2. A quarter-century of community engagement at Çatalhöyük

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Introduction

In 2021, public archaeology is known and practised enough to warrant its own journals, its own conference sessions and interest groups in professional organisations and its own degree programs. This has not always been the case, however, and before community-engaged archaeology became so widespread, archaeologists often viewed their own empirical scientific interests as fundamentally opposite to the desires of descendant and stakeholder groups (Ferguson 1996; Dumont 2002; Phillips, Allen 2010; Atalay 2012a: 57). In this context, non-specialist communities were often framed as standing in the way of the expansion of scientific knowledge.

At Çatalhöyük, though, some form of community engagement took place even in the earliest days of the project – well before the recognisable institutionalisation of public archaeology. Looking back over the 25 years of community engagement at Çatalhöyük belies any sense that the community desired to protect remains against the archaeologists' objective to excavate them. Instead, reviewing the past projects, processes and policies that comprised community engagement at Çatalhöyük reveals that local community members always played an integral role in the production of knowledge about the past at this site. Through their participation in the excavation as workers, as cooks and housekeepers, as consultants on ethnoarchaeological research projects, as collaborators on museum exhibits, as craftspeople – in all of these ways, men and women living around Çatalhöyük enabled the research team to study the archaeological record of the site.

At the same time, although local community members have been involved in so many dimensions of the excavation process, reflecting on the past 25 years of initiatives designed to reach out to and draw in members of the Çatalhöyük local community shows both the successes and limitations of these initiatives. It becomes clear that many individual community engagement programs achieved their specific aims, but at the same time these programs were just that – individual and discrete. Many of them were driven by particular organisers and took place while these specific people or groups were involved in the project. Moreover, such initiatives did not occur in a vacuum, and the degree to which they accomplished their goals was also shaped by broader conditions at the project level, as well as the local, regional and national scales.

Much has been written on the reflexive methodology of the overarching Çatalhöyük project, which entails a commitment to dialogue and critiquing one's positionality with regard to both past and present (Hodder 1996a; 2000a; 2003; Farid 2014a; Berggren et al. 2015). Likewise, summaries of each of the projects discussed here can be found in the archive reports and newsletters posted on the project website (www.catalhoyuk.com). The purpose of this chapter is to establish a comprehensive and contextualised view of community engagement as a continual component of the work at Çatalhöyük. The analysis here proceeds roughly chronologically in order to illustrate the periodical expansion and constriction of these projects, as well as the diachronic changes in defining what community engagement has meant at Çatalhöyük over the course of the project as a whole. Our aim is both to describe the aims, strategies and results of the community engagement initiatives at Çatalhöyük since the beginning of the research project and to draw out the broader scales of social, political and material realities that have shaped the outcomes of these programs.

The community at Çatalhöyük

The varying scales of people and politics that came into play with regard to community engagement initiatives are evident even when undertaking the most basic task of defining who the 'community' is at Çatalhöyük. This is difficult, of course, on any public archaeology project; K. Anne Pyburn (2011) in particular has troubled the easy usage of the term 'community' for archaeology. She points out that all individuals belong to multiple, overlapping and cross-cutting communities and that community archaeology projects have frequently arbitrarily defined the communities based on criteria relevant to the specific goals of the archaeological research endeavours.

At Çatalhöyük, the difficulty of determining who belongs to the local community is apparent. Turkey is a large and diverse country in all aspects. Administratively, it is divided into 81 states or provinces, with the province and its largest city generally sharing their name. Çatalhöyük is located in Konya, a largely rural province of 2 million people, three quarters of whom live in the city of Konya itself. Konya Province is a conservative area of Turkey, where Islamic fundamentalism and Turkish nationalism are strong forces. It is a stronghold of the ruling conservative party AKP (Justice and Development Party). Almost 75 per cent of residents voted for the AKP in the November 2015 elections (Fox 2017). Of course, the region – and even the individual towns and villages within it – cannot be seen as holistic or homogeneous. One must remember even the smallest villages are composed of individuals of various ages, genders, and socioeconomic and political positions and experiences with the site.

There are a number of small villages in the immediate area of Çatalhöyük – including Küçükköy (fig. 2.1), which has a population of around 700 individuals and is the nearest village at only 1km from the site (YerelNET 2018), as well as Karkın, Abditolu, Dedemoğlu and Hayıroğlu, which are no more than 10km away. The proximity of these villages to the site means that most residents are aware of the mound, though they may not know what it contains. There is also the sizeable town of Çumra, 12km away from the archaeological site, with about 42,000 residents (Brinkhoff 2018), where the dig team lived until the construction of the dig house in 1996. With all of these different communities in the area – some rural, some urban, many (but not all) religious and deeply conservative – it is difficult to draw simple geographic limits around who belongs to the 'local community' at Çatalhöyük and who does not. Çatalhöyük is a significant national symbol for Turkey as a whole and a place of particular personal importance for those who live near the site (Hodder 1998).

Furthermore, unlike other archaeological sites with community archaeology programs, there is no descendant community. The people living near Çatalhöyük today are not the genetic inheritors of the Neolithic residents of the site, nor do they generally view the Neolithic population as their ancestors. One group of people claiming a deep affiliation to ancient Çatalhöyük is the Mother Goddess community. They believe that in ancient times, communities were organised matriarchally and worshipped the divine feminine. Their beliefs about the site and their engagement in the project have been discussed extensively in other publications (Meskell 1995; Andersson 2003; Hodder 2003; Rountree 2007; Farid 2014a). In addition, the archaeologists working at Çatalhöyük were themselves an extremely international and diverse group, who belonged to a wide range of identity categories whilst also representing a community unto themselves. This group of people represented over 50 different countries, spoke numerous languages and came from varied academic backgrounds. To add further complexity, about 20–30 local staff members were employed each year of the project and as a result, within the nearby villages there are those who have worked on the site once or twice, those who have worked there year after year and those who have never worked there at all. So, the community at Çatalhöyük cannot be easily categorised according to either residence location or feelings of importance, but rather must be defined with regard to a particular question or goal.

Figure 2.1. House in Küçükköy.

Stakeholder communities are, furthermore, not limited only to those who feel connected to the site, but also include those with decision-making power over it. Çatalhöyük is owned by the state of Turkey. All research and activities on the mound are tightly controlled by the Republic of Turkey's Ministry of Tourism and Culture along with the Directorate of Museums and Monuments. This means that any research, community engagement, educational and research activities concerning Çatalhöyük must go through the official permission procedures of the Turkish government. In addition, all archaeological work ('survey, excavation and soundings') undertaken by foreign teams and institutions are tightly supervised. As detailed in *The Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property* (2863), 1943 (amended in 2011), article 48, a Turkish government representative must be present at the site at all times during excavation and research seasons.

