines, with 40% or 18 articles, compared to 21% (76 articles) which reported on the excavation of human remains. No patterns were evident over the period being studied.



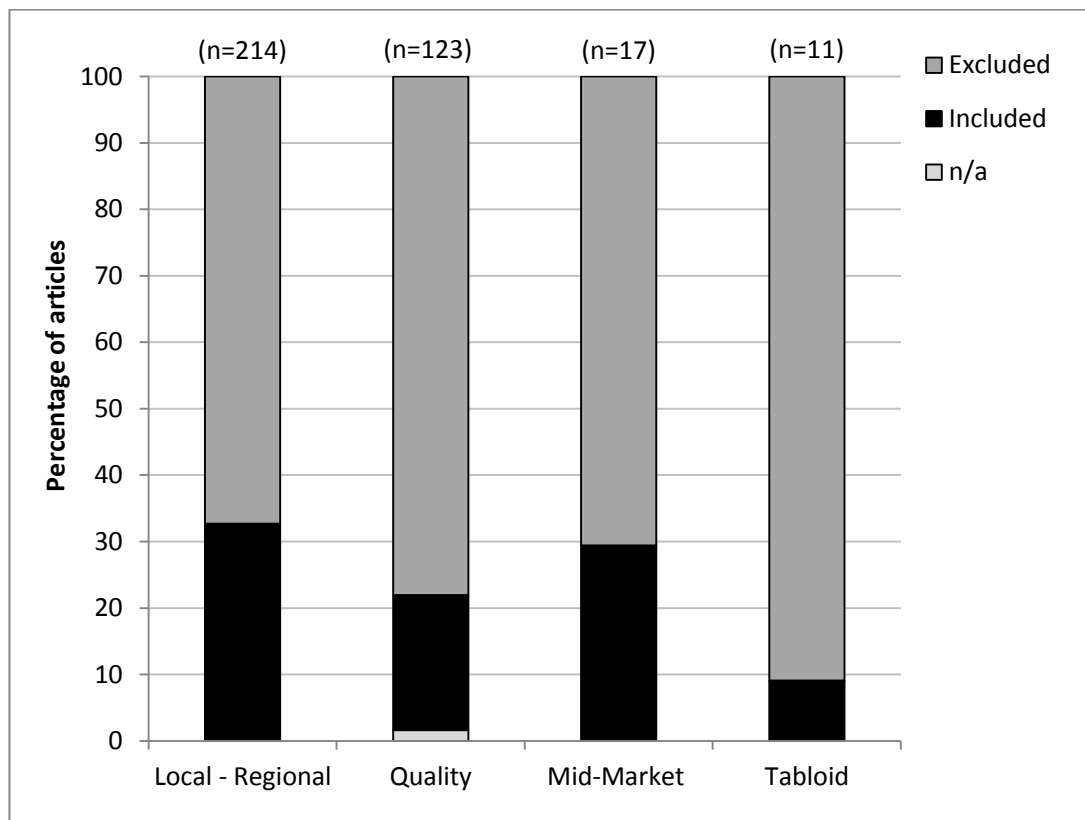
**Figure 4.17: Proportion of all newspaper articles within each newspaper type which included guidelines, legislation, or official procedures (n=413).**

#### **4.6.3 Fate of the excavated human remains**

The potential fate of the excavated human remains was included in just 101 (28%) articles which focused on the excavation of human remains. The fate of human remains was included proportionately more often in articles in the local-regional newspapers, than in the national newspapers. Two articles were not categorised (n/a) as in these cases the article was about a potential excavation rather than actual excavation. In the local-regional newspapers, 32% (144) of articles included the fate of

remains, compared to 20% (25) of quality national newspapers, 29% (12) of mid-market and just 9% (10) of tabloid newspapers (Figure 4.18).

Examining changes over time in the articles over the time period being studied, there was no mention of the fate of human remains in the first four years in the sample (Figure 4.19). After this point in time, the fate of the human remains was included more consistently, and in every article after 1993 (except 1995 when there are articles in the sample). Between 1998 and 2009 the percentages of articles fluctuated, varying between 19% in 2005 and 46% in 2002.



**Figure 4.18: Proportion of articles within each newspaper type which included the fate of the excavated human remains (n=365).**

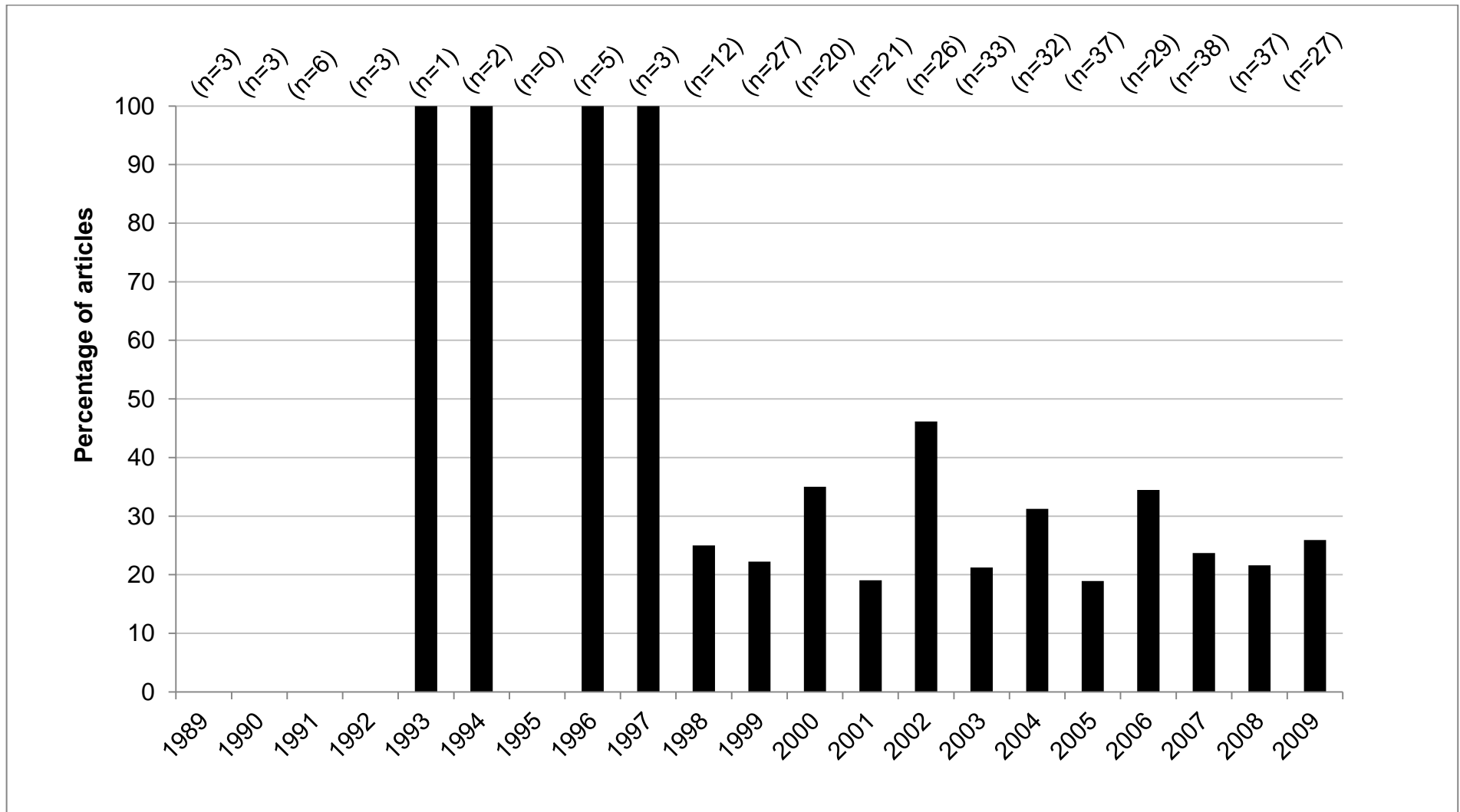


Figure 4.19: Proportion of articles each year which included the fate of the excavated human remains (n=365).

#### **4.6.4 Reason for reburial**

Of the 45 articles which reported the reburial of human remains, the reason for the reburial was included in 89% (n=40), with just five articles (11%) not including this. Due to the small number of newspaper articles on this topic, it was not possible to detect changes over time, or between articles in local-regional and national newspapers. The reasons given for the reburial of human remains were more varied than the reasons for excavation. They ranged from a request by druids for reburial (and sometimes this was the focus of the article) to comments that it was the end of a process, and they were finally being laid to rest.

#### **4.7 Chapter summary**

The aim of this chapter was to explore newspaper coverage of the archaeological excavation, retention and reburial of human remains. Basic features of a newspaper article were established in Sections 4.2 and 4.3. The data show that the average article was a news item, between 250 and 500 words in length, written by a non-specialist and found on the inside pages of a newspaper.

Section 4.2 established that the number of articles on the excavation, retention and reburial of human remains varies through time and by newspaper type. Overall, the number of articles increased slightly over the time period of study for a variety of intersecting reasons such as public interest, changes to the profession and the changing newspaper landscape, which are explored further in Chapter 7 (Section 7.2). The differences in articles between the types of newspapers seen throughout this chapter, allows an opportunity to reflect on the different values that newspapers, and therefore, by default, their readership and the public place on these topics. As the majority of newspaper articles focused on the excavation of human remains, the discussion within the remainder of this thesis focuses largely on that aspect, and to a lesser extent on the reburial and retention of human remains.

Constraints of the newspaper format mean that stories about archaeological discoveries compete alongside other events each day for newspaper coverage, and

certain events are selected over others. Using Galtung and Ruge's (1965) list of news values it can be seen that human remains within archaeology provide popular content for the newspapers by meeting several news values such as negativity and meaningfulness. News values can also be used to predict which stories will be most popular and generate most coverage: those which are about an elite (person or place), which have a certain degree of negativity, portray conflict, or cover something unexpected are most popular. The use of frames helps journalists to package information for their readership, and frames can also increase the news value of a story by presenting it in a certain way and selecting certain features. Archaeological excavation is often presented as a process, as providing a mystery, or as something with monetary or archaeological value. As such, it is not that different to wider coverage of archaeology, suggesting human remains are largely viewed as a particularly interesting part of archaeology, rather than holding a special sensitive status. Understanding news values and framing in relation to the archaeological excavation, retention and reburial of human allows an insight into the relevance of these topics to the news, as well as the perceived interests of their readerships. As such, it has the potential to add to discussion on public interest in osteoarchaeology, and archaeology.

In the course of producing a narrative for the reader some elements of the archaeological process are included, while others omitted. For example, the reason for excavation is commonly included, while guidelines governing the archaeological process involving human remains, and the potential fate of remains once archaeological investigation is complete, are not. This can be a source of concern for archaeologists and osteoarchaeologists as will be seen in Chapters 5 and 7. With newspaper article content established, this thesis will now turn to considering the perceptions of newspaper coverage held by osteoarchaeologists and archaeologists.

## Chapter 5 : Osteorchaological and Archaeological Perspectives

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### 5.1 Introduction

Osteoarchaeologists and archaeologists are both producers and consumers of newspaper articles reporting the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains within archaeology. Through excavation they produce the event considered 'news', and they help to produce the newspaper content by interacting with journalists in a variety of ways. In addition, they are also consumers of those newspaper articles (Scherzler, 2007), and are potentially affected by news articles in a number of ways. As introduced in Chapters 1 and 2, some archaeologists have negative perceptions of the mass media coverage of archaeology. Although, as Stoddart and Malone (2001: 459) comment, perhaps archaeologists "tend to remember the outrages and the mistakes rather than the smooth successes". This chapter presents the findings from the BBAO Survey and interviews with senior archaeologists in the North East of England in order to explore in greater detail the issues and concerns relating to newspaper coverage of the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains. The chapter also draws upon, and compares findings to, existing literature in order to identify and explore the specific concerns which exist in relation to human remains. The chapter focuses largely upon the coverage of the excavation and reburial of human remains, rather than the retention of human remains because, as seen in Chapter 4, these topics comprised the vast majority of newspaper articles within this research project.

The chapter is split into four main sections. Section 5.2 presents an overview of the data set. Section 5.3 explores the production of news articles from the perspective of the archaeologist. It examines the types of contact they have with the newspapers, and details including who is responsible for contact and when coverage should happen. The second half of the chapter moves on to focus on the attitudes expressed towards newspaper coverage. Section 5.4 presents and discusses general attitudes to newspaper coverage, and also looks in more detail at the perceived benefits and drawbacks newspaper coverage was felt to bring. Finally, Section 5.5 presents more

general comments from the data analysis of BABAQ Survey and interview responses in relation to who was felt to be responsible for newspaper coverage, and their suggestions given on how to improve the coverage.

## 5.2 Data overview

The results and analysis in this chapter are based upon survey responses from 59 BABAQ members, and semi-structured interviews with six senior archaeologists from different archaeological organisations across the North East of England. An overview of the data is presented in this section, providing a base for more detailed discussion and analysis of findings later in the chapter.

### 5.2.1 BABAQ Survey data

Tables 5.1 and 5.2 provide a breakdown of the type of organisation worked for, and occupation given, by respondents to the BABAQ Survey. As noted in Chapter 3 (Section 3.4.1), respondents were asked to tick all boxes that applied. Some individuals worked for more than one type of organisation, or had more than one role. For example, a freelance contract osteoarchaeologist may carry out work for a university from time to time, and universities may carry out contract work; a student or site supervisor may also be a researcher/specialist in human remains part of the time. This duplication of roles resulted in the totals in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 below being greater than the number of people in the sample.

**Table 5.1: Type of organisation worked for by respondents to BABAQ Survey.**

Organisation	Total Number	% of respondents
Museum	7	12
Independent Osteoarchaeologist	8	14
Contract Field Unit	11	19
University	39	66
Government Organisation	4	7
Other	7	12



**Table 5.2: Job role of respondents to BABAO Survey.**

<b>Position</b>	<b>Total Number</b>	<b>% of respondents</b>
Manager / Director (or equivalent)	4	7
Project Officer / Site Director (or equivalent)	2	3
Site Supervisor (or equivalent)	3	5
Researcher / Specialist in human remains	33	56
Researcher / Specialist (other field)	5	9
Site Assistant (or equivalent)	4	7
Student	13	22
Other	3	5
Professor	2	3
Lecturer (any level)	9	15
Volunteer	1	2

When considering type of organisation worked for, just over two thirds (66%) worked in universities, 11 (19%) for contract field units, and eight (14%) individuals classed themselves as independent osteoarchaeologists (Table 5.1). Seven (12%) individuals worked for museums, while four individuals (7%) worked for national organisations, such as EH. When asked to identify their job or role within their organisation, the largest number of individuals, 33 (56%), referred to themselves as a 'researcher/specialist in human remains', 13 (22%) as 'students', and nine (15%) as 'lecturers' (Table 5.2).

The duplication of roles and the fluctuating nature of jobs within archaeology and osteoarchaeology (which were explored in Chapters 2 and 3) mean that the nature of the profession is complex. However, the variety of organisations and roles represented in the BABAO Survey, mean that the responses provide an insight into a range of opinions relating to newspaper coverage.

### **5.2.2 Interview data**

Six senior archaeologists from different organisations in the North East of England were interviewed: two county archaeologists, three senior contract archaeologists (one of which was linked to a university, another to a county council), and one archaeologist working within a museum. Their comments represent a range of

organisations, and their direct experiences with newspaper coverage add an additional perspective and more detailed information to the data collected during the BABAO Survey.

### **5.3 Nature of interaction with newspaper coverage**

As presented in Chapter 2, the majority of UK excavations involving human remains are undertaken as part of the development and redevelopment of towns and cities (Mays and Smith, 2009; Roberts, 2009). The public are curious as to what will be discovered, and in what is happening around them, and archaeological human remains tend to attract the attention of the public and the newspapers. This creates an interesting situation; unlike the presentation of research findings from archaeological excavations, or scientific discoveries, where contact with the newspapers can often be planned ahead, it is not always possible to have the same degree of control over newspaper involvement. This inevitably affects the nature of archaeological interaction with newspaper article production. This section focuses on the excavation of human remains as this is where the experience of those interviewed lay, as well as being the topic that the majority of newspaper articles covered.

This section begins by exploring the proactive and, or, reactive (Section 5.3.1) ways in which interaction with the newspapers occurs, before going on to examining issues of timing and the individual responsible for contact (Section 5.3.2 and 5.3.3). Presenting the process of interaction allows a better understanding of the nature of newspaper coverage, and archaeologists' and osteoarchaeologists' attitudes to this. This provides the basis for more detailed discussion of attitudes in Chapter 7 (Section 7.3). Data in this section are drawn from BABAO Survey responses and interview data. Many of the comments given related to newspaper coverage of archaeology more generally, with human remains discussed as a subsection of this. As a result, the analysis in this chapter often focuses on archaeology more broadly, although comments which related specifically to human remains are fully integrated into the discussion where possible.

### **5.3.1 Reactive and proactive contact with newspapers**

The ways in which archaeologists and osteoarchaeologists interacted with newspaper coverage were grouped into two key types: proactive and reactive engagement. The logistics, motivations and levels of effectiveness of these two types of engagement depend on a number of factors, which are often case specific, and are explored below.

*Reactive* engagement involved individuals or organisations responding to an enquiry from the newspapers, or to journalists who found out about the excavation. One interviewee (I-01) commented, “usually what happens is the press will get wind of there being something going on, and they will come to us for comment”. In these situations less control exists over timing of communication, and subsequently often less control over the content of newspaper articles. The interviewees suggested that this type of contact could result in unsatisfactory newspaper articles. However, several of those interviewed and surveyed felt that they had learnt from negative experiences in responding immediately, and being unprepared when dealing with the newspapers and were now more prepared for spontaneous requests from the newspapers. The growing ubiquitous use of email also meant that that reactive communication was improved. Journalists could email questions giving the archaeologist time to formulate a response. A BBAO Survey (B-39) respondent commented, “I have been very careful how to phrase things...I send them an email where I was able to completely control my statement instead of allowing them to drag me into some wild and potentially embarrassing conversation”.

*Proactive* engagement involved individuals or organisations contacting the press first. Interviewees indicated that contact could be made either by suggesting to the newspapers that they may be interested in a story or on-going excavation and in some cases being given the opportunity to come to the site, or by issuing a press release. In the case of press releases, this was reported to be either issued directly to the newspapers by the archaeologists in the case of smaller independent archaeology companies, or fed through the press office in the case of being part of a larger organisation such as a county council or university. In some instances the resulting newspaper article was run from the press release alone, while in others it was followed up for more details by the journalists with the archaeological company. For some

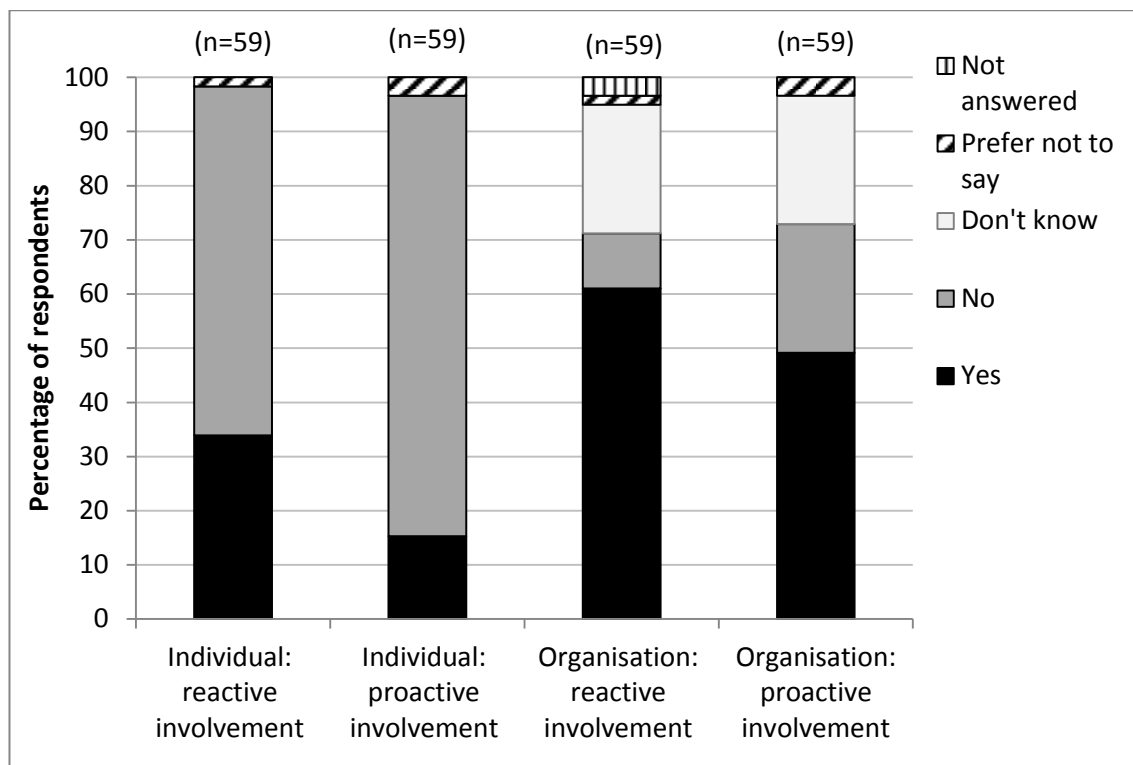
interviewees, being proactive in newspaper coverage, particularly at an early stage of the process was important, as the following comment shows, “because somebody’s going to tell them about it at some stage so you might as well be proactive and get in touch with them yourselves and get the story right” (I-05). Another interviewee felt that it was important to make “something about it public so people don’t just speculate wildly” (I-01).

All six interviewees indicated that contact with newspapers by archaeological organisations usually involved both reactive and proactive contact, and that it was usually “a mixture of the two really” (I-04). One interviewee who worked for an archaeological organisation linked to a county council provided records of their contact with the mass media between December 1996 and December 2003. These revealed that over 90% of the 305 newspaper articles relating to their work (covering all archaeology rather than just human remains) were the result of proactivity on the part of the archaeology company, and in the great majority of those instances it was a press release that had been issued to initiate the process.

While proactive engagement might be seen as preferable to reactive coverage due to the increased control offered, the interviewees commented that proactive engagement was not always possible. As noted in Chapter 2, a range of stakeholders are involved in the excavation process, particularly the commercial excavation of human remains. Decisions regarding newspaper coverage were not solely the archaeologists’, as two of the interviewees stressed, “quite often things are constrained by the reluctance of clients to have any attention drawn to their project, that’s a big problem...often we are constrained by the reluctance of clients to draw any attention to their project” (I-01), and “when it comes to a commercial project... we don’t have the local permission to talk to the media without the clients say so...and quite rightly” (I-04).

While all of those interviewed had been involved both reactively and proactively with newspapers, BABAQ Survey respondents had varying levels of contact and involvement with the newspapers (Figure 5.1). Many BABAQ Survey respondents had no individual contact with the newspapers. Nine (15%) respondents reported they had had

proactive engagement with the newspapers, and 20 (35%) reported reactive engagement. BABAQ Survey respondents were also asked to comment on the involvement their organisation had had with the newspapers. Thirty six (61%) reported that their organisation had experienced reactive engagement with newspapers, while 29 (49%) reported that their organisation had proactively engaged with newspapers. Fourteen (24%) respondents reported that they did not know what involvement their organisation had had with newspapers coverage in relation to human remains.



**Figure 5.1: Proportion of BABAQ Survey respondents reporting different types of individual and organisational level contact with newspapers (n=59).**

The different types and level of involvement with newspaper coverage of archaeological human remains reported by interviewees and BABAQ Survey respondents has implications for attitudes to coverage and perceptions of its impact, an issue returned to in Chapter 7 (Section 7.4). In particular, the types of involvement by BABAQ Survey respondents suggests that many of those who commented on newspaper coverage are in fact the consumers of such coverage, rather than being actively engaged in its production. As such, their comments are based more on perceptions of, rather than on experience of newspaper coverage.

### **5.3.2 *Timing of newspaper coverage***

The timing of contact with newspapers in relation to the excavation was found to vary considerably. Newspaper coverage can happen at the time of excavation or soon after the event, and in some cases can happen a lengthy time after excavation. This section considers immediate and delayed coverage, and examines the benefits and drawbacks to these types of coverage through the analysis of interviewees' and BABAQ Survey respondents' comments.

As noted in Chapter 2, archaeology happens in towns and cities, in public view, although with human remains are usually screened off. A consequence of this is that immediate newspaper coverage is often unavoidable. Reporting the excavation of human remains at the time, or soon after, was acknowledged by several interviewees and BABAQ Survey respondents to have a number of benefits. Involving the newspapers during an excavation was seen as the time when the newspapers were most likely to be interested and the most likely time to achieve coverage, as one interviewee (I-01) commented, the newspapers "aren't interested unless it's happening now". In addition to the newspaper's interest in events happening now, BABAQ Survey respondents and interviewees also felt that such reporting offered benefits to the public. In particular, some interviewees and BABAQ Survey respondents felt it was important and valuable to inform the public during excavation as the public would feel "a closer connection if they can come to site and see the progress" (I-03). Another interviewee highlighted this point by commenting that excavation holds more appeal and allows for better public engagement if it is "something they [the public] can pass by the next day and say 'that's happening here'" (I-01).

Additionally, newspaper coverage during or soon after the excavation, was felt to have the benefit of allowing transparency in a process that is often screened off. Such newspaper coverage has the potential to clear up any misunderstandings about what is happening for the public, particularly at a local level. One interviewee recounted an instance of misunderstanding where an archaeological excavation was being conducted in the middle of a town, and that evening in the pub, members of the public were overheard saying "did you hear about the stabbing in the market place, yeah the police have put a fence around it so you can't see" (I-01). From the points of

transparency and community support, immediate coverage has the potential to build better public relations.

While there are benefits in coverage during, or soon after, an excavation, there are issues which complicate the matter. As touched upon earlier, it was not always possible to seek newspaper coverage straightaway as it is not just archaeologists who are involved in the excavation, as one interview observed, “we don’t usually have a problem with doing things straightaway, it is mostly dependent on the client, on the landowners” (I04); permission to issue a press release and invite newspaper coverage is often beyond the control of archaeologists.

Further issues with immediate coverage involve the amount of information available during excavation, as one interviewee commented,

“a lot of the time you don’t really know... a lot of the time you’re digging it, you don’t know the dates, no grave goods or anything. So you’re just reporting the facts as they are, and then perhaps a bit of speculation and judgement, and sort of what you think they are” (I-06).

As a result, some interviewees felt it was sometimes “better to wait, just because you’ve got more to say, because that’s what the press like, is information” (I-05).

Releasing information can instantly create issues such as security or disruption on site. Several of these issues are discussed more fully in Section 5.4.3 alongside wider concerns about drawbacks to newspaper coverage. Some interviewees and BABAO Survey respondents felt that coverage later in the archaeological process, rather than during excavation, was preferable, as the following comments suggests, “because you do not want a story going out, visitors coming along, but then them being disappointed that the skeleton that they had read about as being at the museum is not actually there for them to look at” (I-03).

Another BABAO Survey respondent felt that it was better to delay newspaper coverage because it was important to engage with the public beforehand,

“I think the main concern...is gaining interest and support of the local community in the area around the excavations before ever inviting newspaper

coverage...people hate to learn what has been going on in their back yard from newspapers” (B48),

although details on how to go about this, and how to publicise if not through the mass medium of newspapers were not given.

The challenge of wanting an event to appear current, but also having enough information to make the story not just conjecture, was noted in a number of newspaper articles in the data set. While not the focus of the data collection, newspaper articles were found with headlines suggesting that the excavation was recent. However, when the rest of the article was read, it became clear that not only the excavation happened months, if not years, before, but that the analysis had only just been completed, e.g. “Anglo-Saxon warrior rises from the dead” (*The Independent*) (Watson-Smyth, 1999a). The release of the newspaper article in these instances often coincided with the screening of a television documentary (*Meet the Ancestors* in the case of the aforementioned newspaper article), or a display at the local museum, and the purpose was therefore publicity. This contributed to the news value of meaningfulness.

### **5.3.3 Who engages with the newspapers?**

The interviews and BABAO Survey responses revealed variation in who was responsible for the newspaper coverage within an organisation. All interviewees reported that their organisations had guidelines, and in some cases clauses in contracts, concerning who could deal with the newspapers and when; for example, one interviewee said, “we do have guidelines...no one says a word until it’s gone up the chain, that’s not to say they can’t speak, but not until we’ve discussed it” (I-04). The degree of flexibility, and the systems for talking to the newspapers within archaeology appeared to be less formal than those for the developer, as one interviewee commented, “[I am] always very struck by the fact that those contractors said...only people at director level could talk to the press” (I-01).

In many instances, the managing director was the individual responsible for coordinating press releases and giving comment, although it might also “be whoever the site supervisor is in practical terms” (I-01). The benefits given for more senior



archaeologists to be the one responsible included the fact that they generally have a better overview of what is found. Additionally, those who are more senior are more likely to have more experience of dealing with the press and therefore understand the pitfalls and workings of the newspapers to a greater degree. However, this situation was reported as changing, as one interviewee commented, “in the past it’s been me primarily, but now...we have spread that around” (I04). In some instances, interviewees reported that it had been the human remains specialist who had the task of dealing with the newspapers (I-04), while in others it was an individual who was more enthusiastic or extroverted and who enjoyed talking to the press who had most of the contact, as this interviewee commented, “I do a lot of P.R., just because I don’t mind it, and other people hate it...it comes with being a show off, perhaps doing amateur dramatics at school” (I-01).

While the particular individual responsible for newspaper coverage varied by organisation and on a case by case basis, the common factor was still experience as well as willingness; “a certain number of staff ... can talk to the press, just mainly those who have experience of talking to the press and higher up” (I-03). The benefits and importance of having experience and confidence in talking to newspapers was discussed further by one interviewee, “if people start getting nervous about talking to the press, then the press start thinking why are they nervous...but if you have people used to doing it, and are happy doing it, then it creates a better relationship” (I-03).

When interviewees were asked about training for dealing with contact with the newspapers none of the six identified any. Again it was experience that seemed to be more important, as commented on by this interviewee, “we haven’t [got any training], but then the people who talk to the press have been here for such a long time” (I-03). This lack of formal training as well as a lack of skills for dealing with the newspapers and communicating with the public was a concern for one interviewee,

“I think [archaeology] is highly deficient in the way it is taught in most universities because it’s not designed for professional practice...and that skills, like for example dealing with the media,...most universities wouldn’t have a clue where to start” (I-04).

The value and use of having a press office was noted by several interviewees and BABAO Survey respondents. Of the individuals interviewed, five worked for organisations attached to larger institutions such as a university, museum or county council. In these cases, a press office usually coordinated the press output as this BABAO Survey respondent reported, “all press contact went through the national museum curator, not the archaeological team” (B-11). An organisation’s press office was felt to be useful in a number of ways. Firstly, as one interviewee pointed out, “we decide what stories...they [the press office] write up and have the contact” (I-02). Enquiries going through the press office meant that archaeologists had more time to construct what they were going to say, “it gives you time to formulate a response, you know, rather than a cold call” (I-05). Secondly, the use of a press office meant that archaeologists had the benefit of drawing upon the experience of those with more specialised knowledge in dealing with the newspapers,

“being in a big organisation is advantageous as it does help to have the support of a press and legal team with a knowledge and background of dealing with the press and the potential wider issues...them being aware of the pitfalls that are sometimes not so obvious to those not used to dealing with the press and any agenda that the press may have” (B-47).

As noted earlier, archaeology does not work in isolation. Therefore, it is not just the archaeologists who are responsible for the content, timing and indeed whether there is any publicity. In contract archaeology, which encompasses the majority of excavations included in this research project, it is the client, often a construction company, who has a large say in what should or should not be in the newspaper. While at times, as noted above, the client may be reluctant to release information to the newspapers, publicity might also be beneficial to them, as one interviewee commented, “I might suggest to a developer that getting some good publicity might be in their interests” (I-02). As a result, contact with the newspapers may come from the developer, rather than the archaeologist. However, in the experience of one interviewee, this is not always the most effective route,

“constructors, developers...we’ve found that they tend not to be very successful in getting stories out, and I think that’s partly because the newspaper are always very cynical about it, and they just think ‘oh, he’s trying to sell the good news story about what your company’s done’” (I-04).

As the data above show, a great deal of variety exists in the way in which contact with the press happen. Contact ranges from proactive and reactive, each with its own constraints and benefits. In all cases, experience, whether it is individual or the press office was seen to be key in successful press coverage.

#### **5.4 Attitudes to newspaper coverage**

Archaeologists are often reported as being cautious about mass media coverage, and as being concerned about the impact of such coverage (Stoddart and Malone, 2001; Kulik, 2005). The section above demonstrated that there is an awareness of how to deal with the newspaper among the senior archaeological community (e.g. I-04), yet the BABAQ Survey suggest that there is still a significant number who have little experience. This section explores the attitudes of interviewees and BABAQ Survey respondents to newspaper coverage of the excavation and reburial of human remains. As with the previous section, many comments were made relating to coverage of archaeology and osteoarchaeology beyond just the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains. These wider comments are incorporated into the discussion. Comparisons are drawn with the wider literature on archaeology in the mass media in order to highlight the specific concerns relating to human remains. In particular, Kulik's (2005) synthesis of attitudes in the wider literature is used. Section 5.4.1 considers overall attitudes to newspaper coverage of human remains and the public through an analysis of the BABAQ Survey data. Using both interview and BABAQ Survey data, Section 5.4.2 explores the range of perceived benefits, while Section 5.4.3 focuses on the drawbacks to newspaper coverage of human remains from archaeological sites.

##### **5.4.1 Overall attitudes**

Prior to being asked about the perceived benefits or drawbacks of newspaper coverage of human remains, the BABAQ Survey asked four initial questions relating to newspaper coverage and public opinion:

- 1) whether they felt public opinion was important in the future of human remains within archaeology in terms of legislation, funding etc.;

2) whether they felt the way in which UK newspapers present the excavation of British human remains had an impact on public opinion;

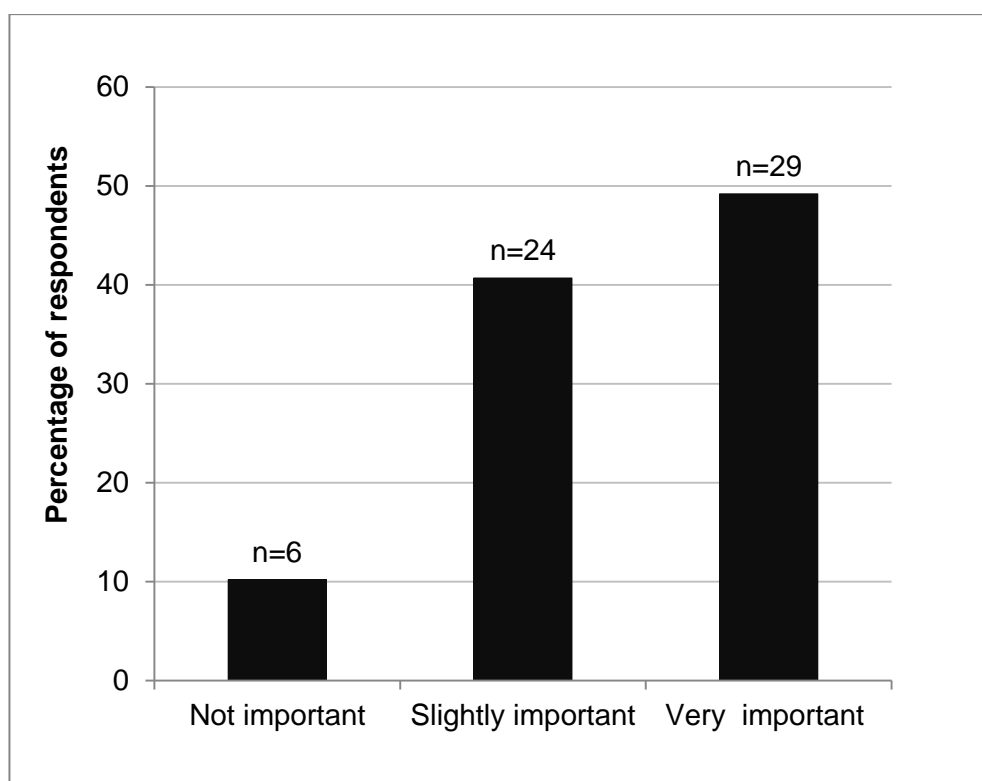
3) whether they felt newspaper coverage was positive, negative or neutral towards the excavation, retention, and reburial of British archaeological human remains; and

4) the extent to which they felt events concerning human remains should be reported in the newspapers.

