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NOTES AND REVIEWS

The State We're in on the Eve of World Archaeological Congress (WAC) 6: Archaeology in Ireland vs Corporate Takeover

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There has been a change in how the state in Ireland uses archaeology since the 1990s, when it began collaboration with the private sector on large-scale development. Most archaeologists are now employed by private companies on temporary, short-term contracts. As in other countries, this has happened in tandem with increasing bureaucratic, corporate control of universities and pressure on academics to orient teaching to meet the needs of industry. This is an inevitable expression of expansion by multinational corporations, often part of the 'spreading democracy' which, updating a famous phrase, can be characterised as a US-led 'war by other means'. I present a case study of that process unfolding in one country, focusing on road development, the corruption upon which it is necessarily founded, and the role of archaeology. The M3 motorway which threatens the landscape of the Hill of Tara provides a good example. Crucial questions of professional ethics and standards, particularly professionals' accountability to the community, have been sidelined. WAC 6 will be held in University College Dublin in June 2008; this congress will be pivotal because WAC will decide for or against archaeologists' accountability to communities and their life-or-death struggle for survival, and for or against embedding the profession with cultural destruction in the private sector.

KEYWORDS Cultural destruction, Privatisation, Development, Accountability

Introduction

Archaeology in the Republic of Ireland has served the interests of nationalism and the nation-state since the nineteenth century (e.g. Sheehy, 1980; Cooney, 1995; Woodman, 1995; O'Sullivan, 1998; Tierney, 1998). Nationalism has dominated the anti-imperialist movement in Ireland since that time. Nationalism is not only the claiming of uniqueness and exceptionalism accompanied by sectarian flag-waving. It

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is the defense of a nation, a whole set of relationships shaped by the empire's global market, a nostalgic reading of history — although this history is far less rich and creative than what Irish people over generations had been able to win against that empire and what that empire destroyed. This nostalgic perspective hides the rich and creative struggle and by definition does not focus on sex, race, or class distinctions.

Once that is clear, it is obvious that we continue to suffer from nationalism. But there has been a change in how the state uses archaeology following its collaboration with the private sector on large-scale development since the 1990s. Discussions of archaeology and nationalism in Ireland (including my own) have not addressed the root of the matter: the issue of professionals' accountability to the community.

Most archaeologists are now employed by private companies on temporary, short-term contracts. This privatization of the profession is not unique (McGuire and Walker, 1999; Cumberpatch and Blinkhorn, 2001; Everill, 2007). As in other countries, it has happened in tandem with increasing corporate control of universities and bureaucratic pressure on academics to orient teaching to meet the needs of industry (cf. Waddell, 2006; Everill, 2007). This has taken place in the context of expansion by multi-national corporations, often part of the 'spreading democracy' which, updating a famous phrase, can be characterised as a US-led 'war by other means'. I present a case study of that process unfolding in one country. WAC 6 will be held in University College Dublin in June 2008. The issues I discuss will arise there and the forces for privatization in archaeology have involved WAC 6 in the process.

The problem

At executive committee meetings at the College of Arts, if I close my eyes, I could be in any corporate boardroom. Students are valued in terms of how much income they bring. A research student is worth three undergraduates. The dean tells us that the degree programmes we offer have to sell to potential students.

It can feel like privatization is a steam roller. Structural changes to conform to market forces are presented as inevitable. We are encouraged into partnerships with the private sector. Universities are increasingly dependent on private money, with few questions asked regarding the strings attached. If staff mention commitment to communities (the National University of Ireland is still a public university, after all) and to professional standards, we are treated as a nuisance at best.

As archaeology in Ireland is now dominated by private companies and the state reduces it to a developer service industry, it is urgent for us to re-affirm what we believe we exist to do as academics and as archaeologists. Academic archaeologists' autonomy is crucial. Without it there is little control by independent professionals of the erosion of standards and values by the private sector. Refusing the corporate takeover can have serious consequences; you may be sabotaged, witch-hunted, or sacked. We're advised to live in the real world and take the money.

Questions that arise include whether this corporate takeover is inevitable — and if not, how we can oppose it. Other questions concern our relations with the private sector — whether it is ethical for university departments to take their money and if so, in what circumstances. Why did we become archaeologists in the first place and to whom are we accountable?