The project has attracted many sponsors during the last 25 years, with Turkish companies increasingly interested in working with the site. Visa International was the Çatalhöyük Research Project's initial major sponsor, supporting the project from 1995–1999. Koç Bank, a major Turkish banking group joined in 1997, remaining the largest sponsor from 1997–2005 and continuing as Yapı Kredi until the end of the project. However, during the Çatalhöyük Research Project's earlier years, almost all other sponsors were international, led by UK-based companies including Boeing, British Airways, Glaxo Wellcome, Shell and Thames Water. From 2013 until 2018, two of the three major sponsors of the project were Turkish: Yapı Kredi and DIY chain Koçtaş. In contrast to the early years, assistant sponsors of the latter years are largely 'local' Turkish companies with Konya Çimento and Konya Şeker (local cement and sugar companies respectively) sponsoring the project from 2011–2018. Yapı Kredi in particular ran far-reaching marketing campaigns promoting Çatalhöyük and the bank's affiliation with the excavations during the last few seasons of the Çatalhöyük Research Project's work.

Therefore, the core term in this discussion resists easy definition: what, after all, is the 'community' that the research project has worked to engage? Is it at the village level, town level, provincial level or national level? Is it based on proximity, involvement, control, or support? Different social engagement initiatives at Çatalhöyük targeted different communities, raising the question of whether these projects can even be seen as part of the same program or agenda. Our analysis focuses on the initiatives that aimed primarily to engage some group of people among those who live in the vicinity of the site. Still, all scales of community relevant to the site – concentric, complementary, or cross-cutting as they may be – were always in play, affecting one another and shaping each other's relationship to the excavation and the archaeological record.

The 1990s: community members as information providers and co-producers

The outward orientation of the Çatalhöyük project – the awareness of the contemporary context in which research was embedded and the desire to act productively and positively within that context – is legible in the earliest statements of the project's purpose. The first newsletter, from 1995, describes the 'ultimate aim' of the work being 'to provide the Turkish Ministry of Culture with a well-planned heritage site' (Çatalhöyük Research Project 1995). The idea, from the beginning of the project, was to undertake systematic, detailed, contextualised research such that in the end, the host country would benefit from an archaeological site ready to welcome visitors (see Chapter 3 for a full discussion of the site presentation developments over the course of the project).

By all accounts, politicians from the nearby cities of Çumra and Konya were eager for this goal to be reached. In 1998, at the opening ceremony of the Annual Agricultural Festival, the mayor of Çumra gave a speech in which he said:

> There is an international team of scientists excavating at Çatalhöyük. We are making every effort possible to be able to display the artefacts found there in a museum here in Çumra rather than in Ankara or anywhere else. We should be proud of this contribution of the Turkish nation-state to European civilization. We are aware of the importance of having such a site in our region (after Bartu 2000: 101).

But as sociologist Ayfer Bartu Candan has argued, the site does not have equal importance or meaning for each of the many groups interested in it (Bartu 2000). She takes this idea even further, stating that there are multiple 'Çatalhöyüks', as each version is constituted quite separately across disparate contexts and by people with varying priorities and visions for the place. Evidence of this can be seen not only in the ethnographic research she conducted, beginning in 1998, but also in the previous findings of David Shankland's fieldwork from 1995–1998.

Shankland, a social anthropologist and then the acting director of the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara, interviewed residents of the villages near Çatalhöyük to understand their beliefs and attitudes about the remains of the past, their interactions with the archaeological team coming each summer and their responses toward the tourism attracted by the site. And in drastic contrast to the Çumra mayor's remarks only three years prior, he stated that in 1995 he found that 'the overall inclination of those villagers who have not become part of the excavation team is one of polite but rather mild curiosity: that the site is there and it is perhaps interesting, but that, so far, it plays little significant part in the life of the village' (1996: 351). Shankland attributed this, in part at least, to what he called an 'anti-intellectual' sentiment in Küçükköy. To illustrate this culture, he recounted an instance in which one Küçükköy man showed especial interest in the archaeological remains but was laughed at and bitingly called a 'philosopher' by other men in the community (1996: 355).

Despite this initial finding, Shankland and others in the 1990s went on to continue to study the meaning that Çatalhöyük held for those living near to it. During the first ten years of the project, the community acted as ethnographic subjects for the research project, providing information about the site's cultural and symbolic importance in the area. Accordingly, the 'ethnographic subject' was one of the two primary roles that the local community occupied through this initial phase of the research project.

After Shankland concluded his brief first season of ethnographic fieldwork in Küçükköy, the archaeological team moved to the newly constructed dig house at the site, rather than staying in Çumra, 12km away.

Local residents visited the site during an annual open day, and dozens of journalists convened at the site each year for 'press day,' an event instituted by Ian Hodder in order to bring publicity sought by the corporate sponsors of the excavation. And perhaps because of this continued, intensive activity of the archaeological team – or perhaps because his research proceeded deeper – after three summers of field work and a full year of sustained research in the community, Shankland identified several ways that the mound, and others in the vicinity, did in fact hold significance for the inhabitants of Küçükköy. Archaeological remains acted as field boundaries, cemetery sites and picnicking places, Shankland reported (2000). He also documented a good deal of folklore and mythology which circulated about the site (1999). Some suggested, for instance, that there was buried treasure at the site. Others believed that the mound was guarded by the souls of the dead or the devil, describing the sight of unexplained, mysterious lights twinkling above the mound on Friday nights.

Shankland also related that, by this time, Küçükköy residents' views of the site as an economic entity went beyond the tepid curiosity he described at the outset of his research. Although the archaeological project itself employed relatively very few members of the village population – therefore making a very minimal financial impact on the community – the villagers shared a view that the site likely would be developed in the future into a place that would generate substantial income (Shankland 2000). The role they envisioned themselves having in this development, however, was to sell property which might be turned into a restaurant or hotel, rather than to create such a venture themselves. Shankland characterised this sentiment as stemming from the power politics around the archaeological site; since the site is controlled by the state, any investment must go through official permission procedures involving local and regional authorities and various different government departments which were opaque to community members. They simply did not feel powerful enough to enter into complicated bureaucratic procedures. The mayor and other politicians of the larger town of Çumra, on the other hand, were not as hesitant to take active measures.

Ayfer Bartu Candan's ethnographic research, beginning in 1998, investigated further the different relationships that various groups and individuals had with the archaeological remains at Çatalhöyük. Bartu Candan framed her research as multi-sited ethnography, because it involved fieldwork not only in geographically disparate locations (Istanbul, Küçükköy, Çumra, Washington, DC), but also with people as diverse as Goddess worshippers, regional governmental officers and fashion designers – as well as the residents of the local villages (Bartu 2000). This approach allowed Bartu Candan to view the different levels of access to the site and control over its future development from many angles; she was accordingly able to recognise the international flows of ideas and resources between institutions, organisations, villages, social classes and offices that had shaped Çatalhöyük. And for Bartu Candan, the ideal role for the project with regard to the local community would be to intervene in these flows and exchanges by giving 'the local people the initiative and the power in setting the terms of the development of the area and in having some kind of control over the development of the area as a tourist site' (Bartu 2000: 105).