The following sub sections explore the answers provided.

#### 5.4.1.1 *Importance of public opinion*

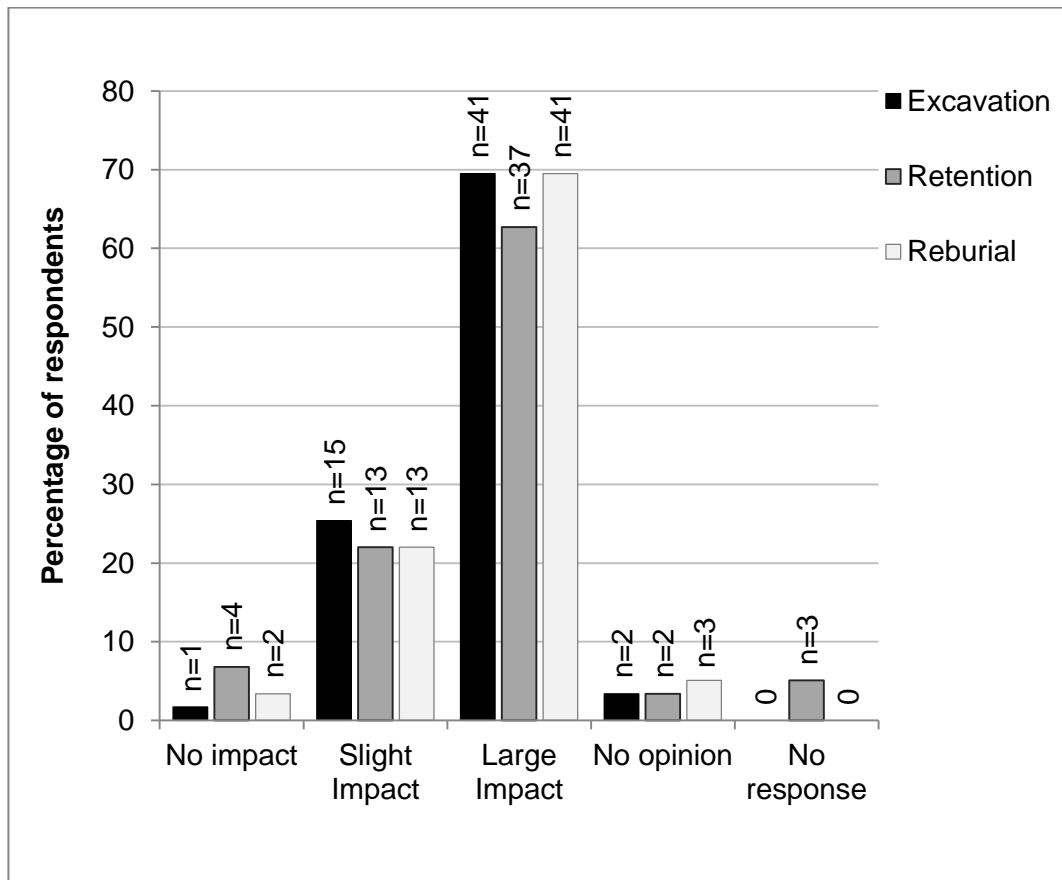
The majority of respondents (49%) to the BABA Survey felt that public opinion was important to some degree in the future of human remains (Figure 5.2). Twenty four respondents (41%) indicated they felt it was slightly important, while 29 respondents (49%) indicated they felt it was very important in the future of human remains. Just six (10%) respondents indicated that they felt public opinion was not important in the future of human remains.



**Figure 5.2: Perceived importance of public opinion on the future of human remains in terms of legislation, funding etc., as reported by BABA Survey respondents (n=59).**

5.4.1.2 *Perceptions of newspaper impact*

BABAO Survey respondents felt newspapers played an important part in influencing public opinion (Figure 5.3). Most respondents felt newspapers have a large impact on public opinion relating to the excavation, retention or reburial of human remains. This varied slightly, with 41 (70%) respondents indicating they felt that newspapers had large impact on issues relating to the excavation, and reburial of human remains, while slightly fewer (63%) indicating they felt newspapers had a large impact on the retention of human remains. Fewer respondents indicated that they felt newspapers had only a slight impact, with 13 respondents (22%) indicating they felt newspapers had a slight impact on retention of human remains and reburial of human remains, and 15 respondents (25%) indicating this for excavation of human remains. Less than 10% of respondents felt that there was no impact, and that newspapers were not important in how the public view the excavation, retention and reburial of human remains.



**Figure 5.3: BABAO Survey respondents’ perceived impact on public opinion of newspaper articles covering the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains (n=59).**

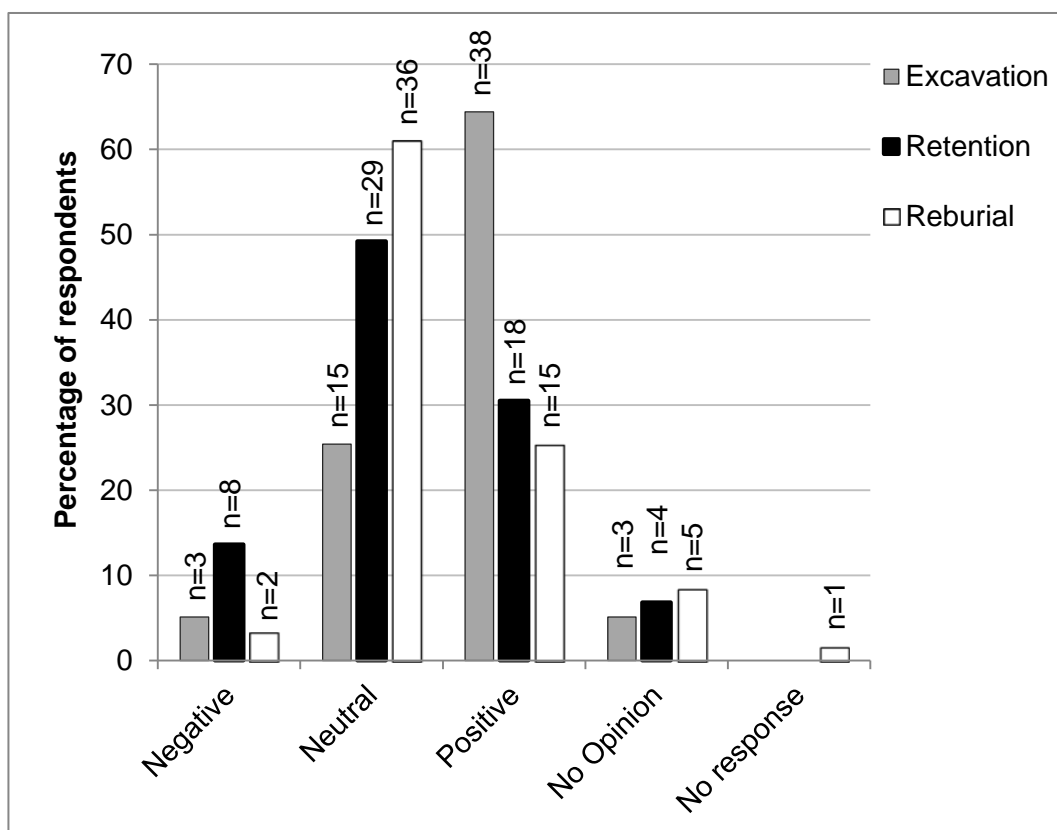
Perceptions varied with regards to the nature of newspaper impact on public opinion. A small number of BABAQ Survey respondents gave more detailed observations on this aspect. Two survey respondents in particular felt that the issue was very clear cut and that newspaper content had a direct impact on public opinion, commenting that “there is no doubt that public opinion on these issues is largely shaped by the popular press... the manner in which topics are reported can have a huge impact on the reactions garnered” (B-29), and that “many people tend to believe what they read in a newspaper without question...if papers did not affect how people thought they would probably be out of business” (B-47). By contrast, others saw the issue of newspaper impact as more complex, as this respondent commented, “I think the public often already know where they stand. I guess increased coverage of the issue bring[s] it to the forefront of people’s minds” (B-21). Another respondent felt that it was the attention that newspaper coverage brought which creates impact, “it [newspaper coverage] attracts attention and the public likes to have an opinion about everything...these public groups can eventually affect the decisions of politicians because no politicians want to piss off the public and eventually lose votes” (B-39).

The comments made regarding impact demonstrate a range of perceptions as to how the newspapers function, and their impact. The way in which an individual’s idea of the media effects influences their perceptions and subsequent involvement with the newspapers, as well as comparisons to current media theory, are explored in greater detail in Chapter 7 (Sections 7.3 and 7.4).

#### 5.4.1.3 *Perceived slant*

BABAQ Survey respondents felt that newspaper coverage was either largely positive, or neutral towards the archaeological excavation, retention, or reburial of human remains with only a small number feeling that it was negative (Figure 5.4). The percentage varied depending on whether the article was about the excavation, retention, or reburial of human remains. When asked about excavation, 38 respondents (64%) felt that newspaper coverage was positive, 15 respondents (25%) felt it was neutral in their reporting, while just three (5%) felt that it was negative. When asked about newspaper coverage of the retention of human remains, and the reburial of human remains, most individuals in both instances felt that newspaper

coverage was neutral: 29 respondents (49%) for retention, and 36 respondents (61%) for reburial. Fewer respondents felt newspaper coverage was positive: 18 respondents (31%) for retention, and 15 respondents (25%) for reburial. Only a small percentage of individuals felt that coverage of any event was negative, although slightly more felt it was negative in coverage of retention (eight respondents or 14%) compared to excavation (3 respondents or 5%) or reburial (2 respondents or 3%).

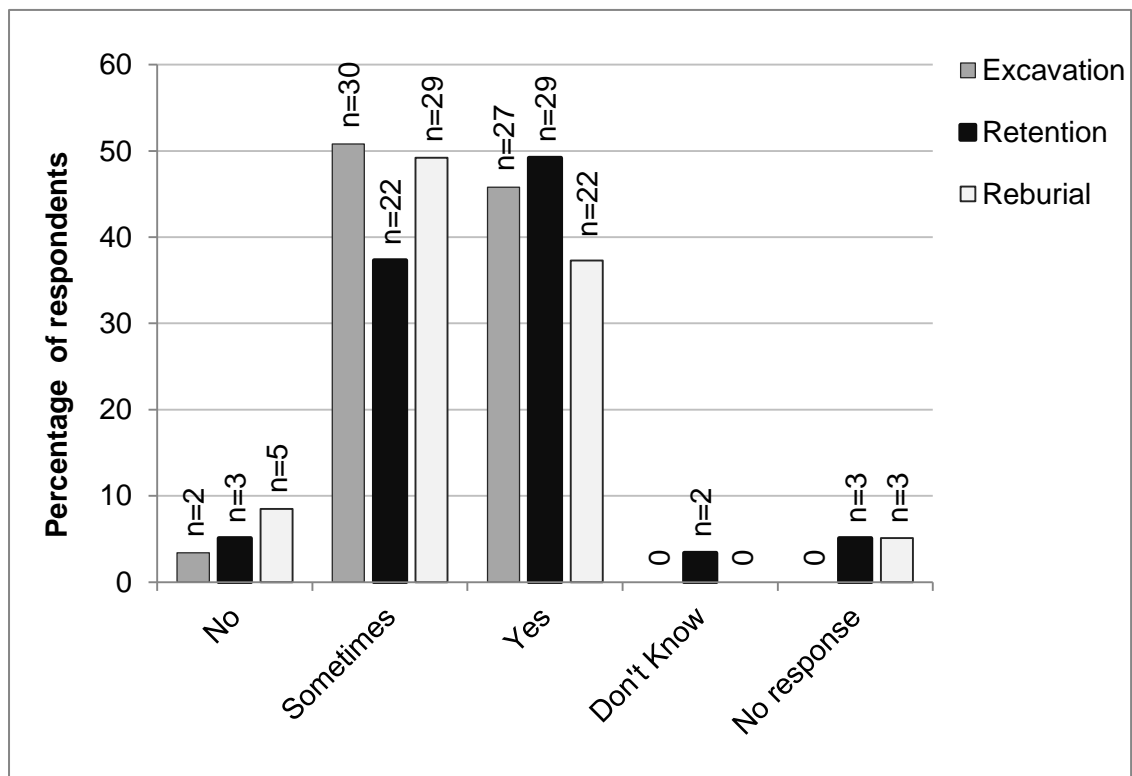


**Figure 5.4: BABAO Survey respondents’ perceptions of newspaper slant of newspaper coverage of the excavation, retention and reburial of human remains (n=59).**

*5.4.1.4 Should the excavation, retention, or reburial of human remains be covered by newspapers?*

In addition to perceptions relating to the impact and slant of newspaper coverage, the BABAO Survey asked respondents whether they felt the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains should be reported by the newspapers. While many felt that they should, an almost equal number felt that they should only sometimes be reported. The responses varied slightly between the different events (Figure 5.5). In the case of the excavation of archaeological human remains, 30 individuals (51%) felt

that excavation should only sometimes be reported in the newspapers, while 27 respondents (46%) felt that the reburial of human remains should be reported in newspapers. When reburial is considered, a similar pattern can be seen, with 29 respondents (49%) feeling that it should only sometimes, compared to 22 respondents (37%) who felt it should be covered by the newspapers. Only in the case of retention of human remains did more people feel it should be (29 individuals, or 49%), rather than should sometimes be (22 individuals, or 37%) reported by newspapers. The findings, when compared to responses to the slant of newspaper coverage, demonstrate unease about newspaper coverage. With overall perceptions established for the BABA Survey respondents, Section 5.4.2 and 5.4.3, focus in greater detail on the perceived benefits and drawbacks to newspaper coverage of human remains, helping to shed light on the overall views that were presented above.



**Figure 5.5: BABA Survey respondents' attitudes as to whether human remains should be covered by newspapers (n=59).**

#### **5.4.2 Benefits to newspaper coverage**

During the BABA Survey, and interviews, individuals were asked what they felt were “the main benefits to newspaper coverage of the excavation of human remains?”, with



the same question also asked for retention, and reburial, of human remains. Many comments collected were broader than the focus of this research project, covering the archaeological study of human remains, and the wider mass media rather than just newspapers. The subsections which follow include these broader responses.

Eight key themes emerged within the data which are presented and explored below in subsections 5.4.2.1 to 5.4.2.8. While divided into eight themes for the purposes of discussion, many of the comments spanned the different themes, and there is a degree of overlap in the eight themes. This serves to highlight how intertwined the benefits of such reporting were felt to be to the public, and to archaeology. The intertwined nature also makes quantifying the different themes difficult, and as a result, what follows is largely a qualitative discussion of the themes, drawing upon a number of comments from the BABAQ Survey responses and interviews to illustrate those themes.

#### *5.4.2.1 Theme 1: Educating the public*

Over a third of BABAQ Survey respondents offered the idea of public learning as a benefit of newspaper coverage of human remains. Newspapers, and the wider mass media, were felt to “serve as the role of educator” (B-20) and “allow the public to become knowledgeable” (B-24).

The mass media were felt to be a valuable means to reach the general public because it was felt that they could bring “academic research into the public domain” (B-03) and “bring our subject to a wider audience” (B-06). Newspapers were felt to be particularly valuable due to their wide readership, as one respondent commented, “lots of people read newspapers who don’t have access to scientific journals” (B-15). One interviewee concluded that a newspaper article “reaches more than a grey literature report” (I-06), which, as one BABAQ Survey respondent observed, meant that “people who have an amateur interest in archaeology can find out more about it, rather than having to go to the specialist magazines” (B-26). However, another BABAQ Survey respondent was more sceptical about the role of the newspaper in presenting information, saying, “in all honesty, I’m not sure how much of this is read in the newspaper. I think people who

have a genuine interest in this area use websites far more because they realise it doesn't really get reported all that often" (B-11).

The ability to increase the public's knowledge of the excavation, retention, and reburial was deemed important as it was felt that the public were relatively ill informed about this aspect of archaeology. One BABAQ Survey respondent commented, "a surprising amount of the British public has no idea that we dig up dead people" (B-04). Several BABAQ Survey respondents felt that even those who were aware of the excavation of human remains were still not fully aware of the circumstances of the excavation of human remains. This is demonstrated by comments such as "[they] often seem to be misinformed as to the purpose" (B-42) with the "misconception that excavated remains are left in a jumble or gather dust in cupboards" (B-41), and that "these excavations are carried out by academics for curiosity's sake" (B-40). As a result, newspaper reports covering these events were perceived as demystifying the process, "giving archaeologists a chance to explain" (B01). Further, by making the process more transparent, it was felt that "it should make the public more aware of what is actually being done to the remains" (B-06).

As discussed in Chapter 2, wider interest groups in the UK, such as modern day pagans, have become interested in the fate of human remains found during archaeological excavation. This has brought conflict and discussion with it. BABAQ Survey respondents felt that by making the processes involving human remains clearer to the public and teaching them about the value, it provided an opportunity for the archaeological perspective to be heard and to "highlight the importance of scientific research on human remains" (B-14) and "to stress the value of human remains" (B-39). As a result it would increase the public's "awareness of the benefits of human remains studies for current and future populations" (B-05), and

"the lay person would become more informed about the importance of human remains for science...this may break down some of the taboos surrounding the excavation of skeletons and leave some people more welcoming to the concept, and more opposed to their removal by machine" (B-43).

Being transparent was felt to have an additional benefit, as one BABAQ Survey respondent commented, “it’s important that the public are aware of such finds, if not for any other reason that groups such as HAD can’t say that archaeology is acting in an illicit way by not making its discoveries known” (B-56).

Articles on the retention and reburial were felt by some BABAQ Survey respondents to educate the public and support archaeology against calls for the reburial of human remains. This can be seen in these comments, “hopefully people will realise what a valuable resource is being lost through reburial” (B-17), and “if the general public were made aware about how much care goes into the storage and study of human remains, I believe the reburial movement would lose momentum” (B-17).

Newspaper reports of events were felt to help in facilitating educated debate, as these BABAQ Survey respondents show: “what is clear is that if these are issues that are going to be discussed and debated at various levels...then a well-informed public enables discussion about excavation” (B-18); “it allows the public to be more informed about the debates over the use /storage of human remains when these issues are being considered by government bodies” (B-40), and,

“when individuals or groups use this information, for example to request reburial...it leads to debate between those who want reburial and those who don’t, and this exchange and communication between groups that would not normally have any contact can be good and allow all sides to be better informed” (B-28).

Although, as will be explored in Section 5.4.3, some respondents expressed concerns about drawing attention to the excavation or reburial of human remains in any instance, one BABAQ Survey felt that “it is much better for [coverage] to happen than for discussion to become a taboo issue that we try to prevent (or are seen as trying to prevent) robust and informed discussion about” (B-03).

It was not just archaeology that was felt to benefit from informing the public through newspaper coverage. As explored further in Chapter 6, death is becoming more removed from society (Walter, 2004), and two BABAQ Survey respondents noted the wider implications of newspaper coverage, commenting that it would “demystify the

skeleton and help get away from the idea that human remains are something ‘gross’” (B01), and that “the benefits include heightened awareness of cultural attitudes of past peoples...such stories foreground cultural awareness for modern differences” (B-46).

#### 5.4.2.2 *Theme 2: Public benefit: Sharing knowledge*

A number of BABA Survey respondents and interviewees felt that not only was there value in ‘educating the public’ for archaeological benefit, but that there was also value in sharing because knowledge is for everyone. The idea that archaeology produces a shared heritage, and therefore that the public should be able to share in those archaeological discoveries was expressed in several responses to the BABA Survey, “information regarding [human remains] shouldn’t be purely for the academically minded” (B-29); “well, it is our shared past, so it is good for the public to know what is going on” (B-02), and “they are everybody’s heritage, and as such, information concerning them should be available to anybody interested” (B-36). Human remains were felt to have a special role in helping the public share in archaeology as these comments show, “studying human remains is one of the best ways to understand people’s lives in the past” (B-17), and “people are genuinely interested in the large amount of information that can be gleaned from human remains” (B-46). One interviewee was particularly enthusiastic and passionate about this: “as a company, unless we are getting the message out to the general public then we are failing...there should be public benefit and unless that’s there it’s hard to justify” (I-04). Informing the public about the reburial of human remains was felt to be important, as this comment shows, “reburial is an act carried out on behalf of the public, rather than the individuals, so the public should know about it” (B-51).

#### 5.4.2.3 *Theme 3: Public benefit: Justify tax payers money*

In addition to the educational benefits of informing the public through newspaper coverage, several BABA Survey respondents and interviewees voiced the idea that they felt it is the public’s right to know more because “taxpayer money goes into many excavations, so the public should be made aware when excavations take place” (B-22), and “at the end of the day it’s the local citizenry who are paying for us, so you know, it

is only fair that they get to know what's going on" (I-05). Additionally, sharing information was perceived as helping to "justify where the taxpayers' money goes" (B10).

As explored in Chapter 2, the general economic recession hit the archaeological profession hard from 2008 onwards. The need to prove relevance and show that money is being spent well are currently of heightened concern when compared to earlier years, as commented on by BABAQ Survey respondents, "at time when opportunities for academic research is facing cuts, archaeology must demonstrate its continuing relevance to and engagement with the public" (B-22), and

"for archaeology to get public support and more government funding we need to persuade the average tax payer on the importance of what we do. It's high time archaeology in particular stopped being perceived as a hobby and the past time of some eccentric few" (B-39).

#### 5.4.2.4 *Theme 4: Funding*

Related to the need to justify the spending of taxpayers' money was the issue of funding. This was commented upon by several BABAQ Survey respondents, as these quotes show, "publicity can help to keep funding up or mean we have support if money is needed" (B-02), and "[it] raises the profile of our research, which may lead to funding opportunities (B-45). By demonstrating a relevance to the public at all stages of the archaeological process, and generating funding, one BABAQ Survey respondent felt that this could feed back and benefit the public as "good publicity can lead to funding opportunities to allow collections to be made available to the public" (B-15).

#### 5.4.2.5 *Theme 5: Public image*

Linked to funding and the need for public understanding and support, several BABAQ Survey respondents expressed the idea that it was important to "think about our own profile" (B-05), to promote themselves, and gather support for work. Newspaper articles were felt to provide a "nice bit of publicity for whichever company/institution is excavating" (B-36). Positive publicity for archaeological organisations was perceived by one BABAQ Survey respondent to "increase the work of osteoarchaeologists, giving us the opportunity to write more reports and research" (B-15).

Positive publicity was felt by several BABAO Survey respondents and interviewees to help improve the image of archaeologists with the public more generally. Returning to ideas expressed in Section 5.3 relating the sensitive nature of the subject matter, one interviewee commented, “it helps to promote our work...and enforces that archaeologists work with human remains in a respectful manner” (I-02). Several BABAO Survey respondents also expressed the desire to be perceived in a positive light to “expel the myth that [human] remains are treated with anything other than respect and the utmost care by individuals trained in this field” (B-05). The result of such positive publicity was felt to “help justify the retention of [human] remains to members of the public who otherwise view us as grave robbers” (B-10). Conversely, as will be explored further in Section 5.4.3, not being transparent and not getting information to the public or sharing information was felt by these BABAO Survey respondents to suggest “lurking” (B-32) or to “hint of desecration” (B-32), potentially damaging the image of archaeology.

At a local level, reporting the excavation of human remains, rather than keeping it hidden, was perceived by a number of BABAO Survey respondents to enable archaeologists to “develop a working relationship with the public” (B-06) and to generate a “greater understanding with local communities” (B-48). In the case of reporting the reburial of human remains, building relations was considered an important factor as this BABAO Survey respondent commented, “if the people of the local area have stated that they want the remains to be reburied, newspaper coverage will show the public that they are being listened to and their opinions are valid” (B-35).

The benefits of publicity were felt to be wider than just osteoarchaeology or even archaeology, as commented on by one interviewee, “if we’re going to encourage commercial organisations to support archaeology then they need to have some benefit out of it” (I-04). Additionally, archaeology was seen to provide an opportunity for good public relations for the developer as “generally the developer sees it as good PR [public relations] and you know, he uses it as good PR” (I-06).

#### 5.4.2.6 *Theme 6: Inspiring future archaeologists*

Encouraging the public's interest in the past was felt by several BABAQ Survey respondents and interviewees to "inspire people to get involved" (B-22). By allowing the public to share in the archaeological processes involving human remains it was felt that it "could generate a wave of future archaeologists to keep the science alive" (B-15) and "the more likely they are to want to do degrees/masters courses which is important for the future of the discipline in higher education" (B-10).

#### 5.4.2.7 *Theme 7: Inform other researchers*

It was not just the public who were felt to be better informed through newspaper coverage. Another benefit given for newspaper coverage was the ability to reach other archaeologists, as well as professionals from other disciplines, who may read the articles. In more traditional, academic modes of communication, the dissemination of information about excavations does not always occur until the final report. A newspaper article meant that information could be disseminated quicker than other routes, which meant "other archaeologists would not have to wait for publications to know about exciting excavations" (B-34). It was also observed by one interviewee that the newspaper article could "reach colleagues in other disciplines, such as history of medicine or museum curators who may be interested in collaborative projects" (I-02). This, like many of the previous themes, was felt to help promote and develop the archaeology.

#### 5.4.2.8 *Theme 8: Watchdog role*

Some BABAQ Survey respondents felt that newspaper reporting could play a watchdog role. By raising public awareness that human remains are excavated, and that laws and standards are in place, it could help to ensure that these are followed. It was felt that coverage would "help to ensure care and respect as well as the maintenance of high standards of excavation" (I-01), and that "it is good for us to have some kind of independent 'regulation', which I fear is sadly lacking with regards to the application of standards in archaeology sometimes" (B-02). Another respondent commented that being aware of an excavation means that the public "can start pestering lazy archaeologist into writing up their results" (B-24).

#### 5.4.2.9 Discussion

The eight key themes presented above, support many of the benefits for mass media coverage found in sometimes anecdotal form in the existing literature. In her PhD thesis, Kulik (2005) compiled a list of themes from the archaeological and science communication literature of the reasons archaeologists give for communicating with the public and these are seen against the themes in the data from this research project in Table 5.3. While the questions in this research project were phrased slightly differently to the way Kulik addressed the issue, the findings from this research project support this wider literature. In particular, Reason 1 (obligations to beneficiaries), Reason 2 (raising money), Reason 3 (justify monies expended), Reason 4 (gain publicity, recognition and growth for the profession), Reason 5 (encourage community support/participation), Reason 10 (accelerate public and decision makers awareness of urgent issues), Reason 11 (speak quickly to your profession and other disciplines), and Reason 13 (if they don't, someone else will) were seen in the responses from the BABA Survey and the interviews. These showed a desire to get information through the mass media to the public, to either share knowledge, or justify where money is being spent. Coverage in the mass media can encourage interest, support and funding, and raise awareness of the archaeological profession. The newspapers in particular were seen as a valuable way to reach individuals who may not otherwise be interested, and to reach those beyond the immediate profession, an aspect which will be explored further in Chapter 6.

**Table 5.3: Reasons given for communication with the public (after Kulik, 2005: 69-78)**

Reason	Additional literature consulted by Kulik	Themes in this Research Project
1. Obligation to 'beneficiaries'	Thomas and Arnold (1974); Stone (Stone, 1989); Bahn (1996); Schadla-Hall (1999); McManamon (2000); Arnold (2001); Smith and Ehrenhard (2002); (Little, 2002).	Theme 1: Educating the public



<b>Reason</b>	<b>Additional literature consulted by Kulik</b>	<b>Themes in this research project</b>
<b>2.</b> Raising money and <b>3.</b> justify monies expended	Wheeler (1954); Thomas and Arnold (1974); Bray (1981); Nelkin (1995); Silberman (1995); Bahn (1996:88); Hinchcliffe (1999); McManamon (2000); Renfrew and Bahn (2000); Pettit (2001); Stoddart and Malone (2001); Lipe (2002).	Theme 3: Justify tax payers money Theme 4: Funding
<b>4.</b> Gain publicity, recognition and growth for profession	Thomas and Arnold (1974); Cunliffe (1981); Jordan (1981); Hatley (1997).	Theme 1: Educating the public Theme 5: Public image Theme 6: Inspiring future archaeologists
<b>5.</b> Encourage community support, participation in archaeological work, and create a dialogue between the public and archaeologist	Faulkner (2000), Moser <i>et al.</i> (2002).	Theme 1: Educating the public Theme 2: Sharing knowledge Theme 6: Inspiring future archaeologists
<b>6.</b> Gain publicity for oneself	Bucchi (1998); Gripsrud (1999).	Theme 5: Public image
<b>7.</b> To make a priority claim	None	
<b>8.</b> To announce a priority find	None	
<b>9.</b> Validate or overturn orthodox thinking or paradigms	None	
<b>10.</b> Accelerate public and decision-makers' awareness of urgent issues	None	Theme 8: Watchdog role
<b>11.</b> Speak quickly to your profession and other disciplines	Bucchi (1998:12); Fenton <i>et al.</i> (1998:115).	Theme 7: Inform other researchers
<b>12.</b> Highlight, dispute or defend issues that cannot be resolved internally	None	Theme 8: Watchdog role
<b>13.</b> If they don't someone else will	(Nelkin, 1995: 144-158); Arnold (2001:466)	

The findings from this research project therefore support existing literature regarding the wider value of using the mass media to communicate archaeology. However, the findings also enable a closer look at the particular benefits when the sensitive issue of human remains is considered. The ability of the newspaper to inform people and to facilitate transparency in the process of excavating was of particular importance with the sensitive topic of human remains. BABAQ Survey and interviewee comments reflect the need for engagement, openness and transparency, which were introduced in Chapter 2 (Section 2.2.4), and are of particular concern with human remains (Buikstra, 2006; Sayer, 2011). Newspaper coverage was felt to enable the public to understand and value the study of human remains so that the excavation of human remains is supported, and that the reburial of human remains is not seen as a foregone conclusion.

The comments relating to the benefits of newspaper coverage of the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains in this research project can be considered in relation to wider ideas of communicating archaeology and science communication. As introduced in Chapter 2 (Section 2.2.4), two main schools of thought exist. Firstly, there is the idea of a knowledge deficit amongst the public (Bauer, 2009), in which the public are felt to lack specialist knowledge and need to be better informed in order that the profession, be it archaeology or science, can benefit; an informed public will mean they can make better democratic decisions. The knowledge deficit model can be seen in many of the comments expressed relating to the benefits given for newspaper coverage, with the idea that if the public are made more aware of the archaeological process of excavating human remains, their value to science, and can see that archaeologists act ethically, then they would be more able to support osteoarchaeology. However, as will be explored further in Chapter 7 (Section 7.3), this concept is not straightforward, and the model is becoming outdated (Holtorf, 2007b; Smith and Waterton, 2009). The knowledge deficit model shares similar elements to the idea of direct media effects, in which the mass media are felt to have a direct impact on their audience.

Many of the comments relating to the benefits of newspaper coverage by BABAQ Survey respondents were preceded by comments such as “...if coverage is managed

properly”, or “providing it is done well...”, and “when written from a knowledgeable viewpoint...” (B-05), highlighting the nervousness which surrounds communication through the medium of newspapers. Section 5.4.3 will now explore the perceived drawbacks to newspaper coverage.

### **5.4.3 Drawbacks to newspaper coverage**

As part of the BABAQ Survey, and interviews with archaeologists, individuals were asked through an open question what they felt were “the main drawbacks to newspaper coverage of the excavation of human remains?”. The same question was also asked for ‘retention’ and ‘reburial’ of human remains. Six key themes emerged from the data, which are explored in Subsections 5.4.3.1 to 5.4.3.6 below. As with the benefits investigated above, the six themes overlapped and intertwined, with comments often relating to wider depictions of archaeology and portrayals in the wider mass media, rather than specifically to newspaper coverage of human remains. This section takes a broad look at the comments, drawing out key quotes to illustrate the different themes which emerged. It should be noted, that the majority of the comments relating to the drawbacks to coverage came from BABAQ Survey respondents rather than interviewees, an issue which is discussed in more depth in Chapter 7.

#### **5.4.3.1 Theme 1: Misrepresentation**

Whilst the newspaper was felt to provide a useful medium through which to reach the public, it was also a medium of concern for many BABAQ Survey respondents. The most often cited drawbacks to newspaper coverage were the inaccuracies and distortions that were felt to occur. These concerns were mentioned in over a third of responses to the BABAQ Survey. While misrepresentation is not an aspect confined to human remains, or indeed archaeology, it was perceived as a big concern given the sensitive nature of human remains. Concerns focused on the choice of language, oversimplification or exaggeration, and inaccuracy in reporting details as the following responses to the BABAQ Survey demonstrate, “the language used is inappropriate and does not reflect working practices/methods” (B-19); there is “almost always a gross over-simplification of the research, indicating things which we cannot possibly know”

(B-45); there are “inaccurate accounts of what bones can tell us” (B-14); and newspapers were often felt to make “more of the interpretation than the evidence can support” (B-18).

#### 5.4.3.2 *Theme 2: Negative impact from misrepresentation and exaggeration*

The concerns about the content and use of language were felt to have an impact on attitudes towards, and understanding of the archaeological process, as one BABAQ Survey respondent commented, “the balance and rigour of analysis [is being] obscured” (B-46). As presented in Chapter 2 and in the comments above, there is a call from many within the archaeological profession for transparency and communication (Parker Pearson, 1999; BABAQ, 2007; Roberts, 2009; Sayer, 2011). Newspapers were felt by many BABAQ Survey respondents to obscure this, as one respondent commented, “a lack of effort to accurately present how and why such stories are carried out perpetuates misunderstanding of the procedures used and their link with interpretations” (B-15). Omitting certain facts and not including a context was felt to be damaging because it “does not always present a whole picture of the way that bioarchaeologists study human remains. A lot of people do not realise that the first rule of the study of human remains is respect” (B-17). One comment summarises many of the respondents concerns well, “over exaggerating the wrong aspects on occasion or just getting in plain wrong...can lead to ethical questions and issues” (B-18).

#### 5.4.3.3 *Theme 3: Negative public image of osteoarchaeologists and archaeologists*

In addition to the misunderstanding of the work being done by osteoarchaeologists and archaeologists, and the excavation of human remains, it was felt that the newspaper coverage may impact on the image of the archaeologists and osteoarchaeologists themselves. One BABAQ Survey respondent felt that newspaper articles “often describe us as grave robbers” (B-07), and one BABAQ respondent felt that “sensationalism [of the press] and lurking hint of ‘desecration’” (B-23), damaging the image of the archaeologists. It was felt important to avoid what one respondent referred to as “[the archaeologist]...dug up my dead granny syndrome” (B-13).

According to one BABAQ Survey respondent, a perceived consequence of such an image of those who excavate human remains was an image of the archaeologist, was a “detrimental attitude to those who excavate and analyse human remains” (B-25). In turn this was felt to have an impact back on “companies, units...who may receive bad press and in light of the current economic insecurity this could prove detrimental” (B-43).