The 'Celtic Tiger' and archaeology

'The changes' are a favourite topic of conversation, because there have been so many in the last 15 years. Ireland was a third world country; I and many others grew up in poverty without essentials like hot water or a toilet in our house. Now it is one of the world's wealthiest economies, although the visible wealth hides deep poverty and we continue to suffer third world standards in hospitals, schools, water quality, sanitation, public housing, and other essential services. A minority has become extremely wealthy from construction, infrastructural development, IT, and financial services, geared to service the multi-nationals. The context is privatization, de-regulation, and the religious promotion of free market forces by successive governments. Instead of tackling greatly increased levels of racism, rape, and other violence, cuts are made to welfare and community resources, starting with cash and services to women who do the most work for the least, eg. current plans to cut benefits paid to single mothers and a recent proposal to end child benefit payments which are paid to mothers.

Heritage legislation requires that archaeologists monitor development and, if necessary, conduct salvage excavations in advance. The profession of archaeology has been put to work as a service industry for this development, and university teachers are increasingly cast as trainers of service technicians who 'clear' the archaeology away. The contradictory gap between the continued ideology of national heritage and its daily destruction in the name of progress is rising to the surface.

Corruption in the planning and development of road-building programmes

Commentators McDonald and Nix (2005: 33) refer to the 'close collusion' and 'vested interests' between 'the development-at-any-cost lobby and the short term thinkers who lead us'. The development boom has been founded upon extensive corruption, particularly among developers linked to the larger government party which has been in power for most of the 87 years since the foundation of the Irish state. Corruption tribunals have held public hearings but politicians enjoy impunity while lawyers profit. Communities protest against destructive developments, condemn the corruption and corporate greed, and ask: how can we stop them?

The situation has resulted in problems with housing, services, and transport provision, because planning does not take into account people's needs. The price of housing in the cities has forced many to live in a growing urban hinterland, making Ireland one of the most car-dependent countries in the world (McDonald and Nix, 2005: 22). Industrial development by multi-nationals outside Dublin demands a motorway system and other infrastructural development. The roads programme is key to the National Development Plan (ibid, 27). The relevant state institutions award contracts to the private sector via 'public–private partnerships': the contractor builds the road and often acquires tolling profits for a specified period afterwards. Land around these motorways becomes far more valuable because of its development potential. Land speculation and other forms of corruption are a feature of these multi-million-euro road schemes.

This corruption is central to the problems we face in archaeology. Our guiding principles are undermined daily. From 2000 there have been a number of

controversies concerning archaeology and the roads. The M50 motorway around Dublin was routed through the highly significant Anglo-Norman fortress of Carrickmines Castle; an interchange was sited on top of the remains of its outer enclosure (ibid, 152). Initially it was recommended that this area be avoided, but the local council (developer of the M50) agreed this route and re-zoned lands along it from agricultural to industrial use. An assessment by the archaeology company Valerie J. Keeley Ltd failed to stress the site's high significance. This assessment was described by a European Commission report as 'flawed', with significant shortcomings on 'some points of vital importance' (ibid, 155). This company was later awarded the salvage excavations contract.

Campaigners occupied the site and some took legal action. The government and local council responded legally and worked to undermine support for the campaigners from the archaeological profession. In 2002, government archaeologists working in Dúchas (the state's heritage service) were brought under the control of the Department of the Environment, the ministry responsible for the roads. In 2003 Dúchas was abolished — a warning to other heritage bodies. In 2004 the government changed the heritage law, allowing the minister for the environment to decide what was a national monument, what sort of protection it merited, and what interests to consider — including 'development' and 'progress' — when deciding whether to order its preservation *in situ*, excavation, or demolition (ibid, 32, 158). The changes included particular reference to the M50 case. This took decisions on heritage out of the hands of archaeologists and further away from public input, thus awarding 'the power to bulldoze' (ibid, 158). The developer won the court case and the M50 went ahead.

Why did the state expend such efforts to win this battle? According to Ann O'Loughlin of the *Irish Independent*, in 2006 the Irish Criminal Assets Bureau (CAB) blocked the re-sale of lands at Carrickmines:

> after a lengthy investigation into suspected breaches of the Proceeds of Crime Act. The court heard that the total value of the 107 acres in Carrickmines, Dublin — if they had continued to be zoned agricultural — would have been around €7.9m. But after rezoning to industrial, 17 acres alone were immediately valued at €61m. The land was owned by Jackson Way Properties Ltd. . . . CAB chief, Det Chief Supt Felix McKenna, said in an affidavit to the court that it was his belief that the rezoning decision on December 16, 1997, of Dun Laoghaire/Rathdown County Council was procured by corrupt payment to county councillors. (O'Loughlin, 2006)

The CAB had interviewed the lobbyist who it contends made the payments and who has been giving testimony for many years to the tribunal investigating corruption in planning. The company and the lands in question were already and continue to be under investigation by the tribunal (McDonald and Nix, 2005; 152).