While Shankland's work would lead one to wonder whether the local people would even desire such power, Bartu Candan's conversations specifically with those who worked at the site elicited radically different sentiments from the indifference Shankland described. One woman Bartu Candan interviewed had worked at the site and stated:

> We are also proud of the fact that Çatalhöyük is right next to Küçükköy. People from all of the world come here… If I have a chance I want to make a documentary about this place and the excavation. I am already obsessed with Çatalhöyük anyway. Whatever I do at home, I always think whether people of Çatalhöyük would do it the same way.

The enthusiasm, pride and love expressed by this woman, which Bartu Candan says was shared by many of the women hired at the site, could not be further from the ambivalence and anti-intellectualism characterised by Shankland in 1995. Bartu Candan acknowledges that this feeling was likely fostered by the women's employment and involvement on the archaeological project – but cautions against seeing the project as having 'impacted' the local community, as 'impact' implies that the local community was somehow pristine or static prior to the arrival of the archaeologists. Instead, for Bartu Candan the relationship between the researchers, the locally hired site workers and the communities from which they came were fundamentally about mutual interaction and multidirectional flow.

Bartu Candan then spearheaded a number of projects designed to enhance the local community's sense of investment and empowerment over those interactions and flows (fig. 2.2). One example involved establishing a community exhibit at the visitor centre at the site. Bartu Candan provided local women with cameras and asked them to take pictures of the parts of the project and the landscape that they found interesting. The women led

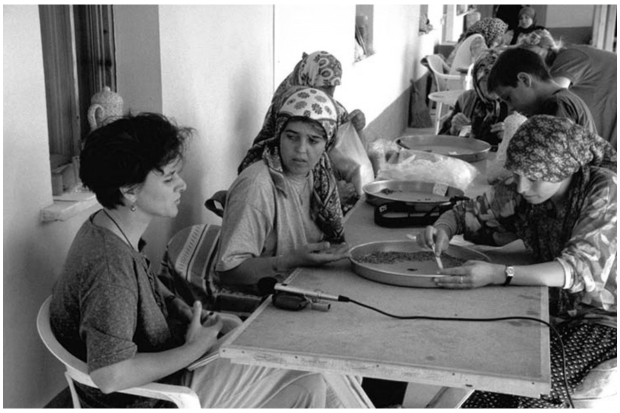

Figure 2.2. Ayfer Bartu Candan conducting ethnography with local women hired to sort heavy residue.

alternative tours of the site and took photographs during these tours. Their photographs, together with the stories and narratives that were part of the tours, were adapted in consultation with the women into an exhibit on display at the visitor centre. Bartu Candan describes the ways in which she felt that these collaborative activities led to women's sense of empowerment at the site (Bartu 2000).

Shankland and Bartu Candan's projects differed in terms of length, methodologies employed and the identities (gender, nationality, etc.) of the researchers, all of which undoubtedly impacted the outcomes of the studies. However, the success of these projects in achieving their aims laid the groundwork for the next phase of community engagement at Çatalhöyük, which moved away from relating to the local community as a subject of anthropological inquiry and more toward capacity building and outreach.

Even during the 1990s, community engagement at Çatalhöyük involved the local community not only as an area of research; its members also acted as knowledge co-producers in ethnoarchaeological and experimental research projects beginning in 1995. The goal of this research was to see how the architecture in the surrounding villages could shed light on the Neolithic houses – why they were built with the entrance in the roof, how they collapsed, how the space was used. Architectural ethnoarchaeological research was conducted primarily by Nurcan Yalman, as well as by David Shankland and Mirjana Stevanović. People in settlements surrounding Çatalhöyük were interviewed about how they built, decorated and occupied their houses and many similarities between the Neolithic structures and these modern ones were identified. The researchers noted, for instance, that both the Neolithic and contemporary inhabitants built platforms and niches in their houses and featured elaborate decoration on the walls (painting in the Neolithic age, kilims and textiles in the modern houses) (Çatalhöyük Research Project 1996; Yalman 1996). In 1998, Wendy Matthews and Begumsen Ergenekon initiated a concerted ethnoarchaeology research component at Çatalhöyük that involved weekly meetings of researchers visiting the village. They studied the practices of the people living there which could be compared to the Neolithic material remains. In the end, this effort coordinated 18 separate ethnoarchaeological projects consulting with the local community and covering topics as diverse as architecture, settlement organisation, soil chemistry, ethnobotany, dental wear, posture and bodily movement, faunal remains, ground stone and uses of clay (Matthews et al. 2000). Contemporaneously with the ethnoarchaeological project, Mirjana Stevanović led an experimental archaeology research program designed to recreate and study the process of brick manufacture employed at Çatalhöyük (Stevanović 1997). A brickmaker from Çumra, Ismet Ozkut, and several men from Küçükköy hired to assist him sourced the materials for the mud bricks, made the moulds and produced the bricks. The process was carefully documented to understand the time, effort and expertise needed to complete all of the steps successfully.

Throughout these ethnoarchaeological and experimental research endeavours, the community members once again acted as sources of information – not about the modern mound this time but about the ancient people who lived there. And according to Bartu Candan, such ethnoarchaeological projects were one of the most crucial practices for increasing locally hired workers' feeling of empowerment. One of the women she interviewed, for example, expressed pride in being part of a team, where 'everyone is doing his/her job' and:

> Sometimes we tell you and teach you the things you don't know about – plants, for example. In previous years they found a bunch of acorns. We call them *pelit*, you call them *palamut*. First the plant specialists could not identify them and they asked me for help. I told them that they are acorns (Bartu 2000: 108).

This memory exemplifies the second major relationship that developed between local community members and archaeologists at Çatalhöyük during the 1990s. In addition to acting as the subjects of sociocultural anthropology research, the local community acted as knowledge co-producers alongside the archaeological team. They conducted experiments together, and each party brought their own prior knowledge and experience to bear on building interpretations of the archaeological remains. In these ethnoarchaeological and experimental contexts, many local community members hired to work on the site acted as researchers as well.