#### 5.4.3.4 *Theme 4: Concern due to the sensitive topic*

Several BABAQ Survey respondents expressed a concern about newspaper coverage of any kind. There was a concern that the sensitive nature of human remains was perhaps not a suitable topic to be published in newspapers, no matter how it was reported, because it “may hurt feelings” (B-08), and in particular, “the publication of pictures of archaeologists excavating remains can be upsetting to some” (B-32). This means that coverage needed to be carefully managed, as one BABAQ Survey respondent commented, “the major drawback to the reporting of excavations involving human remains is, in my opinion, somewhat of a sensitive topic, and has to be very finely balanced due to the ethical issues” (B-30).

#### 5.4.3.5 *Theme 5: Drawing unwanted attention*

A concern expressed by BABAQ Survey respondents was that newspaper coverage of any kind would draw attention to human remains, and “people’s awareness of current excavations would rise [which] may cause problems for the archaeological community from people who do not agree with the removal of human remains” (B-43); “[it would] draw the attention of religious or moral groups who do not agree with the archaeological excavation of human remains” (B-07). Another BABAQ Survey respondent expressed this sentiment more strongly, commenting that not only might it “hurt feelings...stir more reburial movements”, but that “it could actually be disastrous” (B-08). The reporting of the excavation of human remains in newspapers was felt by one BABAQ Survey respondent to have the potential to encourage protestors, “fanatics might try to disrupt the excavation, or campaign to stop it” and “it can encourage protest in some situations” (B-33).

Drawing attention to reburial, in addition to excavation of human remains was felt to bring unwanted attention, as one BABAQ Survey respondent commented, it can “be politicised and then be taken up by various groups” (B-52). There was a concern that if people are aware that reburial happens then its very presence in the newspapers may “raise the issue of reburial of valuable (scientifically) remains” (B-28). Another BABAQ Survey respondent felt that it “may open the floodgates” (B-17) to more requests for reburial. Linked to the threat of losing human remains to reburial was a feeling by one BABAQ Survey respondent that newspaper coverage may “cause pressure on osteologists to rush analysis in order to rebury or to miss the chance to analyse at all, if reburial is picketed for by members of the public” (B-43).

#### *5.4.3.6 Theme 6: Disruption on site*

Security on site was a concern expressed by several BABAQ Survey respondents. It was felt that security could be compromised by newspaper reports, “identifying sites to [the] public before excavation [is] finished can lead to damage to sites” (B-24), and even without mentioning specific sites it was felt “locations can be realised” (B-32). The public being aware of the location of sites led to fears about night hawkers and “Interference from people who are a little too interested” (B-15). Going even further, two BABAQ Survey respondents commented that newspaper coverage “may imply that anyone can go and excavate an interesting feature without following the very strict rules” (B-15), and as a result, “newspaper coverage needs to be managed so people don’t assume they can go and rob cemeteries” (B-15). One BABAQ Survey respondent suggested implications for archaeology beyond the human remains, “it might inspire some people to go metal detecting in that area where burials were found in search of ‘loot’” (B-10).

#### *5.4.3.7 Discussion*

The concerns expressed by BABAQ Survey respondents and interviewees can be divided into two groups: how newspapers report the events (e.g. misrepresentation), and the repercussions that this has (e.g. disruption on site). As with the benefits discussed above in Section 5.4.2.9, these concerns can be explored in relation to the wider literature. In her PhD thesis, Kulik (2005) summarised reasons archaeologists

gave for being reluctant communicators with the mass media. The findings from this research project support a number of Kulik’s concerns (Table 5.4). In particular, Reason 4 (My funder or employer has restrictions that limit my communication); Reason 5 (Too much public attention interferes with my work, and the media invariably over simplify the subject); Reason 7 (I mistrust the media for its inaccuracies, omissions, distortions and manipulations); Reason 8 (I fear for the security of my site); Reason 9 (I fear reprisals or rebukes from my peers, employers, or the public); and Reason 10 (I fear the unpredictability of communication) were all expressed to varying degrees by those surveyed and interviewed. In doing so, they highlight the specific concerns relating to human remains, and the issue of excavating within a developer funded context.

**Table 5.4: Reasons for archaeologists’ reluctance to use the mass media (after Kulik, 2005).**

<b>Reason</b>	<b>Additional Literature consulted by Kulik</b>	<b>Themes from this research project</b>
<b>1.</b> My work is of little or no relevance to the media	Jones and Longstreth (2002) Hodder (1992)	
<b>2.</b> Public communication is irrelevant to my work: it’s not my concern	Bahn, (1996:88); Wheeler (1954:220); Kennedy (2002:xiii)	
<b>3.</b> I’m not ready to communicate: It’s not my first concern	Frodsham (2004:iii), Stone (1989:204), McManamon (2000:5)	
<b>4.</b> ‘My funder or employer has restrictions that limit my communication’	Pitts and Roberts (1998)	(Covered in Section 5.3)
<b>5.</b> ‘Too much public attention interferes with my work, and the media invariably over simplify the subject’	Hinchcliffe (1999) Bahn, Schakel 2002)	Theme 5: Drawing unwanted attention
<b>6.</b> ‘I lack the confidence or skills to communicate well’	Hargreaves and Ferguson (2000), McMannon (2000: 15)	
<b>7.</b> ‘I mistrust the media for its inaccuracies, omissions, distortions and manipulations’	None	Theme 1: Misrepresentation Theme 2: Negative impact from misrepresentation and exaggeration

Reason	Additional Literature consulted by Kulik	Themes from this research project
8. 'I fear for the security of my site'	None	Theme 6: - Disruption on site
9. 'I fear reprisals or rebukes from my peers, employers, or the public'	None	Theme 2: Negative impact from misrepresentation and exaggeration Theme 3: Negative public image Theme 4: Concern due to sensitive topic Theme 5: Drawing unwanted attention
10. 'I fear the unpredictability of communication'	None	Theme 1: Misrepresentation

In summary, examining the attitudes expressed by many respondents to the BABA Survey further, the issue of impact emerges as a key issue. By contrast some of the other concerns collated by Kulik such as Reason 3 (I'm not ready to communicate; it's not my first concern) or Reason 1 (my work is of little or no relevance to the media), were less commonly found within the data collected for this research project. This may reflect the acknowledged public interest in human remains, or the changing attitudes in recent years for engagement with wider audiences, both of which are discussed later in the thesis. An exploration of the actual impact of newspaper coverage is presented in Chapter 6 (Section 6.6), and an in depth exploration of perceived and actual impact, and media effects, is returned to in Chapter 7 (Section 7.4).

## 5.5 General comments on coverage

In addition to being asked specific questions relating to the benefits and drawbacks of newspaper coverage, which were outlined in Chapter 3 and discussed above, BABA Survey respondents and interviewees were also asked to give any other comments they had in relation to newspaper coverage of the excavation, retention or reburial of human remains. From the responses, two key groups emerged, which this section explores. Firstly, several offered comments as to who they felt was responsible for newspaper coverage being the way it was (Section 5.5.1), and secondly, comments



were offered on ways to improve newspaper coverage (Section 5.5.2). Many comments related to archaeology more broadly as well as some being more specific to human remains.

### ***5.5.1 Responsibility for newspaper coverage***

Responsibility for the way in which newspapers covered the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains was felt to lie in three different areas: with newspaper as a whole, with the journalists themselves, or with archaeologists and osteoarchaeologists. Most of the comments given in relation to the responsibility for newspaper article content concerned negative newspaper content.

#### ***5.5.1.1 The newspapers***

Several BABAQ Survey respondents felt it was the newspaper medium as a whole that was largely responsible for content of newspaper articles. A level of cynicism about the newspapers could be found in many responses, and the nature of the comments and the terminology used was often flippant, as this comment from one BABAQ Survey respondent demonstrates, “more often than not the skeletons in question will have names and full life stories by the end of the week that is, of course, if they aren’t already a long lost king” (B-06). Yet there was also understanding of the nature of the newspapers, with some BABAQ Survey respondents commenting that “obviously only certain things make good stories” (B-06), or that “newspapers look for the best stories, and it is often human error that causes them to write a good story rather than the facts” (B-15). Sometimes the acknowledgement of the direction that newspaper articles were felt to take was expressed with a sense of reluctance, “I suppose it isn’t really a paper selling article unless they stick a bit of controversy and a few druids in it rather than it being perhaps just a nice [ending] for a community with a few people paying their respect” (B-33).

Linked to the above comments, was the perception among some BABAQ Survey respondents that archaeology is in the newspapers because it fills a certain role, “I would say they see it as a good news story” (B-54). Another respondent echoed similar sentiments saying, “the agenda of the newspapers is to sell newspapers...and often the

archaeology feature is the ‘cat rescued by the fireman’ bit, i.e. it’s of varying levels of interest to some of their readers” (B-47). Some acknowledged that the value of a story about archaeology depends on the newspaper, as two BABAQ Survey respondents commented, “[it] depends on the calibre of the newspaper, *The Times* and *Independent* often print very well written archaeological articles, but I don’t believe it would sit well with other newspapers due to their target audiences” (B-15), and “different newspapers can take different views and it can also depend on who they interview and who their writers are” (B-02).

#### 5.5.1.2 *The journalists*

At a more specific level, several BABAQ Survey respondents commented on the role of the individual journalist in creating newspaper articles. One viewpoint was that the problem lay in the fact that “journalists are often not archaeologists themselves” (B-05) and so “the individuals selected to comment on the finds often lack a background in human remains” (B-19). Consequently, one BABAQ Survey respondent felt that there was “a lack of scientific knowledge by those doing the reporting” (B-12).

In addition to the journalists’ lack of background knowledge, was a concern that journalists were not even interested in trying to understand the subject and present it accurately, as one BABAQ Survey respondent commented, “the press are frequently spectacularly ill informed, and some reporters are annoyingly resistant to being corrected or educated” (B-01). One BABAQ Survey respondent felt that it was the fault of reporters, “not listening to what you say, writing things down wrong, ‘sexing it up’ etc...some are there to sell a story and not necessarily report what archaeologists find” (B-47). Another felt that “journalists look for the sensational, so they easily misinterpret the findings either out of lack of knowledge or even unintentionally” (B-39). The relationship with the journalists was felt to be one that needed to be carefully managed, as this BABAQ Survey respondents commented, “public exposure is walking on thin ice: it requires careful regulation of the journalists” (B-39). One interviewee felt that newspapers would benefit from having specialised writers “I think it would be good for archaeology if there were some more writers for some of the big nationals” (I-04).

### 5.5.1.3 *Archaeologists*

While the above comments show that some responsibility was felt to lie with the newspapers and journalists, a number of BABAQ Survey and interview respondents felt that some of the difficulties may come from within the archaeological profession itself. The idea was expressed that archaeologists, and osteoarchaeologists, do not try to communicate with the public, as “we as a discipline don’t take the time to convey to the public what we’re doing unless we deem it of great importance” (B-11), and that their work does not lend itself to public dissemination, “I blame osteologists for not making their work more relevant to the general public” (B-21). Alongside this, one BABAQ Survey respondent commented on the need to improve understanding of how to communicate with the public, “archaeologists will already know how to get hold of this info for research, so a newspaper article would need to appeal to the public with no scientific jargon” (B-15).

One interviewee suggested that the problem lay in the very different level of certainty and ways of reporting a finding, an event, or an issue between the two professions,

“many archaeologists are very academic and they caveat every statement they make, they get bogged down in the complexity and ambiguity of the archaeological record – ‘it could be this, it could be that’ and you know, they talk about lots of different points. When really you know, most people just want straightforward interesting content, and archaeologists generally speaking have been relatively poor over the years at providing that” (I-04).

The same individual went on to comment that “I think archaeologists are scared stiff of criticism you know, and that’s the thing....newspapers get very frustrated, in my view, of archaeologists who will not get off the fence and just say what they think” (I-04). In addition to problems in knowing how to present their information, some felt the problem lay with knowing how to communicate with journalists. One BABAQ Survey respondent warned that “investigators working with journalists or reporters must be very careful not to allow themselves to jump to conclusions in front of journalists and much equally be aware that their descriptions can be twisted or manipulated” (B-56).

### **5.5.2 Article content and production**

Though not specifically asked in the questionnaire, several BABAQ Survey respondents gave suggestions for what they felt a good newspaper article should contain, or things that bad ones do not include. Throughout the BABAQ Survey, responses emphasised the need for details to be accurate and for a number of specific details to be included.

As noted in Chapter 4 (Section 4.6), one issue that came up in many BABAQ Survey responses, and during the interviews, was that certain details about the process of excavation and reburial were not included in the newspaper articles. It was felt by respondents there was often “little-to-no information provided about why excavations are taking place” (B19), whereas it was felt that “a full discussion of the reasoning for a reburial is a prerequisite to useful coverage” (I-01). The context of the excavation was often felt to be omitted, whereas “the process of excavation needs to be reiterated throughout the article – exhumation licence, rules and regulations etc.”(B-15). It was felt that “all too often they fail to inform the public that these excavations are carried out under license rather than at the whim of archaeologists” (B-19). Another topic felt to be missing was that the articles “rarely state what will happen to the [human] remains” (B-19). As seen in Section 5.4, these factors were felt to be of concern when trying to present an accurate portrayal of the osteoarchaeological discipline, and encourage informed debate.

A number of BABAQ Survey respondents gave suggestions on the types of stories they felt they would like to be covered by the newspapers. One respondent suggested that that “perhaps we should report more readily on minor issues and even our failures so the public are aware of what we are doing” (B-11), and another, “I’d like to see articles on how documented remains from Victorian graves can aide in devising better ageing and sexing techniques” (B-21). However, one BABAQ Survey respondent was more cautious about encouraging newspaper coverage at all, commenting that, “what is the public benefit really?...I can’t see the point in making a fuss over things just to make a point” (I-02). Although there might be ideals for newspaper coverage and content, one interviewee suggested that the content an archaeologist would like to see in an article might not make it into a newspaper article even if it is in a press release,

“I’m not sure we’ve ever stressed how we actually excavated them...but if we put that in, I’m not sure the press would include it anyway. So you can put in the press release, but they can just ignore it because that’s not the interesting from their point of view” (I-03).

In addition to suggestions for newspaper article content, comments were made relating to the ideal way in which osteoarchaeologists and archaeologists should be involved in the production of the newspaper article to ensure a high standard of reporting. These included suggestions of involvement at the start of the process, as two BABAQ Survey respondents commented, “ideally archaeologists should be heavily involved in the writing of / reporting articles” (B-56), and “I believe the scientists themselves should be the ones to write carefully phrased press releases to the newspapers, instead of simply talking to journalists and letting them cover the delicate subject of human remains as they wish” (B-39). Beyond initial contact and press release, a number of BABAQ Survey respondents also felt that articles should be proofread, “asking to proof read or see the item before print is very important, as once in print you cannot change any damaging statements which are incorrect” (B-50), and “we should check any article before it goes to press” (B-29). Additionally, in order to improve media communication, one BABAQ Survey respondent suggested that archaeologists and osteoarchaeologists should learn from bad examples, “archaeologists engaged in the excavation of burials in built up areas should be told to read up about [these]... as a matter of course” (B-05).

Some of the comments made by BABAQ Survey respondents are in conflict with the process of producing a newspaper article (see Section 5.3), both when compared to the comments from those interviewed who suggested that writing a press release was often standard procedure, and also in the fact that short production cycles meant that being able to proof read an article before it went to press was unlikely (Scherzler, 2007; Baron, 2010). These contradictions hint at a naivety, and support the comments seen in Subsection 5.5.1.3, and in the wider literature, that many archaeologists (as well as scientists) are perhaps not as media savvy as they might need to be given the remit to communicate (Scherzler, 2007; Maille *et al.*, 2010). The basis for, and impacts of, this lack of media understanding are explored in Chapter 7 (Section 7.4).

## 5.6 Chapter summary

This chapter aimed to explore the ways in which osteoarchaeologists and archaeologists are involved in the production of newspaper articles, and to explore their attitudes to newspaper coverage of the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains. This was achieved through combining the data collected from osteoarchaeologists through the BBAO Survey, interviews with senior archaeologists in the North East of England, and the wider literature. The majority of responses in both data sets concentrated on the excavation of human remains, and this guided the focus of this Chapter. Section 5.3 found that interaction with the newspaper could be proactive or reactive, each with its own benefits and potential drawbacks. The timing of newspaper contact varied, with advantages and disadvantages seen for both immediate coverage, and for delaying it. The individual responsible for newspaper coverage varied between organisations and often on a case by case basis. The responses indicated that there was very little formal training in media contact, and it was often those with the most experience who dealt with any newspaper contact.

The exploration of attitudes to newspaper coverage, of the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains in Section 5.4 found a general acknowledgement in the benefits to communicating these factors to the public, and the value of the newspaper in facilitating this. These echo the wider calls, discussed in Chapter 2, in planning and ethical guidelines and guidance for the need for archaeologists to engage more widely with the public due to a shared heritage, the need to show a wider value, and to be seen to be acting sensitively. Many of the comments in relation to the benefits are shared with those found in earlier studies, such as the need to justify money being spent, educating the public, and promoting a positive public image. In particular, the need to be transparent and explain to the public was felt to be important for the sensitive issue of human remains. Most BBAO Survey respondents felt that public opinion was important in relation to archaeological engagement with human remains, and that the newspapers had an impact on this.

While benefits could be seen, there were also many concerns expressed over newspaper coverage and the potential negative impact, with sometimes strong

feelings expressed in relation to poor public image, and attracting unwanted attention, and even disruption on site. Concerns in this area are perhaps heightened when compared to earlier literature given the sensitive nature of human remains. While newspaper contact was generally seen as positive by those who had experience of dealing with the newspapers, it was also clear that often there was a lack of control, either because as archaeologists they were not ultimately free to engage with newspapers due to being contracted by other organisations and developers to undertake the work, or because the newspapers became aware of an excavation at an early stage. The data also show that many BABAQ Survey respondents, who were closer to the issues involving human remains than those interviewed, did not have direct involvement with the newspapers and so their thoughts and opinions are not based on direct experience of production, but rather from consuming and reading the newspaper article. The implications of level of experience in engaging with newspapers, closeness to the subject matter, and media perceptions held by archaeologists and osteoarchaeologist are explored in Chapter 7 (Section 7.4).

With professional attitudes established in this chapter, Chapter 6 moves on to explore newspaper coverage from the perspective of the public. It examines the target of archaeological engagement and the newspaper audience element in greater detail as well as expanding on issues of impact which were introduced in the present chapter.

## Chapter 6 : The Public Perspective

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### 6.1 Introduction

A key benefit of newspapers as a means of communication was their ability to reach the public. As seen in Chapter 5, the BABAO Survey and interview responses indicated that newspapers were felt to offer a way of educating the public about the archaeology that was going on around them, and had the potential to ensure that processes involving human remains were made clear. However, as Chapter 2 started to explore, communication is not a one way process, information does not pass solely from producer (archaeologist or osteoarchaeologist) to consumer (the public) (Hartley, 1982; Hall, 1999; McQuail, 2005). It is therefore of value to consider the perspective of the intended consumer of the newspaper article and the target of archaeological communication: the public. This chapter complements the previous two data chapters by providing this additional dimension to understanding newspaper coverage. Using empirical data from the Park Survey, the interviews with archaeologists and the BABAO Survey data, this chapter investigates the role and the impact of the newspaper in reaching the public. Given the diverse nature of the public, and the challenges in collecting meaningful data from such a large group (issues discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.4.2), additional surveys from the wider literature focusing on both archaeology and the mass media, as well as the public and human remains, are included in the discussion. The results from these existing surveys support and complement the data collected during the Park Survey, enhancing the discussion in this chapter. Much of the discussion explores archaeology more broadly in both the newspapers and wider mass media, although issues specific to human remains are highlighted throughout. In particular, this chapter focuses on the excavation of human remains due to the larger number of newspaper articles on this topic. Additionally, as the data in the chapter show, this was the topic the public were most familiar with.

Chapter 6 is divided into five subsections. Following an introduction to the data set in Section 6.2, four key areas are considered. Section 6.3 explores the role of the newspaper in communicating archaeology to the public. Section 6.4 presents the



public interest and attitudes towards archaeology, and human remains. The level of interest the public have in newspaper coverage of these events, and the elements of these topics that are of most interest, are explored in Section 6.5. Finally, Section 6.6 focuses on the impact of the newspaper, looking at issues of reader recall and trust, as well as establishing the impact on archaeology, and issues relating to human remains as a result of newspaper articles on the excavation, retention or reburial of human remains.

## **6.2 Data overview**

As presented in Chapter 2, the 'public', or the 'audience' for the mass media, is not a straightforward concept. Ang (1991: 2) comments that the audience "only exists as an imaginary entity, an abstraction from the vantage point of the institutions, in the interest of the institutions". It is therefore of value at this point to reiterate the way in which the term is used within this research project. Here, 'the public' is used to group together those individuals who do not earn their living through archaeology (Merriman, 2004), and therefore those people for whom whatever their level of interest is in archaeology, are most likely to get their information from indirect sources, such as newspapers.

The Park Survey collected responses from 100 members of the public: 50 individuals in York and 50 individuals in Newcastle. Similarities in the demographics of the data sets from York and Newcastle (Tables 6.1, 6.2, 6.3) allowed the data from the two locations to be combined to form a single larger data set that forms the basis of discussion in this chapter. The results for the Park survey will be given in % as the sample size was 100 individuals.

An equal number of males and females were included in the sample, and there was a relatively even spread of ages from 18 to 66+ amongst those surveyed (Table 6.1). Respondents were asked to indicate the highest level of education they had completed; seven per cent selected GCSEs; 11% A 'levels; 34% an undergraduate degree; 17% a Master's degree, and 2% a Doctoral degree (Table 6.2).

**Table 6.1: Age and sex of respondents to the Park Survey (n=100).**

	Newcastle		York		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Totals
<b>18-25</b>	4	6	3	3	<b>16</b>
<b>26-35</b>	5	5	4	4	<b>18</b>
<b>36-45</b>	4	4	4	3	<b>15</b>
<b>46-55</b>	4	3	4	6	<b>17</b>
<b>56-65</b>	4	3	6	6	<b>19</b>
<b>66+</b>	4	4	4	3	<b>15</b>
<b>Totals</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 6.2: Level of education attained by respondents to the Park Survey (n=100).**

Level of Education	No. of respondents
Not answered	3
GCSE	7
A' Levels	11
College	21
Undergraduate	34
Masters	17
Doctoral	2
Post-Doctoral	1
Other	3
Prefer not to say	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

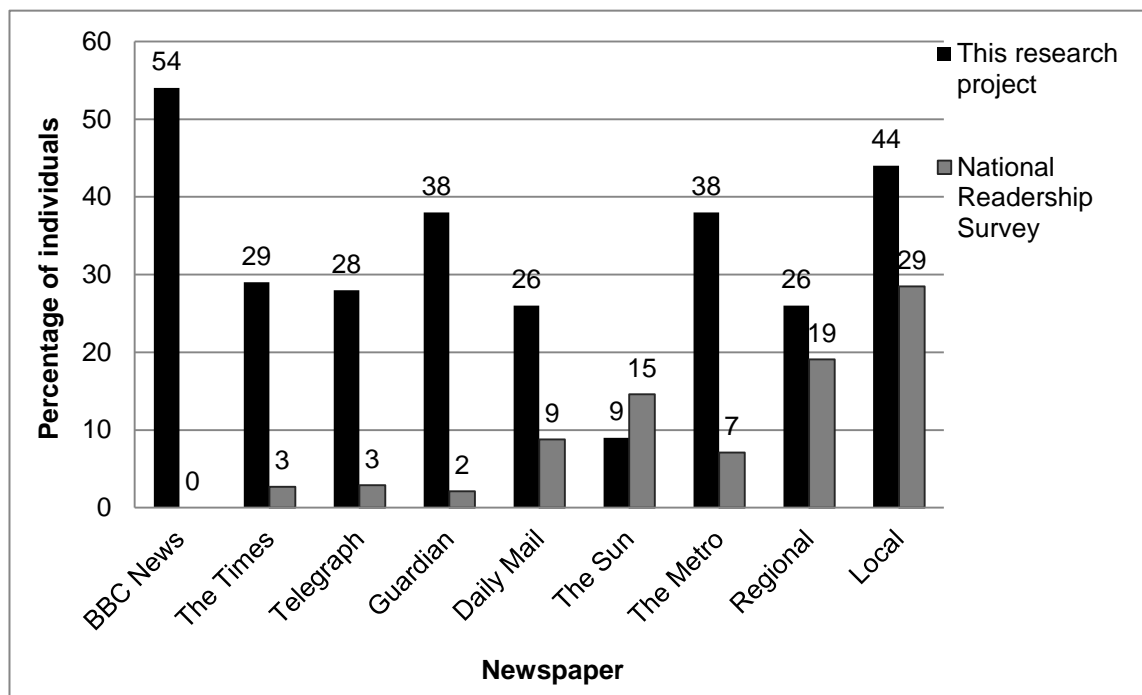
The Park Survey also asked respondents to give their religion (Table 6.3). Fifty three per cent of respondents gave their religion as Christian (37% Protestant, 11% Catholic and 5% another denomination) (Table 6.3), with nearly a third of respondents (31%) indicating they had no religion. A small number of individuals (5%) selected 'other', with one specifying 'Pagan', one 'Voodoo', and one 'University of Life', as their religion. The sample of individuals included in the Park Survey therefore includes a range of educational levels, religious backgrounds, and ages.

**Table 6.3: Religious preference given by respondents to the Park Survey (n=100).**

<b>Religion</b>	<b>No. of respondents</b>
Not answered	3
Agnostic	2
Christian (Catholic)	11
Christian (other)	5
Christian (Protestant)	37
Jewish	1
None	31
Other	5
Prefer not to say	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

Past research has shown that factors such as education, socio-economic status and age have traditionally played a role in determining interest in archaeology, with individuals from more disadvantaged backgrounds and those with lower levels of education being the least likely to engage with topics such as museums, heritage and archaeology (Pokotylo and Guppy, 1999; Ramos and Duganne, 2000). However, recent discussions on public engagement with archaeology demonstrate that the issue of public interest is more complex (Simpson and Williams, 2008), particularly when mass media are considered. Ramos and Duganne's (2000) study, which explored public perceptions of archaeology in the USA, also found that different groups within a wider population learn about archaeology differently. They found that people with a high level of interest in archaeology learn about archaeology through television more often than people with a low interest level in archaeology. Piccini's (2007) survey of heritage television viewing figures also highlighted differences in social status of history consumers, and found that more disadvantaged social groups engage with heritage through television where they may not through more formal means of archaeological engagement. Piccini's research also found a number of further complexities, with differences in viewer demographics for different broadcast times for the same programme (*A History of Britain*). Males were found to be more likely to watch heritage television programmes than females, while young adults were the least likely to be engaged (Piccini, 2007). Capturing a range of individuals through the Park Survey therefore covered a diverse range of individuals and enabled a broad look at the issue.

The newspapers and sources of information about archaeology are discussed in greater detail in Section 6.3. Figure 6.1 compares the newspapers read by those who responded to the Park Survey with readership figures for the different newspapers collected by the National Readership Survey who collected data from 36,216 individuals between March and April 2010 to 2011 (NRS, 2011). The results show that respondents to the Park Survey read each of the newspapers more than those sampled in the National Readership Survey. In particular there were more readers of *The Guardian*, *The Times*, *The Telegraph* and *The Metro*, and fewer *Sun* readers. These findings suggest that the Park Survey sample is perhaps not representative of the population as a whole. However, as discussed in Section 6.3 below, many respondents read more than one newspaper complicating the issue of categorising people by the newspaper read. The range of different newspaper read by respondents to the Park Survey, as well as broad range of ages, level of education, and religious preference means that the analysis and discussion offered insights into perspectives on a range of newspaper coverage, rather than merely reflecting the readership of a smaller number of newspapers. Findings were tied into other studies and the wider literature in order to enhance the discussion.



**Figure 6.1: Newspapers read by individuals in the Park Survey compared with National Readership Survey Statistics for April – March 2010-11.**

### **6.3 The role of the newspaper**

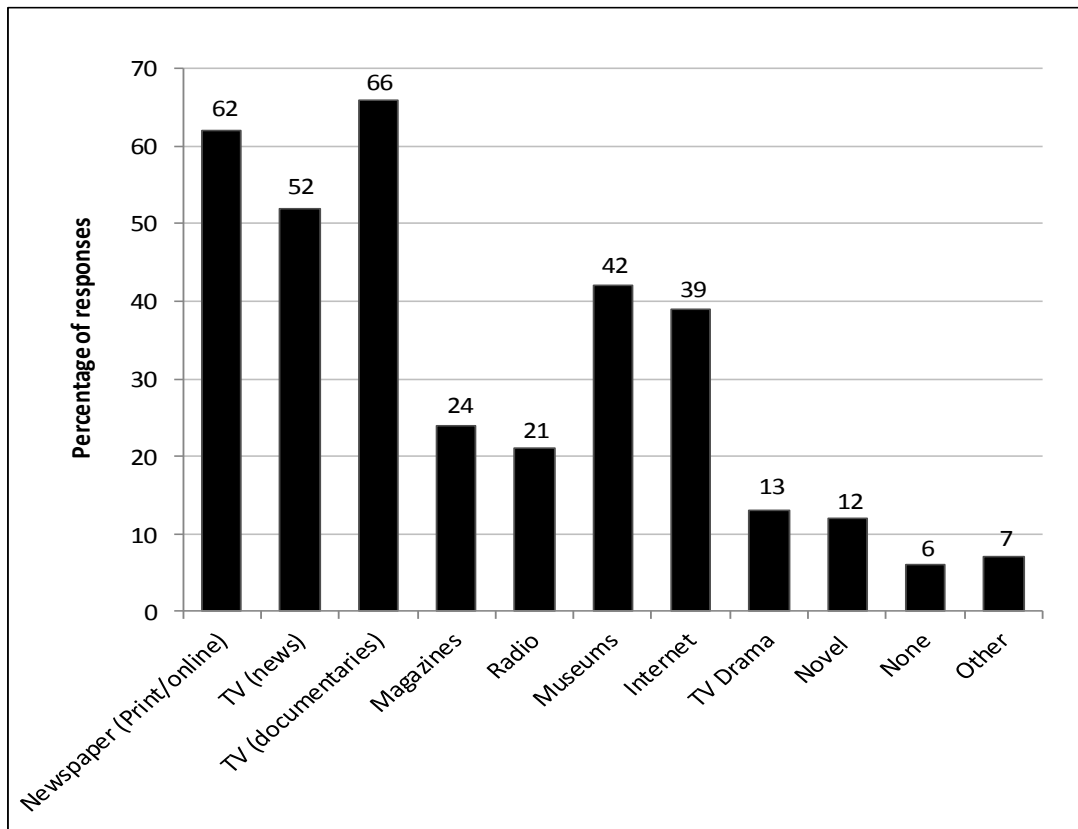
Existing surveys show that people learn about archaeology from a number of different information sources (Pokotylo and Guppy, 1999; Paynton, 2002; Piccini, 2007).

Knowing which sources of information are most popular is of value in terms of understanding how people access information about archaeology, and by extension information about the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains. This knowledge is in turn of value when considering the potential impact of individual mass media sources on the public, an issue returned to in Section 6.5, and again in Chapter 7 (Section 7.3). The questions on sources of information in the Park Survey related to archaeology as a whole, rather than relating specifically to the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains. By asking the broader question it was felt that it would be less confusing for respondents, and would allow responses to be compared and discussed alongside existing studies, adding to the existing body of literature.

This section is divided into three subsections. Section 6.3.1 considers the newspaper as an information source for national archaeology in relation to other mass media sources. Section 6.3.2 explores the role of the newspaper in more detail, examining the differences in its role as a source for local and national archaeology. Finally, Section 6.3.3 addresses the issue of multiple sources of information.

#### ***6.3.1 Sources of information about national archaeology***

During the Park Survey, respondents were given a predetermined list of information sources and asked to indicate from these where they obtained information about national archaeology. Respondents were asked to tick all information sources that applied, and the option was also given to select 'other', and to provide further information regarding this. Results from the Park Survey show that TV documentaries (66%), newspapers (62%), TV news (53%), and museums (42%) were the most common sources of information about national archaeology (Figure 6.2). A small number of respondents also selected 'other' (7%), indicating 'library', 'friends', 'colleagues', and 'talks' as sources.



**Figure 6.2: Sources of information about national archaeology given by respondents to the Park Survey (n=100).**

The sources of information for national archaeology found in the Park Survey compare well to other studies which investigate the primary source of information about archaeology (Pokotylo and Guppy, 1999; Ramos and Duganne, 2000; Paynton, 2002; Balme and Wilson, 2004). While questions were phrased slightly differently in each of the other surveys, and television documentary and television news were often not differentiated within these studies, most studies found that television was the most popular source of information, with the newspaper also being common and coming second or third in such surveys. Paynton (2002) found 34% of respondents selected television, and 25% reading; Pokotylo and Guppy (1999) found that television accounted for 58%, and newspapers 11%; and a survey by Ramos and Duganne (2000) found very similar results with 56% of respondents selecting television and 24% newspapers (Table 6.4). In looking beyond archaeology, similar patterns are found for sources of information on science and technology. For example, a study by Ten Eyck (2005) in which respondents could select more than one option for sources of

information about biotechnology, found that 58% of people found information through television, and 49% from newspapers.

**Table 6.4: Percentage of respondents from studies in the wider literature who access archaeology through television and newspapers/reading.**

Study	n=	Television	Newspaper /Reading
Paynton (2002)	n/a	34%	25%
Balme and Wilson (2004)	289	16%	8%
Pokotylo and Guppy (1999)	897	58%	11%
Ramos and Duganne (2000)	1016	56%	24%
Ten Eyck (2005) – (science)	668	58%	49%
<i>Park Survey</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>66%</i>	<i>62%</i>

### **6.3.2 Sources of information about local archaeology**

While television documentaries were found to be the most common source of information about national archaeology in the Park Survey as well as the other surveys detailed above (e.g. Paynton, 2002; Balme and Wilson, 2004), the pattern is different when sources of information about local archaeology are considered (Figure 6.3). Only 38% of respondents in the Park Survey selected television documentaries as a source of information about local archaeology. By comparison, 60% of respondents gave newspapers as a source, 53% of respondents selected museums, and 51% of respondents selected television news.

These findings demonstrate that although, as found in previous studies, television documentaries are a valuable source for information more widely, when considered from a local perspective then newspapers play a more important role. The findings from the Park Survey are supported by findings from a Market and Opinion Research International (MORI) study (2003) commissioned by EH, the DCMS and the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF). The MORI study found that for communicating information about heritage to people, the local media (press and radio) was one of the most effective ways, and demonstrates the value of exploring and understanding this particular mass media.