These actions by the state were not solely about Carrickmines; the chance that archaeologists would turn up sites of national importance on other lucrative road projects was high. It was now a distinct possibility that archaeologists might band together with others against corrupt development. So, if archaeology was not to be an impediment to profit and provide strength for the movement, something had to be done.

Tara and the M3: no model for global archaeology

The M3 motorway started life as a bypass around one town (Newman, 2007: 68); it became a billion-euro scheme servicing industrial development in the north-west of the island by providing a conduit from Dublin and industrializing lands along its route. The developer is the state (Meath County Council and the National Roads Authority or NRA) via a partnership with the private sector: four international consortia tendered for the contract, including Halliburton's Iraq war profiteer Kellogg, Brown, and Root, with the contract eventually awarded to the Eurolink consortium, which includes SIAC Construction Ltd and Cintra S.A.

The final route selected goes through the Gabhra valley between the hills of Tara and Skryne, a highly sensitive archaeological landscape just below Ireland's pre-eminent national site, Tara. Tara is Ireland's Stonehenge or Great Zimbabwe, the traditional seat of the high kings and queens of Ireland and of Christian significance. Famed in myth and medieval documents (Breathnach, 2005), it suffers from the exaggerations characteristic of national symbols. Nevertheless, archaeological investigations have revealed evidence of sacred ceremony and ritual from the neolithic period onwards (Newman, 1998; Fenwick and Newman, 2002). In recent centuries Tara has been the scene of rebellion (in 1798) and political meetings.

Many archaeologists have opposed the motorway, some independently and some with other campaigners. The Meath Roads Action Group and the local historical and archaeological society have been very active. A number of individuals and groups teamed up to form the Save the Tara-Skryne Valley Campaign and, later, other groups formed including Tarawatch, the Campaign to Save Tara, and the Rath Lugh Direct Action Group. They have organized support nationally and internationally from thousands of academics, students, heritage societies, Irish emigrant groups, celebrities, and the media. My colleagues Conor Newman and Joe Fenwick from the National University of Ireland, Galway, have led an independent campaign by archaeologists and other academics. Activist camps are located on the spot, from which pickets and other actions are organized.

There has been violence towards peaceful protestors from police and construction company employees, and arrests. The state mounted a huge media disinformation campaign. Surveys were used to argue that most people in the area were in favour. But they were never given the option of a public transport plan, using, for example, the old railway line (McDonald and Nix, 2005). Despite differences between campaigners, their efforts brought the M3 to international public attention. However, the planning authority approved the route; in May 2005 the minister for the environment consented to 38 salvage excavations on that section (ibid, 193–194). One court case against the road was lost, although more legal action is expected.

The focus has been on Tara, but the M3 has never been 'just' about archaeology. The NRA's own route selection report and archaeological advisors stated in 2000 that a route east of the hill of Skryne would have the least impact archaeologically (ibid, 190). Part of the attraction of the route chosen is its likely high profitability in terms of toll revenue (Newman, 2007: 75). And, once again, there is suspected land speculation; developers, at least two of whom have made donations to the larger government party, have bought up lands along the chosen route, in particular around a massive 34-acre floodlit intersection at Blundelstown, just below the hill of Tara, which would