The various community engagement strategies of the 1990s essentially created two possible roles for local residents to occupy in relation to the archaeological research endeavour. First, they could act as study subjects, either for social anthropologists or for the ethnoarchaeology research group members. This opportunity reflected Ian Hodder's call for archaeologists 'to be reflexive and involve the local voice' by working 'more closely with ethnographers and others in order to find out who exactly "the locals" are, how fluid and global they are and what type of relationship with archaeology and heritage would best serve their interests' (2003: 64). Alternatively, local community members hired to work at the site sometimes acted as collaborative knowledge producers in experimentally recreating aspects of Neolithic life alongside the archaeologists or participating in discussions of what the ethnoarchaeological work revealed about the past. This second option engaged local community members as particular kinds of experts in the archaeological research process, inviting them to view themselves as experts as well. Nevertheless, the findings of the social anthropologists during this early period reveal a general feeling of disempowerment and a lack of both knowledge and control over both the research and the management of the archaeological site. And while the development of the research project (like the archaeological site itself) naturally resists clean delineation of chronological phases, during the 2000s, community engagement activities at the site turned primarily toward addressing the power disparities identified during the 1990s ethnographic research.

The 2000s: community engagement as education and capacity building

If the 1990s community engagement programs at Çatalhöyük can roughly be categorised as information-gathering, the 2000s undoubtedly gave way to information-giving. Indeed, in 2003, Ian Hodder offered two key recommendations at a disciplinary level for how indigenous or local stakeholders could be more fully engaged in the archaeological process: 'the training of indigenous participants' and 'to record and disseminate information in such a way that larger and more dispersed communities can be involved' (2003: 60). The emphasis on conveying knowledge is apparent in the community outreach strategies from the start of the 2000s at Çatalhöyük. By the end of the 2000 field season, plans were already underway to initiate new curricula in the grade schools of the Konya region. Instigated by the Çatalhöyük Research Project, the new curriculum would teach children within Konya province more about Çatalhöyük history and cultural heritage (Çatalhöyük Research Project 2000). In 2001, Ayfer Bartu Candan completed a multi-year effort when the Küçükköy Library opened in the village. Bartu Candan had coordinated for book donations to be made by students at Koç University in Istanbul, bookstores in Konya and the TEGV (Türkiye Eğitim Gönüllüleri Vakfı/Education Volunteers Foundation). In the end, the library was opened with around 500 texts (Bartu, Candan 2001). Archaeologists working on site aided in the effort by fundraising for the library with a cocktail party and holding a silent auction for services they could provide one another, such as back massages or fortune telling (Bartu, Candan 2001; Çatalhöyük Research Project 2001). The fundraising also went toward purchasing reference materials and school supplies for the elementary school in Küçükköy.

This focus on educating children was shared by the TEMPER (Training, Education, Management and Prehistory in the Mediterranean) Project at Çatalhöyük, which was one of several projects (also in Malta, Israel and Greece) funded by the European Union as part of the program known as 'Euro-Med Heritage II', designed to protect and promote the shared cultural heritage of Mediterranean countries. The TEMPER methodology involved two components: developing integrated site management plans and developing educational and interpretive programs (Doughty 2002). As part of the latter component, in 2003 the TEMPER Project put on a full-day workshop for about 70 schoolchildren from Istanbul, Konya, Çumra and Küçükköy; this program was expanded in 2004 with international sponsorship from Shell and Coca-Cola to carry on for a full month and include around 500 students. The activities the students enjoyed included a slideshow, a guided tour of the site, Çatalhöyük-related arts and crafts and the chance to re-excavate the spoil heaps from James Mellaart's earlier excavation of the site. This program, run by Gülay Sert, was later named the 'Çatalhöyük Archaeological Summer School' and operated continuously from 2003 to 2017, educating around 600 students each summer (fig. 2.3). Sert also authored new books for children of different ages about life at Çatalhöyük as a child would have experienced it. Published solely in Turkish, these informative books were marketed nationwide within Turkey, thus promoting the site of Çatalhöyük in regions across the country. Crafts and written reflections from student participants in the summer school were additionally published as a book, as well as adapted into an exhibition at the İstanbul Deneme Bilim Merkezi (Sert 2006). Sert also coordinated the project's investment and involvement in the 2009 construction of a playground for children in Küçükköy (Farid 2009).

The emphasis on teaching extended not just to children but also to women when a local craft initiative began in 2004. The project partnered with a women's

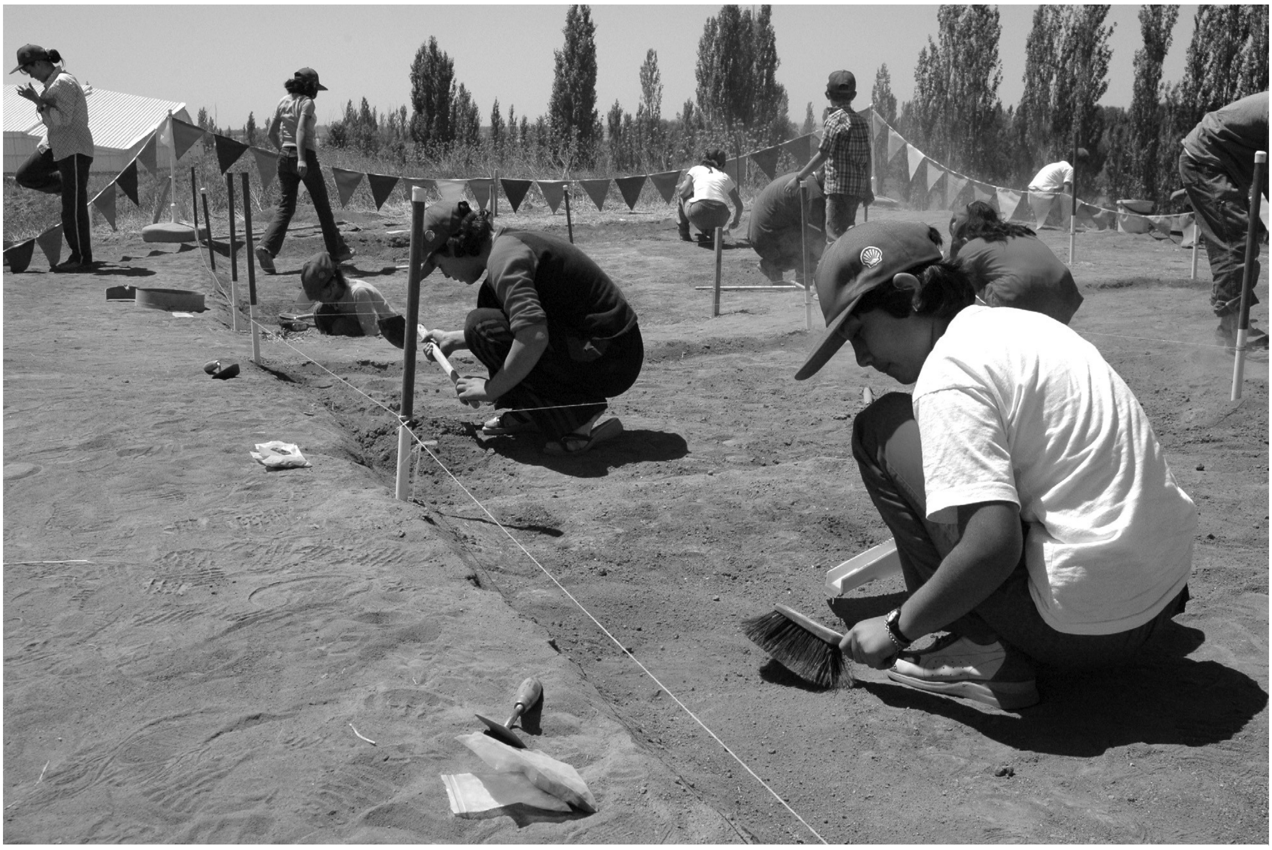

Figure 2.3. Children at summer camp (photograph by Jason Quinlan).

weaving school in Çumra in the hope of setting up a small weaving school at the site especially for the women of Küçükköy. For a few seasons, women set up looms in the visitor's centre and translated designs from the art of the site into kilims. The school, though, was never fully established, and Hodder has acknowledged that the success of the craft initiative has been limited (2011a: 24; discussed further below).