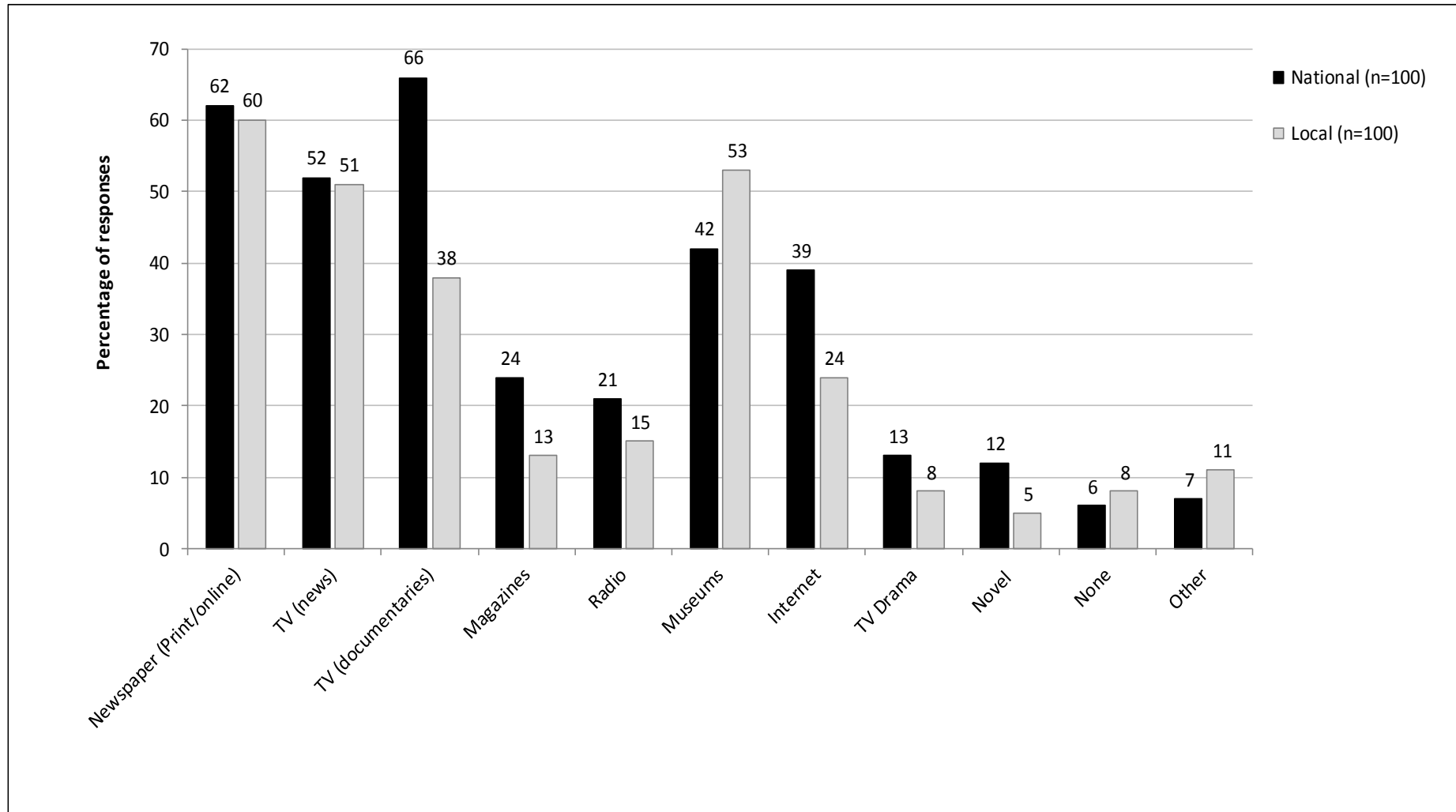
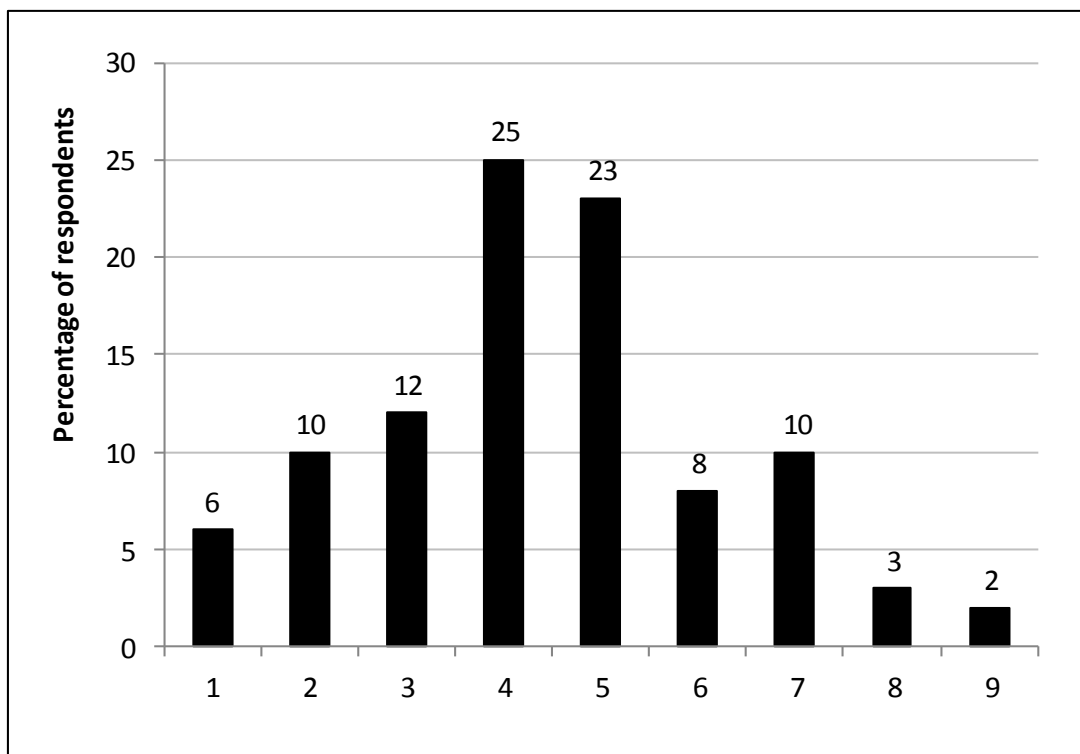


Figure 6.3: Sources of information about local and national archaeology given by respondents to the Park Survey (n=100).



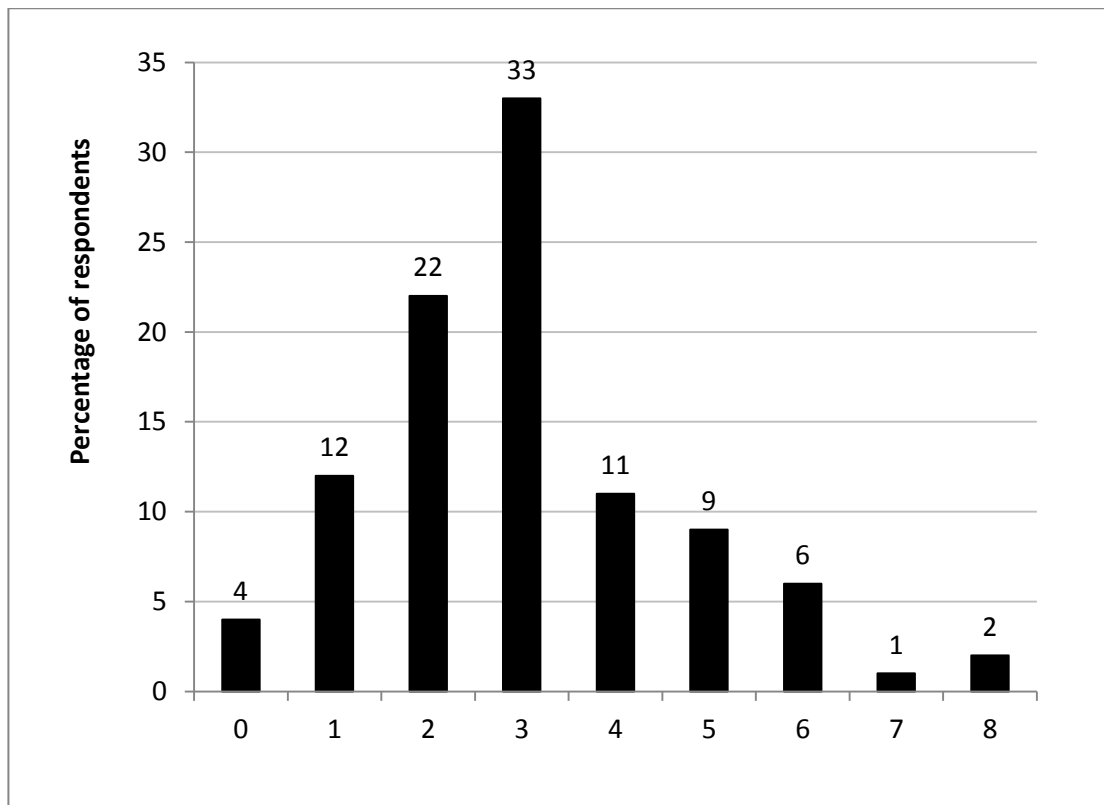
### 6.3.3 Multiple sources of information

Newspapers do not work in isolation, but are part of a wider network of mass media within society; people do not just consult one source for information, but are presented with, or obtain information from, a number of different sources (Bolter and Grusin, 1999). As noted in Sections 6.3.1 and 6.3.2 above, respondents to the Park Survey were asked to select all sources of information about archaeology. Figure 6.4 shows that most respondents (94%) obtained information about archaeology from more than one source, with nearly half (46%) of all respondents obtaining information about archaeology from four or more different sources.



**Figure 6.4: Number of different sources of information for archaeology given by respondents to the Park Survey (n=100).**

In addition to the range of different sources of information, Park Survey respondents were also asked to indicate which newspapers they read, and how often. More than 80% of respondents read three or more different newspapers (Figure 6.5), with the frequencies ranging from 'everyday' to 'less than once a week'. Forty six percent of respondents indicated they read a local newspaper, while 28% of respondents read a regional newspaper with varying frequency.



**Figure 6.5: Number of different newspapers read by respondents to the Park Survey (n=100).**

Chapter 4 demonstrated that different newspapers tend to frame events in different ways, focusing on different aspects of a story, and including different information. The use of multiple sources and multiple newspapers, complicates the issue of determining the impact that any one mass media or newspaper will have, further demonstrating the interconnected nature of the mass media. As a result, it was not possible to draw conclusions between newspaper readership and public perceptions of the archaeological treatment of human remains. The issue of media effects is returned to in Section 6.5, and also in Chapter 7 (Section 7.3). The following section explores the issue of public interest in archaeology and in human remains within the archaeological process.

#### **6.4 Public interest**

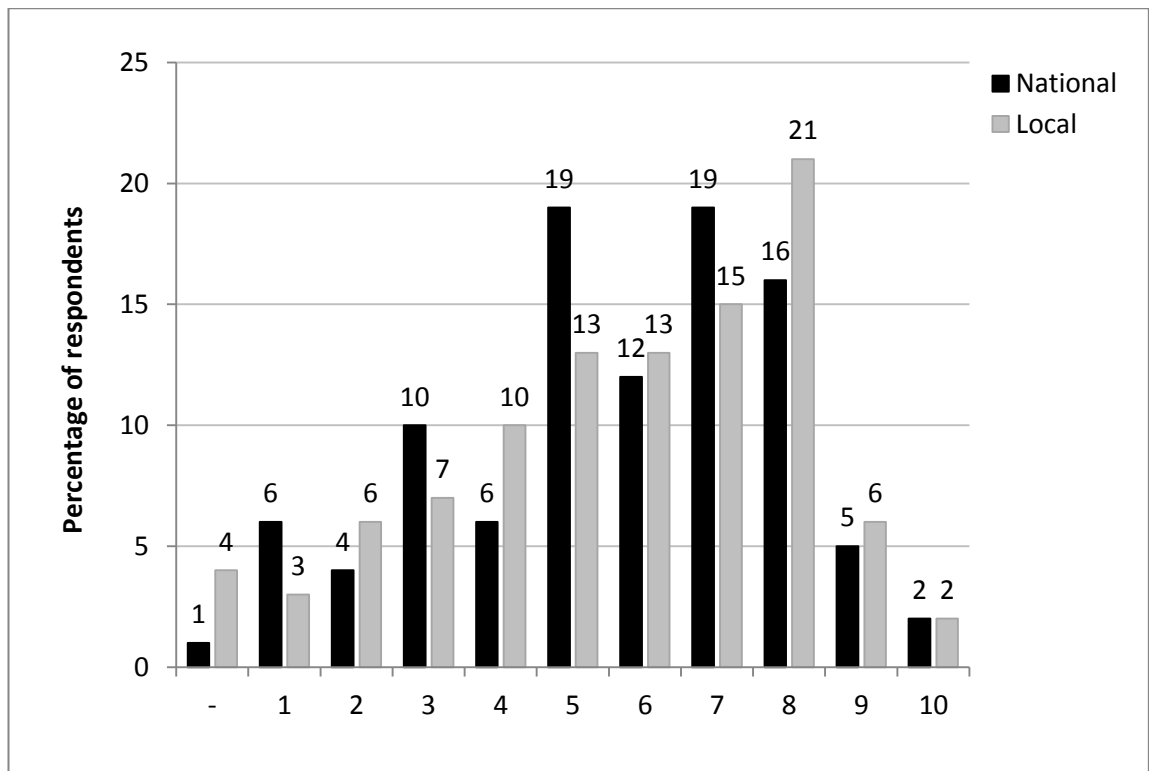
As discussed earlier in the thesis, the mass media cater to their audiences; what is news is partly a matter of what audiences find important or interesting (Schudson, 2005). Additionally, the line between consumption and production is becoming less

defined with the use of the internet and the rise in citizen journalism, blogs and new media, resulting in the news media being more aware of their audiences and their needs (Bird, 2009). The changing media landscape and its implications are expanded on in Chapter 7 (Section 7.2). In order to fully understand newspaper coverage, it is important to “to know precisely what it is that almost everybody else seems to find to irresistible” about the subject (Holtorf, 2007a: 11). This section addresses this issue and serves to add to the discussion on news values and framing choices, explored in Chapter 4.

This section presents data from the Park Survey as well drawing upon the wider literature on archaeology and osteoarchaeology in order to establish public interest and support. The section begins by exploring the level of public interest, and the reasons behind public interest in archaeology at both a national and local level (Section 6.4.1). Following this, the particular interest in human remains is considered in greater detail, and evaluates the support for the excavation, retention and reburial of human remains in Section 6.4.2. Finally, Section 6.4.3 explores public interest in relation to newspaper coverage, examining whether they want to read about the excavation and reburial of human remains, and what content they feel should be included in such newspaper articles.

#### **6.4.1 Public interest in archaeology**

Respondents to the Park Survey were asked to rate their level of interest in archaeology on a scale of one to ten. Results show that the average level of interest in archaeology was six (Figure 6.6). Level of interest in local archaeology compared to national archaeology was similar; the mean score for level of interest in national archaeology was 5.7, with local archaeology being 5.9. Sixty per cent of individuals gave identical scores for their interest in national and local archaeology. If the mode is taken, slight differences can be seen. Twenty one respondents gave a score of 8 for interest in local archaeology, while 19 people gave scores of 5 and 7 as their level of interest in national archaeology. No changes were detected in the level of interest between the different age groups, level of education, or religious affiliation.



**Figure 6.6: Park Survey respondents' level of interest in local and national archaeology (n=100).**

The level of popularity of archaeology found in responses to the Park Survey supports results found in the wider literature and sources relating to heritage, archaeology and history (Piccini, 2007; Morrison, 2008; Thomas, 2010). For example, a Council for British Archaeology (CBA) survey in 2010 found that there were 215,000 individuals belonging to over 2000 archaeology groups and societies throughout the UK, a number which had quadrupled since the mid-1980s (Thomas, 2010).

Additional evidence for public interest in subjects such as history, heritage and archaeology, can be found by looking to mass media consumption. No studies specific to archaeology exist, however, a YouGov survey (2007) asked over 4000 members of the public “which if any of the following do you watch on television”. Forty nine per cent of respondents included history, which ranked the subject as the second most popular topic to watch, behind ‘property/DIY’. Research by Piccini (2007) also found that 98% of adults saw at least one heritage programme over the course of a year. The Broadcasters' Audience Research Board (BARB) data, which provides viewing figures for television programmes, also indicate the popularity of history, heritage and archaeology. Consistent audience figures of between 1.5 to 2.5 million are found for

programmes such as *Coast* (BBC 2) and *Digging for Britain* (BBC 2), with these programmes frequently coming in the top ten programmes in terms of weekly viewing figures (Table 6.5). BARB data also indicate the popularity of television programmes on human remains, for example, *History Cold Case* (BBC2), a programme which focuses on the investigation of human remains from archaeological sites, attracted between 1.6 and 2.1 million viewers per episode ranking it in the top 15 programmes in terms of weekly viewing figures.

**Table 6.5: Example viewing figures for programmes on BBC 2, week ending 22 August 2010 (heritage programmes in bold) (BARB, 2010).**

Position	Programme	Millions
1	Match of the Day (Sun)	3.42
2	Dragon's Den (Mon)	3.11
<b>3</b>	<b><i>Coast (Wed)</i></b>	<b>2.84</b>
<b>4</b>	<b><i>The Normans (Wed)</i></b>	<b>2.82</b>
<b>5</b>	<b><i>Digging for Britain (Thu)</i></b>	<b>2.75</b>
6	University Challenge (Mon)	2.49
7	The Great British Bake Off (Tue)	2.24
8	The Natural World (Thu)	2.19
9	Vexed (Sun)	2.09
10	Have I Got a Little Bit More News For You (Sat)	1.99

Writing about the media frenzy and public interest that surrounded the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamen in 1922, Howard Carter was unsure as to why there was so much interest,

“it is a little bewildering to us, not to say embarrassing, and we wonder sometimes just exactly how and why it has all come about. We may wonder, but I think it would puzzle anyone to give an exact answer to the question. One must suppose that at the time the discovery was made the general public was in a state of profound boredom with news of reparations, conferences and mandates, and craved for some new topic of conversation”.

*(Carter and Mace, 1923/1977: 141).*

Understanding public interest has moved on since then, and the reasons for public interest in archaeology has been attributed to range of reasons rather than just needing a distraction from current events. Archaeology has been viewed as providing meaning in people's everyday life, providing reassurance, and helping explore issues of identity building. Additionally, it has the ability to make the past more accessible and

authentic (Ascherson, 2004; Kulik, 2005; Clack and Brittain, 2007; Holtorf, 2007a). Archaeology can also be seen from an entertainment perspective, providing escapism and pleasure, and it is often the thrill of discovery to which public interest has been attributed (Sabloff, 1998; Holtorf, 2005). It is impossible to assess the relative importance of each reason for the public interest as the “complex alignment with multiple individual attractions to the past is based on personal value and social background” (Clack and Brittain, 2007: 20), and the different reasons work together, as Holtorf (2007a: 57) summarises,

“archaeologists have the ability to tell stories about collective belonging, existential, alternative ways of life, sympathy and empathy, lessons for ourselves...which enables people to connect with their most common fantasies, needs and desires...and benefits society by making people reflect on what it means to be human and what they share with the social group to which they belong”,

and through this it is possible to start to see the connections with news values.

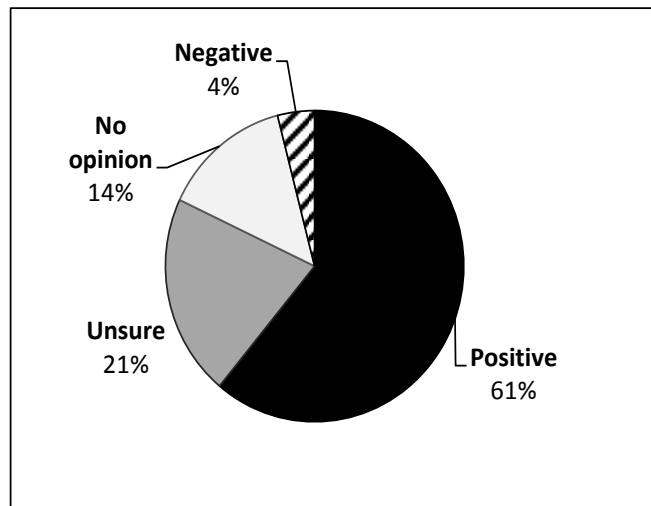
#### **6.4.2 Public interest in human remains within archaeology**

Within archaeology it has been commented that human remains hold a particular interest (Time Team, 2004). At the heart of many of the reasons given for public interest in archaeology is the human element, as Wheeler maintained, ‘archaeology is about digging up people, not things’ (Prag and Neave, 1997: 11). Piccini (2007) suggests the popularity of historical dramas such as *Rome*, over the more traditional documentary, indicates that viewers are interested in putting people back into history.

Before discussing the reasons for interest in human remains in more detail, it is of value to briefly comment on public attitudes to human remains. As presented in Chapter 2, attitudes to the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains are changing as exemplified by changes to guidelines and reinterpretation of legislation, and there is a heightened awareness of the ethical issues surrounding them.

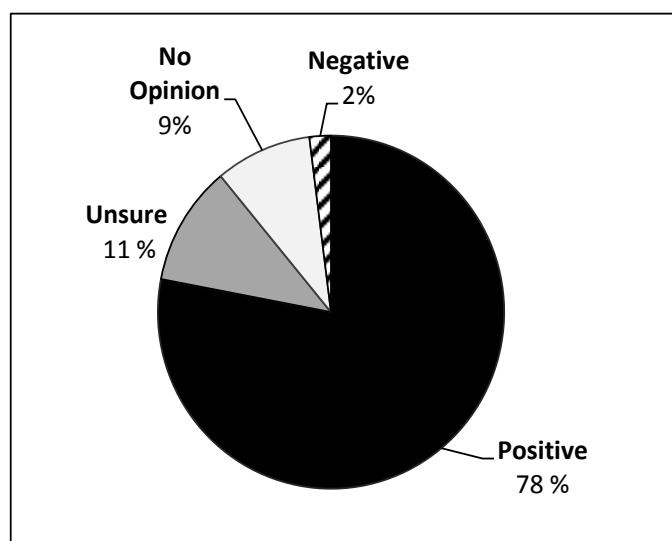
Eighty nine per cent of respondents to the Park Survey indicated that they were aware that human remains were excavated from archaeological sites. They were largely

supportive towards the excavation of human remains (Figure 6.7), with over half of the respondents feeling positive about the excavation of human remains (61%), and only a small percentage (4%) of respondents feeling negative towards the excavation of human remains. However, 21% of respondents indicated that they were unsure how they felt about the excavation of human remains.



**Figure 6.7: Park Survey respondents' attitudes towards the archaeological excavation of human remains (n=100).**

Only 56% of respondents to the Park Survey were aware that human remains from archaeological sites were reburied. Over three quarters (78%) of respondents felt positive about the reburial of human remains (Figure 6.8), with only 4% of respondents feeling negative, and 11% unsure about how they felt about this.



**Figure 6.8: Park Survey respondents' attitudes towards the reburial of human remains from archaeological sites (n=100).**

The findings from the Park Survey support those from several other studies in recent years (e.g. Cambridgeshire Archaeology, 2006; Stuart, 2009; Butler, 2010) which have investigated public perceptions of human remains within archaeology. Butler (2010) found in a survey of 198 members of the English public that most (72%) supported the excavation of human remains providing respect was shown, with 74% feeling that remains should be reburied. A study a year earlier by Stuart (2009) of 107 members of the English public found that 78% felt that excavation of human remains was appropriate, and 71% felt that remains should be reburied. A study by Cambridgeshire Archaeology (2007) of over 220 people also found that 70% of people felt that remains should be reburied, and 71% of those people felt that this should occur when archaeologists decide there is no further scientific or research use for them. While the sampling method for the Cambridgeshire survey which involved surveying people at archaeology events and local museums, may have distorted the data slightly, the combined results from these three surveys and the Park Survey highlights that overall, a positive attitude exists towards the excavation of human remains.

The particular interest in human remains within archaeology is not a new phenomenon. As noted in Chapter 2 (Section 2.2), they have long been perceived as one of the more popular aspects of archaeology, capturing the interest of a wider audience. As long ago as 1833, autopsies of Egyptian mummies were conducted in front of the public by members of the medical establishment such as Thomas Pettigrew and, during the mid Victorian era, “a country weekend for members of the English gentry might very well include among its enticements a mummy unwrapping” (David and Archibold, 2000: 47). Further evidence for the long interest in ancient human remains comes from British newspaper archives dating back to the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries. Articles can be found back as far as 1719 reporting the discovery of skeletons near ancient sites, one of which comments that human remains have been found and are “design’d to be brought speedily to London and exposed to publick view” (*The Orphan reviv’d*, 1719) (Figure 6.9).

Several theories are put forward for this popular interest in human remains within the UK, some of which were touched upon briefly in Chapter 4 alongside a discussion of



news values. Human remains are familiar, yet detached from the living, and have the potential to evoke emotions in a way that other aspects of archaeology cannot.

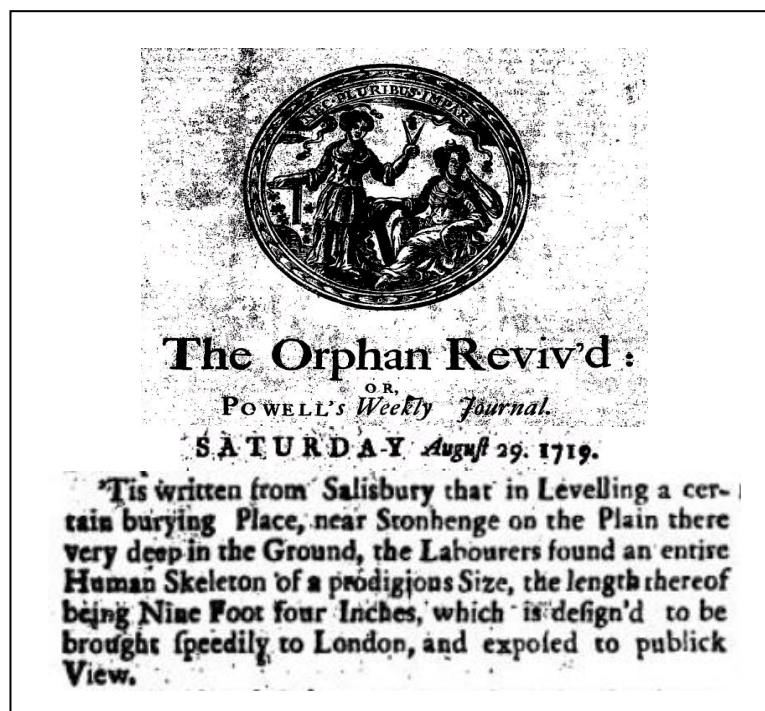


Figure 6.9: Example of a newspaper article from 1719 reporting the discovery of ancient human remains.

As introduced above, archaeology is about people, and there is a sense that human remains provide a connection to the actual people in the past. Sofaer (2006: 1) suggests that interest in skeletons in the Western world comes from the idea that by personifying the past they “provide windows into the past”, making it seem a friendlier, more tangible place. Referring to Tollund man, the Danish bog body from the 4<sup>th</sup> Century BC, Sanders (2009: 1) observes that his body “functions as a gateway to the past in which we can imagine ourselves because he brings us to it – *face to face*”. This link to the past was also commented on by Stone (1994: 200), who when referring to the display of a skeleton on display at the Alexander Kieller museum, commented that it “acted as an emotional handle to help bridge the gap of 5000years between the builders of the monument and the modern museum visitor”. In considering the interest from the perspective of palaeopathology, the study of ancient diseases through the analysis of human remains, Roberts and Cox (2003: 384) observe that “everyone has an inherent interest in their health”. They suggest that because we are

interested in our own health, we are naturally curious about disease, injury and death in past populations. The ideas here show that human remains are interesting because they are familiar.

In the present day, within the UK, the dead are separated physically and conceptually (Walter, 2004); the dead are no longer dealt with or viewed at home, and death and decay sit uneasily in a Western society that celebrates a healthy, living body (Giddens, 1991). This separation means that archaeology, museums and displays such as *Bodyworlds* exhibition where anatomical specimens of human bodies are on display, are some of the few places where the dead can be seen (von Hagens and Whalley, 2002; Walter, 2004; Sayer, 2010a). Being able to observe the dead through archaeology evokes emotions. Parker Pearson (1999:183) comments that it is a “grim fascination and morbid voyeurism” which underlie the interest in skeleton and other human remains such as mummies and bog bodies. By reminding us of our own mortality human remains create an emotional reaction and interest that perhaps other archaeological artefacts cannot provide (Walker, 2000). This emotional link can make archaeology, and life in the past, seem more real.

Harries and Fontein explore the underlying emotional reasons for the interest in the skeleton in their research group, ‘The Bone Collective’ based at The University of Edinburgh (2011). A central theme in this research group is the notion of emotive materiality and affective presence in giving human remains a special status beyond other archaeological material culture (Krmptich *et al.*, 2010). These concepts link to the notion of the ‘uncanny’, and the idea that bones captivate us because they are something that is both present and absent. As Harries (2010: 414) notes “this sense of presence that is at once in things, yet is also behind or before them, and so is never wholly materialised in the object”. The idea of the uncanny in relation to archaeological human remains has been discussed by others. Following Beam’s (1993: 33) distinction, Sanders (2009: 55) concludes that the casts from Pompeii are ‘eerie’ due to “the absence of what ought to be present”, while bog bodies are ‘uncanny’ due to “the presence of what ought to be absent”.

What many of these ideas surrounding the interest in human remains have in common is the idea that the physical remains are both person and object, and can provide a

unique link to the past. The ideas of the uncanny, and eeriness, as well as ideas of morbid curiosity towards human remains, relate to emotion. In particular, human remains provoke a range of reactions in those who look at them, from curiosity about those who lived in the past, to unease at a dead body. They allow a connection to the past which other aspects of archaeology cannot. As such, they fulfil a “desire for *affect*, to somehow feel both the presence and absence of those who have been, but are no longer” (Harries, 2010: 414).

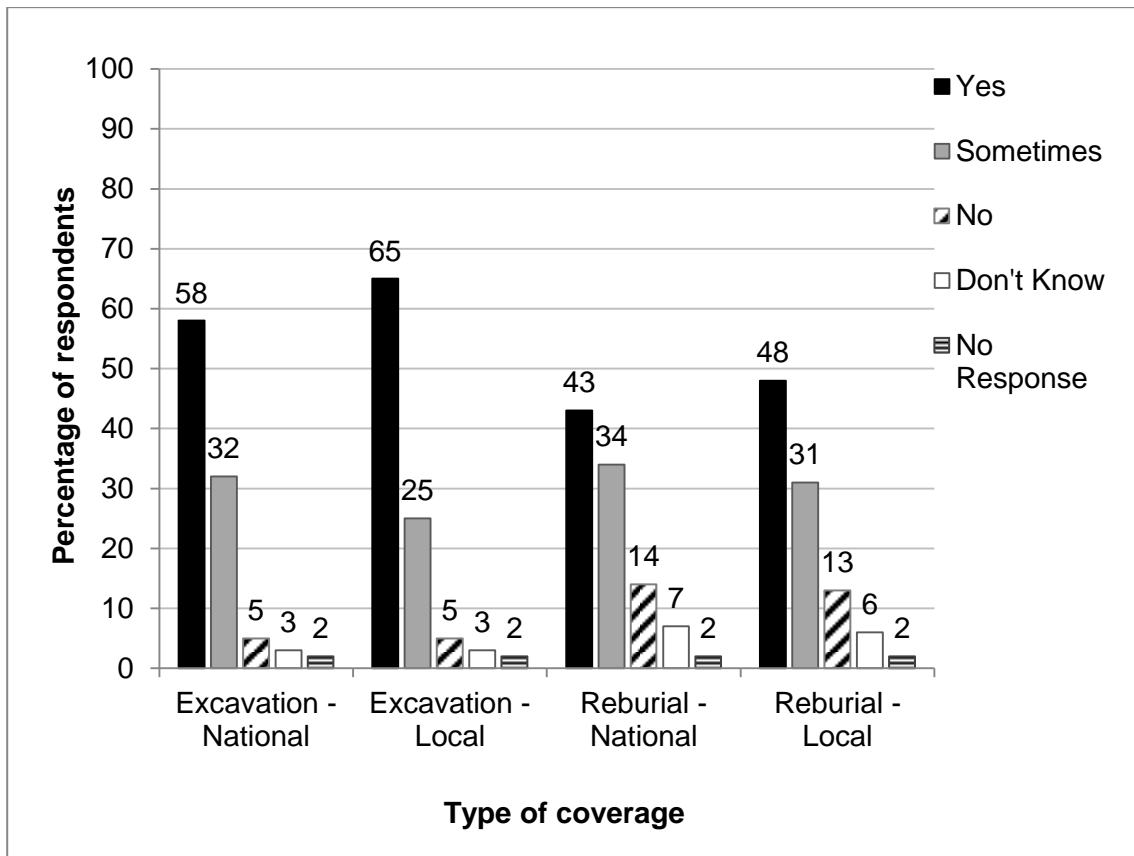
The following section takes the evidence from the literature further, combining it with data from the Park Survey to not only examine whether the public want to read about the excavation and reburial of human remains in the newspapers, but also which aspects they are most interested in reading about.

#### **6.4.3 Public expectations of newspaper coverage**

The Park Survey asked respondents whether they were interested in hearing about the excavation and reburial of human remains in local, and national, newspapers. The results shown in Figure 6.10 demonstrate that the majority responded ‘yes’ or ‘sometimes’ to both local and national newspaper coverage. Small differences could be observed between responses to coverage of excavation and reburial. Slight differences could be detected between the number of individuals responding ‘yes’ to being interested in local coverage (65% for excavation and 48% for reburial), compared to those responding ‘yes’ to being interested in national coverage (58% for excavation, and 43% for reburial). Additionally, over half of the respondents indicated ‘yes’ to being interested in hearing about the excavation of human remains (58% for national, and 65 for local) compared to those who were interested in hearing about the reburial of human remains (43% for national, and 48% for local). These responses indicate that excavation is of slightly greater interest than reburial, and interest in local coverage of such events is greater than national.

In addition to being asked whether they wanted to hear about the excavation or reburial of human remains within newspapers, participants of the Park Survey were asked through an open question what they would like to be included in such newspaper articles. Subsection 6.5.2.1 presents responses to coverage of the

excavation of human remains, while Subsection 6.5.2.2 presents the responses to coverage of the reburial of human remains.



**Figure 6.10: Percentage of respondents to the Park Survey who indicated they wanted to hear about the excavation or reburial in the local and/or national newspapers (n=100).**

#### 6.4.3.1 Excavation of human remains

Eighty one people responded to the open question “what would you like to be included in a newspaper story about the excavation of human remains?” with many giving more than one suggestion (Table 6.6). The most common response was that people wanted to know which period of time the skeleton was from (26% of respondents). Another common response related to wanting to know the identity of the individual, such as who they were (20% of respondents), and their age and sex (18% of respondents). Nearly a quarter (18% of respondents) wanted to know the cause of death of the individual.

In terms of the process of excavation, 21% of respondents indicated they would like to know why the human remains were being excavated, and 13% wanted to know the

location of the site. Only eight respondents wanted to know what would happen to the human remains after they were excavated. Individual respondents stated that they would like to know whether any family could be traced, what additional artefacts were found with the remains, where any research would be done, and where this might be ultimately be published.

**Table 6.6: Content that the respondents to the Park Survey would like to be included in a newspaper article on the excavation of human remains (n=100).**

Content	Percentage of respondents	Content	Percentage of respondents
Age of site	26	What makes it special	3
Reason for excavation	21	Information about the excavation	3
Who the person was	20	Follow up of research	2
Age and sex	18	General - what found	2
Cause of death	18	Outcomes of the research	2
History of site/context	16	Trace family	1
Location of site	13	Where the research will be done	1
Importance of the findings	11	When and where research will be published	1
What will be done with the remains	8	What artefacts were with the skeleton	1
Was it done respectfully	6	<i>No response</i>	19

#### 6.4.3.2 *Reburial of human remains*

Over two thirds (68%) of the respondents provided a response to the open question “what would you like to be included in a story about the reburial of human remains”? (Table 6.7). Eight of these respondents indicated that they were not interested in any details, and one respondent indicated that they did not want to know any details because it might lead to them being dug up. Two respondents also commented that they did not know what reburial was. Of those respondents who did want to know further details, the most common response was that they wanted to know why the skeleton was being reburied (n=22). Another common response, from 18% of respondents, was that they wanted to know more information about the skeleton and the osteoarchaeological analysis that had been done. A number of individuals were

interested in more information about the reburial process such as where the reburial took place (12%) and if it was carried out respectfully and properly (12%). Seven percent of respondents indicated that they wanted to know more about reburial in general and in particular any laws relating to it. A smaller number of respondents were interested in knowing whether family members had been traced (3%), or whether there had been any pressure to rebury the remains (2%).