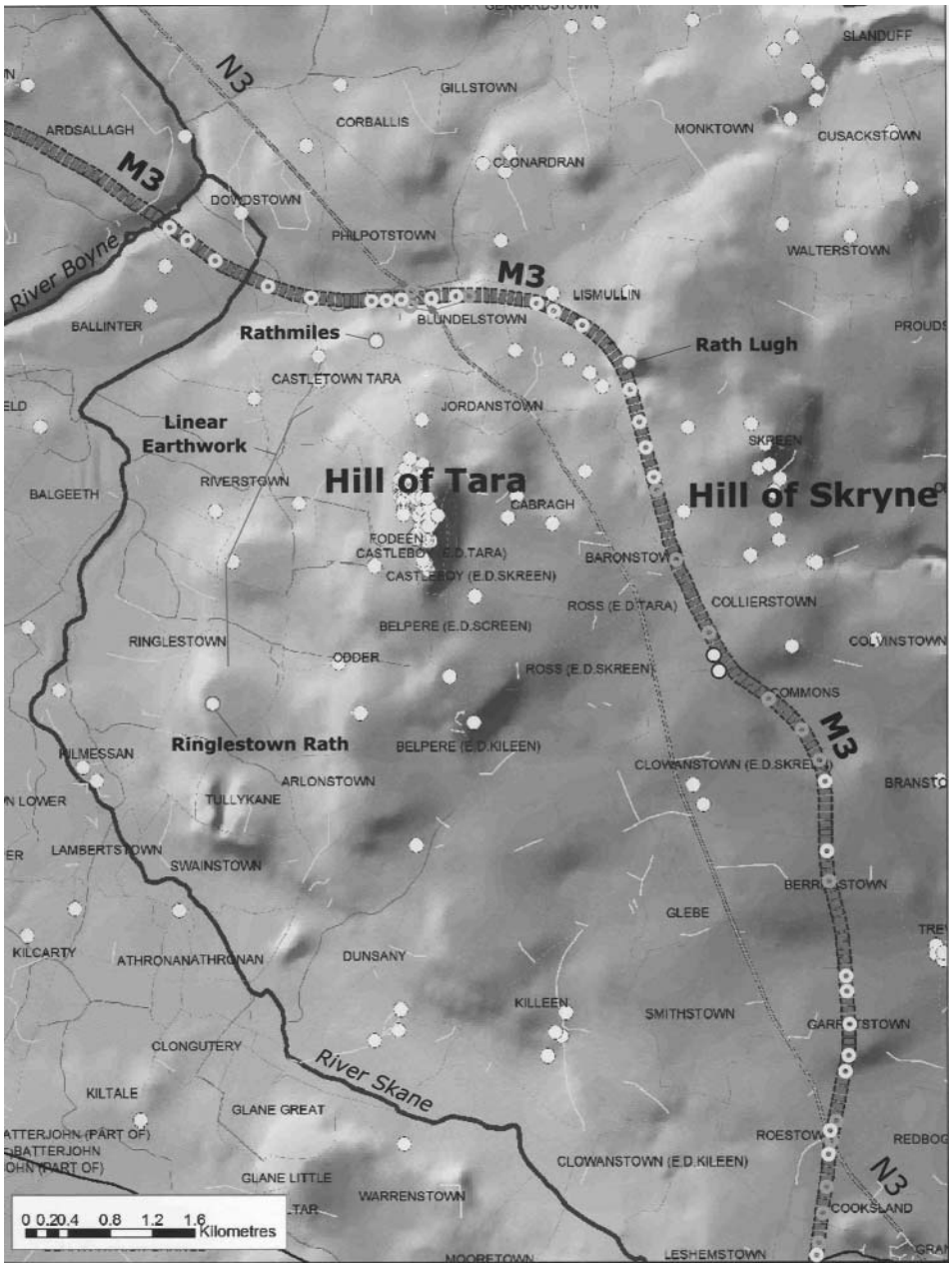

FIGURE 1 Proposed route of the M3 motorway, showing some of the sites affected.
Source: Department of Archaeology, NUI Galway, artwork by R. Legg

probably see extensive industrial development (McDonald and Nix, 2005; 192). No work on the M3 should have proceeded without a full inquiry into this issue.

There has been one sort of benefit to archaeology: extraordinary discoveries were made along the route including, in 2007, a site of major significance at Lismullin, an enormous Iron Age ceremonial site with circles of pits and postholes as well as

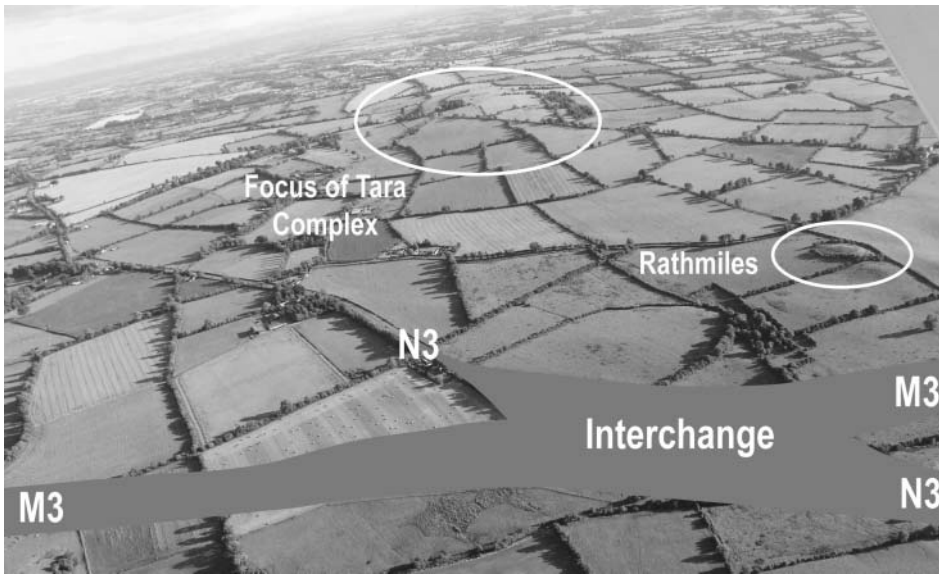

FIGURE 2 Proximity of the planned Blundelstown interchange on the M3 to Tara.
Photo E. O'Donoghue, artwork A. Gallagher, Department of Archaeology, NUI Galway