A more successful element of the move towards education and expanding opportunities were the scholarships offered, beginning in 2000, to Turkish undergraduate and graduate students to complete degrees or improve their English language abilities in the UK or the USA. This practice continued through to the end of the project and ultimately enabled dozens of Turkish students to pursue their educational goals. The scholarship program supported students who went on to supervise excavations and laboratory research at Çatalhöyük and elsewhere, to publish extensively, to hold academic positions in universities and research institutes and, in general, to contribute to archaeological knowledge. It is difficult to characterise this as specifically 'local' community outreach, as most of the young people selected for these scholarships were not from the immediate Çatalhöyük area – though, indeed, some were (Hodder 2011a: 24).

For those hired from the local community to work on the site, to some extent the potential to continue to act as knowledge co-producers and information sources still existed. For example, Nurcan Yalman continued her ethnoarchaeological studies of the architecture of surrounding villages from 2001–2004, visiting Turkmen Camili, Akşehir and Çumra villages to conduct mapping and interviews about topics including gender-based division of labour and kinship (Yalman 2001). And in the years leading up to the publication of the Çatalhöyük Research Project Volumes 3–6, members of the local community who had worked on the site participated in group research discussions about topics including social memory, art, foodways, domestication and waste management (Bartu 2000). This involvement is apparent particularly in Volume 6, *Çatalhöyük Perspectives: Themes from the 1995-1999 Seasons*, which quotes locally hired site workers directly and alongside excavators and other specialists – all discussing their experiences working on site and their interpretations of the archaeological remains (Hodder 2005c). After Bartu Candan left the project, however, this practice ceased. Involving site workers in research discussions and the publication process was only possible when someone with the necessary language and cultural skills – and passion – was driving such engagement.

Ultimately, sharing complementary expertise was not the primary way in which most community members from the surrounding area related to the archaeological site or the research project, as exemplified by Sonya Atalay's findings when she began leading Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) methodology at Çatalhöyük. In 2006, Atalay, a Native American (Anishinabe-Ojibwe) anthropologist, began exploring how the frameworks and methods of Indigenous archaeology might be applied in new contexts, such as at Çatalhöyük. Describing her initial goals, Atalay states:

> I originally aimed to put together a collaborative team with local community members and develop a series of regular community meetings that would create a two-way sharing of information about the research at Çatalhöyük by involving the local community in designing some of the research questions to be investigated by archaeologists on the Çatalhöyük excavation project (Atalay 2006: 364).

But Atalay was compelled to redirect her goals when, after several pilot interviews with individuals in the local villages, 'I found that community members felt they knew far too little to contribute to a community collaboration as the one I initially had in mind' (Atalay 2006: 364; see also Atalay 2010a: 423) – echoing the findings of previous ethnographic work in the community. Some of the people she interviewed even recounted times when locally hired site workers were asked by their friends and family about what was happening at the site and were unable to answer (Atalay 2006: 369). As a result, Atalay shifted her efforts in her first season of fieldwork toward conducting interviews with more people to better understand what they hoped to gain from the archaeological work at the site.

Atalay used the findings from these interviews to plan and implement several outreach components at Çatalhöyük that continued for several years. It seemed that much of what the community members desired involved the continuation or intensification of previous efforts and specifically those related to education. Women requested classes in wintertime that would teach them how to make kilims and other crafts – as well as having a place to sell their works (Atalay 2006: 372). Atalay reported as well that 'children in the village are particularly interested in Çatalhöyük and the archaeology taking place there' (2006: 369). After all, by this point the summer school had put on workshops for close to 2,000 Turkish schoolchildren. Atalay accordingly sought to build on the success of the archaeology summer school. She proposed bringing funding so that there could be bi-weekly visits during the excavation season by youth from the local villages. Atalay further supported children's curiosity by creating a comic, distributed to the local village each year, which made archaeological methods and findings at Çatalhöyük accessible and fun to learn about. She also collaborated with the Küçükköy school principal to start a community theatre program where local schoolchildren would put on a play each year about Çatalhöyük or another archaeological site in Turkey.

In response to the broader desire among community members of all ages to increase their knowledge base about the site, Atalay and Burcu Tung held a community night dinner in 2006, where Küçükköy residents shared a meal with archaeologists and had the opportunity to ask them questions. The project had hosted several 'open days' in previous seasons, sometimes hosting as much as 70 per cent of the village population (Çatalhöyük Research Project 2004a). The dinner in 2006, however, was specifically designed to foster a two-way learning process and cultural interaction between the local community and the research team members. The dinner transformed into an annual community festival, where laboratory heads and excavators held tours, workshops and discussions for members of the local community. In addition, Atalay started writing a yearly newsletter for adults in the community which was delivered to public gathering places in the villages. She also held meetings each year with men and with women separately in Küçükköy to share findings and elicit ideas about future directions from village residents. The importance of empowering and educating adults also led to the summer school expanding its target audience in 2009, inviting civil servants from Konya and Çumra to view the slideshow, take a site tour and engage in a conversation about the future of Çatalhöyük (Sert 2009).

Atalay herself has reflected on the degree to which her project, especially in the first several years, resembled community education rather than a collaborative research or heritage management program (2010a: 423). These activities were never meant to be unidirectional, however, and were instead intended as capacity building so that in the future these community members would feel capable of being equal partners in planning research questions and methodologies as Atalay originally intended. Toward the end of the 2000s, with the beginning of the internship program in 2009, the CBPR project started to progress from primarily community education to more collaboration. The program was designed 'to build research capacity so that members of the community [would] feel confident as partners in developing collaborative research projects with the archaeologists who work on site' (Atalay 2010a: 424).

The first two interns, Rahime and Nesrin Salur, were women and were the first residents of Küçükköy to graduate from university. Rahime and Nesrin assisted with every component of the CBPR project, facilitating its success by being both members of the local community – with whom women, especially, felt uniquely comfortable in sharing their opinions – and increasingly knowledgeable about site management and skilled in research.