**Table 6.7: Content that the respondents to the Park Survey would like to be included in a newspaper article on the reburial of human remains (n=100).**

Content	Percentage of respondents	Content	Percentage of respondents
Why reburied	22	Precautions taken	2
Information about the skeleton	18	Any pressure to rebury?	2
Where reburied?	12	Religious relics	2
If it was carried out respectfully/properly	12	Numbers involved	1
More information on reburial generally (laws etc.)	7	Don't know	1
How (e.g. was there a service/technical details)	9	Not interested - might lead to them being dug up	1
Why location chosen	3	Don't know what reburial is	2
Was family traced	3	Not interested	8
If they are still accessible?	2	<i>No response</i>	32
That it happened	2		

In examining the responses from the Park Survey relating to excavation and reburial of human remains, it is clear that the public do want to know about the excavation and reburial of human remains, and are interested in reading about them in the newspapers. Their responses reflect their understanding of what archaeology is and what it can do, as well as demonstrating their priorities and interest when it comes to specific details within the newspapers. This aspect will be looked at further in Chapter 7, where it will be compared and contrasted with the findings from the content analysis of newspapers (Chapter 4) and archaeologists' attitudes (Chapter 5). The following section moves on to look at the impact of newspaper coverage of human remains.

## **6.5 Impact of newspaper coverage**

While, as shown in Sections 6.3 and 6.4 above, the public may use newspapers and other mass media to find out about archaeology, and are interested in archaeology and human remains for several reasons, the process of communication is complex. The study of mass media is often about the search for effects and impact (McQuail, 2005), and this section focuses on this aspect. This section explores the level of recall of newspaper articles, and the level of trust in the newspapers. These two aspects are important in understanding the role the media have in presenting information and potentially influencing their readers (D'Haenens *et al.*, 2004; Kohring and Mathes, 2007). The Park Survey focused specifically on the excavation of human remains rather than on the retention or reburial of human remains because, as observed in Chapter 4, there were over eight times as many newspaper articles on the excavation of human remains compared to retention and reburial, and it was felt that respondents were more likely to have read an article on this topic.

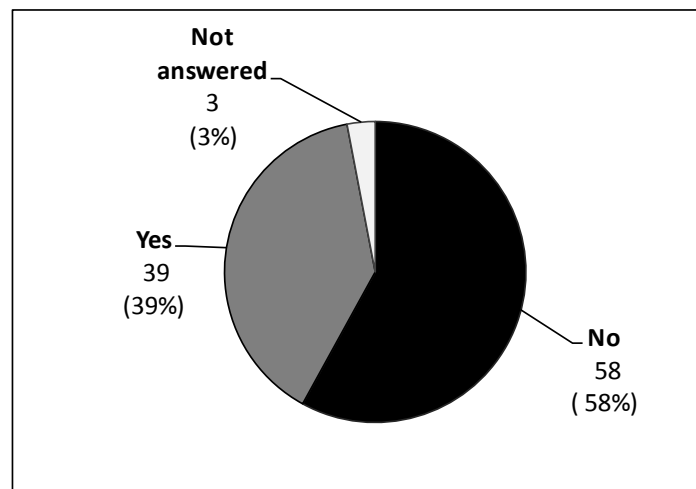
This section is divided into two subsections. Section 6.5.1 presents an overview of the level of recall and trust that the public have in the information that is presented to them through the newspaper. This sets the scene for understanding the impact of information presented by the newspapers. Section 6.5.2 explores the impact that newspaper coverage has had on archaeology, through an exploration of responses from interviews with archaeologists, the BBAO Survey responses, as well as drawing upon instances in the wider literature.

### **6.5.1 Recall and trust**

Exploring levels of recall and trust helps to start to understand how individuals perceive and evaluate news media (Kohring and Mathes, 2007). One of the key benefits of communication with the public, and newspaper coverage of the excavation, retention and reburial of human remains seen in Chapter 5, was that public knowledge would increase and they would be better informed. However, as Chapter 2 introduced, the issue of media effects is more complex than the media simply having direct effects (McQuail, 2005). Starting to assess the level of recall of newspaper articles gives an indication of knowledge acquisition, and therefore helps to shed light on the overall

impact of information reported within a newspaper (Jensen, 2011). To this end, the Park Survey asked respondents whether they recalled reading an article about the excavation or reburial of human remains.

Ninety seven individuals responded to this question. Fifty eight individuals did not recall reading a specific article about the excavation or reburial of human remains in any newspaper (Figure 6.11). Of the 39 respondents who recalled reading an article about the excavation or reburial of human remains, only 17 could remember any details.



**Figure 6.11: Proportion of respondents to the Park Survey who recalled reading an article about the excavation of human remains (n=100).**

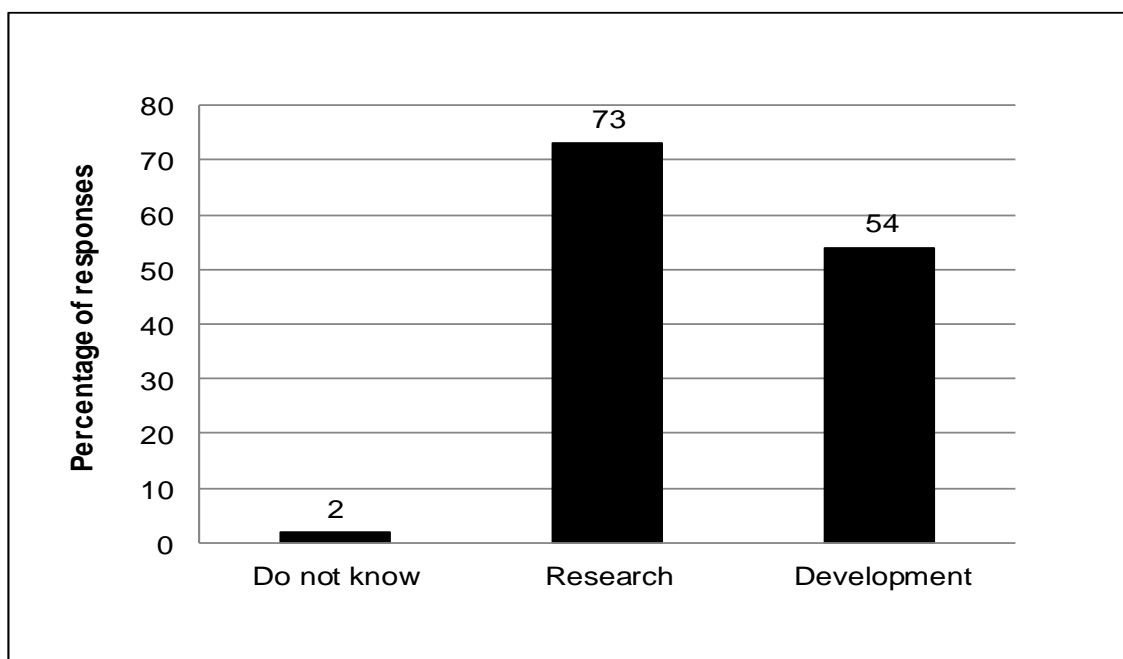
Park Survey respondents were asked to give any specific details they could recall from newspaper articles on the excavation of human remains. Fourteen respondents recalled the location of the remains (i.e. York, or Chester-le-Street Co. Durham) with one person elaborating on this to say that they remembered that the remains were found in the foundation of a building. Only one individual was able to give more detail about the human remains found, commenting that it was a newspaper article about a “Roman skeleton found in the basement of a Yorkshire museum - buried E-W suggesting Christian”.

Findings from the Park Survey are in line with several other studies which have found that level of recall of information from newspaper coverage on many topics is low (Berry, 1983; Gunter, 1987; Baumgartner and Wirth, 2012). Research in the wider field of mass communication and science communication has shown that recall of news

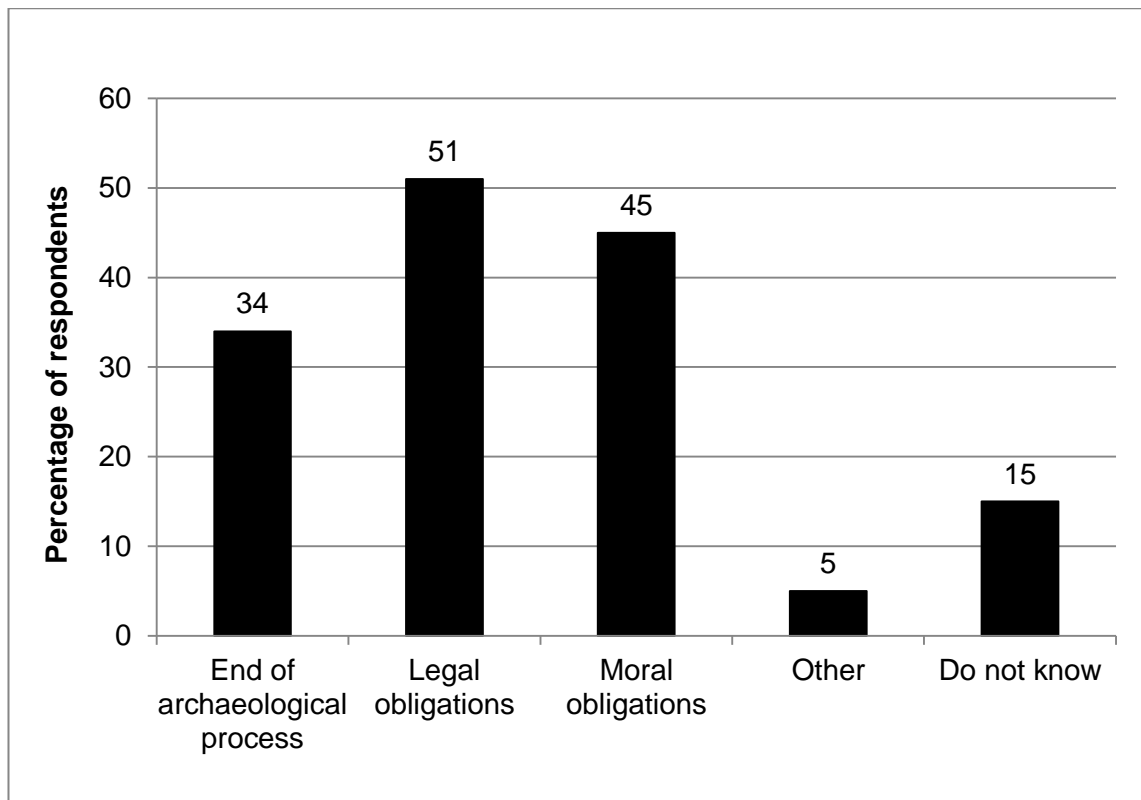


items is complex and dependent on a range of factors such as existing knowledge of the reader, attention, interest, content, order, and ‘mood’ of the article (Berry, 1983; Grabe *et al.*, 2003; Baumgartner and Wirth, 2012). People can often recall general basic concepts, but not specific details; there is “a ‘bottom line’ approach to news processing” (Jensen, 2011: 530). A number of studies also indicate that news stories which are personalised and closer to home are better recalled (Gunter, 1987; Graber, 1990; Valkenburg *et al.*, 1999). The responses to the Park Survey with the recall of location of remains over other details, follows this trend.

During the Park Survey, respondents were asked to select from a series of predefined answers what they felt were the reasons for the excavation, and reburial, of human remains. Respondents could select more than one response to these questions. Figure 6.12 highlights that most respondents (73%) felt that the main reason for the excavation of human remains was for research purposes, although many respondents (54%) felt that development was an additional key reason for the excavation of human remains. Only 2% of respondents replied with “do not know”. When asked what they felt were the reasons for reburial, just over half (51%) of respondents selected legal obligations for reburial, 45% of respondents selected moral obligations and 34% of respondents selected the end of the archaeological process (Figure 6.13).



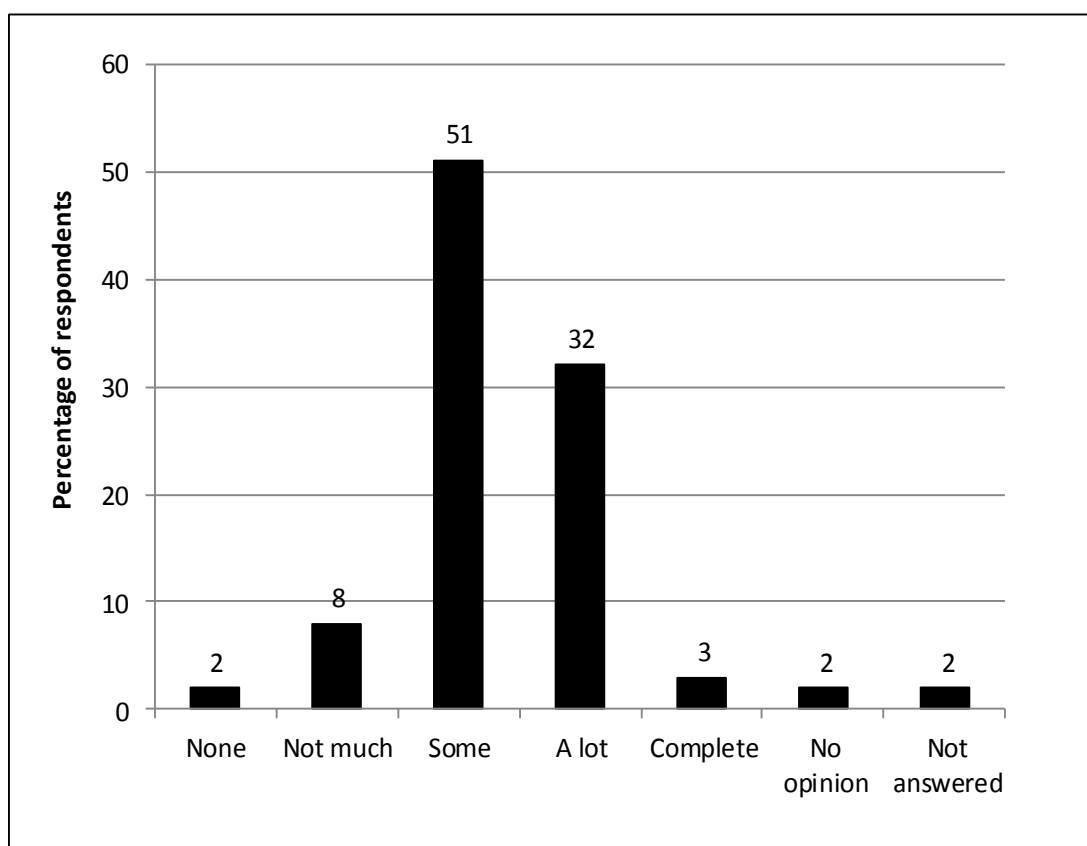
**Figure 6.12: Reason given for the excavation of human remains by respondents to the Park Survey (n=100).**



**Figure 6.13: Reason given for the reburial of human remains by respondents to the Park Survey (n=100).**

Respondents to the Park Survey were asked to indicate how much trust they had in the information presented to them about archaeology in the newspapers. Trust can be defined as the expectation of an individual that the word of another individual can be relied on (Tsfati, 2010), as the absence of persuasive intentions, and as impartiality (Hovland *et al.*, 1959). Trust is an important variable when considering media effects. If people do not trust their source of information about a subject then they are less likely to accept, and be influenced by its content (Kohring and Mathes, 2007).

Ninety eight individuals gave a response to the question of trust, and two individuals stated they had no opinion. Responses indicate that level of trust in the information presented to them by newspapers was mixed. Only three respondents had ‘complete’ trust in the information, 32% of respondents had ‘a lot’ of trust, but the majority of respondents (51%) had only ‘some’ trust in the information presented to them by the newspapers (Figure 6.14).



**Figure 6.14: Level of trust given by Park Survey respondents to the information presented by the newspapers (n=100).**

Level of trust in different newspapers was the subject of a YouGov survey (2007), with a summary of the results presented in Table 6.8. The YouGov survey showed that the amount of trust varied substantially by newspaper type, with 40% of respondents indicating that they had a ‘fair amount of trust’ in quality newspapers compared to only 6% who gave the same response for tabloid newspapers. Even when considering the quality newspapers, 35% indicated that they did ‘not trust [them] very much’.

**Table 6.8: Level of trust in the different types of newspapers (Source: YouGov, 2007)**

	Type of newspaper (n=1108)		
	Quality (%)	Mid-Market (%)	Tabloid (%)
<b>Trust a great deal</b>	4	1	0
<b>Trust a fair amount</b>	40	18	6
<b>Do not trust very much</b>	35	48	37
<b>Do not trust at all</b>	15	27	52
<b>Don't know</b>	6	6	5
<b>Totals</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

The findings above indicate that reception of information in a newspaper article is complex and perhaps not as straightforward as BABA Survey responses suggest.

### **6.5.2 Impact on archaeology**

The impact on archaeology from newspaper coverage of the excavation of human remains was explored through interview data, BABA Survey responses and supplemented through reports in the literature (e.g. Sayer, 2010b; Sample, 2011). During the interviews, senior archaeologists were asked whether they had experienced any feedback or impact from the public after a newspaper article had been published about the excavation of human remains. No instances of coverage of reburial were given by interviewees. Impact was seen at the public, professional, local and national levels. This section considers their responses, with discussion focusing on the range of impact rather than quantitatively assessing the extent and size of each type of impact.

#### *6.5.2.1 Positive impact*

Positive impact was observed by those interviewed in a number of areas. Firstly, there was evidence that information was reaching the public and generating further interest - a key aim of newspaper coverage. One interviewee stated that they had seen an increase in visitor numbers following the publication of a newspaper article, "we put press stories in to get the public to visit the sites, and that definitely works, so they are reading these things and taking on board what they are reading, but you tend not to get any [direct] feedback" (I-03). Further evidence of reaction was given by the managing director of an archaeology company who reported that following a newspaper article about human remains they received three months of traffic to their webpage in just one day (I-04). This last instance is important when considering the future role of the newspaper article, which is discussed in the following chapter.

It was not just the public who were reached through newspaper coverage; there was also evidence of positive feedback from other professionals. One interviewee reported that, "following on from the media stuff [there] has been academics getting back to me and saying you know 'we can do you some DNA analysis at a knock down price', you know, and this kind of thing" (I-04).

One interviewee (I06) gave evidence of impact on the archaeological understanding of an area as a result of newspaper coverage. An article about human remains was published in a local newspaper which resulted in members of the public contacting the local archaeology company to tell them their own stories about finding skeletons during previous work in the area. The interviewee commented that “it’s people sharing their memories of things...or they’ll have information...which is quite useful, even if it’s just an oral account you can get from them, you can add a little bit to it” (I-06). In the particular instance recounted by this interviewee, the excavation site only covered a limited geographical area. The information provided by the public enabled archaeologists to be aware of the wider site boundaries, and helped them to update the local HER. The ability of a newspaper article to open up dialogue and engage the local community with work that was being done meant that it enabled a positive two way relationship and knowledge transfer.

Looking beyond contemporary newspaper coverage, older newspapers articles also had a positive impact on archaeology. One interviewee reported that old newspaper articles could be used as a source of information about discovery of human remains in the past, as “sometimes old newspaper reports are the only reports of finds of human remains...we’ve got some stuff, some of our HER records are based on press cuttings from the 50s and 60s” (I-06). Newspaper coverage can therefore be seen to impact on archaeological knowledge directly, rather than through the public.

Instances from the wider literature also demonstrate the potential for positive impact on archaeology from newspaper coverage. One instance recounted by Sayer (2010) is the case of archaeological excavations that took place prior to the development of the new international train station at St Pancras in London. The archaeologists were brought in at the start of the excavations, but for a number of reasons were removed from the site, leaving many human remains to be removed by cemetery clearance, rather than by archaeologists. An archaeologist reported this to the *Evening Standard (London)*, which subsequently ran a newspaper article on the issue. The article had the effect of generating support from the local community and led to the archaeologists being brought back in on the project, and allowed to continue with their excavation.

A newspaper article published in early 2011 also had significant impact at a national level. On 4 February 2011 a letter appeared in *The Guardian* with the headline “Reburial requirement impedes archaeology”. This was signed by a number of leading osteoarchaeologists and archaeologists and voiced concerns about the application of the current exhumation licence to archaeology, and concerns that the requirements to rebury all human remains was hindering archaeological research. The publication of this letter was followed by a news item in the *Guardian*, “Legislation forces archaeologists to rebury finds” (Sample, 2011), and was later picked up later by *The Daily Mail*, “Put those bones back! Future of archaeology threatened by law forcing scientists to rebury ancient remains” (*Daily Mail*, 2011). The appearance in the newspaper led to the issue being discussed in parliament, and resulted in changes to the exhumation licence. The licence is now more flexible so that archaeologists are no longer required to rebury all human remains that are excavated. This instance demonstrates how newspaper articles can impact archaeology at government level, because “through the local and national press, public opinion may have a significant influence on the government stance in a particular issue ... and these decisions quickly flow in the direction of agency decision makers” (Brittain and Clack, 2006: 26). This indirect impact of newspaper coverage on those who influence policy is also known as the ‘agenda setting function’ of the mass media, and was introduced in Chapter 2 (McCombs and Shaw, 1972; Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007).

#### 6.5.2.2 *Negative impact*

In contrast to the positive instances recounted above, instances of negative feedback following a newspaper article about the excavation of human remains were very few, and often hypothetical. When asked about negative impact from newspaper articles, several interview respondents gave comments such as “only in an informal way ... the odd comment” (I-01) or “I can count on one hand the bad instances over the years...and this was usually inexperienced journalists” (I-04). In contrast to the real examples of positive impact from coverage, some respondents to both the interviews and the BABA Survey gave more imagined examples of impact. One interviewee commented that “there has been none in 13 years, but I can imagine instances where there would be a problem” (I-02), with a BABA Survey respondent commenting, “I

can't think of specific examples" (B-34). One interviewee felt that while there was no impact on, or from the public, there has been impact in other areas when "politicians have taken up causes" (I-02), although no further details were given.

It is possible to find instances in the wider literature of negative feedback from the public following newspaper coverage. One example, reported by Sayer (2010b), is that of an incident during the tram works in Sheffield in the early 1990s relating to poor screening of the human remains:

"complaints were received by the local paper who reported that... 'shocked office workers are overlooking the exhumation of bodies from the historic Sheffield Cathedral graveyard' (Dawes, 1993:1)...unfortunately the public who raised these concerns and the paper which reported them (*The Daily Star*), were unaware of the details of the operating license required to remove human remains" (Sayer, 2010:84).

Examples in the wider literature illustrate the conflicting nature of impact of archaeology in the wider mass media. Hills (2003) asked 'what has television done for archaeologists?' Using *Time Team* as an example she presents the benefits, but also potential dangers, of mass media in terms of attracting an audience. *Time Team* has also helped to highlight the wide variety of techniques such as 'geophysics' and experimental archaeology, demonstrating the wide range of tools that archaeologists have at their disposal, thereby enhancing public understanding. However, she also reports the negative side. By presenting an archaeological excavation as taking place over the space of a weekend, and not including the time consuming process of carefully recording each artefact, cut, fill and trench, it gives the impression that archaeology can be done quickly and neglects the issue of post excavation. A comment from a delegate at a session on *Archaeology and the Media* at the Annual Institute for Archaeologists Conference in 2010 highlighted this issue. The delegate commented that construction companies who find they have to bring in archaeologists prior to commencing work already have some understanding of the different phases and techniques that may be used on their site due to *Time Team*. However, the construction companies are also often under the illusion that the archaeological process will take much less time than it does in reality.

The lack of concrete negative examples from interviewees and in BABAQ Survey responses are in contrast to the stronger instances of positive impact from coverage. The findings therefore suggest that the impact from newspapers is in fact largely positive. This conflicts with the range of potential drawbacks given by BABAQ Survey respondents in Chapter 5, which were often expressed with greater concern than the benefits of coverage. The use of terms such as “I can imagine...”(I-02), and “I can’t think of examples, but...”(B-34) when asked about negative feedback and impact starts to suggest that the fear of negative impact is perhaps greater than actual negative impact. The reasons for, and implications of, this are discussed in Chapter 7 (Section 7.3).

In evaluating the overall impact that newspaper articles have on the public and archaeology more widely, interviewees (i.e. those who had had the most contact with the newspapers) were the most pragmatic about the impact. One interviewee commented that “newspapers are fish and chip wrappers the next day” (I-06), and another that “most people know it’s hype and anyone with a bit of intelligence knows that...” (I-04). This would also appear to be the advice of those who have more experience, one of whom suggested that “if a story is inaccurate, do not call the journalist and curse them, let it go and move on...these things are transitory and rarely give a false image of archaeology” (Stoddart and Malone, 2001: 462). The issue of experience is returned to in the following chapter.

## **6.6 Chapter summary**

This chapter used data from the Park Survey as well as BABAQ Survey data, interview responses and the wider literature to explore the role and impact of newspapers as a means of communicating with the public. Newspapers were shown to play an important role in communicating archaeology to the public, in particular in presenting information to a local readership. The level of interest in archaeology and human remains is high, particularly in a local context. The underlying reasons for interest such as archaeology’s ability to provide a sense of identity, authenticity to the past, as well as the thrill of discovery, alongside the emotional element of human remains helps to understand the elements which are reported in the newspaper and which are of



interest to the public and therefore a newspaper's readership. Section 6.5 addressed the issue of impact. Levels of trust and recall that the public have in newspapers all serve to complicate the issue of determining the impact that newspaper coverage may have. It would appear that while the public are interested in reading about it, and want to know specific details, the level of recall of particular details is low. However the multiple sources of information mean that determining impact from newspaper coverage, rather than the broader mass media, is difficult. The implications of this in terms of archaeologists' and osteoarchaeologists' perceptions of the role and impact of newspaper coverage are explored in the following chapter.

The chapter has highlighted the value of not just assessing people's opinions about archaeology and understanding what interests them about a topic, but also the value in understanding their role as consumers, and the ways in which they access and recall information. The following chapter explores the differing views of newspaper coverage and communication in greater depth as well as returning to the concept of impact, and perceived impact, on a subject.

## Chapter 7 : Discussion

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### 7.1 Introduction

The previous three chapters analysed the individual data sets, drawing out patterns and trends in the data. Chapter 4 explored the content of newspaper articles. Chapter 5 focused on the involvement of archaeologists in the production of newspaper articles, and evaluated archaeological and osteoarchaeological perceptions of newspaper coverage and impact. Finally, Chapter 6 explored newspaper coverage from the public perspective, considering the role newspapers play in obtaining information about archaeology, the public's level of interest in reading about archaeology and human remains, as well as their level of recall and trust in newspaper content. Chapter 6 also investigated evidence for impact on archaeology and osteoarchaeology as a result of newspaper coverage.

This chapter brings the different data sets together in order to explore a number of issues further. In doing so, it will address several of the remaining Aims and Objectives of the research project. The core Aims, as outlined in Chapter 1, were to explore and understand newspaper coverage of the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains, and to explore and understand perceptions and impact of that coverage. These aims are expanded upon in the following two sections.

Section 7.2 builds on Chapter 4, and investigates the changes over time to newspaper coverage in more detail. In doing so, it gives consideration to some of the external and internal factors that influence newspaper coverage, and helps to address Objective 1.2: to establish reasons behind newspaper coverage, and Objective 1.4: to establish why newspaper coverage may, or may not have changed over time. Section 7.3 takes the findings from the BBAO Survey and interviews presented in Chapter 5, and uses these as a starting point to explore the different perceptions and misperceptions of newspaper coverage of the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains. It examines the role of communication, and archaeological excavation from the perspective of the newspapers as well as archaeology. Section 7.3 then moves on to analyse the issue of impact and perceptions further, considering the extent to which

the perceptions of newspapers need to be re-evaluated. In doing so, Section 7.3 will help to address Objective 2.5: 'to interpret archaeological and osteoarchaeological attitudes towards newspaper coverage', Objective 2.6: 'to analyse the implications of archaeological perceptions of newspaper coverage'; and Objectives 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 which aim to compare perceptions of content and the issue of impact further.

Due the focus of the collected data being on the excavation of human remains, this chapter adopts a similar focus, although issues relating to the retention and reburial of human remains are noted where appropriate. The discussion and findings also offer insights into the broader topic of archaeology and the mass media.

## **7.2 Changes over time to newspaper coverage**

As the findings presented in Chapter 4 (Section 4.2) demonstrate, from the mid 1990s onwards there was a slight increase in the number of newspaper articles on the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remain each year, with a slightly more pronounced increase in the mid to late 1990s. In addition to the overall trend, the number of articles on reburial appeared more consistently after 2002; there was a slight increase in the proportion of articles focusing on the process of excavation, rather than as revealing secrets; and the word length of articles got slightly shorter.

Although the increase in newspaper coverage was slight, when considered in relation to wider mass media coverage of archaeology (Section 7.2.1), which also increased at this time then the upwards trend is supported. The changes seen can be viewed in relation to a number of overlapping factors which are explored in the following subsections. Section 7.2.2 explores the wider public interest in archaeology and osteoarchaeology, Section 7.2.3 examines changes to the archaeological and osteoarchaeological profession, and Section 7.2.4 explores the changing newspaper landscape. While these factors are presented separately for the purposes of narrative, they overlap and intertwine and the relative significance of each factor is hard to ascertain. The main factors contributing to the increase are summarised in Figure 7.1

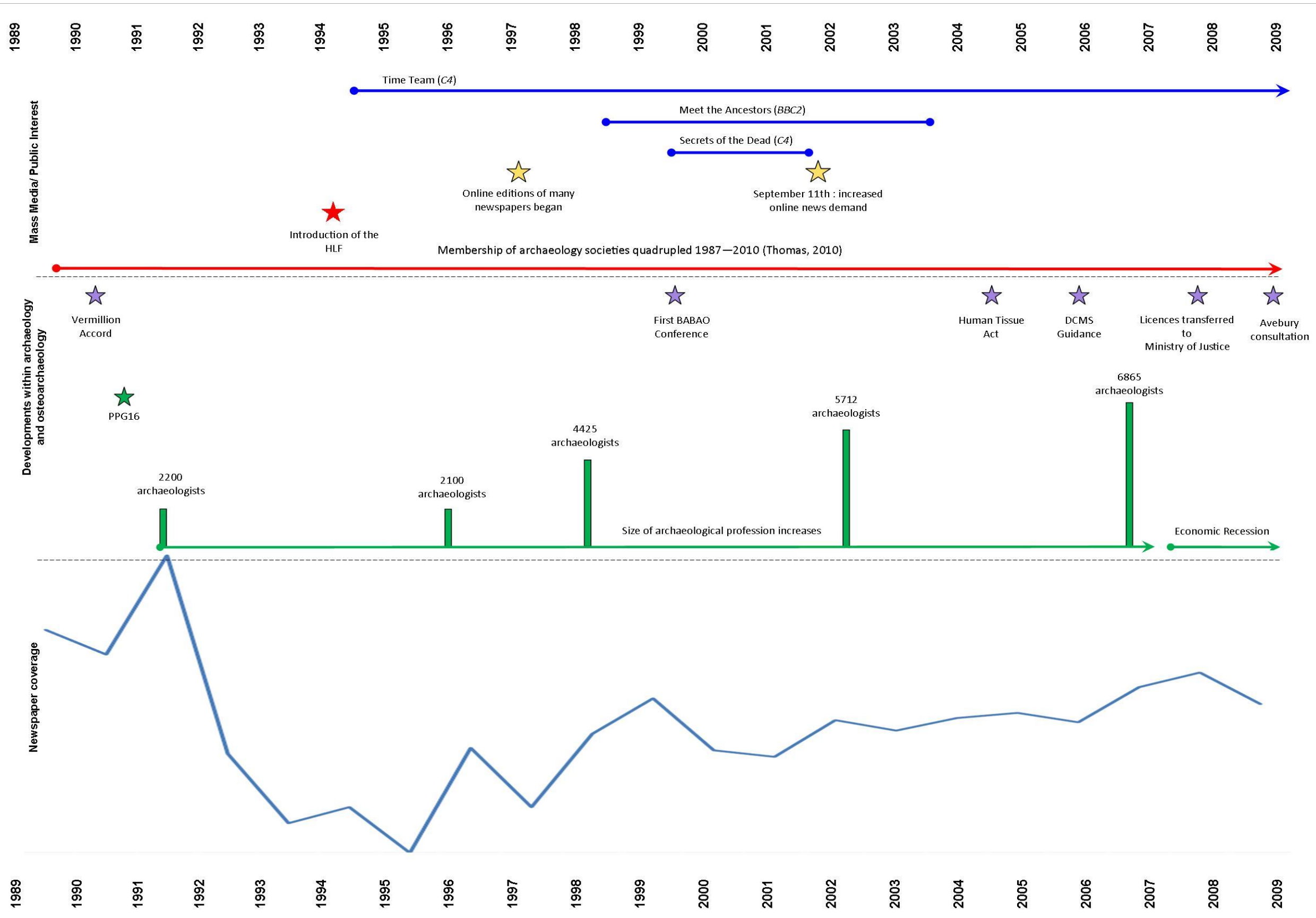


Figure 7.1: Changes over time in newspaper articles, plotted against archaeology in the mass media, public interest, changes to the archaeological/osteoarchaeological profession and the changing newspaper landscape.

### **7.2.1 Archaeology in the mass media**

The different mass media do not exist in isolation from one another (Bolter and Grusin, 1999). As noted in Section 4.4.2, the use of headlines in newspaper articles in this research project which include reference to other popular mass media programmes and films such as *Time Team* (Innes, 2009) or *Indiana Jones* reminds us of that link. As Chapter 4 highlighted, familiarity and co-optation are important news values, and popular culture provides familiar points of reference for the reader. It is therefore unsurprising that newspaper coverage of the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains draw upon, and follow trends in wider mass media coverage of archaeology. These connections means that the trend towards increased newspaper coverage of the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains first needs to be considered within the wider context of archaeology in the mass media, before the different influencing factors are considered.

Archaeology has been in the mass media almost as long as it has been a profession, and has been on television since the 1950s, through programmes such as *Animal Vegetable Mineral* (1952-1960) and *Chronicle* (1966-1986) (Clack and Brittain, 2007). However, it was the late 1990s which saw a pronounced increase in archaeological content in the mass media (Clack and Brittain, 2007; Kulik, 2007b), an era that has been referred to as the 'Age of Communication' (Kulik, 2005; 2007b). *Time Team* (1994 – 2012) in particular is often attributed with increasing the visibility, popularity and public understanding of archaeology within the UK, to the point where the phrase 'Time Team' has almost become synonymous with archaeology (English Heritage, 2008; Simpson, 2009). As Figure 7.1 demonstrates, the increase in newspaper articles over the time period follows the introduction of *Time Team* in 1994 and its subsequent popularity. It could be suggested that once *Time Team* started bringing archaeology to the public, and became popular, archaeology became a topic of interest to newspapers. As can also be seen in Figure 7.1, the increasing coverage also coincides with the television series *Meet the Ancestors* (BBC2) and *Secrets of the Dead* (C4) from 1998 and 1999 respectively. The increase in newspaper coverage seen in this research project therefore echoes the increasing coverage of both archaeology, and more specifically osteoarchaeology, in the wider mass media in the mid to late 1990s.

It is unclear if this upwards trend will continue. Viewing figures for *Time Team* reached a peak of 2.5 million in 2008 (Conlan, 2012), and have been in decline since then, contributing to *Channel 4's* decision in 2012 to cut the show to focus on different types of history programming (Channel 4, 2012). Further research, and repeating this study, would be necessary to establish continuing trends.