evidence from other periods (O'Connell, 2007: 52). The government, under a new Green party minister (when not in power this party opposed the M3, but in government has facilitated it), brought together different sectors of the profession on an advisory committee about this national monument (ibid), including people who had expressed concern about the route chosen, among them Conor Newman who had been prominent in opposing the M3. The state used the occasion of an examination of the site by this expert committee as a go-ahead for the motorway, overcoming the apparent obstacle of a highly significant national monument on the route. Committee members recommended continued excavation rather than preservation *in situ*, guided by concern for the delicate condition of the site, particularly after heavy rain (Lismullin Advisory Committee, 2007: 2).

The unfortunate consequence was that after excavation finished, the 'problem' of a national monument on the route had been removed as if excavation were all that was required; the site was handed over for the start of road construction much earlier than campaigners anticipated. Some campaigners feel that it was a mistake that technical archaeological concerns about one site were allowed to dominate — an indication of how careful those of us trying to preserve culture from destruction have to be not to have our own critique used against our own purpose. At about the same time another highly significant, multi-period site discovered on the route, a potential national monument, was dealt with in a different way: Baronstown was destroyed by machinery during the night (Campaign to Save Tara, 2007).

Among the supporters of the M3 are archaeology companies. Two companies advised on route selection: Valerie J. Keeley Ltd and Margaret Gowen and Co. Ltd. Both drew attention to the significance of the landscape around Tara and initially recommended avoidance, finding it impossible to indicate routes in this area (Newman, 2007: 69). For example:

> Intact historic landscapes such as Tara and Skreen will certainly have to be avoided altogether and this may pose problems for routing in these locations. (Courtney and Gowen, 1999: para. 3.2)

However, Margaret Gowen and Co. Ltd's later assessment work downplayed the archaeological impact of the preferred route. In a 2002 submission the company states:

> Most of the sites approached by the route appear to be later in date than the great prehistoric complex on Tara. No sites related to the Tara complex will suffer any physical impact and the route lies approximately 1.5km from the eastern limit of the protected zone around Tara. (Gowen and Co. Ltd, 2002: section 1, para. 4.1)

This reversal of the company's previous advice undoubtedly had an effect on the approval of the route, the number of sites estimated to need salvage excavation, and the projected cost. Archaeologists are divided on these impact assessments and they were contested, for example in testimony at the planning authority's oral hearing and in court.

While many field archaeologists have worked on the M3, their support should not be assumed. During test trenching, pressure was put on site directors and field teams by NRA archaeologists. Jo Ronayne directed M3 test trenches for IAC Ltd (Irish Archaeological Consultancy, one of the archaeology companies contracted to work on the M3). She says:

> I should have said no when asked to direct on it but I didn't have the experience to realize that the testing and my reports would be used to facilitate rather than stop the project going ahead. Or that they don't let you write the truth in the reports or give you enough time to do a proper job. I suppose I thought I and others could make a difference by showing the wealth of what was there, that it might stop the motorway. After a while I realized that the NRA would not let this happen. I was the director, I held the license and was responsible for the work, but the NRA archaeologist would come down and tell me what I should be doing. And directors or field archaeologists working on the sites were not allowed to attend meetings where decisions were made by the National Roads Authority's own archaeologists about how to interpret and present what WE were finding. A number of times I was told to change an interpretation which served to lessen the potential or numbers of sites. We were also told to excavate large sections into one type of site [*fulachta fiadh* — Bronze Age mounds] even though you are not supposed to excavate in the testing phase.
>
> They edited our reports before the minister saw them. (Interview, 2006)

What kind of standard is it when a developer edits the report on which the minister is to base his decision about that development? Fieldworkers are in a very difficult position. Jo Ronayne reports that she and several other archaeologists decided not to work on the M3 salvage excavations.

Test trenching along the M3 route was one of the issues raised by the chief state archaeologist, Brian Duffy, in a memorandum to the minister, where he suggested that many of the sites:

> are small features such as pits and burnt spreads. As the vast majority of these sites have no visible surface representation and only survive as truncated features below the topsoil,

> their excavation and removal will not detract from the visible monuments on the Hill of Tara. These monuments cannot be considered to be part of some greater Tara monument as while some of them are coeval with phases of prehistoric activity on the hill, others are medieval or post-medieval in date. (Duffy, 2004)

Apart from unwarranted speculation regarding the outcome of future excavations (the error of which is now revealed by extraordinary discoveries during salvage excavations), the idea that sites beneath the surface are less important than those standing above ground, that their removal does not detract from Tara's landscape and that they are not part of it, makes no professional sense.