In addition to the interns who worked with Atalay in CBPR, during the 2000s, another group of stakeholders emerged as especially capable and confident in taking on a more collaborative role within the research project. The site guards at Çatalhöyük were interviewed starting in 2009 by site visualisation team members because of their particular insight into the behaviours and expectations of tourists visiting the site (Moser, Perry 2009; see also Chapter 3). The site guard role seems to have been particularly effective in enabling those who held this position to contribute actively to the production of archaeological knowledge and the management of the site. Residents of Küçükköy, for instance, reported that 'if we have any questions [about Çatalhöyük] we ask the site guards. We wouldn't know who else to ask' (Tecirli 2014: 43). Perhaps the most illustrative evidence of the unique empowerment of the site guards is that Sadrettin Dural, a former site guard at Çatalhöyük, published not one but two books based on his expertise. The first, *Protecting Çatalhöyük*, is a memoir, and the second, entitled *Life in Çatalhöyük 9,000 Years Ago*, is a combination of anecdotes from his own life and a historical imagining of what life would have been like for a Neolithic child at the site (Dural 2007; 2015). Even among the site guards, Dural is not one likely to miss an opportunity at the site; he independently opened and manages the café immediately at the entrance to Çatalhöyük. Still, from the combination of his publications, reports from the local community and the success of the visualisation team, it is apparent that site guards in general benefited from insights and responsibilities at the site in ways that many other local community members did not.

The distinction between the expertise and initiative of the site guards versus other site workers and local community members was not the only division within the community to emerge identifiably during this time. Atalay's sustained community-based participatory work also further drew out the kaleidoscopic concepts of community for whom Çatalhöyük matters. For instance, Atalay found that residents of the local community referred to even Turkish archaeologists on the excavation as *yabancılar* (foreigners), based on their level of education and class difference (Atalay 2010a: 422). This is significant in light of the fact that two Turkish teams – one from Istanbul University and one from Selçuk University – had joined the project in 2005, as Atalay was beginning her research. Yet, this substantial group of Turkish archaeologists was seen as having more in common with the researchers from abroad than the local community.

The shifts in community belonging became particularly apparent in Atalay's research on local community members' ideas about the future development of the site. For instance, on the question of where a future site museum should be built, unsurprisingly people from Çumra unanimously wanted it in Çumra and those in Küçükköy wanted to see it constructed in Küçükköy (2006: 372). And when Atalay asked interviewees how they felt about the possibility that an increase in tourism could encourage changes in the traditional lifeways of the community, there was far from consensus among the people she met with. Some denied that this would happen, some said they wouldn't mind, and one person even said that these changes were necessary if Turkey was going to become part of the European Union. None of these views coincide precisely with the views espoused at the time by local and regional politicians; in fact, at the celebration for the opening of the South Area Shelter in 2003, politicians were applauding the Çatalhöyük Research Project for the number of foreign visitors it attracted (Hodder 2003). Furthermore, the decision of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism to begin charging an entry fee in 2006 led to concern among the villagers of Küçükköy, who disagreed with this decision (Hodder 2006).

It was always the case that the 'community' or even the 'local community' as it related to Çatalhöyük was complicated and heterogeneous. From the beginning, the community included people with various perspectives, priorities and power positions inside the province of Konya and outside. But in reviewing the body of work on community engagement from the 2000s, these differences rise to the surface. Such community divisions became even more distinct as the project moved into its final years in the 2010s. The different goals and interests of stakeholders at different levels deeply affected the form that community engagement at Çatalhöyük could and would take until the conclusion of the excavation.

The 2010s: evaluations, economics and endings

As in 2000, the 2010s did not mark a radical schism in community engagement practices from what had been occurring previously. The archaeological summer school run by Gülay Sert for both children and adults (now schoolteachers and waterworks employees) continued on, as did the CBPR project's annual community festival, meetings in the village, children's theatre, comic, newsletter and internship program. But around this time, there was a transition from the implementation of educational and outreach programs to carrying out several evaluative studies on the successes and limitations of the community engagement programs so far.

One of these studies was the 2009 fieldwork conducted by Madeleine 'Bear' Douglas, a student of economics and archaeology. Her project consisted of archival research, surveys and interviews in Konya, Çumra, Küçükköy, Çatalhöyük, Istanbul and London, and it aimed to calculate in both material and symbolic terms the 'value' of Çatalhöyük (Douglas 2014). The concept of the project stemmed in part from the fact that much heritage discourse assumes that archaeological sites are important to people and that sites generate income through tourism and development, but little work has been done to demonstrate that both these things are true. Douglas used four metrics – visitor travel costs, willingness to pay to preserve the site, income from the site and ethnographic interviews with local residents about whether or not the site benefits them – and ultimately showed that the site provides minimal economic benefit to the people living at Çatalhöyük. The people she interviewed expressed happiness that roads had been repaired as a result of interest in the site, and that the project had helped them build the school library and a new water tower in the village (Douglas 2014: 54). But Douglas also encountered disappointment in the degree of benefit that the local community perceived as coming from the archaeological site, with some she spoke to reminding her that the archaeologists had benefited from the site much more than those living in the Konya region.

Beliz Tecirli's contemporaneous research (published in the same volume as Douglas's findings) underscored the community's real and perceived exclusion from the potential benefit from the archaeological site. Tecirli's fieldwork took place in 2008, 2009 and 2011 and involved interviews with residents of Çumra and Konya, visitors to the site, Çatalhöyük research team members and state personnel from various institutions responsible for managing the site. Her interviews focused primarily on these various stakeholders' feelings of involvement and voice in the developments and planned future for the site. Overwhelmingly, the residents of Küçükköy felt that Çumra had already co-opted the financial gain available from the site and that Küçükköy would also be excluded from any future benefit; residents of Çumra felt that there simply was no economic potential at all related to the archaeological site (Tecirli 2014). Both groups felt excluded from the degree of site administration for which the state had already taken responsibility.

This work by Tecirli and Douglas only became more pertinent when Çatalhöyük was inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage list in 2012. The inscription process had the political effect of situating the site more firmly within the discourse and policies of global heritage management and the economic impact of attracting more tourists. Studies have shown that World Heritage status generally does lead to increased visitation (though the increase is greater for natural sites than cultural sites and for countries with few World Heritage sites already; see Su, Lin 2014). Indeed, Hodder (2013c) remarked that after inscription, the site guards noted a distinct uptick in visitors.