The trend towards increased coverage of archaeology in the different mass media through the 1990s and into the 2000s can also be seen in related subjects such as history and heritage. Cannadine (2004: 1) notes that for history at this time there was “an unprecedented interest... in the newspapers, on radio and on film, and (especially) on television; and from the general public who, it seemed, could not get enough of it”. A number of factors have been suggested for the increasing public interest in heritage, history and archaeology, and therefore newspaper coverage, which the following section investigates further.

### **7.2.2 Public interest**

Increased mass media coverage of archaeology, as well as the newspaper coverage of the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains through the 1990s and into the 2000s can be attributable to a growth in public interest. In her PhD thesis Kulik (2005: 2) suggests that the increased public interest in archaeology was amongst other factors, a product of the times, remarking that the approach of the millennium “was likely to create a climate in which retrospection in general, and subjects like history and archaeology in particular, would flourish”. This sentiment was also echoed by Cannadine (2004: 1) who mused whether the combination of the millennium, the Queen’s Golden Jubilee and the death of the Queen Mother in 2002 could have “prompted unprecedented outbursts of national retrospection”. While these comments reinforce the idea that there was increased public interest during the late 1990s, they perhaps ignore the deeper social and political changes leading up to this time period.

Subjects such as archaeology, heritage, and history were starting to become more popular with the public both nationally and locally during the 1980s and 1990s (Cannadine, 2004; Bower, 1995). Merriman (1991) noted the increasing number of

visitors to heritage sites in the 1980s. At this time there was an increasing emphasis on making heritage accessible to all, creating what Hewison (1987) dubbed the 'heritage industry'. In particular, there was an interest in heritage and history at a local level seen in the rise in community archaeology within the UK through the 1990s (Tully, 2007; Smith and Waterton, 2009; Moshenska and Dhanjal, 2012), with membership of archaeology societies and groups quadrupling since the 1980s (Thomas, 2010) (see Figure 7.1).

Increasing interest in local heritage, history and archaeology has both social and political underpinnings and can be considered alongside a wider shift in heritage from what Samuel (1994: 161) describes as a move in interest from 'sceptre and sword' (the national) to 'hearth and home' (the local). From a social perspective, increasing interest in community and the local has been attributed in part to resistance to increasing globalisation, and increased resistance to expanding development of local areas since the early 1990s (Doherty, 1999; Reed, 2008). Castells (2004: xxiii) observes, "the more the world becomes global, the more people feel local". In such a world it has been observed that "men and women look to groups to which they can belong, certainly and forever, in a world in which all else is moving and shifting" (Hobsbawm, 1996: 40). This need to feel a sense of place can in part be attributed to a loss of identity, dissatisfaction with the present, and a growing population (Bower, 1995).

The idea of heritage and its connection with archaeology is complex, and the notion of heritage has undergone a re-theorisation since 2000, with the move towards heritage as a verb, as a process, rather than as a thing (Smith, 2006; Harvey, 2001). A full discussion of the field of heritage is beyond the scope of this thesis, however, at a broad level, it can be argued that archaeology, and as such, human remains, in a variety of ways, help people to define their sense of identity and affiliation with a place (Richards, 1999). Archaeology, and human remains in particular, provide a sense of connection to the past (Sofaer, 2006); archaeological human remains are a tangible reminder that people have been in a place, occupying it and using it for centuries, and to some extent human remains can be said to make heritage 'knowable' (Smith and Waterton, 2009). By extension, the reburial of human remains, placing people back in the locality they originated, can also be perceived as helping to build a sense of the

local identity and continuity in a place. A number of the respondents to the BABAO Survey commented on this, observing that reburial was done on behalf of the community, and by returning human remains to the ground it builds a sense of community. Local news has been described as both supporting and encouraging attachment to place (Hoffman and Eveland, 2010); therefore, it is of little surprise that archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains, were increasingly covered by newspapers.

The increase in public interest in, and community engagement with, archaeology towards the end of the 20th Century also had a political dimension. Isherwood (2012: 10) observes that the idea of community “became central to government policy with New Labour”. With this, there was a perception that in order to reduce crime and increase a sense of security, a ‘cohesive community’ needed to be developed, which in part could be achieved through community engagement (Home Office, 2001; Home Office, 2004). Archaeology can “contribute towards the creation of a shared identity with a common sense of belonging” (Isherwood, 2011), and as such there has been a provision of funds for community archaeology projects. The introduction of the HLF in 1994 (see Figure 7.1) supported and allowed the development of the public’s engagement with archaeology (Heritage Lottery Fund, 2012). As a result of the political interest, opportunities for public involvement and engagement increased, and the public’s interest in the archaeology has flourished since the late 1990s and early 2000s. Alongside this, as Section 7.2.3 discusses further, there was an increasing drive to justify the spending of public money through increasing the public’s understanding of certain subjects, particularly the sciences.

### ***7.2.3 Changes to the archaeological and osteoarchaeological profession***

While increasing public interest in, and engagement with, topics such as archaeology, heritage, and human remains, provided a reason for newspaper to increasingly cover these topics, there were also increasing number of these events for newspapers to cover from the early 1990s. As presented in Chapter 2, archaeology as a profession has changed substantially since the early 1990s. PPG16 was introduced in 1991, with its successors PPS5 (in 2011) and NPPF (in 2012) in England, with similar frameworks in



place in the rest of the UK such as NPPG5 in Scotland. These guidelines led to a large increase in developer led archaeology, reaching a peak in the mid-2000s (Fulford, 2011).

This proliferation of archaeology inevitably increased the number of human remains discovered and, in many cases, excavated (Roberts, 2009). Not only was there an increasing number of local archaeological excavations to be covered by the newspapers and human remains to be found, but the locations in towns and cities increased the visibility of archaeology to the public, and fuelled their interest. Moreover, the guidelines associated with the developing archaeological profession brought with them an emphasis on communication with the public, and the acknowledgement of the importance of outreach (McAdam, 1999), which, as explored earlier, the newspaper can provide.

The value placed on communicating with the public can also be viewed as part of a wider movement within many professions, with the need to demonstrate their relevance to society. The Public Understanding of Science movement emerged in the mid 1980s following a report produced by The Royal Society entitled 'The Public Understanding of Science' (Bodmer, 1985). This report was a product of Thatcherite Britain in which there was an increased need to justify public expenditure. Increasing the public's understanding of science was related to the need to improve public competency in science, which would generate support for government funding of research and development (Miller, 2001; Stein, 2001). The increasing professionalisation of archaeology and the implementation of regulations and guidelines, which have been discussed earlier, meant that the "state and its agents act on behalf of the public through the planned implementation of cultural resource management strategies" (Merriman, 2004:3). As archaeology is acting on behalf of the public, there is a need to be socially accountable and newspapers offer a portal for this. Several BABAO Survey respondents and interviewees echoed this sentiment, with one interviewee (I04) commenting, "as a company, unless we are getting the message out to the general public then we are failing...there should be public benefit and unless that's there it's hard to justify".

As Chapter 2 discussed, the growing appreciation of the need to communicate and be transparent is of heightened importance to osteoarchaeology (BABA0, 2007; Roberts, 2009), and increasing newspaper coverage could be linked to this. Awareness of the diversity of views regarding human remains, and the need to take these into account when considering human remains became important following the adoption of the Vermillion Accord in 1989 (see Section 2.2.1). However, in depth discussions and changes relating to human remains within the UK did not occur until the early 2000s, with the introduction of guidelines and guidance such as those issued by the DCMS in 2005. It was not until 2007 that human remains from on-going archaeological excavations in the UK began to be affected with the changes to exhumation licenses as discussed in Chapter 2. These changes are later than the gradual increase in newspaper coverage seen in this research project. It would therefore seem that the increase in newspaper coverage of the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains is largely linked to the increase in interest in archaeology more generally, rather than being related to on-going discussion and changes within osteoarchaeological practice.

While the overall number of articles on the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains increased in line with mass media coverage of archaeology more generally, the data showed that there was an increased consistency in the proportion of newspaper articles covering reburial from 2002 onwards (Section 4.2.1) and in those which included the fate of human remains (Section 4.6.3). The timing of this consistency reflects the changing guidance and discussions relating to human remains noted above. With increasing awareness, changing attitudes and sensitivity regarding human remains there is an increasing need to be seen to be acting ethically (Parker Pearson, 1999; Sayer, 2010b). A number of BABA0 Survey respondents commented on the need to report reburial of human remains in order to “create a greater understanding with local communities” (B-48), and newspaper coverage reflects this.

Finally, the data collected from interviewees in this research, as well as the wider literature on archaeology and the media (e.g. Clack and Brittain, 2006) offers further explanation for the increase in coverage. Archaeologists, and particularly those who deal with the mass media, are becoming more media aware, and are starting to

become increasingly efficient at communicating with journalists. Interviewee I-04, whose company had been very successful with newspaper and mass media coverage, commented on the change within their company as to who was involved with the newspapers. It had begun with just the managing director being responsible for coverage, but with increasing experience and success in dealing with the mass media, including newspapers, more people were now involved in the process. The growing experience in communicating with newspapers is being shared, and as a result, there is a growing control, proactiveness, confidence and understanding of the processes of such publicity. A carefully prepared press release is often created in advance and issued to accompany an archaeological excavation, or in response to queries about an excavation. However, there is still some way to go in a general acceptance and understanding of newspaper coverage within the archaeological community.

While newspaper coverage increased throughout the 1990s and 2000s, as noted in Section 7.2.3 above, it is unclear if this trend will continue and further research will be needed to determine if this continues or is just a fluctuation. However, it can be considered briefly in relation to two factors. Firstly, there has been an economic decline from 2008, which affected the archaeological profession. The decrease in the number of excavations and projects can be observed through the decrease in the number of archaeologists from 4036 in 2007, to 3669 in 2010 (Aitchison, 2010), and also in the funding cuts to organisations such as EH who have been subject to a 32% cut in their grant from the government for the period 2011-2015 compared to 2010-2011.

Secondly, as explored in Chapter 2, and earlier in this section, there is the increasingly sensitive nature of the human remains and the image of such work in the public sphere. As noted above, while discussion relating to human remains had been on-going for a number of years, this was largely within the profession and the different cultural groups affected. It is only recently that events such as the Avebury consultation have moved the debate into the wider public consciousness (see Figure 7.1). This therefore takes the issue beyond the concern of archaeologists. Archaeology is part of the planning process, and as such does not only affect archaeologists, as one interviewee (I-01) noted, developers of a site are often concerned about public

relations, and can be uneasy about it becoming widely known that they are disturbing human remains.

#### **7.2.4 The changing newspaper landscape**

An additional factor is likely to have contributed to the increased newspaper coverage over the 1990s and 2000s, that of the changing nature of newspapers, which was introduced in Chapters 2 and 3. Since 1997 several major changes to the newspaper industry have occurred and can be seen in Figure 7.1. Online editions of several major newspapers began in the mid to late 1990s, with the *Daily Telegraph* launching their online edition in 1994 (Ofcom 2007). With the attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York on 11 September 2001, there was a global rise in demand for immediately updated news that an online format could provide (Allan, 2006). The introduction of online editions of newspapers meant that newspapers were no longer confined to a set number of printed pages; there is in theory an infinite amount of space in which to publish a larger number of stories on a wider variety of topics than had previously been the case (Allan, 2006; Thurman and Myllylahti, 2009). Even taking into account the introduction of the BBC news online in 1997, there was an overall increase newspaper coverage in the late 1990s which coincides with the transition online.

However, while newspaper coverage increased over time, the amount of space given to each newspaper article (the word count) did not. As noted in Chapter 3, factors such as time pressures and staffing levels remain. These still constrain the number of articles and time available for journalists to research and understand their story (Allan, 2006; Mitchelstein & Boczkowski, 2009). In fact, the move online and constant need to produce news, rather than daily deadlines, has led to an increased workload for journalists, with the potential consequence that while there may be more stories, they may not be of as a high a quality (Quandt, 2008). This issue was not assessed in the current research project, but could be of interest for future research. The move to online newspaper articles also has implications for the way in which information is accessed and consumed by the reader, which in turn has implications for their engagement with archaeological news stories. These latter issues are returned to in greater depth in the following section and chapter.

### **7.3 Perspectives on newspaper coverage of the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains**

As noted previously, the newspaper article is a means to mass communication (Oliver and Myers, 1999; Williams, 2003; Brittain and Clack, 2007), and as such, it provides archaeologists and osteoarchaeologists with a means to reach the public with whom they increasingly strive to communicate (McAdam, 1999; Roberts, 2009). However, as the data presented in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 considered, the newspaper article is far from a straightforward means of communication. Different perceptions exist between archaeological and osteoarchaeological practitioners, and newspaper professions regarding the value of the subject matter, the purpose of communicating with the public, and consequently attitudes towards the content of the newspaper article.

This section explores these different perceptions further. While there is a particular focus on coverage of the excavation of human remains, the discussion offers insights into newspaper, and mass media coverage, of archaeology more broadly, thereby contributing to wider discussions in this developing field of research. In doing so, it considers the wider issue of whether concern expressed by archaeologists in relation to mass media coverage is warranted. This section is subdivided into five parts. Section 7.3.1 returns to the BBAO Survey responses and interviews, examining perceptions and expectations of newspaper coverage in relation to the underlying reasons for communicating with the public and the wider context of archaeological human remains. Section 7.3.2 contrasts this with the perspective of the newspaper, exploring the role of a newspaper article within society, and also the place of newspaper articles on the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains within the wider news landscape. Section 7.3.3 takes the observations from the previous two subsections and expands on the key divisions between attitudes to newspaper content. Following this, Section 7.3.4 returns to the public dimension, revisiting the impact of the newspaper article on public perceptions, and considering this in relation to BBAO Survey respondents' expectations.

### **7.3.1 *Osteoarchaeological and archaeological perspectives***

In order to explore and understand attitudes to newspaper coverage, it is first necessary to return to the underlying reasons for communicating with the public more generally, which were touched upon in Section 7.2.3, as well as in Chapters 2 (Section 2.2.4) and 5 (Section 5.4.2). This background is important, as Peterson (2009: 514) observes, “perceptions of the role of the newspaper press may vary considerably, reflecting the different assumptions about the nature of science and the role of the scientist”. Perspectives offered by BBAO Survey responses can be considered as indicative of the range of views taken by specialists in a subject and can be considered alongside the broader archaeological literature and interviewee responses.

Coverage of archaeology and human remains within archaeology, by the mass media can be considered part of ‘public archaeology’. An area which Moshenska (2009: 47) succinctly defines as “that part of [archaeology] concerned with studying and critiquing the processes of production and consumption of archaeological commodities”.

Perspectives on public archaeology can be placed within two broad models which were introduced in Chapters 2 and 5: the knowledge deficit model, and the multi perspective model.

Many of the responses to the questions of benefits and drawbacks of newspaper coverage in the BBAO Survey reflected the knowledge deficit model of public engagement. Responses showed that many felt that the public were largely unaware of the processes involving archaeological human remains, with many comments reflecting a need to inform the public so that they would better understand the work of osteoarchaeologists (e.g. B-14, B-42).

The knowledge deficit model, introduced in Chapter 2 (Section 2.2.4), which many of the BBAO Survey responses reflect, can be viewed in relation to the broader public understanding of science movement which began in the 1980s (Bauer, 2009) and was explored in Chapter 5 (Section 5.4.2) and Section 7.2.2. This movement emerged from the idea that there should be increasing public knowledge of science because it would improve public competency. At the heart of the both models is the idea that the public lack knowledge that can be given to them by archaeologists or scientists. Improving public understanding of a subject creates a public who can then make more informed

democratic decisions. This in turn helps to justify and gather support for government spending in research and development (Irwin and Wynne, 1996: Bauer, 2009).

Additionally, from this perspective it is believed that “a knowledgeable public would view policy debates involving questions of ethics, risks and uncertainty as experts do” (Nisbet and Goidel, 2007: 421). Holtorf (2007b) splits ideas relating to the knowledge deficit within archaeology further, into the ‘education model’, which aligns closely to the knowledge deficit model; and the ‘public relations model’, which adds another dimension to the discussion by suggesting that archaeologists “not only seek to transmit information and knowledge...but also to market archaeological values, products and services” (Holtorf, 2007b: 155).

BABAO Survey responses indicated a desire to ensure that the reasons, and the way in which archaeological excavation of human remains are carried out, be put across clearly in the newspaper article (e.g. B-04, B-06, and B-42). Within the BABAO Survey responses, there was an emphasis on demonstrating ethical and professional archaeological attitudes to human remains, on getting facts right and not making more of the data than it could actually say (B-15, B-18). Additionally, some felt that by reporting information in this manner, and ensuring the correct archaeological perspective was presented, it would result in a more informed public. This in turn meant that the public would be more supportive of archaeologists’ and osteoarchaeologists’ work in light of current discussions relating to reburial of human remains. Additionally, reaching the public through newspaper coverage was felt to justify taxpayers’ money and potentially generate funding (I-01). These ideas all reflect the knowledge deficit perspective.

The knowledge deficit view held by many BABAO Survey respondents in relation to newspaper coverage contrasts with more recent views on archaeology and the public, and science and the public, which encompass more multi-perspective views. Rather than engagement, or communication, being ‘top down’, from this perspective there is increasingly the view that archaeologists need to abandon “the notion that we are ‘discovering the truth’ on behalf of everyone” (Smith and Waterton, 2009:38).

Archaeologists should instead move to the idea that they are just one of a number of communities who are interested in the past, and have one perspective on that shared

heritage and what it should be used for (Smith and Waterton, 2009). Research from within science communication, as well as debates surrounding public archaeology, have also started to reconceptualise the relationship between science and society, and archaeology and the public, as Bauer comments, “science and technology stand in a relationship with society” (2009:225). This relationship is more complex than the knowledge deficit model would suggest. Ideas that fall into the multi perspective model challenge notions about the authority of science and archaeology and argue that there are multiple perspectives through which science, and by extension archaeology can be viewed (Hornig Priest, 2006; Nisbet and Goidel, 2007). As an alternative to the education and public relations model of archaeological public engagement, Holtorf (2007b: 160) offers the ‘democratic participation model’, in which “archaeology is a social practice, providing services for people’s own desires and demands”. Of particular relevance for this thesis is the idea within the multi perspective model that archaeology should be taken to the public “to meet [their] educational, social, and cultural needs” (Smardz, 1997: 103). However, what BABA O Survey respondents felt should be in the newspaper, does not necessarily correspond to what other groups want – an issue that is returned to throughout Section 7.3.

While there was a knowledge deficit view in relation to newspaper coverage of human remains evident in many BABA O Survey responses, the multi perspective model is being adopted more broadly in relation to attitudes to archaeological human remains, as discussed in Chapter 2 (Section 2.2). Perceptions towards human remains have been changing in recent years, with a re-evaluation of the role of the archaeologist and the value of alternative perspectives regarding human remains, as Walker (2000; 3) comments, “human skeletons are more than utilitarian objects of value for scientific research”. The need to engage the public, and take into account alternative views is evident in recent consultations (e.g. Thackray and Payne, 2010) and guidance (e.g. Church of England / English Heritage, 2005; DCMS, 2005). However, despite the changing attitudes to human remains more broadly within archaeology, these did not translate into the perceived benefits of newspaper coverage in this research project. Although they were present, relatively few responses to the BABA O Survey suggested that information should be made available to the public because it is everyone’s heritage and they should be made aware of what was happening (B36, B02), or that it



was beneficial to build a working relationship with the public and better understanding with the local community (B06, B48).

Merriman (2004:4 own emphasis) commented that there is “something of this deficit paradigm in many of the arguments given for the importance of public archaeology”, but the data from this research project suggests that there is a great deal of this deficit paradigm in the arguments for the importance of communicating with the public when human remains are the subject, newspapers are the medium for communication, and specialists are asked their views.

The views held by BABAQ Survey respondents can be considered in relation to three issues: as part of a wider sensitivity regarding human remains, as part of an expectation of newspapers and in relation to perceptions of media effects. The first two will be addressed in the following paragraphs, while perceptions of media effects will be addressed in Section 7.3.4.

Current concerns and sensitivities about archaeological human remains (Smith, 2004; Tarlow, 2006; Mays and Smith, 2009; Sayer, 2010b; Jenkins, 2011) and calls to be open about the processes involving them (Buikstra, 2006; BABAQ, n.d.), mean that it is unsurprising that there are such strong concerns relating to the need to communicate the archaeological process accurately, and to generate support for archaeological involvement with human remains. The sensitivities and changes in recent years led Sayer (2009: 199) to comment that, “many archaeologists now feel that it is ‘getting more difficult to work with human remains’”. Jenkins (2011: 58) also observed what she termed a ‘crisis of cultural authority’ within the museum sector in relation to human remains where “overlapping social and intellectual shifts have resulted in significant and widespread questioning of the purpose...weakening traditional sources of justification and contributed to a crisis of cultural authority”. While changes to the burial licence in favour of osteoarchaeology, and surveys of public opinion demonstrate support for the study of human remains, have occurred in the last couple of years (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2), data collection for the current research project took place in 2010. At that time, there was an increased level of uncertainty and insecurity surrounding the osteoarchaeological profession (Payne, 2008; Sayer, 2009;

Parker Pearson *et al.*, 2011), which meant that there was undoubtedly a heightened concern about public image.

In such a sensitive environment, the newspaper was seen as offering a means to communicate with the public. However, with this came a number of expectations. The concern from many BABA Survey respondents relating to missing details (B-15, B-19) and misrepresentation of events in newspaper coverage (B-15, B-45), indicates that many wanted newspapers to present an objective, accurate account of events. In this light, it can be argued that the newspaper article is perceived as being there to *inform* the public, and to *serve* archaeological purposes. BABA Survey respondents are not alone in this, newspapers are often perceived by those working within archaeology “as facilitators whose job it [is] to put across the work of the researcher to the general public” (Scherzler, 2009: 188). This expectation of communication through the newspaper is not confined to coverage of the archaeology, but is found throughout studies on science communication (Reed, 2001; Peters, 2005; Petersen *et al.*, 2009). However, the reality of newspaper coverage as will be seen in the following sections is very different.

### **7.3.2 *The newspaper perspective***

News was defined in Chapter 2, and can be considered as ‘new information’, an account of something happening in the world that is of relevance to its audience (Fiske, 1987; McQuail, 2005). It therefore often brings with it the expectation that it should be objective and neutral. However, news is complex, and, as detailed in Chapters 2 and 4, not all events can be considered news (Hall, 1973; Schudson, 2003). A newspaper article is constructed by a journalist within the constraints of the medium, and cannot be an objective account of reality (Hartley, 1982; McQuail, 2003; Allan, 2004).

News has been described as being essential to a democracy by allowing members of the public to be aware of events, and as something which enables the public to participate and be informed. Grabe (2011: 367) comments that “the journalism profession has been revered for its self-appointed mission to deliver informational nutrients to citizens who are, in theory, eager to absorb facts that deepen their

understanding and participation in democracy”. In fulfilling the role of informing the public, news and the newspaper article have also been described as a ‘fourth estate’, as an arena for a plurality of viewpoints (Bennett *et al.*, 2005; Allan, 2010: 17), rather than for presenting a single viewpoint, as perhaps many BABAQ Survey respondents hoped. Scherzler (2007: 201) comments on this in relation to archaeology suggesting that “if, for example, the general public want to have their say about the length of time an archaeologists is spending digging up their street, it is not up to the archaeologists to try and stop this”.

In addition to concepts of framing and news values explored earlier in Chapters 2 and 4, news can be classified into two types: hard news and soft news. These news types offer an additional way of thinking about the way in which certain events are thought of, and valued by newspapers. They have implications for how journalists view and produce stories, and the effects on an audience (Schramm, 1949; Tuchman, 1973; Boczkowski, 2009). Definitions of the two types of news are complex and different researchers use different dividing lines such as news focus, topic, production, and time-boundness (Reinemann *et al.*, 2012). Patterson (2000: 3-4) provides a useful definition where,

“hard news refers to coverage of breaking events involving top leaders, major issues, or significant disruptions in the routines of daily life, such as an earthquake or airline disaster. Information about these events is presumably important to citizens’ ability to understand and respond to the world of public affairs. Soft news...has been described... as news that typically is more personality-centred, less time-bound, more practical, and more incident-based than other news”.

A number of elements of the newspaper articles discussed in Chapter 4 help to place newspaper articles on the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains within these definitions. Firstly, the topic of human remains, although important to archaeologists, is unlikely to be defined as a major issue unlike the economy. As presented in Chapter 4, there were 413 newspaper articles included for analysis, a relatively small number of articles when compared to the number which exist on other topics such as politics or the economy. Secondly, the frequent framing of the excavation of human remains as a mystery to be solved, as a value, or a focus on

the process reflecting wider mass media coverage would suggest that these events fall into the soft news stories category. Thirdly, several newspaper articles about the excavation of human remains in the sample also contained reference to archaeology in wider popular culture and wider mass media such as *Time Team* or *Indiana Jones*, and as Section 7.2 demonstrates, the evidence suggests that human remains are viewed largely by the mass media as a particularly interesting part of archaeology, rather than as a particularly sensitive one. Finally, although it was felt important to some BBAO Survey respondents to report the excavation of human remains within a reasonable timescale in order for it to have more resonance and interest with the public, the evidence within some newspaper articles, where the excavation of remains had happened some time ago, again places it within the category of soft news.

In contrast to excavation, the retention and reburial of human remains were reported much less frequently. Reburial was largely reported either as a laying to rest of human remains, with an emphasis on the human aspect, or as the end of the archaeological process when it was used as a vehicle to discuss archaeological excavation and findings. These frames again suggest the 'soft news' element of human remains within archaeology.

Thinking about the excavation, retention, and reburial, as well as archaeology more generally, as soft news, helps to understand the reasons behind a focus on the personal, the sensational and the emotive in the newspapers (Reinemann *et al.*, 2012). These are different to the expectations of coverage that osteoarchaeologists have for an accurate, detailed account of the delicate process of excavating, retaining, and reburial of human remains.

### **7.3.3 *The gap between archaeology and newspapers***

The sections above suggest that there are underlying differences in attitudes to communication between specialists and journalists. This divide, as noted before, is not confined to human remains, or even to archaeology, and looking to wider studies on science communication can help to understand the differences in greater detail.

Reed (2001: 280) comments that scientists see themselves as engaged in “scholarly communication and paternalistic public education on behalf of science” whereas journalists see themselves as “engaged in criticism, entertainment and information”. This manifests itself as a concern about different elements of newspaper content with scientists preferring “to focus...on a serious, matter-of-fact, cautious, and educational style of communication” while journalists “do not completely disagree but look for overview knowledge, prefer clear messages, evaluative comment and an entertaining style” (Peters, 2007: 55). A summary of some of the key differences in attitudes to elements of newspaper articles based upon the findings from this study as well as the wider literature are summarised in Table 7.1. Two of these foci in particular serve to highlight the differences in attitudes to communication and the way in which they cause tension: the relative importance of details compared to the overview, and the level of certainty in the findings.

**Table 7.1: Differences in focus and role of communication between archaeologists and journalists (after Gunter *et al.*, 1999; Scherzler, 2007; Petersen *et al.*, 2009; Baron, 2010; Maille *et al.*, 2010).**

Focus	Science/Archaeology	Journalism
<b>Time to research and produce</b>	May take years	Short time to research and produce
<b>Specialism</b>	Specialist	Generalist
<b>Important element</b>	Results and method	Relevance to everyday life
<b>Level of certainty</b>	Wary of absolute	Do not like to communicate degree of uncertainty
<b>Topic versus Text</b>	Topic important	Text important
<b>Details versus overview</b>	Report: focus on details to overview	Press release: focus on overview to details
<b>Review</b>	Peer review	Audience review

Firstly, the inclusion or exclusion of details in a newspaper article was a key area of concern for BABAQ Survey respondents. As explored in Chapter 5 (Section 5.4) and in Section 7.3.2, the inclusion of details, such as the reason for excavation or guidelines followed, was felt to be important to many BABAQ Survey respondents. Guidelines were felt to help demonstrate that work was being conducted sensitively and ethically. However, as Chapter 4 (Section 4.6) demonstrated, details were not found to be as prominent within newspaper coverage as hoped. Only the reason for excavation was

mentioned with any consistency in the newspaper articles, while other details such as guidelines followed during excavation, were largely omitted from the newspaper articles in the sample.

The importance of details to the specialist, but exclusion of those details and the lack of newspaper interest in the exact details of methodology, is not confined to osteoarchaeology. During their study on the reporting of mercury science in Quebec's newspapers Maille *et al.* (2010: 70) observed that details were frequently omitted, which they felt was a problem because "methodology is one of the elements...that make science accurate and relevant and this is even more so when the issue is complex".

While details are important to a specialist in any discipline, omitting details is partly a product of the inverted pyramid style of reporting that newspapers adopt, with the emphasis being on an overview of the event, rather than on specific details (Baron, 2010). As noted in Chapter 2, most newspaper articles are subject to editing, and often simply lose their last paragraphs if they are too long (Bell, 1991: 45). As shown in Chapter 4, the average newspaper article on the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains was only 350 words long, and so it is inevitable that many details about the excavation process are lost, in favour of the findings, or potential findings. One interviewee (I-03) commented that even if details are stressed by the archaeologists, "they can just ignore it because that's not the interesting part from their point of view".

A second concern voiced by many BABAQ Survey respondents was the level of certainty portrayed in the newspaper with several respondents commented that newspaper articles often made more of the data than it could actually say (e.g. B-06). Again, this issue is not confined to the data in this research project, several researchers have noted that archaeologists are often concerned about this (Stoddart and Malone, 2001; Ascherson, 2004; Clack and Brittain, 2007).

This caution is understandable from an archaeological point of view. The ability to know the past through the archaeological record is complex, as archaeological data themselves are an incomplete record of the past (e.g. Harding, 2007). Being certain is

even more complex at the point of any archaeological excavation when the archaeological process has just begun, and analysis has not been completed. The uncertainty and not wanting to make more of the data than they believe it can show, is of heightened concern when it is human remains and the lives of past people that are the subjects.

However, this lack of certainty at the point of excavation is not what journalists want to report. This is partly the result of the nature of the profession, and the limited space available in which to construct an article, but is also likely to be influenced by the journalists' and their readers' expectations.

Few people in the mass media have first-hand knowledge of what archaeology is, and therefore what they do know comes from popular stereotypes in the wider mass media (Hills, 2003; Henson, 2005). As noted earlier, the role of *Time Team* in influencing public perceptions of archaeology would appear to have been crucial, to the point that *Time Team* has become a by word for archaeology (Clack and Brittain, 2007; Simpson, 2009). While such presentations of archaeology have benefits in so much that the public are now much more aware of what archaeology is, the programme has also led to the expectation that excavation and interpretation of archaeological findings can be achieved almost at the same time, or within a very short time frame (Cleere, 2000: 91).

Similar expectations, as a result of popular culture, exist about the human skeleton, as Waldron (1994: 29) observes "the fully articulated skeleton exists only in the minds of writers of fiction...the reality is quite likely to be something that resembles a well-chewed digestive biscuit and that may be about as easy to deal with". In reality the careful analysis and interpretation of findings from archaeological excavation is a much longer process than many members of the public might expect, and as discussed in Chapter 2, post excavation analysis and final reports often take months to produce. The expectations that archaeological and osteoarchaeological interpretation can be done quickly are perhaps changing as the result of more recent television programmes such as *History Cold Case* on BBC2 (2010 – present), although no research yet exists into this.

The need for journalists try to put across certainty where there is none from the perspective of the archaeologist causes an uneasy relationship with archaeology and can lead to misreporting as the cartoon in Figure 7.2 exemplifies.



**Figure 7.2: Misunderstandings between archaeologists and journalists (Tidy, in Stoddart and Mallone, 2001: 462).**

Tensions between journalists and osteoarchaeologists can be understood as part of a wider gulf between journalists and scientists. Through understanding not just the differences, but also the underlying reasons for those differences, it can lead to more successful cooperation, and an improved relationship (Reed, 2001; Petersen *et al.*, 2009; Maille *et al.*, 2010). Peters (2007) offers a number of theoretical perspectives on the attitudes between science and the mass media which helps to articulate and understand the differences.

The first of these theoretical perspectives is that of intercultural communication, which was in evidence in the discussions above. This is based upon the idea that the two groups belong to “different professional cultures of science and journalism, with different languages, background values, relevance systems, definitions of roles and situations, and values (e.g. newsworthiness vs. accuracy)” (Peters, 2007: 54). This view was also taken by Gunter *et al.* (1999: 375) who conducted research into public understanding of biotechnologies, and who felt that conflict was “undoubtedly rooted in cultural differences between the two professions”. The findings from the BABAO Survey and newspaper articles in this research project certainly help to demonstrate



the very different ways of viewing communication, as well as the different values placed on the subject matter and the role of newspaper articles.

The relationship can also be conceptualised as an interest conflict from a game theory perspective. Here, communication can be “seen as negotiations in which each side aims at maximising the own utility of the outcome of the interaction ‘game’” (Peters, 2007: 54). Again, the BBAO Survey responses, and the wider literature suggest that many see the newspaper as a means to reach the public and achieve their communication goals. By contrast, the newspapers are writing for their audience, and to ultimately sell more newspapers. The audience is the same, but the goals are different.

A third perspective offered, which links to the first, is to view the relationship from a systems-theory perspective. That is, archaeology and media are different social subsystems; they have their own logic and therefore cannot ‘communicate’ with each other (Peters, 2007: 55). The media observe science, or, in this case, the excavation of human remains. The result of that observation is a constructed version of reality based on a number of different factors including the constraints of the newspaper medium and existing perceptions of archaeology from wider mass media coverage of archaeology. Conversely, several researchers have commented on the way in which specialists within a discipline try to evaluate mass media (Pettit, 2001). McGeough (2006: 174) observed that archaeologists “tend to analyse films about archaeology in much the same way as one would criticise another archaeologist”. In doing so, they are perhaps trying to view it as something it is not, and, as the following section expands on, are missing the potential of the medium to promote their discipline.

These theories offer different ways to understand the archaeology-newspaper divide. In doing so, it becomes clear that concerns arise from fundamental differences between the professions. Although interviewee responses and the growing literature on archaeology and the mass media suggests the divide is starting to narrow, the range of responses collected during the BBAO Survey still suggest an uneasy gap. While there is misunderstanding on both sides, the nature of the relationship means that there is an uneven relationship. As many have commented before, archaeology needs the media far more than the media need archaeology (Stoddart and Malone, 2001),

and discussions of news values and framing in this thesis also supports this uneven relationship.

#### **7.3.4 The public and impact**

The ultimate goal of BABAO Survey respondents and, as seen from the literature, archaeologists, and newspapers is to reach and communicate with the public. As the section above shows, there are very different perceptions of that communication and the event being reported, although the perspective of the newspaper is perhaps the dominant one. Given this uneven relationship, it is worth returning to the public dimension, and issue of impact in order to place BABAO Survey respondents' concerns in perspective and assess the extent to which concern over newspaper coverage is warranted, and can be re-evaluated.

Over two thirds of the BABAO Survey respondents felt that newspapers had a large impact on public opinion, while nearly a quarter felt that newspapers had a slight impact on public opinion relating to archaeological processes involving human remains. This concern about impact is also reflected in wider archaeological discussions as presented in Chapter 1. A small number of BABAO Survey respondents gave further details on this, ranging from the perception that newspapers have a direct impact, to the idea that it was more subtle in its influence. Chapter 5 also indicated that most BABAO Survey respondents felt that newspapers should only *sometimes* cover human remains. In addition, as noted in Section 7.2, BABAO Survey respondents hoped that by presenting details and an accurate account of what was happening during the excavation and reburial of human remains, the public would be better informed and better able to support the archaeological endeavour. These assumptions can be considered in relation to evidence from both the Park Survey (Chapter 6), the newspaper content itself (Chapter 4), as well as the wider literature relating to media effects theory and research which was introduced in Chapter 2.