The chief archaeologist's advice has consistently favoured developers. For example, in the same document he states:

> [T]he motorway will not impact on the National Monuments on the Hill of Tara itself and the proposed route is further away from the hill than the existing N3 and when the motorway is completed and landscaped it will not have a major impact on the amenity of the National Monuments on the hill. [...] It could be argued that the M3 will be a monument of major significance in the future. (ibid)

In addition, academic archaeologists have been divided over the M3 and how we work with the private sector. Professor Gabriel Cooney of University College Dublin, president of WAC 6, has made statements which give legitimacy to the M3. In 2005 he wrote in an *Irish Times* op-ed:

> It has to be recognised that an extensive planning process, stretching back several years, has been properly undertaken as the mandatory background for the construction of what is considered to be a key infrastructural development. In the directions issued by the Minister for the Environment, Heritage and Local Government, Dick Roche, to Meath County Council, detailed comments made by the director of the National Museum, Dr Patrick Wallace, have been taken into account and additional assessment of sites prior to excavation will take place. Explicit provision has been made for extra time and resources to be provided where required for the satisfactory completion of excavations. All this is to be welcomed [...]

He stated that he was opposed to the selected route for the M3 in principle, but clearly supports it in practice. In a radio interview two years later, my colleague Conor Newman said that it would have been better if Professor Cooney had declared the connection between the School of Archaeology in University College Dublin and the NRA (interview on Irish state radio's *Today* programme, 6 September 2007). He noted that Professor Cooney's department services NRA specialist reports and received NRA funding in 2006 for a post-doctoral fellowship, the National Roads Authority Newman Scholar in Landscape Archaeology (ibid). This fellowship is to assess the impact of the NRA's work in relation to archaeology, put it into a wider research framework, and inform NRA policy. It should also be noted that a document on the future of archaeology in Ireland produced by the same School of Archaeology, which included consultation with developers but not with the majority of the profession (or the public), was funded by the NRA. As a result it says:

> In terms of its constituent sectors, archaeology could now be regarded predominantly as a business domain operating in a competitive economic climate and focusing on generating information. (University College Dublin, 2006: 5)

Professor John Waddell of the National University of Ireland, Galway, described the statement as 'a premise that is as banal as it is unacceptable' (2006: 7). I am sure there are varying views among colleagues in Dublin, but the objectivity and independence of expert opinion from this academic department on the M3 or on archaeology in general has been compromised, and in future cannot be taken as a given.

Likewise, in 2007 the acting chairperson of the Irish Association of Professional Archaeologists, Margaret Gowen (whose company did the impact assessment for the M3 and who is on the committee for WAC 6) commented:

> While individual archaeologists may be unhappy with due process and its outcome, in some instances, there is little doubt that Irish archaeology has never been so professional, adept and successful.

Describing what happened with the M3 as 'due process' or 'professional' shows at best a poor understanding of the terms 'professional' and 'ethics'. Professor Cooney (2007) has discussed the new privatized model of the Irish profession at a WAC conference on ethical globalization, a forum on potential global models and directions for archaeology. However, what is ethical about facilitating the construction of a four-lane motorway through the landscape of a symbolic national monument, alienating communities, bringing archaeology into disrepute, and providing cover for corrupt development and profiteering by multi-nationals — in some cases the same multi-nationals massively profiting from the murder of over one million people in the Iraq war, the majority women and children?

We are reminded of the congratulatory air in the corridors of power and the Irish media 'when Ireland's GDP per capita outstripped Britain's for the first time in history and the "Irish model" of economic development was held up as an example to the rest of the world' (McDonald and Nix, 2005: 16). The free market model of globalization is not and cannot be ethical whether it's Irish capitalism or any other national brand; even if former Irish president and UN human rights commissioner Mary Robinson and advisors and board members of her 'ethical globalization' organization say it can. The latter have many links to agencies like the US government's National Endowment for Democracy, a Reagan-era creation that engages in 'spreading democracy' via coups, funding for pro-US NGOs and parties, and other agitation to remove governments (elected or not) and repress community struggles that do not suit US corporate interests.[1]