The process leading to World Heritage status, however, further disenfranchised local communities when it came to having a say in the preservation and presentation of the site. Helen Human, an ethnographic researcher involved in the development of the site management plan necessary for inscription, has described in detail how changes in Turkish cultural heritage law and appeals to the political rhetoric of UNESCO World Heritage led Turkish bureaucrats to engage local communities in discussions about Çatalhöyük only superficially (Human 2015). At a meeting called by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism to craft the management plan, for instance, 'not a single resident from Küçükköy… was present to represent that community's interests', and when the mayor of Çumra began to raise concerns about how the development could harm his community, he was cut off and the Ministry representative leading the meeting called for a tea break (Human 2015: 161). At subsequent stakeholder meetings, local politicians were scolded for bringing up economic issues and 'just thinking about money' (Human 2015: 175). One stakeholder meeting shifted to small breakout groups, which appeared to be an orchestrated opportunity for a few Ministry officials, a couple of Turkish academics and two non-Turkish representatives from the Çatalhöyük excavation to sit behind a closed door and make the real decisions about future responsibilities and funding.

Human argues that the global and national emphases on stakeholder involvement have counterintuitively worked against grassroots initiatives where local communities have influence over how sites are managed and developed. The language of these policies is loose enough that they can be interpreted in ways that allow elites to entrench their status and power while claiming to do just the opposite. 'Efforts embracing participation', she says, "often reinforce existing power relationships, masking this effect behind the rhetoric and techniques of participation' (Human 2015: 164). At Çatalhöyük, the particular impact of the World Heritage process was to work against the progress made by the CBPR project and other engagement programs in building community capacity and encouraging research partnerships (Human 2015: 168).

Of course, World Heritage inscription – while influential – was not the only challenge that arose at this time in the realisation of community engagement initiatives begun at the site. Other obstacles came from more local relationship dynamics and contestations. For instance, Atalay had spent several years working with women from the village to build toward the long-requested craft initiative at the site. But in 2010, she and CBPR project assistant Sema Bağcı found that women who had previously been interested in selling crafts said they no longer wanted to participate. Initially, the women said it was because of a lack of start-up capital, then when Atalay suggested starting a micro-loan program, the women suddenly said it was because they lacked transportation to and from the site. Ultimately, Atalay recognised that

> the women had been strongly discouraged from participating in the project and it seemed that the choice wasn't really theirs to make. They eventually described that their fathers would not allow them to continue. As a result, their mothers had also discouraged them, even chastised them in some cases for using up craft materials that had belonged to them. One mother who overheard our conversation with these young women described it as 'a waste of their time', saying that their fathers were not happy about it and wouldn't allow it (Atalay 2010b: 167).

Atalay also narrates an incident in which a man became very angry at the possible use of his wife's photograph in the annual comic and states that, in general, the men refused to have their wives involved in any kind of program where other men would be present (2010a).

These gender dynamics were by no means new; indeed, Hodder faced backlash from the first moments he decided to hire women on the excavation (2003). But the impending possibility of the craft initiative brought expectations and roles to the fore, where they clashed head on with the goals of the CBPR project. The goal of CBPR – at Çatalhöyük and elsewhere – is to consult with the community at every stage of the research process, and this craft initiative was something that women in 'the community' had previously expressed their desire to pursue. Indeed, it is clear that women continued to stay interested in the CBPR activities of the project, since in 2011, 70 women attended the annual meeting (20 men attended the men's meeting; Bağcı Kaya 2011). As the crafts themselves began to take physical shape, though, and the income became more and more of a material reality, the fathers and husbands (also part of 'the community') opposed the initiative. In addition to their displeasure at the potential for their wives and daughters to earn income, the craft initiative also introduced the potential for women from the village to have increased contact with not only foreign women but also, possibly men – contact prohibited by social and religious taboos observed in the local community. As a result, the women who had once been excited about becoming involved in the craft initiative at Çatalhöyük were either discouraged or forbidden from taking part. Perhaps related to these simmering tensions, in 2011 Bağcı Kaya reported rather lacklustre responses when she invited local residents to the annual festival, with many people saying, 'We may or may not come, we don't know." Those who did come expressed a lack of desire to tour the archaeological site, saying, 'We have seen and know it already' (Bağcı Kaya 2011).

The local community members were not the only ones contending with fragmentation; the archaeological researchers, too, were hardly united in the aims of community engagement. In 2010, Atalay reflected that up until that point, Duygu Çamurcuoğlu (then the head of conservation at Çatalhöyük) was the only team member from the broader Çatalhöyük Research Project to become involved in the CBPR component. 'My hope', Atalay said, 'is that more will follow' – expressing a particular interest in seeing non-Turkish researchers participate (2010a: 426).

It does not seem that this happened. Instead, community engagement remained something that occurred off site, largely separate from the activities of the core research project. Tecirli quotes a locally hired project employee who wistfully recalls 'in the past there were two researchers that taught us things; since then no one spends that much time teaching us' (2014: 44). This brief comment echoes the overall findings of co-author Allison Mickel's four years of oral historical, ethnographic and archival research on the role that locally hired community members had played in knowledge production over the previous 20 years of the project – another one of the evaluative studies of community engagement at Çatalhöyük that took place in the last years of the project.

Mickel began interviewing current and former site workers in 2013 and continued until 2015 (fig. 2.4), meeting with 40 different individuals over those years, as well as conducting participant observation as an excavation supervisor from 2012–2015. Like Tecirli, Mickel found that those who had worked at the site in the early years of the project enjoyed learning from the foreign and Turkish researchers, and those who continued

Figure 2.4. Allison Mickel interviewing Hüseyin Veli Yaşlı in Küçükköy (photograph by Tunç İlada).

to work more recently communicated a nostalgia for the relationships they enjoyed in the early years (2013). Mickel also performed Social Network Analysis on the team lists and co-authorship practices over the years at the site to statistically illustrate collaboration. This analysis revealed a dense network of teamwork from which site workers were almost entirely disconnected (Mickel 2015). This meant that two of the primary ways in which ideas and new information might be shared – by working together and writing together – had not really involved locally hired community members.

Mickel also found that even site workers from the local community who had been involved in the fieldwork on the site largely denied having any special knowledge about the work itself, or interpretations of the archaeological record – but they claimed a great deal of expertise in Neolithic lifeways (Mickel 2021). Current and former team members mentioned having knowledge of topics including mudbrick house construction, grinding grain and using ovens like those found on the archaeological site, and they repeatedly emphasised the parallels between their lives and those of the Neolithic inhabitants of the site. Dural drew this same comparison in his first book, saying, ‘Our life was also similar to the Neolithic life… The lifestyle of the Neolithic people was also experienced by the people who have lived around here for many years. Maybe that is the reason I am in love with Çatalhöyük’ (Dural 2007: 58, 61). Mickel has argued that this fairly common phenomenon among those who have been employed to work at the site from the local community is due to the early ethnoarchaeological and experimental archaeology projects (Mickel 2021). The ethnoarchaeology studies promoted the comparison between contemporary and ancient people, and the experimental projects were the closest that locally hired workers have come to being full research partners in the knowledge production activities at the site. Local community members have been paid not only for participating in projects such as these but also for appearing in documentaries as reenactors of Neolithic life (Mickel 2021). The economic and interpretive empowerment that these opportunities engendered has had a lasting effect on the specific ways in which locally hired site workers view themselves as experts and as having something to contribute to the research endeavour – or not.