The Park Survey indicated that levels of trust in newspaper content was mixed, with relatively few individuals (35%) indicating they had 'complete', or 'a lot' of trust in the information presented to them through the newspapers. Additionally, over half (58%) of respondents to the Park Survey did not recall reading a newspaper article about

archaeological human remains in the newspaper. Only 17% of respondents could recall any details, and these were generally only the location of the remains.

Linked to the issue of recall, is the level of knowledge. The Park Survey found that more respondents believed that excavation of human remains was conducted for research purposes (73%), rather than in advance of development (54%). These responses are inconsistent with results from the analysis of newspaper content, where it was found that 73% of articles indicated that the excavation was the result of development. The results from the BABA Survey are also inconsistent with the reality of archaeological excavation where, as reported in Chapter 2, over 90% of archaeological excavations in the UK are the result of development. Additionally, the relative importance of the newspaper article in reaching the public is complex, and as Bolter and Grusin (1999; 15) state “no medium today, and certainly no single media event, seems to do its cultural work in isolation from other media, any more than it works in isolation from other social and economic forces”. The Park Survey findings highlight the interconnected nature of the different mass media, and in doing so underline the difficulty in determining overall impact from any one source. The Park Survey showed that multiple mass media sources were used to access information about archaeology, and that most respondents read more than one newspaper (Section 6.3). These findings indicate that knowledge of the details of archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains does not arise solely from newspaper coverage.

Current media theory and research also contradicts the assertion by BABA Survey respondents that the newspapers have a large impact on their readership (Section 5.4.1). As discussed in Chapter 2, (Section 2.3) the concept of direct media effects is outdated (Neuman and Guggenheim, 2011; McQuail, 2005); effects are there, but are more subtle. The construction of attitudes to an issue is complex, as Bandura (2002; 124) observes, “people do not change from week to week what they regard as right or wrong”. This observation would seem to be particularly relevant when the topic of human remains is considered. In a subject such as human remains, where opinion is likely to be based on aspects such as religious and moral beliefs (Bienkowski, 2006), a newspaper article, even a negative one (of which there were relatively few), is unlikely

to have a significant effect on overall attitudes to the topic; as one interviewee observed, “I think people already know where they stand on the issue” (I-05). While newspapers may not be able to tell readers what to think, they can tell them what to think about (McCombs and Shaw, 1972: 180). As such, newspaper articles on excavation, retention, or reburial will raise interest in the events, but not necessarily impact on opinion.

Chapter 5 (Section 5.4.3) found that BABA Survey respondents gave more comments relating to perceived negative consequences of newspaper coverage than they gave to the benefits. A theme found in the wider literature on archaeology in the mass media. The negative examples given were also more tangible (e.g. disruption on site, calls for reburial) than the benefits, which on the whole were more intangible (such as increased knowledge, and justification of spending tax payers money). There was a real concern about negative public opinion, which undoubtedly contributed to the finding in Section 5.4.1 that BABA Survey respondents felt that newspapers should only sometimes cover the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains. However, many of the negative examples given by both BABA Survey respondents and interviewees were hypothetical and often followed by comments such as “...but I can’t think of any examples” (B45).

By contrast to the negative impact given by BABA Survey respondents, the evidence from the senior archaeologists who were interviewed, and who had direct involvement of newspaper reporting, was very different. They provided very few instances of negative impact. Most of those interviewed offered only positive instances of impact from newspaper coverage, such as increased visitor numbers to a museum (I-03) and increased traffic to the organisation’s webpage (I-04). Interviewees reported that they had experienced very little, if any, negative impact after a story about human remains was released.

Findings from the Park Survey and other surveys (e.g. Cambridgeshire Archaeology, 2006; English Heritage, 2009; Stuart, 2009; Butler, 2010), also indicate a positive attitude from the public towards human remains within archaeology. Decisions such as those not to rebury the human remains from Avebury (Thackray and Payne, 2010), and the increased amount of time archaeologists can retain remains also point to support

and acceptance (Sayer, 2011). The decisions indicate that despite concerns and uneasiness surrounding human remains, there is support from the public as a whole for archaeological investigation of human remains.

The sub-theory of the hostile media phenomenon can offer a perspective on why coverage is perceived negatively by many despite evidence to the contrary. As introduced in Chapter 2, the hostile media phenomenon is a theory of indirect media effects, in which partisans to a cause often perceive the mass media to be biased against them (Vallone *et al.* 1985). The causes of such perceptions have been argued to lie in a number of factors including selective processing of information. In particular, there is the idea of biased assimilation, in which people uncritically accept information which supports their assumptions, but ignore contrary evidence (Lord, Ross and Lepper, 1979). Another underlying concept of the hostile media theory is the concept that people are more critical about information in a mass medium as a result of their pre-existing perceptions of that mass medium. This would appear to be the case for archaeology and human remains, as noted in the observations above. There are anecdotes throughout the archaeological literature of poor mass media coverage, and “everyone has their media stories, unfairly we tend to remember the outrages rather than the smooth successes” (Stoddart and Malone, 2001:459). Consequently, because it is assumed that newspaper coverage is poor, it affects the way in which newspaper coverage is viewed. This idea is further supported by the differences between comments on newspaper coverage from those who generally had less experience but were closest to the topic (the BBAO Survey respondents), which were often more negative, and the senior archaeologists who were interviewed who were more positive and accepting of newspaper coverage. More in-depth studies into perceptions of mass media by archaeologists and osteoarchaeologists would allow this issue to be investigated further.

One further issue needs to be taken into account when considering impact of the newspaper on the public: the internet. As noted in Section 7.2.4, the newspaper landscape has changed rapidly in the last 20 years due to the increasing use of the internet (Gaskins and Jennet, 2012; Allan, 2006). Some newspapers have ceased to exist, and some are moving to exclusively online formats (Bird, 2009). With the move

online, the fate of traditional journalism is unclear (Gaskins and Jerit, 2012), with some studies suggesting that it is in decline (e.g. Dimmick, 2004), while others indicating it is not (Althaus and Tewksbury, 2007). Meyer (2004: 12) went as far to suggest that the print newspaper will cease to exist and run out of readers in 2043. The trend towards online editions of newspaper has two key implications for the findings of this research project, and the future of the newspaper as a means to communicate with the public.

Firstly, the role of the newspaper article as a means of accessing information is changing. Readers are no longer guided through the pages of a newspaper by the flow of text set out by the editor. Rather, it is easier for them to pick and choose subsections and articles that are of interest without having to turn through other pages (D'Haenens *et al.* 2004; Thorson, 2008). As a result, one consequence of the changing news media world is that "news operations are much more responsive to their empowered and engaged audiences" (Bird, 2009: 295) in order to attract their attention to articles. In such a context, the needs and demands and interests of the public are likely to become much more important, and it is perhaps more crucial than ever to consider and appreciate the public's interest in a topic, and their role in the communication process as the consumers of the newspaper article.

Secondly, the move to online newspapers means that information presented to the reader within the newspapers is not the ultimate source of information about the excavation or reburial of human remains. It was observed in Chapter 6 (Section 6.3) that the public access information from more than one newspaper, and from more than one source. With online news sites, it is easy and quick to connect to not only other news stories, but also to other webpages, including blogs (Thurman, 2008; Riesch, 2011). In such an environment, it is perhaps useful then, to see the newspaper article as a portal to attract public interest, and from which web links to more detailed information about the archaeological site, or the process of excavation or reburial including laws and guidance, can be provided (Allan, 2006).

The discussion in Section 7.3 so far, demonstrates a gap in perceptions of newspaper effects and the reality. This results in the mistrust of, and unease with, newspaper coverage. The data presented suggests that while the newspapers play an important role in informing the public and generating interest, they are not a platform for trying

to put across detailed information about the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains. That is not to say accuracy and inclusion of details should be ignored, but rather there needs to be more appreciation of why they may not be included. The newspaper works in conjunction with other forms of mass media, particularly in an online environment, and as such the role of the newspaper article, and the information it should contain, perhaps needs to be re-evaluated.

Other observers of archaeology in the mass media have commented on this need to reconsider the role of the mass media in engaging with the public, and highlight what may be lost as a result of concern about certain details. For example, Scherzler (2007: 193) comments that “archaeology intertwines highly emotional aspects with the mysteries of the past and its archaeological discoveries... [and] the discipline robs itself of many opportunities when it tries to limit things to a purely factual level”. Similar sentiments have been echoed when human remains are considered. Williams (2007: 60) when discussing community engagement with mortuary archaeology, concluded that while,

“archaeologists must balance between the necessity to respect the dead on the one hand, and the value of mortuary remains for scientific enquiry on the other, both sides of this equation ignore the importance of archaeology in ‘popular culture’ by enabling and mediating modern people’s perceptions of, and experiences of death. A focus on ethical guidelines and placing a priority on respecting the dead would risk ignoring what the community actually want from archaeology. Such a view would risk overlooking the positive roles that archaeologists can make by joining together community aspirations and archaeological research”.

The findings from this research project add further weight to these comments. The data offers evidence upon which perceptions of the role of the newspaper and its effects relating to the excavation, retention and reburial of human remains, as well as archaeology more generally can start to be re-evaluated.

#### **7.4 Chapter summary**

This chapter examined the issue of newspaper coverage in greater depth, taking the previous data chapters as a starting point. Section 7.2 explored increasing newspaper

coverage in more depth, exploring how the wider mass media, developing profession, changing public interest and changing newspaper landscape, all influence newspaper coverage. It highlighted the external factors which influence coverage, and also draws attention to the fact that newspaper coverage is not isolated, but part of a wider changing world. It is difficult to highlight any one factor which may have more of an influence on newspaper coverage than others; it is likely that they all contributed and led to a situation in which newspaper coverage of the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains would increase.

Section 7.3 explored perceptions of newspaper coverage from a number of perspectives, and offered a number of ways to view the gaps. The attitudes are rooted in different perceptions of communication, media effects, and current sensitivities surrounding human remains. In light of the findings from this research project, it seems that some of the concerns, such as inclusion of certain details and the level of impact it actually has on a readership, can start to be re-evaluated by those within the archaeological and osteoarchaeological professions. The following chapter concludes the thesis, offering final conclusions on the research project and highlighting areas for future research.



## Chapter 8 : Conclusions

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### 8.1 Introduction

This research project set out to explore newspaper coverage of the excavation, retention and reburial of human remains within the UK. Chapter 1 introduced the topic of archaeology and the mass media, highlighting the value and importance of focusing on newspaper coverage of the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains. Chapter 2 placed this research project within the wider context of archaeological excavation within the UK, human remains debates, and the world of the newspaper, while Chapter 3 set out the methodology through which data was collected. The three data chapters explored newspaper content (Chapter 4), archaeologists' and osteoarchaeologists' interactions and perceptions of that newspaper coverage (Chapter 5), and public perceptions and impact of newspaper coverage (Chapter 6). Chapter 7 brought the data sets together to investigate newspaper coverage and perceptions of that coverage further.

This chapter brings together the key research findings, and concludes the thesis. The chapter is divided into three key sections. Section 8.2 examines the extent to which this research project has achieved the Aims and Objectives set out in Chapter 1. Section 8.3 evaluates the methodological approach and notes the limitations of this research project. Section 8.4 recommends areas for future research. Finally Section 8.5 offers some final thoughts on this research project.

### 8.2 Overview of the research project

This research project aimed to explore newspaper coverage of the archaeological excavation, retention and reburial of human remains. It set out to do this by exploring newspaper content and attitudes from the perspectives of the newspapers, the archaeologists and osteoarchaeologists, and the public. This inclusive approach was selected to add to a growing body of empirical data on archaeology and the mass media, whilst also shedding light on an interface between the archaeology of human remains and contemporary society.

Table 8.1 gives an overview of the research Aims and Objectives that were introduced in Chapter 1, and notes where in the thesis they were addressed. An in-depth evaluation of how the Aims and Objectives were met is given in Subsections 8.2.1 to 8.2.4.

**Table 8.1: Research Aims and Objectives and where in the thesis they were addressed.**

<b>AIM 1: To critically investigate newspaper coverage of archaeological excavation, retention and reburial of human remains.</b>		
<b>Objectives</b>		<b>Chapter</b>
<b>1.1</b>	explore how the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains are presented in the newspapers	4
<b>1.2</b>	establish the reasons behind the newspaper portrayal	4, 5, 6, 7
<b>1.3</b>	determine whether newspaper coverage has changed over time	4
<b>1.4</b>	establish why newspaper coverage may, or may not have changed over time	4, 5, 6, 7

<b>AIM 2: To examine osteoarchaeologists' and archaeologists' attitudes to newspaper coverage of the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains</b>		
<b>Objectives</b>		<b>Chapter</b>
<b>2.1</b>	define archaeologists and osteoarchaeologists within the scope of this research project	2, 3
<b>2.2</b>	determine archaeological engagement with the newspapers regarding excavation, retention, and reburial of archaeological human remains	5
<b>2.3</b>	analyse archaeologists' and osteoarchaeologists' impressions of newspaper coverage of the excavation, retention, and reburial of archaeological human remains	5
<b>2.4</b>	establish the benefits and drawbacks of newspaper coverage as seen by archaeologists and osteoarchaeologists	5
<b>2.5</b>	interpret attitudes towards newspaper coverage of the excavation, retention, and reburial of archaeological human remains	5, 7
<b>2.6</b>	analyse the implications of archaeological and osteoarchaeological perceptions of newspaper coverage	5, 6, 7

<b>AIM 3: To investigate the relationship between newspaper coverage of the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains and the public</b>		
<b>Objectives</b>		<b>Chapter</b>
<b>3.1</b>	define 'the public' within the scope of this research project	2,3,6
<b>3.2</b>	establish public perceptions of the excavation, retention and reburial of archaeological human remains	6
<b>3.3</b>	investigate the role of newspapers in presenting information to the public	6
<b>3.4</b>	explore the impact on public opinion that may have arisen through newspaper coverage	6,7
<b>3.5</b>	critically assess the impact of public opinion on archaeology and archaeological human remains	6,7

<b>AIM 4: To compare archaeological and public attitudes to newspaper portrayal of the archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains.</b>		
<b>Objectives</b>		<b>Chapter</b>
<b>4.1</b>	explore the relationship between newspaper portrayals, archaeological and public attitudes to newspaper coverage excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains	7
<b>4.2</b>	identify and explore the differences between archaeological and osteoarchaeological perceptions of the impact of newspaper portrayal and actual impact	7
<b>4.3</b>	assess the implications of the differences between newspaper coverage, archaeological attitudes, and public opinions	7

**8.2.1 Aim 1: To critically explore newspaper coverage of archaeological excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains**

The first aim of this research project was to explore newspaper coverage, and reasons behind it. This was addressed in several chapters in this thesis. Chapter 2 introduced and explored the concept of news, and considered the role of the newspaper, and the newspaper article, within society. Chapter 4 explored newspaper content in detail, while Chapter 7 brought the data in this research project together with existing research and theory to explore the issues further.

An article on the excavation, retention, or reburial of human remains is usually only around 350 words long, written by a non-specialist, and found on the inside pages of a newspaper; that is they are short succinct articles written by those with no in depth knowledge, for a non-specialist consumer. Many events happen in the world every

day, yet only a certain number become news due to the limited amount of space within a news medium. The topic of human remains were shown to meet several news values, in particular those of negativity, unambiguity, and meaningfulness. In addition, stories about elite people (e.g. wealthy Romans and Robert the Bruce) and elite places (e.g. London and Stonehenge) captured more attention than other articles. Using the concept of news values aids an understanding of why “nothing captures the imagination of an audience quite like the discovery of human remains” (Time Team, 2006: 1), and of why the public are attracted to human remains within archaeology. These findings add an additional dimension to current discussions on the reasons behind the public appeal of the topic (Sofaer, 2006).

Newspaper articles were explored further using the concept of framing. Excavation of human remains could be framed as mysteries and puzzles to be solved, as something of value, or, in what appeared to be coming increasingly common over the last 10 years, as a process. Reburial was much less commonly reported, with only 45 articles appearing in the sample. It was often reported as the laying to rest of once living people, or as the end of the archaeological process, with only a small number of articles focusing on the debates surrounding the reburial issue explored in Chapter 2. Retention of human remains rarely featured in the newspapers. This way of framing archaeology is not new; the role of the archaeologist as explorer (uncovering mysteries), or treasure seeker, and an emphasis on superlatives has been identified by others (e.g. Holtorf, 2007a). However, the use of frames offers a succinct way of thinking about these, and understanding media portrayals, from a media perspective. While the reason for excavation of the human remains was frequently included within the newspaper article, the laws, guidance, and guidelines were not, and neither was the fate of the remains being excavated.

These findings suggest that newspaper coverage of the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains focuses on the topics largely as a particularly interesting branch of archaeology, rather than being given any special consideration due to their sensitive nature. Within a newspaper article, there is an emphasis on meaningfulness, on stating fact and certainty (rather than being wary of absolute as archaeologists

often are), on the text (rather than topic), and on an overview first, then details (rather than details leading to an overview and conclusions as in an archaeological report).

Newspaper coverage was found to increase slightly over time, with a slightly more pronounced increase from the mid to late 1990s. While excavation was reported on throughout the time period, there were a more consistent number of articles on reburial after 2002. Wider mass media coverage of archaeology also increased in the late 1990s, supporting the trend seen within the data set. A number of interlinking factors were found to both support, and explain these increases: the growing public interest in archaeology and heritage, the changing disciplines of archaeology and osteoarchaeology, including the increase size of the profession and growing need to communicate, as well as changes to the newspaper industry.

The findings from this aspect of the research project provide data upon which those seeking to understand newspaper coverage and become more effective at communicating through it, can draw upon.

### ***8.2.2 Aim 2: To examine archaeologists and osteoarchaeologists' attitudes to newspaper coverage of the archaeological excavation and reburial of human remains***

In the past, there has often been concern from archaeologists about the portrayal of their discipline in the mass media (Stoddart and Malone, 2001), and newspaper coverage of the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains was no exception. Chapters 5 and 7 explored archaeologists' and osteoarchaeologists' interaction with the newspaper and their perceptions of newspaper coverage. The BABAO Survey responses, although representing a relatively small number of BABAO members, and therefore osteoarchaeologists in the UK, gave the opportunity to explore the range of views held by archaeologists who specialised in human remains. In doing so, it provided a starting point for more detailed discussion of this issue within the context of the wider literature. Interviews with a carefully selected number of senior, more generalised, archaeologists allowed an in-depth exploration of some of the key ways in which archaeology gets into the newspapers. It allowed some of the issues raised in the BABAO Survey to be investigated further, as well as allowing the

views of those who deal more regularly with the newspapers to be added to the discussion.

Archaeological relationships with newspapers could be proactive, or reactive, or both. While it was generally acknowledged that it was best to get information out there for a variety of reasons, the fact that many excavations were controlled by developers meant that the issue of producing newspaper coverage was complicated. Timing of coverage, as well as the person ultimately responsible for newspaper coverage, varied.

Experience was found to be key in creating good newspaper coverage, as well as aiding an ability to be realistic about its reach and impact. Interviewees generally displayed a more relaxed attitude towards newspaper coverage than many BABAQ Survey respondents. All of those interviewed had experience of dealing with the press, both reactively and proactively, and had developed a greater understanding of the newspapers and relationship with journalists. By contrast, fewer of those who responded to the BABAQ Survey had direct experience of newspaper coverage.

Many BABAQ Survey respondents felt that public opinion was important, and that newspapers played a role in determining public opinion. Many of the benefits given for newspaper coverage centred on the need to inform and educate the public about this sensitive area of archaeology. There was very much a sense that the news media could help osteoarchaeologists. The comments corresponded to a knowledge deficit model of communication in which the public is felt to have a knowledge gap, which accurate communication can rectify. As such, it was felt that newspapers should be a way of informing and imparting an accurate account of what was happening. However, there was a feeling that newspaper could be inaccurate, and misrepresent events, leading to negative effects such as a poor image of archaeologists, a lack of support for their work, and a concern about site security. These issues led to a certain degree of scepticism towards newspaper coverage. This unease meant that many BABAQ Survey respondents indicated that events should only *sometimes* be reported by newspapers.

BABAQ Survey responses reflected the wider concerns found in the recent archaeological literature (Kulik, 2005), although there was an increased emphasis on raising awareness and support for the excavation and retention of human remains.

This undoubtedly reflects the issues surrounding human remains at the time of the research, which was termed a 'burial crisis' (Sayer, 2009) and 'crisis of cultural authority' (Jenkins, 2011). The findings provide a starting point for those involved in archaeology and osteoarchaeology to reflect upon and perhaps re-evaluate their perceptions of newspaper, and mass media, coverage.

### ***8.2.3 Aim 3: To investigate the relationship between newspaper coverage of the archaeological excavation and reburial of human remains and the public***

Aim 3 was addressed in Chapter 6. The Park Survey, a small scale survey of 100 members of the public, supported and complemented existing studies on public interest in archaeology and human remains, and consumption of archaeology through the mass media by adding empirical data. The Park Survey identified a high level of public interest in archaeology, and public support for the excavation of human remains. It also demonstrated that the public were interested in reading about the excavation, and reburial of human remains in the newspaper.

The reasons for public interest in both archaeology, and in the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains were explored using wider literature studies and supplemented with the responses from the Park Survey. The data showed that archaeology is attractive to the public for a number of reasons including providing a sense of identity and the thrill of discovery, to which human remains added an additional level of familiarity and emotion. The public indicated in the Park Survey that they were interested in reading more details about the individual being excavated, and the context they came from, as well as the process of excavation.

The Park Survey found that newspapers were an important source of information about archaeology, particularly for finding out about local events. However, as the findings show, most Park Survey respondents obtained information about archaeology from more than one source, and also read more than one newspaper. While previous studies have focused on the most common source of information for archaeology, this research project highlights the interconnected nature of the different mass media, particularly in the age of the internet, which has implications for impact.

The Park Survey data found that level of trust in newspaper content was low, and although many Park Survey respondents remembered reading a newspaper article, level of recall of specific newspaper articles or details was low. These issues are found throughout the media effects literature, and the finding has implications for understanding the newspapers' role in impacting on the public.

The results indicate that evaluating the effectiveness of newspaper coverage of the excavation of human remains, and by extension the broader study of archaeology in the mass media, is complex. The findings suggest that newspapers are an effective way of raising interest, particularly at a local level, but they are less effective as a means of ensuring that the precise details of excavation are known, and in achieving long term knowledge of particular excavations amongst the public. Given these findings, this study provides a starting point from which to re-evaluate the extent to which those involved in archaeology and osteoarchaeology should be concerned about the impact of newspaper coverage on the public.

#### ***8.2.4 Aim 4: To compare the newspaper portrayal of the archaeological excavation and reburial of human remains with professional and public attitudes***

The purpose of Aim 4 was to draw the data sets together to provide a deeper understanding of attitudes to newspaper coverage, and this was the focus of discussion in Chapter 7. Drawing the data sets together enabled identification of where the differences in perceptions of coverage come from.

Many BBAO Survey responses relating to the impact of newspaper coverage on the public and on osteoarchaeology were found to be different from the reality. Impact was found to be less direct, and less negative than it was perceived to be.

Fundamental differences between the archaeological and newspaper professions mean that very different values are placed on communication, the subject matter, and the content of newspaper articles, which leads to an uneasy relationship. This is not an issue confined to archaeology, but is seen in studies on mass media coverage of many science topics. Theories such as the hostile media phenomenon offer a way of understanding this discrepancy, suggesting that misunderstandings of the mass media are based on experiences of others rather than on evidence, with selective recall of



bad instances. Such perceptions of coverage are barriers to effective communication. By bringing them to light and by starting to explore and understand the differences between the professions, perceptions of newspaper coverage can start to be re-evaluated, enabling a positive, more constructive, relationship with newspaper and mass media coverage of osteoarchaeology and archaeology.

### **8.3 Reflections on the methodology**

The methodology sought to address the broad Aims and Objectives by collecting data that covered the production, content and consumption of the newspaper article. In order to access these broad data sets, a mixed methods approach to data collection was adopted. This research project used qualitative and quantitative content analysis of newspaper articles, survey questionnaires to osteoarchaeologists and the public, and interviews with senior archaeologists in the North East of England to collect the data sets.

The qualitative and quantitative content analysis method allowed a detailed look at newspaper coverage. It adopted content analysis guidelines set out by Purvis (2007), Krippendorf (2004) and Nuendorf (2002). The quantitative content analysis, by revealing data on changes over time and between newspapers, proved to be valuable in allowing broad trends to be identified. It also allowed the extent to which certain elements of the archaeological process are included in newspaper articles to be assessed. In doing so it allowed data to be compared to the other data sets and wider literature.

The use of frames as a way to investigate newspaper portrayals of the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains also provided a useful way of identifying and discussing the different ways in which excavation, retention, and reburial were portrayed. However, qualitative content analysis is not a straightforward method. As noted in earlier chapters, multiple frames could be seen within newspaper articles, and the subjective nature of frames means that another researcher may find different frames within the data. This therefore has implications for replicability and the extent to which the data from this research project could be used against data from similar

projects in the future. Nonetheless it provided an effective way of exploring and categorising articles, and providing a starting point for discussion. The use of frames has the potential to be a valuable tool in future research into archaeology and mass media content.

Surveying members of BABAQ was an effective way of reaching a sample of osteoarchaeologists. As discussed in Chapters 3 and 5, the response rate was low (15%), which has implications for the extent to which the quantitative data can be used as representative of the wider population of osteoarchaeologists. Additionally, self-completion surveys by their very nature mean that a sample is biased towards those who want to reply and have an interest in the subject. This means that those who replied to the BABAQ Survey may well be those who have a strong opinion for, or against, newspaper coverage. However, responses to the open questions were much more detailed than initially expected when the survey questionnaire was designed, and provided a rich data set. As a result, much of the analysis of the data within the chapters was descriptive and was able to explore the range of perceptions rather than their extent. As such, the data collected during the BABAQ Survey paves the way for more detailed study and observation of the particular issue in the future.

While not being part of the original data collection method, the decision to interview six senior archaeologists who had experience of the newspapers within their role allowed a detailed understanding of not only the interaction between archaeologists and the newspapers, but also the perceptions of those who have more mass media experience than many in the BABAQ Survey. It gave the opportunity to delve deeper into some of the issues raised in the BABAQ survey, information which may have been lacking if the original survey was the only data collected from this group. However, the different data collection methods for the two groups means that while inferences could be made relating to the differences between archaeologists' and osteoarchaeologists' perceptions, direct comparisons were not possible.

In gathering data from the public, the survey method was again felt to be the most effective way of gathering data from a large number of people. It offered valuable insights into the multiple sources of information about archaeology, and issues such as recall of details. Given the nature, diversity and scale of the public, and the small scale

survey possible in such a research project, there are limits to the extent to which a largely quantitative survey can explore the public's perceptions and reactions to the mass media. However, by combining findings with the wider literature, and using key findings as a platform from which to evaluate current understandings and discussion, the Park Survey was largely effective in providing an insight into the public consumption of archaeology through newspapers and the mass media.

The challenge of exploring subjects as broad as the production, content and reception of newspaper coverage meant that not every area of interest or value could be investigated in the time and space that a PhD allowed. As the research progressed and the topic was explored, increasing numbers of questions and lines of enquiry arose. Whilst it was possible to incorporate a number of these during the course of exploring the data, such as including the extent to which certain aspects of the excavation were included in newspaper articles, and discussions of third person effects, there were several areas that were only touched upon briefly. Several of these would be of great interest to research in more detail in the future as Section 8.54 will now expand on.

#### **8.4 Areas for future research**

Over the course of this research project, a number of areas emerged as areas for future research, some of which were mentioned in Chapter 7. While this thesis produced a wide ranging look at the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains in the newspaper, and drew upon the wider literature in order to explore the findings, the data is isolated to a certain extent. As noted in Chapter 1, there are relatively few similar studies, and it would be interesting, and of value to repeat the content analysis on newspaper coverage of archaeology more broadly. Repeating a similar study would allow newspaper coverage of human skeletons to be compared to newspaper coverage of archaeology in more depth, allowing a better understanding of the popularity of human remains within archaeology, and within newspaper coverage of archaeology. Such studies would also create a larger data set which could be drawn on by those who work with the mass media, and who are involved in newspaper coverage, to improve their understanding and effectiveness in communication.

The perspective of the journalist and newspapers in this research project was largely explored through the wider literature, rather than through empirical data. Collecting data from journalists who have reported on the excavation of human remains would create a deeper understanding of not only the reasons for newspaper coverage, but also the different perceptions held by archaeologists and journalists towards archaeology in the mass media. Introducing such a data set into future discussion would add an additional dimension to the study beyond that provided by media studies literature and theory. An initial survey questionnaire could be targeted at those journalists identified through the content analysis as having written an article about human remains, which could then be followed up by in-depth interviews.

The BBAO Survey and interviews with archaeologists took place at a specific point in time, one in which archaeologists were waiting for the public outcome of the Avebury consultation, and the review of the burial laws; a time in which, as Payne (2008: 1) comments, there was “a great deal of uncertainty, and there is a risk that very damaging precedents are being created”. The results in this research project undoubtedly reflect these concerns. Repeating the study in the future, in five or 10 years’ time, would enable an assessment of whether opinions have changed. It would enable an exploration of the impact of the changing debate on human remains, and the increasing calls for communication and for engagement, on newspaper coverage. Additionally, it would allow an assessment of whether attitudes to, and understanding of, newspaper and mass media coverage is improving as research into the area develops. It would also be of interest to compare newspaper coverage of more recent remains, such as the excavation of the WW1 graves in France and Belgium, in order to evaluate whether these are reported and framed differently for the reader.

The perspective of the public in this research project was accessed through a short survey. While this was the most appropriate method within the constraints of this research project, it was ultimately an overview of some important issues relating to the impact of newspaper coverage. Several areas could be investigated further in a larger scale project using methods such as focus groups which were introduced in Section 3.4 (Hansen *et al.*, 1998; Bryman, 2008). In particular, it would be of value to

explore reactions to individual newspaper articles, and explore the frames of reference used when discussing newspaper articles.

Finally, as Chapter 7 explored, news stories are increasingly appearing online and this offers several interesting areas for future research. The ability to create links from a newspaper article to webpages, blogs, and a range of social media, means that the newspaper article is becoming less the ultimate source of information, and more of a portal to further information. The use of social media within archaeology is growing, and as is starting to be explored at conferences such as the TAG 2011 session entitled 'Dr. Web-Love: or, how I learnt to stop worrying and love social media'. Social media offers a way for archaeologists to engage directly with the public (Henson, 2012). Exploring the links from newspapers to websites, including archaeology-led social media, has the potential to provide a wealth of information on how information is accessed, and therefore the ultimate role of the newspaper article in a changing online world. Additionally, the ability for readers to engage directly with newspaper stories through features such as the BBC's 'Have your Say', the Guardian's 'Comment is free', or the Daily Mail's 'Comments', offers a potential data set through which immediate reactions to a newspaper article, and therefore media effects, can be observed (Rowe *et al.*, 2008).

## **8.5 Concluding remarks**

This research project sought to explore two key areas: firstly, how and why the excavation, retention, and reburial of human remains are portrayed by the newspapers; and secondly, the perceptions and influences of newspaper coverage. This research project achieved this, and in doing so contributes to developing discussions of archaeology in the mass media, shedding light on how a particularly sensitive aspect of archaeology is reported by newspapers, and the implications and perceptions of that coverage. The empirical data collected and its exploration in conjunction with mass media theory and existing discussion on archaeology in the mass media, will hopefully allow archaeologists and osteoarchaeologist to make more effective use of the mass media through an understanding of its content and their own perceptions.

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## Appendix 1: Project approval form



### Application for Approval of Research Project and Supervisory Team

**Ethical Issues** – and where to get further guidance

(i) Does your research involve NHS PATIENTS OR STAFF, their tissue, organs or data?

Yes  No

If **YES** your project will require additional review by a NHS Research Ethics Committee (see <http://www.nres.npsa.nhs.uk>). You will also require separate Trust Research & Development Department (R&D) approval from each NHS Organisation involved in the study (for Newcastle upon Tyne NHS Foundation Trust (see [http://www.newcastle-hospitals.org.uk/about-us/staff-information\\_research-development.aspx](http://www.newcastle-hospitals.org.uk/about-us/staff-information_research-development.aspx)). When making your application to these bodies, please provide a copy of this project approval form (once it has been approved) as it will act as your independent peer review.

(ii) If the answer to question (i) is **NO**, does your research involve other HUMAN SUBJECTS?

Yes  No

If **YES**, please answer questions 1-10 below. If your answer to any of these questions is **YES** you will need to obtain separate University ethical approval. Discuss your plans to address the ethical issues raised by your proposal with your supervisory team and submit them to your School or Institute's Research Ethics Coordinator using the University Research Ethics application form.  
See: [http://www.ncl.ac.uk/business-directorate/policies/ethics/research\\_ethics\\_applicationform.rtf](http://www.ncl.ac.uk/business-directorate/policies/ethics/research_ethics_applicationform.rtf)

		YES	NO
1	Does the study involve other vulnerable groups (e.g. children, those with cognitive impairment, or those in unequal relationships (e.g. your own students))?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	Will the study require the co-operation of a gatekeeper for initial access to the groups or individuals to be recruited (e.g. students at school, members of a self-help group, and residents of a nursing home)?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	Will it be necessary for participants to take part in the study without their knowledge and consent at times (e.g. covert observation of people in non-public places)?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4	Will this programme/project involve deliberately misleading participants in any way?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5	Will the study involve discussion of sensitive topics (e.g. sexual activity, drug use)?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6	Are any drugs, placebos or other substances (e.g. food substances, vitamins) to be administered to the study participants or will the study involve invasive, intrusive or potentially harmful procedures of any kind?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7	Will blood or tissue samples be obtained from subjects?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8	Is pain or more than mild discomfort likely to result from the study?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9	Could the study induce psychological stress or anxiety or cause harm or negative consequences beyond the risks encountered in normal life?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10	Will the study involve prolonged or repetitive testing?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11	Will financial inducements (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(iii) Does your research involve working with LIVE VERTEBRATE ANIMALS?

**Yes**                       **No**

If **YES**, you and your supervisory team should discuss your proposed project with the Director of the Centre for Comparative Biology who will be able to advise on seeking specific approval.