Profits and losses: the balance sheet from privatization in archaeology

Following attacks by the media, archaeologists opposing cultural destruction have often felt forced to declare that they are not against roads or development. As a result, connections have not always been made with communities which are very much against this 'development' because their lives, livelihoods, land, and culture are threatened by corrupt, destructive, and unnecessary projects. This follows an earlier pattern from the 1990s when rampant heritage tourism development brought communities into conflict with the state, its private sector collaborators, and archaeologists (Ronayne, 2001). In all these controversies, archaeology and the site of Tara have been prioritized, which can have the effect of hiding crucial questions on land

speculation, corruption, and the potential involvement of war profiteers. When we reduce any issue to archaeological concerns, not only our profession but communities threatened by destruction are likely to lose. Our training usually militates against prioritizing the living. The structure of the profession today, a product of the heritage sector made amenable to developers, has cemented this fetishism and makes vital professional accountability to the public far more difficult. This reduces public respect for the profession.

Academic autonomy demands that we also examine the cost to our profession of its growing privatization. On the one hand there is a great deal more work for graduates, a greater variety of posts, an enormous amount of information on many periods (although most of it remains unpublished), and greatly expanded funding for archaeological salvage and research. However, the vast majority of the archaeological labour force is composed of young colleagues, Irish and immigrant, who wrestle with developers, their own managers, and often terrible site conditions for scandalously low pay to produce data which is then 'interpreted'. According to these colleagues, the average rate of pay is between eight and nine euros an hour for the lowest grade of fieldworker — that's just above the minimum wage. Turnover is high because many leave to do 'a real job'. Like any other business, commercial archaeology must turn a profit and corners are cut. Profiteering at the expense of pay and conditions is common. Many young archaeologists report pressure to dig faster because of the cost of delays to the developer, resulting in damage and destruction of sites. (There are reports of this from the M3, and intentions to investigate it further.) In 2000 union organizers documented pay cuts, alteration of expenses, qualified staff paid at the lowest grade for indefinite periods, deduction of pay when staff were rained off, and volunteers taken on for three-week periods to avoid paying qualified staff (SIPTU, 2000: 2). Fieldworkers continue to speak of such practices (interviews, 2000–2008).

Field archaeologists view academics with suspicion because most academics have not defended them (ibid). New posts create further hierarchies. NRA archaeologists oversee the work of those in the companies. Conflicts occur because the former are answerable to the developer, not to colleagues. Most workers in archaeology are dependent on the privatization of our profession and the road-building programme, yet at the same time suffer from it — increasingly so as recession in the US economy hits construction and other industries in Ireland. People protesting against developments can view archaeologists as 'the enemy', although many if not most field archaeologists are sympathetic to their struggles. Thus natural allies are pitted against one another.

Cheques, balances, and archaeology's autonomy

My colleague Professor John Waddell (2006: 7) calls for a strong professional ethic in his article 'Cheques and Balances':

> The agenda of scholarship is increasingly set not by the collegiate academy but by the political establishment and their academic supporters in the name of the marketplace. In this situation fundamental principles are easily forgotten. [. . .] If there are those who see archaeology as a service industry, then we must ask them the question, 'in whose service?'

Other archaeologists and company bosses prefer to concur with developers. Margaret Gowen (2007) says: '[W]hat has been missing, with some notable exceptions, is a strong articulate voice for archaeology.' She does not consider the archaeologists and communities who have opposed cultural destruction, the majority of the public in Ireland who oppose the threat to Tara from the M3 for example, to be speaking for archaeology; rather, a voice for archaeology apparently would be one supporting the private sector and explaining its work better to the public and politicians.

Are archaeologists who raise questions opposed to all forms of development or living in ivory towers? No. Exactly the opposite is the case. Asking questions and opposing cultural destruction defends archaeology's professional integrity and supports communities pressing for development that meets their needs and not those of multi-nationals. Embedding ourselves with the destroyers of culture and communities does not support our profession, communities, or cultural heritage. Why did we become archaeologists if not to protect and defend culture?

By all means let us have more practical and scientific training. However, if academics teach technical skills to the detriment of other information, they destroy not only ancient remains but archaeology itself. It is entirely unethical to send graduates out to work if they do not know what ethics and standards apply in any given situation. Some academic colleagues claim it is hypocrisy not to integrate partnerships with the private sector into our teaching because this is where our students work upon graduation, but training our students to be professionals is not the same thing as unquestioning service.

Against this pressure to sell archaeology to the highest bidder, in 2005 I introduced the first, and so far only, public archaeology course in an Irish university. It examines professional ethics and standards through case studies from around the world. The aim is to encourage our students to consider to whom they are accountable as professionals. The course includes guest lectures from field archaeologists discussing their work for the private sector and fight for better pay and conditions, from grassroots community activists in Venezuela on how they hold professionals accountable, and from indigenous teachers from the Oaxaca valley in Mexico on community struggles against cultural destruction and US-backed development plans.