While the lack of total integration with the main knowledge production practices in the excavation may have limited local community members’ ability to feel and act as qualified, informed research partners, the most significant challenge to community engagement at Çatalhöyük came in 2014. In that year, the Turkish government started to require a special permit for researchers to enter the village, much less conduct any sort of ethnographic fieldwork or outreach activities. Mickel’s research shifted to almost exclusively participant observation on the excavation and interviews with those currently working on site, but Sonya Atalay did not even come to Turkey that year because of the new restrictions. Mickel and Atalay tried to coordinate forward movement on the women’s craft initiative via email, but the limitations were especially strict on projects facilitating commercial endeavours, and so this did not happen. For the first time since 2006, there was no community festival. And this was more or less the end of sustained community engagement – collaborative, educational, or evaluative – at Çatalhöyük.

As a result, there is almost no documentation about the community’s feelings about the end of the project. In 2016, the archaeological field season was cut short due to the attempted coup on 15 July, at which point all work on site immediately ended and the dig house was evacuated. Though the final research season of 2017 did go ahead on site as planned, there was no community festival. All was not completely lost. The children’s Archaeology Summer Workshop took place in 2017. Also, the site guards and kitchen staff took part in an organised trip to Istanbul in order to see *The Curious Case of Çatalhöyük*, a much-celebrated exhibition celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Çatalhöyük Research Project, a project in which they played a crucial part (curated by Turkish team member Duygu Tarkan; see Hodder 2017). Still, the study of communities, the community capacity building and the reflexive studies of community engagement at Çatalhöyük had ended.

The sudden demise in community engagement activities reflected a growing feeling of nationalist sentiment within Turkey over recent years, a sentiment which has influenced all spheres of society, archaeology being no exception. By 2016, non-Turkish archaeologists were widely reporting increased difficulty securing excavation permits, with Turkish officials stating that 'Turkey has enough archaeological experience' (Erbil 2016). And some saw the fact that Ian Hodder was succeeded by Turkish project director Çiler Çilingiroğlu as Çatalhöyük being 'taken from foreigners and given to the Turks because of their "nationalization" policies' (Arkeofili 2018). In reality, of course, the situation was always more complicated than this. Who sets the agenda at Çatalhöyük – for research and for the site's development – was constantly being negotiated over 25 years by communities at different scales, with differing interests in the site. There is some irony in the fact that nationalist sentiment contributed to the decline of local community capacity building at Çatalhöyük. After all, while both pro- and anti-nationalist rhetoric might imagine Turkish vs foreign management of the site to be a simple, binary opposition, a quarter-century of community engagement at Çatalhöyük shows that this is not the case. Communities of varying scales, with competing interests in the site, have always imagined different futures for it and will continue to navigate hierarchies of power and representation to see those futures through.

Conclusion

Examining the development of community outreach programs over the years at Çatalhöyük reveals a number of undeniable successes, particularly when specific initiatives are considered on their own terms. The ethnoarchaeological and experimental archaeology work led to new insights about Neolithic life at Çatalhöyük. A library was established for children in Küçükköy. Bartu Candan's work to involve women in more significant roles on the site was effective for those women (according to them), while that work was ongoing. Through the archaeology summer school, literally thousands of children and adults learned about the methodology and findings at Çatalhöyük. And the CBPR project effectively produced materials, performances and annual events meant to build community capacity in the interest of ultimately joining with the community as equal research partners.

But the assessments and ethnographic work from the last years of the project, as well as the events that transpired in those years, reveal the limitations of these initiatives and many reasons for these limitations. In interviews, community members toward the end of the project echoed those from the earliest years, expressing much of the same alienation and lack of power over the management of the site. The project did not make much difference financially in the region, either through the wages paid by the excavation or by generating tourism to the site. Community members also continued to emphasise their lack of scientific knowledge about Çatalhöyük, although they did note their specific expertise about Neolithic life based on traditional lifeways kept up in the village.

The studies that revealed these outcomes also suggested the ways in which fragmentation, division and hierarchies within the many communities involved in 'community engagement' led to these outcomes. Among the residents of the local area, there were differences in their goals and vision for the site and significantly, the men in the community prevented their wives and daughters from achieving the craft initiative under discussion for decades. On the archaeologists' side, it became clear that community engagement had generally been conducted as individual initiatives, by discrete teams, rather than as an overarching framework for the Çatalhöyük Research Project, shaping the work done in every trench and every lab. One might consider the inclusion of the locally hired workers' perspectives in project publications to be the height of fully transformative community engagement, but even this ended when the person driving this practice left the research team. Meanwhile, at the national level, the involvement of international cultural heritage NGOs and a shift toward bureaucratisation in the management of Turkish heritage sites reversed much of the progress in community capacity building that had been achieved at Çatalhöyük since the beginning of community engagement work there.

These findings reveal that the impossibility of defining the community at Çatalhöyük – and elsewhere – was not simply a preliminary finding or something which could be acknowledged and moved on from. The overlapping, contrasting, social and institutional versions of 'the community' at Çatalhöyük reflect structural realities that enabled the achievements and constituted the hindrances of the community engagement programs over the years. The ways in which these communities not only differed from one another but often worked directly against each other materially determined the aspects of the site that communities felt knowledgeable enough about and able to be involved in.

Much of the conversation and activity around community engagement at Çatalhöyük has been framed in terms of pursuing multivocality (Bartu 2000; Hodder 2000a; Andersson 2003). Multivocality entails the meeting, exchange and often contradiction between the perspectives of diverse individuals and groups. It is clear that this was achieved at various points in the project – including in material, visible ways such as the publications presenting the voices of local community members and museum exhibits designed in partnership with those who had worked at the site. At the same time, however, the extent and, more specifically, the nature of the outcomes of the community engagement initiatives at Çatalhöyük illustrate how entrenched power hierarchies, language barriers, gender politics, international policies, national laws and economic realities refract and multiply the diversity of perspectives in dialogue. These circumstances unite subgroups of broader communities on certain questions but create antagonism and competition on others. In this context, the greatest successes in community engagement at Çatalhöyük over the past 25 years occurred when outreach initiatives built on previous work, when the specific insights and priorities of diverse community members were taken into account and, most especially, when individuals from across the research team collaborated in designing and implementing programs. The experiences at Çatalhöyük illustrate that community engagement requires the alignment of stakeholders – a recognition and pursuit of their interests in common – as much or more than even a productive dialogue on difference.