Signature of Candidate: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 2: List of newspapers included in the *LexisNexis* database

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Aberdeen Evening Express  
Aberdeen Press and Journal  
Bath Chronicle  
Belfast News Letter  
Belfast Telegraph  
Birmingham Evening Mail  
Birmingham Post  
Bristol Evening Post  
Coventry Evening Telegraph  
Daily Mail and Mail on Sunday  
Daily Post (Liverpool)  
Daily Record & Sunday Mail  
Daily Star  
The Daily Telegraph (London)  
Derby Evening Telegraph  
East Anglian Daily Times  
Eastern Daily Press  
The European  
Evening Chronicle (Newcastle)  
Evening Herald (Plymouth)  
Evening News (Edinburgh)  
Evening News (Norwich)  
The Evening Standard (London)  
Evening Star  
Evening Times (Glasgow)  
The Express  
Express & Echo (Exeter)  
Gateshead Post (UK)  
The Gloucester Citizen  
Gloucestershire Echo  
Grimsby Telegraph  
The Guardian (London)  
Herald & Post (UK)  
The Herald (Glasgow)  
Herald Express (Torquay)  
Hull Daily Mail  
The Independent (London)  
Independent on Sunday  
Johnston Press Plc  
The Journal (Newcastle, UK)  
Leicester Mercury  
Liverpool Echo  
Manchester Evening News  
Mid Week Pink  
Middlesbrough Evening Gazette  
Midland Independent Newspapers  
The Mirror and The Sunday Mirror  
The News of the World  
Northcliffe Newspapers  
The Northern Echo  
Nottingham Evening Post  
The Observer  
The People  
The Pink  
Regional Independent Media  
The Scotsman & Scotland on Sunday  
Scunthorpe Evening Telegraph  
The Sentinel (Stoke)  
South Wales Echo  
South Wales Evening Post  
Sports Argus  
The Sun  
The Sunday Express  
Sunday Herald  
Sunday Mercury  
The Sunday Telegraph (London)  
The Sunday Times (London)  
This is Buckinghamshire  
This is Cheshire  
This is Dorset  
This is Eastbourne  
This is Essex  
This is Gwent  
This is Hampshire  
This is Herefordshire  
This is Hertfordshire  
This is Ludlow  
This is Mid Sussex  
This is Ryedale  
This is Stratford-Upon-Avon  
This is The Black Country  
This is The Cotswold

This is The Lake District  
This is The North East  
This is The West Country  
This is Trafford  
This is Wirral  
This is Worcestershire  
This is Worthing  
This is York  
The Times (London)

Times Educational Supplement  
Times Higher Education Supplement  
UK NewsQuest Regional Press  
Wales on Sunday  
Western Daily Press  
The Western Mail  
Western Morning News (Plymouth)  
Yorkshire Evening Post  
Yorkshire Post



# Appendix 3: Screen shot of excel spread sheet used to record newspaper content

DATA MASTER - Final Newspaper Analysis - Microsoft Excel

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
Article	Headline	Year	Month	Paper	Reg/National	Type of paper	Section	Page	Article Type	Journalist	Specialism	Actual Length	Length (grouped)	Reason for excavation?
1	Grave matters of archaeology/revkawa	1989	May	The Independent	National	Q	Other	11-15	Feature	Sally Williams	unknown	1035	1001-1250	Yes
2	Skeletons indicate Barbarian atrocity	1989	Aug	The Independent	National	Q	News	6-10	News	David Keys	Archaeology/Heritage	352	251-500	No
3	Dark Age Cemetery reveals 'Barra's pre	1989	Oct	The Independent	National	Q	News	-	News	David Keys	Archaeology/Heritage	406	251-500	Yes
4	Roman Bodies to be reburied	1990	Jan	The Times	National	Q	News	-	News	Simon Tait	Arts	754	751-1000	Yes
5	Skeleton found under yew tree	1990	Jan	The Times	National	Q	News	-	News	No	n/a	45	1-250	Yes
6	Graves yield secrets of city's early Ch	1990	Jun	The Independent	National	Q	News	6-10	News	David Keys	Archaeology/Heritage	525	501-750	No
7	Sheds light on Dark Age society in	1990	Sep	The Independent	National	Q	News	4-5	News	David Keys	Archaeology/Heritage	404	251-500	No
8	Human sandwich' found in Thames	1991	May	The Times	National	Q	News	-	News	Norman Hammond	Archaeology/Heritage	367	251-500	No
9	Skeleton may be that of Viking outca	1991	May	The Independent	National	Q	News	6-10	News	David Keys	Archaeology/Heritage	370	251-500	No
10	Dig reveals remains of women buriec	1991	Sep	The Independent	National	Q	News	4-5	News	David Keys	Archaeology/Heritage	271	251-500	No
11	Tube dig finds Iron Age bones	1991	Nov	The Times	National	Q	News	-	News	Michael Dynes (transport)	Other	375	251-500	Yes
12	Viking burial boat proves rich in find	1991	Dec	The Independent	National	Q	News	2-3	News	David Keys	Archaeology/Heritage	337	251-500	Yes
13	Viking skeletons on show	1991	Dec	The Times	National	Q	News	-	News	Kerry Gill	unknown	308	251-500	No
14	Iron Age royal burial discovered	1992	Feb	The Independent	National	Q	News	2-3	News	David Keys	Archaeology/Heritage	259	251-500	No
15	Viking heel bone found on beach	1992	Apr	The Herald (Glasgow)	Local/Regional	L-R	Features	11-15	News	No	n/a	169	1-250	Yes
16	The Iceman teeth	1992	Dec	The Times	National	Q	Other	16-20	Letter	David Browne (head of arch. Academic/Specialist)	unknown	233	1-250	No
17	Inside Story: Dead Reckoning	1993	Dec	The Guardian	National	Q	Other	4-5	Feature	Madeleine Bunting	unknown	2457	1500+	Yes
18	Churchyard dig lays bare the bones of	1994	Aug	The Guardian	National	Q	News	4-5	News	Tim Radford	unknown	444	251-500	Yes
19	Burial ground bones give clues on art	1994	Aug	The Observer	National	Q	News	4-5	News	No	n/a	265	251-500	Yes
20	Relics may be reburied	1996	Apr	The Scotsman	National	Q	News	11-15	News	Robin McKie	Science	827	751-1000	No
21	In search of Bruce's heart	1996	Aug	The Scotsman	Local/Regional	L-R	Other	4-5	News	William Chisholm	unknown	556	501-750	Yes
22	Robert Bruce discovery goes to Histor	1996	Aug	The Independent	National	Q	Other	1	News	Matthew Brace	unknown	371	251-500	Yes
23	Electronics and strewdrivers used to	1996	Sep	The Herald (Glasgow)	Local/Regional	L-R	News	2-3	News	Rob Robertson	unknown	915	751-1000	No
24	A tiny drill and a fibre-optic cable ge	1996	Sep	The Independent	National	Q	News	6-10	News	James Cusick	unknown	805	751-1000	No
25	Builders unearth mass grave from Wa	1996	Oct	The Times	National	Q	News	-	News	Nigel Hawkes	Science	361	251-500	Yes
26	Dales folk from 680AD laid to rest	1997	May	The Guardian	National	Q	News	4-5	News	Martin Wainwright (northern Regional)	unknown	600	501-750	Yes
27	Church crypt holds evidence of atroci	1997	Jul	The Herald (Glasgow)	Local/Regional	L-R	News	4-5	News	Andrew Mullins	unknown	531	501-750	Yes
28	Bones may flesh out castle story	1997	Nov	The Herald (Glasgow)	Local/Regional	L-R	News	6-10	News	No	n/a	402	251-500	Yes
29	Strling Castle dig yields second ancie	1997	Nov	The Scotsman	Local/Regional	L-R	News	6-10	News	John Smith	unknown	693	501-750	Yes
30	Ancient bones return to final resting	1998	Feb	Belfast Telegraph	Local/Regional	L-R	News	-	News	Julie O'Connor	unknown	247	1-250	Yes
31	Return to the site of Bruce's heart's d	1998	Feb	Daily Mail /Mail on Sunday	National	MM	News	16-20	News	Robert Fairburn	unknown	419	251-500	No
32	Bannockburn date for The Bruce's reb	1998	Feb	The Scotsman	Local/Regional	L-R	News	4-5	News	William Chisholm	unknown	412	251-500	No
33	a rub of the green as boy and dog fric	1998	May	Daily Mail /Mail on Sunday	National	MM	News	31-35	News	Paul Riddell	unknown	359	251-500	Yes
34	Close encounter with the past	1998	May	The Herald (Glasgow)	Local/Regional	L-R	News	11-15	News	Raymond Duncan	unknown	373	251-500	Yes
35	Sand of time brushed aside	1998	May	The Scotsman	Local/Regional	L-R	News	4-5	News	James Rougve and Lynn Coc	unknown	327	251-500	Yes
36	Secret of the buried skulls	1998	May	Evening News (Edinburgh)	Local/Regional	L-R	News	11-15	News	Mairi Mallon	unknown	479	251-500	Yes
37	Riddle of the bones, discovery of bur	1998	May	Daily Mail /Mail on Sunday	National	MM	News	26-30	News	Marie Sharpe	unknown	350	251-500	Yes
38	Age-old tragedy unearthed	1998	May	The Herald (Glasgow)	Local/Regional	L-R	News	2-3	News	No	n/a	364	251-500	Yes
39	Couple unearth macabre links with p	1998	Jun	Aberdeen Press and Journal	Local/Regional	L-R	News	6-10	News	No	n/a	156	1-250	Yes
40	Darling, you'll never guess what's in	1998	Jun	Daily Mail /Mail on Sunday	National	MM	News	31-35	News	No	n/a	488	251-500	Yes

## Appendix 4: BBAO Survey

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### Archaeological Human Remains and UK Newspapers

*This survey collects attitudes and opinions relating to the portrayal of British archaeological human remains by UK based newspapers.*

*This survey is part of a PhD project which includes an analysis of newspaper articles from the past 20 years, and a public survey. The research is being undertaken at Newcastle University and is funded by an Arts and Humanities Research Council Doctoral Award.*

*This survey should take no more than 5-10 minutes to complete (depending on the level of detail you provide).*

*I would be very grateful if you could complete the survey before 15th November 2010.*

*If you have any questions or would like any further details please contact me - Tori Park at [v.m.park@ncl.ac.uk](mailto:v.m.park@ncl.ac.uk), or visit my webpage at [www.students.ncl.ac.uk/v.m.park](http://www.students.ncl.ac.uk/v.m.park)*

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### SECTION 1. Attitudes towards the UK Newspapers

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These questions will look at your impressions of newspaper coverage of archaeological human remains.

**1a.** Do you feel that the UK newspapers are positive, negative or neutral towards the excavation of British archaeological human remains?

Positive  Negative  Neutral  No opinion

**1b.** Do you feel that the UK newspapers are positive, negative or neutral towards the retention of British archaeological human remains?

Positive  Negative  Neutral  No opinion

**1c.** Do you feel that the UK newspapers are positive, negative or neutral towards the reburial of British archaeological human remains?

Positive  Negative  Neutral  No opinion

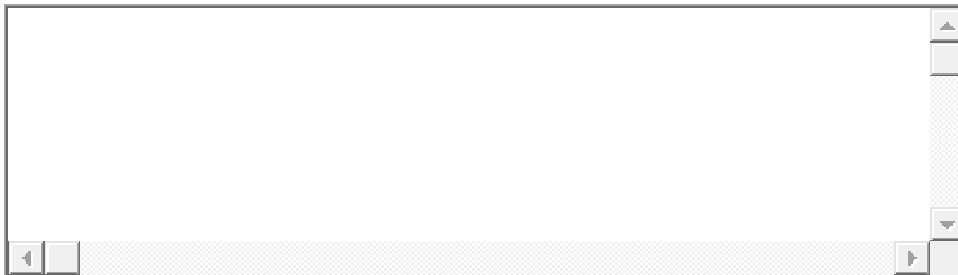
**1d.** Overall, do you feel that the excavation of human remains should be covered or reported in newspapers?

Yes  No  Sometimes  Don't know

**1e.** What do you feel are the main benefits to newspaper coverage of the excavation of human remains?

A large, empty rectangular text box with a light gray background and a thin black border. It has a vertical scrollbar on the right side and a horizontal scrollbar at the bottom, both with small square buttons.

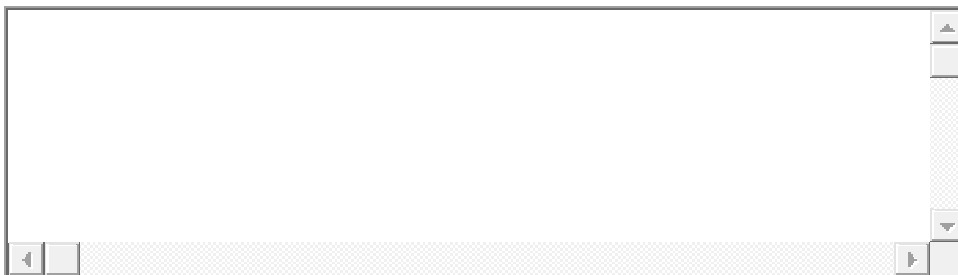
**1f.** What do you feel are the main drawbacks to newspaper coverage of the excavation of archaeological human remains?

A large, empty rectangular text box with a light gray background and a thin black border. It has a vertical scrollbar on the right side and a horizontal scrollbar at the bottom, both with small square buttons.

**1g.** Overall, do you feel that the retention of human remains should be covered or reported in newspapers?

- Yes  No  Sometimes  Don't know

**1h.** What do you feel are the main benefits to newspaper coverage of the findings from the retention of human remains?

A large, empty rectangular text box with a light gray background and a thin black border. It has a vertical scrollbar on the right side and a horizontal scrollbar at the bottom, both with small square buttons.

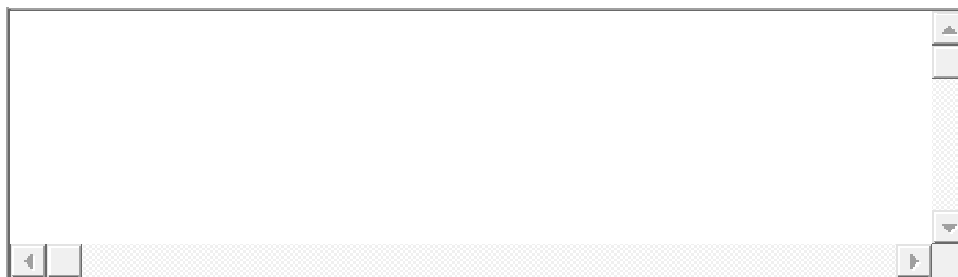
**1i.** What do you feel are the main drawbacks to newspaper coverage of the findings from the retention of human remains?

A large, empty rectangular text box with a light gray background and a thin black border. It has a vertical scrollbar on the right side and a horizontal scrollbar at the bottom, both with small square buttons.

**1j.** Overall, do you feel that the reburial of human remains should be covered or reported in newspapers?

Yes  No  Sometimes  Don't know


**1k.** What do you feel are the main benefits to newspaper coverage of the reburial of human remains?

A large, empty rectangular text input field with a light gray border. It has a vertical scrollbar on the right side and horizontal scrollbars at the bottom, indicating it is a multi-line text area.

**1l.** What do you feel are the main drawbacks to newspaper coverage of reburial of human remains?

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**1m.** Please feel free to add any additional comments you have relating to this section in the space below.

A large, empty rectangular text input field with a light gray border. It has a vertical scrollbar on the right side and horizontal scrollbars at the bottom, indicating it is a multi-line text area.

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## SECTION 2. Public and the Newspapers

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These questions will look at your attitudes towards public opinion and the influence of the press.

**2a.** Do you think public opinion is important in the future of human remains (e.g. in terms of decisions on length of time for study, laws surrounding licences for the excavation of human remains, etc.)?

Yes - very important  Yes - slightly important  Not relevant  No opinion

**2b.** Do you think the way in which UK newspapers present the excavation of British human remains has an impact on public opinion?

Yes- large impact  Yes - slight impact  No impact  No opinion

**2c.** Do you think the way in which UK newspapers present the retention and study of British human remains has an impact on public opinion?

Yes- large impact  Yes - slight impact  No impact  No opinion

**2d.** Do you think the way in which UK newspapers present the reburial of British human remains has an impact on public opinion?

Yes - large impact  Yes - slight impact  No impact  No opinion

**2e.** Please feel free to add any additional comments you have relating to this section in the space below.



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### SECTION 3. Involvement with newspapers

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These questions will consider involvement with UK newspapers

**3a.** Have you been approached by a newspaper in relation to human remains (i.e. asked for a comment or interview)?

Yes  No  Don't remember  Prefer not to say

**3b.** Has your organisation been approached by a newspaper in relation to human remains (i.e. asked for a comment or interview)?

Yes  No  Don't know  Prefer not to say

**3c.** Have you approached a newspaper in relation to human remains (i.e. issued a press release)?

Yes  No  Don't remember  Prefer not to say

**3d.** Has your organisation approached a newspaper in relation to human remains (i.e. issued a press release)?

Yes  No  Don't know  Prefer not to say

**3e.** Please feel free to add any additional comments you have relating to this section in the space below.



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## SECTION 4. Additional Information

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### 4a. Which type of organisation are you a part of?

Please tick all that apply:

- Museum
- Independent Osteologist
- Contract Field Unit
- University
- Government Organisation
- Other

If 'Other' please specify:

### 4b. At what level do you work within your organisation?

Please tick all that apply:

- Manager / Director (or equivalent)
- Project Officer / Site Director (or equivalent)
- Site Supervisor (or equivalent)
- Researcher / Specialist in human remains
- Researcher / Specialist (other field)
- Professor
- Lecturer (any level)
- Site Assistant (or equivalent)
- Student
- Volunteer
- Other

If 'Other' please specify:

### 4c. Where did you hear about the survey?

- IFA
- BABAIO
- Britarch
- Other

If 'Other' please specify:

**4d.** Which of these organisations are you a member of?

IFA    BABAO    Neither

**4e.** Would you be happy for me to contact you further (e.g. for a brief interview) regarding the issues in this survey if required?

Yes    No

If 'Yes' please provide a contact name, with an email address or phone number

Name:    Email or phone number:

---

**Data Protection Statement:**

The data will only be accessed by the researcher and will be kept for the duration of the PhD (estimated finish date is Dec 2011).

Results will only be used to complete the PhD thesis and in papers relating to the research.

All responses are anonymous unless you have provided contact details, in which case the responses will be confidential unless permission is sought.

---

**Thank you for taking time to complete the survey.**

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## Appendix 5: BBAO Survey covering letter

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Dear all,

I am currently conducting research for my PhD into newspaper coverage of the excavation and reburial of British archaeological human remains. The research is being undertaken at Newcastle University and is kindly funded by the AHRC.

Alongside an analysis of the content of a wide range of British newspapers and a survey of the general public, I also want to collect the opinions of archaeologists, osteoarchaeologists and others involved in the archaeological process.

I would be very grateful if you could help me in this by completing my short survey. It should take no longer than 5-10 minutes to complete (depending on the amount of detail you choose to provide).

I hope that the findings will be of interest to many of you and I hope to be able to present my research findings to you at next year's BBAO conference.

Many thanks in advance

Tori Park

**Victoria Park**

Research Postgraduate  
International Centre for Cultural and Heritage Studies,  
18 Windsor Terrace,  
Newcastle University,  
NE1 7RU

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## Appendix 6: Park Survey questionnaire

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<b>Date:</b>	<b>Time:</b>	<b>Location:</b>	<b>Survey No:</b>
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### Public Survey

*This survey is part of a PhD research project at the International Centre for Cultural and Heritage Studies at Newcastle University. The overall research project examines how the excavation and reburial of archaeological human remains is presented in the British press, and issues surrounding this.*

*As part of this research I am interested in your opinions. The survey should only take about 5 minutes.*

*Your responses are completely anonymous. The answers you give will only be used in the research project and in related papers and presentations. You can leave any questions you don't want to answer and can stop at any time.*

*Thank you for your time.*

---

### SECTION A: Basic Information

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**1. Age**

- 18-25
- 26-35
- 36-45
- 46-55
- 56-65
- 65 +

**2. Male / Female**

- Female
- Male

---

### SECTION B: Archaeological Interest

---

**3. Do you have a job in, or directly related to archaeology or heritage?**

- Yes       No

**4. Are you a member of an archaeology or heritage group?**

- Yes       No

5. On a scale of 1-10 (1 being no interest, 10 being very high interest), what level of interest do you have in national archaeology?....and in local archaeology?

NATIONAL: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

LOCAL: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

---

**SECTION C: Uses and perceptions of the newspapers**

---

6. Where do you get information about national archaeology from?...and local archaeology (tick all that apply)

**National**

- Newspaper (print / online)
- Television (news)
- Television (documentaries)
- Magazines
- Radio
- Museums
- Internet
- Television drama
- Novel
- None
- Other - please specify:

**Local**

- Newspaper (print / online)
- Television (news)
- Television (documentaries)
- Magazines
- Radio
- Museums
- Internet
- Television drama
- Novel
- None
- Other - please specify:

7. Which of the following newspapers (print or online versions) do you read, and how often?

PAPER	FREQUENCY				
	Everyday	A few times / week	Once per week	Less than once/week	Never
BBC website					
The Times					
The Telegraph					
The Guardian/Independent					
The Daily Mail					
The Sun					
Local (e.g...This is York)					
Regional (e.g. Yorkshire Post, Northern Echo)					
The Metro					
Other - please specify:					

**8. Are you aware that archaeologists excavate human skeletons and burial sites in the UK?...And are you aware that these remains can be reburied?**

**Excavate**

- Yes
- No
- Unsure

**Reburial**

- Yes
- No
- Unsure

**9. What do you think the main reasons for the excavation of human skeletons within the UK are?...and reburial?**

**Excavation**

- Research
- Development (houses, road etc)
- Don't know
- Other - please specify:

**Reburial**

- End of the archaeological process
- Legal obligations
- Moral obligations
- Don't know
- Other - please specify:

**10. Overall what are your feelings towards the excavation of human skeletons within the UK by archaeologists? ...and reburial?**

**Excavation**

- Positive
- Negative
- Unsure
- No Opinion

**Reburial**

- Positive
- Negative
- Unsure
- No Opinion

**11a. Do you recall reading any newspaper articles about the discovery or reburial of human remains within the UK in any newspapers?**

- Yes
- No

**11b. Can you given any details of these?**

**12. How much trust do you have in the information presented to you about archaeology in the newspaper?**

- Complete
- A lot
- Some
- Not much
- None

---

**SECTION D: Newspaper coverage**

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**13. Are you interested in reading about archaeological excavations (within the UK) involving skeletons in the national newspapers.... and in local/regional newspapers?**

**National newspapers**

- Yes
- No
- Sometimes
- Don't know

**Local/regional newspapers**

- Yes
- No
- Sometimes
- Don't know

**14. ...and are you interested in reading about the reburial of skeletons from archaeological sites within the UK in national newspapers, ...and in local newspapers?**

**National newspapers**

- Yes
- No
- Sometimes
- Don't know

**Local/Regional newspapers**

- Yes
- No
- Sometimes
- Don't know

**15. If you were reading a newspaper story about the *excavation* of human skeletons from archaeological sites in the UK what information would you like to be included?**

**16. ...and what information would like to be included in a newspaper story on the *reburial* of human skeletons from archaeological sites in the UK?**

---

**SECTION E: ADDITIONAL INFORMATION**

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**17. Highest level of education completed**

- GCSE
- A'Level
- College
- University (Undergraduate)
- University (Masters)
- Doctoral degree
- Post-Doctoral
- Prefer not say
- Other - please specify:

**18. Religion**

- Christian (Catholic)
- Christian (Protestant)
- Christian (Other)
- Hindu
- Jewish
- Muslim
- Sikh
- None
- Prefer not say
- Other - please specify:

---

**Thank you for taking time to complete this survey**

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## Appendix 7: Initial contact email to potential interviewees

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Dear [name],

I am currently conducting research into the **portrayal in newspapers of the excavation and reburial of human remains**. The research is part of an AHRC funded PhD at the International Centre for Cultural and Heritage Studies at Newcastle University. The research project consists of a content analysis of a range of British newspapers and also has a survey component.

As part of this research I would also like to **interview** a number of people within the archaeological profession in order to understand more about the process involved in getting articles into the newspaper as well as the challenges, the benefits, and impact of newspaper coverage. I realise that this is a busy time of year with potential cuts to the sector, but I would be very grateful if you are able to spare **30- 45 minutes** to talk to me about your **experiences, knowledge, and opinions**. Please let me know if you are able to contribute to this research project and I will contact you to arrange a suitable date/time. If you are unable to take part in the research yourself, could you suggest someone else within [organisation] who may be available to be interviewed on this topic.

Many thanks,

Tori Park

**Victoria Park**

Research Postgraduate

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UK

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## Appendix 8: List of core interview questions, with examples of additional questions

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1. What is your position/role within your organisation?
2. What does this entail?/ What are your responsibilities?
3. What involvement do you have with the press within your role (if any)?
4. Who within the organisation is responsible for being the contact with the news/press?
5. What is the process of getting a story into the news?
  - *Who decides that a certain story should be submitted or released?*
  - *Do you know what the reasons are behind this? (e.g. publicity, sharing knowledge)*
  - *What stages are there, or have there been? Are there different ways? (press release, invite a journalist, asked for comment?) Which tends to be the most common?*
  - *Is there normally a time lapse after excavation before its released? What is this time period? And why?*
  - *Does your organisation provide guidelines for dealing with the press (is this written into contracts?)*
  - *Are there specific guidelines when dealing with the excavation of human remains?*
6. What is your experience of working with the newspaper/journalists on stories relating to human remains?
  - *Can you recall any details of a specific story?*
  - *What do you feel are the main benefits of working with the press?*
  - *What do you feel are the main drawbacks of working with the press?*
  - *Would you say that the experiences were largely positive or negative?*
7. Do you think things have things changed in the way things are presented to, and in the press in the time you have worked in archaeology? What do you think the reasons for this are?
8. Has there been any impact from the public after a story about human remains was released? Either your own story, or stories that were published about other excavations or issues that prompted a response from the public?



- *Can you recall any details?*
- *Was the feedback positive? Negative?*
- *What were the implications of this?*

### **Perceptions**

9. Thinking beyond your own professional experience with the press, what are your personal opinions about press coverage in general in the UK of the excavation of human remains? And of reburial of human remains?

- *Should it be covered? Why?*
- *What do you think are the main benefits?*
- *What do you think are the main drawbacks?*
- *What should be included?*
- *What could be improved?*

10. Do you have any other comments about newspaper coverage of archaeological human remains?

## **Appendix 9: Plain statement of research and consent form for interviews**

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### **PLAIN LANGUAGE STATEMENT OF RESEARCH:**

This PhD research project investigates the portrayal of the excavation and reburial of archaeological human remains within the UK by British newspapers. Human remains are traditionally thought of as being popular with the public and mass media, but alongside its popularity are debates surrounding the ethics of the excavation, use and ultimate fate of archaeological human remains. Research into the portrayal of archaeology in the mass media is growing, but to date human remains have been largely neglected. This research project hopes to add to these discussions, and develop a better understanding of the relationship between the two through a content analysis of newspapers, survey of the general public and interviews/surveys with those involved in the archaeological process. The key Aims of the research are:

1. To critically explore newspaper coverage of the excavation and reburial of archaeological human remains
2. To examine the relationship between stakeholders and newspapers
3. To investigate public reception of newspaper coverage of the excavation and reburial of human remains
4. To assess the impact that this may have on the future of archaeological human remains

Participants at the interview stage of data collection have been chosen because of their involvement within the archaeological profession. Interviews will last approximately 30-45 minutes and will be audiotaped. The data from the interviews will be used to complete the research thesis, and in any papers related to the work.

### **Examples of areas that will be covered in the interview**

- Involvement with the press within your role.
- The process of getting a story into the newspaper.
- Impact from the public after a story about archaeological human remains was released.
- Opinions about press coverage in general in the UK of the excavation of human remains.

## INFORMED CONSENT

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this research.

*I confirm that I have read the statement provided for the above research project and have had the opportunity to ask questions. I understand that I will be asked about my professional and personal experiences of the reporting of the excavation and reburial of human remains by British newspapers.*

*I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time, without needing to give a reason.*

*I consent to the interview being audio-taped. I will remain anonymous in any transcript (verbatim or edited) unless permission is sought.*

*I understand that data from the interview will only be used in the production and dissemination of the specified research project.*

*I know that if I have any questions relating to the research project or procedures I can contact Victoria Park at [v.m.park@ncl.ac.uk](mailto:v.m.park@ncl.ac.uk)*

_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	Date	Signature
_____	_____	_____
Researcher	Date	Signature

(One copy to the participant and one to the researcher)

## Appendix 10: Instances of excavation, retention or reburial which were reported in five or more newspaper articles.

<b>1. Robert the Bruce (1996/1998) (9 articles)</b>			
- 'In search of Bruce's heart'	<i>The Scotsman</i>	13 August 1996	(Chisholm, 1996)
- 'Robert Bruce discovery goes to History's heart'	<i>The Independent</i>	30 August 1996	(Brace, 1996)
- 'Electronics and Screwdrivers used to unravel the mystery of Robert the Bruce'	<i>The Herald</i>	3 September 1996	(Robertson, 1996)
- 'A tiny drill and a fibre-optic cable get to the heart of the mystery of Robert the Bruce'	<i>The Independent</i>	3 September 1996	(Cusick, 1996)
- 'Return to the site of Bruce's heart's desire'	<i>Daily Mail</i>	24 February 1998	(Fairburn, 1998)
- 'Bannockburn date for The Bruce's reburial'	<i>The Scotsman</i>	24 February 1998	(Chisholm, 1998)
- 'Robert the Bruce's heart finds its final resting place'	<i>The Independent</i>	25 June 1998	(Goodwin, 1998)
- 'Secret ceremony lays Bruce's heart to rest'	<i>The Herald</i>	25 June 1998	(The Herald, 1998)
- 'A Saltire salute heart goes back to where it belongs'	<i>Daily Mail</i>	26 June 1998	(Armstrong, 1998)
<b>2. Roman Coffin with wealthy woman inside (1999) (8 articles)</b>			
- 'Museum lifts the lid on a First lady of London'	<i>The Evening Standard</i>	15 April 1999	(Gruner, 1999)
- 'Lifting the lid on a Roman uptown girl'	<i>The Times</i>	15 April 1999	(Alberge, 1999c)
- 'Beauty Secrets of a Roman lady'	<i>The Times</i>	16 April 1999	(Alberge, 1999b)
- 'Roman Aristocrat's body found in mud'	<i>The Independent</i>	16 April 1999	(Watson-Smyth, 1999b)
- 'Archaeologists lift lid on the great unknown'	<i>The Times</i>	16 March 1999	(Alberge, 1999a)
- 'Roman lady's coffin shows 4th century elan'	<i>The Guardian</i>	16 April 1999	(Kennedy, 1999)
- 'Experts delve into Roman Casket'	<i>The Scotsman</i>	16 April 1999	(Milmo, 1999)
- 'The Roman yuppie; Luxury life of the woman who lived and died in Londinium'	<i>The Daily Mail</i>	16 April 1999	(Mouland and Kelly, 1999)

<b>3. Iron Age baby found (2001) (5 articles)</b>			
- 'Baby skeleton is found on amateur dig'	<i>Liverpool Echo</i>	30 August 2001	(Liverpool Echo, 2001)
- 'Little Britain found after 2000 years'	<i>The Times</i>	31 August 2001	(The Times, 2001)
- 'Iron Age baby find'	<i>The Mirror</i>	31 August 2001	(Yaqoob, 2001)
'2,000-year-old baby skeleton'	<i>Birmingham Post</i>	31 August 2001	(Birmingham Post, 2001)
- 'Iron Age baby's bones unearthed at Roman Villa'	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	31 August 2001	(Derbyshire, 2001)
<b>4. Stonehenge (2002/2003) (7 articles)</b>			
- 'Skeleton may be Stonehenge "king"'	<i>The Evening Standard</i>	15 May 2002	(Smith, 2002)
- 'The aristocratic warrior as old as Stonehenge'	<i>The Times</i>	16 May 2002	(Henderson, 2002)
- 'Experts Unearth 'King' of Ancient Temple'	<i>Daily Record</i>	16 May 2002	(Lakeman, 2002a)
- 'Stonehenge King; 4,000-year-old grave unearthed'	<i>The Mirror</i>	16 May 2002	(Lakeman, 2002b)
- 'King of Stonehenge; found, chief who may have built monument'	<i>Daily Mail</i>	16 May 2002	(Chapman, 2002)
- 'Unearthed, the prince of Stonehenge'	<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	21 August 2002	(Highfield, 2002)
- 'Stonehenge burials unearthed'	<i>BBC News</i>	21 May 2003	(BBC, 2003)
<b>5. Hebridian Mummies (2003) (5 articles)</b>			
- 'Prehistoric mummies unearthed in Hebrides'	<i>The Independent</i>	16 March 2003	(Keys, 2003)
- 'The first prehistoric mummies in Europe are found in the Hebrides'	<i>The Herald</i>	17 March 2003	(Tinning, 2003)
- 'Earliest Mummies Found in Hebrides'	<i>Aberdeen Press and Journal</i>	17 March 2003	(McMillan, 2003)
- 'Britain Today: Mummies found'	<i>Belfast News Letter</i>	18 March 2003	(Belfast News Letter, 2003)
- 'Unearthed, Britain's mummies'	<i>Daily Mail</i>	18 March 2003	(Chapman, 2003)
<b>6. Plans for reburial of museum skeletons (2004) (5 articles)</b>			
- 'Museum skeletons 'to be reburied''	<i>BBC News</i>	6 January 2004	(BBC, 2004)

- 'Museum urges reburial of skeletons in its closet''	<i>The Guardian</i>	6 January 2004	(Oliver, 2004)
- 'Dilemma over 17,000 skeletons in cupboard'	<i>The Evening Standard</i>	6 January 2004	(Harris, 2004)
- 'Museum bones 'should have a Christian burial''	<i>The Times</i>	6 January 2004	(Alberge, 2004)
- 'Museum has bones of contention'	<i>Western Mail</i>	9 January 2004	(Western Mail, 2004)
<b>7. 2000-year-old skeletons in Hebrides (2005) (5 articles)</b>			
- '2,000 year old burial site found'	<i>The Independent</i>	24 October 2005	(The Independent, 2005)
- '2,000-year-old grave found on island'	<i>Daily Post</i>	24 October 2005	(Daily Post, 2005)
- 'Iron Age skeleton found on isle'	<i>BBC News</i>	24 October 2005	(BBC, 2005b)
- 'Skeleton find in 2000 years old'	<i>The Herald</i>	24 October 2005	(The Herald, 2005)
- 'Unst throws up ancient burial site'	<i>The Times</i>	24 October 2005	(The Times, 2005)
<b>8. Decapitated Romans (2005) (5 articles)</b>			
- 'Decapitated bodies baffle experts'	<i>BBC News</i>	24 February 2005	(BBC, 2005a)
- 'Headless skeleton crew baffles Roman experts'	<i>Yorkshire Post</i>	25 February 2005	(Hemmings, 2005)
- 'Mystery over headless bodies find'	<i>The Northern Echo</i>	25 February 2005	(Chapman, 2005a)
- 'Mystery over headless bodies find'	<i>This is the Northeast</i>	25 February 2005	(Chapman, 2005b)
- 'Mystery of 49 headless Romans who weren't meant to haunt us'	<i>The Times</i>	25 February 2005	(Alberge, 2005)
<b>9. Roman found in London (2006) (5 articles)</b>			
- 'Scientists uncover first sign of life in West End'	<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	1 December 2006	(Reynolds, 2006)
- 'Ancient body prompts new theories'	<i>BBC News</i>	1 December 2006	(BBC, 2006b)
- 'Have they found Saint Martin in the fields? Headless skeleton is discovered by Trafalgar Square'	<i>The Evening Standard</i>	1 December 2006	(Davis, 2006)

- 'Roman London redrawn after burial find'	<i>The Times</i>	1 December 2006	(Alberge, 2006)
- 'Trafalgar Square 'a Roman holy site''	<i>The Evening Standard</i>	2 December 2006	(Wilson, 2006)
<b>10. Wealthy Roman in Yorkshire (2007) (8 articles)</b>			
- 'Ancient skeleton found in field'	<i>The Northern Echo</i>	22 November 2007	(The Northern Echo, 2007)
- 'Archaeology: Yorkshire's oldest woman to give up her secrets'	<i>The Guardian</i>	23 November 2007	(Wainwright, 2007)
- 'The lost lady of Rome; 2,000 years on, a daughter of the Empire is found in an English field'	<i>Daily Mail</i>	23 November 2007	(Brooke, 2007)
- 'Burial find gives wealth of clues to Roman high life'	<i>Yorkshire Post</i>	23 November 2007	(Yorkshire Post, 2007)
- 'Roman Skeleton found in Farm land'	<i>Northern Echo</i>	23 November 2007	(Foster, 2007)
- 'Rare Roman bones from a Yorkshire field will yield secrets of life two millennia ago'	<i>The Times</i>	23 November 2007	(Alberge, 2007)
- 'Riddle of Roman skeleton'	<i>York Press</i>	23 November 2007	(York Press, 2007)
- 'Metal detector pair strike again and find a Roman Briton'	<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	23 November 2007	(Cleland, 2007)