I am not proposing that we should never work with the private sector, particularly many of the smaller companies (e.g. for student field training, as long as they are not a source of free labour or replacement for other workers). Academics writing company reports or being paid for consultancy work would have to be assessed on a case-by-case basis — are we being asked to replace other field colleagues? Is our involvement to the detriment of a community? What if we uncover evidence of unprofessional practices? I don't think we can decide on many of these issues by ourselves but we can consult with field colleagues and the relevant communities.

Funding for archaeology by the NRA and other developers is a double-edged sword. Salvage excavations and controversial road developments become characterized as 'research'. Professor Cooney advocates for 'a clear and coherent research strategy, so that the maximum amount of knowledge comes into the public domain' from the M3 excavations (2005). Politicians press the point that, whether we like it or not, the NRA is the patron of archaeology:

> The relationship between the National Roads Authority and archaeology is like that between the devil and holy water. It wants to avoid it if at all possible. [...] It is a deep paradox that [...] the National Roads Authority is by far the largest patron of archaeology in this country. I almost fear to think what the archaeological profession would do without the National Roads Authority. (Speech by Senator Martin Mansergh in parliament, 1 July 2004)

The Irish government has allocated one million euros in funding this year for research in archaeology, but a condition is that all projects must include the private sector as a partner (Heritage Council, 2008). When academics take research funding from developers to assess the impact of developer projects, or receive joint funding for collaborative projects with the private sector, we have gone over the precipice: in both cases the agenda is set not by archaeology but by the market.

Bribes are not the only form of corruption (further investigation of reports of bribes in Irish archaeology is intended). Corruption is also the erosion of professional ethics, whether through pressure, profit, or personal or group ambition, to the point where standards are contravened or abandoned. Those of us in academia can work with the private sector in one important way: we can act as a conduit for those field archaeologists who wish to be whistleblowers on corruption but must remain anonymous to protect their livelihood. The method developed for the Ilısu dam is useful: archaeologists in southeast Turkey involved with the dam's salvage projects but unable to speak out, for fear of not only losing their livelihood but of torture, passed information to me to publicize (Ronayne, 2007).

Our autonomy must remain a key feature of academic life, and in the climate of corporate takeover is an independent means of checking the free reign of market forces among professional sectors of society. This autonomy is not ours to give away; we are public servants, and communities require from us that we stay independent in their service. When we train our students to become professionals we are accountable not only to them but to the communities outside the university whose heritage and culture our students and we may end up investigating.

The World in a State o' Chassis[2]

What I have described is not unique to Ireland but found in the UK and beyond. I see parallels with Turkey, where we fight dam construction, but the stakes are higher — many hundreds of thousands of lives are threatened. A lot of people are turning their backs on privatization and great grassroots movements in Latin America, for example, are holding professionals to account: we do not want to be the enemy of community movements for justice. The impulse for the WAC's foundation came from this direction, not from global capital. We must be clear that if privatized archaeology in the service of corrupt development is adopted as the model globally, it will be used in the third world to cause the deaths of millions of people in wars and US-backed 'democracy and development' projects. WAC 6 will be pivotal because in the battle against privatisation and for academic autonomy and accountability to the community, WAC will decide at this congress which side it it on. Already there is an attempt to use WAC to approve a global, privatised archaeology modelled on recent development in Ireland:

> Irish professional archaeologists, institutions, companies and researchers are recognized for their very high standards on an international level. It can be no accident that the European Association of Archaeologists held their annual meeting in Cork in 2006 and that the World Archaeological Congress will meet in Dublin in June 2008, an event that will showcase all that is best about modern Irish archaeology. (Gowen, 2007)

In turn, WAC 6 may well bolster those forces in Irish archaeology promoting the pro- privatization, pro-roads, and pro-developer model because, as I have described, people and institutions involved in the organizing, including the NRA, support or are part of the new structures of archaeology.

Let us come back to Margaret Gowen's point about a strong voice for archaeology. I hope WAC members will decide for communities and their life-or-death struggle for survival, which is the fundamental basis of the struggle to preserve, maintain, and pass on culture.

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Notes

[1] Znet is one of a number of web networks where activists monitor the connections and funding of NGOs. On Mary Robinson's organization, see for example http://wiki.zmag.org/lloyd_axworthy

[2] 'The whol' world's in a terrible state o' chassis' says a character from Irish playwright Sean O'Casey's play *Juno and the Paycock*, set in the Dublin working-class tenements in 1922 at the end of the Irish revolution.

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